Conceptual metaphors and political language use in Korean: A case study of the Sunshine policy and of its discourse

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1. Introduction

This study aims to argue that Cognitive Linguistic approaches are pertinent to research on language uses in Korean by conducting an in-depth analysis of an international policy and the relevant discourse data. Specifically, it explores the roles of the cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and frame paired with performativity in foreign policy by conducting a case study on the South Korean government's Sunshine Policy toward North Korea from 1998 to 2008. It contends that the policy is metaphorically motivated by an Aesop's fable, the Sun and the Wind, a narrative whose entailments have significant implications for the policy, and also systematically accounts for the policy's performative characteristic. This study reinforces the cognitivists' argument that the cognitive mechanisms are pervasive not only in linguistic manifestations, but also in every form of human conceptualization.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly introduces the preliminaries of the case study of the Sunshine Policy. The section includes brief explanations of the theoretical frameworks of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999) and performativity (Searle, 1989, Sweetser, 2000). Section 3 identifies types of conceptual metaphors that are accounted for in the contents of the policy. It then argues that they systematically influence people's decision making processes by looking into relevant attested discourse data (made by both the ruling and opposing political parties), which demonstrate coherent and consistent conceptualizations of the metaphors. Section 4 addresses the other conceptual motivation—performativity—and shows that conceptual performativity helps policy makers successively persuade people to believe in the need for the policy.

2. Background

Conceptual metaphor analysis (Lakoff 2006a[1993]) and frame semantic analysis (Fillmore 1982) has received much attention in research examining contested concepts in various social communicative contexts that are framed by metaphor (Deignan and Armstrong, 2015, p. 80, Lakoff, 2006b, c, Schwartz, 1992, Todd and Low, 2010) as well as in research examining linguistic phenomena and their construals. Specifically, this paper aims to report on a linguistically and politically intriguing case of conceptual metaphor in politics: the South Korean government's diplomatic policy towards North Korea, the so-called Sunshine Policy.

The Sunshine Policy was the South Korean government's doctrine towards NK from 1998 to 2008, beginning during the administration of SK President Dae-Jung Kim. Kim firstly invented and used the name when he delivered a speech at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, on 4 April 1998 (Moon, 2002, p. 27), quoting the policy's narrative structure from one of Aesop's fables. The term sunshine thus evokes one of Aesop's fables, wherein the Sun and the Wind compete to remove a traveler's overcoat. The narrative goes as follows: the Sun and the Wind have a bet, and whoever takes off a traveler's overcoat wins. The Wind goes first, blowing as hard as it can to make the traveler take off his overcoat, but fails: the stronger the Wind blows, the more desperately the traveler clutches his coat. When the Sun's turn comes, the Sun shines warmly down on the traveler, who takes off his coat himself when he gets too warm. The message here is that warm-hearted gestures outweigh cold-blooded disciplines. The dual structure and the types of approaches involved in the narrative make a perfect narrative structure for the international power relationship that defines the Korean peninsula, and the Sunshine Policy takes advantage of it to characterize the main aim of the policy as to change NK's attitude by, like the Sun in the fable, providing "warm" support, i.e., economic assistance, rather than by exerting pressure.

Considering that a policy's name represents the contents in general, people might make a rough guess with regard to the word sunshine; for example, if one regards the semantic role of sunshine as part of the objective (e.g., a nation should prepare infrastructure to utilize natural sunshine effectively for the purpose of generating energy), he or she might ask, is this some policy on environmental issues? However, the "aha!" moment will come when people are told that the policy in question is actually one proposing that SK and its allies aid one of the

"rogue" states, NK, instead of "disciplining" them by means of economic and military restrictions. This paper claims that this is where conceptual metaphors kick in and in fact, that conceptual metaphors are crucial in construing the entailments and implications of the Sunshine Policy. Moreover, the performative characteristics underlying the policy actually make the policy more persuasive.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphors

How do we know that sunshine has something to do with a non-hostile course of action? It is because the name evokes a conceptual metaphor system. Further, the metaphor evokes and activates entailments and implications in our minds that lead us to think in a certain way. Cognitive linguistics has proven that conceptual metaphors are psychologically real by applying theories of conceptual metaphors to various fields such as politics (Lakoff, 1996, 2008b), dream studies (Lakoff, 2006a [1993]), mathematics (Lakoff and Núñez, 2000), neuroscience (Gallese and Lakoff, 2005, Lakoff, 2008a), and computer science (Feldman, 2006), among others. With regard to politics specifically, George Lakoff has dedicated himself to investigating the significance and consequences of conceptual metaphors in politics. For example, Lakoff (1991) demonstrated that metaphors can yield grave consequences. He showed how the political discourse in the United States over whether to go to war in the Persian Gulf (the first Gulf War) was never free from metaphors such as NATION IS A PERSON and WAR IS VIOLENT CRIME (1991, p. 1). Intriguingly, the metaphorical structure embedded in the U.S.'s courses of action in the Gulf is based on a fairy tale of just war, wherein a crime is committed by a villain against an innocent victim and a hero fights back and defeats the villain after having undergone many hardships (Ibid., 1991, p. 6). Using this narrative, the U.S. government assigned roles to nations in the real political world: Kuwait as a victim, Iraq (represented by Saddam Hussein) as a villain, and the U.S. as a hero. Later on, Lakoff (1996) successfully investigated major metaphorical systems—family metaphors based on Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models—underlying U.S. political discourse between Republicans and Democrats. In this respect, political discourse provides great datasets whose analysis can reveal how people frame what they believe and how the framing elements conspire to work coherently.
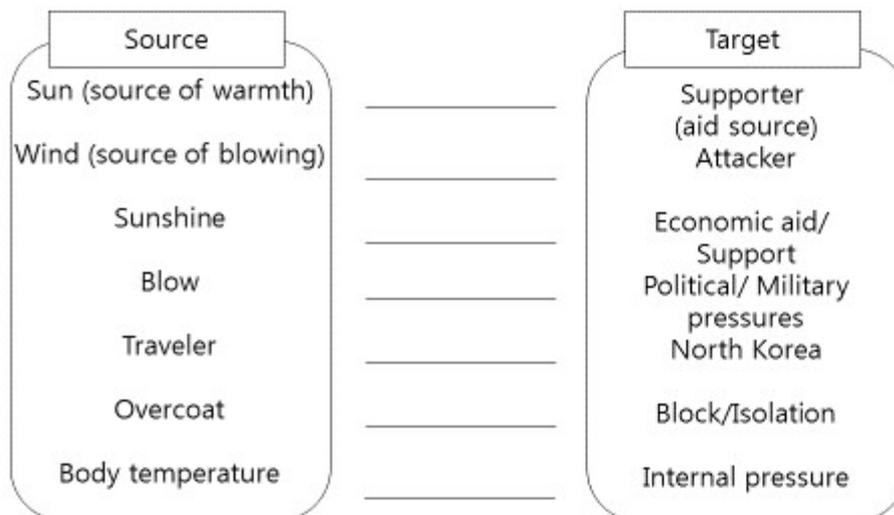
2.2. Performativity

The second relevant theoretical concept for this study is performativity. The notion of performativity also plays a crucial role in grasping how the Sunshine Policy works. Its traditional definition is "the ability of some descriptions to bring about the described situations in reality" (Searle, 1989, cited in Sweetser, 2000, p. 305). In other words, an utterance changes the shape of the world into a shape that the linguistic content represents (world-to-word fit). For example, "I promise you that I'll be there" sounds like a description of promising, but it also constitutes an act of promising. In the first reading, the speaker describes his or her own speech act about pursuing a future course of action. In contrast, the second reading involves a performative effect on the shape of the world, as soon as it is uttered: a shift from the world in which the promise in question did not exist to the world wherein it exists and is thus supposed to be kept.

Sweetser (2000) argues that a broadened definition of performativity is useful to account for various cultural phenomena that include non-linguistic as well as linguistic metaphorical acts. According to her, performativity refers to "[...] all aspects of human ability to use representations to influence the world outside the representation system" (Sweetser, 2000, p. 306). For example, in some Italian communities, it used to be the custom to carry a newly born infant to a high position (e.g., upstairs) as soon as possible after birth, so that the child might socially "rise in the world" in later life. This cultural ritual does not depict something that has happened, but is a wish that the new-born child will have "high status" when he or she grows up. It would be strange intuitively if the child were to be carried into a low position. Also, it would be ominous if the child were dropped by mistake during the ritual. The conceptual metaphor HIGH STATUS IS UP structures the construal in question. What matters here is that there is a contrast between two kinds of causal relationship in the representation and the represented space. In the ritual (representation), the child ends up located in a high position, whereas in reality (the represented space), no one can be sure if the future-self of the child will obtain "high status" in later life. People nevertheless performed this ritual, wishing for the causal relationship in the representation to also hold in the represented space, so that the child would live a good life (GOOD IS UP).

3. Conceptual Metaphors Underlying the Sunshine Policy

Every narrative is supposed to have participants. In the narrative of the Sun, the Wind, and the traveler, there are obviously participants that constitute a focal event. The internal structure of the narrative includes the following main frame elements: the Sun, the wind, the traveler, shining, blowing, the body temperature of the traveler, the overcoat, warmness, and coldness. If these participants and the relationships among them become relevant to understanding the international political situation of South and NK via a metaphorical mapping, the complete layout of the mapping structure requires knowledge of the following frame elements: SK, NK, South Korean supporters of NK, South Korean discipliners against NK, economic aid, political/military pressure, NK people's attitude, isolationist policy, friendship, and restriction, among others.

Source	Target
Sun (source of warmth)	Supporter (aid source)
Wind (source of blowing)	Attacker
Sunshine	Economic aid/ Support
Blow	Political/ Military pressures
Traveler	North Korea
Overcoat	Block/Isolation
Body temperature	Internal pressure

<Figure 1. The Metaphorical Mappings Involved in the Sunshine Policy>

The elements listed above in the two domains constitute mapping relationships and provide a logical ground on which the overall construal of the policy is based. Specifically, the South Korean government's policy for NK makes a target domain that is to be understood eventually in a certain way, and the narrative of the fable makes a source domain that is used to provide an easier access to that desired understanding (see Figure 1 below). The mapping structure is illustrated in Figure 1.

This conceptual structure reads as follows: supporters of the policy are understood in terms of the Sun in the source domain, and the situation wherein they provide NK with economic aid

is understood in terms of the source domain's Sun shining on the traveler; those who believe that discipline is needed for NK (the "attackers") are understood in terms of the Wind, and the scenario wherein they pressure NK by restricting the regime economically and politically is understood in terms of the scenario where the Wind blows hard against the traveler; just as the traveler holds tightly to his overcoat against the hard wind, the North Korean regime will try to hold onto its isolationist policy; conversely, if the sun makes the traveler warm enough, his body temperature goes up and he voluntarily takes off his overcoat in the narrative; if enough economic aid is provided, NK will voluntarily abandon its isolationist policy, and so on.

3.1. Metaphors in Focus

The salient metaphor here is personification, that is, the metaphor NATION IS A PERSON, because the NK government is, strictly speaking, not a single person, but an institution governed by political leaders. The NK government is understood in terms of a traveler, a person who is in the process of traveling.[1] The government's political and public decisions are understood in terms of this traveler's determination of the direction he will travel to reach a final destination.

The overcoat is understood only within the frame of the human being; one of its critical functions is to protect him by blocking potential external threats and stabilizing his body temperature. In addition, when the traveler's body is covered by the overcoat, others have no visual access to the covered part. A similar logic is in play in the target domain. Just as the traveler's body cannot be seen when the overcoat covers it, NK's internal situation cannot be accessed as long as NK holds onto its isolationist policy. The conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING is relevant here. When we are able to look into the internal situation of a nation, we will be able to understand it, but when we are unable to do so, we will not be able to understand the country's situation and are thus unable to think of countermeasures to that situation. In a sense, people understand the limited information on the internal situation of NK

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1) Another conceptual metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, is relevant as well. A nation proceeds toward a goal (e.g., to be a better nation), just as a person moves forward to reach a destination on a journey. In this metaphor, the Wind is an obstacle on the path and thus represents a participant that the traveler wants to overcome.

in terms of the limited visual access to the body covered by the traveler's overcoat in the source domain. Just as the overcoat prevents the traveler's body from being harmed by potential external threats such as abrupt weather changes, the isolationist policy prevents NK people from being liberated by information regarding their own dictatorship that could potentially be an external threat to its regime.

Intriguingly, the coat in the source domain is used to protect the traveler's body from the Wind, not the Sun; when the Sun shines, the traveler does not need the coat anymore. The overcoat's function becomes unnecessary when the reason for wearing it disappears. Common sense tells us that coldness is the only reason a person needs a coat and that if it is not cold any more, a coat is not needed. In the target domain, if the hostile atmosphere surrounding NK disappears, NK's isolationist policy will not be needed anymore because there will be no external threat of harm. These entailments constitute the overall construal of the metaphoric structure involved in the Sunshine Policy. Given this chain of logic, it would not be strange to say that the traveler's taking off the coat in the source domain is mapped onto NK's abandonment of its isolationist policy, and the traveler's clutching of his coat is mapped onto NK's maintaining its policy.

Another conspicuous metaphor system is AFFECTION IS WARMTH. It yields a set of inferences when paired with the metaphor NATION IS A PERSON. Among various inferential patterns, the following one reveals hidden identities of the Sun and the Wind. As the narrative goes, the traveler's body temperature may go up or down, as caused by the different participants, the Sun or the Wind. The two participants in the real world—those who support the policy and agree to provide economic support and those who oppose the policy and believe in political and military pressure—are mapped onto the Sun and the Wind, respectively. The question is, how do we know that the Sun corresponds to the supporters and the Wind to those who oppose the policy, not the other way around? The answer to this question does not seem irrelevant to the inferences that are involved in the construal of the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH.

In the domain of the fable, the Sun gives the traveler warmth, makes the coat useless, and eventually gets him to take the coat off. This narrative structure is mapped onto the structure of the target domain: supporters of the policy provide NK with friendly economic support

making the isolationist policy pointless, so that it is eventually abandoned by NK. The narrative structure thus motivates the close relationship between the supporters in the target domain and the Sun in the source domain.[2] In contrast, those who oppose the policy (conservatives) are understood in terms of the Wind in the metaphor. The scenario in the source domain goes as follows: the Wind tries to win the bet by blowing away the traveler's overcoat, but the harder the Wind blows, the more desperately the traveler clutches his overcoat. The Wind can never make him take off his coat.

It is also noteworthy that the topological causal structure is maintained in the two domains: just as the Sun and the Wind exert substantial force on a traveler so that he undergoes a change of state, it is believed that political decisions of those who support the policy and those who oppose it would cause NK to change. This entailment comes from one of the fundamental event structure metaphors CAUSES ARE FORCES. Its linguistic manifestations are already used frequently while describing the political situation in the target domain: for example, pressure in military pressure, one of the frequently-used phrases in international politics, instantiates the concept of FORCE with which those who oppose the policy can take hostile actions to NK. This knowledge is mapped onto the target domain of international politics surrounding NK: those who oppose the policy are vainly trying to force NK to abandon its isolationism; the harder they discipline NK, the more desperately the NK regime holds onto its isolation; the conservatives will never be successful at getting rid of NK's isolationist policy. These inferential patterns underlying the scenario motivate the close relationship between the Wind and those who oppose the policy.

3.2. Different Conceptualizations in the Attested Discourse Dataset

Considering that conceptualization is perspectival, it is natural that the policy makers' attitude toward the political situation in question is not neutral. Since the Sun won the

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2) It is noted, however, that to be warm is one thing, and to be hot is another; being hot might be regarded as uncomfortable, whereas being warm does not necessarily convey the same implication. The possible implication that the Sun can be (extremely) hot, not just warm, conveys a negative connotation that does not fit the conceptualization in question.

competition in the fable, and since the policy is named after that participant, the policy makers intend to favor the Sun's way. If the policy makers had intended to favor the conservatives' solution against NK, they would not have selected the fable in question to represent the gist of their solution. But even if they had, they would not have named the policy after the Wind (for further discussion, see Section 4). Considering that policies may need to persuade non-advocators or opponents over an issue, it is natural that they involve a certain perspectivized voice. The perspective that resonates in the Sunshine Policy is thus accounted for effectively when its entailments are looked into with care given that metaphoric mappings preserve inferences as well (Sullivan, 2013, p. 37). More intriguingly, the conceptualizations underlying the entailments are revealed in political speeches made by politicians.

Important entailments affect the construal of the policy. First, the force of the traveler is so weak that it is not comparable to the force of the Sun or the Wind. This is crucial to understand the different stances toward the political situation at issue, especially for the assessment of NK as a potential threat or not. Different assessments will yield radically different consequences in the international situation. Since the traveler is not comparable to the Sun, NK is understood in terms of a weak and incompetent counterpart to SK in the perspective of the policy in question. In conceptualizing NK as such, SK (and its allies) are construed as strong enough to deal with whatever trouble NK might make. This is shown in a 2007 speech of President Mu-Hyun Roh:

(2) *Phoyong-un selsa sangtay-ka soki-nun il-i iss-te-lato nangphay-lul po-cianh-ul-man-han him-ul kaci-n kangca-man-i ha-lswu-iss-nun il-i-pnita. wuli-nun etten kyengwu-ey-to taypiha-lswu-iss-nun cekcelha-n ekcilyek-ul kaci-ko iss-supnita.*
Only the strong who can afford to deal with deception can embrace others even when there is a possibility that their counterparts might deceive them. And we are capable of deterring our counterpart no matter what may happen. (January 23, 2007, author's translation and emphasis)

In (2), the South Korean government and its allies are conceptualized as the strong who can afford to deal with deception. This utterance could not have been made if Roh had viewed the

SK government as weaker and vulnerable to being overwhelmed by NK.

The opposition party, however, frames NK as an equally competent and even threatening force that can pose a serious threat to SK's national security. Thus, the situation wherein NK has nuclear weapons is simply intolerable. The opposition party regarded the part of the political speech in (2) as insane and criticized the leadership for it. In a similar vein, Hoy-Chang Lee, who was one of the conservative presidential candidates in 2007, criticized the Sunshine Policy for its lack of principles (i.e., *muwonchik* [zero-principle] 'unprincipled') and the policy's consequences as "intolerable." The lexical choice of intolerable evokes a scenario wherein an experiencer expects to undergo a hardship and the experiencer believes that the hardship is undesirable and thus not worth sacrificing oneself for. This shows that different conceptualizations motivate different but systematic uses of linguistic expressions: if one thinks that NK is an incompetent participant, the trouble that NK creates is not that significant; but if one believes that NK is not only a competent participant, but an overwhelming rival, it is a critical threat that menaces peace in the peninsula, so trouble must be deterred at all costs.

Second, in the narrative structure of the fable, the Wind intends to remove the traveler's coat in the short term, whereas the Sun intends to remove it in the long term with perseverance. The causality involved, however, is indirect; strictly speaking, it is not the Sun, but the traveler himself who takes off the coat. The nature of the relationship between the Sun and the traveler differs from the one between the Wind and the traveler. The Wind exerts direct force against the traveler without worrying about whether it might harm him, whereas the Sun exerts only indirect force that cannot harm the traveler, letting him take off the coat voluntarily. This aspect of the process conforms to the spirit of the proposed policy because the policy asserts that SK and its allies should support NK, instead of disciplining them, so that NK can grow as competent as SK and function as a member of the international community. This line of entailment underlies another 2007 speech given by President Roh:

(3) *Kkunhim-epsi sangtay-lul kyengkyeyha-ko cektayha-yse taykyelcek pwunwuyki-lul cosengha-nun kes-i ani-la sangtaypang-uy concay-lul incengha-ko cwucang-ul phoyongha-ko yekcisaciha-nun thayto-lul kacim-ulo-se sinloy-lul ssah-a-o-ass-upnita. sangtay-ka pwulhapliha-key nao-lttay-nun yeksi innaysim-ul kac-ko tayhwa-uy kkun-ul noh-ci*

anh-ass-upnita.

Rather than creating a hostile atmosphere by pressuring our counterpart, we have built our trust by acknowledging their existence, and by embracing and sympathizing with them. Even when our counterpart made irrational choices, we have not stopped communicating with perseverance. (July 19, 2007, author's translation and emphasis)

The word *innaysim* 'perseverance' evokes a process that has duration. Roh seemed to believe that SK's policies regarding NK should be designed and conducted carefully and with perseverance. The discourse in (3) implies the president's belief that the Sunshine Policy was not a measure to be taken in haste for the purpose of obtaining an immediate outcome. The semantics underlying the lexical item perseverance is also found in (4) with regard to the use of the verb cham- 'tolerate':

(4) *Cheymyen kac-ko pethi-nun tey-nun ama seykyey il-tung-i ani-nka siph-supnita. hankwuk-i manhi cham-ko iss-supnita.*

NK is the most stubborn negotiator not to give up its doctrine without losing face. SK tolerates much." (December 6, 2007, author's translation and emphasis)

Roh's comments in (4) suggest his view that SK both should and could tolerate a great deal of resistance and trouble from NK, since SK was stronger and thus able to make sacrifices for a greater cause—peace in the Korean peninsula.

In contrast, just as the Wind intends to remove the traveler's coat in the very short term, the conservatives wanted to see immediate results. In this view, an action (such as giving NK economic assistance) with no immediate beneficial result is pointless. When it seemed that the SK government did not obtain any short-term results from the Sunshine Policy, the opposition blamed the government for making unprincipled decisions. This reasoning is expressed in a criticism of the policy made by Young-Hwan Cho, who was the editor of a conservative newspaper:

(5) *Ilehan   cipkwen   cwapha-seylyek-uy   molsangsikha-ko   mwuwenchikha-n*

chinpwukpanhan-cek taypwuk-cengchayk-ey hannala-tang-un chimmwuk-ey kakka-wun panung-ul ha-taka...

With regard to this nonsense policy toward NK of the leftivist's government, which shows a lack of principle and is against the South Korean government's interest, the Grand National Party has been inactive, almost silent..." (November 16, 2007 author's translation and emphasis)[3]

In this conceptualization, Roh's speech was unprincipled because there was no immediate outcome. Conceptual metaphors involve not merely a set of correspondences of elements but also systematic and consistent mappings of entailments that revolve around those elements.

4. Performativity in Policy

What makes the Sunshine Policy metaphorically even more interesting is that the naming of the policy involves conceptual performativity (Sweetser, 2000; see Section 2.2). "Performativity" describes a unidirectional relationship between what is represented and the representation itself. The policy in question is named after the Sun in the fable because the Sun is the protagonist that won the bet. The frame element sunshine from the source domain (fable) implicitly evokes the fable's narrative structure in which the Sun succeeded and the Wind failed. In the corresponding target domain (the political situation in the real world), the message is that the supporters of the policy will succeed in getting NK to end its isolationist policy, whereas the opponent's policies would make things worse. In other words, the policy is named after the Sun based on the belief that to support NK will successfully lead to desirable consequences, just like the Sun's success in the target domain. This is relevant to the policy's performative character, because the policy makers project the belief that the shape of the world in the future (what is represented) will fit the shape of the fable's narrative structure (representation).

A conceptual structure with regard to its performativity is found in the construal of the Sunshine Policy, which is shown in Figure 2. In the source domain (fable), it is an unfalsifiable fact that the Sun succeeded in making the traveler take off his overcoat and that the Wind failed. In addition, the traveler did not give up his overcoat when the Wind blew. When we

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3) http://www.chogabje.com/board/column/view.asp?C_IDX=20577&C_CC=BC (accessed in November 2007)

look into how mappings are obtained based on source domain inferences, we can see that there is a gap between the causal relationships in the source and the target domains, and that the policy name involves similar performative characteristics as the Italian ritual.

<Figure 2. Metaphoric Mappings of Performativity in the Sunshine Policy>
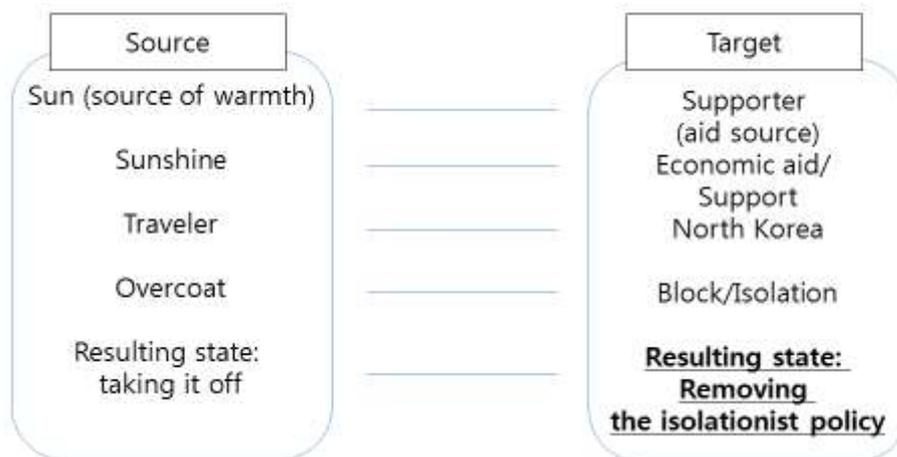
The target domain (the political situation) in the construal of the Sunshine Policy represents a narrative structure containing an irrealis state—a result that has not taken place yet in the real world, but which is believed to be going to come true in the future. The causal relationship in the source domain is based on the knowledge of the resulting state in the narrative: the Wind failed and the Sun succeeded. In contrast, the causal relationship in the target domain is based not on knowledge, but belief/expectation of the resulting state in the desirable political scenario: the supporters of the policy will succeed in making NK end its isolationist policy and the SK conservatives will fail. It is expected, according to the belief projected by the policy makers, that NK would not give up their isolationist policy if the conservatives had their way and exerted economic and/or military pressure on NK. This serial reasoning highlights the causal relationship of the narrative structure in the source domain, and it thus implies that the Sunshine Policy will be successful, which makes the policy more persuasive. The same results could not, of course, be expected from a policy named the Wind-blow Policy.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the South Korean government's Sunshine Policy regarding NK, and argued that the name of the policy is conceptually motivated: Specifically, the construal of the policy's name and its relationship with the contents of the policy involve coherent and consistent conceptual mappings between the source (fable) and the target (the political situation of the Korean peninsula) domains. The major metaphors discussed in this study are NATION IS A PERSON, KNOWING IS SEEING, AFFECTION IS WARMTH, and CAUSES ARE FORCES. This study has shown that the conceptualizations are systematic and consistent by investigating relevant entailments implied in the mappings along with discourse data in the form of utterances made by political leaders from opposing SK political parties with regard to the Sunshine Policy. This study has argued that conceptual metaphor and performativity play vital roles in helping us understand political discourse, as demonstrated by the study's accounting for the entailments of the Sunshine Policy, which may have a great influence on cognizers' understanding of the policy.

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