A Comparative Study of Conceptual Metaphors in English and Kurdish Political Media Discourse

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Abstract:

Metaphor research dates back to antiquity. It has always been the focus of attention of many theories. The most distinctive of those theories is Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). It has been widely accepted and made a breakthrough in metaphor research. It strongly challenged the belief that metaphor is related only to poetics and is mastered only by gifted language users. It posits that metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon in the first place and metaphoric language is one of its manifestations. It postulates that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism through which abstract concepts are understood in terms of more concrete concepts. During the past four decades, it has been adopted in countless cross-linguistic and discourse studies. The present study aims to survey politics-related conceptual metaphors in English and Kurdish political media discourse and draw a comparison between them. Methodologically, to elicit the data required for this study, the researchers have compiled a corpus derived from a number of English and Kurdish opinion articles published in digital media outlets. The study adopts *MIPVU* (Metaphor Identification Procedure VU University Amsterdam) to identify the linguistic metaphors in the corpus. What have been drawn from the results of this paper indicate that a considerable number of conceptual metaphors do occur in English and Kurdish political media discourse, the two languages show both similarities and differences in metaphorical conceptualization of politics-related concepts, and that Kurdish political media discourse incorporates a higher number of conceptual metaphors than English.

Keywords: conceptual metaphors, corpus, political discourse, political media discourse, cognitive linguistics.

الملخص:

البحث في الاستعارة له تاريخ طويل و كانت الإستعارة دائماً محور اهتمام الكثير من النظريات وابرزها نظرية الاستعارة المعرفية (CMT) فهي نظرية مقبولة على نطاق واسع إذ كانت تقدمًا مهمًا في دراسة الإستعارة. إنّ هذه النظرية تردّ بشكل صارخ كلّ وجهات النظر الشائعة و التقليدية حول الإستعارة، وتحدت بشدة الاعتقاد بأن الاستعارة تتعلق فقط بالشعر ولا يتقنها إلا المبدعون لغوياً. تقوم نظرية الاستعارة المعرفية على أن الاستعارة هي ظاهرة معرفية في المقام الأول وما اللغة المجازية إلا أحد مظاهرها. وتفترض بأن الاستعارة هي آلية معرفية يتم من خلالها فهم المفاهيم المجردة من خلال مفاهيم أكثر محسوسية. خلال العقود الأربعة الماضية، تم اعتماد هذه النظرية في عدد كبير من الدراسات اللغوية والخطابية. وفي هذا الإطار تهدف الدراسة الحالية الى تحديد الاستعارات المعرفية المتعلقة بالسياسة والتي تظهر في خطاب الإعلام السياسي الإنجليزي والكردي لغرض المقارنة بينهما. ولجمع البيانات المطلوبة لاجراء الدراسة، قام الباحثان باستحداث متنٍ خاص للإستعارت المعرفية تم جمعه من مقالات الرأي من عدد من وسائل الإعلام الرقمية الإنجليزية والكردية. ويستخدم الدراسة طريقة (MIPVU) لتحديد الاستعارات اللغوية في المجموعة المتنية. ختاماً تمخّضت عن جملة من النتائج أبرزها أن خطاب الإعلام السياسي الإنجليزي والكردي يتضمن عددًا كبيرًا من الاستعارات

المعرفية، وأن اللغتين تظهران أوجه تشابه واختلاف في التصور المجازي للمفاهيم المتعلقة بالسياسة، وأن خطاب الإعلام السياسي الكردي يتضمن عددًا أكبر من الاستعارات المعرفية من الإنجليزية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإستعارة المعرفية، مجموعة متنية، خطاب سياسي، خطاب سياسي اعلامي، علم اللغة المعرفي.

پوخته:

توێژینهوهی خوازه ههر لهزۆر کۆنهوه دهستی پێکردووه بۆته جێگه سهرنجی ژمارهیهکی بهرچاو له بیردۆز. یهکێک له ههره گرنگهکان، بیردۆزی خوازهی چهمکیه. بیردۆزهکه بهشێوهیهکی بهرچاوه پهسهندکراوه و له ڕاستیدا بازێکی گهوره بوو له توێژینهوهی خوازهدا. به توندی بهرههڵستی ئهو بۆچوونانهی کرد که پێیان وایه خوازه تهنیا پهیوهندی به شیعرهوه ههیه و تهنها بهکار هێنهره بهرههمهندهکانی زمان دهتوانن به باشی بهکاریبێنن. به پێی بیردۆزی خوازهی چهمکی خوازه له پلهی یهکهمدا دیاردهیهکی زهننییه و دهرکهوته زمانهوانییهکهی تهنها یهکێکه له دهرکهوتهکانی. وه ههروهها له ڕوانگهی ئهم بیردۆزهوه خوازه میکانیزمێکی زهننییه که تێیدا زهنی مرۆڤ له ڕێگهی چهمکه بهرجسته و بهرههستهکانهوه له چهمکه ئهبستراکتهکان تێدهگات. له ماوهی چوار دهیهی ڕابردوودا، بیردۆزهکه له ژمارهیهکی زۆری توێژینهوه بهرواردکاری و گوتارییهکاندا بهکارهاتووه. ئهم توێژینهوهیهی بهردهستیش بهردهوامه بۆ دیاریکردنی ئهو خوازه چهمکییانهی که له گوتاری سیاسی میدیایی ئینگلیزی و کوردیدا دهردهکهون بهرواردیان دهکات. توێژینهوهکه کۆرپهسێک که توێژهران ههڵساون بهکۆکردنهوهی و که پێکهاتووه له وتاری بڵاوکراوه له ژمارهیهک میدیای دیجیتاڵی ئینگلیزی و کوردی شیدهکاتهوه. ڕێکاری ناسینهوهی خوازهی ئامادهکراو له زانکۆی ئهمستردام (MIPVU)ی بهکار هێنراوه بۆ دیاریکردنی وشه و دهستهواژه به خوازه بهکار هێنراوهکان له کۆرپهسهکهدا. توێژینهوهکه بهو ئهنجامه دهگات که ژمارهیهکی بهرچاو له خوازهی چهمکی له گوتاری میدیای سیاسی ئینگلیزی و کوردیدا ههن، ههم لێکچوون و ههم جیاوازی له چهمکاندنی خوازهیی چهمکهکانی پهیوهست به سیاسهت له دوو زمانهکادا ههن، وه ههروهها، گوتاری سیاسی میدیایی کوردی ژمارهیهکی زیاتری خوازهی چهمکی له خۆ دهگرێت له گوتاری سیاسی میدیایی ئینگلیزی.

کلیله وشه: خوازهی چهمکی، کۆرپس، گوتاری سیاسی، گوتاری میدیای سیاسی، زمانهوانی مهعریفی.

1. Introduction

As early as two millennia ago, metaphor has been the subject of scholastic consideration. Greek philosophers, most notably Aristotle, laid the foundation of the most common and long-lived theory of metaphor. Viewing it solely as a feature of language and attributing it mostly to poetic language are the most central tenets of the classical and widely accepted view of metaphor. Aristotle believed that metaphor "is the one thing that cannot be learnt from others, and it is a sign of genius, since it involves a keen eye for similarities" (Aristotle, n.d./ 2013, 1459a). Cicero also considered metaphor as "one of the means of giving decorous 'effect' to speech" (Hawkes, 2018, p.11). Metaphor usage was associated with skilled language users and it was assumed that metaphor was not deployed in everyday language. Later, Romantic theorists argued that metaphor was part of prose as well. They believed that both prose and verse "speak by and to the same organs" (Brett & Jones, 1991, p. 243). At the turn of the twentieth century, metaphor study gathered fresh momentum, and scholars from various disciplines put pen to paper to elaborate their takes on it. Several theories of different natures and perspectives were developed. Although a number of them retained the basic thesis of Romantic or Classical theories of metaphor, a couple of them were inventive and offered illuminating insights as to what metaphor is and how it works. With the previous theorists having a literary or philosophical orientation, the century witnessed anthropologists and linguists also putting forward their accounts.

One of the accounts that gained popularity in metaphor research was what was offered initially by Paul Grice (1975), who treated metaphor as part of non-literal language and believed that the Cooperative Principle underlies the whole of a conversation— metaphorical exchanges included.

Metaphor was viewed as a deviation from the literal language and due to the defectiveness of accessing its meaning literally, the addressee, as Searle (1993) asserts, needs to take some steps, typically unconsciously, to figure out the intended meaning of a metaphor.

Another theory that emerged in the previous century was CMT. It was a major landmark and strongly challenged most of the deeply entrenched ideas about metaphor. It originated in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live by* and they are accredited to it. Adopting CMT as its main theoretical framework, the present study aims to survey political conceptual metaphors in English and Kurdish political media discourse and draw a comparison between the way political concepts are conceptualized in English and Kurdish. A handful of studies have been conducted on comparing conceptual metaphors for certain concepts in English and Kurdish, such as I. A. Abdulla (2020), who examined the metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 in English and Kurdish online newspaper articles, and Kh. A. Abdullah (2016, 2021) who explored the metaphorical conceptualization of love and anger in English and Kurdish. However, comparing how politics-related concepts are metaphorically conceptualized in English and Kurdish has remained unexplored. Therefore, the present study is aimed at filling this gap in the literature. It is hypothesized that a considerable number of conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts are realized in political media discourse, and the two languages show both similarities and variations in the metaphorical conceptualization of such concepts.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Cognitive Linguistics

CMT belongs to the wider research line of Cognitive Linguistics (CL), which affords it the basic assumptions and tools to start off approaching metaphor. As a special and holistic approach to language, CL appeared in the 1970s (Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007). It is worth stating that CL is not a single and well-defined theory, but rather a "broad theoretical and methodological enterprise'' (Evans, 2012, p.129). It is a number of theories tied together through shared commitments and assumptions. Evans (2012) indicates that dissatisfaction with the dominant approaches at the time, such as the Generative framework, led to the initiation of cognitive linguistic research. In contrast to the Chomskyan formal approach, meaning in CL is the main interest, and language is equated with it (Geeraerts, 2008). Semantics, however, is not the only linguistic branch that has been investigated within this framework, syntax, phonology, morphology, and areas like historical linguistics and language acquisition have been dealt with as well (Croft & Cruise, 2004). Moreover, as it looks at language in its actual use, CL has certain tenets in common with functional approaches to language (Evans, 2012).

Generically, the theories within CL all investigate the relationship between language, the mind, and the sociophysical experience (Evans, 2012). There are two very fundamental principles or commitments in the enterprise: the cognitive commitment and the generalization commitment (Evans, 2007). The former, as Evan (2007) expounds, maintains that every recommended theory or model of language should be in line with the discoveries made in other cognitive and brain sciences. On the other hand, the latter holds that cognitive linguists should seek to discover the most general principles that are applicable to human language as a whole, not only to a certain subsystem of language (Evans,

Bergen, & Zinken, 2007). This commitment is based on a key assumption in CL that posits "language reflects general cognitive mechanisms and processes" (Evans, 2007, p.88). According to Evans (2012), within CL three general areas of study can be distinguished; each is concerned with an aspect of human language. The first sub-branch investigates language structure and organization and is denominated as cognitive approaches to grammar. Several theories fall into this sub-branch, including *Construction Grammar* and *Cognitive Grammar*. The second sub-branch is cognitive semantics and is concerned with conceptual structure and organization. Since the mind cannot be accessed directly, they make use of language which is believed to be a lens to the mind. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* and *Conceptual Blending Theory* belong to this area of cognitive linguistic study. The last sub-branch is known as cognitive lexical semantics and studies word meanings. The *Principled Polysemy* model falls into this area of study.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

In stark contrast to the traditional view of metaphor, in the cognitive theory metaphor is not considered as a matter of language, it is rather viewed as a cognitive mechanism and relates to mind and thought. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argue that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (p.3). As concepts do not have to do only with the intellect, but they also direct pretty everything we humans perceive, do, and experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), metaphor relates to most aspects of our life. Hence, metaphor is not seen as a mere linguistic device; but rather as "a valuable cognitive tool without which neither poets nor you and I as ordinary people could live" (Kövecses, 2010a, p. xi). The standard definition of a conceptual metaphors is "understanding one domain of experience (that is typically abstract) in terms of another (that is typically concrete)" (Kövecses, 2017, p. 13). Being unaware of our conceptual system, language is used as a way to explore it. The basis of making use of language is that the same conceptual system used for thinking and acting is also used for communication (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Through linguistic evidence, namely metaphorical expressions, conceptual metaphors (or metaphorical concepts) are figured out. Putting it another way, metaphorical expressions realize conceptual metaphors. For instance, the metaphorical expressions: 'He's *without direction* in life' and 'I'm *where I want to be* in life' manifest the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2010a, p.4).

Mapping is a very key concept in the CMT. It is basically the essence of conceptual metaphor. Grady (2007) describes it as "systematic metaphorical correspondences between closely related ideas" (p. 190). Kövecses (2005) spells it out as "conceptual correspondences between the source and target domains" (p. 6). Then, when it is said that a concept is understood in terms of another concept, it is technically meant that, as Grady (2007) explains, constituent conceptual elements of the source domain are mapped or projected onto conceptual elements of the target domain. In other words, certain conceptual elements of concept *A* correspond to certain conceptual elements of concept *B*. It is worth stating that metaphorical mapping is both partial and systematic. The first feature indicates the fact that the source domain partially structures the target domain. If the mapping were total, the target would not be understood in terms of the source, rather they would be one single concept (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Kövecses, 2010a). Meanwhile, the second specifies that the conceptual elements

of the target domain correspond systematically to the conceptual elements of the source domain (Kövecses, 2010a).

2.3 Metaphor and Culture

CMT postulates that conceptual metaphor has roots in basic human experiences; that is, "conceptual metaphors are grounded in the nature of our everyday interaction with the world" (Evans, 2007, p.75). Given the universality of bodily experiences, it is reasonable to assume that there should be certain culture-independent conceptual metaphors. Abundant researchers, such as Kövecses (2000), Maalej (2004), Aksan (2006), Lakoff and Johnson (1999), and Kövecses (2005), have demonstrated that certain conceptual metaphors exist in various cultures and languages, and therefore, are at least near-universal. In addition to universality, conceptual metaphors display cross-cultural variations as well. This is a result of the fact that besides the pressure of embodiment, metaphorical conceptualization, as Kövecses (2010b) points out, takes place under the pressure of context as well. In some cases, the context, which is shaped by the local culture, has a bigger role to play, hence culture sensitivity of some conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2010b).

2.4 Political Discourse

It may not prove very easy to define political discourse or mark its boundary. As politics is more often than not defined in terms of concepts like power, conflict, control, or domination, every type of discourse can be considered political, because the employment of such concepts in any discourse type is not unusual (Wilson, 2001). The complexity of defining political discourse is mainly attributed to the fuzziness around what is and is not politics; a question whose answer, as van Dijk (1997) believes, is what the discipline of political science is about in its entirety. Nevertheless, van Dijk (1997) suggests three fundamental ways to characterize a discourse as political or not:

1. through its actors or authors, to wit politicians; however, it is not only the politicians who serve roles in polity but also citizens and voters, demonstrators, dissidents, lobbyists and members of pressure groups, social movements and actions groups are every now and then engaged in politics,
2. by the virtue of the nature of activities and practices. That is to say, a text or talk is considered political when it is concerned with issues like ruling, governing, legislating, voting, protesting, or dissenting, and
3. with the help of the whole context. What this means is that every bit of the participants, actions, communicative events and encounters, settings, occasions, intentions, functions, goals, and legal or political implications plays role in making a piece of discourse political or not.

2.5 Metaphor in Political Discourse

A wide range of strategies and devices are employed in political discourse to meet various communicative functions. The use of metaphor is the most significant and indispensable device owing to its distinctive properties such as stirring up several implications on the part of the receivers, having subtle power of persuasion, and helping with creating political identity (Mammadov, 2010). Indeed, a metaphor has multitudinous advantages and its benefits vary from one type of discourse to another. According to López (2019), the functions of metaphor in political discourse are of four different kinds: cognitive, argumentative/ideological, persuasive, and evaluative.

The cognitive functions of political metaphors can be reduced to two main functions: assisting the lay public with understanding complex political issues (Wilson, 1990) and constructing political reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Argumentative uses of conceptual metaphors in political discourse, as Musolff (2004) indicates, are vastly enormous. Having the property of highlighting an aspect and hiding some other aspects, metaphor allows the politicians present reality to their benefit and get their ideology and subliminal messages across (Petrica, 2014). When they deliver a speech, it is obvious that the politicians' goal is mainly persuading the audience. To be persuasive, a speech should conjure up "things that are already known or at least familiar" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 18). Ergo metaphor is an all-important device for politicians to persuade the audience. As for the evaluative function of metaphor, it is closely associated with the chosen source domain. Every word or phrase has certain connotations to it, which are mostly either positively or negatively oriented and are shared in a discourse community (Charteris-Black, 2004). This feature of words and phrases allows politicians to covertly make their evaluations.

3. Methodology

The study aims at pinpointing and comparing politics-related conceptual metaphors that manifest in English and Kurdish political media discourse. It specifically seeks to answer the following three questions:

- What conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts occur in English and Kurdish political media discourse?
- To what extent do English and Kurdish show similarities and variations in terms of the conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts and issues?
- Does English or Kurdish political media discourse manifest a higher number of conceptual metaphors for such concepts?

To accomplish the aim, three main steps have been taken: compiling a corpus, identification of the linguistic metaphors in the corpus, and interpreting the conceptual metaphors that underlie the linguistic metaphors. The following subsections present the ins and outs of the three phases.

3.1 The Corpus

As the study aimed at comparing politics-related conceptual metaphors used in both English and Kurdish, it was technically required that the data be collected from similar sources and also by means of the same procedures. The lack of ready-made corpora in Kurdish so far, similar to English corpora like *Corpus of Contemporary America English* and *British National Corpus*, has required opting for a self-compiled corpus. Therefore, a corpus consisting of two smaller sub-corpora was manually compiled. This allowed for choosing the most recent dataset and using corpora of the same type and size.

3.1.1 Type of the Data and its Source

The data is collected from newspapers and media websites, specifically opinion articles addressing political issues. As was referred to above, two sub-corpora have been designed. The English sub-corpus has been collected from an American newspaper website and a British one: *The New York*

Times and *The Guardian* respectively. As regards the Kurdish dataset, it has been compiled from three web-based media outlets, namely *Draw Media Corporation, Awena Online, and Rudaw Media Network*. The choice of these particular media outlets was objectively based only on their popularity and large readership, and uncomplicated accessibility.

3.1.2 Corpus Compilation and Description

After deciding on the sources of the data, a particular time limit was chosen to facilitate the selection of the articles as the components of the corpus. As the websites included opinion articles on a range of issues, it was necessary to make sure that the chosen ones appertain to political issues. To meet this, the articles which were about a prominent politician or addressed a national or international political issue were selected. In addition, the length and size of the articles were also considered; very lengthy ones were excluded to include more writers and articles on various issues. The English sub-corpus is comprised of nine articles—four from *The New York Times* and five from *The Guardian*. The Kurdish sub-corpus, on the other hand, includes twelve articles. It is worth stating that word count is considered as a basis in regard to the size of the sub-corpuses. After deciding to include an article, it was downloaded as a PDF file to safeguard it from any accidental change and a particular name consisting of codes to identify which sub-corpus and media website it belongs to was given.

One important issue, here, to shed light on is the size of the corpus. Cameron and Deignan (2003) state that the available studies on metaphor include both works that investigated small corpora, which can be handled manually, and works that investigated large corpora, which can only be treated by computer programs. However, they add that despite their merits, neither a large corpus nor a small one in metaphor research is without demerits. As the bigger a corpus is, the more confident the researcher can feel about the representativity of their data, it was planned to create and use a corpus that would guarantee the representativity of the data and can be searched manually at the same time. Having this in mind and in light of similar works, a corpus of 19,124 words was created. Both of the sub-corpora are almost of similar size—the English dataset is 9,432 words, and the Kurdish dataset consists of 9,692 words.

3.2 Metaphor Identification Procedures

An essential choice to make in a conceptual metaphor study is whether to take a bottom-up or top-down approach. The former starts by identifying the linguistic metaphors and then tries to figure out the conceptual metaphors whereas the latter makes use of previously identified metaphors in the literature and searches a particular corpus to find the linguistic instantiations. Due to its distinct advantages and compatibility with the goals of the research, a bottom-up approach has been adopted in this study. One of its advantages is that a bottom-up approach makes it possible to identify every single metaphor in a particular data. On the other hand, a top-down approach fails to identify culture-specific metaphors, lately invented metaphors, and creative metaphors (Terkourafi & Petrakis, 2010). Hence, the first step in the analysis of the data is making a distinction between metaphorical and non-metaphorical words and expressions. Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) is one of the most used and early methods to distinguish a metaphorical use of a word from a non-

metaphorical use. However, this research has adopted Steen et al.'s (2010) MIPVU, which is basically an updated and more elaborate version of MIP. One of the most important benefits of using such methods is avoiding guesswork and deciding on what count as a metaphor on the basis of intuition (Krennmayr, 2011). MIPUV is manifested in the form of some clear guidelines and provides enough explanation on the way they can be implemented.

3.2.1 Dictionary Tools

An indispensable tool in applying MIPVU is dictionary. They are used to determine both basic and contextual meanings of given words, and in turn to decide whether they are counted metaphorical or not. In accordance with the recommendations of Steen et al. (2010), the corpus-based *Macmillan Dictionary* was the main tool to establish metaphorical and non-metaphorical uses of words and expressions in the English sub-corpus. Occasionally, the online version of the *Longman Dictionary* was also used. In some cases, to reach a decision about metaphorical or non-metaphorical uses of a word, *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* was consulted. As for dictionaries to identify linguistic metaphors in the Kurdish sub-corpus, the researchers faced some challenges. A comprehensive dictionary incorporating all senses of a word or even all words of the Central Kurdish has not been produced so far. After a rigorous search to access the available dictionaries and scanning the way words are defined in them, a conclusion with regard to choosing what dictionaries to use was made. *Ferhengî Zanistgayi Kurdistan* (Kurdistan University Dictionary) (2020) was selected as main the dictionary tool. To the best knowledge of the researchers, this dictionary is the latest and the most comprehensive dictionary of Kurdish ever written. Nevertheless, the dictionary seems far from a desired dictionary and does not include every sense of each word.

Therefore, to bridge any possible gaps, another dictionary, namely *Ferhengî Xall* (2005) was used almost in parallel with the *Ferhengî Zanistgayi Kurdistan*. Moreover, *Ferhengî Êtîmolojî Kurdîy* (Etymological Dictionary of Kurdish) (2022) was consulted in some cases for establishing the basic sense of a given word.
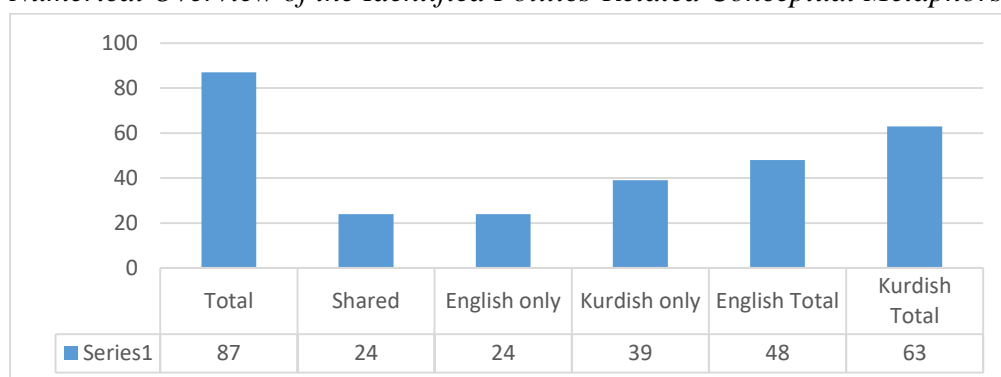
3.3 Metaphor Interpretation

After identifying linguistic metaphors by means of MIPVU, the following step consisted in identifying conceptual metaphors. That is, what conceptual metaphor is linguistically instantiated by the metaphorical words. Steen (1999) recommended a five-step procedure to get the conceptual metaphor from the linguistic metaphor. This procedure can be beneficial in some specific cases. However, the procedure does not seem to have made its way deep into the metaphor research. It may have to do with the practical side of the procedure. For the same reason, the present study has not adopted it and followed the mainstream practice in the literature. After identifying the linguistic metaphors in the corpus by means of MIPVU, the source domains of the metaphorical linguistic units were established with the help of their basic meanings attained from the used dictionaries. Led by the contextual meanings, the target sources were established in the second step. After that, the conceptual metaphors were established in the form of *A IS B*. It is worth mentioning that databases such as *Croatian Metaphor Repository, MetaNet Metaphor Wiki*, *METALUDE,* and *Master Metaphor List* (1991) were made use of in the phrasings of the conceptual metaphors.

4. Results

The study has found many scores of conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts in both English and Kurdish political media discourse. However, all of the identified conceptual metaphors in the corpus are not presented in this article due to space limitations. The total conceptual metaphors that have to do with politics are eighty-seven. Out of the total, twenty-four metaphors are common in the two sub-corpuses, twenty-four metaphors occurred only in the English sub-corpus and thirty-nine occurred only in the Kurdish sub-corpus. In percentage terms, approximately 27.5 percent of the identified metaphors are shared between the two sub-corpuses. The Kurdish subcorpus contained a higher number of conceptual metaphors than the English sub-corpus, which is sixty-three and forty-eight respectively. The target concept of POLITICS has the largest number of metaphors, which is twelve. Eleven metaphors of COUNTRY have been identified and it stands second in the rank.

In the English sub-corpus, POLITICS has the largest number of metaphors, which is nine, whereas, in the Kurdish sub-corpus, POLITICAL PARTY has eleven metaphors and stands first in the rank of metaphors number. The following chart exhibits the total number of metaphors, those that are realized in either English or Kurdish, and also the shared ones:

Numerical Overview of the Identified Politics-Related Conceptual Metaphors

	Total	Shared	English only	Kurdish only	English Total	Kurdish Total
Series1	87	24	24	39	48	63

The following table also presents a numerical description of the identified conceptual metaphors:

Target Domain	Total	English Only	Kurdish Only	Shared	English All	Kurdish All
POLITICS	12	2	3	7	9	10
POLITICAL PARTY	11		9	2	2	11
POLITICIANS	5	2	2	1	3	3
LEADER	4	2	2		2	2
ABSTRACT SYSTEM	5	3		2	5	2
COUNTRY	11	4	3	4	8	7
POLITICAL REGION	3	1	1	1	2	2
GOVERNMENT	7	2	3	2	4	5
GOVERNMENTAL INSTITTUION	4	1	2	1	2	3

Target Domain	Total	English Only	Kurdish Only	Shared	English All	Kurdish All
INSTITUTION	8	2	5	1	3	6
ORGANIZATION	5	1	3	1	2	4
POLICY	9	3	5	1	4	6
STRATEGY	2	1	1		1	1
LOSE POWER	1			1	1	1
Total	87	24	39	24	48	63

In the following subsections, the conceptual metaphors for a particular target concept are presented with an excerpt in which they have occurred:

4.1 POLITICS

4.1.1 Common Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICS:

A bunch of conceptual metaphors for POLITICS were found in common between English and Kurdish, which are as follow:

4.1.1.1 POLITICS IS THEATER

▪ This time, the challenge to good governance and effective statecraft is playing out on the European **stage**, not the domestic one.

▪ ئەگەر ئەو تێکبشکێ و لەسەر **شانۆی سیاسەتی** ونبێت، ڕوسیا دووچاری کارەسات دەبێت و لەئێستادا کەس نیه جێگەی بگرێتەوه.

Translation: If he is defeated and disappeared from the political scene, Russia will face catastrophe and currently he is irreplaceable.

4.1.1.2 POLITICS IS BUSINESS

▪ How Do We **Deal with** a Superpower Led by a War Criminal?

▪ بەهەمان شێوەش سامان و داهاتی ئەو هەرێمە مولْکی خەلْکی کوردستانه و بۆکەس نیه لە**بازاڕی** سیاسەت و بەرژەوەندییەکانیدا **هەڕاجی بکات**.

Translation: Likewise, the resources and revenue of the region belong to the Kurdistan citizens and no one has the right to sell them off for the sake of his political interests

4.1.1.3 POLITICS IS A GAME

▪ At worst, by continuing to **play** Brexit **games** under a leader for whom others have so little respect or trust, it may even be undermining an alliance on which, in the end, we will all depend

▪ ئەمانه هەموو ڕێیان تێدەچێت و دەتوانین لێی تێبگەین، بەشێکن له **گەمەی** سیاسی و ململانێی سیاسی لەهەموو دونیا.

Translation: These are all open to reason and understandable, they are part and parcel of the political game and conflict.

4.1.1.4 POLITICS IS A CARD GAME

▪ …those Labour and Conservative politicians who have taken ministerial roles there would **have** had even fewer **cards to play** were it not for the existence of Plaid Cymru.

▪ دەرهێنانی **کارتەکانی** نەوت و گاز و پێشمەرگە لە دەستی هەرێمی کوردستان واتا بچووککردنەوەی هەرێمی کوردستان بۆ ئاستی یەکەیەکی ئیداری و بەتاڵکردنەوەی لە مانا فیدراڵییەکە .

Translation: Taking the oil and peshmerga cards from the Kurdistan region means downgrading the region to an administrative unit and stripping it from its federalism.

4.1.1.5 POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE SPORT

▪ In his 2014 book on Winston Churchill – published when the premiership of his **rival** David Cameron seemed in trouble – Johnson's intellectually old-fashioned, unashamedly self-serving central argument was that "one man can make all the difference" in a crisis.

▪ کەسانی تر و بۆ خۆشم چەندین جار لە کاک نەوشیروان بیستومانە تاکە **رکابەری** سەرسەختی سیاسی کە راشکاوانە لە گەڵیدا شەر و ململانێی کردوە خودی مەسعود بارزانی بوە.

Translation: On many occasions, I and others as well heard from Mr. Naushirwan that his political arch-rival is Mr. Masoud Barzani, with whom he fought and contested.

4.1.1.6 POLITICS IS VERBAL COMMUNICATION

▪ Predictably, his **response** to the invasion of Ukraine has become ever more self-consciously Churchillian.

▪ نە عێراق و نە کۆمەڵگەی نێودەوڵەتی **وەڵامگۆییەکی** شایستە و بەهێزی ئەوتۆیان نییە کە مایەی ئەوەبێ هەرێمی کوردستان دڵی خۆی پێ خۆش بکات.

Translation: Neither Iraq nor the international community has that strong and satisfactory response to content the Kurdistan Region

4.1.1.7 POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

▪ Two imminent byelections will reveal how far Labour still needs to **travel**.

▪ سیاسەت بەپێی **قۆناغە**. لەم **قۆناغە**دا سەدر دژی ئێرانە.

Translation: Politics is commensurate with stages. At this stage, Sadr is against Iran.

4.1.2 Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICS Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.1.2.1 POLITICS IS PERFORMANCE

▪ Brexit had allowed Johnson to promote a foreign policy that indulged his instincts as a British prime minister of the old school as he imagined it, **strutting** his verbose **stuff** – or at least as much as international Covid restrictions would permit – as the leader of what he portrays as a newly restored and independent global power**.**

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4.1.2.2 POLITICS IS AN ART

▪ This time, the challenge to good governance and effective **statecraft** is playing out on the European stage, not the domestic one.

4.1.3 Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICS Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.1.3.1 POLITICS IS WAR

▪ ئەوەی سەدر دژی ئێران کردی، هەم لە مکوربوونی لە پێکهێنانی حکومەتی زۆرینە و، هەمیش لەوەی بە ئاشکرا رایگەیاند: "دادگای عێراق بەسیاسیی کراوە،" کاریگەرترین **گورز** بوو کە بە ئاشکرا لە هەژمونی ئێران **درابێت** لە عێراق دا لە پاش ٢٠٠٣وە

Translation: Sadr's determination for forming the majority government and unequivocal announcement that "the Iraqi supreme court has been politicized" was the strongest blow to Iran's influence in Iraq after 2003.

4.1.3.2 POLITICS IS MATH

▪ سەرباری ئەم واقیعەی هەرێمی کوردستانی کردووە بە پارسەنگی **هاوکێشەکانی** ناوچەکە، بەڵام ژمارەی ئەوانەش کەم نین کە باوەڕیان وایە مەترسی لەسەر قەوارەی هەرێمی کوردستان هەیە.

Translation: In spite of the fact that the Kurdistan Region is the principal component of the political equation of the region, there are a considerable number of those who believe that it is in jeopardy.

4.1.3.3 POLITICS IS RELIGION

▪ یەکێك لەو کارەساتانەی کە هەر لەدوای راپەڕینەوە تا ئەمڕۆش هەرێمی کوردستان لەدەستی دەناڵێنێت، نەبوونی هیچ **حەڕام و حەڵاڵێکی** نەتەوەیین لەنێوان حیزبەکان.

Translation: One of the tragedies that the Kurdistan Region has been suffering from since the Uprising is the lack of national sanctity among the political parties.

4.2 POLITICAL PARTY

4.2.1 Common Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICAL PARTY

The following two conceptual metaphors were manifested in both of the two sub-corpora:

4.2.1.1 POLITICAL PARTIES ARE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES

▪ …so candidates are pulled further and further to the right in order to appease and appeal to an increasingly radical and angry **base**.

▪ هەوڵی لە بەر یەك **هەڵوەشاندنەوەی** پەکەکەی دا وهێشتاش ئامانجی مەترسیدارتری پیادە دەکرد بەو جۆرەی رێگەی نادا پارێزەرەکان و کەس و کاریشی سەردانی ئاپۆ بکەن.

Translation: He tried to dismantle the PKK and yet pursued more dangerous goals: banned his relatives and lawyer from visiting him

4.2.1.2 POLITICAL PARTIES ARE HUMAN

▪ Trump is now gone, but the Republican Party has grown more **hospitable** than ever to cranks and zealots.

▪ لەگەڵ ئەوەش **هەڵوەشێنەرەوەی** پڕۆسەی ئاشتی جگە لە ئاك پارتی و ئەردۆغان کەسی تر نەبوو

Translation: Besides, no one was beyond dismantling 'the Peace Process' except Erdogan and the AKP.

4.2.2 Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICAL PARTY Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

The following Conceptual metaphors for POLITICAL PARTY were found only in the Kurdish data:

4.2.2.1 POLITICAL PARTIES ARE OBJECTS

▪ لەڕاستیدا سیاسەتیش کاتێک مانای ڕاستەقینەی خۆی وەردەگرێت کە **شتێک** هەبێت پێیبیگوترێت ئۆپۆزیسیۆن

Translation: Indeed, politics takes on its true meaning when there is something called opposition

4.2.2.2 A POLITICAL PARTY IS A LIVING BEING

▪ یەکەم، مۆدێلی سوڵتانیی حیزبی کوردیی ڕۆچووەتە ناو زۆرینەی حیزبە ئۆپۆزیسیۆنەکانەوە، واتە یەک کاریزما و یەک سەرۆک و هەک خاوەنکاری سیاسیی حیزب بەڕێوەدەبات، یان **بەخێویدەکات.**

Translation: First, the sultanate model of Kurdish party has entered deeply into the majority of the opposition parties, that is to say; one charisma and one leader as a business politician runs or nurtures the party

4.2.2.3 POLITICAL PARTIES ARE CONTAINERS

▪ سێیەم، نەبوونی دیموکراسییەتی ڕێکخراویی وەک پرنسیپی کارکردن **لەناو** حیزب و بزوتنەوە و جوڵانەوەکاندا.

Translation: Thirdly, the lack of organizational democracy as a working principle within the political parties and movements.

4.2.2.4 POLITICAL PARTIES ARE BUILDINGS

▪ سەدام حوسەین هەم باڵاترین خاڵ و هەم سێنتەری حیزبەکە بوو، هەم **بەردی بناغەی** پارتەکە و هەم لەویشەوە بەردی بناغەی دەوڵەتە بەعسییەکە بوو لە عێراقدا.

Translation: Saddam was the highest figure in the party, he stood in the center of the party, he was the cornerstone of the party, and in turn, he was the cornerstone of the Ba'athist state

4.2.2.5 A POLITICAL PARTY IS A CHILD

▪ ئۆپۆزیسیۆن بۆ دەسەڵاتی کوردیی مانای لەدایکبوونی **مندالێکی لاساری سیاسییە** کە دەبێت یان بیرازبکرێت یان دەمکوت و بێدەنگ.

Translation: To the Kurdish authority, the emergence of the opposition parties means the birth of a disobedient child who must be lashed or silenced.

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4.2.2.6 A POLITICAL PARTY IS A PARASITIC INSECT

▪ لەدیدی پارتیی و یەکێتیدا ئۆپۆزیسیۆن **گەنەیەکی سیاسییه** بەسەر جەستە دەسەڵاتدارێتییه سوڵتانییەکەیانەوە.

Translation: As far as the PUK and KDP are concerned, the opposition is a tick on the body of their sultanic power.

4.2.2.7 POLITICAL PARTIES ARE MACHINES

▪ بەعس خۆیشی لەوە کەوتبوو پارتێکی سیاسیی خاوەن دەزگای سەربەخۆ و **میکانیزمی** ناوەکیی **ئیشکردنی** خۆی بێت.

Translation: The Ba'ath Party itself had ceased to have independent institutes and internal mechanisms for working.

4.2.2.8 A POLITICAL PARTY IS A PIECE OF GROUND

▪ بەڵام مەبەستیان بو به بەردێک دو نیشان بێێکن، کەمکردنەوە لە مێژو و ناوی و بەمەش بە ناراستەوخۆ کار بۆ تۆڵەمکردنەوەیەکی مێژوویی که بەشێکی **لە ناو** یەکێتیدا **رەگ و ریشەکانی داکوترا بون**

Translation: They intended to kill two birds with one stone: sullying his name, and thus carry on with an act of taking vengeance, part of which is firmly rooted in the PUK.

4.2.2.9 A POLITICAL PARTY IS A BODY

▪ پان و پان بەهەزاران **ئەندامییانەوە** بچنە بەردەم پەرلەمان و حکومەت، بۆ ئەوەی حکومەت بخرێتە سەر ئاراستەیەکی دروست، یا رووتی بکەنەوە و بۆخۆیان جێگای بگرنەوە .

Translation: They and their members could take to the streets to put the government in the right direction, or to topple it and replace them.

4.3 POLITICIAN

4.3.1 Common Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICIAN

4.3.1.1 POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS

▪ To millions of voters, he was a **superhero** who would somehow transform the country.

▪ ئەم نامەیەی جۆ بایدن زەنگێکی یەکجار گرنگبوو بۆ هەموو ئەو پایتەخت و **ئەکتەرە** دەوڵەتی و نادەوڵەتییانەی ناوچەکە و تەنانەت جیهانیش که ئەو پرسیارانەی سەرەوەیان لە خۆیان دەکرد و…

Translation: Biden's message was a warning to those governments and national and civilian actors who asked themselves the above questions.

4.3.2 Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICIAN Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

The following conceptual metaphors for POLITICIAN were found only in the English sub-corpus:

4.3.2.1 A POLITICIAN IS A DRIVER

▪ Johnson is expected to say important things on energy on Thursday, but there is no evidence that he is **driving** the international effort.

4.3.2.2 POLITICIANS ARE ATHLETES

▪ The Herbster campaign hosted a call-in "telerally" with Mr. Trump, in which Mr. Trump praised the businessman as "a die-hard MAGA **champ.**

4.3.3 Conceptual Metaphors for POLITICIAN Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.3.3.1 POLITICIANS ARE COMMODITIES

▪ **بازرگانیکردن** به نەوشیروان مستەفا

Translation: Trading on Naushirwan Mustafa

4.3.3.2 POLITICIANS ARE BUSINESSMEN

▪ یەک ڕێگا لەبەر دەمیاندایە وەک خۆیان باسیان بکەن و چیتر دەرفەتی زیاتر بە **بازرگانەکان** نەدەن!

Translation: They have only one choice: expose them the way they are and give the traders no more chances.

4.4 LEADER

No shared conceptual metaphor for LEADER was observed in the corpus.

4.4.1 Conceptual Metaphors for LEADER Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.4.1.1 A POLITICAL LEADER IS AN ANIMA

▪ And it promises only to get worse before it gets better, because Putin is now like **a cornered animal**.

4.4.1.2 A POLITICAL LEADER IS AN OBJECT

▪ But it will not be easy because Putin, an ex-K.G.B. officer — surrounded by many other former intelligence officers who are beholden to him — is nearly impossible to **dislodge**.

4.4.2 Conceptual Metaphors for LEADER Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.4.2.1 A LEADER IS A TENT

▪ سەدام لە دیدی ئەمانەدا "ئەو **خێمە**"یە بوو کە هەموو عێراقی لەژێردا کۆدەبووەوە.

Translation: To these people, Saddam was the "tent" under which the whole of Iraq gathered.

4.4.2.2 A LEADER IS AN UMBRELLA

▪ ئەو خاڵەبوو کە هەموویانی بەیەکەوە گرێئەدا و وەک **چەترێک** بەسەر سەریانەوه هەڵکرابوو.

Translation: It was the point that tied them all together and he was like an umbrella over their heads.

4.5 ABSTRACT SYSTEM

4.5.1 Common Conceptual Metaphors for ABSTRACT SYSTEM

4.5.1.1 ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE HUMANS

▪ A set of ideological justifications for why it is a good thing that the American political system **violates** basic principles of political equality

▪ بەعس لەزۆر ڕووەوە **باوکی شەرعی** ئەو سیستمە سیاسییەیە کە ئەمڕۆ لە عێراق و لە هەرێمدا جێگیرکراوە

Translation: In many ways, Ba'ath is the begetter of the political system that is currently in place in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region.

4.5.1.2 ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE CONTAINERS

▪ He stripped people with the least of that vital £20 a week **in** universal credit, those already stricken with one of the meanest benefit systems among members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

▪ لەناو دەسەڵاتدارێتییەکی ستەمگەردا لە نێوان ملکەچیی و شۆڕشگێڕێتییدا فەزایەکی تر بوونی نییه که ئۆپۆزیسیۆن ڕۆڵی ئاسایی خۆی بگێڕێت.

Translation: Within an oppressive regime, between the extremes of submission and revolution, there is no space for the opposition to play its normal role.

4.5.2 Conceptual Metaphors for ABSTRACT SYSTEM Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.5.2.1 ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES

▪ In ways we hadn't fully appreciated, a lot of that framework rested on the West's ability to coexist with Putin as he played "bad boy," testing the limits of the world order but never **breaching** them at scale.

4.5.2.2 ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES

▪ Distrustful of the **Democratic machine** — and the party brand — Mr. Obama turned fund-raising efforts away from the D.N.C. and focused on building "progressive" organizations like Organizing for America, she said

4.5.2.3 ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE OBJECTS

▪ In sum, having the Russian people produce a better leader is a necessary condition for the world to produce a new, more **resilient** global order to replace the post-Cold War order, which Putin has now **shattered**.

4.6 COUNTRY

4.6.1 Common Conceptual Metaphors for COUNTRY

The following metaphors for COUNTRY were common in English and Kurdish

4.6.1.1 COUNTRIES ARE BUILDINGS

▪ In the task of confronting Russian aggression and **rebuilding** a democratic Ukraine, the route to effectiveness also requires clear-headed cooperation and alliance-building.

▪ چونکه لهنێو عێراقێکی شڵەژاو و **دارماودا**، دەکرێت هەرێمی کوردستان ناوچەیەکی ئارام بێت و بەشداریش ئەرێنیش بکات بۆ کەمکردنەوەی شڵەژان و دارمانی عێراق.

Translation: Because in a chaotic and collapsed Iraq, the Kurdistan Region can be a peaceful zone and make a positive contribution to reducing the chaos and collapse of Iraq.

4.6.1.2 COUNTRIES ARE HUMANS

▪ Is Wales **following** Scotland in a bid for independence?

▪ تاوەکو ئەو رادەیەی که ئەوان پەلامارى باڵیۆزخانەی ئەمریکا بدەن و ئەمریکاش ژەنەراڵ قاسم سلێمانی و ئەبومەهدی موهەندیس بکوژێت

Translation: To the extent that they attacked the US embassy and the US killed General Qassem Soleimani and Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis

4.6.1.3 COUNTRIES ARE CONTAINERS

▪ The coronavirus was manufactured in a lab in China and released **into** the United States in early 2020

▪ له 11ى سپتەمبەرى 2001ەوه تاوەکو ئەمرۆ، دۆسیەی تیرۆریزم یەکێکه له پرسه هەره گرنگانەی که سیاسەتی **دەرەوەی** ئەمریکای لەسەر بینادەکرێت

Translation: Since 9/11, 2001, the issue of terrorism has been one of the most important issues on which US external policy is built

4.6.1.4 COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BODY

▪ It was unwell before the pandemic — a country that could elect Donald Trump is **sick** by definition — and is in much worse shape now

▪ دەیان بنکەو بارەگای له سەر **سینگی** نیشتمانەکەمان داناوه

Translation: It has established dozens of bases and outposts on the chest of our country.

4.6.2 Conceptual Metaphors for COUNTRY Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.6.2.1 A COUNTRY IS A PRODUCT

▪ The problem is, of course, that this **version** of the British state is also one that requires the agreement of its other constituent units.

4.6.2.2 A COUNTRY IS AN ENTITY

▪ Instead, his invasion has made Ukrainians — even some formerly pro-Russia Ukrainians — bitter enemies of Russia for at least a generation and supercharged Ukraine's desire to be independent of Russia and **embedded in** the European Union.

4.6.2.3 COUNTRIES ARE COMPLEX PHYSICAL OBJECTS

▪ Yes, that is a high-risk-high-reward proposition. Putin's downfall could lead to someone worse at the helm in the Kremlin. It could also lead to prolonged chaos and **disintegration**.

4.6.2.4 COUNTRY IS A HOME

▪ Notwithstanding the growth in support for independence at one end of the spectrum, and an effusion of anti-devolution sentiment at the other, in terms of **domestic** politics at least, the majority in Wales are relatively satisfied with their constitutional lot.

4.6.3 Conceptual Metaphors for COUNTRY Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.6.3.1 A COUNTRY IS THE HELLFIRE

▪ تورکیا زۆری شتی دەویت و ئێمەش لەوە زیاتری بۆ دەکەین کەچی ئەو **هاوشێوەی دۆزەخ** هەر داوادەکات " هی تر هەیە.

Translation: Turkey wants a lot and we will do more for it, but it continues demanding just as Hell and says "are there any more".

4.6.3.2 COUNTRIES ARE COMMODITIES

▪ هەرێمی کوردستان، بۆ هەڕاج کردن؟!

Translation: Kurdistan Region, up for Auction!

4.6.3.3 COUNTRY IS A PUPPET

▪ ئۆکرانیا هیچ کام لەپێناسەی گەل و دەوڵەتی بەسەردا ناچەسپێت، کۆمۆنیسته سۆڤیەتیەکان بەهەڵە و بێبنەما ناوی کۆماریان لێنا، چونکه لەبنەڕەتدا بەشێکه لەکەلتورو دەوڵەت و نەژادی ڕوسی و ناسنامەی گەورەی سلاڤی! لەئێستاشدا جگەلە **بوکەڵەیەکی** خۆرئاواو مەڵبەندێکی نازیە نوێکان هیچی ترنیه؟!

Translation: By definition, Ukraine is neither a nation nor a state, the Soviet communists falsely and unfoundedly designated it a republic, since it is basically part of Russian culture and ethnicity, and of Slavic identity! As for now, it is only a West puppet government and stronghold of neo-Nazis!

4.7 POLITICAL REGION

4.7.1 Common Conceptual Metaphor for POLITICAL REGION

4.7.1.1 POLITICAL REGIONS ARE CONTAINERS

▪ It's not just that around half of Scotland's electorate and that country's dominant political party want **out of** the state altogether.

▪ دابەشکردنی جیهان بەسەر خۆرهەڵات و خۆرئاوادا، یاخود خۆرئاواو **دەرەوەی** خۆرئاواو هاوپەیمانی شارستانی و ناوچەی جیۆپۆلۆتیکی

Translation: Dividing the world into the West and the East, or the West and the rest, or dividing it on the basis of civilization and geopolitical regions.

4.7.2 Conceptual Metaphor for POLITICAL REGION Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.7.2.1 POLITICAL REGIONS ARE HUMAN

▪ For half a century, from 1959 to the inauguration of Barack Obama as president in 2009, my home state, the state near the geographical middle of the country, **prided** itself **on** A67 being politically **centrist** as well.

4.7.3 Conceptual Metaphor for POLITICAL REGION Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.7.3.1 POLITICAL REGIONS ARE STRUCTURES

▪ دروستبوونی نیمچە قەوارەیەکی سەربەخۆ لەناو **چوارچێوە** و جوگرافیایەکی داخراودا و بەردەوامی و مانەوەی بۆ زیاتر لە سێ دەیە، هەر پەیوەست بووە بە سیاسەتی نێودەوڵەتییەوە.

Translation: The creation of an autonomous territory within an enclosed frame and geography, and its continuance for more than three decades is interrelated to international policy.

4.8 GOVERNMENT

4.8.1 Common Conceptual Metaphors for GOVERNMENT

4.8.1.1 GOVERNMENTS ARE HUMANS

▪ Let's have barrel loads more outrageous behavior inside No 10, if that's what it takes to **panic** the government into finally unlocking Treasury coffers for those in most need.

▪ هەرێم حکومەتی هەیە، ئەوانەش وەکو ئۆپۆزسیۆنێك کە دەیان رەخنەیان لەو حکومەتە هەن، دەتوانن **یاخەی حکومەتەکەیان** بگرن و بەتوندی رایوەشێنن و دایوەشێنن.

Translation: The region has its government. Those who have substantial disagreements with the government can reprimand it and hold it accountable.

4.8.1.2 GOVERNMENTS ARE CONTAINERS

▪ They issued fines for a total of 126 breaches of Covid regulations by 83 people working **in** government, making Downing Street the most fined address for this in the country.

▪ سەدام حوسێن هەم باڵاترین خاڵ و هەم سێنتەری حیزبەکە بوو، هەم بەردی بناغەی پارتەکە و هەم لەویشەوە بەردی بناغەی دەوڵەتە بەعسییەکە بوو لە عێراقدا. **لە** هەردووکیاندا دەسەڵاتی یاسایی و دەرەیاسایی گەورە و هەمەلایەنی هەبوو.

Translation: Saddam was the highest figure in the party, he stood in the center of the party, he was the cornerstone of the party, and in turn, he was the cornerstone of the Ba'athist state. In both, he had ultimate power.

4.8.2 Conceptual Metaphors for GOVERNMENT Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.8.2.1 GOVERNMENT IS AN OBJECT

▪ With the Conservatives' miracle cures for Britain's ills, such as **shrinking** the state and leaving the EU, achieving so little and doing so much damage since 2010, the moment to judge their effectiveness, according to the Tories, is further and further in the future.

4.8.2.2 GOVERNMENT IS A MACHINE

▪ It's not then just a matter of whether or not the prime minister attended parties; it goes to the heart of the integrity of our government and those who **run** it.

4.8.3 Conceptual Metaphors for GOVERNMENT Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.8.3.1 GOVERNMENTS ARE CONSTRUCTED OBJECTS

▪ هەر بۆیە سەرباری ئەوەی دوو هێزە **پێکهێنەرەکەی** حکومەت و پەرلەمان بە هەموو هێز و توانایانەوە بەربووبوونە گیانی یەکدی ... بەڵام هەرێمی کوردستان بە پێوە مایەوە .

Translation: Therefore, even though the two constituent forces of the government and parliament got into fierce fighting, the Kurdistan Region remained standing.

4.8.3.2 GOVERNMENTS ARE POSSESSIONS

▪ دەبێت نەوەکانی داهاتوو وەك حیکایەت لە شەوچەرەی دیوەخاندا بڵێن (هەبوو نەبوو رۆژگاریك کورد حکومەتی خۆی **هەبوو).**

Translation: It will be all past history, and in nighttime gatherings, future generations will narrate "once upon a time the Kurds had its own government".

4.8.3.3 GOVERNMENTS ARE BUILDINGS

▪ بەڵام ئەوەی لە بەهاری ساڵی 1991وەك دەرئەنجامی شکستی عێراق لە کوێت و لێکەوتەی جەنگی کەنداو لە عێراق هاتە ئاراوە کە ببێتە **بناخەی** حوکمڕانییەکی کوردی لە بەشێك لە جوگرافیای کوردستان، زادەی سیاسەتی نێودەوڵەتی بوو... ''

Translation: But what came into existence in the spring of 1991 as a result of Iraq's defeat in Kuwait and the consequences of the Gulf War, which became the basis of the Kurdish governance in part of Kurdistan, was the result of international politics ...

4.9 GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTION

4.9.1 Common Conceptual Metaphor for GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTION

4.9.1.1 GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS ARE HUMANS

▪ It is of paramount importance that the Met **answers** these questions in order to maintain public confidence in the police investigation.

▪ پەیامەکەی سەدر، دەرفەتێکی زێڕینی بۆ پارتیی و زۆرینەی سوننەکانیش ڕەخساندوە که به خۆپیشاندانی بەرفراوان و یەکگرتو، شەقام بجولێنن له ژێر دروشمی: "دادگای عێراق بەسیاسیی کراوەو، به نایاسایی **ڕێگا لە** زۆرینەی پەرلەمانیی **دەگرێت**"

Translation: Sadr's message has afforded a golden opportunity for the PDK and the majority of Sunni forces to organize massive and united demonstrations under the slogan: "The Iraqi court is politicized and illegally prevents the parliamentary majority."

4.9.2 Conceptual Metaphors for GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTION Found Only in the English

Sub-corpus:

4.9.2.1 GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS ARE CONSTRUCTED OBJECTS

▪ He aggressively promoted his schemes for **reshaping** the civil service and the economy as a dose of realism, as a way for Britain to belatedly adjust to the modern world.

4.9.3 Conceptual Metaphors for GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.9.3.1 GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS ARE COMMODITIES

▪ پێنجەم: بەڵام **هەراجکردنی** هەرێم و دامەزراوەکانی، حەرامێکی نەتەوەییه و زوو یا درەنگ دادگایەکی عادیلانه چاوەڕوانییان دەبێت.

Translation: Fifth: But putting the region and its institutions up for auction is a crime against the nation and sooner or later, they will be brought to a fair trial.

4.9.3.2 GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS ARE TOOLS

▪ پارتیی و سوننەکان هێشتا خەبەریان نەبۆتەوه که چیی بکەن دژی ئەم دادگایەی عێراق که بوەته **ئامێری** دەستی ئێران!

Translation: The PDK and Sunnis have not yet waked up to what to do against this Iraqi court which has become a tool of Iran.

4.10 INSTITUTION

4.10.1 Common Conceptual Metaphor for INSTITUTION

4.10.1.1 INSTITUTIONS ARE HUMANS

▪ This help comes better late than never, arriving just as the Institute for Fiscal Studies **finds** inequality taking off again, with the top 1% roaring away.

▪ خاڵێکی سەرەکیی کە ئاکاری ژمارە یەکی دەسەڵاتی سەدام حوسەینی وەک سەرۆک دەتنیشاندەکرد، ئەوەبوو لە هەموو عێراقدا دەزگایەک یان ناوەندێک یان میکانیزمێک، بوونی نەبوو توانای لێپرسینەوەی لە سەدام حوسەین هەبێت

Translation: The most distinctive characteristic of Saddam Hussein's presidential power was that there was not a single institution, agency, or mechanism in Iraq that could hold him accountable.

4.10.2 Conceptual Metaphors for INSTITUTION Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.10.2.1 INSTITUTIONS ARE POSSESSIONS

▪ How does the world **have** an effective U.N. with a country led by a war criminal on the Security Council, who can veto every resolution?

4.10.2.2 INSTITUTIONS ARE SPACES

 ▪ How does the world have an effective U.N. with a country led by a war criminal **on** the Security Council, who can veto every resolution?

4.10.3 Conceptual Metaphors for INSTITUTION Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.10.3.1 AN INSTITUTION IS A SPOT

▪ **خاڵێکیش** نه لەناو حیزب و نه له دەرەوەی حیزبدا بۆ لێپرسینەوه لەو سەرۆکه و بۆ بەرپرسیارکردنی بوونی نەبوو.

There was not a point inside or outside the party to hold the president accountable**.**

4.10.3.2 INSTITUTIONS ARE CONTAINERS

▪ مانای ئەوەش نییه، دەسەڵاتی سەدام حوسەین **لەناو** هەموو ئەو خانه و بازنه و ئۆرگانه جیاوازانەدا ئامادەبوو که له کۆمەڵگای عێراقیدا بەعس چووبوه ناویانەوه.

Translation: This does not mean that Saddam Hussein's power was present in all the different cells, circles, and organs in the Iraqi society that Ba'ath had entered.

4.10.3.3 INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING BEINGS

▪ زۆرینەی هێزه ئۆپۆزیسیۆنەکان کێشەی مادییان هەیه و ناتوانن دەزگای حیزبیی و میدیاییەکانیان **بەخێوبکەن.**

Translation: The majority of the opposition parties suffer from financial problems and cannot nurture their parties and media institutions**.**

4.10.3.4 INSTITUTIONS ARE MACHINES

▪ ئاخر سەرجەمی ئەو خانە و بازنە و ئۆرگانانە پێویستیان بە کەسانی تری بەعسیی هەبوو بۆ ئیشپێکردن و خستنەگەڕیان

Translation: At the end of the day, all these cells, circles, and organs were in need of other Ba'athist people to start and operate them**.**

4.10.3.5 AN INSTITUTION IS A BODY

▪ ئەویش، وەک مەکتەبی سیاسیی پارتە حوکمڕانەکانی هەرێم، **ئەندامەکانی** لە بەردەم سەدام حوسەین خۆیدا، بوونەوەری بێئیراده و بێزمان و بێتوانابوون**.**

Translation: Like the political bureaus of the ruling parties in the Kurdistan region, its members were pliant, speechless, and incompetent creatures in the presence of Saddam.

4.11 ORGANIZATION

4.11.1 Common Conceptual Metaphor for ORGANIZATION

4.11.1.1 ORGANIZATIONS ARE OBJECTS

▪ Putin said he had to go into Ukraine to **push** NATO **away** from Russia,

▪ نوێنەری دنیای ئیسلامیش توند ئاژۆیی و گروپە تیرۆریستەکان بوون بەڵام **تێکشکان** و لەئێستادا ئەم جیهانە بێ نوێنەرە!؟

Translation: The representatives of the Islamic world were extremism and terrorist groups, but they were crushed and this world is currently without representatives!

4.11.2 Conceptual Metaphor for ORGANIZATION Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.11.2.1 ORGANIZATIONS ARE BUILDINGS

▪ Distrustful of the Democratic machine — and the party brand — Mr. Obama turned fund-raising efforts away from the D.N.C. and focused on **building** "progressive" organizations like Organizing for America, she said.

4.11.3 Conceptual Metaphor for ORGANIZATION Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.11.3.1 AN ORGANIZATION IS A CONTAINER

▪ سەرۆکیش بەجۆرێک پەیوەندییە ناوەکییەکانی ناو ئەم **بازنە** داخراوەی ڕێکخستبوو کە کۆتایی خۆی، هەم کۆتایی حیزب و هەم کۆتایی دەوڵەتەکە و هەم کۆتایی ئەو بازنە داخراوە، بگەیەنێت.

Translation: The president had arranged the internal relations within this enclosed circle in such a way that his end give rise to the end of the party, the state, and the enclosed circle.

4.11.3.2 ORGANIZATIONS ARE HUMANS

▪ ئێستاش کە داعش زۆر بە چڕی **خۆی ڕێکدەخاتەوە** و ڕێکخراوانەتر **پلان** بۆ پەلامارەکانی **دادەنێت** و...

Translation: Now that ISIS is intensely reorganizing itself and plans its attacks more meticulously…

4.11.3.3 ORGANIZATIONS ARE TOOLS

▪ راسته لەنێوان 2014بۆ 2018دا، واشنتن بەشێک لەم رێکخراوانەی **بۆ** جەنگی خیلافەتەکەی داعش **بەکارهێنا**، بەڵام ئەوەش راسته که ئەمه تەنیا تاکتیکێک بوو بۆ ئامانجێکی دیاریکراو.

Translation: It is true that between 2014 and 2018, Washington utilized some of these organizations to fight the ISIS caliphate, but it is also true that this was only a tactic for a specific aim.

4.12 POLICY

4.12.1 Common Conceptual Metaphor for POLICY

4.12.1.1 POLICIES ARE MACHINES

▪ Nor has Britain matched its anti-Russian rhetoric with evidence of the kind of serious long-term strategic **resets** on which the EU and Germany have embarked.

▪ ئەو رێگەیەی سەرۆکی هەرێمی کوردستان دیاریکردووه (تەبایی و یەکریزی، وەلانانی ناکۆکییەکان له پێناو بەرژەوەندی باڵای گەل) بێگومان رووبەرووی کەند و کۆسپ دەبێتەوه **وله وەگەرخستنیدا** پێویستی به میکانیزم و نەخشەرێیی عەمەلی و واقیعی هەیه

Translation: The path commended by the president of the Kurdistan Region (unity and solidarity, putting aside conflicts for the sake of the great national interests) will certainly face obstacles and to operate them, practical and realistic mechanisms and roadmaps are needed.

4.12.2 Conceptual Metaphors for POLICY Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.12.2.1 POLICIES ARE CONSTRUCTED OBJECTS

▪ Just as Johnson eventually realized two years ago that he could not **make** Covid policy for the whole of the UK, so today he is now almost certainly aware that Brexit is not the success that he claimed it would be.

4.12.2.2 POLICY IS A COMMODITY

▪ He aggressively **promoted** his schemes for reshaping the civil service and the economy as a dose of realism, as a way for Britain to belatedly adjust to the modern world.

4.12.2.3 POLICIES ARE HUMANS

▪ Although Britain's cost-of-living crisis cannot be entirely laid **at Brexit's door**, it is indisputable that it is a significant part of the problem and, moreover, that there is no end in sight of the difficulties it is causing.

4.12.3 Conceptual Metaphors for POLICY Found Only in the Kurdish Sub-corpus:

4.12.3.1 DECEPTIVE POLICIES ARE TRAPS

▪ کێشه ئەوەیه ئەوان هێشتا لەهەوڵی شێواندنی ماڵی کورددان و کوردیش نایەوێت لەو **تەڵەو داوه دەربازبێت**.

Translation: The problem is that they are still trying to distort the Kurdish home and the Kurds are unwilling to free themselves from this trap.

4.12.3.2 POLICIES ARE STRUCTURES

▪ یەکێتیی خاکی عێراق، هەر ئەو **چوارچێوه** گشتییەیه که تێیدا ستراتیژیی ئەمریکییەکان گەڵاڵه دەبن.

Translation: The unity of the Iraqi territory is the general framework in which the US strategy is formulated.

4.12.3.3 POLICIES ARE POSSESSIONS

▪ تاکه ستراتیژێکی سیاسیی که حیزبه دەسەڵاتدارە کوردییەکان **هەیانبێت** بریتییه له هێشتنەوەی دۆخەکه وەک خۆی، واته نەگۆڕان**.**

Translation: The only policy that the Kurdish ruling parties have is to keep the situation the same and unchanged.

4.12.3.4 POLICIES ARE BUILDINGS

▪ ئەگەر هەیه ئەم سیاسەته **لەسەر چی دامەزراوه** ؟

Translation: If there is a policy, what is this policy based on?

4.12.3.5 POLICES ARE KNIVES

▪ **چەقۆ** تیژەکەی ئێران

Translation: Iran's Sharp Knife

4.13 STRATEGY

No shared conceptual metaphors were found for STRATEGY

4.13.1 Conceptual Metaphors for STRATEGY Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.13.1.1 STRATEGIES ARE BUILDINGS:

▪ Ukraine and NATO, therefore, need an effective counterstrategy. It should have three **pillars.**

4.13.2 Conceptual Metaphors for STRATEGY Found Only in the English Sub-corpus:

4.13.2.1 STRATEGIES ARE FOODS

▪ لەم سەردەمەدا و داوی پێنج ساڵ له ماڵئاوایی کاک نەوشیروان و مام جەلال یش سەرجەم نەخشەی سیاسی و کۆمەڵایەتی و حوکمڕانی هەرێم **به سەریەکدا ترشاون.**

Translation: Five years after the death of Mr. Naushirwan and Mam Jalal, the entire political, social, and governing strategies of the Region have gone rotten.

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4.14 LOSE POWER

4.14.1 Common Conceptual Metaphor for LOSE POWER

4.14.1.1 LOSE POWER IS DESCEND

This metaphor was the sole metaphor for LOSE POWER in the corpus and was shared by the two sub-corpora

▪ The hope is that the three together would set in motion forces inside Russia that **topple** Putin from power.

▪ ئەوانەش کە لە دەستەڵات نین، بەڕێگا شەرعیی و قانونیەکان خۆیان ڕێکبخەن و هەوڵی گەیشتن بەدەستەڵات بدەن و دەستەبژێری دەستەڵات **بێننە خوارەوە**.

Translation: Through legitimate ways, others should organize themselves, attempt to take power, and bring the office-holders down.

5. Discussion

The results of the study show that a fairly large number of conceptual metaphors, for politics-related concepts and issues are manifested both in English and Kurdish political mediadiscourse, which confirms the first hypothesis of the study. This is ascribable to the multitude of functions that metaphors can perform in political communication. The prevalence of conceptual metaphors in the political discourse of other languages is well documented. For instance, Sharifi et al., (2012) found numerous conceptual metaphors in Persian political discourse. It was found that a wide range of different source domains was employed in the conceptualization of politics-related concepts. HUMAN, OBJECT, and BUILDING were the most used source domains in the English sub-corpora. On the other hand, HUMAN, CONTAINER, and CONSTRUCTED OBJECT were the most used in the Kurdish sub-corpus. It is worth highlighting that nearly all of the used source domains were shared between the two sub-corpora and they differed in regard to the saliency of uses. This is in line with what Nataša and Novak (2019) observed when they studied conceptual metaphors in political discourse in Croatian, American, and Italian newspapers. They discovered that the studied languages showed no major difference with respect to the variety of the source domains.

One of the central tenets of the CMT is that conceptual metaphor has roots in basic human experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Therefore, culture-independent conceptual metaphors are predicted to realize in any comparable corpus of a reasonable size. The results seem to affirm this basic claim of the theory. Twenty-four shared conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts were found. In percentage terms, approximately 27.5 % percent of the identified metaphors were shared between the two sub-corpuses. The rate of commonality seems to be consistent with those of Gao (2016), who studied conceptual metaphors in English and Chinese economic news headlines.

Besides the common conceptual metaphors in the corpus, a number of unshared conceptual metaphors, for politics-related concepts were also detected. Thirty-nine conceptual metaphors were manifested only in the Kurdish data, as opposed to twenty-four only in the English dataset. This is in tune with the second hypothesis of the study and confirms one of the basic claims of the cognitive view of metaphor that conceptual metaphors take form under the pressure of bodily experiences and

local cultures (Kövecses, 2010a), which leads to different ways in which a given concept is conceptualized across different cultures. It is worth noting that the Kurdish sub-corpus contained a higher number of metaphors. One possible explanation for this is that languages generally differ in regard to their dominant rhetorical features. For example, Biria and Yakhabi (2013) studied argumentative essays in Persian and English and observed that Persian writers used mostly an indirect style, whereas English writers adopted an explicit and direct style on the whole. This might be the case between Kurdish and English as well, and this seems particularly reasonable when it is taken into account that the Kurdish sub-corpus contained far more linguistic metaphors. However, as no study was found to support this feature of Kurdish, the claim cannot assuredly be made. Briefly, the findings are in line with the cognitive view of metaphor as presented in Lakoff and Johnson (2003) and Kövecses (2010a) and provide further evidence in support of the CMT's postulations.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Findings

From the findings of this study and their discussions, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Metaphor is widely deployed in political media discourse to illuminate politics-related issues and concepts.
2. The findings display that source domains as different as BUILDING, STRUCTURE, CONSTRUCTED OBJECTS, CARD GAMES, CONTAINER, BODY, HUMAN, COMMDETIY,   etc.
   are deployed to talk about politics-related issues and concepts in English and Kurdish.
3. The ranges of the used source domains in politics-related conceptual metaphors are very similar in English and Kurdish.
4. There is a fair number of common conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts and issues in English and Kurdish.
5. The Kurdish manifested a higher number of conceptual metaphors for politics-related concepts and this is possibly the result of the dominance of different rhetorical features between the languages.
6. Culture has an impact on the way a certain concept is conceptualized. This is indicated by the extent of variations that English and Kurdish showed with regard to the conceptual metaphors for certain concepts.
7. Culture has an impact on what source domains would be employed in conceptualizing a target domain. In other words, physical surroundings, social values, and religious beliefs play major roles in the choice of the source domains.

6.2 Limitation of the Study

It is unquestioned that every study has certain limitations and the present study is no exception. The following two limitations are recognized. Firstly, as political discourse is a very broad-spectrum type of genre, it is not claimed that the list of conceptual metaphors found in this study for politics-related is inclusive of all the metaphors for such concepts in English and Kurdish. Secondly, the study has not differentiated between conventional and novel metaphors that occurred in the corpus, carrying out such a task required a previously established list of all the conceptual metaphors for a given target domain or examining a much larger corpus, making it unworkable within the setting of the present study.

6.3 Recommendations for Further Research

As the study has investigated a single genre of political discourse, namely political media discourse, it does not determine all the conceptual metaphors in political discourse in its entirety, and drawing conclusive comparisons as to conceptual metaphors in political discourse in the two languages needs further study. Therefore, it is recommended that other types of political discourse, such as politicians' speeches, political parties' announcements, parliament debates, and others, be investigated and compared so that the complete picture is painted.

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