

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
METAPHORS IN POST-KARGIL SPEECHES  
BY PAKISTANI AND INDIAN DELEGATIONS  
IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**By**

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**A Comparative Analysis of Metaphors in Post-Kargil Speeches  
by Pakistani and Indian delegations in UN General Assembly**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The present study analyzes the metaphors employed by Pakistani and Indian delegations in their speeches delivered in UN General Assembly meetings in Post-Kargil war era. The study is based upon the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory provided by Lakoff and Johnson. The researcher aimed to study the metaphors used by politicians from both countries as a rhetorical tool in their statements about their policies and standpoints regarding international issues like terrorism, economy, peace etc. in front of the international audience. An extensive study of the historical context was made prior to the sample selection. The criteria for the selection of the speech for analysis was the changing dynamics of relations between the two countries. Since the purpose was to analyze the change in number and density of metaphors in the speeches according to the change in the relations, as many as six speeches from each country were selected in both improving as well as worsening ties. This analysis is followed by an in-depth study of what characterizes the metaphors Pakistani and Indian delegations employed. For such analysis only those metaphors were selected of which target domains were terrorism, self and opposition. It was found that Indian delegations used more metaphors than Pakistani delegations did. It was also found that both number and density of metaphors in the speeches of both delegations changed as the relations between the two countries went through ups and downs. During the changes in the relations, a significant fluctuation in the number as well as density of metaphors was revealed in some topics. However, top ten source domains that the speakers from both countries selected for their different metaphors were same with marginal differences in ranking of frequency. Despite that, significant differences were observed in the way they both delineated different images in realizing terrorism, self and opposition. The dissimilarity existed both in conceptual as well as linguistic metaphors. These differences owed to anchoring the metaphors to build different discourses of terrorism, self-legitimization and delegitimization of the opposition.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
GD	General Debates
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
UNGD	United Nations General Debate
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
LOC	Line of Control
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
WTO	World Trade Organization
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
CBM	Confidence Building Measures

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my loving daughters: Momina and Mahiba

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The present thesis analyzes the metaphors in the speeches of Pakistani and Indian delegations delivered in United Nation General Assembly. This chapter provides information about the role of language and of metaphors in a political discourse proceeded by the backbone of the thesis\_ Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 2003). It also highlights a brief history of the relations of Pakistan and India. A discussion on the multilateral organization of UN and its role in the world is also included. This is followed by the specific objectives, research questions and delimitations of the thesis.

### 1.1 Background

Metaphors have been used and valued since antiquity. In their book, *More Than Cool Reason* (1989), George Lakoff and Mark Turner examined the significant role of metaphor in poetry, noting their omnipresence and the potent impact in poetry and rhetoric. However, their work represents a change from the notion that metaphor is limited to the domain of literature. In fact, metaphor is a central property of everyday language and has conceptual and cognitive basis (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphor is now widely recognized as representing and relating to conceptual domains and life experiences in ways previously unacknowledged. Another direction is that metaphors are used in political speeches as a tool of persuasion. Political rivals use them for their political ends. For example, in *Politician and Rhetoric* (2005), Charteris-Black shows how successful political leaders, such as Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and so on, used metaphors to legitimize self by highlighting the positive images of themselves and their parties while downplaying the negative effects of their certain policies and actions.

The emphatic persuasion is also a part of the rhetorical statements of Pakistani and Indian delegations in UN when they are talking about and against each other. The reason is the decades old rivalry between the two countries. The representatives of both countries address the UNGA each year discussing a variety of issues concerning their respective

countries. The discussion on the relations between the two countries is almost always included in the speeches of both delegations. The present study will compare and analyze the use of metaphors as a tool of rhetoric in these speeches. For this purpose, it is first important to have a view of the kind of relations Pakistan and India have had since their independence.

## **1.2 Relations of Pakistan and India and the Role of UN**

Gaining the favours of UN is significant. Baturo (2017, p. 5) mentions the words of the representative of Antigua: “My small nation has no military might, no economic clout. All that we have is membership of the international system as our shield and our voice in this body as our sword.” These words were used in response to the adamant failure of US to the adherence to the ruling of World Trade Organization. The speeches made in United Nations General Debate (UNGD) are strategic in nature (Baturo, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017). For example, the strategic signaling can also be seen in the speeches made by the representatives of Iran and US in 2012 and 2013. In 2012, Obama made a severe criticism of Iran in the following words: “... (Iran) has failed to take the opportunity to demonstrate that its nuclear program is peaceful ... a nuclear-armed Iran is not a challenge that can be contained. It would threaten the elimination of Israel ... and the stability of the global economy” (UNGA, 2012, p. 6).

After a year, the rhetoric of US president completely changed: “America prefers to resolve its concerns over Iran’s nuclear program peacefully ... We are not seeking regime change, and we respect the right of the Iranian people to access peaceful nuclear energy...” (UNGA, 2013, p. 6). Subsequently, the world came to know that USA and Iran had held intense behind-the-door-diplomacy talks that led to the breakthrough and signing of the deal (Borger & Kamali, 2013).

The United Nations is the closest entity to a world government. It works as a neutral referee on the issues of the member states and encourages certain means and ways in international relations. This is where the delegations of the member countries meet and discuss international conflicts, humanitarian affairs, and general matters that have to do with reaching the Millennium Development Goals. In other words the United Nations is a



place where countries can work towards unity. Being an important actor of international relations, it helps diplomatic processes, provides structures, guidelines and laws that every member-state can agree on for smooth development. As stated in the charter of UN, the purpose of the UN is: “To maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace...” (Charter, 2018, p. article1)

The General Assembly allows its member states to discuss, debate and recommend suggestions on various subjects related to the peace, security, development, disarmament, human rights, international law and peaceful arbitration of disputes between nations. The statements made by the representatives in UNGD can show the preferences of their respective governments and hence can be very valuable for linguistic as well as ideological analysis. Baturo (2017, p. 3) states that “The formal and institutionalized setting ... its inclusion of all UN member states – which are provided with equal opportunity to address the Assembly; and the fact that it takes place every year, makes the GD ideal for using text analysis”.

The relations between Pakistan and India have been a long history of confrontation and conflicts except a few brief periods of rapprochement. As in the words of Muhammad Khan (2015): “Pakistan’s relations with India have been moving in the manner of a wheel that revolves around an axis without producing any forward movement”. Many of these adverse relations stemmed from the existence of different ideologies or religions, the difficult past of colonial rule, the imperfections of domestic and international political system (Cheema, 1999). These conflicts date back to 1947 when these two countries became independent from British rule. Since that time there have been numerous skirmishes on the line of control besides four major and large-scale armed conflicts in the years 1848, 1965, 1971 and 1999. The severity of the relations can be witnessed in “frequent violation at Line of Control, allegation of spying and ferocity on embassy staff at both sides...” (Ali & Mujahid, 2015, p. 365). The bilateral relations have been limited due to these continuous conflicts.

The first armed conflict broke out between the two countries over the princely state of Kashmir. At the time of division, all the rulers of Kashmir were to join either of the two countries of Pakistan and India. Before that could happen, India invaded and occupied this state in 1948 (Choudhury, 1971). India rejected the plebiscite proposal of Pakistan and continued to govern its occupied part of Kashmir (Burke, 1974). UN has taken a number of actions to establish peace and order between Pakistan and India in terms of this dispute. Soon after the dispute of Kashmir erupted, the UN passed a resolution called 'Resolution 39' on January 20, 1948 to assist the peaceful resolution of the Kashmir conflict (Ankit, 2013). A commission called United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was also established for the investigation and mediation. The commission paid three visits to the place of disputes to find an agreeable solution (Schofield, 2003). The Indian government considered itself a rightful possessor of Jammu and Kashmir by virtue of the accession of the state and maintained that the help provided to the rebel forces and Pakhtoon tribes by Pakistan was a hostile act. It also held that since the purpose of plebiscite was to confirm the accession, it had already been completed by willing accession of all the state princes of Jammu and Kashmir (ibid).

The Pakistan government, on the other hand, maintained that the state of Jammu and Kashmir had carried out an agreement with Pakistan which bars the former from making further agreements with other parties. Further, the prince of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja, was not in any official position or had authority to implement accession to India as he had fled to India after being revolted by his own people. Pakistan held that the tribal incursions were indigenous and spontaneous (ibid).

For the plebiscite to take place, UN mediators insisted on the withdrawal of the army of both countries on the basis of parity, namely simultaneous withdrawal which India refused (Schofield, 2003). At the request of UN, Canadian President, General McNaughton performed the mediatory activities and submitted a final report on February 3, 1950 which reiterated such suggestion of simultaneous withdrawal and that the regular forces of India were not required for security (Gupta, 2012; Schofield, 2003). While Pakistan accepted, India again rejected the proposals (ibid). Subsequently, the UN appointed Sir Owen Dixon

who was tasked to promulgate McNaughton's proposals of demilitarization for Kashmir (ibid).

Later the task of mediation was handed over to Dr. Frank Graham. He, like his predecessor, tried to defuse the tensions and worked on his mission to reach an agreement between the two countries. India yet again refused to implement the solution of demilitarization (Gupta, 2012). Due to international pressure exerted by countries like UK and US, Pakistan and India commenced talks on 16 May 1963 with the name of Bhuto-Sawarn talks. These talks could not produce any amicable outcome. The relations of Pakistan and India were further strained when both countries waged a war on each other on 6 September 1965. This long war of 17 days came to an end with the issuance of resolution by United Nations Security Council in which both of the countries were asked to practice restraint (Ali & Mujahid, 2015). In 1966, Tashkent Agreement was reached with the help of Soviet Union which emphasized that both countries would play their role in creating good neighbourly relations in line with the United Nations Charter (ibid).

The Tashkent agreement also failed as a result of sudden death of Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the disengagement of Soviet Union from the peace process (Ashraf, 2015). India and Pakistan went to another major armed conflict which emanated from a civil row in the then East Pakistan in November, 1971 as a consequence of which Bangladesh emerged (ibid). Then in 1984, another war-like confrontation occurred when Pakistani Intelligence reported that India was planning an air attack on Pakistani uranium enrichment plants in Kahuta (Sattar, 2013). This standoff did not last long, however the general severity of the relations continued in one way or the other. It was not until 1999, when the relations between the two countries turned to a historic improvements. This was the moment when Lahore-Delhi bus service was initiated after the visit of Atal Behari Vajpayee to Pakistan invited by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif (Ali & Mujahid, 2015). At the ground-breaking meeting, bilateral, regional and international issues came under discussion. This talk also included the most sensitive issue of both countries, namely Kashmir (ibid). However this peace process was halted soon at the wake of Kargil crises. Being betrayed, India receded from the peace-talks (Gupta, 2005).

The peace was given a chance yet another time when the President of Pakistan visited India in 2001 for a summit meeting with Prime Minister Vajpayee in Agra. However the stand-off continued as both countries showed unwillingness to practice flexible attitude (Gupta, 2005). The process of reconciliation was finally resumed in 2003 when cease-fire along the LoC was announced which also provided the basis for composite dialogue in January 2004 (Ashraf, 2015). The SAARC conferences, intense behind-the-door diplomacy, reduced visa restrictions and Confidence Building Measures (CBM) contributed to a healthy peace process between the two countries till 2008. The bus service of Sirinagar-Muzaffarabad, India's aid to Pakistan in 2005 earthquake and opening of five points in LoC in November 2005 further improved and created an environment that was conducive to talks (Ashraf, 2015). This was a unique opportunity for both countries to solve all of their outstanding issues.

All of these measures, however, proved futile as some terrorists attacked in Mumbai in December, 2008. India directed the allegations towards Pakistan which the later categorically rejected. Pakistani gave the offer of holding a joint investigations of the attack which India refused (Ahmad & Ebert, 2013). Two successive governments in Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party in 2008 and Pakistan Muslim League-N in 2013 repeatedly offered to start the peace dialogue but India did not reciprocate (Ashraf, 2015).

The foreign policies of both countries about each other have always been driven by these confrontational relations discussed above. According to Muhammad Khan (2015, p. 14): "Foreign policy, solely guided by a country's national interest, is used as a tool by a particular country for dealing with the outside world in various areas such as security, economy, trade, commerce, culture and technology." Moreover, foreign policy of a country in fact is a reflection of a country's domestic environment and it keeps changing according to the requirements of a country's objectives, national interests and the needs of domestic as well as international environment (ibid).

One of the major objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy has been "to find the resolution of all disputes with India including the issue of Kashmir... (and to) raise the Kashmir issue on international forums" (Khan, 2015, p. 16). Moreover, Kashmir is a

disputed territory and Indian occupation there is illegal and an unjust oppressive foreign aggression. On the other hand, one of the objectives of Indian foreign policy is delineating the armed struggle in Kashmir as terrorism being sponsored and supported by Pakistan (ibid). The objective of such foreign policy of India was to create similarity of terrorism in Afghanistan with that of Kashmir (ibid). These foreign policies are well reflected in the speeches made by the respective delegations in UNGA.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Metaphors are not limited to literature. Politicians use a lot of metaphors to evoke certain images in the minds of the audience especially while they are addressing the public at large. The delegations of Pakistan and India have much to talk about each other in UNGA due to their long-standing differences. If, during their speech, they used the rhetorical device of metaphors, it would be very useful to try to understand how they used metaphors as a rhetoric device for self-legitimization and delegitimization of the opposition. To understand the underlying conceptual system it is imperative to analyze the metaphors and compare the similarities and differences of the conceptual metaphors used. There may be differences in the way they employed metaphors for developing discourse suitable for their respective foreign policies. Moreover it is also necessary to understand which speech has more metaphor density and for what issue. It needs to be seen whether the intensity of the issue being highlighted in the speech is accompanied by more or less metaphors. Equally is important to investigate what images the representatives of both countries try to create by using the metaphors and, if they do, what emotional feelings they try to evoke. This is also likely to shed light on politicians' intention of using the metaphors. Keeping this in view, following research questions arise:

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What is the metaphorical density in the speeches of Pakistani and Indian delegations in UNGA?
2. What is / are the most frequent metaphor/s and metaphorical theme/s in the speeches by the representatives of both countries?

3. What are the similarities and differences in the employed metaphors?
4. What is the political reasoning behind these metaphors?

### **1.5 Research Objectives**

The objectives of the research are:

- To identify the metaphors in each speech
- To count the words and metaphors of the whole speech and find the percentage of the metaphors in terms of the words of the speech
- To count the words and metaphors in the different topics in the speech and determine the percentage of metaphors in the topics
- To organize the retrieved data of metaphors to analyze the change of percentage of metaphors in speech as well as in different topics according to historical context
- To find the source domains of metaphors whose target domains are terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition
- To discuss these selected metaphors in detail

### **1.6 Methodology**

The current research is grounded in the theory of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003). In order to analyze representative metaphorical content and the features of metaphorical language used by Pakistani and Indian speakers in UNGA, the data was collected starting from post-Kargil era to 2017. The reason for selecting this data was the worsening of the bilateral relations between the two countries at this point onwards. The speeches in the proceeding sessions of the UNGA were crucial in gathering international support. Moreover, the whole world witnessed a renewed strategy of handling terrorism after the 9/11. There were other significant happenings like cease-fire deal struck by General Musharraf which gave a considerably long respite to armed conflict on LoC until. Since the long period being covered also meant quite a lot of speeches in the form of data, the choosing of sample for the analysis was

preceded by looking at the historical context. It was supposed that the metaphorical content would be more generously used at some places than others.

The research followed the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as its basis. The protocols of identification of metaphors laid down by Praggle-Jazz (2007) group were employed. The identified metaphors have shed light on how the both sides used different or similar metaphors. The identification of the metaphors was followed by organizing the data in the excel sheet to give a clear view of the number, density and metaphorical themes of metaphors in each speech. Furthermore, the topics in the paragraphs of the speeches were determined and the number and density of metaphors was observed in these topics. Keeping in view the CMT, the metaphors related to terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition were discussed in detail.

The possible ideological motivation of the usage of metaphors has been explained by discussing the source domain and target domain of the metaphors along with the context of the metaphor and of the speech (detail explained in Review of Related Literature). The identification and analysis of the objects (the source domains) with which the target domains were compared in metaphors gave an idea of what emotions and cognitive responses the speakers wanted to invoke in their audience. In other words this last stage consisted of explaining the metaphors whose target domains were terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition. This was carried out by taking into consideration the political, socioeconomic and cultural contexts of the texts being analyzed. The purpose here was to determine the relationship between the findings and the contexts in an attempt to uncover the ideological motivations behind the choice of metaphors.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

The current research is basically built on Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson. It has following main points (see 2. for detailed explanation):

- i. There is a relation between metaphor and our cognition.
- ii. Metaphor structures our thoughts, so by studying speakers' language in the framework of Cognitive Metaphor Theory, we can see how different aspects

are conceptualized by speakers like politicians, such as economy, culture, politics, social affairs and international affairs and so on.

- iii. We use metaphor to structure our understanding of the world, so the locus of metaphor is not language, but thought, or the way we conceptualize one thing in terms of another.
- iv. Metaphors are in fact latent in our mind. Since they form part of our conception of the world, they are often used without us being aware.
- v. Since metaphors construct our abstract thoughts, they inevitably appear in everyday language.
- vi. Linguistic metaphors (speaking) realize conceptual metaphors (thinking). The image through which an abstract idea is conveyed is called Source Domain while the target idea is called the Target Domain.
- vii. The most important notion of Cognitive Metaphor Theory is the mapping, in which a metaphor can be understood as a mapping from a source domain to a target domain.
- viii. Conventionally, conceptual metaphors are presented as capitalized formula A IS B, where A is the target domain and B is the source domain, with (A) being described as (B).
- ix. Very often, the target (A) is abstract while the source (B) is more concrete, so through mapping with concrete source (B), abstract target (A) is reified by source (B).
- x. Also, metaphor is traditionally viewed as a reflection of 'similarity' between the source and target ideas; however, it is strongly emphasized by Lakoff and Johnson and other cognitive linguists that there is asymmetrical directionality of mapping.
- xi. Since conceptual metaphors are our thoughts, they are highly related to our experience which shapes our thoughts.



- xii. Metaphor affects our behavior as well. Metaphors are the way people conceive of things, and people act according to how they conceive of things.
- xiii. Metaphorically processed information can affect audience's views.
- xiv. One of the main strategic functions of metaphors is legitimization and delegitimization and the other is representation and misrepresentation.

## **1.8 Works Already Done**

A number of studies have looked into the use of metaphors in political speeches. Scholars in linguistics and in political science have moved towards investigating the use of metaphors in various political domains. Lakoff, for instance, gave an account of American politics regarding conceptual metaphors (1996, 2004). Musolff has analyzed how people conceive and hence speak about Europe (1996, 2000, 2004) but also about the Holocaust (2010) in metaphorical terms. Beers and De Landtsheer (2004) have explored the use of metaphors in international relations, while Charteris-Black (2011) has made an analysis of persuasive powers of metaphors in the speeches by major British and American politicians. While the sports metaphors were explored by Archer and Cohen (1998), Billing and Macmillan (2005) explored the relation of metaphors with politics. Deignan (2005) made a research on the help that can be gained from corpus linguistics for analyzing metaphors. Fahad (2018) explored the business writings with a focus on the use of metaphors. However, no study has been made so far in terms of usage of metaphors by Pakistani and Indian delegations in UNGA. This topic is still unexplored.

## **1.9 Delimitations of Current Study**

The current research will only explore the speeches made by Indian and Pakistani delegations in UNGA during the period starting from 1999 to 2017. Six speeches made by the representatives from each country in 1999, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2017 have been selected as a sample. In their speeches, both delegations talked about a number of issues like democracy, poverty, development, nuclear issues, climate change etc. Hence there were scores of target domains of metaphors in their speeches. However, the detailed

analysis of source domain and target domain of only those metaphors has been made of which target domains are terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition.

### **1.10 Significance of the Study**

The current study is grounded in the CMT. One of the main points of this theory is that metaphors are also used by politicians for political ends. Since Pakistan and India have always had confrontational past, studying their use of metaphors in their speeches in UNGA can highlight how they have used metaphors for creating discourses regarding terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition directed at international audience. Thus the study can add to the existing knowledge of using metaphors for persuasive goals with reference to the speeches of Pakistani and Indian delegations in UNGA, a topic which is yet to be explored.

### **1.11 Rationale for Selecting Speeches in UN**

Every September, the delegations of the states and other high-level country representatives attend United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in New York in the beginning of a new session. They make speeches in the Assembly which provides the governments of UN member states with a chance to show their ideas and thoughts on international matters like terrorism, development, climate change, and other major issues in international politics. Baturo (2017, p. 5) mentions the words of the Deputy Representative of the Finnish Mission to the UN: “speeches at the General Debate are interesting because they flesh out national policies – what states think... the General Debate is the one place where states can speak their mind; it reflects the issues that states consider important”. Therefore, the speeches made in GA are very significant and, largely untapped source of information on governments’ foreign policies. The analysis of these speeches can broaden the understanding of the discourses of the governments of different countries. Since this is a place where the representatives of different countries get directly engaged in debate with other representatives of states, there is an opportunity for framing international opinion through a language. In this way studying their language can show how they are trying to influence the international audience by building certain discourses. As metaphors are one of the tools of rhetoric, used for political ends, it was supposed that

both Pakistani and Indian delegations would also make use of metaphors to achieve their political ends.

### **1.12 Structure of the Thesis**

The first chapter of introduction is followed by the chapter of literature review which provides a review of latest readings on the relevant topics. The third chapter introduces the detailed methodology adopted for the study. This is proceeded by the discussion and analysis which constitute chapter 4. The final chapter encompasses the findings of the study, conclusion and the recommendations.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a detailed review of the related literature. It includes a discussion on the traditional view of metaphor compared with recent views of cognitive metaphors. A detailed review of the works on the use of metaphors in politics has also been included.

#### 2.1 Metaphors

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary (2018), “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them” is called a metaphor. The meaning of this word has been derived from “*Metaphora*”, a Greek noun that gives the meaning of a transfer (Oxford-Dictionaries, 2018). It is different from a simile in a way that it makes a comparison between two terms avoiding the use of “as” or “like”.

The recorded use of metaphors can be traced to as long ago as the time of Aristotle and there are assumptions that people might have used them even before that (Gibbs, 1994). The metaphor compares the domains which are different classes of experience to help develop a kind of understanding which is new and different from common assumptions (Burkholder & Henry, 2009). The concepts that are intended to be compared in the metaphors are called *focus* and *frame*. The *focus* is the major object or the topic under discussion. *Frame* is a totally different field from the focus and is used to shed some light on it. The purpose of putting the focus and frame together is to make the hearer to look at one concept through the other (Burkholder & Henry, 2009). For the metaphor to be successful in making the audience look at one concept through the other, however, the common knowledge and shared experiences of the speaker and hearer are prerequisites (Burkholder & Henry, 2009). This cooperation from the both ends gives the power to the metaphor to leave a desired effect on the audience.

One class of metaphor is called absolute metaphors in which the source domain and target domains are clearly distinguishable. There are some metaphors which are complex

in nature due to the fact that their source domains are multiple. They are formed through a combination of primary metaphors. A metaphor that does not call much attention or tension between the source domain and target domain due to their over-use in the society is called a conventional metaphor. Those which have completely lost their figurative and imaginative effectiveness are called dead metaphors. While the root metaphors are those which shapes an individual perception of the world and interpretation of the reality, a therapeutic metaphor is the one which is used by a therapist to assist the client in the process of personal transformation.

## 2.2 Traditional Metaphor Theory

The definition of the use of metaphor throughout history was perceived through its decorative potential. The field of rhetoric was pioneered by Aristotle who held that the function of metaphor was limited to embellishment. He argued that metaphors cannot be used in everyday common language and argumentation because they are complex and ambiguous (Lesz, 2011). This idea limits the extended use and inherent potential of metaphor to mere poetic and ornamental. It was not viewed in terms of its possible influence in shaping the concepts of the hearer. The reason why metaphor was considered as restricted to only literature was that the understanding of the metaphor needs more mental processing on the part of the hearer (Deignan, 2005). This fact has been used to draw a line between common and poetic language (Lesz, 2011).

So, in traditional view, metaphors were a tool for decoration in language only. This viewpoint had been conceived as truth for centuries (Lakoff, 1993). Accordingly, metaphors are merely an adorning of language as they are mostly used in poems. Lakoff gives some examples from poetry such as (1993, p. 202):

Do not go gentle into that good night. -Dylan Thomas

Death is the mother of beauty. -Wallace Stevens, "Sunday Morning"

The words *go*, *other* and *night* are not used in their literal and ordinary sense. In view of the classical theorists, they have been used metaphorically to decorate the poetic expressions to appeal to the emotions of the reader (ibid). So there is a distinction between literal and figurative language. Lakoff (1993, p. 204) states some assumptions regarding

the traditional metaphor theory: “All everyday conventional language is literal, and none is metaphorical. All subject matter can be comprehended literally, without metaphor. Only literal language can be contingently true or false. All definitions given in the lexicon of a language are literal...”

These assumptions highlight in the traditional view that people in their practical and everyday ordinary languages do not use metaphorical language. They only become handy in poetic language for the ornamental purpose. This assumption follows that everyday conventional language is literal (ibid). Moreover, since metaphors are the property of literary field only, it is the matter of language and not of thought (ibid). Traditional metaphor theorists believe that metaphors are the expressions specific for poetics and are not the part of normal meaning which entails that “what is literal is not metaphorical” (ibid). This also follows that matters can be understood literally without metaphors and in this way these theorists made the metaphors isolated from our everyday language, life and thoughts and made it limited it to the world of literature. This theory was regarded the only plausible understanding of the metaphors for over centuries (ibid) until the twentieth century when Conceptual Metaphor Theory emerged.

### **2.3 Cognitive Metaphor Theory**

Cognitive Metaphor Theory is also termed as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Its fundamental point of view is that metaphors have a huge contribution in our thoughts. The inter-relation of metaphors and our experience form our conceptual system. Hence, metaphor is an integrated part of the thought and language system (Lakoff, 1993). Metaphor was systematically discussed for the first time by Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) wherein they provided a much broader view of the metaphors.

Cognitive Metaphor Theory states that a metaphor “plays a central role in thought, and is indispensable to both thought and language” (Deignan, 2005, p. 4). One of the foremost beliefs of this theory is that people use metaphors in order to structure their understanding of the realities around them. Therefore, the primary sphere where the metaphors are to be studied are not the language but the thoughts where the views of the

realities of the world have been organized and structured through metaphors (Lakoff, 1993). In ‘Our relationship has hit a dead-end street’ it can be noticed that love is being expressed as a journey and its coming to an end has been compared to reaching the end of the street that is closed ahead. The lovers cannot proceed ahead and should either retreat or face the consequences of its coming to an end (Lakoff, 1993). Lakoff continues to explain further that there are many other examples of expressions in English that people use in their everyday ordinary language. The examples include ‘It’s been *bumpy road*. *We can’t turn back* now. *We’re at crossroads*.

So, it can be said that everyday language abounds with metaphors. They have a great importance in our everyday communication because they give shape to the way we form concepts. Throughout their writings, the writers take the help of the semantically related metaphors to express their thoughts (Deignan, 2005). These metaphors are a great help for the readers in understanding otherwise difficult concepts. The comparison of these difficult concepts with that of our everyday clear and easy-to-grasp concepts brings clarity of the message conveyed (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Moreover, people are often not aware of the metaphorical structuring in their minds as this process is sometimes hidden (Goatly, 2007). They see things in terms of others but are not aware how and when they began viewing them in the way they do. When it comes to abstract concepts, the vehicle of metaphors exploited to understand these concepts abound. It is because people depend enormously on metaphors to express abstract concepts. TIME PASSING IS MOTION, for example, is a metaphor that we pervasively use in our everyday language: “The time will come when ... The time has long since gone when... The time for action has arrived. That time is here. In the weeks following next Tuesday... On the preceding day... I’m looking ahead to Christmas...” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 217).

In ‘the time will come when...’ it can be seen that time is moving from one place to another. Its movement has been compared to other bodily objects that travel and reach their destination. Similarly ‘time is here’ suggests that the time has come from somewhere to the place of the speakers. It is also worth-noting here that time is also being conceptualized as being ENTITY and possessing a body. It is also being shown as

LOCATIONS. People refer to time in this way because they can physically see different bodies moving, understand size and properties of entities and find locations. In contrast, they can neither see time nor can make sense of its movement or measure it physically in terms of worth and size. So, it is not surprising that they take time in terms of other physical bodies and locations moving or fixed with their apparent value and worth. It would be hard for them to refer to time without these vehicles (Lakoff, 1993).

This follows that the reason there are linguistic expressions of the metaphors is the existence of conceptual metaphors in our mind. In other words, the linguistic manifestations are the secondary step of primary metaphoric structuring in our thoughts. As metaphors lie at the center in the construction of our thoughts, they unavoidably come in our everyday language. Hence metaphors are ubiquitous and are a part and parcel of our everyday ordinary language (Lakoff, 1993). While suggesting that metaphors are widespread in our language, Goatly (2007, p. 13) puts it: “The first aspect of metaphor that the conceptual theorists stress is that it is everywhere”. In terms of their frequency, it is also true that as they cannot be separated from our everyday experiences and expressions, we use them frequently (Gibbs, 1994).

Language is used in all domains of life like science, culture, medicine, law so on and so forth. Metaphors are present in all forms of these languages (Gibbs, 1994). There is a difference between conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors that are also referred to as metaphorical expressions. Linguistic metaphors (speaking) are used for the manifestation of conceptual metaphors (thinking) (Deignan, 2005). *I am feeling up*, for example, is the manifestation of the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP. *That boosted my spirit* is also a linguistic expression of same conceptual metaphor of HAPPY IS UP.

#### **2.4 Mapping, Source\Target Domain**

Mapping is associating some elements of one set with that of another set. In the notion of CMT, this is a significant conception. This notion implies the understanding of a metaphor by mapping the elements of source domain to that of target domain. In simpler words, a part of the source domain is associated to the part of the target domain to explain the nature of the target domain. For example, LOVE IS JOURNEY is a metaphor in which



love is represented as journey. The source domain is journey while the target domain is love. The correspondences in the mapping are ontological (Lakoff, 1993). The aspects in LOVE like the lovers, their goals and destinations and difficulties relate to the aspects in JOURNEY like travelers, vehicles, destinations and so on.

The convention presenting the conceptual metaphors is capitalizing the formula A IS B. A is the target domain while B is the source domain. This implies that A is being described as B (Goatly, 2007). More often the target domain is abstract while the source domain is concrete. In this way, by the help of the mapping, the abstract ideas A that are more difficult to grasp are presented through the shades of the source B (ibid). Again the example of LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be helpful in understanding this idea. This metaphor reifies LOVE through concrete source of JOURNEY. When the metaphors such as *We are at crossroads* and *We are stuck* are uttered while referring to the love relationship, the understanding of love is sorted out through the domain of journey. It is because journey is an easier vehicle of understanding more complex and abstract conception of love. This example highlights the area of love experience as mapped onto the domain of journey experience (1993). Almost everyone of the people in the society has had experiences of journeys in their lives. In the given metaphor, the understanding of the details of how a journey is done and how we feel about it is used to comprehend the experiences of love. This means that the domain of journey experiences becomes a window for looking at how love works and the knowledge of journey becomes handy in reasoning the love (ibid).

Another example is ANGER IS FIRE. The explanation of the connection of source and target domains in this example shows that both the anger and the fire can be kept in check and they both can intensify enormously if allowed to flow. Hence, a person who is in a state of anger is comparable to something that is on fire. The source of fire, in this metaphor, is being mapped on the target of anger metaphorically. The state of the person in anger is understood by the existing knowledge of the fire. The processed idea is that a person in anger is just as intense as a fire is. The examples shows how the knowledge of one domain is used to make understanding of the other. In this way, conceptual metaphors are the presentation of connection between two ideas in the mind.

## 2.5 Metaphorical Themes

Apart from Mapping, another important aspect of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is Conceptual Metaphor Themes. The themes are the sets and patterns of concrete sources for the abstract ideas. The source domains are not random or incidental group of objects from where one or two of them are picked to be used for the metaphor. Nor they occur in isolation. But, in fact, they belong to sets and have their sub categories (Goatly, 2007). Here Lakoff has made a very critical point and has drawn a contrast between traditional metaphor theory and Cognitive Metaphor Theory. By giving example of the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY as primary theme, he explains that the further linguistic metaphors based on such main theme are not random. Nor are they mere a matter of haphazard selection of linguistic expressions. Many aspects of journey are associated with that of love. Every time those sub-ordinate aspects are joined from two groups, they keep yielding further metaphors (Lakoff, 1993). *Dead-end street* (the end of the relation of love), *crossroads* (the intersection where the lovers can choose same or different direction), *stuck in a journey* (lovers are in an undesirable love relationship and cannot come out of it) and many more like these expressions are originated from the same metaphor, LOVE IS A JOURNEY (ibid). As Lakoff (1993, p. 210) says: “Mappings should not be thought of as processes, or as algorithms that mechanically take source domain inputs and produce target domain outputs.”

It is not necessary that only one source domain is used for any target domain. Another feature in the mapping of the metaphors is the diversification. Sometimes two different source domains are mapped on for one target domain. This is also called simultaneous mappings (Lakoff, 1993). In the examples of *Your love burns my heart* and *Would you like to walk with me on this road of love?*, there are two source domains from where some aspects are being used to map on to the target domain of love: LOVE IS HEAT and LOVE IS JOURNEY respectively. Both domains have been used for the description of love (Goatly, 2007).

There are also examples of metaphors which offer a contrast to the diversification of the metaphors. In these types of metaphors, one source domain is used for two target

domains. This is called the multivalency of metaphors (ibid). The source JOURNEY can be applied to target domain of LOVE as well as PEACE. For example: *This is my journey of love* and *The journey to peace is tough*. In the first sentence the source domain is being used for explaining the goings of love while the second one shows that the same domain is being used to illustrate the target domain of peace explaining what it is like struggling for creating peace. The diversification and multivalency of the metaphors are the evidence that prove the weaknesses in traditional metaphor theory as it takes the mapping as a finite set of input and output. It suggests that there is an input of literal meaning giving out an output of metaphorical meaning without accounting for diverse domains for a single target. Nor does it account for the similar metaphorical source for diverse target domains (Lakoff, 1993).

Metaphors can further be divided into super-ordinate and basic level categories. The former ones are generative. This means that the super-ordinate category can yield more categories and specific items which can be exploited to give subtle comparisons. This adds richness and creativity to the users' language. For example the modes of transportations like train, plane, car and ship etc. are the descendant items of the super-ordinate category of vehicle. It shows how more items can be provided as raw material of mapping for linguistic metaphors from a single conceptual metaphor (ibid). The super-ordinate level of mapping widens the scope of associating conceptual structures from the source domain to the target domain as it can afford so many basic level examples (ibid). More often, practically, it is the super-ordinate level where mapping occurs instead of basic levels. It is more likely that people will map LOVE onto JOURNEY rather than LOVE onto BOATS or CARS. More general selection of super-ordinate as source domain can allow more items under it that can be used for mapping, hence an extensive metaphor set or metaphor network therewith (ibid).

While discussing the mapping of source domain onto the target domain, however, Lakoff and Turner (1989) are of the view that this mapping is not without limits. They have introduced a principle of mapping called 'The Invariance Principle' (Lakoff, 1993, p. 215): "Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target

domain.” Hence, accordingly, any violation of the image-schematic structure would be a violation of this principle. This entails that, for example, an interior of source domain cannot be mapped onto the exterior of the target domain and that image-schema structure must be preserved in each and every metaphorical mapping (ibid).

Furthermore, the basis of the metaphor is the similarity that exists between the source domain and the target domain. The sameness between the two domains trigger the metaphor. Moreover, the directionality between the source and target domain is one-sided. In other words, the directionality of mapping is not symmetrical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). As metaphor contains a source domain and a target domain wherein the target domain A is presented as B while the reverse is not meant. This means that B is not presented as A. For example, in LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, LOVE is A (target domain) and JOURNEY is B (source domain). Love is being presented as a journey but journey is not being presented like love (ibid). To explain the economic and political circumstances, weather can be a vehicle as source target but not the other way round (Goatly, 2007). Therefore there is no free mapping between source domain and target domain because the way people conceptualize things or ideas determines the uni-directionality of similarity.

Source domain and target domain in a metaphor are similar but not identical. This follows that there are some differences also between the two but in metaphors only the similar items are mapped while the opposing ones are ignored or kept hidden. In relation with the source domain, the target domain is just partly understood (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). More precisely, the very metaphoricity exists in a metaphor because of the unidenticality between its two domains. The difference, in fact, allows both metaphorical and literal sense. A complete accurate picture can never be given through a metaphor. The vehicle highlights some aspects of the topic and hides the others (ibid).

## **2.6 Poetic and Conceptual Metaphors**

If Cognitive metaphors are commonly found in the daily expressions, where do the poetic metaphors stand and how are they different from the former? The theory of Cognitive Metaphor shows that poetic metaphors originate in conceptual metaphors (Lakoff, 1993). In other words, conceptual metaphors provide the foundations to the

metaphors that are poetic. If we want to understand the poetic metaphors, it is imperative to understand conceptual metaphors first from where the poetic ones are originating (ibid). However, the conventional metaphors are more frequent and common than poetic metaphors (ibid). Lakoff (1993, p. 237) has demonstrated by the following example taken from Dante's *Divine Comedy* as to how poetic metaphors rely on the conceptual metaphor system: "In the middle of life's road, I found myself in a dark wood."

The given example shows how the conventional metaphors provide basis for the poetic metaphors. The metaphor 'life's road' is novel and is the result of the association of the life domain and journey domain. This proves that the metaphor under discussion comes from the conceptual metaphor *LIFE IS A JOURNEY* (ibid). The other metaphor 'I found myself in a dark wood' has its basis in *KNOWING IS SEEING* metaphor. Just the way a person stranded in the forest cannot clearly know which direction leads to the way out, the metaphor applies that a person is unable to decide which life goal to follow. The poetic metaphors are different as they are 'one shot metaphors'. Since they are new, the listener requires more time to fully grasp the intended meaning (ibid). In contrast, cognitive ones are already well understood, so less time is needed to understand them (Goatly, 2007).

## **2.7 Metaphors and Political Discourses**

The domain of studying political discourse is far from new. Greco-Roman code of rhetoric was central to the training of political speakers in Greek era. This was also a kind of framework against which the linguistic behaviors were observed (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). This shows that politics and language used by politicians have been interesting objects of studies for centuries. Greeks found language as a vehicle for finding truth, giving expression to art or persuading. The most vital result of all these observations was the treatises on oratory (Laswell, 1968). Diogenes Laertius is a biographer of Greek philosophers. According to him (1853) it was the extra-ordinary oral skill of Empedocles that forced Aristotle to think him as the inventor of rhetoric. The Sophists of the fifth century (BC) were considered very important in Athenian democracy which was grounded in the skills to observe, analyze and counter-attack the opponents' arguments (Pomeroy, 2004). Socrates was, however, against Sophists because he thought if rhetoric, rather than

philosophy, guided the lives of people, the pursuit of the good would be overshadowed by the pursuit of happiness. He feared that this kind of state would result in moral chaos (Taylor, 2000). Plato also concluded that Sophists' form of rhetoric was only meant for tricking and seducing the ignorant and naïve audience and that the only valid kind of rhetoric was that of philosophy (Garcia, 2005).

In the time of Romans, the most influential work regarding rhetoric was Cicero's *On the Public Speaker* (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997) and having a training in rhetoric skill was considered essential for personal and professional gains (Herrick, 2005). Then in the medieval period, the study of ecclesiastical oratory was a window to medieval political language in which the art of rhetoric was essential to achieving the purpose of preaching Christianity to the illiterate people (Laswell, 1968; Herrick, 2005). The status of rhetoric was further heightened from fourteen to seventeen century when the scholars like Petrarch and Valla gave more attention to rhetoric than philosophy. They established that rhetoric was the basis of study. The greatest achievements and importance of rhetoric were attained in the period of Renaissance (ibid). In his satirical novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, George Orwell brought the potential of the political language to light in which a new language 'Newspeak' is used to replace old language 'Oldspeak' to serve the political purposes of the regime (Joseph, 2006).

The analysis of political discourse in linguistics came to limelight since 1980s (Wilson, 2001). The term of discourse analysis was first introduced by Zellig Harris in 1952 for studying connected forms of speech or writing (Malmkjær, 1991). The relation of preserving, discovering or challenging power with language were explored and analyzed by Foucault, Derrida and Weaver (Herrick, 2005). Scholars have come to the conclusion now that the use of strategic language is imperative for doing politics (Chilton, 2004). The realization of the relation between politics and language, along with the massive print and electronic media expansion in last few decades, has resulted into the establishing the field of critical analysis of discourses (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). A series of books and articles by Norman Fairclough have further developed this field that have made a major influence on scores of researches and scholars throughout the world (Pennycook, 2001).

### **2.7.1 The Social Role of Metaphor**

Many studies have suggested that metaphors have been used by humans since the recorded history. The matters pertaining to religion, spirituality, ceremonies etc. have been expressed by using metaphors. The cognitive-experientialist linguistic school adherents link language to the thoughts, imagination and bodily functions of the people. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) humans organize and conceptualize their experiences by means of metaphors. They maintain that humans use language as a tool to express and comprehend reality. As metaphor is persistent in our everyday expression and comprehension, it helps to create and frame views thereby becoming a force in shaping behavior (Derrida, 1982).

The imagery evoked by the metaphors can be very useful in expressing meanings (Archer & Cohen, 1998). Since antiquity humans have used them to give expressions to their emotions like love, joy and sorrow etc. (Kovecses, 2000). Suggestions have also been made that metaphors can create falsehood because they have the potential to fade the differences and bring the misleading similarities to light between the compared subjects (Katz, 1996). Metaphors have been pushing the limits of the language and thought as they are not as well defined or categorized as literal language is (Gozzi, 1999). This creative ability of the metaphors had been established as early as in the time of Aristotle. By highlighting particular structural similarities which are shared by two objects, metaphors function as a bridge (ibid). This way of making comparison offers newer ways, paths and insights into the domain that would be difficult to understand otherwise.

### **2.7.2 Relation between Metaphor and our Experience**

According to Cognitive Metaphor Theory, metaphor plays a huge role in the embodied experience of human beings. Many scholars like Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1993), Deignan (2005), Kovecses (2008) have discussed this relations between the experiences of human beings and metaphors. The experiences that human beings face in their lives shape their thoughts. As the conceptual metaphors are their thoughts, they are considerably connected with their experiences. The theorists of cognitive science have claimed and shown that the conceptual metaphors find their origin in our everyday

experiences. The metaphorical expressions like the prices rose, exports are down etc. have their roots in the common metaphorical theme that MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN (Lakoff, 1993). Additionally, metaphors are not created out of the strokes of chances or random creative impulses. They are rather built upon and extracted from the everyday happenings in the physical world. When, for example, the liquid is poured into some pot or container, its result has a physical evidence and can be viewed. The level of the liquid in the container can be physically seen rising as the more water is added. So the increase in quantity results in upward verticality. Hence quantity and verticality are conceived as related (ibid). This exact correspondence may not be existing in many other cases of our experiences like that of exports. The change in the exports cannot be physically viewed or witnessed and hence there is no real viewable relation between the quantity and the verticality in this case. However we still show such relation in our language which is the result of viewing regular correspondences in many other cases like that of seeing water rising in the container as more amount is added. This physical witnessing over and over again makes it natural for us to link quantity with verticality and conceptualize it as such (ibid).

ANGER IS FIRE is another example of such applied correspondences. In physical terms, there is no relation between the two domains. Anger is a high degree of emotional and mental response that involves agitation, irksomeness or retribution etc. In other words it is a hostile response to a threat or provocation. While fire is a physical entity involving combustion and burning that result in heat and smoke. In an event of anger, we also feel hot physically (Kovecses, 2008). This leads to the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE and to the expressions of language like ‘His anger is smoldering’. The process of knowing involves the act of seeing, hence the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING. Similarly, since we have to physically move ahead to be able to reach a destination, it is correspondingly applied for ACHIEVING A PURPOSE. Just as we have to take steps to move from one place to another, in the similar way we have to keep moving on to achieve a purpose. So, ACHIEVING A PURPOSE is like REACHING A DESTINATION (Lakoff, 1993). According to Sweetser (1990) another metaphor that is extensively used in many languages in many culture is that UNDERSTANDING IS SEIZING. This is due to the fact that we



take understanding and knowing as a further extension into our daily experiences (Deignan, 2005). That is why grasping an object is taken and used as grasping an idea.

Our behavior is also affected by metaphors. People perceive the things around them in line with the metaphors. Their actions naturally follow these perceptions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). It is commonly observed that the goods with discounts are placed in the bargain basement because the metaphorical theme of LESS IS LOW affects us (Goatly, 2007). The metaphor REFUGEES ARE FLOODS is another example of this kind. Refugees have metaphorically been described as floods by newspapers and politicians frequently which has, therefore, influenced the point of views and attitudes of people in terms of refugees (Refaie, 2001; Semino, 2008). In physical terms, flood is a natural disaster caused by immense rains. Wherever it flows, it results in damages to the property and creates deaths and chaos. It unsettles the established colonies, its systems and hence the normal goings of lives of the residents. Conventionally, the aspects of floods have been applied in describing the incoming immigrants to depict the possible threats that they can cause to the native people, their property, belongings and rights. The effect of this metaphor leads people to think of immigrants as damaging as floods which is a prejudiced, unwelcoming and hostile behavior to refugees (Semino, 2008).

### **2.7.3 Communicative Functions of Metaphor**

The inexpressibility of language, the compactness and vividness of metaphors are three overlapping hypotheses in terms of the communicative functions of metaphors mentioned in *The Poetics of mind* (Gibbs, 1994). Language is a vehicle that human beings use to communicate with each other. There are situations when people have to communicate abstract concepts which are hard to express or very often impossible because they cannot illustrate literally. This shows the inexpressibility of the language (ibid). To express the depth of love, 'I love you so much' can be insufficient. The addition of one or more exclamation marks can show more intensity but it is still not enough. Metaphors can help to fill the gap of the communication in this situation expressing more than what a literal language can afford. The expression of love can be given a concrete imagery by saying 'My heart is filled with love for you'. In this example, the otherwise invisibly

abstract idea has been presented with something concrete and physical. As the speaker uses the container metaphorical expression *filled* with a most vital organ of body that is concrete and physically existing, the expression gets richer. Hence metaphors can express the concepts which are otherwise inexpressible in the literal language.

Metaphors can also lend brevity to the expressions. Some ideas take longer expressions by using too many words. Metaphor helps to reduce the number of words by making use of vast cognitive concepts rooted in the minds of the people. It connects two ideas and the comparison gives extensive meanings. Thus they can help express lots of messages with relatively fewer words (Gibbs, 1994). The simple metaphorical expression ‘You are my sun!’ entails a rich message which would require a lot more words if expressed without the metaphor.

Thirdly, metaphors add to the vividness of the idea. It creates solid images in the mind which then helps to grasp the idea in the clearer way. Moods and emotions are often presented with colours. In ‘My mood is dark’, for example shows the unhappiness by associating the mood with the darkness. The metaphor has its conceptual grounding in the fact that at the time of morning a person is full of energy with the bright sky above. So the bright sky and bright color become the representation of good mood and happiness. Similarly, the darkness of the color also has suggestiveness of the moods but it is generally towards the unpleasant moods. This connection has its origin in the night time which offers less opportunity for doing tasks easily. Thus the metaphor ‘dark mood’ finds its meaning and lends clarity to the thoughts when expressed in the language (Gibbs, 1994).

#### **2.7.4 Metaphors and the Context of Politics**

Context of the speech defines the importance of its rhetorical density. The context involves the event, people and the circumstances. The speech of Martin Luther King “I Have a Dream” had its effect because it was delivered at an intensified situation i.e. the fight against discrimination. The dream was still to be achieved and during the speech a plenty of images were used to reinforce the discourse (Farrell & Young, 2007). The choices of rhetoric are dependent on the context of the speech. Hence, it is imperative that the context be studied to understand the rhetoric of the speech.

The physical context of the event and the socio-political surroundings are the two components that form a context. It can be illustrated by the address of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg who chose to give this speech near the battlefield and the graves of the battle and said: “We are met on a great battlefield of that war; we have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place” (Hill, 2009, p. 50). In the context of the politics, the decision of visiting Gettysburg was a pure political one keeping in view the importance of the event, the commemoration of the bloody battle. The other motive was that he was eyeing the upcoming presidential campaign (ibid).

There are many other researches that have contributed to the studies of metaphors in context of the political discourses. A research by Musolff (2000) studied the public debates about EU politics in Britain and Germany during 1990s. The focus of the studies was the metaphors and found that there were seven main source domains like MOVEMENT, TRAVEL, GEOMETRIC AND ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES etc. (Musolff, 2000). Zinken and Bolotova (2004) looked for the most occurring metaphor models in terms of EU integration in the discourses of Germany and Russia. The researchers came to the conclusion that the metaphors used in the discourses were directly motivated by semantic models. They suggested that the interpretation should be grounded with the social context to understand the meaningful selection of the metaphors in the given scenarios (ibid).

The area of politics roughly involves individuals, groups as well as institutions. Among individuals there can be common citizens, heads of state, journalists or members of the party. The groups can vary from the organized political parties to other social groups having like-minded individuals with common goals and aspirations. Apart from that, the institutions like governments, educational bodies etc. also come in the domain of politics. The activities generally include electoral process, campaign, legislation and demonstrations. The genres may include the speeches made by individuals, reports in the media, dialogue etc. There are also specific discourses in politics. In other words, politics means the processes through which the power is acquired, maintained, negotiated, exercised or lost in domestic, local, national or international contexts (Semino, 2008).

There are many ways of achieving, maintaining or undermining the power. One of the most powerful of these ways that politicians use is the linguistic action i.e. employing the language to affect the views and behavior of the people to achieve their ends (ibid). The languages can transmit ideology. It may also happen that the listeners may not be aware of the fact that they are receiving and accepting an ideology being communicated to them through a language. This ideology then affects our behavior or the way we perceive of the things around us (Goatly, 2007). The repetition of the same idea makes the people start to believe in them even if they were unreal. The society will introduce certain policies to make that idea true (Hall, 2001). Hence, a language not only represents a reality that is existing already, it also helps to bring a reality into being (Foucault, 1980). Such quality of the language shows its power to influence the people. The highest effect of the language in terms of influencing the minds is when it is carrying latent ideologies. It happens when people are not aware of the process of the linguistic actions that are imprinting ideologies on their minds. All of it takes place without obstacles of judgment or reflection on the part of the listeners because they do not judge the truth or the objectiveness of commonsense. Hence language has a very significant place in the political domain and politicians use many metaphors for cognitive or representational subversion (Goatly, 2007).

Many ideas discussed in politics are abstract like good governance, beliefs, political attachments, political rivalries etc. Metaphors become needed in the political discourses due to this very reason of the complex nature of ideas. They help to simplify the complexities of the abstract issues which would otherwise be difficult to grasp. One of the major functions of a political metaphor is to connect the individual and the political idea by making audience see relations, reify abstractions, and frame complexity in manageable terms (Thompson, 1996). Be it democracy, autocracy, dictatorship or any other form of political system, politicians have made use of linguistic actions for persuasion. It becomes more frequent tools in democratic governments because the leaders have to gain people's trust by convincing them that their policies are trustworthy. In this way, language becomes a tool in legitimizing the politicians' leadership (Charteris-Black, 2011). This is also the reason why metaphors are one of the persuasive tools and hence are indispensable to the discourse of politics. Understanding metaphor, its focus through more understandable

things in frame, thus becomes a tool for understanding politics. The reorganization of the message through the metaphor transmits an essence of the message (Burkholder & Henry, 2009).

Metaphors can have an effect on the cognition of perception in such a way that even the native listeners may fail to spot the existence of metaphor in a text or speech. These features of metaphors show that they can influence the opinion and thoughts of the people and can change their vision. As the ideologies and politics go hand in hand, metaphors have a great role in shaping people's political conviction (Lesz, 2011). The connections that are engineered between source domains and target domains are immediate and direct. However, they are complex and powerful in their effect on people's attitude. Metaphors give certain suggestions in organizing our perception on some matters and form a context. This further leads to the building of policy convictions on individual as well as national level (Burkholder & Henry, 2009).

One reason why speakers make an extensive use of metaphors in their political speeches is that the metaphors make complex issues comprehensible for masses. They turn expert knowledge into layman knowledge. There is, however, another side to this picture. The use of metaphors gives a ground of liberty to the decoder (listener) to decode the message according to their own understanding. In this way, the speakers are not directly responsible or committed to what has been perceived by the other side (Musolff, 2000). "It is the uncertainty and unpredictability of political developments that makes metaphors useful for public debate: they can indicate possible or probable future events and practical solutions... without committing their users to a definite course of action." (Musolff, 2000, p. 7)

As the metaphors give structure to the human conceptual system, they highlight a desired or intended part or facet of concept while hiding the other (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Hence, the ability of the metaphor to disguise particular part of and engineer with reality seems to be very appealing to the politicians. This also means that they are a great tool for manipulating. Just like the visual inputs, they can work as mnemonic, thereby leaving much more lasting effects on the mind of the listeners than a literal language does.

There are researches which have shown that the right hemisphere of the human brain processes the visual content. This is the very hemisphere which deals with the locus of emotion. “The right hemisphere operates in a *gestalthaft*, holistic processing mode. ... In the right hemisphere, the visual object images are perceived and stored... The right hemispheric representation includes not only the visual picture as such but also emotions and affects ...” (Glezerman & Balkoski, 1999, p. 47).

The comparison of mental images brought up by metaphors with visual images can show how effective these metaphors can be as mnemonic devices. The way metaphors have the ability to create images, takes it closer to what Van Dijk (1998, p. 4) calls “the process of image construction” (Hellsten, 2002). In this way it becomes “our principal vehicles for understanding” our physical, social and inner world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 159). As in words of Musolff (2012, p. 302): “...a perspective on metaphor as a conceptually significant, even central, cognitive mechanism matches the research interests of CDA to a large extent... a continuous stream of cognitively orientated CDA analyses of metaphor has been published over the past decades...”

This shows the reason of the existence of frequent metaphors in the field of politics because it is a tool legitimizing the political actions (Charteris-Black, 2005). An example of this claim is Bush’s legitimizing the war on Iraq by using of metaphors in order to firstly depersonalize and then demonize this country (ibid). The use of metaphors in the speech can add vigour to it. It can also make it more memorable besides arousing emotional response. The extent to which a metaphor can arouse emotions can be illustrated by the example of calling someone in politics a *Hitler*. Instead of giving details of proofs or illustrations, simply calling a person by this name creates an allusion between the two persons. With their existing knowledge about Hitler, the listeners will abruptly associate the wrong-doings of this person with that being referred to at present. This power of creating an emotional response with a fewest details is the very reason of using metaphors in political speeches. *I have a dream* by Martin Luther King Jr., *Thousand points to light* by George W. Bush and *Iron Curtain* are some of the most influential speeches in which metaphors were used (Mio, Riggio, Levin, & Reese, 2005).

The more there are metaphorical content in the political speeches, the more inspirational value they will have for the followers. It is mainly because of the emotions that they arouse (ibid). The study by Mio (2005) on the charisma of American presidents revealed that the charismatic qualities were attached to those who used twice as many metaphors as others did. That politicians use the power of metaphor as a tool of persuasion, has also been claimed by many current political theorists as well as psychologists. They are of the view that politicians, while using metaphor, deliberately present one thing as another to make their listeners view the reality in a desired way. The information processed by the listeners would depend upon the characteristics of this source domain (Semino, 2008). The object is looked upon not the way it is, but the way the source domain is. Charteris-black has shown in *Politician and Rhetoric* (2005) how some renowned politicians such as Tony Blair and Churchill etc. made use of metaphors to bring to light the good side of their parties and understate the negative ones.

One of the strategic functions of using the metaphors in politics, according to Chilton (2004), is affecting the behavior of other people i.e. coercion. The second function is that it is used by politicians to establish their own power as legitimate. They lend credibility to their being in power and undermine that of their opposition. The third function of the metaphors is to do with representation and misrepresentation. By this, they manage the nature of information to create the desired views of the reality (Semino, 2008). All these functions are inter-linked and work together. The politicians exploit these functions of the metaphors to create certain positive image of their party and themselves while giving negative ones of their oppositions. They do it to maintain them in the mind of the public as legitimate office holders while delegitimizing those who go against their policies.

Abstract concepts are difficult to grasp, so metaphors are used to get an idea of them. Since most of the ideas in the politics are abstract in nature, this fields allows politicians an extensive use of metaphors specially while addressing ordinary people. One reason of using these metaphors is to present the concepts in concrete way. The purpose is to use an object that people can easily and clearly think of. The other reason is to present more complex political issues in simplified manner so that they become more accessible to the general mind. Moreover, metaphors are used by politicians to make ‘quote-worthy’

expressions. These expressions are also called ‘soundbites’ (Semino, 2008, p. 84). The other functions of metaphors in the fields of politics are creating humorous effects, implying particular ideologies through metaphorical choices, creating possibility of *against the grain* interpretation of particular metaphorical expression and strategic extension and evocation of others’ metaphor (ibid).

Tony Blair once used the metaphor referring to his determined policy of going into war against terrorism saying he had no *reverse gear* and could only go *one way*. This *reverse gear* metaphor became subject of further discussion as well as criticism on him and his policy (Semino, 2008). A journalist from BBC extended the discussion by not only using the same metaphor but also extending it with more metaphorical expressions saying it was good to have a reverse gear on the edge of a cliff. He said so to make a point that if Blair went on with his policy blindly, it would produce damaging results instead of constructive ones. The criticism of the journalist through this metaphor not only gave the view of how Blair’s policy was lacking vision, it also added a humorous effect by creating an image of a vehicle standing on the edge of a cliff with only a forward gear. Therefore, it can be said that the same metaphors can be used by different speakers to create different and even opposing views and images. Tony Blair used the metaphor of *reverse gear* to show that the only option was going into the war and there was no way out. He tried to legitimize his actions by emphasizing that the act of going into war was inevitable just like a car with no reverse gear cannot choose to go back. Contrary to this, the journalist used the same metaphor to show the opposite side of the situation and attempted to delegitimize his leadership in this regard. In politics-related debates, the extension of a political rival’s metaphor, is commonly made to achieve a high persuasive power (ibid).

People’s background knowledge of the fields is an important factor in selection of objects to be used for metaphorical expressions. The source domains like SPORTS and WAR have been used extensively in the American politics. It is due to the fact that the ordinary people have access to the ideas and knowledge of sports and wars in that country. But this also gives little room for compromise or negotiations as they are not the part of SPORTS AND WAR (Gibbs, 1994). American politicians have used football and baseball extensively as source domain objects. Apart from that, they have also described the



confrontations between them and their opponents through BOXING metaphors. The most influential and dominant political figures are referred to as *heavyweights*. The debates of one-on-one type between the candidates for the presidential election are described as the matches between two boxers. Silvio Berlusconi, a politician in Italy, exploited the national love of people for football and used sports metaphor. He talked about politics with reference to football because this metaphor had a significant resonance for the people of Italy (Semino, 2008). Politicians often use SPORTS metaphor while talking about political issue. The scholars have shown that SPORTS metaphors are used because these kind of metaphors offer the scenarios which are common and clear for the listeners. As a result the complexities of the political matters are made simplified and accessible. These source domains of common background and interest also revitalize patriotic enthusiasm (Semino, 2008).

STATE AS A PERSON metaphor is also used very pervasively by politicians. It is also an example of personification and by the help of this linguistic act, politicians simplify politics (Semino, 2008, p. 103). Politicians also personify the nation in which it is shown as acting and engaging like a person in the community. The land of the nation is the home where it lives and engages in the activities. It also has neighbors, many of home can be friends or enemies (Gibbs, 1994). Justifying the wars is also a reason for using this metaphor. To justify the Gulf war, for example, certain roles were associated to different countries. Iraq was a villain, Kuwait victim, and United States herself was a hero. Since it is justifiable for the hero to protect the victims from the cruel people, the actions of United States in fighting the other country like Iraq is justified (ibid).

Hulsse (2003) showed how the reality is constructed through metaphors by studying the debates of German Bundestag from 1990 to 2000. Brandstetter (2009) made a research in the cognitive and communicative functions of metaphors. He focused on the reporting of French and German media with a set of 532 newspaper articles. He concluded that there were 59 source domains which were common in the newspapers of both countries. Some of the predominant source domains were JOURNEY, BUILDING, WAR, FAMILY and SPORTS etc. Researches have also shown that metaphors are a common property in specialized discourses dedicated for a certain context. The study of Wilson

(1990) shows how the metaphors abound in the context of politics and the related discourses. A similar study was conducted by Lakoff (2006) which analyzed metaphors in politics. Apart from that, the discourses of economics are also full of metaphors (McCloskey, 1985) and studies in the economics discourses have revealed how the speakers made use of metaphors to suit their rhetoric end. Froceville (1996) studied the employment of metaphors in advertisements and showed how it can create certain effect on its audience with persuasive power. Lakoff and Kovecses (1987) and Kovecses (2002) showed the use of metaphors for heightened emotional feelings.

## **2.8 Researches on Speeches in UNGA**

In the words of Smith (2006, p. 155), the main function of UNGA (GD) is that “it provides members with the opportunity to blow off steam on contentious issues without causing undue damage.” Member states of UN gather in its assembly every year in September and make speeches and statements. The states discuss the vital issues in the politics of the world. The speeches are invaluable as they provide the perspectives and versions of the governments on a wide range of issues but these speeches have been ignored to a large extent (Baturu, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017). These statements made by the representatives of the states are generally untapped and shed a valuable light on their policies and preferences (ibid). The study of the international relations and politics requires the study of these preferences. One way of looking at these preferences that has been used is the alliances of militaries belonging to the respective countries (Mesquita, 1983). This method, however, has not been very result yielding when some countries do not have any alliances. So, scholars have predominantly used the voting records of the countries to understand their preferences. But this method too is flawed and has limitations when it comes to deep analysis: there are only a limited number of issues that are voted on in UNGA (Voeten, 2013).

The analysis of the text of the debates can be very valuable in giving the essential data that can widen the understanding of the policies and road-map of the governments of different countries (Baturu, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017). Many researches have been conducted in comparative politics and legislative studies that have used text for analysis,

for instance by Lave Benoit and Garry (2003) and by Alexander Herzog and Benoit (2015). Despite having so many characteristics for being classified as a quality data for the analysis of international politics, not much attention has been paid to the speeches in the General Debate (GD) for that purpose (Baturu, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017).

There is an equal opportunity for all the participants and members to openly declare and show their official positions on a variety of issues or significant international events (Smith, 2006). The representatives of the governments use this venue to show the perspective of their country regarding issues of international politics. The topics of the speeches extend to issues of common interest and concerns, for example terrorism, nuclear ban and climate change etc. (Baturu, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017). What makes these speeches more ideal for analysis is that they are not necessarily proceeded by decision-making in UN. This follows that there is not much external pressure for observing constraints while making statements as compared to voting in UN. The decision in the process of voting is directly affected by external pressures like relations based on mutual aid and strategic alliances (Kim & Russett, 1996; Alesina & Dollar, 2000). Therefore, GD gives more analyzable data about national priorities than simple voting in UNGA.

That there are less constraints on the speakers while making speeches in GD does not imply that the speeches are non-strategic. One of the major purposes of the statements in GD is that it is venue for the member countries to “influence international perceptions of their state, aiming to position their states favorably, as well as to influence the perception of other states” (Hecht, 2016, p. 10). As it has been discussed in detail earlier that politicians use metaphors for persuasion, the current study will explore how the representatives of Pakistan and India employ metaphors in their speeches addressed to international audience.

## **2.9 Summary**

The classical view of metaphor was very limited. It perceived the role of metaphors only in the domain of literature for embellishing and decorating purposes. In contrast, the recent scholars, working in the field of cognitive domains, have shown that the use of metaphors is as much extensive in our everyday lives as it is in literature. The speakers

may not even be aware of the fact that they are integral part of our thoughts and, consequently, our language system. This system works by attempting to understand one domain (target domain) through another (source domain) with the help of mapping. The source domains form sets and patterns which are picked on the basis of their similarity to the target domain. The functions of the metaphors have been suggested to extend to social as well as political domains. Many researches have explored how metaphors are used rhetorically and ideologically by political speakers. The body of United Nations provides the leaders of its member countries with an opportunity to address and debate. The statements and addresses made at this venue are also strategic and political in nature. However, they have not been explored significantly vis-à-vis metaphors. This is also true of the speeches made by Pakistani and Indian delegations in UNGA. Both of these countries have had a long history of conflicts in form or another. The speeches their representatives make in UNGA can provide in in-depth view of the way they aim at using language to convince the world into believing their respective version of the reality denouncing that of the other. Metaphors, being a part of the language system, can be potential instrument for studying such phenomena.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of this chapter is to first introduce the theoretical foundations which the current research is built upon. It is then followed by the methodology that has been adopted to anchor the research into the direction set in the objectives and research questions of the study. The final part of this section provides information on the population and sample of the research.

#### 3.1 Theoretical Framework

The current research is grounded in the theory of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their book *Metaphors We Live by* (1980; 2003). Since the time of Aristotle, the idea was held that a language is used to show a reality in a precise way while a literal language can alone objectively express the reality. On the contrary, a metaphor is the part of the literature only where it is used for ornamental purposes. Since metaphors violated the linguistic rules, they believed that it could not convey the truth in the messages. Hence, it was a deviance and was secondary to the literal language (Leezenberg, 2001; Holme, 2004; Deignan, 2005).

Opposing the traditional view of metaphors, I. A. Richards (1936) argued that the interpretation of the metaphors *motivates and creates similarities and*, therefore, is an interaction between two thoughts. The study of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was the pioneer work in field of cognitive linguistics. Their theory stresses the value of the relation between metaphor and our cognition. The theory also emphasizes that metaphors structure our thoughts and that metaphors are used by politicians to structure the thoughts of the audience legitimizing their own actions while delegitimizing those of others. (Lesz, 2011). According to their theory of CMT, the thoughts can be revealed through language. The meanings are constructed through metaphors and since these are expressed through the language, the language itself is very metaphorical (ibid). Deignan (2005) says that the language that we speak can hardly be without metaphors. For example people often refer to ‘time’ as an entity and use the words like *waste, save and lose* etc. The words which are

generally used for *war* are used for making *arguments*, for example ‘attacking a point’ and ‘withdrawing from a position’ etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Since the main source of metaphors is our thoughts, the metaphor has been given the name of conceptual metaphor in Conceptual Metaphor Theory. According to this theory, the metaphor indicates that ‘X is Y’. In this metaphor, Y is the source domain which is used to understand X which is the target domain. In the tradition of the CMT, the conceptual metaphors are written in capital letters for example, LOVE IS A JOURNEY. There can be many linguistic metaphors that can arise from this main conceptual metaphor like ‘we’re at a corss-road’, ‘we can’t go back now’ and ‘our relationship is a dead-end street’ (Kövecses, 2002, pp. 4-5).

The higher number of metaphors in the political speeches has been associated with the effect of the speech on the audience. While studying the speeches of the politicians, Mio (2005) has argued that the speeches which contained higher number of metaphors were experienced as more influential. Cognitive linguists generally agree that metaphors also have a pragmatic function and are used as a tool for persuasion in political domain (Charteris-Black, 2004; Goatly, 1997). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 2003), metaphors highlight some aspect of the source domain and hide the others. The highlighted aspects are then shown as the target domain. This type of choice can affect our perception or decision about that target domain. As a consequence, the biased views may be presented by choosing the source domain purposefully (Deignan, 2005). Same ideas have been expressed by Fairclough (1995) who argues that metaphors are a great weapon to maintain and consolidate the power of the one group over others. In other words “if metaphor is at the heart of cognitive framing then it should be crucial to political study” (Kabdtsgeer, 2009, p. 60).

### **3.2 Methodology**

Using the CMT as its basis, the current study attempts to explore the usage of metaphors by Indian and Pakistani delegations in their speeches UNGA. It first compares the number and density of the metaphors used in the speeches. It then extends to the study

of change in the number and density of metaphors with the changing relations between the two countries. Finally, it discusses the selected metaphors in detail for their ideological motivation.

### **3.3 Data**

The research had a clearly defined data for the analysis. Since this was a qualitative research, the speeches were purposefully selected on the basis of the context. To understand and compare how the politicians from Pakistan and India used metaphor in their speeches intended for international audiences, a total of 6 speeches from each country were selected for the analysis. Hence the total number of the speeches were 12. The number of the speeches corresponds to the limited scale of the research. The rationale of the selections of the speeches was the historical context of ups and downs of the relations between the two countries. The research made by Mio, Riggio, Levin and Reese (2005) showed that higher the number of the metaphors is in speeches, the more they influence the audience. Keeping this in view, it was supposed that the use of metaphors in Pakistani and Indian speeches would change according to the worsening of relations between the two countries. The supposition is based on the need of the both countries to influence the international audience for the legitimization of self and deligitimization of the opposition for achieving international favour.

Out of 6 selected speeches, the first one was made in 1999 just after the Kargil issue. This was the time when tension was highest between two countries. Second one was made by both countries in 2002 right after the dangerous military escalation of two countries following a terrorist attack on India and after the change of international dynamics in post 9/11 era. The speech made in 2004 was selected because at that time the relations between two countries started improving which culminated in 2008 when both countries almost struck a deal on Kashmir. It was supposed that there would be a different trend of metaphors in the speeches of both countries in these two years as the relations were changing. The relations would have improved further if it was not for a tragic deadlock in 2008 when terrorists struck in Mumbai consigning the two countries to tensions both in the dialogue and on the borders again. These tensions in the relations kept on rising

afterwards, so the speeches made by both countries in 2010 and 2017 have also been selected for the analysis.

The speeches have not been mentioned with their speakers. It is because all the speeches made in UN do not reflect the ideas or ideals of the individual speakers speaking there. These speeches reflect the overall foreign policy of the government of the respective countries. Moreover, the speeches made by Pakistani delegations were all in English. While the speeches made by Indian delegations were originally in Hindi but the transcript found on the website of UN was in English. This is because the speeches in native language made by delegations are translated in five other languages including English. The English translations are provided by the country itself. It is true that while translations, the original metaphors can be changed, modified or even completely replaced by other simple words. Since, the speeches are for international audience, the analysis has been made of only English versions because this is what is being consumed by the international English audience.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

There were many stages that were covered before the final analysis could be made. The first stage was of collecting the data. All the required speeches were downloaded from the main database of UN available at <https://gadebate.un.org/en>. The speeches were in PDF file format. Each file also contained the speeches made by the delegations of other member countries in the same year. The required speech was transferred to the Word document to make it easily readable. The number of words in all 12 speeches were 26691.

### **3.5 Identification Procedure**

The next stage was of extracting metaphors from the text. The procedure that was adopted in this research for the identification of the metaphors is called Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz, 2007). This tested and reliable method provided by Pragglejaz Group, was developed specifically with an “aim of developing a tool for metaphor identification in natural discourse that is both reliable, as indicated by statistical tests, and valid...” (Steen & Dorst, 2010, p. 166). This method was produced by the following metaphor researchers:



Peter Crisp, Chinese University Hong Kong, China  
 Ray Gibbs, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA  
 Alan Cienki, VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands  
 Graham Low, University of York, UK  
 Gerard Steen, VU University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands  
 Lynne Cameron, The Open University, UK  
 Elena Semino, Lancaster University, UK  
 Joe Grady, Cultrual Logic LLC (Washington DC), USA  
 Alice Deignan, University of Leeds, UK  
 Zolatan Kovecses, Eotvos Lorand Unversity (Budapest), Hungary

This practical and systematic method of identifying the words that are metaphorically used in the discourse follows the following steps (Pragglejaz, 2007, p. 3):

1. Read the entire text/ discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/ discourse.
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.  
  
 (b) For each lexical unit. Determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be: - more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste; - related to bodily action; - more precise (as opposed to vague); - historically older. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.  
  
 (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current/ contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

The method was followed strictly and data was compiled for the final analysis. The whole text was read and reread multiple times. For accuracy, two drafts of the same text were marked. The first one was marked and then remarked. There were many cuttings due

to considering and reconsidering of some of the words as metaphors, therefore a neat draft was needed. Based on the first draft, the second one was prepared with marked metaphors and this was considered the final draft.

### 3.6 Compilation of Data and Research Design

The third stage was of compiling the metaphors for which a number of steps were taken. The way Barbara Lesz (2011) made a list of all the metaphorical themes extracted from the data, gave the basis for listing metaphors in this research. Many of these themes were JOURNEY, WAR, TRAVEL, LIQUID etc.

According to the objectives of the study, firstly the metaphors were to be counted for determining the density of the metaphors in the speeches. Secondly, the metaphors related to common topics like *terrorism* etc. were selected for final detailed analysis which have been discussed in detail in ‘Result and Analysis’ chapter. Keeping this in view, a consistent approach regarding the classification of the metaphors was adopted. For example, the researcher came across a number of sentences which had two metaphorical themes. In these cases, both the overlapping metaphors were marked and listed in the final list separately and thus counted in detail in first phase of ‘Result and Analysis’ chapter. However, for the detailed analysis in the final section, only one major metaphor in the sentence was selected. Consider the following example:

1. Our **passage has seen us** move from the Gatling gun to a world **menaced today** by MIRVs (ind1999JS6)

The example contains two metaphors in which the first one “passage has seen us” is a JOURNEY metaphor while the second one “world menaced today by” contains a WAR metaphor. Consider another example:

2. **India's repression** in Jammu and Kashmir has killed thousands of Kashmiris, forced hundreds of thousands into exile, **led to three wars** between Pakistan and India and consigned the two countries to a relationship of **endemic** conflict and mistrust (Pak1999SA17).

The example contains three metaphors: PERSON, JOURNEY and ILLNESS/DISEASE. In this sentence, all three metaphors have been counted in the first phase of the analysis. While in the second phase, only the PERSON metaphor was selected which is the most prominent theme of metaphors in this sentence.

Thus, in order to have a clear view of the number of the metaphors, the identified metaphors were structured in an Excel table with the headings of the metaphorical source domains in the alphabetical order first and then with the highest number of themes. The top ten highest number of themes of both countries were compared to find similarities and differences. The vertical cells also helped to determine the total number of the metaphors that were used in the speech of a particular year. This also helped observe the change in the number of metaphors in the whole speech made in different years.

Alongside this, the density of the metaphors was determined by finding the percentage of the metaphors in terms of the words used in the whole speech in the following way:

*Table 1. Length of Speeches and the Percentage of Metaphorical Content*

Years	1999		2002		2004		2008		2010		2017	
Countries	Ind	Pak	Ind	Pak	Ind	Pak	Ind	Pak	Ind	Pak	Ind	Pak
Total Words	4310	3155	1520	1501	1991	1956	1280	2710	1324	2042	2565	2337
Total Metaphors	263	157	91	71	108	95	44	145	62	100	122	107
Metaphoric %	6.1	4.9	5.9	4.7	5.4	4.8	3.4	5.3	4.6	4.8	4.7	4.5

Since one of the objectives of the research was also to observe how the use of metaphors changed in particular topics in accordance with the kind of relations, other tables were also made. For example in case of terrorism, the number of words were counted in the paragraphs where it was being discussed in the Indian speech. Then the number of metaphors, regardless of any particular themes or *target domain*, were counted in those paragraphs and density was determined. The amount of density was revealed with the help

of percentage of the metaphors in these topic-specific paragraphs in terms of the number of the words used in them. The same treatment was given to the same topics, if found, in next speeches. This gave deeper idea of how the change in the number of metaphors was occurring in specific topics with the passage of time. For example, the topic-wise use of metaphor in the speeches of both countries made in 1999 was compiled in the following way:

Table 2 Number and Percentage of Metaphor in 1999

India	Topics	20th Century	World and UN	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of State
	Number	53	29	86	-	23	-	11	10	18
	%	7.6	4.2	7.2	-	5	-	5.5	6.1	6.2
Pakistan	Topics	20th Century	World and UN	India/Conflicts	Poverty/Development	Nuclear issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism
	Number	4	10	97	-	11	-	-	18	7
	%	4.8	5.4	5.1	-	6.5	-	-	5.5	3.4

Keeping in view the objective of finding the political reasoning of metaphors and metaphorical themes, the research was anchored into another direction. For this analysis, since the total number of metaphors identified was too high in view of the scope of the research, some delimitations were observed. For this level of analysis, only those metaphors were selected in which the delegations of both countries either talked about self-projection (legitimization) or against each other (delegitimization), for example the ones related to *terrorism*, *Kashmir* and *conflicts*. So, the metaphors carried to the next level of analysis were those of which *target domains* were *terrorism*, *self* and *opposition* to determine their possible ideological driving force. These metaphors were discussed with complete details of *context*, *source domain* and *target domain*.

Apart from that, it is very important to give accurate references of the examples taken from the speeches and referred to in the research script. In that direction, in order to show the reference of the metaphors taken from a certain paragraph of a specific speech,

the speeches were given their respective names in the following way: (ind1999JS) and (pak1999SA). First three letters indicate the name of the country, namely 'ind' stands for India while 'pak' stands for Pakistan. The digits following this name, point to the year the speech was made in. For example (pak1999SA) indicates that the speech was made in 1999. The letters in 'Block' at the end show the name of the speakers in short. In the example of (pak1999SA) 'SA' stands for Sartaj Aziz. Besides, all the paragraphs in the speeches were numbered. To show the number of the paragraph from which any example was taken, the reference has been made at the end of the name of speech. In the reference of (pak1999SA5) the digit '5' refers to the number of paragraph in the speech.

### **3.7 Population**

The speeches made in UNGA (GD) are strategic in nature. The relations between the countries are reflected in the rhetoric of these speeches (Baturu, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017). The tensions in the relations of Pakistan and India were the highest in 1999 which gradually declined until 2008, the year which marked the peak of composite dialogues. However, they started to worsen and continued with a downfall till 2017. The speeches made in UN General Debate by both countries during this span of time are the population of the research. All the speeches made by Pakistani delegations were in English, while the speeches made by Indian delegations were in Hindi. The Rule 51 of United Nations (2018) says that working languages of General Assembly are Arabic, Chinese, English, French and Russian. Furthermore, the Rule 53 (UN, 2018) says that if any member delivers a speech in any other languages than these, he or she will have to provide the interpretations into any of the working languages. Since, the locus of the research is the international audience, rather than Hindi-understanding audience, English interpreted versions of the original speeches have been selected.

### **3.8 Rationale for Selecting the Sample**

For the analysis of metaphors, 6 speeches made by the delegations of each country were selected. Bearing in mind the objectives of the research, the criteria for selecting the speech was the historical context. The relations between Pakistan and India have been experiencing ups and downs. India accuses Pakistan of harbouring terrorists, training them

and helping them infiltrate into Indian-held Kashmir. It also accuses Pakistan of sabotaging peace process in Afghanistan and supporting Taliban. Pakistan, on the other hand, accuses India of its state-terrorism in Indian-held Kashmir and cross-border exchange of firing incidents. Both countries want to frame international opinion in their favour and want to legitimize themselves while delegitimizing the other. As the tensions between the two countries were highest in 1999, the speeches made in UN General Debate in this year were selected. The speeches made in 2002 and 2004 were also selected as there were lesser tensions in these years than before. The tensions came to the lowest level in 2008. Hence the speeches made in this year have been added in the analysis. The relations were disrupted by the terrorist attacks in India at the end of 2008. The speeches made in 2010 and in 2017 have also been selected. These speeches were made in UN during the relations that were continuously declining. This was purposefully done to understand and mark the changes in the tendency of the use of metaphors as an ideological and rhetoric tool.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The first section in this chapter involves an analysis of metaphoric density in the selected speeches. The second section compares the ranking of the themes from which the source domains of the metaphors were selected. The third section deals with the detailed analysis of metaphors whose target domains are terrorism, self and opposition.

#### **4.1 Density of Metaphors in the Speeches**

The UN is an important place for the representatives of different countries to publically record the position of their respective countries officially on significant international issues as well as events of the years gone by (Smith C. , 2006). The speeches in UN provide its “members with the opportunity to blow off steam on contentious issues without causing undue damage” (Smith C. , 2006, p. 155). Taking this opportunity, the delegations make speeches to influence the international political views on certain events particularly related to their countries.

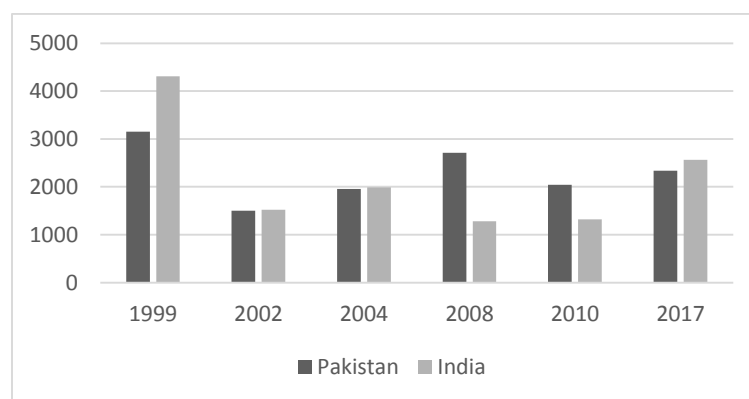
In this research the metaphors in the speeches of Pakistani and Indian delegations in UN have been analyzed. The works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1996; 2003), Lesz (2011) and Charteris-Black (2006) have been very helpful in providing with a list of metaphorical themes, many of which have also been identified in this research. With increasing number and themes of metaphors identified, the process became fluent and organized. Many of these themes are journey, travel, war, transport, liquid, construction, person etc.

In a political discourse, a higher number of metaphors are considered more charismatic and influential. It is because the speeches arouse the emotions connected with the topic or the rhetor (Mio, Riggio, Levin, & Reese, 2005). The study conducted by Mio (2005) on the charismatic qualities of the presidents of America, demonstrated that those presidents that employed twice as many metaphors in speeches were more charismatic. Moreover, the passages that had a lot more metaphors were experienced as more inspiring. The results of this study suggested that higher frequency of metaphors inspires audience.

This section contains the result and discussion on the density of the metaphors in the speeches. The supposition that the number of metaphors in speeches would change as the relations of both countries changed, was proved true. The good or bad relations with each other and the intensity of their internal issues seemed to trigger a change of the number of metaphors in their speeches. These observations have been made by studying the change in the number of metaphors in the backdrop of the historical context. Keeping in view the objective of identifying the density of metaphors in speeches as well as in topics separately following steps were taken: study of the context of the speeches, total number of metaphors in the speeches, percentage of these metaphors in terms of words in the whole speech and percentage of metaphors in different topics in terms of words used in discussing those topics. The results have revealed a change in the density of metaphors both in speeches as well as in different topics as the dynamics of the relations between the two countries changed overtime, showing that metaphors were used for rhetoric purposes.

The bar graph given below highlights the total length of the speeches in terms of words by the delegations of both countries in UNGA.

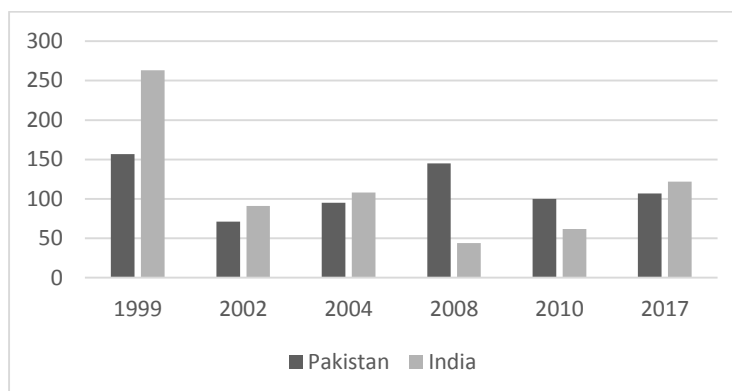
*Bar Graph 1. Number of Words in All the Speeches*



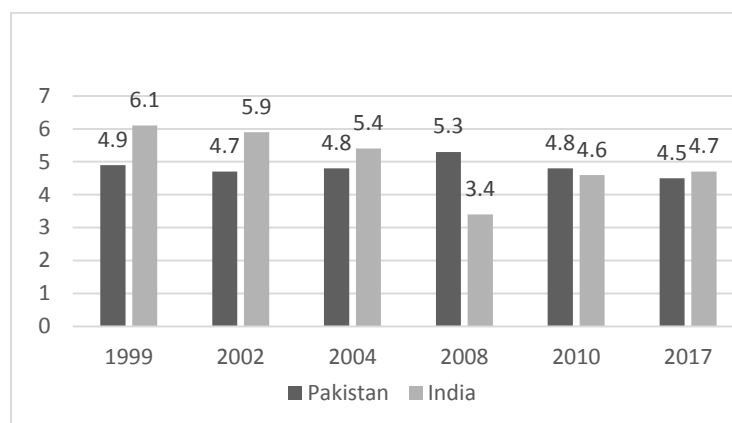
While the other two graphs given below represent the number of metaphors and the metaphorical percentage in the respective speeches. The percentage of the metaphors identified in the respective speech was calculated with respect to the total words of the speech.



*Bar Graph 2. Number of metaphors in all the speeches*



*Bar Graph 3. Percentage of Metaphorical Content in the Speeches*



Both Pakistani and Indian delegations made longer speeches in the Assembly in 1999. The speech of India was even longer than that of Pakistan with the difference of more than 1000 words. In this speech, the percentage of metaphors was also highest (6.1%) as compared to other speeches. A consistent decrease in the overall use of metaphors can be witnessed in the later speeches. The speech made in 2002 was slightly less than half of what it was in 1999. The metaphorical content also reduced by 0.3 percent. Although the speech made in 2004 was slightly longer with 1991 words, but the percentage of metaphors further decreased by 0.5 percent. The lowest metaphoric density (3.4) can be observed in the speech made in 2008

The speech made by Indian delegation in 2010 was the shortest one with only 1324 words. The research shows an increase in the percentage of metaphorical usage coming reaching to 4.6 which remained consistent in the next given year in the research i.e.

2017. Contrary to this, the percentage of metaphors in the speeches of Pakistani delegations in UNGA was lower than that of Indian delegations throughout the given years except in 2008 and in 2010. Apart from a high percentage of metaphors (5.3) in 2008, the percentage of metaphorical content did not change overtime and remained around 4.8% throughout. The lowest percentage has been observed in the speech made in 2017.

#### **4.1.1 Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 1999**

A detailed analysis of metaphorical density in the speeches made in 1999 with the backdrop of historical circumstances is given below:

##### **4.1.1.1 Historical Context of 1999**

The relations between Pakistan and India have been adverse for the most part of their separate existence i.e. since 1947. To de-escalate the intensity of the conflict, many confidence building measures were taken by both countries. These included *The Indus Water Treaty (1960)*, *The Tashkent Agreement (1966)*, *The Simla Accord (1972)* and *The Lahore Declaration (1999)*. However, their effect was neutralized by continuous larger scale conflicts like war of 1965 and 1971. Their two step forward towards settlement of issues were proceeded by one step backwards due to continuous frictions of rising tensions (Ashraf, 2015). An antagonistic and war-like situation rose following Indian decision of holding a massive military exercises in 1986. The relations became worse due to Siachen conflicts.

However, the relations took a turn due to peaceful dialogues and political reconciliation when both countries happened to have young leaders like Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan and Rajiv Gandhi in India (Ashraf, 2015). The political leaderships in both countries showed maturity and several agreements were signed to build friendly relations. In the time of Nawaz Sharif as prime minister of Pakistan, the historic visit of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the then prime minister of India, resulted in another positive step in shape of Lahore Declaration in Feb, 1999. These gestures of peace and goodwill, however, proved to be futile and elusive as the Kargil crisis emerged in the July of the same year.

UN and the Security Council had played as mediator several times after 1947 to settle the differences including Kashmir conflict between the two countries (Noorani, 2014). The Session of General Assembly was to be held in September, 1999, the same year Lahore Declaration was announced and Kargil issue took place. The relations had fallen to the lowest level during the decade. There was deep sense of fear that the limited battle at Kargil might transform into a full scale war between two recently acclaimed nuclear powers. The following table highlights the number of metaphor according to topic in Indian as well as Pakistani speeches:

*Table 3. Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches in 1999*

India	Topics	20th Century	World and UN	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of State
	Number	53	29	86	-	23	-	11	10	18
	%	7.6	4.2	7.2	-	5	-	5.5	6.1	6.2
Pakistan	Topics	20th Century	World and UN	India/Conflicts	Poverty/Development	Nuclear issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism
	Number	4	10	97	-	11	-	-	18	7
	%	4.8	5.4	5.1	-	6.5	-	-	5.5	3.4

The speeches made in the year 1999 were the longest in terms of words. The total number of metaphors that have been identified in this research are also very high specially in Indian speech. Although there were a number of issues that were raised by India delegation in his speech, the matters pertaining to terrorism and Pakistan remained the main agenda of the speech. Similarly, the conflicts of Kashmir, Palestine and Iraq etc. overly dominated Pakistani speech.

#### **4.1.1.2 Metaphorical Density in Indian Speeches in 1999**

It is clear from the table that a major amount of metaphors can be seen in two topics: Assessing 20<sup>th</sup> Century and the issues related to Terrorism, Pakistan and Issues. The issues

of Pakistan, Terrorism and Kashmir have been made a single matter due to the way Indian Speaker discussed the overlapping details in these topics. A high concentration of metaphors has been observed in this issue. A total of 86 metaphors were used in this topic which is highest in comparison to all other. Second highest number of metaphors (53) have been observed in the topic where the Indian delegation engaged in discussing the achievements, advancements and the heritage of issues of the closing century. Together with that of the issues of Terrorism and Pak-Kashmir, the metaphors of this topic accounted for slightly more than half of the total metaphors used.

Not only that these topics had higher number of metaphors, the density of metaphors in terms of the number of the words used in these specific topics alone was also higher as compared to others. The discussion on the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the most dense with 7.6%, closely followed by the topic of Terrorism and Pak-Kashmir issue (7.2). Other issues were articulated with less number of metaphors as well as with less density.

The findings seem to suggest that the issues that Indian delegation wanted to highlight more than others were given more length and with more metaphorical content with higher density. India officially blamed Pakistan for infiltrating into and actively participating in belligerence in Kargil heights, which Pakistan vehemently refuted. The version of Pakistan states that the fight was started and fought by Kashmiri freedom fighters. During the speech, the Indian delegation sought to tilt the international opinion in her favour while denouncing Pakistan so as to make the world believe that it was Pakistan who was causing the destabilization in South Asia.

#### **4.1.1.3 Density of Metaphors in Pakistani Speech in 1999**

The speech made by Pakistani delegation in 1999 was shorter than that of India in that year. However it was the longest in comparison to all its other Pakistani speeches selected in the analysis. The total number of metaphors were also the highest i.e. 157 while the metaphoric percentage was 4.9%. Out of total, a massive 97 were used in the topics pertaining to Pak-India, Kashmir and other conflicts, far more than that of Trade topic where 18 metaphors were used with 5.5 density. Highest metaphor density (6.5) was observed in the paragraphs dealing with the topic of Nuclear issue. Contrary to India, the

closing of century was not discussed at length. Both, the number of the metaphors and the metaphorical density, remained low in the paragraph dealing with it. The lowest density can be seen in the topic of terrorism (3.4).

Higher metaphoric content in the topics regarding India, Kashmir and other conflicts can be due to the fact there is a lot of importance of these issues in the in Pakistan. There is always pressure on the political governments from its public to raise these issues effectively on UN forums for their earliest resolution. Secondly, confronted with the narrative of India regarding Pakistan's involvement in insurgency in Kargil and Kashmir, Pakistan was obliged to clear her position in front of UN to show that Pakistan was a victim instead of an aggressor.

#### **4.1.2 Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2002**

Following is the analysis of density of metaphors in the speeches of both countries in 2002 along with the historical perspective:

##### **4.1.2.1 Historical Context of 2002**

Pakistan and India restarted the peace dialogue when the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf visited India in July, 2001. The visit was aimed at attending a summit meeting with Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Prime Minister of India. (Ashraf, 2015). It however did not prove to be productive and no breakthrough was witnessed. As a result, a joint statement was not recorded officially and both sides held each other responsible for maintaining the deadlock. So much so that, not even the ceremonial photo session took place (Gupta, 2005). Moreover, the scenario of the international politics was totally transformed following the terrorist attack in USA in September, 2001. These circumstances also affected Pakistan's foreign policy. "The unfortunate terrorist incident of 9/11 was a critical threshold in the foreign policy of Pakistan" (Khan, 2015, p. 17). Pakistan had to change its foreign policy and align it with the needs and circumstances of the changing world, particularly terrorism. Earlier, Pakistan had supported the government of Taliban in Afghanistan for five years. But as the world joined hands with US in its fight against Taliban, Pakistan had to show its support with US against Taliban to protect itself from being alienated from the world (ibid).

Only three months after this incident, another terrorist attack took place in Indian Lok Sabha on 13 December, 2001 (Ashraf, 2015). There was a strong and paradigm surge in rhetoric against terrorism in every corner of the world. India, blaming Pakistan for the attack in its country, mobilized its massive army on the internationally recognized borders of Pakistan to teach it a lesson. Pakistan responded in the same manner and both countries remained on the stand-off (ibid). Situation was tense; however, it did not turn into direct engagement of both armies at any sector as opposed to the Kargil incident in 1999.

*Table 4. Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2002*

India	Topics	World and UN	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Change	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of state	Democracy
	Number	11	33	30	-	6	-	-	-	9
	%	5.9	5.4	7.6	-	6.5	-	-	-	6.2
Pakistan	Topics	World and UN	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
	Number	-	33	3	-	-	4	-	20	-
	%	-	5.3	2.7	-	-	3.1	-	6.6	-

#### **4.1.2.2 Density of Metaphors in Indian Speech in 2002**

The speech made by Indian delegation in 2002 was shorter. The percentage of metaphor also decreased to 5.9 from what it was in 1999. A total of 91 metaphors were used. The speech made by Pakistani delegation was almost as long as Indian, but it was half in length of what it was in 1999. Metaphorical content also declined by 0.2 percent.

It is interesting to note that the density in the metaphors in different topics seems to have been influenced by intensity of its importance as the dynamics of relations between Pakistan and India saw a mild transition. Looking at the Indian speech, it is clear that both the metaphorical density and distribution have changed visibly.

As against in 1999, the amount of metaphors is not lopsided in 2002. It is true that the number of metaphors in topics related to terrorism, Pakistan and Kashmir is still highest (33), but its difference from the second highest (Poverty and Development) is only marginal i.e. 3. What is notable here is the highest density of metaphors in the discussion of poor people's plight and developmental concerns. The topic of terrorism and Pakistan with the second highest density in 1999, had the lowest density in this year with only 5.4%.

#### **4.1.2.3 Density of Metaphors in Pakistani Speech in 2002**

Similarly, both number of words and metaphors declined in the speech made by Pakistani delegation this year. Apart from that, the metaphorical density also came down to 4.7 from 4.9 in 1999. A higher number of metaphors can again be seen in topics of Kashmir and other conflicts, though with reduced density. One notable point regarding this speech is a sharp rise in the metaphorical density in the topic of terrorism. In comparison to the speech made in 1999, the number of metaphors in this particular topic rose from 7 to 20 and the density from 3.4% to nearly its double i.e. 6.6%. Pakistani delegation this time discussed terrorism at length and vehemently articulated against the perpetrators of terrorists involved in USA. This suggests a relative rise in the metaphorical density in the topics being considered more emergent. In this speech, the issues of poverty and development were also discussed. The metaphorical density while discussing it remained less than 3%. The internal progress of the country was also discussed with more plain language and the metaphorical density was marginally more than 3%.

#### **4.1.3 Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2004**

Following is the analysis of density of metaphors in the speeches of both countries in 2004 along with the historical perspective:

##### **4.1.3.1 Historical Context of 2004**

The deadlock between the two countries that stemmed from attack on Lok Sabha in India continued until December 2002. Both sides agreed to withdraw the army build-up from the border areas to peace-time positions. The situation further improved when Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Indian Prime Minister, made a speech in the gathering in

Srinagar. In this speech he showed India's willingness to resume dialogue process to resolve the pending issues. The result of the speech was also seen in the shape of a long-needed and welcome cease-fire enforced on both sides in November, 2003 (Ashraf, 2015). Finally the composite dialogue process were initiated in January, 2004. More positive signs for reconciliation emerged in consequence to the 12<sup>th</sup> SAARC summit, held in Islamabad in January, 2004 where the commitment to move to the normalization of the relations was strengthened. Out of eight issues that were included in the agenda of the forthcoming dialogue, the issue of Kashmir was the most prominent. The relations visibly started to move towards tangible footings as the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service was agreed.

*Table 5. Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2004*

India	Topics	World and Un	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Change	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of state	Democracy
	Number	17	12	18	8	-	17	-	-	14
	%	5.2	4.5	5.8	3.3	-	6	-	-	4.4
Pakistan	Topics	World and Un	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
	Number	7	50	9	-	-	3	4	16	-
	%	3.7	5.3	4.6	-	-	4	3.6	6.3	-

#### **4.1.3.2 Density of Metaphors in Indian Speech in 2004**

These historical improvements in relations seemed to be reflected in the speeches in the following UN Assembly in the Metaphorical distribution and density. In case of Indian speech in this particular year, overall percentage of metaphors saw a further declined to 5.4 from 5.9 in 2002, while that of Pakistan it rose with a marginal 0.1 percent reaching 4.8. However, even with downward trend, the overall number and percentage of metaphors in Indian speech were more than that of Pakistan.



The metaphoric figures of Indian speech in 2004 show that the discussion on the issues like role and repairing of UN and poverty and development involved more metaphors than that of Kashmir and terrorism issues wherein only 12 metaphors were used this time. The density of metaphors came down to as low as 4.5. In this year. Highest metaphoric density can be observed in the topic where the speaker discusses the headway made in India. It appears that as the bilateral relations with Pakistan improved, the density of metaphors also dropped in the discussion of Terrorism and Kashmir issues.

#### **4.1.3.3 Density of Metaphors in Pakistani Speech in 2004**

During 2003 and 2004, there were series of bomb blasts in Iraq besides armed conflicts between US-led forces and the rebellions. The war between Taliban and Afghan National Army supported by NATO troops continued in Afghanistan. On the other hand, the issue of usurping more land of Palestine by Israel was also rising. These conflicts were one of the concerns of Pakistan and they did find their way in the speech of General Musharraf who headed the delegation of Pakistan in UN. In the speech, there was a notable length devoted to the relation between India and Pakistan but it was not like a traditional blame game. Rather it highlighted the need for reconciliation between the two countries. After the incident of 9/11, there was an expression of growing interest in Pervez Musharraf to wind down the terrorist organizations which were plaguing Pakistan. It was considered his biggest move.

It is clear that nearly one-fourth of the metaphors were used while discussing issues of conflicts and terrorism in the speech made by Pakistani delegation in 2004. The density of metaphors in this topic was also very high, namely 5.3. However, highest amount of density was found in the topic of terrorism (6.6) just like it was in the speech of 2002. Years leading to 2004, while there was a massive crackdown on terrorists in Iraq and Afghanistan, India had tried to defame Pakistan as a producer and supporter of terrorism and terrorist activities. In order to distance Pakistan from terrorism, it is well known that Musharraf had made Pakistan an ally of US in a war against Afghan Mujahideen (Ahmad, 2007). He had spoken vehemently against terrorism in a speech. As a result, the speech he made in UN Assembly also had higher density of metaphors in the portion where he was speaking about

terrorism. To gain international support, he tried to show the world that Pakistan was against terrorism and all terrorist ideologies. At the same time, he was very keen in promoting the idea that the reasons that inspire terrorism should be addressed. He further stressed that the conflicts in the Muslim countries should also come to an end as the Muslims in those countries were suffering undeservingly. Employment of higher density as well as higher proportion of metaphors in some topics can be linked with the contemporary need of Pakistan to show its position in these matters. Here again, the result indicates a higher use of metaphors for persuasive purposes.

#### **4.1.4 Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2008**

Following is the analysis of density of metaphors in the speeches of both countries in 2008 along with the historical perspective:

##### **4.1.4.1 Historical Context of 2008**

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 2005 a strong 7.6 magnitude earthquake jolted Pakistan that claimed more than 80,000 lives and injured as many. India offered Pakistan support to mitigate the human suffering by providing the help on humanitarian basis (Ashraf, 2015). The gesture of goodwill added to already improving relations. Throughout 2004 to 2008, there were continuous dialogues for normalization apart from considerable trade. A number of common friendly countries also played their part in emphasizing steps to improve ties (Ali & Mujahid, 2015).

There were many peace initiatives and confidence building measures that were taken like intra-Kashmir bus service, visa relaxations, gateways in line of control for familial visitation from both sides, commercial cooperation etc. The confidence building measures had played a great part in defusing the situations and created an environment conducive for peace dialogue (Farmer, 2018). President Musharraf visited India to watch a cricked-match between Pakistan and India. A joint statement was issued that the peace process had become irreversible (Jacob, 2018). In the last two decades, this was the best phase in the relations of two countries. The Envoy of India S.K Lambah and Tariq Aziz, the advisor to Pakistani President, discussed the final details of the peace proposals at some unrevealed locations (Coll, 2018). Pakistani foreign Minister Kursheed Shah Kasuri stated

that “the previous Musharraf Government had completed almost 90 percent of the framework on the half-a-century old Kashmir dispute by 2007 as the whole exercise just needed the formal signature of all the three parties to the issue...” (Jacob, 2018, p. 13).

*Table 6. Comparison of Metaphor in Speeches of 2008*

India	Topics	World and Un	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Change	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of state	Democracy
	Number	14	5	5	6	1	-	8	-	-
	%	5	3.03	2.8	3.7	2.7	-	2.06	-	-
Pakistan	Topics	Benazir and Her Policies	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
	Number	51	7	8	-	-	-	-	45	27
	%	5.2	3.5	7.1	-	-	-	-	5.5	7.3

#### 4.1.4.2 Metaphorical Density in Indian Speech in 2008

The speech made by India delegation in UN Assembly in 2008 had the lowest number of metaphors as compared to that of all the speeches included in the research by both country. The percentage of the metaphors was also the lowest. There is a steep decline to a meagre 3.4 percent of metaphors.

The density in the topics related to terrorism and Kashmir was lowest too. Only 5 metaphors were identified in this topic. Most of the metaphors were used while discussing the issues of the world and UN. The density was also highest in this topic. What really is interesting is that the density reduced to minimum not only in Pakistan-related issues, but in the whole speech. It appears, although more research is needed to completely verify this reality, that amount of this rhetorical device in Indian speeches is regulated and affected by the intensity of Pak-Ind relations.

#### 4.1.4.3 Density of Metaphors in Pakistani Speech in 2008

Looking at the historical perspective to Pakistan's speech in 2008 it can be said that the ties with India were on strong footing and were firmly directed towards peaceful settlement for the first time ever in the past history. Secondly, the most conspicuous incident that preceded the meeting of UNGA in 2008 was the assassination of a prominent leader of Pakistan People's Party, Benazir Bhutto. She had served Pakistan as Prime Minister from 1988 to 1990 and again from 1993 to 1996. The head of the delegation who spoke in UN Assemble following this incident was no one else but Asif Ali Zardari, the husband of Benazir Bhutto. Asif Ali Zardari was the head of the party that had won in general election held in February, 2008. Thirdly, according to Asif Ali Zardari, the underhand plot which brought death to his wife was hatched by terrorists. So terrorism was one of the main burning issue in the country. Lastly, Pakistan had seen the dictatorship rule that started in 1999 and ended in 2008 when the party of Asif Ali Zardari won and formed a coalition government in the center.

All of these three issues, namely Terrorism, Benazir Bhutto assassination and dictatorship had shaped most of the events in Pakistan in 2008. A total of 145 metaphors were identified from a long speech of 2710 words made in this year. The density of the metaphorical content (5.3) was also the highest amongst all the Pakistani speeches included in the research. The topics that had a vast majority of the metaphors are Terrorism and the assassinated Benazir Bhutto and her policies. However, the issues related to India, Kashmir and other conflicts had the lowest amount as well as the density of metaphors in this speech. If compared with that of other speeches made by Pakistani delegations in UN Assembly that have been included in the research, it can be observed that metaphorical content in this topic of Ind-Kashmir is the lowest in this speech. The same is also true for the metaphorical content in the topic of terrorism. As many as 45 metaphors were identified in the discussion of this topic, highest ever if compared with the speeches made before or after it. However, its density was 5.5. Another significant aspect in the speech of Pakistani delegation was the highest amount of metaphors (51) in the topic where the speaker talks at length about Benazir and her policies. The density of metaphors was 5.2. The highest density was observed in the topic of Democracy, 7.3% with as many as 27 number of metaphors in so

short a paragraphs. As democracy was restored in the country after about 8 years, the speaker was enthusiastic in discussing the fruits of this system. This was the only time that any Pakistani delegation discussed Democracy in UN Assembly.

#### **4.1.5 Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2010**

Following is the analysis of density of metaphors in the speeches of both countries in 2010 along with the historical perspective:

##### **4.1.5.1 Historical Context of 2010**

The peace process developed and maintained by both countries for about 4 years had reached its high by 2008. It was, however, intercepted by Mumbai terror attacks which India alleged were Pakistan-origin. India blamed that these attacks were carried out by a Pakistan-based organization, Lashkar-e-Taiba (Jacob, 2018). There were concerns in some quarters of the world that this incident would consign the country to another military confrontation. The scheduled talks on the Sir Creek discord were dropped. In the following few months, the soon-to-be signed peace settlement was totally flipped to war-like situation. The bilateral ties had severely deteriorated. India continued to reiterate its stance of conditioning the resumption of composite dialogue with a dedicated inquiry by Pakistani Government into Mumbai attacks. It urged Pakistan to sentence the culprits in the befitting manner, failing which the peace process would remain suspended (Pickering, 2012).

The deadlock did not continue for long as Manmohan Sing met his Pakistani counterpart, Yousuf Raza Ginnali at Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Egypt at Sharm-el-Sheikh and agreed to resume the dialogue. Manmohan Sing faced a severe criticism on delinking the dialogue process with the investigation and development into Mumbai attack probe and actions on terrorism and for accepting the interference of Indian intelligence agency in Balochistan (Hafeez, 2017). Although the peace effort was sabotaged, it did ease the escalating tensions between the two countries to some extent.

Table 7. Comparison of Metaphor in Speeches of 2010

India	Topics	World and UN	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Change	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of state	Democracy
	Number	18	12	6	11	2	-	-	-	-
	%	5	4.9	4.9	4.2	1.9	-	-	-	-
Pakistan	Topics	World and UN	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
	Number	8	20	-	8	7	25	-	9	-
	%	5.9	4.8	-	6.2	4.1	8.6	-	4.5	-

#### 4.1.5.2 Metaphorical Density in Indian Speech in 2010

Metaphorical content in the speech made by Indian delegation in UN Assembly that proceeded these events rose again in terms of both density and number. A total of 62 metaphors have been identified in the speech with an increased density of 4.6%.

Number of metaphors in particular topics saw a rise again. There is a noticeable metaphoric rise in the topics of terrorism and Kashmir issues. Once again this topic became more packed with metaphors than before. The research shows that in this year the metaphoric density in the said topic was 4.9 as apposed 3.03 in 2008. Keeping in view the historical context of worsening relations with Pakistan, it can be observed that the metaphorical content seems to have changed in the speech. It also appears that not only there is an increase in the metaphors in the particular topic related to Pakistan and terrorism, overall metaphors have also increased.

#### 4.1.5.3 Density of Metaphors in Pakistani Speech in 2010

The data of Pakistani speech in the same year showed different pattern in terms of metaphorical inclusion. Although there were less metaphors used overall, the density was higher than that of 2008. The research revealed that with the number of 100 metaphors, the density rose by a marginal 0.2 percent. Metaphors were mainly used in the topic of

country's headway and India-Kashmir issues with 25 and 20 numbers respectively. There was a sharp decline in the number of metaphors used in the topic of terrorism, namely from 49 in the speech of 2008 to merely 9 in 2010. It is pertinent to mention here that Pakistan had seen a series terrorism occurrences claiming dozens of lives and disrupting the peace in the country. But this topic did not have a huge number of metaphors in the speech. Even the density reduced and fell to 4.5%. Instead, the density was highest in the topic related to country's progress (8.6%) this year.

In short, it can be seen again that as the relations with India were deteriorating, the rhetorical device of metaphors increased in the speech in general, and in the topic of Kashmir and conflicts in particular.

#### **4.1.6 Comparison of Metaphors in Speeches of 2017**

Following is the analysis of density of metaphors in the speeches of both countries in 2017 along with the historical perspective:

##### **4.1.6.1 Historical Context of 2017**

After 2010, there was a growing insistence from the Indian Government for stipulating the bilateral talks with maintaining terrorism as the central point and core of the discussions. It also stated that there was no need of maintaining the composite dialogue (Hafeez, 2017). In contrary, Pakistan insisted on time-limited dialogue on the issues like Siachen and Kashmir. Even in such a polarized environment, the composite dialogues were resumed and some economic ties were improved. In the situation built-up, Asif Ali Zardari, Pakistan's President, visited India for saying a prayer at Ajmer Shrine in 2012 (ToM, 2018). He availed this opportunity and had a meeting with Indian Prime Minister and a ray of hope for improving ties was rekindled.

When BJP contested and won election on the basis of anti-Pakistan and anti-China narrative, Modi called his Pakistani counterpart, Nawaz Sharif to attend the oath-taking ceremony and it appeared that the relations would move to positive direction. But Modi developed and maintained anti-Pakistan approach to follow a disengagement policy with Pakistan. LoC violations became a new-norm and cease-fire just remained confined to

papers (Thompson, 2015). Faced with such aggressive posture of Indian Government, a change also came in otherwise India-friendly regime in Pakistan. Resultantly, a flexible approach to issues with India was changed into somewhat harder stances (Yousaf, 2018).

The disputes of attacks on Samjhota Express, Gurdaspur and Pathan Kot erupted as India quickly blamed Pakistan as responsible for all of these incidence. It further fueled the already worsening relations. Pakistan retaliated with tangible blames and held Indian Spy agency RAW for supporting and sponsoring terrorists who was carrying out terror activities in Balochistan. Pakistan claimed that the spy was an India's in-service commander staying in Pakistan's territory involved in a number of terrorist campaign. The investigations had unearthed his plans for masterminding terrorist occurrences to derail CPEC developments. He was also blamed for having close relations with Baloch separatists (TheNews, 2018). On 29<sup>th</sup> September, 2016, Indian army claimed to have carried out a surgical strike against some teams of militants who are preparing to launch attacks in India on different places. The claim was outrightly denied by Pakistan stating that only cross-border firing had taken place (Panda, 2016). Following this incident, there were scores of cross-border skirmishes and a lot of casualties, both civil and military, on both sides which plunged the relation into deep rivalry again.

*Table 8. Comparison of Metaphors in the Speeches of 2017*

India	Topics	World and UN	Terrorism/Pakistan	Poverty/Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate Change	Country's Progress	Trade	Importance of state	Democracy
	Number	23	50	-	-	13	29	-	-	-
	%	4.5	6.2	-	-	4.7	4.2	-	-	-
Pakistan	Topics	World and UN	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development	Nuclear Issues	Climate changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
	Number	11	58	9	2	3	8	-	10	-
	%	3.8	5.5	4.1	3.4	3	4.9	-	3.8	-



#### **4.1.6.2 Density of Metaphors in Indian Speech in 2017**

The analysis of the speech made by India in UN Assembly in 2017 marks a higher use of metaphors 0.1 rise in the density. However, the number of metaphors was high in the speech of Pakistan, but its density was low in comparison to the speech made in 2010.

An obvious feature of the table is the highest number of metaphors in the topic of Kashmir and Terrorism. There were 50 metaphors identified with the highest density of 6.2%. The sheer rise in the metaphorical content in this topic has singularly over-shadowed the rest of the topics where density remained less than 5%. Second highest number of metaphors were observed in the paragraphs discussing the progress made by the country.

Worsening of ties with Pakistan has once again seen a change in pattern of the employment of metaphors in different topics. Just like pre-2008 speeches when the tension between two countries was very high, this time again the same trends have been observed regarding metaphors. Indian politicians used more metaphors when Ind-Pak relations were in crises.

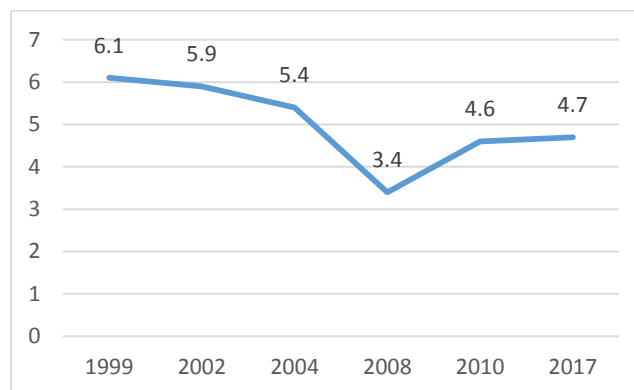
#### **4.1.6.3 Density of Metaphors in Pakistani Speech in 2017**

The results of Pakistan's speech in 2017 show similar statistics. An overwhelmingly high number of metaphors have been employed during the discussion of Ind-kashmir issues and other conflicts which is 58. The density of metaphors in this topic was also very high. The analysis shows that the density in this topic in 2017 was 5.5 as compared to 4.8 in the speech made in 2010. The topic with second highest number had far lower number of metaphors i.e. 11. Highest metaphoric density in the Ind-kashmir issues and conflicts highlights how Pakistani politicians were also using metaphors-packed strategy to discuss some major issues as it is clear that main area for the usage of metaphor was Ind-Kashmir issue and conflicts. Slightly more than half of the metaphors were used in this topic. However, both number and percentage in the topic of terrorism have declined.

#### 4.1.7 Summary

One of the focuses of this research was to understand the metaphorical density and its changes in the speeches made by Pakistani and Indian delegations in UNGA. The graph given below presents the overall change in the density of metaphors in Indian speeches.

*Line graph 1 Trend in the Metaphoric Percentage in Indian Speeches*



Highest moments of post-Kargil tension in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and India in 1999 witnessed the highest number of metaphors in Indian speech. This rhetorical device seemed to have been favored by Indian speakers. In the same speech, the metaphorical density was also highest. The speech was packed with metaphors more than any other speech observed in the research. Improvements in ties saw a striking decline in total number of metaphors in 2002, reaching 91. With a marginal fluctuation, lowest number of metaphors have been identified in the speech made in 2008. This year was the peak point of pleasant relations between the two countries in last two decades in consequence of hectic backdoor diplomatic negotiations. Interestingly, the results indicate that metaphorical density was also at the lowest point (3.4%). Unfortunately, this peace process could not last long as the terror attacks in India overtook it. Resultantly, the dialogues were stalled. The situation kept worsening with trust deficit growing due to a number of reasons including cross-border terrorism and Kashmir issue. It is observed that the number of metaphors as well as the metaphorical density in Indian speeches also rose along with the rising frictions between Pakistan and India. The density rose to 4.6 in 2010 speech and remained stable in 2017. The number of metaphors in the speech made in 2010 doubled in 2017, however the density remained almost same.

*Table 9. Number of Metaphors in Different Topics in Indian Speech*

	Assessing 20th Century	UN	Terrorism and Pak-Kashmir	Poverty and Development Issues	Nuclear Issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	importance of state	Democracy
1999	53	29	86	-	23	-	11	10	18	-
2002	-	11	33	30	-	6	-	-	-	9
2004	-	17	12	18	8	-	17	-	-	14
2008	-	14	5	5	6	1	-	8	-	-
2010	-	18	12	6	11	2	-	-	-	-
2017	-	23	50	-	-	13	29	-	-	-
Total	53	112	198	59	48	22	57	18	18	23

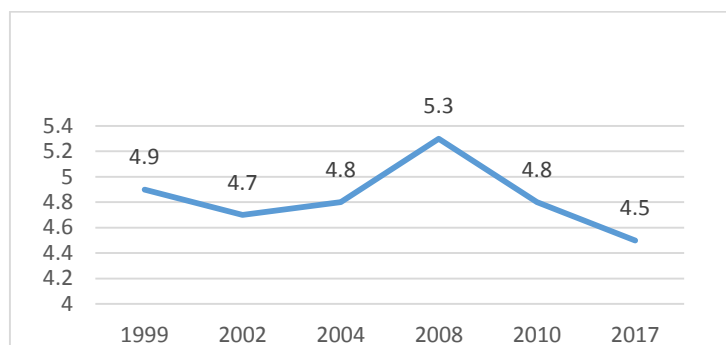
*Table 10. Density of Metaphors in Different Topics in Indian Speeches*

	Assessing 20th Century	UN	Terrorism and Pak-Kashmir	Poverty and Development Issues	Nuclear Issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	importance of state	Democracy
1999	7.6	4.2	7.2	-	5	-	5.5	6.1	6.2	-
2002	-	5.9	5.4	7.6	-	6.5	-	-	-	6.2
2004	-	5.2	4.5	5.8	3.3	-	6	-	-	4.4
2008	-	5	3.03	2.8	3.7	2.7	-	2.06	-	-
2010	-	5	4.9	4.9	4.2	1.9	-	-	-	-
2017	-	4.5	6.2	-	-	4.7	4.2	-	-	-

In 1999, the metaphorical density in terrorism and Pak-Kashmir issue was 7.2 %. The topic of poverty and development was not even included in the speech. In 2002, the density in this topic came marginally lower, while that of issues of the world and UN and poverty/development became higher. At peace-time, the density in Pak-Kashmir issue remained lowest and the gap between its density and that of issues of the world and UN became wider. As the relations between the two countries became sore again, the density in the topic of Pak-Kashmir issue and terrorism once again rose and crossed the density of other topics. This seems to suggest that India makes higher use of metaphorical density in the matters requiring more attention and persuasion.

Similarly, a number of notable points can be summarized regarding the density of metaphors if the metaphoric data of Pakistan is seen in a consolidated state.

*Line graph 2. Trend in the Metaphoric Percentage in Pakistani Speeches*



Highest number of metaphors can be seen in two years: 1999 and 2008. The number of metaphors used in these two years was 157 and 145 and the density 4.9 and 5.3 respectively. Historical context of both these years, as discussed earlier, was intense. In 1999, both nuclear-armed Pakistan and India had come face to face once again as a result of Kargil crisis and it was feared that South Asia might witness a horrific nuclear war. Pakistan had to present the counter-narrative of Kargil war spread by India. In 2008, Pakistan had faced single most upsetting terror attack in which Benazir Bhutto, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, died. Moreover, this country's democracy had just come out of the shackles of years' long dictatorship. Topic wise metaphors analysis shows that a vast chunk of metaphors were used in these two topics in their respective speeches.

*Table 11. Number of Metaphors in Different Topics in Pakistani Speeches*

	Assessing 20th Century	UN	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development Issues	Nuclear Issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
1999	4	10	97	-	11	-	-	18	7	-
2002	-	-	33	3	-	-	4	-	20	-
2004	-	7	50	9	-	-	3	4	16	-
	Benazir and Policies									
2008	51	-	7	8	-	-	-	-	45	27
2010	-	8	20	-	8	7	25	-	9	-
2017	-	11	58	9	2	3	8	-	10	-
Total	55	36	265	29	21	10	40	22	107	27

*Table 12. Density of Metaphors in Different Topics in Pakistani Speeches*

	Assessing 20th Century	Issues of world and UN	India and Conflicts	Poverty and Development Issues	Nuclear Issues	Climate Changes	Country's Progress	Trade	Terrorism	Democracy
1999	4.8	5.4	5.1	-	6.5	-	-	5.5	3.4	-
2002	-	-	5.3	2.7	-	-	3.1	-	6.6	-
2004	-	3.7	5.3	4.6	-	-	4	3.6	6.3	-
	Benazir and Policies									
2008	5.2	-	3.5	7.1	-	-	-	-	5.5	7.3
2010	-	5.9	4.8	-	6.2	4.1	8.6	-	4.5	-
2017	-	3.8	5.5	4.1	3.4	3	4.9	-	3.8	-

Pakistani delegations, just like Indian, used more metaphors in the topics that were contemporarily intense on national as well as international level. Density of metaphors in the topic of terrorism dramatically rose to 6.6% in 2002 from 3.4% in 1999 due to Pakistan's change of stance in response to global change of dynamics on terrorism in wake of 9/11 attacks. While the metaphors in the topic of terrorism reduced in Indian speech in 2008, they increased in Pakistani speech. The reason can be traced to one incident: terror attack that claimed one of the prominent leaders of the ruling party. On the contrary, the metaphorical density in the topic of conflicts fell to its lowest level in the same year. This was probably due to better ties with India in that phase. There was a very high number of metaphors used in discussing Benazir Bhutto, her assassination and her policies. As many as 51 metaphors used in this topic with a high density of 5.2 shows the employment of metaphors for rhetoric purposes. Since, this assassination was considered an act of terror, there was a noticeable length given to this topic in the speech alongwith higher metaphors as well as density.

Patterns of both number and density of metaphors in discussing the matter related to India-kashmir were similar to one found in Indian speeches in the same topic. Metaphorical content in the topics of India and Kashmir kept decreasing from a very high number and density until 2008 before rising again. This shows the apparent connection between the state of relations with India to the metaphorical content in the speeches.

#### **4.2 Metaphors in Terms of Source Domains**

This section deals with the source domains of all the metaphors regardless the topics they appeared in. According to the tradition of CMT, the objects from where the ideas are

chosen for comparison in metaphors are called *source domains*. These are themes or sets of concrete sources that are used for talking about complex and abstract ideas. The metaphors were retrieved in the similar way to Barbara Lesz's work (2011). A total of 62 themes were identified in all the Indian speeches selected for analysis while the number of themes in Pakistani speeches were 58.

*Table 13. Ten Highest Number of Metaphors in Terms of Source Domain in Pakistani Speeches*

Person	193	29%	Yet <b>Kosovo's travails</b> are not over (pak1999SAp13).
Journey	78	11.5%	...set Pakistan on <b>the path</b> of sustained economic growth (pak2002GM14).
War	62	9.1%	We will remain on <b>frontlines</b> of peacekeeping (pak2017KA10).
Building /construction	38	5.6%	determined to <b>rebuild</b> ...a vibrant Pakistan... (pak2010SMQ2).
Entity	32	4.7%	...guidelines for access to and transfer of <b>technology</b> (pak1999SA41).
Land/area	25	3.7%	<b>Islands and peace</b> cannot coexist for long within oceans of instability (pak2004GM14).
Plant	22	3.3%	...to further <b>deepen</b> regional cooperation and expand... (pak2010SMQ16).
up/down	20	3%	...that strikes at the <b>root</b> of the problem... (pak2004GM5).
Illness/disease	15	2.2%	...while conflicts, oppression and adversity <b>fester</b> . (pak2010SMQ3).
Liquid	15	2.2%	Pakistan hosted the largest <b>concentration</b> of refugees... (pak2010SMQ13).

The preceding table lists the ten most common themes that were identified in all the speeches of Pakistani delegations. They are ranked by number and mean frequency per speech, starting with the most frequent theme. Each theme is followed by an example taken from respective speech. Similarly, the following tables states the data of Indian Speeches:

Table 14. Ten Highest Number of Metaphors in Terms of Source Domain in Indian Speeches

Person	161	23%	... <b>twentieth century</b> has been <b>witness</b> to the detritus... (ind1999JS16).
Journey	85	12%	... <b>highways</b> of development are <b>jammed</b> ... (ind2002AV15).
War	66	9.50%	...we are fully engaged in fighting <b>poverty</b> (ind2017SS10).
Land/area	41	5.90%	...creating the <b>widest</b> possible consensus (ind1999JS35).
Entity	32	4.60%	It has <b>integrated</b> our <b>marketplaces</b> (ind2004MS8).
building/ construction	29	4.20%	...manner in which the architecture international institutions evolves (ind2004MS13).
up/down	26	3.76%	Cybersecurity has become a source <b>of</b> deep insecurity (ind2017SS3).
Liquid	24	3.47%	...this unstoppable <b>flow</b> of the great Ganga of Indian democracy (ind1999JS15).
Plant	22	3.18%	Those who speak of underlying <b>root</b> causes of terrorism... (ind2002AV8).
Illness/disease	22	3.18%	...pulling back from... <b>chronic instability</b> (inds2004MS17).

The study revealed that top three source domains in the speeches of both Indian and Pakistani delegations were same: *person*, *journey* and *war*. This is inconsistent with the researcher's supposition that there would be differences in the way metaphoric themes would be used. Moreover, all the themes in top ten metaphors were also common with slight differences in ranking. For example, other than the top three most common metaphors, the other common metaphorical themes in the immediate next seven themes were *building*, *entity*, *land*, *plant*, *up/down*, *illness* and *liquid* which has slightly different ranking.

These metaphors appeared in a number of topics with a number of target domains in the speeches of both countries, for example 'Democracy', '20<sup>th</sup> century', 'climate change issues' and 'development' etc. Since the aims of the current research is to study the metaphors used for terrorism, Kashmir, Self and opposition for finding out how the discourse of legitimization and delegitimization is supported by the metaphors, the detailed

discussion will also be narrowed and limited. The discussion will involve only those metaphors whose target domains are terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition.

### **4.3 Conceptualizing Terrorism, Kashmir, Self and Opposition**

Based on the results of the preceding section, it has been found that highest density of metaphors was found in the paragraphs whose topics were terrorism, Kashmir, self and opposition. Out of the metaphors that were found in these topics, in this section the study compares and discusses the themes and source domains of only the metaphors of which target domains are *terrorism, Kashmir, self* and *opposition*. It was found that Pakistani and Indian delegations used different metaphors to suit their discourses of legitimization and delegitimization. There were no significantly comparable direct metaphors that were found in which the target domain was Kashmir in the speeches of both countries. Due to this, they have been excluded from the research. However, it is pertinent to mention here that a great number of the metaphors used in the portrayal of Terrorism, Self and Opposition stemmed and originated directly from the issue of Kashmir.

#### **4.3.1 Introduction**

One of the purposes of the statements made by the representatives of the countries in UNGD is to “influence international perceptions of their state, aiming to position their states favorably, as well as to influence the perception of other states” (Hecht, 2016, p. 10). Both delegations of Pakistan and India used a number of metaphors in their speeches in UNGA (GD). As explained in 2.7, the internal structure of the metaphors, which includes mapping and entailments throws light on the political reasoning of using metaphors. When a metaphor is used, there is a transfer of meaning from one domain to another (Charteris-Black, 2004). In this ideological function of metaphor, the target domain is viewed through the lenses of the source domain. The qualities of the source domain are shown to be the qualities of the target domain. In this way, as opposed to the classical view, the interpretation of metaphor *motivates and creates* the similarities in apparently completely different domains (Richard, 1936). I.A. Richard (1936) also claimed that a metaphor is an interaction between two thoughts. Hence, metaphor is a system of implication. Both Pakistan and Indian politicians spoke against each other regarding terrorism and Kashmir.



The analysis, while discussing the source domains, will show the ideological motives of the use of metaphors in which target domains are terrorism, self and opposition.

According to Diegnan (2005), there are five notions of CMT: i) Metaphor structures thinking; ii) Metaphor structures knowledge; iii) Metaphor is central to abstract language; iv) Metaphor is grounded in physical experience; v) Metaphor is ideological. The last point ‘Metaphor is ideological’ is significant for this study. This notion has also been discussed by other researchers and it has been generally agreed that metaphor is an influential tool for persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2004; Goatly, 1997; Ortony, 1996). According to the theory of CMT, some aspects of the source domain are highlighted while others are kept hidden in the mapping process.

This purposeful highlighting and hiding practices have made conceptual metaphor ideological. For the choice of metaphor in this way can influence our perception or decision making upon certain issues (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). For establishing persuasion, it is of vital importance to study the rhetoric context in which the metaphors appear. Billig and MacMillan (2005, p. 459) argued that “political speakers can use metaphors in rhetorically effective ways to create new meanings and to challenge previously established ways of understanding.” Mio and Katz (1996) also maintained that the study of four areas of communicator, the message content, medium and the audience determine the ideological motivation of the metaphors used. It can be summarized in the question: “*Who says what by how to whom?*” (Mio & Katz, 1996, p. 128). The current study has included the study of context also to observe the ideological employment of the metaphors by Pakistani and Indian delegations in their speeches in UN.

#### **4.3.2 Conceptualizing Terrorism**

Metaphors have two functions in conceptualization: they help conceptualize the world around, and secondly they shape the way people perceive reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). It was found in the analysis that terrorism has been delineated differently by Indian and Pakistani delegations for showing different perspectives. Given below is the discussion made on the metaphors used by both countries regarding terrorism.

#### 4.3.2.1 Conceptualization of Terrorism in Pakistani Speeches

The study found that throughout their speeches, Pakistani delegations had a tendency of using more metaphors for terrorism that had their source domains as *a consequence*.

##### 4.3.2.1.1 TERRORISM IS A PLANT and (its) CAUSES ARE ROOTS

Agriculture is one of the closest and fundamental experiences of human being. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have observed that *abstract ideas* are often described as *plants*. For example “*His ideas have finally come to fruition*”, “*That’s a budding theory*” and “*The seeds of this great ideas were planted in his youth*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 47). White (1997) has observed that the words like *growth*, *roots* and *recover* are in strict sense used to talk about plants, but they are often used to structure the concepts of increase/decrease of other concepts like economy etc. A great number of metaphors are motivated through this experience. Mithen (1998) had also pointed out the conceptual metaphor that *Animals and Plants are people*.

The investigation of metaphors in the speeches of Pakistani delegations in UN has revealed the use of plant metaphors to discuss the complex realities of terrorism. Many abstract concepts have been structured through plant metaphors to form particular views about terrorism. Following two examples have been taken from the speeches of Pakistani delegations in 2002 and 2008:

3. There is a need to address **the root causes** of terrorism (pak2002GM6).
4. The **roots of today’s terrorism** can be traced to a war involving the world’s super-Powers in Afghanistan during the 1980s (pak2008AAZ10).

According to the foreign policy of Pakistan regarding Kashmir, the fight in the valley is being waged by Kashmiri people to free their land from the foreign rule of India. The source domain of the plant metaphor shows that when a plant grows out of seeds, it forms its roots in the ground simultaneously. The strength and mass of the plant outside the ground is supported by the roots in the ground. The political motive behind using the roots metaphors can be understood if the source domain and target domain in these

metaphors are studied together. It is obvious that if there is a plant, it also has its roots which are holding and supporting it. The metaphor **TERRORISM HAS ROOTS** implies that in order to deal with terrorism, the motivations that has led the people to commit terrorism should be focused instead of terrorism itself which is mere a consequence of much wider issues.

5. ...in order to eliminate terrorism, its **root causes** must be addressed, **which go beyond** poverty and ignorance... (pak2017SKA20)

The roots are the support system on the basis of which a plant firmly grows outside the ground. Moreover, the roots provide nutrition and necessary food to the plant as Kövecses (2002) maintains that people's knowledge of the structure of the plants is employed to apprehend the social entities and organizations. He has postulated this metaphor as **SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS** and hence has following conceptual correspondences (Kövecses, 2002, p. 8):

Source	→ Target
plant	→ Social organization
The whole plant	→ The entire organization
A part of the plant	→ A part of the organization
Growth of the plant	→ Development of the organization
Removing a part of the plant	→ Reducing the organization
The root of the plant	→ The origin of the organization
The flowering	→ The best stage
The fruit or crops	→ The beneficial consequences

Conceptualizing the terrorism in this way, gives the idea that the main issue is the causes of the terrorism, an organized organism, which are responsible for its growth. This also implies that if the roots are eliminated, the plant will wither automatically. By associating the roots with the causes of terrorism, it is stressed that the success depends on eliminating the causes and not the consequences.

6. Unless such **root causes are addressed**, it will be difficult to counter the twisted narratives of terrorist groups (pak2017SKA20).

The long term strategy has been suggested as paying attention to the roots to finally neutralize the issue. Following is another example of such kind:

7. The immediate anti-terrorist response has to be accompanied by a clear long-term strategy that strikes at **the root of the problem** if we are to ensure final success against this scourge (pak2004GM5).

The roots are considered as the persistent source of minerals and nutrients to the plants. It is often the case, specially the weeds, that if the plant is removed from the surface while leaving the roots behind, the stem will grow again. To completely remove the plant from the ground, it is necessary to remove it along with its roots to prevent it from growing back. In this example, the same experience has been conceptualized to create the image of terrorism as a plant and while its roots as driving force which are the causes of the terrorism. In other words the speaker has highlighted that a complete elimination of terrorism will require working on its main reasons. In the following example the roots, namely the causes, have also been mentioned.

8. It is also essential to address **the root causes of terrorism**, which are often found in poverty, deprivation, injustices and oppression (pak2010SMQ10).

Accordingly, the reasons of terrorism are not only poverty and deprivation, but also repression and injustices. In the example given above, the same idea has been implied. This conceptualization of **POVERTY IS ROOT** and **REPRESSION IS ROOT**, comes from Pakistan's long standing stance that the acts of so-called terrorism is in fact a freedom struggle and an expression of dislike for the foreign rules as of India in Kashmir, of Israel in Palestine and of other foreign forces in Iraq.

The plant metaphor also implies that the causes of the terrorism are hidden just like the roots of a plant are hidden in the ground. The general attitude of the people is looking more at what is visible than attempting to look something which is invisible because it will require more efforts. Pakistani speakers in different years, as mentioned in the examples, have tried to invite the attention of the UN members to the underlying causes of the terrorism through these metaphors. Following are some more examples of **TERRORISM IS PLANT** metaphor:

9. Afghanistan and Pakistan — and, increasingly, the entire world — **are reaping the bitter harvest sown** towards the end of the cold war (pak2008AAZ10).

As maintained by Kövecses (2002), the crops are the beneficial result of the plants. However, this metaphor has been used differently by Pakistani speakers. Pakistani delegations used them again narrowing down to the same idea that the terrorism is not a cause, rather it is a consequence. In the example given above, terrorism has been conceptualized as TERRORISM IS A HARVEST. It is obvious that growing a particular kind of crop requires the seeds for the desired plants. Once the seeds have been sown, the budding plants will reflect the seeds sown in the soil. In this way, the metaphor also extends as FOREIGN INTERVENTION IS SEEDS. These are all the linguistic metaphors of the same conceptual metaphor that TERRORISM IS PLANT. The idea that it delineates is that Pakistan and Afghanistan are mere suffering from the problems of terrorism of which seeds were sown long ago during the cold war of greater Powers of the world.

Another example of showing terrorism as a response to a perceived deprivation has been metaphorized in the following way:

10. ...that a father who cannot support his family is someone **ripe** for extremism (pak2008AAZ5).

Metaphor of *fruit* has also been used with a somewhat different correspondence from that of Kövecses' (2002) description of it. The source domain of this metaphor shows that when a plant grows to a maturity, it starts bearing fruit. The bearing of fruit requires a continuous nutrients from the plant in which the plant takes the minerals and other required ingredients like water etc. The quality of the taste and general health of the fruit purely depends on the ground and the nutrients available. If a fruit is ripened, it can be said that there was enough of provision and supply of necessary ingredients through the stem all the way from roots. Such complex system starting from seeds to the final ripening of fruit is something most of human being are aware of due to the overwhelming interaction with agriculture and amateur gardening at home. In short, ripening of the fruit is the height of the whole plant system.

When the fruit ripens, it becomes usable, edible and provides nutrition to the consumer. Interestingly, by mapping, only one aspect of ‘ripe’ has been highlighted in this example i.e. ‘ready’ and ‘prepared’. The other aspects of how a fruit can benefit humanity have been left hidden. This is another ideological use of the system of metaphors in which only the desired part of the source domain is highlighted, commonly known as mapping. The whole complex system of how a father becomes ready to become extremist due to deprivation, has been skipped and simply shown as a ripened fruit. FATHER IS RIPE FRUIT implies rest of the processing showing that there was a reason for a father to be a terrorist, and just as a fruit become ripe after enough nutrients, there was enough of ingredients that have led the father to be what he is, namely a terrorist. This example shows how powerfully the people’s knowledge of their surrounding can be used to make them see something that they have not observed or experienced. They are led to look at the invisible through the visible and known. In this way the visible and known becomes the yardstick to look at the suggested idea potentially overlooking the target domain in its real setting. FATHER IS A RIPE FRUIT clearly indicates that the father had no choice. He is simply a fruit of the plant of deprivation and it was beyond his choice. In this way the listeners are invited to believe that if the blame of terrorism is to be fixed, it is not the father. Rather it is the circumstances that have made him so.

11. Their (Afghan refugees’) camps soon became **breeding grounds** for intolerance and violence (pak2008AAZ10).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) had said that we often use *plant* metaphor for things that result into something else with abundance. For example, “She had a fertile imagination” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 47). Similarly, in the example given above the metaphor CAMPS ARE FERTILE GROUND has also been motivated by our common knowledge of how a plant grows and what suitable conditions are required for them to grow. Plants cannot grow on lands which are not fertile. Fahad (2018) has observed that in business spheres, when a market for particular product is new and open, it is considered a *fertile* ground for business to *plough*. Terming the camps as breeding grounds indicates that just as a suitable breeding ground has water, salt and nutrition for plants to grow, these

camps had enough of conditions like deprivations, neglect and poverty which stirred the negative emotions in their dwellers which then resulted in violence.

#### **4.3.2.1.2 FEELINGS ARE ROADS/ VIOLENCE AND WARS ARE DESTINATION**

According to cognitive linguistics, the embodied experience of a journey is organized in shape of PATH schema. As Johnson (1987, p. 112) claimed, “in every case of paths, there are always a source (or a starting point), a goal (or an end point) and a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source with the goal”. Lakoff (1993) had identified that JOURNEY metaphor is often used to describe the conditions of love. In physical journey, there are roads, crossroads, paths, starting point, ending point and obstacles etc. In this metaphor, road is considered a channel which *leads* to a destination. This also implies that a wrong road will take to a wrong destination. Hence the roads become the source of reaching anywhere. In the following example, feelings have been represented as roads:

12. **Long-suppressed national aspirations**, as well as **frustration with continuing inequity** and deprivation, **have led to** widespread violence and wars, between and within States (pak1999SA7).

ASPIRATIONS ARE ROADS and VIOLENCE AND WAR IS DESTINY shows that violence has been caused by suppressed national aspiration like in Kashmir. Here again, the stress is on the *channel, the path or the road* that have been used to imply the feelings of *suppressed aspirations and frustration with inequity*. Anyone on these roads will surely be *led* to the destination that lies at the end of the road. So, the implication is again that violence is the result of some other greater issues that need to be solved.

#### **4.3.2.1.3 EXTREMISM AND FANATICISM ARE FIRE**

Following is another metaphor that shows how *extremism and fanaticism* are the consequences of other causes:

13. Dictatorship **fuels** extremism and that poverty **fuels** fanaticism (pak2008AAZ5).

The metaphor given above is the example of super-ordinate metaphor INTENSITY IS HEAT. The source domain of the *ability to increase the heat* has been associated with *dictatorship and poverty*. The target domains of extremism and fanaticism have been shown as *fires* whose intensity is *directly proportional* to the *source of igniters*. It can be observed here again that this metaphor has been used to maintain the discourse of showing extremism and terrorism as consequences. Moreover, when the ideas are presented as *materials*, it becomes easy to understand them, quantify and hence control them. According to Lakoff (1980, p. 65), “A material resource is *a kind of substance, can be quantified fairly precisely, can be assigned a value per unit quantity serves a purposeful end, is used up progressively as it serves its purpose*”. These material resources can be termed as raw materials or fuel sources. Both of them can serve purposeful ends. Fuel may be made use of for heating, transportation, or the energy geared in making a product (ibid). Therefore, the metaphor used in the example under discussion implies that the abstract ideas of *dictatorship* and *poverty* are the *source materials* that can be identified and controlled. It also implies that since the result always depends on the source material, the greater attention is to be paid to the source, rather than the object that it is being *fueled*.

#### 4.3.2.1.4 TERRORISM IS A DISEASE

The following example of metaphor has been identified in the speech made by Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari in UNGA in 2008:

14. Today, the horror of terrorism that **plagues** our nation and threatens the world is a by-product of the lack of commitment to the values of democracy (pak2008AAZ17).

The *horror of terrorism* has been depicted here as a disease that is *inflicting the (Pakistani) nation*. Politicians often talk about the problem of a nation as adversary or disease. Musolff (2012) argues that it is much easier for politicians to show and establish their claims by inviting the listener or reader’s knowledge about the horror of illness and a necessity for its treatment instead of coming up with straight statistical claims which can be questioned and proved wrong. He also claims that “The respective conceptual items (cancer, parasites, decomposition) also carry social, emotional and aesthetic values that



influence the interpretation of the utterance” (Musolff, 2012, p. 303). He adds that a nation state can be *healthy or fall ill*. The entailments of this metaphor also involves that there are “*disease-carrying and disease-spreading agents*” which are the reasons of the illness and disease (ibid). Keeping this view in front, the metaphor given above potentially associates the terrorism with *a plague*. Interesting point here is that in the proceeding lines, this disease again has been explained as *by-product*, emphasizing as this is too a *consequence* of other issue by terming it a *by-product*.

#### 4.3.2.1.5 EXTREMISTS AND TERRORISTS ARE NATURAL DISASTER

The metaphor nature can be extracted from anything that has been created on earth. Any institution can be referred to as a *rock* of faith, economic downfalls can be presented as *passing storms* etc. Cognitive linguists have identified that metaphoric conceptualization of physical events as disasters emerging from natural calamities is common among politicians. Charteris-Black (2006) and Wodak (2006) have claimed that THE NATURAL DISASTER metaphor dominates the discourse about immigrants. In the following example, the portrayal of the immigration of the extremists has been realized through the natural calamity of *flood*:

15. Those **wars** have blighted our country with **the flow of** extremists and terrorists, guns and drugs, as well as an **influx of** millions of refugees (pak2017SKA16).

The research of Charteris-Black (2006) into the speeches of politicians having a politically right-wing mind found that the metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER was frequently used to frame the public opinion that immigrants were dangerous for their society. The same results are found by Van Der Valk (Valk, 2003) who observed that the discourse of right-wing political speakers used the metaphors of AGGRESSION, WAR AND WATER to refer to the immigrants as a risk and danger for the society. In the example under discussion, the word *flow* has been used for extremists and terrorists, which is otherwise used for water. Additionally, like other metaphors explained in previous paragraphs, there is a cause of this *flow*\_ wars. In this way the flow is emanating from wars. Hence, WARS ARE SOURCE and TERRORISTS AND REFUGEES ARE LIQUID. This metaphor implies that just like a mass of water flows

relentlessly to a direction, there had been a huge migration of terrorists as well as refugees in Pakistan. Both of these have been caused by the wars in Afghanistan. This metaphor resultantly permeates the fear of extremists and immigrants through making them look like a water flowing in a direction in a shape of flood.

#### 4.3.2.1.6 TERRORISM IS A PERSON

Personification means referring to a non-living objects as animate and living objects. “Personification consists of referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate” (Moreno, 2008). In political discourse, use of PERSON METAPHOR is very common (Charteris-Black, 2006). People have a lot of characteristics and conditions that they face in their everyday lives. People also hold values and experience problems like illness etc. With all of these characteristics, attitudes and activities, positive or negative associations are attached. These positive or negative traits are then transferred by the speakers into abstract ideas to make them look like human being because it is easy to think of abstract ideas in human terms. These ideas are presented as human beings, good or bad. The politicians present the ideas as *good or bad* persons to evoke certain attitude towards them (Charteris-Black, 2006).

During late 1990’s and early 2000’s there was a growing criticism by India that Pakistan supported and housed terrorists. In order to counter the narrative of India, the speeches that were made in UNGA in post 9/11 era, there are a number of metaphors that show a discourse of polarization and exclusion to distance Pakistan from terrorism and its perpetrators. By making references to the terrorism as ADVERSARY, the discourse contributes to the representation of Pakistan as opposed to terrorism and its affiliates and that TERRORISTS HAVE NO RELIGION.

The following TERRORISM IS A PERSON metaphor used by Pakistani delegations shows a polarization discourse of exclusion:

16. Terrorism **has** neither creed nor religion (pak2002GM5).

The example given above shows that *terrorism is a person* who has neither religion nor creed. This metaphor has been used to highlight that there is no link between terrorism

and any religion. After the terrorist attack in USA in 9/11, it was a perception in some people of the world that Islam, the religion of a vast majority of people in Pakistan, supports and espouses violence and terrorism. Following example also shows the same polarizing discourse but in a different way:

17. It is not religion which **impels** a terrorist act (pak2002GM6).

In this metaphor RELIGION IS A PERSON. Religion has been framed as a *good person* who does not inspire the terrorists. This discourse of exclusion distances both religion Islam and the country Pakistan from the followers of terrorism. A study by Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011) has demonstrated how metaphors affect people in terms of issues. They also claimed that the metaphors are employed in a strategic way whereby social issues are framed. Presenting problems and issues framed as good or bad human being can evoke emotional response in just a manner we factually think of good or bad people around us like friends and robbers (ibid). The following two more examples show how terrorism has been presented as a person:

18. Terrorism **poses** the most urgent threat to many countries (pak2004GM4).

19. Terrorism **threatens** Pakistan's vital national interests and objectives (pak2004GM4).

The example given below is showing DOCTRINE IS A PERSON.

20. The **struggle between** the Bhutto **doctrine** of reconciliation and the terrorists' **doctrine** of death will determine the future of mankind (pak2008AAZ18).

The discourse of exclusion is very clear here. Benazir Bhutto who was assassinated in a terrorist attack, was the leader of the ruling Pakistan People's Party in 2008. Her husband referred to her doctrine of reconciliation as a PERSON pitted against the doctrine of terrorists, also metaphorically referred to as a person. Moreover, in the same speech, terrorist agenda has been shown as a living being, surviving on oxygen:

21. And a stable Pakistan will **suck the oxygen** out of the **terrorist agenda** (pak2008AAZ22).

This example shows a vivid imagery of PAKISTAN IS A PERSON and TERRORIST AGENDA IS A PERSON. The distinction has been drawn by using a positive image with Pakistan as stable which will *kill the terrorist agenda*. In all these examples positive images have been used for self and negative for terrorists and their agenda, helping to formulate a discourse of exclusion and alienation through metaphors.

#### 4.3.2.2 Conceptualization of Terrorism in Indian Speeches:

Of all the metaphors identified which had TERRORISM as their target domain in Indian speeches, not even a single one showed terrorism as a consequence. In this way metaphorical expressions regarding Terrorism found in Indian speeches selected for the study had quite different tendency from that of Pakistan. The research has shown that contrary to Pakistan's using most of the metaphors for highlighting the causes of the terrorism, India instead has used metaphors to make a discourse that shows terrorism as *the main cause* of other serious issues. Hence, Indian speeches contained a number of metaphors that linked terrorism with some of its consequences while Pakistani delegations have used most of the metaphors to point to terrorism as a consequence of *other serious issues*.

##### 4.3.2.2.1 TERRORISM IS A CRIMINAL

Following metaphor has been used to show the criminality of terrorism:

22. Because **its** (terrorism's) **principal targets** become the innocent, it is **a crime** against humanity (ind1999JS19).

This *person* metaphor has framed only one *action of terrorism* which is targeting innocent people and no reference to causes or driving forces have been made like they were found in Pakistani metaphors. The use of metaphor in a particular way can highlight some elements of a frame while downplaying other parts (Schon, 1979; Jerolmack, 2008). In this process, the context-relevant elements of the schema that have been activated through the use of metaphors, suppress the context-irrelevant associations (Ritchie L. D., 2006). The first part of the metaphor given above makes up as TERRORISM IS PERSON. This PERSON has a target i.e. innocent. By giving the animate qualities of *targeting* to the

abstract idea of terrorism, it is easy to refer to it as a person, quantify it and finally refer to it as a bad person to awaken this desired emotions in the mind of the listeners.

Apart from that, every country has an extensive system of law and regulations. The purposes of laws are establishing standards, maintaining order, settling disputes and securing the liberties and rights. Keeping these purposes of law, anything that goes against the law is presumed to be affecting the society reversely, called crime. It is in general cognition of the mind that a crime goes against the society. In the example given above, there is a cluster of metaphors. By referring to terrorism as crime and terming HUMANITY IS A VICTIM and HUMANITY IS PERSON, it is easy to bring home the idea that terrorism is an ADVERSARY and is the cause of loss to the person HUMANITY which is the prime and supreme abstract idea.

#### **4.3.2.2.2 REASONED DISCOURSE IS A DISH; NONE-VIOLENCE IS AN INGREDIENT**

A great number of metaphors are motivated from people's experience of cooking as it is the most common practice in societies. The words like, *cook up a story*, *boil down to*, *stir up/whip up*, *the recipe of disaster* all have come from different situations in cooking and found their way into language for describing certain situations (Tsaknaki, 2016). Many metaphors in Greek and French are motivated from cooking like POLITICS IS COOKING (*Power is the habit of not stopping the rot*), EMOTIONS ARE COOKING (*How to make a boy crazy in love? Let him stew*) (ibid). The example given below is also an instance of metaphor from cooking domain. The crux of this metaphorically packed sentence is that quitting violence is necessary for a convincing discourse which in turn helps to bring positive changes. This implies that if violence is practiced, it will reversely affect the reasoned discourse which will lead to stand-off and stalling of change process. In other words, abstaining from violence is the basic step. All of this complex cause and effect relation has been expressed through the metaphors by taking the COOKING as a source domain:

23. In the political domain, too, managing change demands openness and reasoned discourse, **an essential ingredient** of which is **abjuring violence** (ind1999JS19).

The metaphor REASONED DISCOURSE IS A DISH has been built by taking the everyday domain of COOKING. For a dish to be complete in its all aspects, all the necessary ingredients are necessary. If one of the essential ingredients is missing, it can spoil the whole dish leaving it inedible. In the similar way, in this example non-violence has been termed as the basic element of the dish of reasoned discourse. What this metaphor is conveying is that if non-violence is absent from the discourse, it will not be convincing which will then become the reason of the continuation of adverse relations. This metaphor shows that Indian delegations are building the image of violence as the cause of obstructing constructive political changes.

#### 4.3.2.2.3 TERRORISM IS A MANIPULATOR/ EXPLOITER

Personification metaphor is very common in a political discourse (Charteris-Black, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Chilton, 2004). The common experiences of people like diseases, lifestyles, traits, activities etc. having positive or negative associations with life become an abundant source of metaphors used to metaphorize abstract ideas which are being presented as person. This, according to Mio (1996) is a way of characterizing the objects. In the following example, there is a cluster of metaphors exhibiting Terrorism as TERRORISM IS MANIPULATOR, TERRORISM IS EXPLOITER.

24. We also know how terrorism **uses** the international financial system, how it **exploits** the breakdown of countries and societies (ind1999JS20).

Referring to any abstract idea with the help of associating it with the qualities of human beings, makes it easy to arouse emotions against it and such examples are pervasive in political discourse (Chilton, 2004). It is because people can easily be motivated to think against something that is living, tangible and visible rather than something non-living, abstract and hard to understand. In the example given above, terrorism has been represented as a person who is the EXPLOITER of difficult situations. The metaphor is likely to gain effect because it is a common understanding that when there is a catastrophe or difficult situation, people are more vulnerable. The other people can capitalize or benefit from such situations because the affected people are going through a disorder, stress, difficulty or confusion.

#### 4.3.2.2.4 TERRORISM IS A PREDATOR

There is a variety of animals and birds on earth with many distinctive qualities. Herbivorous and carnivorous division itself renders many respective qualities to animals on the basis of the way they live and acquire food. It is no surprise that the same are used metaphorically to discuss other non-related objects to potentially influence the views of the listener. Referring to MEN ARE WOLVES and MEN ARE HORSES will nudge different notions about the particular persons these metaphors are referred to. Kövecses (2010, p. 209) has stated that men often present women in the following conceptual metaphors: “WOMAN ARE (SMALL) FURRY ANIMALS (*bunny and kitten*), WOMEN ARE BIRDS (*bird, chick, hen-party*)”. Women, on the other hand, tend to refer to men in a different way: MEN ARE LARGE FURRY ANIMALS (*bears*) (ibid). In the following sentence, the metaphor is TERRORISM IS CARNIVOROUS ANIMAL:

25. ... (Terrorism) **has preyed** on the nexus between drugs and the proliferation of small arms (ind1999JS20).

Reference to something as carnivorous animal suggests an element of savageness, cruelty and selfishness. When animals prey on other animals, they attack, devour and eat them to fulfil their hunger. Moreover, the victims in this scenario appear to be helpless and weaker while the attackers are stronger and intimidating. Charteris-Black (2006) claims that a metaphor functions by interacting one thought with another which then creates a system of implication. By referring to the thought of *terrorism* as preying on drugs and weapons, the abstract nature of this idea is transformed into a physical entity making it an *obvious* reality that is terrifying and deplorable.

#### 4.3.2.2.5 TERRORISM HAS AN ARMY

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identified the metaphor of WAR as a source domain in many common speech goals such as making an ARGUMENT. Musolff (2000) had also identified this source domain in his research about metaphors in public debate over European Union politics. WAR metaphor is often used for delegitimizing the opponents. This source domain is used by politicians to build a combative discourse. The crises or adversaries are presented as *force* that is to be faced at a battlefield. Through this, the target

domains are represented as *challenge* that has to be *faced, conquered and defeated*. Indian politicians also presented terrorism through *war* metaphor:

26. (terrorism) **recruits** its foot soldiers on ideologies of bigotry and hatred, and **directly targets** democracies (ind2004MS4).

The metaphor is TERRORISM HAS AN INFANTRY. The image created here is very powerful. If a person has a few number of people as his followers, this small group may be less intimidating and has limited capacity of brining harm to the public. But army on the other hand is an organized military force. Moreover, it is adequately equipped, duly trained and sufficiently armed for fighting its adversary on the land. Showing terrorism as *recruiting* soldiers and *building up* an army gives strong impression about how much harmful it can be if it turns on the vulnerable people around it.

One interesting aspect of the metaphor in this example is that there is a mention of reason and cause on which soldiers offer them themselves in the army of Terrorism: *Bigotry* and *Hatred*. In most of examples of metaphors in Pakistani speeches where the causes of terrorism have been mentioned, they were usually deprivation, poverty and injustices. While in the example under discussion, the reasons have been given as something which is also negative causing more negative emotions towards perpetrators of terrorism.

#### 4.3.2.2.6 TERRORISM IS A SOLDIER

Following sentence contains another WAR metaphor in which TERRORISM IS A SOLDIER:

27. In our South Asian region, nuclear blackmail has emerged over the past few months as a new arrow **in the quiver** of State-sponsored **terrorism** (ind2002AV5).

In this PERSON metaphor, the entailment show that Terrorism has been represented as a *soldier* with a quiver carrying many types of arrows among which nuclear blackmail is a new addition. In real terms, a soldier is trained with the ability to combat and kill for a territorial defense. He is loaded with weapons that he can use for the mission.



Just as a soldier uses his blunt weapons to destroy and kill his adversaries, the terrorism has been portrayed here having such potential in a shape of *quiver with arrows* because of the dangerous weapons available to it.

#### 4.3.2.2.7 TERRORISM HAS A WEAPON

*Weapons* are part of the WAR metaphor that are also variably used in political discourse. They are used for describing policies and plans for achieving the ends. The *issues* are considered *enemies* that have to be fought with the *weapons*. The entailments that WAR metaphors can evoke are the existence of external enemy, a threat of devastation, battlefield, and soldiers with weapons. *Stick to guns, go ballistic, He is a top gun, straight shooter* are a few of many examples that are used pervasively. Scimitar is a blunt sword-like weapon whose blade is bigger at the end. The scene of a human body being cut by a scimitar could be very gruesome and melodramatic. In the following example the issues of narcotics and terrorism have been shown as a *soldier* whose blunt *weapon* is tearing apart regions affected by this problem:

28. ...we witness **a scimitar** of narco-terrorism cutting across the Caucasus to the South Asian subcontinent (ind1999JS20).

Ortony (1996) argues that it is not easy to explain every detail of our experience vividly with compactness and only metaphor can supplement such deficiency. He further said that through metaphor, large details can be compressed in a few words through a process called *particularization*. In addition to that, the vividness to the idea is also enhanced because metaphors are chosen from the experiences that are closer to us. Giving the details of how the combined influence of narcotics and terrorism would have first needed a cumbersome collection of data prior to speech. While during the speech, it would have taken longer time for dwelling on this topic. Moreover, many of the explanations could also be challenged in this way. But presenting the problem in a metaphor of *scimitar*, the speaker skipped all of this details.

#### 4.3.2.2.8 VIOLENCE IS LIQUID

Since our closest of experiences is that of nature, it is only obvious that it is a greatest source of metaphorical source domain. It has also been stated earlier that *flood* metaphor is often used to show problems and issues of adverse kind. However, the following sentence contains a metaphor that has been given an extra-effect of connotation with an infusion of a religious touch:

29. Our world today is **trapped in a deluge of troubles** of which the most dangerous is surely the relentless **rise of violence** (ind2017SS3).

The metaphors in this example are: VIOLENCE IS A PART OF DELUGE; WORLD IS A TRAPPED SHIP. This strong and cluster metaphor associates the disastrous qualities of a *deluge of violence* that can trap and wreck a *ship of world* inside it. The listeners have been invited to look at the world as a ship trapped inside this deluge of violence. The metaphor pitches the drowning power of deluge with the power of ship of escaping. Since deluge refers to a sever flood, the violence has been portrayed as very menacing, perilous and unpredictable. Now the origin of the word *deluge* refers to the flood in Noah's time. According to the religious views the magnitude of this flood was far higher than the kind of floods that are witnessed in the world now. In the metaphor this deluge has been referred to the *troubles* of the world. Moreover, the *violence* has been termed as the most dangerous of them. Since, metaphors *create similarities* (Richard, 1936), the views of audience on violence can possibly be affected by inviting them to look at it as a *deluge*.

#### 4.3.3 Conceptualizing Self and Opposition

An important strategy in the political discourse is legitimization and delegitimization. While examining the discursive strategies of the politicians, Van Dijk and Rojo (1997) exemplified how the discourse strategies can legitimize the actions of the politicians. They also observed that a positive self-presentation led to the legitimization of their action and policies as good for the society while those of *others* harmful. This negative *other* strategy has also been found in Valk's (2003) research of the right-wing political discourse on immigration in France. Additionally, legitimization also means that a

politicians shows himself better than others. The delegitimization, on the other hand is highlighting the downsides of the rivals (Charteris-Black, 2006).

#### **4.3.3.1 Metaphors for Self in Pakistani Speeches**

Pakistani delegations employed a number of metaphors to create a positive image of self. In fact non-literal language is an integral part of political discourse (Mihás, 2005). It is deeply entrenched in the speeches of political speakers even though people are not sometimes aware of it. Since it is rooted in our cognition deeply, it develops our views of the world. Mio and Katz (1996) have also argued that when a figurative language is used generally it constructs our world view, and when it is used in the political speeches, it is persuasion. In Pakistani politician's speeches in UNGA, most of the metaphors that were used to refer to self were PERSON metaphors.

##### **4.3.3.1.1 PAKISTAN IS A BROKER OF PEACE**

The metaphor in the following sentence is PAKISTAN IS A BROKER OF PEACE:

30. **Pakistan's efforts led** to the disengagement by the Kashmiri freedom fighters from the Kargil heights and offered a renewed opportunity for negotiation and dialogue (pak1999SA20).

In this person metaphor, the country Pakistan has been termed as a person who offered to settle the issue through negotiations. In Kargil issue, India had blamed Pakistan army for crossing the line of control and entering the Indian claimed land of Kashmir, a claim which Pakistan categorically denied. The version of Pakistan claimed that the fight waged in Kargil heights was fought by Kashmiri freedom fighters. In this way, while speaking at UNGA in 1999, the Pakistani delegation referred to Pakistan as a peace maker who urged the freedom fighters to practice restraint and disengage from their positions against India in Kargil.

##### **4.3.3.1.2 PAKISTAN IS A CHOICELESS PERSON**

In the following metaphors, Pakistani delegations have shown Pakistan as a PERSON WITHOUT A CHOICE:

- 31 Confronted by an aggressive nuclear India, **Pakistan was obliged to** demonstrate its nuclear capability and thus restore nuclear deterrence and strategic balance in South Asia (pak1999SA26).
- 32 **Pakistan will be compelled** to enhance its nuclear and missile capabilities and operational readiness to preserve deterrence (pak1999SA28).

Pakistan has always claimed that it has faced a continuous aggression from India ever since both of these countries became free. But building nuclear arms is not considered a good choice around the world. There are a number of nuclear restraint programs, like CTBT, underway in the world to check the nuclear proliferation. The metaphors depict Pakistan as a PERSON who has developed nuclear arms only to deter India's aggression. People are judged according to the value system they have. Lakoff (2003) claims that the kind of metaphors that politicians use reflects the values and ideology that they have. By showing Pakistan as forced to attain these weapons, the onus has been shifted to India who has been portrayed using the person metaphor INDIA IS AGGRESSIVE.

#### 4.3.3.1.3 PAKISTAN PRACTICES RESTRAINT

Pakistani delegations have used metaphors on a number of occasions displaying Pakistan as a PERSON who practices and proposes restraints for peace. Charteris-Black (2006) has argued that when people are led to see some political issues, institution or strategies as *persons* it is easy to understand for them what is good and what is not. When the country Pakistan is personified in the metaphor as someone who is practicing restraint, the simultaneous unspoken idea is being conveyed that the rival country's provocation is being responded with good gesture. This legitimates Pakistan's credibility as a country which favours peace as opposed to India which does not.

31. Despite India's provocations and threats over the past year, **Pakistan has acted with restraint and responsibility** (pak2002GM9).
32. Despite more than 600 violations since January, **Pakistan has acted with restraint** (pak2017SKA14).
33. Pakistan **acted with restraint** (pak1999SA20).

The metaphors in the sentences given above describe Pakistan as a good person, for example: PAKISTAN PROPOSES NUCLEAR RESTRAIN and PAKISTAN IS COMMITTED PERSON. These metaphors depict PAKISTAN IS A RESPONSIBLE PERSON who practices restraints and does not allow the situation to aggravate with its aggressor. By displaying Pakistan through self-legitimizing metaphors, the Pakistani delegations have depicted Pakistani Government and people as a peace-loving and tolerant, which is a counter narrative to India who portrays Pakistan otherwise.

#### 4.3.3.1.4 PAKISTAN WANTS DIALOGUE

In the following two person metaphors, it is clear that Pakistani speakers while referring to India used positive images for portraying Pakistan as a person who *wants dialogue*.

34. **Pakistan is ready** for the resumption of the Lahore process with India (pak1999SA21).
35. **Pakistan is willing** to engage India in a comprehensive dialogue (pak2010SMQ13).

These metaphors build the image of a person who wants to continue with dialogue with India to settle all the outstanding disputes. Generally, a person who favours dialogue instead of contentions and disputes is considered a good person. Favoursing dialogue is a sign of favouring peace and stability. By the person metaphor of Pakistan as wanting dialogues, the speakers have highlighted the positive image of Pakistan who chooses negotiations for the peace of South Asia.

#### 4.3.3.1.5 PAKISTAN IS A SOLDIER; PAKISTAN IS A LEADER

Pakistan had been accused of supporting, harboring and financing terrorism by many countries a number of time. The study observed a number of PERSON metaphors where Pakistani speakers showed Pakistan as a PERSON who does not favour terrorism, rather she is opposed to it. In the following two examples the metaphors are: PAKISTAN IS A SOLDIER; PAKISTAN IS A LEADER.

36. **Pakistan is in the forefront** of the fight against terrorism (pak2002GM4).

37. **Pakistan has led the way** in that (terrorism's) campaign (pak2004GM4).

In example (36), which is a linguistic metaphor of WAR theme, Pakistan is not only a *soldier*, but also on the leading or most important positions. A soldier being in *front* positions implies that it is through him that the first armed contact with the enemy will be made. He is at strategically most important position and will lead the whole attack. So the implication of this metaphor is that Pakistan is not just with other allies in the fights against terrorists, but it is leading the attack. It also implies that Pakistan will be first person to face damage in the counter-attack from terrorists.

A leader is a usually a principal person who commands a group, organization or a country. A few of the qualities of a leader are that he is initiative, inspiring and a role-model. By building image of a *leader*, Pakistan is being portrayed as a person who is *ahead of everyone* in campaign against terrorism, leading the whole world into combating it. The metaphors builds the image that since Pakistan is a *leader* in the fight against terrorism, Pakistan's sincerity to fight it cannot be questioned. This WAR metaphor also suggests that as the soldiers are on the campaign of protecting their country, they are giving a supreme service by risking their most precious possession which is life. Showing Pakistan as a *person* on the forefront, the metaphor indirectly suggest the dedication and sincerity of the person as it is protecting the world.

#### 4.3.3.1.6 PAKISTAN IS CONSISTENT; NATION IS PERSISTANT

The politicians of Pakistan metaphorically described their country with the qualities of a person who is STEADFAST and PERSISTANT in the following metaphors:

38. It is that firm conviction that has enabled our democratic Government to **remain steadfast** in its resolve to fight terrorism and extremism (pak2010SMQ8).

39. The Pakistani nation **will persist** in its efforts to eliminate terrorism. (pak2010SMQ9).

Both government and nation are abstract concept but they have been portrayed here as a *person*. The qualities that have been associated with them are also positive. These qualities have been attached with the action of fighting against terrorism and extremism.

Thereby Pakistani delegations tried to prove that Pakistan had shown commitment in fighting against terrorism after 9/11 terror attack and it will continue its fight consistently. Through these *person* metaphors, PAKISTAN IS STEADFAST and PAKISTAN IS PERSISTENT, a good image is being associated with Pakistan. The qualities of a person as *steadfast* and *persistent* also imply that the situation in which these qualities are being shown are demanding and stamina-testing. This underlines the difficulty of the task of eliminating terrorism. The legitimation is created here by displaying Pakistan as a *person* who will continue the efforts even though the task it is facing is tough.

#### 4.3.3.1.7 PAKISTAN HAS A HEALTH

Pakistan has also been accused of sabotaging Afghan peace by supporting terrorist organization and terrorist activities in Afghanistan. The following metaphor depicts Pakistan with another person metaphor:

40. Peace in Afghanistan is **vital for Pakistan** (pak1999SA10).

In this example, the metaphor implies that PAKISTAN HAS A HEALTH and one of the *vitalities* that are important for maintaining its health is *peace* in Afghanistan. Geographically Pakistan shares a long 2,430 kilometers of border with Afghanistan, most of which is unfenced and allows easy cross-border movement for residents living on both sides of the countries. By showing Pakistan as a person whose *health depends* on peace in Afghanistan, the metaphors point to Pakistan's version that peace is not only its desire, but also a critical necessity.

#### 4.3.3.1.8 PAKISTAN IS AN AIRPLANE

The cause and effect relation of upheavals in Afghanistan with Pakistan's territory has been explained through metaphor in the following sentence:

41. Turmoil in Afghanistan **creates turbulence** on our **frontier** (pak1999SA10).

Charteris-Black (2006) asserts that metaphors are very carefully chosen according to context in political discourse. The idea of how Pakistan is affected by political issues in Afghanistan has been explained through a TRANSPORT metaphor: PAKISTAN IS AN AIRPLANE. If there is turbulence in the airplane, it cannot fly smoothly. There are also

chances that it may crash if the turbulence is worse enough. Since the detail of how issues in Afghanistan can cause adverse effect in Pakistan can be long, complex and time-taking to explain, the everyday imagery of turbulence in the airplane as SOURCE DOMAIN has been used as a vehicle to look at the reality that is distant and abstract.

#### **4.3.3.1.9 PAKISTAN IS A HOST**

In terms of Afghan refugees, Pakistani delegations used a positive image of self as PAKISTAN IS A HOST.

42. Pakistan **has hosted** the largest concentration of refugees anywhere in the world for the past 30 years (pak2010SMQ13).

Metaphor cluster in the sentence given above is interesting in a way that Pakistan has been presented as a host to a huge number of refugees. Being a host implies not just greeting the guests, but also being responsible for the food, shelter, accommodation, medical and safety of the guests on the expenses of the host himself. This metaphor, in a few words, builds the image of what it would be like for Pakistan to carry out such a huge responsibility. Secondly, another metaphor used for refugees in the same sentence is REFUGEES ARE LIQUID. A concentrated liquid is different from non-concentrated in a way that there is more abundance of constituents in terms of the volume of a mixture. The metaphor displays the huge number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Pakistani delegation has used a very positive image of self as host. It is dealing with the extra burden of a huge number of refugees which apparently is a very difficult task. Juxtaposing positive image of self as HOST with negative image of CONCENTRATION OF REFUGEES, the metaphor displays goodwill of PAKISTAN as a person in dealing with extra burden of refugees which other countries might not like to face.

#### **4.3.3.1.10 PAKISTAN IS A PERSON**

Following three more metaphors were found in Pakistani speeches where self-legitimization in relation to India has been suggested through PERSON metaphors:



43. Even after our tests, **Pakistan proposed** nuclear restraint to India, consistent with our conviction that nuclear deterrence can and should be maintained between Pakistan and India at the lowest possible level (pak1999SA27).
44. For its part, **Pakistan remains committed** to adhering to the CTBT in an atmosphere free of coercion (pak1999SA30).
45. **Pakistan supports** the endeavours to achieve nuclear disarmament and the early elimination of all nuclear weapons (pak1999SA33).

All of these example of metaphors portray that Pakistan is a good person who *wants* nuclear disarmament and *peace* with India. Pakistan has been displayed as a person who has *proposed* practicing restraint in terms of nuclear arms. In real terms, when a person initiates and proposes a solution, it is considered a good gesture. The speaker has used the country as proposing instead of using *we* to create personification. This helps to think of a country in human terms which is easy to understand instead of talking about its politicians who can be doubted and questioned. Similarly, in these example Pakistan has also been metaphorized as *good person* who is *committed* and *supporter*, both of which are very positive traits of a human being. These kinds of metaphors help create a positive self-legitimization discourse to show the world that the people and the government in Pakistan want peace.

#### 4.3.3.2 Metaphors for Opposition (India)

The history of Pakistan with India had been mostly of confrontational and hostile relations. The roots of the belligerence between the two countries can be traced to many historical and political events that took place over the course of time after 1947 when both countries earned their freedom from British rule. There have been numerous conflicts between them specially Kashmir. Both countries rest the blame of unresolved issues with each other and their respective foreign policies are constantly endeavoring to shift the blame on each other.

The study has found that, while using the positive images for self like TOLERANT, PERSISTANT, PEACE-LOVING, Pakistani delegations did not use any metaphor that built any positive image of India. Charteris-Black (2006) states that the choice of

metaphors by politicians can influence the people into believing what they are saying. He further said that the metaphors build a thought of goodness and badness. Teefelen (1994) and Billing and MacMillan (2005) have claimed that the politicians can build a discourse of creating a support for their own policies and groups and suppress those of others with the help of emphasizing and de-emphasizing some aspects through metaphors. Pakistani speakers have employed a number of negative images using metaphors as a tool of rhetoric.

#### **4.3.3.2.1 INDIA IS A REPRESSOR**

In order to delegitimize the rivals, metaphors are used as a rhetoric tool to make political messages more persuasive by using the power of metaphor of invoking the bad ideas against the rivals (Lesz, 2011). Following metaphors realize INDIA IS A REPRESSOR:

46. The Kargil crisis was a manifestation of the deeper malaise spawned by the unresolved Kashmir problem and **India's escalating repression** of the Kashmiri people (pak1999SA20).
47. **India's repression** in Jammu and Kashmir has killed thousands of Kashmiris... and consigned the two countries to a relationship of endemic conflict and mistrust (pak1999SA17).

The sentence (46) is metaphorically dense and portrays Kashmir issue and India's belligerence as a DISEASE PRODUCERS of which Kargil issue was a mere SYMPTOM. When some condition of a human body is associated with a disease, it is considered imperative to treat the disease to keep and maintain the body healthy. Terming Kashmir issue and India's repression as causes of disease, the metaphor attempts to arouse emotions against both of these issues just like the way people feel towards getting rid of the disease.

#### **4.3.3.2.2 INDIA IS BELLIGERENT**

Setting framework in the listeners' mind with the help of metaphors is a common practice in politics (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). The Pakistani politician added to the delegitimizing discourse against India through the following PERSON metaphor:

48. **India's belligerence** also reflects the chauvinistic ideology of the Hindu extremist parties and organizations (pak2002GM12).

The metaphor designates India as a *war mongering* person and attaches this characteristic with extremist Hindu parties and organizations. The metaphor also shows that the person *country* has been influenced by the ideologies and ideas of its people who are extremist themselves.

#### 4.3.3.2.3 INDIA IS A MAGICIAN

Metaphors can be used consciously to influence the views of the people on what is being discussed. Another negative image of India has been used with the help of metaphor in the speech of 1999 given as follows:

49. Our eastern neighbour **has mastered the black art** of state terrorism in Kashmir (pak1999SA35).

It is common in politics to influence the views of the audience with the tool of metaphor. The attempt is made to persuade others into believing something good or bad by describing it in terms of another thing which is very bad (Semino, 2008). The black art literally means the use of supernatural powers or magic for evil or selfish purposes. The metaphor in this sentence is **TERRORISM IS BLACK ART**. The source domain of this metaphor is **BLACK MAGIC** which is considered an evil and hence a bad practice in many societies. This background knowledge of the source domain of **BLACK ART** lends negative image to what India is doing in Kashmir.

#### 4.3.3.2.4 INDIA IS ALIENATED

In the following example, India has been portrayed as a person who Kashmiri people do not intend to socialize with.

50. The complete boycott by the Kashmiris of the sham elections in Kashmir organized by India earlier this month is clear testimony of their total **alienation from India** (pak1999SA22).

The metaphor **INDIA IS ALIENATED** has been built upon everyday reality that if a person is alienated, he or she is mentally or physically moved away from the society and

its activities. Terming India as alienated from Kashmiri people describes India as an unwanted PERSON in the territory and society of Kashmir. According to the version of Pakistan, Kashmiri people consider the Indian government in Kashmir as a foreign oppressive rule which they want to get rid of. Moreover, Pakistan believes that Indian is continuing its rule with the help of oppressive measures.

#### 4.3.3.2.5 INDIA OPPOSES KASHMIR SOLUTION

In addition to that, three PERSON metaphors given below display INDIA IS HOSTILE TO RESOLUTION:

51. **India resiled** from its **acceptance** of this agreement and from its own **pledge** to allow the Kashmiri people to decide their own future (pak1999SA16).
52. But **India displayed no desire** to genuinely address, let alone resolve, the Kashmir issue (pak1999SA19).
53. **India refuses** to implement the unanimous resolutions of the Security Council (pak2017SKA11).

In these metaphors Pakistani speakers showed India as a *person* with negative characteristics. In literal sense, ‘resile’ stands for changing position or stance. This characteristic is associated with only human beings but here in the sentence it has been used with India which makes these words a *person* metaphor. The metaphor shows that India is a person who had *pledged* and *accepted* to hold a plebiscite but later refused to do so. Fulfilling a promise is considered a good trait in a person. This promise of plebiscite was actually refused by the politicians of Indian Government but associating it with the abstract idea of country instead of those concerned people raises emotions more towards this entire abstract entity of the country. These images through metaphors INDIA DOES NOT DESIRE SOLUTION and INDIA DISOBEYS UN RESOLUTIONS add to the delegitimization discourse against India.

#### 4.3.3.2.6 INDIA IS A PAINTER

The following metaphor has been used to counter the narrative of India wherein it alleges that Pakistan is supporting terrorism in Kashmir: INDIA IS A PAINTER.

54. Misusing the rationale of war against terrorism, **India** has sought to delegitimize the Kashmiri freedom struggle, **tarnish Pakistan with the brush** of terrorism and **drive a wedge** between Pakistan and its coalition partners (pak2002GM7).

In politics, metaphors are often misleadingly used to reorganize information by using and comparing certain ideas with other less known or complex ideas so that the information becomes more accessible and understandable (Burkholder & Henry, 2009). The metaphor employed here is that INDIA IS A PAINTER, PAKISTAN IS A CANVAS while the TERRORISM IS A BRUSH. If the source domain of a PAINTER is observed, it can be inferred that the original surface of the canvas can be hidden by applying paint on it. A painter can colour it with his brush and can display the outer surface of the canvas potentially hiding the real surface underneath. The painter has the full liberty of hiding some aspects and leaving the other exposed. This also implies that the audience' view of the painting totally depends on the painter. Now taking these implication from the source domain, and applying it on the target domain of PAKISTAN IS CANVAS and INDIA IS A PAINTER, the metaphor implies that India has erroneously associated Terrorism with Pakistan through its anti-Pakistan narrative. This metaphor also implies that India resorts to lies to defame Pakistan in the world.

#### 4.3.3.3 Metaphors for Self in Indian Speeches

The research has revealed that the only country against which the delegitimization metaphors were used by Indian delegation was Pakistan. The metaphors that were used built a discourse of linking Pakistan with terrorism. When the metaphors were used for self-legitimization, almost all of them represented India taking developmental steps or supporting, or insisting on, the developmental actions taken by UN. This highlights that Indian foreign policy is building such a discourse that seeks International favour because of its credentials for developmental vision as opposed to Pakistani delegations who built the discourse of legitimization by showing it a country against terrorism or fighting it.

For politicians, choosing a right metaphor is of vital importance because this is the way they can appeal to the values of the audience (Charteris-Black, 2006). The study has found that metaphors used by Indian delegations in the speeches were aimed at creating a

discourse of a country that is fast developing, democratic, responsible and committed to social objectives. This is quite different from the rhetorical use of metaphors by Pakistani delegations that created the discourse of a country that is anti-terrorism, earnestly willing to continue dialogue with India and wants peace in Afghanistan and other places where conflict is festering. Even when there is a mention of resolving issues with Pakistan, the metaphor has been used to stress development of the South Asian region.

#### 4.3.3.3.1 NATION IS A TRAVELLER

According to Koller and Semino (2009), using the metaphors of movement and travel increases the persuasive effect because when a political activity is portrayed in form of travelling or movement, it is shown with a positively evaluated destination.

55. We **move with the challenges** posed by globalization without either **retreating into a “fortress India”** or abandoning our social objectives (ind1999JS16).
56. I speak of an **India on the move** (ind2004MS20).
57. We have **marched ahead** consistently, **without pause**, creating integrated management systems, education and technology services and AIMS foundations in education, health, space and the entire range of human welfare (ind2017SS12).

In example (55), the entailment of metaphor implies a bold FORWARD MOVEMENT without BACKWARD MOVEMENT in the fortress. In the source domain of MOVEMENT, the forward movement is associated with progress while backward movement is considered a crisis. At the end of the sentence there is a transformation of the MOVEMENT metaphor into WAR METAPHOR in which movement backward is a defeat. The metaphor further implies that SOCIAL OBJECTIVES ARE WEAK PEOPLE who will not be abandoned while moving forward. In this way, the source domains of MOVEMENT and WAR, more visible, tangible and simple, have been used as a vehicle to look at abstract and complex target domain of *progress* and *development*.

Marching is generally associated with army in which soldiers move ahead in a particular direction majestically and rhythmically. They are uniformed and their movement is smooth and unobstructed. These source domains have been mapped onto the TARGET DOMAIN of development and progress.

#### 4.3.3.2 INDIAN NATION IS A BUILDING

Following is another sentence that contains metaphor which aims at showing the prosperity objective:

58. But we remain **unshaken** in our vision of cooperation and shared prosperity of the South Asian region (ind1999JS30).

In this example the speaker refers to themselves as INDIAN NATION IS A FIRM BUILDING that will not be shaken and continue to stand firm in face of adversaries. The metaphor of BUILDING implies the entailments of foundations, structure and protection. The legitimization is being structured here with the help of the concept that *building* of nation remains firm despite threats to promote cooperation and prosperity. Like many other metaphors, here again the metaphor has been used to legitimize Indian nation in connection with the discourse of prosperity and development of the region.

#### 4.3.3.3 INDIA IS A DEMOCRACY

In the following example, an abstract notion of a *country* has been explained through the abstract idea of *system of government*.

59. It (India) is a **democracy whose economy grew** by more than 6 per cent last year, (ind1999JS15).

Additionally, the source domain of a GROWING PLANT implies that when a plant grows, it becomes bigger and mature leading to bearing fruit. As a whole the metaphor implies that DEMOCRACY is a person who owns the PLANT of economy, which also implies the glorification of Indian democratic status\_ which might have been mentioned in contrast to the existence of dictatorship in Pakistan in 1999.

#### 4.3.3.4 Metaphors for Glorifying Indian Democracy

In the vast majority of the countries, democracy is valued and considered to be just and most desirable form of government. A country possessing democracy and democratic norms is well praised in the world. Indian delegations have metaphorically displayed their country as valuing democracy. In the following example, INDIAN DEMOCRACY IS A RIVER:

60. It is an awe-inspiring spectacle, this **unstoppable flow of the great Ganga** of Indian democracy... (ind1999JS15).

The source domain of RIVER has been chosen for conceptualizing the democracy in India. Flowing river has a massive amount of water in it. It continues to flow on its course. The aspects of ceaseless moving of water in one direction has been mapped on the democracy of India. In example (61) and (62), more positive images of democratic India can be seen. These images have been conveyed through metaphors of ELECTION IS A PASSAGE and PERSON metaphor of INDIA HAS A SECCESFUL EXPERIENCE OF DEMOCRACY.

61. ... in India's fourteenth general election, **our country went through the largest exercise** of popular will in the world (ind2004MS12).
62. **India's own experience** as a hugely populated and diverse nation shows how complex problems can be addressed within a constitutional and democratic framework. (ind2002AV21).

#### 4.3.3.3.5 INDIA IS A COMMITTED PERSON

An essential element of political speeches is appealing the emotions of the listeners and that emotional element shown in the speech is linked to the values and moral issues of human kind (Charteris-Black, 2006). The creation of good and bad help invoke the moral values of protection, family, respect and loyalty and *personification* is one of the rhetoric strategy of creating such emotional impact (ibid). The PERSON metaphors in the following examples are INDIA IS A COMMITED PERSON and INDIA IS A RESPONSIBLE PERSON:

63. I would like to reaffirm **India's commitment** to the principles that have brought us together in this Organization (ind2004MS19).
64. **India** has already said that it is **deeply committed** to the Paris Climate Change Agreement. (ind2017SS17).

In these metaphors India is being represented as a *person* who assures the commitment of following the principles of the UN. This is a counter-narrative to the



Pakistan's continuous insistence that the Government of India is deliberately avoiding the decision of plebiscite that was made by UN. According to the foreign policy of Pakistan, India has continuously been depicted as engaged in disrupting the peace of South Asia through nuclear proliferation, cross-border unprovoked firing and state-terrorism in Kashmir. By rule, all of these issues go against the vision of peace and stability in all regions of the world proposed and implemented by UN. To counter this delegitimizing narrative, India built a discourse of showing it as a country that is working for peace and prosperity of itself and the world while being *committed* UN and its agencies.

#### 4.3.3.3.6 More Metaphors for Positive Images

65. ...the **State continues to have the responsibility** to protect the needy, to strengthen the weak. That is a part of our democratic creed, too (ind1999JS13).
66. **India is conscious** of the responsibilities that lie ahead (ind2004MS20).

In the same way, examples given above also have PERSON metaphors that Indian delegations have used to portray positive images of India regarding progress, prosperity and development. These metaphors have helped build the discourse of India's interest in this domain. Programs are launched and responsibilities are carried out by human beings. But in these examples, the human qualities have been associated with India. These again are PERSON metaphors aimed at portraying India as a GOOD PERSON.

#### 4.3.3.4 Metaphors for Opposition (Pakistan)

It has been a part of Indian narrative that Pakistan trains and supports the fighters in Kashmir. General Debate in United Nations offers opportunity to the countries to discuss the matters and frame the international opinion on those matters. Metaphors have the power to draw parallel between the persons and their doings. According to Charteris-Black (2006), delegitimization is a move of representing the wrong side of the rivals and just like legitimization, the delegitimization is also shown with the help of metaphors. So, the issue of terrorism has also been included in the speeches by Indian delegation.

#### 4.3.3.4.1 PAKISTAN IS AN EXPORTER

Following are four of the metaphors identified in the selected speeches in which the Indian speakers used EXPORT/IMPORT as the source domain for referring to terrorism:

67. ... today India is recognized as an information-technology super-Power and Pakistan only as a pre-eminent **exporter** of terrorism? (ind2017SS12).
68. Terrorism... has for years been the **deadly export** of our neighbors (ind1999JS20).
69. India has risen despite being the principal destination for **Pakistan's nefarious export** of terrorism (ind2017SS12).
70. The country that has been the **world's greatest exporter of havoc**, death and inhumanity has **become a champion** of hypocrisy by preaching about humanity and human rights from this rostrum (ind2017SS10).

The metaphors TERRORISM IS PAKISTAN'S PRODUCT have basically been drawn from TRADE. The country has been depicted as the exporter of this product. The sub-category of TRADE DOMAIN is EXPORT/IMPORT. The DOMAIN of EXPORT/IMPORT denotes that the exported product is always recognized in terms of the country that has produced and sent it to the other country. Once it has become the recognized product of the country, it will be associated with it wherever it is found in the world. The metaphors stated above link the product of TERRORISM with Pakistan and attempt to prove that it has been made in Pakistan. The metaphors designate Pakistan as a maker of the terrorism. The four metaphors stated above have been intensified with the adjectives for EXPORT. Accordingly, this EXPORT from Pakistan is deadly and nefarious. In (70) more images have been added with EXPORT: havoc, death and inhumanity.

#### 4.3.3.4.2 PAKISTAN IS A FACTORY

Another aspect of EXPORT/IMPORT metaphor is spending money on making a product. It also implies that there is a need of setting up of mills and factories for producing

the required products. The following examples of linguistic metaphors taken from Indian speeches show that Indian politicians conceptualize terrorism as a TRADE:

71. It (Pakistan) has **produced terrorists** and terrorist camps —Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Hizbul Mujahideen and the Haqqani Network (ind2017SS13).

Metaphor in the sentence given above is that A TERRORIST IS A PRODUCT. A product in real sense is an article or substance that requires manufacturing and refinement. The other aspect of the product is that it is made and intended for sale to the public. Any product going into to the market becomes the recognition of its producer. In other words, a producer is recognized by its products. This SOURCE DOMAIN has been exploited and by implying PAKISTAN IS A PRODUCER OF TERRORISTS, a clear link is being made between terrorists and Pakistan. In this way, the alleged relation of Pakistan with terrorist has been created through the vehicle of PRODUCT METAPHOR instead of direct manner.

#### 4.3.3.4.3 PAKISTAN IS A DEVELOPER OF TERROR

Indian delegation termed Pakistan a *developer of terror*:

72. If **Pakistan had spent** on development what it has spent on developing terror, both it and the world would be safer and better off today (ind2017SS14).

Using the metaphors to lead to the simpler and more accessible images for making sense of complex realities is common in politics. As Semino (2008, p. 90) puts it: “it is often claimed that the use of metaphor is particularly necessary in politics, since politics is an abstract and complex domain of experience, and metaphors can provide ways of simplifying complexities and making abstractions accessible”. Using the same strategy of using everyday knowledge of development for complex issue of terrorism, in the metaphor given above, Pakistan has been delineated as *developer of terror*. When some company or a person develops something, it generally involves planning, labour, cost and the end-product. The development is not a haphazard process. The entailments of the metaphor imply that by using the personification of Pakistan as a *developer* the metaphor used in this example shows that Pakistan has purposefully *worked* on the task of *developing* the product

of *terror* by investing in this project. This also implies that terrorism is a wilful act of Pakistan and not a co-incidence.

#### 4.3.3.4.4 PAKISTAN OFFERS TERRORISM

The PERSON metaphor given below, also gives the similar kind of representation of Pakistan. In real sense, when a person offers something, it denotes that he or she is providing or presenting any service to others.

73. But what has Pakistan **offered** the world or, indeed, its own people, **apart from terrorism?** (ind2017SS13).

The idea has been borrowed from this SOURCE DOMAIN of ANIMATE person. The metaphor is PAKISTAN OFFERS TERRORISM. The implication of this metaphor is that Pakistan could not offer anything to the world or its nation other than terrorism. The metaphor of personification in this example creates disturbing image of Pakistan. Services are usually offered by philanthropists and society builders. The word *offer* and *services* are related with these people who build a society by doing constructive and positive work. In the metaphor under discussion, Pakistan has been delineated as a *person who failed* to offer any good services to the people of Pakistan and also the world. Instead, it sarcastically creates the image of a *bad person* who has provided only the *services of terrorism*.

#### 4.3.3.4.5 PAKISTAN HAS COMPULSIVE DISORDER

The image in the following metaphor shows that violence is Pakistan's beyond control:

74. We have been greatly disappointed by this **compulsive hostility** of Pakistan. (ind1999JS30).

The type of metaphor here again is PERSON. Again Pakistan has been personified as a person. In this example, the SOURCE DOMAIN is a person who has psychological issue of compulsiveness. A compulsive behavior means a repetitive and persistent activity on which a person has no control (Linda Andrews, 2018). Therefore, the metaphors displays Pakistan as repetitively showing hostility without having its own control on it.

#### 4.3.3.4.6 PAKISTAN IS A SOLDIER

Following sentence contains WAR metaphor where it has been suggested that Pakistan's only aim is fighting India:

75. Regrettably, while we are fully engaged in **fighting poverty**, our neighbor **Pakistan seems to be engaged only in fighting us** (ind2017SS10).

This metaphor makes a distinction between the WAR that India is fighting and the war that Pakistan is fighting. First part of the sentence contains the metaphor PROSPERITY IS A WAR and POVERTY IS AN ENEMY. For itself, Indian speaker has characterized the struggle for alleviating poverty as war by showing Indians as fighters and poverty as enemy. This generates a positive image for India as poverty is considered an adversary and undesirable everywhere. The attempts at reducing poverty are deemed praise-worthy. The other part of the sentence contains PERSON metaphor referring to Pakistan fighting India. The simultaneous mentioning of INDIA IS FIGHTING POVERTY and PAKISTAN IS FIGHTING INDIA shows contrasting images and the objects they are fighting have been shown to be determining the "right" fight. This manipulation of metaphors indicates how Indian speakers used metaphors as rhetoric to influence the international audience in their favor.

#### 4.3.4 Summary

Both Pakistani and Indian delegations used a number of metaphors for realizing terrorism. They made use of different source domains to delineate different perspectives of terrorism. Pakistani delegation mainly relied on *plant* and *person* metaphors while Indian delegations used mainly *war* metaphors besides employing *animal*, *cooking* and *liquid* metaphors for realizing terrorism. In the same way, both Pakistani and Indian delegations used metaphors for self-legitimization and delegitimization of the opposition. Pakistani delegations mainly relied on *person* metaphors for self-legitimization and delegitimization of India apart from using *war*, *airplane* and *magic* metaphorical themes. India, on the other hand, used *travel*, *building* and *liquid* metaphors besides using *person* metaphors for self-legitimization. For delegitimization of Pakistan, Indian delegations mainly relied on *trade*

metaphors. They also used *factory*, *business*, *psychology* and *war* metaphors for that purpose.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the analysis made in the chapter of Results and Discussion, following conclusion and recommendations can be made:

#### 5.1 Conclusion

The first research question of this study was related with analyzing the change in the density of metaphors in the speeches of Pakistani and Indian delegations in UNGA (GD) in connection with their changing relations and ties. Overall, the speeches of Indian delegations were denser in terms of metaphors. It has also been observed that the number and density of the metaphors found in the speeches of both countries fluctuated as the dynamics of relations experienced changes over time. Moreover, the issues that received more attention of the speaker, also had disproportionately more metaphors and higher metaphorical density.

The speech made by Indian delegation in 1999 had highest number of metaphors overall. It also had the highest metaphoric density also. In the same year the metaphors in the topic related to terrorism and Pakistan also had the highest number as well as density in terms of the words used in the paragraphs discussing these topics. As the ties improved with Pakistan, the overall number of metaphors, and in this topic particular, fell along with the density in the proceeding speeches, finally reaching the lowest level in the speech made in 2008 when the relations between the two countries were best in the history of the existence of both countries. As the ties worsened again, the number and density of metaphors in these topics speeches rose again.

Similar observations can be made about the speeches made by Pakistani delegations in UNGA (GD). The number as well as density of metaphors in their speeches changed according to the emerging issues in Pakistan which had domestic as well as international repercussions and implications. The metaphors in the topic of terrorism was lowest in the

year of 1999. But after the change in the international scenario towards the stance of terrorism in post 9/11 era, the speeches of Pakistani delegations also had more metaphors in the topic of terrorism in which it was vehemently denounced as well as commented upon. The metaphorical density in the topics related to Ind-Kashmir remained almost same in the first three selected speeches namely in 1999, 2002 and 2004 with the percentage of 5.1, 5.3 and 5.3 respectively. However, in 2008, when the relations between the two countries were good, the number and density of metaphors fell to its lowest point (3.5 %) just like it did in Indian speech. However, the topic of democracy had the highest percentage in this year in Pakistani speech i.e. 7.3 percent. In this year the democracy was restored in Pakistan after a period of eight years. Moreover, the highest number of metaphors occurred in the topic of terrorism with the density of 5.5 which probably owed to a terrorist attack which claimed the life of a prominent political Benazir Bhutto in this year. As the relations with India became tense again after 2008, the number as well as density of metaphors also increased in the speeches. These results of changing number and the density in the speeches as well as the certain topics highlight the possibility of the intentional use of metaphor as a rhetoric device for achieving rhetoric purposes.

Second question of this study was related to the most frequent themes in the speeches by the representatives of both countries. The conclusion of the analysis shows that top metaphorical themes or the source domains found in the metaphors of both delegations were almost similar. Out of top ten source domains in terms of frequency, the first three were common and had same ranking with a slight different percentage. They were *person*, *journey* and *war*. The next top seven source domains were also same but with a slight different ranking. This shows that the images and objects used for discussing other ideas by both delegations were drawn from similar metaphorical vehicles.

But the deeper analysis of how these metaphors were used in the target domains of terrorism, self and opposition showed that there were some significant differences in the linguistic metaphors, which were studied in answer to the third and fourth research questions of the research. The third question was related to studying the similarities and differences in the employed metaphors while the fourth one was set to study the possible



political reasoning behind the usage of these metaphors. Therefore, the study also aimed to analyze the source domains of metaphors whose target domains were terrorism, self and opposition. The variation, it has been assessed, owed to the different discourses that both the delegations wanted to make for achieving the ends of their different respective foreign policies.

For delineating terrorism, Pakistani delegations mainly drew upon *plant* and *person* source domains. Pakistani delegations exploited these common and everyday experiences for simplifying the issue of terrorism. They borrowed the elements from the source domain of *plant* to discuss how some of the hidden forces are working as a driving force behind terrorism. They presented terrorism as having ‘roots’ on a number of occasions. The issues like *poverty, justice, dictatorship, foreign oppression* etc. have been shown as the roots. In other words, the purpose was to show terrorism as a consequence and not an independent entity. Expressing the factual and accurate details and intricacies of how some of the causes led to final emergence of terrorism would have been time-taking and toilsome which the limited time of the speeches in UN cannot permit. Moreover, many of these details could demand further explanation leading to different perspectives of looking at these details making the whole proposition questionable. When the speakers termed the terrorism as *plant*, they left it to the knowledge of the listeners who, by virtue of their everyday knowledge of the plant system, could work out the rest of the detail about the roots etc. and apply it on the target domain.

The source domains of *travel, fire, disease* and *natural disaster* were also used. Terrorism has also been represented as *destination* towards which the *roads of suppression of national aspiration* lead. The source domains of *fire, disease* and a *natural disaster* were used for realizing fanaticism, extremism and terrorism. The *dictatorship and fanaticism* were termed as *intensifiers* for *fire* and lack of *democracy* was termed as a reason for the disease of terrorism. The *natural disasters of terrorism* drugs have been depicted as the consequences of cold wars.

There were some *person* metaphors identified in the speeches of Pakistani delegations which were used to develop the discourse of exclusion. In immediate post 9/11 era using metaphors to show terrorism as not linked to any *religion* or *creed*, nor it being *impelled* by a religion helped distance Pakistan and its people from terrorism. Some *person* metaphors were used to build inclusion discourse. It was noted that two metaphors of portraying *terrorism* as threatening were used side by side in one paragraph for *many countries* and *Pakistan* each. They were used to *include* Pakistan among victims of terrorism.

To create a discourse of self-legitimization, one of the rhetorical tools Pakistani delegations used was metaphors to claim acceptance in the international audience. Almost all the metaphors were used to help build the discourse that Pakistan is against terrorism, wants good relations with India and supports peace in Afghanistan. The delegations of Pakistan called itself *broker of peace*, whose efforts helped to defuse tensions between freedom fighters and Indian army in Kargil. They showed Pakistan as *choiceless person* who built nuclear arms only in response to Indian proliferation. They delineated Pakistan as person who *practices restraint* in response to Indian belligerence and *wants* dialogue. Pakistan has also been metaphorized as a *soldier* who is in the frontline of battle against terrorism to show that Pakistan is not in favour of terrorism, rather against it. It is also a person who is *persistent* in its fight against terrorism.

Pakistan has also been shown as a person whose *health* depends on the peace in Afghanistan. It has been termed as an *airplane* for which problems in Afghanistan create *turbulence*. For showing how the refugees are being handled in Pakistan, Pakistani delegations personified Pakistan as *a host* to these refugees. It can be observed that whenever the country of Pakistan is used as a target domain in the speeches in Pakistani delegations for self-legitimization, the purpose is to build the discourse of favoring peace with India and fighting against terrorism. This use of metaphors is in line with the general effort of Pakistan for fighting the narrative of India that Pakistan harbours and supports terrorism in Kashmir and Afghanistan etc.

The research also showed that Pakistani delegations used metaphors to delegitimize India. For delegitimizing India, they used *person*, *magic* and *painting* source domains, out of which *person* source domain remained dominant. Almost all the metaphors that were used by Pakistani delegations whose target domain was India, showed it *hostile* to peace in Kashmir and with Pakistan. India has been personified as a *repressor* in terms of its alleged oppression in Kashmir and *belligerent* in terms of cross-border skirmishes. Another metaphor that Pakistani delegations used for India was that it is *alienated* to show what Kashmiri people feel towards it. India has also been shown as a *magician* practicing black art and as a *painter* who portrays a false picture of Pakistan.

In contrast, Indian delegations took to *war*, *animal*, *cooking* and *liquid* source domains. Differences in the source domains were also observed in both delegations' realization of self and opposition for the purpose of the legitimization of self and the delegitimization of the opposition. Pakistani delegations used *person*, *war*, *aeroplane* and *magic* source domains while Indian delegations employed *person*, *travel*, *building* and *liquid* source domains for the said purpose.

Indian delegations also used metaphors to simplify their version of complex issue of terrorism. Instead of giving evidence and supporting with details, they simply used *trade* metaphor to prove that Pakistan was behind all terrorist activities in Kashmir against India. At one place Pakistan was personified as *exporter of terrorism*. At another place it was termed as *developer of terrorism*. In trade, the import and export is a common property of knowledge in this modern age. Delineating *Terrorism* as an *export* of Pakistan, the Indian delegations used and hence evoked the listeners' knowledge regarding *trade* instead of giving the objective details of how Pakistan was fundamentally responsible for terrorist activities in Kashmir.

The analysis showed that Indian delegations also used *crime*, *cooking*, *animal*, *war* and *liquid* for realizing terrorism. These source domains were used to create opposite discourse to that of Pakistani delegations who showed terrorism as *result*. Instead, Indian delegations delineated terrorism as damaging and harmful that needed immediate counter-

attack. They represented terrorism as *criminal* who targets innocent people. Terrorism was also shown as an *exploiter*, a *manipulator* and a *predator*. It was also metaphorically presented as being a *soldier*, *weapon* and at another place as a person *having an army*. Apart from that, it was depicted as *a major* part of the *deluge* that constituted all troubles. The discourse built with the help of such metaphors was to firstly link terrorism with Pakistan and, secondly, to urge the international community to fight the producer of terrorism. Therefore, it can be said that Pakistani and Indian delegations used different source domains to build discourses of terrorism that were suitable for their respective foreign policies.

Indian delegations used more source domains for self-legitimization. To show positive image of their country they made use of *travel*, *building*, *liquid*, *democracy* and *person* source domains. For delegitimization of Pakistan, they used *trade* metaphors as a main source domain. Other source domains that they made use of were *factory*, *business*, *person*, *psychology* and *war*. Pakistani delegations built the discourse of legitimization with credentials of its efforts for peace with India and its standings regarding terrorism, the Indian delegations. In contrast, Indian delegations used metaphors to build the discourse of self-image of progressive, fast-developing and democratic country. The metaphors with the target domain of India, delineated this country as a *person* who is a *traveler* moving towards its destination of development and progress. In one metaphor, the Indian delegations showed Indian nation as *building* which is firm in its vision of cooperation and prosperity. The country was also shown as an abstract idea of *democracy*. Indian democracy, at one place, has been portrayed as *river* which is unstoppable. For the same target domain, India has been shown as a *traveler* passing through the *path* of election process. India has also been shown as a *responsible and conscious person* who knows its *responsibilities* of developmental and democratic goals.

While keeping Pakistan as the target domains, Indian delegations delegitimized it by using many metaphors. As Pakistan used metaphors to help build the discourse of India as oppressive in Kashmir and uncooperative, India used metaphors to help build the discourse of Pakistan as supporter of terrorism. By personifying it, the Indian delegations

termed Pakistan as *an exporter of terrorism, an exporter of havoc* and delineated terrorism as *nefarious export* of Pakistan. They also used metaphors to portray Pakistan as *producer of terrorists* and *developer of terrorism*. In another example, they showed Pakistan as a person *suffering from compulsive disorder* of hostility. Personifying Pakistan as a *soldier*, Indian delegations delegitimized Pakistan as *engaged* in fighting India who, in contrast, is fighting at more reasonable front of poverty. In short, all these metaphors narrow down to the same discourse of India that Pakistan helps and supports terrorists.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

The current study can give lead to further directions for future researches. Due to the limited scope of the research, its analysis could not extend to other target domains in the metaphors than those of terrorism, self and opposition. This can be an interesting subject for future studies as there may be more similarities and differences in the way different target domains have been dealt with by delegations of Pakistan and India. The future studies can also explore the reasons of similar source domains which were used to make metaphors by both delegations. The cultural similarities and differences, for example, can be a good variable as a subject for that purpose.

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