UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

A MODERN PEARL HARBOR
- A Critical Metaphorical Analysis of News
Reporting the War in Afghanistan

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on tunnistaa, kuvailla ja tulkita metaforia, joita esiintyy uutisartikkeleissa, jotka käsittelevät Afganistanin sotaa. Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Mitä metaforia tutkimusaineistossa esiintyy? 2) Minkälaisia metaforasysteemejä aineistossa on? 3) Minkälaisen kuvan metaforat antavat sodan osapuolista? 4) Mikä on syynä metaforien käyttöön? 5) Mikä mahdollinen vaikutus metaforilla on lukijaan? Tutkielma on pääosin kuvaileva ja tulkitseva. Lähtökohtana on kriittinen diskurssianalyysi ja metafora-analyysi, joiden avulla metaforat on jaoteltu sen mukaan, minkälaisen metaforasysteemin ne yhdessä muodostavat.

Materiaali koostuu 21 uutisartikkelista, jotka on satunnaisesti valittu amerikkalaisesta lehdestä *International Herald Tribune*. Kyseinen lehti ilmestyy yhdessä *Washington Post*in ja *New York Times*in kanssa. Artikkelit kuvaavat sekä sodan taustoja yksityiskohtaisesti että yksittäisiä sodan tapahtumia.

Tutkimuksen tulokset jakautuvat kuuteen eri systeemiin. Suurimman ryhmän muodostaa metaforat, jotka persinifioivat sotaan osallistuvat maat sekä metaforat, jotka kuvaavat sotaa koneena. Metaforat, jotka kuvaavat sotaa luontona ja liikkeenä sekä metonymit muodostavat myös oman ryhmänsä tutkimustuloksissa. Näiden lisäksi artikkeleissa esiintyy jonkin verran myös muita metaforia. Nämä metaforat sisältävät lähinnä sanoja, jotka liittyvät rakennuksiin, urheiluun ja taiteeseen. Metaforat antavat kuvan, että Yhdysvallat on aktiivisin ja voimakkain osapuoli sodassa. Toinen vahva kuva on, että Afganistan ei kauan pysty vastustamaan USA:ta ja että se tarvitsee USA:n apua bin Ladenin kukistamisessa.

Asiasanat: critical discourse analysis. discourse. metaphor analysis. metaphor.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2002, the war in Afghanistan constituted a large part of the news in several newspapers for several months. The war is reported from various points of view both on television and in the newspapers. In addition to "pure" reporting language, the news articles in American newspapers are rich with idioms and metaphors. These expressions have become very common in news reporting, even to the extent that readers do not notice them anymore and thus may not realize that the idioms and metaphors influence the way we see the war in question and the participants in it.

The study of media discourse has increased a great deal during the last two decades. Likewise, the study of metaphors has also been on the uprise. One sign of this was Lakoff's (1991) influential paper on metaphors in news concerning the Gulf War. For me, Lakoff's study is also one of the reasons why I am conducting this study on the news articles about the war in Afghanistan.

In this thesis I am going to identify, describe and discuss metaphors that occur in news articles in the *International Herald Tribune*. My aim is to find out what kinds of metaphor are used in the articles and what kinds of images of the war they create. The metaphors will be analyzed according to how they describe the participants of the war and the actions taken by them, for example, whether the U.S. is seen as a victim or an active agent or even hero in the war. In addition, one objective is to investigate what kinds of overall metaphor fields are created in the articles.

The field of study that my work falls within is critical discourse analysis combined with theories of metaphors and metaphor analysis. More particularly, I will use Fairclough's ideas on critical discourse analysis, combined with other analytic tools used in the analysis of, for instance, news articles. Fairclough's insights into and ideas about media discourse are a successful development of previous theories of media and the language used in them and that is the reason why I am using his work as one of the major bases in my study. Further, Lakoff and Johnson's theory on metaphors will be drawn on. In addition, Lakoff and Turner's work on poetic metaphors will be used as a basis for writing about the different kinds of forms metaphors can take. Lakoff, Johnson and Turner have developed theories of metaphors and of both their internal and external, i.e. linguistic structure that are the most prominent theories in current studies of metaphors.

The theoretical part of this paper begins with a definition of discourse and critical discourse analysis, in which some views on both of these terms as well as an overall picture of Fairclough's model in critical discourse analysis will be given. Then I will continue with the definition of metaphor and Lakoff and Johnson's theory, which also include the critical discourse analysis view on metaphors and their usage in studying media discourse. Metaphor analysis as a tool for analyzing media discourse will also be presented in the third section. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the background of the war in Afghanistan since it constitutes a context in which the metaphors function to some extent. The research data and methods will be commented on briefly before moving on to the actual analysis of the articles. The findings of the analysis will be drawn up in the conclusion.

2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

2.1 Definition of Discourse

Fairclough (1992, 62-63) sees discourse in a narrower sense than social scientists generally do. He uses the term *discourse* to refer to what linguists have traditionally called *language use* or *performance*. This language use he regards as a form of social practice which further implies that discourse is both a mode of action and a mode of representation. The idea of discourse being a form of action means that it is one form in which people can act upon the world and upon each other; this is a view especially held by linguists interested in pragmatics.

Another implication of regarding discourse as language use is that there is "a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure" (Fairclough 1992, 64). This means that discourse is both a condition for and an effect of social structure. In addition, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure in a wide sense.

According to Fairclough (1992, 64) one can distinguish three aspects of the constructive effects of discourse. It contributes to the construction of social identities and subject positions in communication. Secondly, discourse helps to construct social relationships between people, and thirdly, it contributes to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief. These effects correspond to the three functions of language: identity, relational and ideational functions.

This definition of discourse is useful for my study because it allows me to see metaphors as an example of language use. Thus, it shows that

metaphors are discourse in that they both construct the social structure and are influenced by it. The notion of discourse also allows me to interpret metaphors more thoroughly as having both power and ideologies behind them, not just some form.

2.2 Fairclough's Three-dimensional Model

Fairclough (1995) has developed a three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. It is a way of seeing any product of media as consisting of three dimensions: the actual text, and the discourse practice including the socio-cultural practice.

The analytical frame of critical discourse analysis is introduced in Figure 1. What is essential in it, is the relationship between the three dimensions in a communication situation and how they are represented. The category of discourse practice functions as a kind of a mediator between the textual and the social/cultural levels, i.e. between the actual text and the socio-cultural practice. In Fairclough's view (1995, 59-60), socio-cultural practices shape texts by changing the character of the discourse practice, i.e. the ways of producing and consuming texts, which in turn are seen in the characteristics of the text itself. Thus discourse practices have a two-part position in relation to culture and society on the one hand, and to discourse, language and text on the other hand.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICE


        DISCOURSE PRACTICE


            text production


                TEXT




            text consumption
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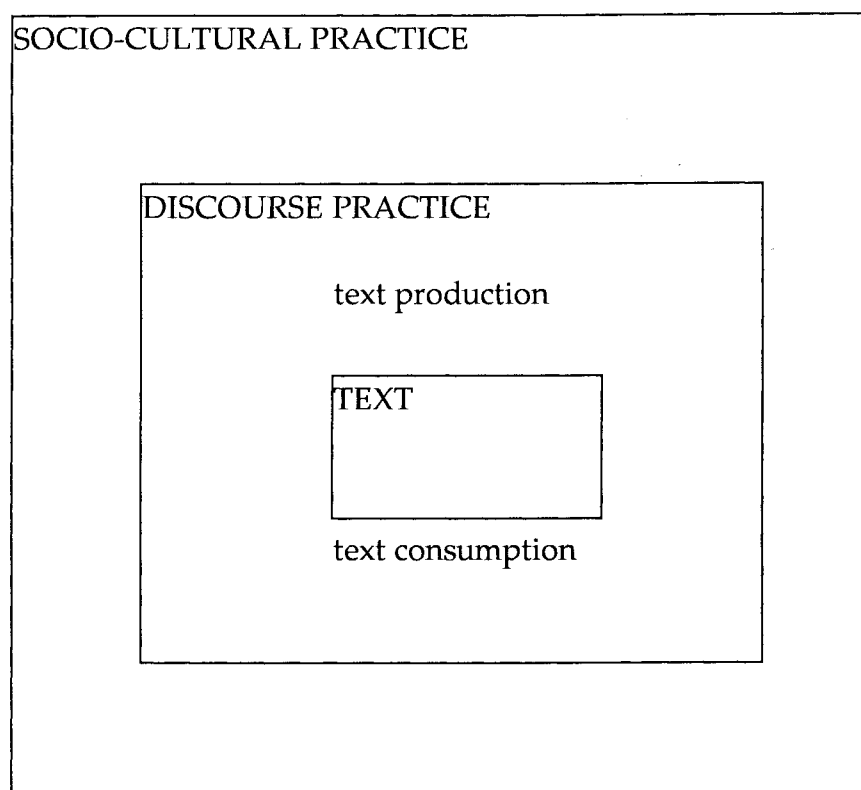
Figure 1: Critical discourse analysis frame of communication.
(Fairclough 1995)

According to Fairclough (1995, 54), the term *text* can be defined as both spoken and written language. The spoken language used for example on the radio differs from the language used on television since the language on television includes also visual images and sound effects. Thus the text produced in television gives the addressee information through several senses. In newspapers, Fairclough's notion of text includes - in addition to actual words - photographs, layout and different kinds of maps, diagrams and other visual aids that papers commonly use. I, however, will concentrate only on the actual writing and will not take into account the visual aspects of the articles.

Such traditional forms of linguistic analysis as analysis of vocabulary and semantics, and analysis of sounds and writing systems belong to

text analysis. Doing text analysis, however, includes also the study of how a text is organised in a broader sense. One can, for example, study how sentences are connected to each other (cohesion) or what kind of a structure a news article has. According to Fairclough (1995, 57), all these are part of extensive linguistic analysis.

Fairclough (1995, 57-58) points out that when analysing a text, a critical discourse analyst has to consider both form and meaning. Separating form and meaning from each other in an analysis may be productive in that it gives the analyst an opportunity to see the text from various points of view, for example, from a semantic and a syntactic point of view. In reality, however, form and meaning may be hard to distinguish from each other. Meanings can only be realised in forms and difference in meanings supposes differences in form. As a working assumption one can hold that when forms are different, there are also some differences in meanings.

Fairclough (1995, 58) has a multifunctional approach to a text. According to him, every text includes simultaenously three functional categories: *ideational, interpersonal* and *textual functions.* One can thus examine how these functions are realised in a text, but it is equally important to take into account what has been left out. Analyzing the absence of certain representations or constructions of participant identity helps the analyst to see for instance the power relations of a society that lies behind the text and its production. An example of this is when a paper presents only one person's opinion in a debate: what is left out is considered unimportant and irrelevant, and thus a side is chosen. This, in turn, affects the wording that the writer chooses when presenting the opinion of the person in a debate.

The ideational function of a text can be seen by examining how a certain social practice is represented and contextualised. This representation and contextualisation can be done in accordance with a certain ideology. Thus the analysis of language (text) can be combined to such basic matters of social analysis as questions of knowledge, beliefs and ideologies, i.e. the analyst can find out what the writer knows and believes by examining the text in question. The interpersonal aspect of a text can be seen in the construction of certain writer and reader identities. Status and role may be stressed in these identities, or individuality and personality may be emphasized. The interpersonal aspect relates to questions of social relations and power, and questions of identity itself. The textual aspect has to do with the certain construction of the relationship between the writer and the reader. This aspect can be examined by seeing if the relationship is, for example, formal or informal, close or distant. (Fairclough 1995, 16, 58.)

Fairclough (1995, 58-59) states that the dimension of *discourse practice* includes processes of text production and consumption. Some of them are quite institutionalised, such as editorial practices, and others are discourse processes in a narrower sense. As my data consist of news articles, I will discuss the concept of discourse practice and the processes included in it from the point of view of news.

News production usually takes place through institutional routines of data collection, selection and edition. In the course of these actions those who produce news depend to a large extent on certain legitimized sources like governments, trade unions, police and academics with technical expertise. People also have their own routines as consumers of

news. The consumption of news often takes place at home, according to personal habits. People often read newspapers or listen to news on the radio while having breakfast or on the sofa in the evening. (Saarinen 1997, 17-18.)

In describing the nature of discourse practice Fairclough (1995, 60) also discusses "the polarity...between broadly conventional and broadly creative discourse processes". The conventional discourse processes involve a so called normative use of discourse types whereas the creative discourse processes involve a creative mixture of the different discourse types. Thus the conventional discourse practice "is realized in a text which is relatively homogeneous in its forms and meanings". The creative discourse practice is realized by more heterogeneous forms and meanings.

In order to properly analyse a text one has to view it against its historical, social and cultural background. This is what Fairclough (1995, 62) calls *sociocultural practice*. The historical and social aspect of a text is concerned with issues of power and ideology, i.e. how these affect, for example, the wording of a text, whereas the cultural aspect has to do with questions of value and identity. These aspects together with the economic aspect enter into critical discourse analysis.

The context of a text affects the way its consumer interprets it and the dimension of socio-cultural practice can be divided into two contexts: the immediate situational context and the wider social and cultural context. The latter is further divided into the context of institutional practices which include for example governments and military forces and the wider context of a text involve for instance history, ethnic and

social differences. In Fairclough's opinion (1995, 50, 62) both the immediate and wider social and cultural context must be attended to in an ideal analysis.

Critical discourse analysis is a useful tool in this study because it helps me to see beyond the linguistic structure of the metaphors. By taking into account the socio-cultural practice of the news reporting and its metaphors I can see the journalists' views and beliefs behind the writing as well as the aims and ideologies of the two participants of the war in Afghanistan. Since no language use is without beliefs and ideologies, critical discourse analysis enables me to consider the purpose of the metaphors in news reporting as well as the effect caused by them in the reader. As to the war in Afghanistan, I intend to give the necessary background information on both the situational and wider sociocultural context. Both will be included in chapter (4) where I will explain the historical background of the two countries and the developments that led to the war to some extent.

3 METAPHOR

3.1 Definition and Views

Metaphors are so common in our everyday language that we often fail to notice them. We use metaphors about death, birth, life, and many other essential and often abstract matters in our lives, and they help us for instance to talk about sensitive events and matters of our culture. They also show how we conceptualize the world.

Lakoff and Turner (1989, 2) state that a metaphor lies in thought and not just in words. When we talk for example about death, we use several metaphors that consider death as a departure: to *pass away, be gone* and *depart*. This is a metaphorical conception of death and the words are triggers that "guide" us to a certain conception of death. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 6) further argue that human thought processes are mainly metaphorical, i.e. metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system.

Lakoff and Turner (1989, 50-51) further say that one needs to "make a distinction between basic conceptual metaphors and particular linguistic expressions of these conceptual metaphors". Basic conceptual metaphors are cognitive in nature and they are part of the common conceptual apparatus that members of a culture share. A common conceptual metaphor may be expressed in a commonplace or idiosyncratic way on the linguistic level. An example of a basic metaphor is *death is departure* on which such metaphors as *he passed away* and *he is gone* are based.

A metaphor is a structure that shares correspondences between two conceptual domains. Lakoff and Turner (1989, 3-4) call these sets of correspondences *mappings* between the two domains. Take for example the *life is a journey* metaphor. Knowing the structure of this metaphor and interpreting it means knowing the correspondences between the two conceptual domains of life and journeys. In this case such mapping consists of several correspondences:

- The person leading a life is a traveler.
- His purposes are destinations.

- Difficulties in life are impediments to travel.

- Progress is the distance traveled.

- Choices in life are crossroads.

Further correspondences can be found, but one can speak for instance of "destinations being mapped onto purposes".

The power of a metaphor relies on the mapping which always consists of several points. One is that slots in the source-domain schema get mapped onto slots in the target domain. For example, in the *life is a journey* metaphor the traveler slot gets mapped onto the living person slot. Another point is that relations in the source domain get mapped onto relations in the target domain. The source domain relation between traveler and destination gets mapped onto target domain relation between person and purpose. (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 63.)

A third point in the mapping is, according to Lakoff and Turner (1989, 63-64), that properties in the source domain get mapped onto properties in the target domain. The way a traveler conducts the journey and deals with impediments is affected by his strengths and weaknesses, and this maps onto the idea of a person having strengths and weaknesses for conducting life and dealing with problems. Also knowledge in the source domain gets mapped onto knowledge in the target domain. One cannot go on in the same direction if one hits a dead end and thus one has to find another route. In the same way, if one hits a metaphorical dead end in life, one must find another course of action.

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989, 51), basic conceptual metaphors are systematic, ie. there is a fixed correspondence between the structure of the domain to be understood and the structure of the domain in

terms of which we are understanding it. The understanding usually takes place through common experiences which are largely unconscious.

Lakoff and Turner (1989, 55-56) point out that metaphors have many statuses and they differ along many parameters. One parameter is conceptual versus linguistic: a distinction between the metaphorical thought and the language that expresses it bears a lot of weight in the discussion of metaphors. Another parameter concerning metaphors is conventionalization which applies at both the conceptual and linguistic levels. At the conceptual level, an automatic, effortless and generally established metaphor is conventional. At the linguistic level the issue is to what extent the conceptual metaphor is connected to the linguistic expression; the degree of conventionalization of a metaphor depends on the extent to which it underlies a range of everyday linguistic expressions.

The third major parameter along which metaphors may differ is basicness. In other words, this means a metaphor's conceptual indispensability. A metaphor is basic when dispensing it would change our way of thinking about certain matters. If one were, for example, to dispense a basic metaphor such as *time moves*, it would utterly change the way we think about future. Such metaphors are "basic to the conceptual system on which our language and our culture are based". (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 56.)

Fairclough (1992, 194-195) states that metaphors influence and structure "the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way". In signifying things through one metaphor rather than another we are constructing our

reality in one way rather than another. Fairclough (1989, 119) also points out that different metaphors have different ideological attachments, i.e. the way in which something is expressed linguistically is influenced by the ideology that the writer puts forward, consciously or unconsciously.

3.2 Metaphor Analysis

Lakoff and Turner (1989, xi-xii) mention four central characteristics of a metaphor which form the basis for the study of metaphor. The first is that metaphors are such common "tools" that we use them automatically and without noticing it. Another characteristic is that metaphors are always present in our thinking, i.e. thinking is for the most part based on a metaphorical analysis of situations. A third feature is that metaphor is available to everyone, it is a part of our everyday language. Metaphors are also indispensable, that is, a metaphoric thought cannot be expressed literally.

Hellsten (1998, 68-69) points out that the three characteristics of metaphors make metaphor study a fruitful approach to the research of communication and media. Metaphor analysis and study often reveal the unreflected way of seeing things, the way that is common to the members of the same community. By analyzing metaphors one can bring out this shared background. In addition, metaphor analysis aims to clarify the larger connections to which a certain concrete journalistic event is placed, i.e. what kind of an image of the event is created with the help of metaphors. (cf. Fairclough's ideas p.15)

Critical discourse analysis sees language use as structuring social reality and action as context dependent. It also acknowledges the existence of parallel meaning systems. These features are also shared by the metaphor analysis introduced by Hellsten (1998). Especially the idea of action as context dependent connects critical discourse analysis to metaphor analysis. Another factor connecting these analyses has to do with the concepts of power and ideology. Power in society is seen as one product of language use, i.e. as power built discursively. A power analysis that concentrates on discourses aims to analyze the power relationships between discourses as well as the power relationships inside discourses. Metaphor analysis is an effective tool in analyzing the power relationships in a culture. (Fairclough 1989, 17; Hellsten 1998, 69-70; Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 1993, 17.)

According to Hellsten (1998, 76-77), there are several ways of conducting a metaphor analysis. The aim of the analysis may vary in different studies. One can concentrate only on metaphors as such or one can analyze a wider discussion of a topic through metaphors. The latter approach would result for instance in a recognition of ideological structures in journalism. Hellsten (1998) points out that it is essential to not only take the actual metaphorical expression into account but also to consider the metaphor system that the individual metaphor belongs to. In a journalistic study it is also important to consider the reason for using a specific metaphor and whose point of view is emphasized.

The tools for a metaphor analysis require a division between the conceptual level and the linguistic level of a metaphor as represented by Lakoff and Turner (1989, 50-51). The conceptual level of a metaphor forms a sort of basic metaphor whose parts individual metaphorical

expressions are. An example of a basic metaphor is *life is a journey* where one sees life as a spatial movement from the beginning of life (birth) to the end of life (death). This basic metaphor then lies behind such a metaphorical expression as *he's gone* that refers to death as a departure.

In this study, I will use metaphor analysis as a tool for identifying the different metaphors in the news articles. In addition, it will help me to find out the power that lies in them and their usage. In this case, power is seen as the interpretation that a metaphor puts forward or offers, as the way the reader sees it and is affected by it. Different readers may have different interpretations of the same metaphor, and thus the power of the metaphor may differ. With metaphor analysis I will not only consider the linguistic level of the metaphors in question but also concentrate on the image that they create of the war in Afghanistan. Metaphor analysis together with critical discourse analysis will help me to see the reasons for and effects of using the particular metaphors instead of other metaphors.

4 BACKGROUND OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

According to Hämeen-Anttila (2001, 179), the recent history of Afghanistan has been one of disorder and confusion. King Shah was overthrown in 1973, the communist party took over in 1978 and from 1979 to 1989 the land was occupied by the Russians. After the Russians were gone, the civil war lasted for another three years. Since 1992 the problems in Afghanistan have been due to two factors: the several

political and religious groupings fighting over power and the different views owned by the different nationalities in the country.

Hämeen-Anttila (2001, 180-181) suspects that the Taliban movement was born in 1992, and that it first operated in the area of Kandahar. The movement has no political ideology or agenda but it has a religious model which is applied to the society. Talibans started influencing people in refugee camps and by 1996, most of Afghanistan was under Taliban rule. It was not until the end of 1996 that the U.S. stopped supporting the Talibans whom they had thought would keep the Russians from gaining any more power in the area.

The Talibans have as their aim to make Islamic law the only law in Afghanistan and to put all its details into practice. Osama bin Laden, who is actually from Saudi Arabia, leads the Talibans and represents the extremely fundamentalist view on Islam. According to Hämeen-Anttila (2001, 182-183) bin Laden is considered above all an Islamic fighter whose aim is to clear the Arabic peninsula from any foreign influence, especially American influence. This is one of the reasons for the terrorist attack in New York on 11th of September 2001.

Another reason for destroying two of the most influential places in U.S.A. is the resentment that bin Laden feels towards Americans. This resentment is due to the fact that Americans have a military base in Saudi Arabia and this is against bin Laden's view that the Arabic peninsula should be freed from any foreign influence. The terrorist group behind the attack is called Al Qaida and it has been formed and trained by Osama bin Laden.

After the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on Pentagon in Washington president Bush returned to the White House to make plans for a possible counter-attack and to find out the persons behind the act of terrorism. U.S.A. "shut down" for a while: all its airports were closed and flights were cancelled, stores closed their doors, etc. The CIA, the FBI together with Pentagon started wide investigations to find out the "masterminds" of the terrorist attack. It was soon gathered that Osama bin Laden together with the Al Qaida organisation were behind the attack and U.S. military forces were sent to Afghanistan where bin Laden is thought to operate from.

Although president Bush has declared this war as a war against terrorism and has got the support of most countries and their leaders, the war only takes place in Afghanistan and is against bin Laden and his terrorist group. Talibans, who once were supported by Americans against communism and Russians, are now the greatest enemy of the civilized world.

American newspapers have given a lot of space to the news reports concerning the terrorist attack on September 11, the hunt for the guilty parties, and the war against terrorism, which has culminated in the war in Afghanistan where bin Laden is believed to be and operate from. Not only American newspapers but also newspapers worldwide together with other media have written about the reasons for and the effects of this attempt to root out all terrorism. Ever since the attack in September, the *International Herald Tribune* has written reports on the war that take at least four pages in every newspaper from mid-September to this day.

5 DATA AND METHODS

The research data consist of 21 articles published in the International Herald Tribune. The articles are about the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in September 2001 and the war in Afghanistan that followed the attack. The articles date from the middle of September to the middle of November 2001.

I chose the *International Herald Tribune* because it is an American newspaper and because it is published with the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. I want to focus on the way the war in Afghanistan is represented to the Americans because it was president Bush together with his administrators that decided to enter into the war against bin Laden and the Talebans. This, I suspect, affects the way discourse is used to report the events and developments in the war. I also suspect that the fact that this particular newspaper is published with the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* affects the discourse because these cities have major roles in the start of the war. The reason for taking articles from a longer period of time is that I want to see if the metaphors develop in any way as the war in Afghanistan develops.

As research method I am going to use metaphor analysis combined with discourse analysis. First I am going to identify the metaphors in the articles and explain why they are metaphorical. Then I am going to further describe them and last I am going to analyze and discuss them in a broader sense, i.e. in terms of the tools given in discourse analysis. My aim is not just to "pick out" the metaphors from the text but also put them in a wider social context and thus analyze the way they create images of the war in Afghanistan and of the participants in it.

6 THE CRITICAL METAPHORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

I will limit the analysis to those aspects of the language used in the articles which I find especially interesting for the purpose of this study, i.e. the different metaphors referring to the war itself and matters closely connected with it. My aim is not to note every single instance of metaphor in the articles but to discuss the most striking and frequent ones and see what kinds of ideologies might lie behind these. The connections to possible ideologies will be dealt with in more detail in the conclusion section.

Before proceeding to the actual analysis, a few practical points should be noted. The examples will be numbered and followed by the paper they have been taken from (International Herald Tribune=IHT). After these there will be the date of publication of the paper followed by the page number. The most relevant words within the examples will be in boldface.

6.1 The State-as-a-person System

Personification is a type of metaphor where "the physical object is further specified as being a person" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 33). In the articles studied here personifications of the war and the countries involved in it are most frequent.

One of the types of personification metaphor in the example articles is THE STATE IS A PERSON WITH BRAINS. This metaphor is seen in the

way the two parties, Afghanistan and the United States, are represented as having a mind of their own:

> (1) Sending airliners like huge suicide bombers to devastate the symbolic **nerve centers of American power**, the masterminds of history's most spectacular terrorist act were apparently aiming [...] (IHT 12.9.2001: 1, 12)
>
> (2) What the administration appears **to have in mind**, in fact, is assembling the broadest possible worldwide coalition [...] (IHT 15.-16.9.2001: 5)
>
> (3) [...], including **single-minded energy** and focus, great organizational abilities and a natural charisma. (IHT 1.10.2001: 8)

In the first two examples it is the United States that is represented as a person with brains and in the third example Afghanistan as a whole has brains and a mind to work with in the war. The countries involved in the war are personified and given human properties such as the ability to think. As Lakoff (1991) puts it, "a state is conceptualized as a person", which among other things has a home, neighbors, friends and enemies. A state as a person can also have "inherent dispositions: they can be peaceful or aggressive, responsible or irresponsible, industrious or lazy".

Other STATE AS A PERSON metaphors in the articles describe the United States as a person with certain weaknesses:

> (4) [...] also suggested **the vulnerability of America's relatively open borders** and loose security. (IHT 12.9.2001: 1, 12)
>
> (5) He reached out not only toward **the wounded partner** but [...] (IHT 13.9.2001: 2)
>
> (6) Warships were also reportedly sent to West Coast sites that **are considered vulnerable** [...] (IHT 13.9.2001: 4)

Since only people and animal can be wounded or vulnerable, the United States is seen here as person that has been hurt somehow or can be hurt by the terrorists. It emphasizes the role of a victim that the United States has partly taken in this war, although it might be argued by some people that the United States has brought this tragedy onto itself.

Examples of STATE AS A PERSON WITH FEELINGS metaphor are also found in the articles. They mostly describe the different feelings of the American people:

(7) Just as the Japanese wartime strike ultimately **aroused U.S. fury** and led to Tokyo's defeat, Tuesday's stunning blow may trigger a national outrage [...] (IHT 12.9.2001: 1, 12)

(8) As for terrorism, it was no longer **an American obsession** that some could dismiss as an excuse for incompetence [...] (IHT 13.9.2001: 2)

(9) The country's second-largest **city seemed numbed, and fearful**, braced for an attack on the West Coast, already [...] (IHT 13.9.2001: 4)

(10) [...], counterterrorism officials braced for what they expected would be a long and **unforgiving examination** of how they missed the preparations for the attack, [...] (IHT 13.9.2001: 6)

These examples give a two-sided picture of the United States and its reaction to the act of terrorism. On the one hand, the American people and their leaders are viewed as powerful and ruthless warfarers who only want revenge (ex. 7, 8, 10), but on the other hand, they are represented as powerless victims (ex. 9) of this "cowardly act" (IHT 12.9.2001: 1). There may be two factors contributing to this two-sided picture of the United States and its people. The picture of powerful and ruthless warfarers gives the American people faith in their leaders and in the fact that the American military and administration will find the

persons behind the terrorist act and punish them. Representing U.S. as a victim with certain helplessness, on the other hand, helps the government to get the support of other countries in their war against terrorism. It also brings the people of the United States closer together, which is crucial in the fight against the Talibans.

Parts of a body are represented in the STATE AS A PERSON metaphors of the articles:

> (11) The horror of hijacked passenger jets crashing into the symbol that was the World Trade Center in New York [...] , and **strengthened the hand of authorities** dealing with it. (IHT 13.9.2001: 2)
>
> (12) He said it was "completely normal" Tuesday for a two-year transitional government **backed by a multinational security force.** (IHT 14.11.2001: 1, 4)
>
> (13) But the Northern Alliance leadership, **headed by the UN-recognized president,** Burhanuddin Rabbani, has not officially accepted the invitation yet. (IHT 14.11.2001: 1, 4)

Example (11) decribes the administration of the United States as a person with a hand that can reach other states in the battle against terrorism. The 'hand' is a means to have an influence on the "neighbors and enemies" of the United States, and it gives a picture of U.S. as someone active and powerful in the war against terrorism. Examples (12) and (13), on the other hand, are about Afghanistan and its leaders. The metaphor in (12) represents Afghanistan as somebody who needs to be supported in his efforts and (13) implies that the people of Afghanistan cannot make their decisions on their own but need a strong leader to guide them.

6.2 The War-as-a-machine System

In addition to STATE AS A PERSON metaphors, there are metaphors of the form WAR IS A MACHINE in the articles. They describe the states involved in the war, events that occur in the war and the action taken by the U.S. and Afghanistan.

Some metaphors derived from the MACHINE metaphor have to do with power that causes movement or increase in the speed of the movement:

> (14) [...], Tuesday's stunning blow may trigger a national outrage **that escalates U.S. counterterrorist warfare** to new international ferocity. (IHT 12.9.2001: 1, 12)
> (15) [...], the U.S. authorities opened operational command centers and began **to mobilize manpower** for an investigation. (IHT 13.9.2001: 6)
> (16) [...], **the attacks accelerated** what the Germans believed was the high probability that the Americans would come quickly to a written or informal understanding with the Russians on a broad package. (IHT 13.9.2001: 2)
> (17) [...] see that the people in the north are suddenly being helped by the international community with food, medicine and hope for a better life, **that might accelerate the collapse** of the Taliban control of the south. (IHT 13.11.2001: 1,4)

Example (14) gives a powerful and mighty picture of the United States and its military. *Escalate* can be interpreted as movement upwards and it makes U.S. seem bigger and more powerful than Afghanistan. This is a reassurance to the American people that bin Laden and his supporters can be defeated. The use of *mobilize* in example (15) adds to this image of strength that the Bush administration wants to give to the readers. The word *accelerate* in (16) and (17) also introduces the United States as

a machine that cannot be beaten. In addition to assuring the American readers of invincibility, one reason for choosing such wording may be that Bush and his assistants want to show the Talibans what they are up against and thus threaten them. This may be a failing attempt, since the Taliban may not read American newspapers.

Other metaphors formed from the WAR IS A MACHINE metaphor use verbs that belong to a special area of machinery and physics:

> (18) The shock of the attack, Mr. Perle said, **would galvanize U.S. policy** into a systematic policy of retaliating severely against any foreign governments that have helped terrorists working against the United States. (IHT 12.9.2001: 1, 12)
> (19) [...] Qaida was extending its influence in Southeast Asia by using the Internet, **infiltrating Muslim nongovernmental organizations,** sending extremist religious leaders to the region, [...] (IHT 14.9.2001: 2)
> (20) The U.S. attack **will fuse inputs** from spy satellites: bombers, helicopters and pilotless drones, and commandos on the ground carrying secret high-tech weaponry and communications gear. (IHT 3.10.2001: 1, 3)

The verb galvanize literally, or in the field of electric chemistry means that zink is put onto metal, but in (18) it means to "stimulate" the way of conducting foreign politics or to "wake up" the politicians. This is what Mr. Perle, an adviser to president Bush, thinks will happen in the United States because of the terrorist attack in September. Many people outside U.S. are of the opinion that the attack was a long-awaited wake-up call to the administrators in the United States, and this statement and the metaphor in it shows that the American leaders have started to realize the need for a change.

(19) is a paraphrase of a statement made by an English expert on terrorism. *Infiltrate* means that something goes through a filter in, for instance, a machine of some kind, but in (19) the writer uses it to explain that Qaida, the terrorist group, has gained more power in Afghanistan. This is a development of the war that the U.S. administration does not want to happen, but which they have to accept as a fact. The use of *infiltrating* gives Qaida an image of effectiveness and power, whereas fuse in (20) gives again a picture of the United States that makes it seem efficient and up to date. It reassures the American people that the U.S. military is provided with equipment with which they can capture bin Laden and his supporters.

6.3 The War-as-nature System

The metaphors that represent WAR AS NATURE in the articles are mostly of two kinds: those that have to do with water and those that have to do with ground or soil. First, let us take a look at the metaphors with words concerning water:

> (21) In 1998, America fired **a volley of more than 70 cruise missiles** at what it alleged were guerrilla training camps operated by Mr. bin Laden. (IHT 14.9.2001: 5)
> (22) The five countries that border Afghanistan have closed their borders, fearing **an influx of terrorists** concealed among the refugees and new burdens on their economies. (IHT 1.10.2001: 2)
> (23) More than 23,000 **U.S. troops are pouring into Egypt** as part of Operation Bright Star, a long-scheduled, 10-country military exercise. (IHT 4.10.2001: 2)

Volley literally means a flood and in (21) it is used to emphasize the big amount of missiles launched by the American military. The metaphor is used in a reference to a prior event where the U.S. had tried to stop bin Laden and this is done to show that U.S. intelligence was in fact aware of bin Laden and his action long before the attack on World Trade Center. Many countries and especially Americans were amazed at the fact that this kind of thing could happen to such a modern and well-equipped country as the United States without them knowing anything about it in advance. The statement in (21) tries again to restore the faith of the American people in their leaders.

Influx is another synonym for flood but in (22) it is used to describe the huge amount of Afghan refugees that try to enter the neighboring countries of Afghanistan. Many of the articles examined describe the difficult situation of the Afghan people who are not part of al Qaida or who do not represent the Taliban and their ideologies. The use of the word *influx* in this metaphor shows that there are a lot of such people in Afghanistan.

The verb *pour* in (23) is normally used in talking about rain and it means quite heavy rain. That 'troops pour' into Egypt means that they come in large numbers and it creates an image that the American military has a lot of men fighting its battles, i.e. the United States is a powerful country that cannot easily be defeated. The metaphor shows that U.S.A. not only has some control over Afghanistan but also has some power and control in the countries nearby.

Some WAR AS NATURE metaphors in the articles are based on words that have something to do with ground or soil:

(24) "I'm hopeful that this event will help the United States and China **find more common ground** and lead to an improvement in relations," Mr. Lu added. (IHT 1.10.2001: 11)

(25) Those who have managed to escape to this provincial capital in southwestern Pakistan in recent days described **harrowing journeys** over difficult terrain. (IHT 1.10.2001: 2)

(26) Secretary of State Colin Powell said Monday that Taliban forces were close to collapse across **a broad swath** of northern Afghanistan and that [...] (IHT 13.11.2001: 1, 4)

Example (24) shows that it is not only the U.S. and Afhganistan that are affected by this war against terrorism but also other countries, such as China, are affected by the war. Finding a common ground means sharing in a positive way and this is what Mr. Lu, a professor of Russian Studies, hopes will happen between the United States and China as a result of the war in Afghanistan. It gives a picture of China as a country willing to get involved in action against terrorism and siding with the United States. This, in turn, helps the U.S. government to reassure the American people that they are not alone in this war.

The *harrowing journeys* in (25) are made by Afghan refugees, i.e. by people who are not involved in the war and want to live in safety. To *harrow* literally means to make land suitable for growing crops with a heavy frame with sharp metal points, and this is very hard physical work. The metaphor points out the difficulty and danger in travelling through the country, and thus makes the Afghan people look like victims. It is, in fact, true that there are many people in Afghanistan that just want the war to end. They do not side with either of the parties: neither with the United States nor Afghanistan and al Qaida. This metaphor not only makes the Afghan people seem helpless but also

indirectly shows that the action taken by the U.S. military does not affect bin Laden and his supporters alone, that there are others who also suffer; the picture of the United States saving the world is thus shattered a little.

(26) is a statement about the state of Taliban fighters in Afghanistan made by a U.S. administrator. *Swath* means 'a broad area of land' and with the adjective *broad* the metaphor emphasizes the size of the area of which Talibans have allegedly lost control because of the action taken by the U.S. military. At this point the war has been going on for about two months and the U.S. leaders want to show that the possible losses from this war have not been in vain, that the terrorists can be beaten and that the American people should not lose their faith.

6.4 The War-as-movement System

The events and developments that have taken place in the war are partly described with WAR IS MOVEMENT metaphors. One set of such metaphors has words in them that can be associated with the movements of a hand:

> (27) Abdul Salam Zaeef, the Afghan ambassador to Pakistan, said in Islamabad that **handing over Mr. bin Laden** to the United States would be a "long process" and [...] (IHT 15.-16.9.2001: 4)
> (28) Senior **officials cast aside the niceties** of diplomatic language and the military restraint that the United States had manifested in dealing with past terrorist attacks, [...] (IHT 15.-16.9.2001: 5)
> (29) Other top officers at the battered Pentagon made it clear that "ending states who sponsor terrorism" meant **wiping out governments** that refused to cooperate. (IHT 15.-16.9.2001: 5)

(30) "**The sweep of the Northern Alliance** has not been so much a military victory as a collapse or withdrawal of the Taliban, " the official said. (IHT 14.11.2001: 1, 4)

In (27) Afghanistan is seen as a person that can 'hand over' things to another person. The metaphor has to do with the U.S. attempts to capture bin Laden, it points out that getting bin Laden is not as easy as giving somebody the butter at a dinner table. This metaphor gives a picture of Afghanistan as having more control over the development of the war than the United States. Example (28), on the other hand, describes the new attitude in foreign policy taken by the Bush administration. The administration is represented as throwing something away, as a person getting rid of something old and unwanted. This metaphor is used to get the nations of the world to side with the United States in the war against terrorism since they feel it is a global matter.

The metaphor in (29) also has to do with the cooperation of other nations in the war against terrorism. To *wipe* literally means to remove dirt with a cloth and this is usually done with hands. In this metaphor, however, it means to stop helping and supporting those countries that are not willing to back up the U.S. in this war, and maybe even attacking them in some way. This can be seen as another way of getting the civilized world involved in the battle against terrorism, but it also gives an image of the United States as a powerful country, that it is in everybody's interest to join them in this battle.

The word *sweep* in (30) is a near synonym to *wipe* as they both represent movement of a hand. The advance made by the Northern Alliance is described as a cloth wiping out the "dust" of a table. Because the

statement is made by a Pakistan official, the use of *sweep* can be interpreted as a little sarcastic. It points out that the American military may not have been as efficient as have been claimed, that the advance has been more due to the withdrawal of the Taliban than to strategies invented by the U.S. military forces.

Cast, wipe and *sweep* also have to do with cleaning. In examples (28), (29) and (30) the US is seen as the person doing the cleaning and the dirt that has to be cleaned out is the terrorism that exists in the world and which bin Laden is a representative of. Once again, Afghanistan and its people are represented as horrible people, as dirt without actually mentioning them in the text.

Other WAR IS MOVEMENT metaphors in the articles have words that, in a way, describe the form that the movement takes:

> (31) The detailed accounts of refugees, traders and drivers – [...]
> – present grim images of an already ravaged **country spiraling into bleak new chaos**. (IHT 3.10.2001: 5)
> (32) He added that "once you start something like this, **it tends to start rolling**, and they can't stop it, and I think the next thing we will see in the next 24 hours is some [...] (IHT 13.11.2001: 1, 4)
> (33) Afghanistan's anti-Taliban opposition fighters Monday launched their long-awaited offensive toward Kabul, meeting little resistance **as they rolled over Taliban front-line positions** and [...] (IHT 13.11.2001: 2, 4)

The *spiraling* in (31) that Afghanistan is predicted to do describes the somewhat miserable situation of the Afghan people now and also in the future. With the metaphor the writer implies that Afghanistan is headed for destruction at high speed, that the war has caused thousands of people to flee from Afghanistan and the country will soon be in chaos.

This picture of uncontrolled movement adds to the image of Afghanistan as a helpless nation in need of the support of the western world.

(32) is a statement made by Secretary of State Powell about the state of Taliban in the war. He describes the war as something that moves and the use of *rolling* in the metaphor emphasizes that the war is not an easy thing to stop once it starts to develop further. The metaphor describes the war as an overwhelming movement and the US as something that cannot be stopped. This, in turn, implies that the Taliban are in trouble, that they do not have the means to fight the war to the end or to stop the Northern alliance from taking over the northern part above Kabul. This image is made stronger by the metaphor in (33) in which the Taliban are described as being walked over by the opposition. At this point the war has lasted two months and Americans are positive that they will capture bin Laden and root out terrorism from Afghanistan and the Middle East.

6.5 Metonymy

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 35-38) define metonymy as a cognitive process where one entity is used to refer to another entity that is related to it. Examples of metonymy are metaphors where the part stands for the whole, object used for user and institution for people responsible. The cases of metonymy that appear in the articles are of the form THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION, in which the place where the institution functions is used to refer to the people of that institution and their action. Here are some examples of this metaphor:

> (34) "Make no mistake, **the United States will hunt down** and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts." (IHT 12.9.2001: 2)
>
> (35) At the same time, **Beijing does not relish seeing** a new Western military beachhead so near its homeland, and like Moscow **it fears** that Washington might go overboard in its retribution. (IHT 1.10.2001: 11)

The use of 'the United States' in (34) does not actually mean that the whole country with its people will participate in the hunting down of the terrorists. It refers to the U.S. military together with the intelligence agencies who are responsible for tracking down and attacking the terrorists. In (35) the capital city of China is used to refer to the political administration of China and its action. These give a slightly different picture of the countries in question. The United States and its people are represented as working together in the hunt for the criminals whereas the metaphor in (35) gives the impression that in China, the leaders and administrators stationed in Beijing are the only ones with the power to make military decisions.

Another case of metonymy in the articles is of form INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE. Metaphors based on this kind of metonymy use the "name" of the institution to refer to the people working inside the institution, thus referring to the people who are responsible for the action mentioned in the metaphor. Examples of such metaphors are:

> (36) [...], said that the "**CIA hasn't made a definitive ruling**" about who was behind the attack but that there were "parallels" between the attack and previous ones. (IHT 13.9.2001: 6)
>
> (37) Sketching in the outline of an aggressive new American foreign policy, **the Bush administration has given the nations**

of the world a stark choice: Stand with us against terrorism, [...]
(IHT 15.-16.9.2001: 5)

(38) **The Pentagon said** Monday that more U.S. commandos had been put on the ground in southern Afghanistan to help with the hunt for Osama bin Laden, but [...] (IHT 14.11.2001: 1, 4)

The CIA in (36), the Bush administration in (37) and the Pentagon in (38) all consist of people who run the affairs in the institution. The institutions are represented here as units although it is probably some specific persons who have 'made the definitive ruling', who have 'given the nations a stark choice' and who have 'said' something instead of the whole organization. The reason for using such metaphors may, in fact, be that the United States wants to give the impression that these organizations actually do work together as tight units, that it is the will of all Americans to perform these actions.

6.6 Other Metaphors

Other metaphors that constitute quite a large part of the metaphors in the articles include words of sport, buildings and art. The SPORT metaphors can be seen in the following examples:

(39) In the Capitol, there were police officers shouting "Run! Run! Run!" **as staffers sprinted from the building** in fear of another attack. (IHT 13.9.2001: 4)

(40) Refugees arriving here after arduous journeys from Afghanistan are describing[...] as the threat of American-led military attacks turns **their long-running misery** into potential catastrophe. (IHT 1.10.2001: 2)

(41) Even Taliban officers **sent their wives and youngsters dashing for safety** toward Pakistan or more remote home villages, [...] (IHT 3.10.2001: 5)

The SPORT metaphors in examples (39), (40) and (41) have to do with running of some sort. To *sprint* (ex. (39)) means to run a short distance very fast and in the athletics there is, for example, a 100 metre sprint. With this metaphor the writer has wanted to give a picture of the speed at which the workers in the World Trade Center ran out of the building. This article was written two days after the terrorist attack, and people were interested in knowing what the scene looked like just after the towers were attacked.

The metaphors in (40) and (41), however, describe the somewhat later developments of the war. The misery described in (40) has already taken a long time, and it may continue for even a longer time if the Americans attack Afghanistan, as they did after the date in question. The verb *run* is often associated with time, since time is seen as something that goes forward just as runners do. *Dashing* is also a word connected to sport. It has the same meaning as sprint; one can talk either about a 100 metre sprint or about a 100 metre dash in athletics. To use *dash* in this metaphor emphasizes the high speed at which the Taliban officials wanted their families to flee from their homes to a safer place. It shows that the Taliban knew that the United States would take revenge on them eventually.

The BUILDING metaphors in the articles have mostly to do with the door of a building:

> (42) "That is **the key to this entire effort,**" an administration official said. (IHT 2.10.2001: 4)
> (43) A still critical factor is **the solid lock by Taliban forces** on southern Afghanistan. (IHT 13.11.2001: 1, 4)

(44) The momentum of victories by the Northern Alliance, however, may by itself create **opportunities to unhinge Taliban strength**, he said. (IHT 13.11.2001: 1, 4)

(45) **"Our troops are knocking at the doors of Kabul,"** the Northern Alliance spokesman, Ashraf Nadeem, said in a satellite phone interview with Reuters from Mazar-I-Sharif. (IHT 13.11.2001: 2, 4)

In (42) the *effort* is seen as a building that has a door which can be opened. The effort that is referred to is the hunting down of Osama bin Laden and the *key* is to try and get nations to freeze their assets in countries that are somehow linked to bin Laden. The *lock* in (43) is used to emphasize the near impossibility to get the Taliban forces out of southern Afghanistan: the lock of the door cannot be opened with the keys that the U.S. military has in its hands.

To *unhinge* means to take a door off its hinges, to remove it from its place. In (44), however, it refers to the possibility of removing power from the Taliban fighters to the Northern Alliance. Taliban has most power and control in the southern part of Afghanistan, and the Northern Alliance together with the U.S. military try to push them out of there. The statement is made by Secretary of State Colin Powell who believes that the Northern Alliance has good chances of getting the control over southern Afghanistan. In (45) Kabul is seen as a building with an entrance. The Northern Alliance is near the borders of Kabul at this point in the war, and entering Kabul would be a big step in the advance to the southern part of the country. The metaphors in (44) and (45) give a convincing picture of the efficiency of the Northern Alliance and the U.S. military, but they are statements made by persons that side with these institutions: the articles do not include any statements from

the Taliban. The image created by the metaphors is quite one-sided and should be interpreted as such.

The ART metaphors in the articles see WAR AS THEATER where the roles are played by the United States and Afghanistan:

> (46) The United States has amassed a military force of 28,000 sailors, airmen and troops, more than 300 warplanes and two dozen warships spread for thousands of miles **across a military theater with Iraq and Afghanistan at its heart**. (IHT 1.10.2001: 3)
>
> (47) Federal agents have evidence that money was wired between Mr. Ahmad and Mohamed Atta, **identified as a leading figure in the plot**, in the days before the attacks. (IHT 2.10.2001: 4)
>
> (48) Pakistan's political fragility has forced the Pentagon to look not only for **other staging areas**, but also **to improvise how the U.S. military might plug the gap**. (IHT 4.10.2001: 2)

In (46) the whole war is referred to as theater, and the U.S. sailors, airmen and troops are the ones with the main role in the play. An image of the United States producing the war is created through this metaphor; Iraq and Afghanistan have partly unwanted roles and partly they have accepted the roles with pleasure because they resent the U.S. for interfering in their actions. The metaphor in (47) implies that the play had its opening night even before the terrorist attack in September since money was transmitted between two important persons in the attack. At this point, after about two weeks after the attack, the whole picture of the plotting against the United States starts to become clear, and the hunt for bin Laden and his supporters widens.

To *improvise* means to create music or a part in a play while one is playing or speaking instead of using previously produced material. In

(48) it means to come up with a military strategy that would ensure the area of politically unstable Pakistan. The use of improvise in the metaphor does not necessarily mean that the U.S. military comes up with the strategy as they go along, but it emphasizes the quite high speed at which they have to figure out what to do.

7 CONCLUSION

The personification of the states involved in the war in Afghanistan, i.e. the STATE AS PERSON metaphors picture the United States and Afghanistan as persons scheming against each other. Both countries are represented as shrewd and clever warfarers, which is probably true of the leaders of the parties of the war. Both bin Laden and Bush have gotten a higher education and have access to educated networks and connections to educated people. But the ordinary people of Afghanistan are probably less educated, and still the metaphors give an image of all the Afghan people plotting against the U.S. with all their wisdom and knowledge.

The United States is also represented as expressing feelings of anger, fear and unforgiveness. This, however, is something that is not done when using STATE AS A PERSON metaphors to refer to the people of Afghanistan. The United States and its people are represented as victims in this war although the interference in the business and administration of the countries in the Middle East that the U.S. has been making for decades might be considered by some as a justification of the attack on the U.S.A. The fact that these articles are taken from an American newspaper is a major factor contributing to the way in which the United States is represented in the articles and their metaphors.

The WAR AS A MACHINE metaphors also focus mainly on the United States and its warfare. The image created of the U.S. military is one of powerful and fast moving. Once again the reference to the Afghan military is left out and thus the picture of an invincible U.S. military power is created. This kind of one-sided referring to one party of the

war gives an unbalanced picture of the war, and one might argue that the role of a victim that the United States has partly taken in the discourse is questionable due to these metaphors of power.

It is first in the WAR AS NATURE metaphors that Afghanistan is referred to. It, however, is not as positive a picture as the writers give of the United States; the WATER metaphors mostly describe the somewhat desperate situation of the Afghan people who are not actively involved in the war. Although the Taliban have probably also had some victories and progress in the war, they are not described in the metaphors. They leave out much of the action taken by the Taliban and al Qaida, and focus on the American side of the war. The WATER metaphors thus give quite a positive picture of the United States in that they assign the power and control of the war and its developments to the U.S. military.

The WAR AS NATURE metaphors that use words referring to GROUND describe, among other things, the involvement of other nations in the war, such as China. They describe how China wants to side with the United States to some extent, but what is interesting is the things that have been left out: the nations who are on Afghanistan's side in this battle. No such countries are mentioned, and it gives a picture of Afghanistan as standing totally alone against the U.S. This, however, is not true for a country such as Iraq has not condemned terrorism and is seen by many western experts as a supporter of Afghanistan and especially the Taliban.

The GROUND metaphors also give another image of Afghanistan, and that is the image of the ordinary people fleeing from their homes and

having difficulties in staying at home during the war. The soil is described as non-arable and the people are threatened by the Taliban. An image is created that the U.S. military should save the ordinary Afghan people who do not want to be in the middle of a war, and who do not want to give the control of the country to the Taliban.

The MOVEMENT metaphors in the articles were of two kinds: the ones associated with hand movements and the ones associated with the form of the movement. These metaphors give a picture of the United States and the Northern Alliance as the active parties in the war and bin Laden as the more passive participant. The U.S. moves along the Afghan terrain, threatens not to support anymore countries that are suspected of connections to terrorism, and the Northern Alliance moves forward in Afghanistan, pushing Taliban out of the way. Bin Laden, on the other hand, is represented as something that can be 'handed over', as somebody without any control in the war, when, in fact, he has quite a lot of power and control, which can be seen in the fact that the Taliban and al Qaida have not been conquered yet, and the United States is still afraid of new terrorist attacks by bin Laden.

The metaphors describing the form of the MOVEMENT add to the image of the Afghanistan as something that has to be saved. The ordinary people would end up in further misery if the U.S. army did not get involved and save them is the picture given by the metaphors. They also imply that the U.S. army has a lot of control over al Qaida and the Taliban, but still they have not been able to track down bin Laden and all of his supporters. The image of unorganized Afghan troops is also created when Powell states that the war 'tends to start rolling', the war is seen as an avalanche that cannot be stopped by the Afghans.

The cases of metonymy in the articles studied are also of two kinds: those where the place of the institution is used to refer to the actions of that institution and those where the institution is used to refer to the people responsible for its actions. Most cases are about the United States and its different institutions, and they give a picture of the U.S. as a united nation, as country whose every citizen is involved in the war against terrorism. There are, however, both ordinary people and experts that can see "the other side of the coin": the United States is not as innocent as it tries to make other nations believe. It can be claimed that the tragedy was partly U.S.A.'s own fault, that they were asking for it when they got too involved in the business of the countries in the Middle East, such as Israel and Iraq.

Other major metaphor groups in the articles consist SPORT, BUILDING and ART metaphors. The SPORT metaphors describe certain specific events and use words that have to do with running. The events described are from different points in the war; from the immediate situation in New York after the attack, and from the later situation in Afghanistan. All the SPORT metaphors create an image of the Americans and the Afghans running from danger to safety, which is probably a real situation in Afghanistan at the moment, but does not apply to Americans at this point in the war.

The BUILDING metaphors concentrate on the door of the building. Both Afghanistan and the war are seen as buildings, and bin Laden represents the resident of that building. The U.S. try to get him out of the building, out of Afghanistan, but the 'door' is locked by the Taliban who will not give up easily. The door of the building represents a

problem for the United States, but since they are approaching Kabul, which is also referred to as a building, they are making progress in the war. The BUILDING metaphors also give slightly the impression that the Taliban is trapped inside a house and cannot get out because of the U.S. army. This once again implies that the U.S. and the Northern Alliance have more control over the development of the war although a large part of Afghanistan is still under Taliban rule.

The ART metaphors refer to the war as a theater play which will end at some point and which has a certain plot that it follows although the participants do not necessarily know it and thus have to improvise a little during the play. The ending of the play, i.e. the war, is not the same for the actors, the United States and the Taliban. The United States wants to root out all terrorism from the world and the Taliban want to control Afghanistan and make Islam the only law there. The improvising that the U.S. may have to do implies that they are not so much in control as they have claimed to be. There are surprises along the way that the U.S. army and the Northern Alliance cannot predict, and this gives some of the power and control to the Taliban and bin Laden.

The final conclusion of this study is that the metaphors give a great deal of emphasis on the action taken by the United States and less emphasis on the Taliban and Afghanistan. The United States is represented as active in the war and winning the war. Bin Laden is represented as the villain of the war that can be beaten. Metaphors referring to the sad sight of the World Trade Center after the attack make the war seem justified and the real reasons for the attack are left out of the news reporting to some extent.

The effects of these metaphors on the reader may be two-sided. On the one hand, the reader may sympathize with the USA which, after all, suffered a tragedy when the World Trade Center collapsed and hundreds of people were killed. Afghans can, on the other hand, be seen as the victims who need our sympathy and support because the powerful USA has interfered in their lives and made it more difficult. The reader has a choice between these if (s)he knows the background thoroughly and has familiarized himself with information sources of various kinds.

It would be interesting to study this news reporting and the metaphors in it further by taking the research material from two nespapers, one representing the American view and the other representing the view of the Middle East countries. It could also be fruitful to "test" the metaphors on ordinary newspaper consumers and ask them what kind of images they get from the metaphors used. It would give more insight on the way in which people read newspapers and interpret the articles in them.

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