Metaphorical Language Use in a Sample of Modern Political Discourse on Iran-West Relations

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Abstract

The present study was carried out with the purpose of examining the role of metaphorical language in the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of political texts based on a modern framework postulated by Kövecses (2015). The corpus of the study consisted of thirty-thousand words chosen as a textual sample to see which source conceptual domains are used and what generic/discursive attributes emerge upon the analysis. It was prepared through systematic random sampling from different editorial articles in Western political magazines on the relations between Iran and the West in the time span of 2010-2019. Then, Critical Metaphor Analysis was used to explain the trend and patterns in the political articles, mostly lending support to previous research by authority figures in critical and political persuasion, and in steering cognitive scenarios and models towards the shaping of interpretations of the nations as person or body metaphors. Finally, the study lent ample support to this latter view in its textual findings of the conceptual metaphors used. The findings of the study provide foreign language education in general and the EFL classrooms in particular, with some implications for further research.

Keywords: Conceptual metaphor, source domains, political articles, Critical Metaphor Analysis

Introduction

In discourse studies, political discourse is a major area of study. Different facets of policy language have been researched; namely, war and military discourse, media and politics, categorization, evasion, power and ideology, political discourse and metaphor and political discourse in general (Ciaglia, 2013). Such studies suggest the political discourse's multidimensionality and the social goals to which political actors placed their terms.

In recent political history, there can frequently be seen inherent ups and downs and fluctuations to the already tense relations between nations which take new shapes every day, particularly in relation to the strategic decisions that have to be made by one government vis-à-vis another. This tenseness and variable relation is reflected linguistically and discursively in established news outlets like western established political magazines. Such inter-nation relations are revealed in very tell-tale and enlightening ways that allow for numerous ways in which to analyze the discourse of such ideologies (Musolff, 2004). What is also made possible is exploring how discourse is manipulated and structured by the writers towards the accomplishment of political, media, discursive, social and strategic goals more in tune with the profit and gain of

some ideological systems and the detriment of others (Musolff, 2006). This lends itself to adopting a 'Critical Discourse Analytic' thinking with one of its prominent discursive and linguistic tools that realizes important discourse-semantic forces in such texts, i.e. metaphor. Since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), metaphors in general and conceptual metaphors in particular have been one of the main topics in cognitive linguistics. Conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences, or mappings, between two domains of experience (see Kövecses 2017). They have been studied from various perspectives that include philosophical, cross-linguistic, grammatical, corpus, cognitive, and psycholinguistic approaches (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Mahon, 1999; Kövecses, Palmer & Dirven, 2003; Stanojević, 2013). It is worth noting that an analysis of conceptual metaphors contributes to the understanding of the culture itself (Lakoff, 1987).

Charteris-Black (2014), refers to metaphor as a means of persuasion in political discourse. Several scholars (Kövecses, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 2004; Thompson, 1996) have referred to the important role of metaphors in political discourse. According to Thompson (1996), "politics without metaphors is like fish without water" (p. 185). In fact, metaphors are persuasive, ideological and manipulative tools deployed by politicians to inject a certain understanding into the reader's cognitive ideology, making him share it through the use of metaphors and other critical-linguistic devices. Furthermore, so far, a bulk of studies have set out to analyze metaphors in political texts (Bednarek, 2005, 2006a; Beer & Landtsheer, 2004; Cammaerts, 2012; Charteris-Black, 2006; Farahani & Adeli Jam, 2019; Hart, 2010, among many others). However, analyzing political texts in the field of critical metaphor analysis using a modern framework, that is, Kövecses's model (2015), is an under-researched area. Although there are many different models and frameworks of applying critical discourse analysis mitigated with political texts analysis to the texts, Kövecses's (2015) framework seems to be a more comprehensive and precise conceptual framework, because it brings forth the issue of the influence of context on how metaphors are created, perceived and used. Thus, it can be an accurate tool for analyzing the conceptual metaphors concerning the interrelatedness between language and culture.

Given the significance of metaphors in political discourse analysis and the fact that there has been limited interest in attempting to bring together critical discourse analysis and conceptual metaphor analysis in the interpretation of political texts, the present study was aimed to focus on the metaphors used on Iran-West relations.

Literature Review

Traditionally, metaphor was treated as a linguistic phenomenon, studied within rhetoric, philosophy, and literature studies. In current approaches to metaphor, however, "metaphors have been studied in other fields, such as in cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, and social sciences" (Hellsten, 2002, p. 13). In their seminal and influential book, *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) talk enlighteningly about the actual function and nature of metaphors: Metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. For this reason, most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (p. 3).

One of the language-related strategies employed by many political writers towards the delivery of those functions is metaphors. Referring to the considerable political effects of metaphors, some scholars have argued that metaphors are important in the language of foreign policy (Shimko, 2004, on US Desert Storm discourse, as cited in Musolff & Zinken, 2009).

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Metaphors are powerful persuasive instruments which, as Hobbes described in his treatise *Leviathan*, can lead 'the human mind into intellectual and political confusion' (Hobbes, 1996, p. 36, as cited in Musolff, 2004, p. 1):

[...] The Light of humane minds is Perspicuous Words, but by exact definitions first snuffed, and purged from ambiguity; [...] And on the contrary, Metaphors, and senseless and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui*; and reasoning upon them, is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention, and sedition, or contempt.

In traditional linguistics, metaphor is regarded as a figure of speech, while in Cognitive Linguistics (CL), it is "a cognitive phenomenon in which people understand abstract target domains in terms of concrete source domains" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 8). Metaphor is also culturally dependent, in regard to its cognitive origin (Kövecses, 2005). Charteris-Black (2004) claimed that metaphor is fundamental to CDA as it concerns with creating a consistent view of reality, but was widely ignored in the CDA mainstream. Today, in linguistic circles and in the big area of metaphors, the proponents of cognitive linguistics have focused on political discourse in terms of critical metaphor analysis (CMA). In fact, the methodological potential of CMA "to restore the hidden ideology of metaphors in political discourse" is one of the reasons why CMA has received a lot of attention (Arcimavičienė, 2014, p. 76).

Critical Metaphor Analysis, derived from critical discourse analysis (CDA), is a model proposed by Charteris-Black (2004) that develops a perception of the role of a metaphor in political communication that supports the idea that metaphors appeal to the creation of a leadership style by attracting followers to engage in a specific representation or construction of social reality. He argues that successful and charismatic leaders create metaphors onto which followers project their own meanings and in doing so find a degree of socio-psychological and emotional gratification. This is an epistemological model Charteris-Black drew upon extensively in his studies (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005, 2007).

The other framework and model, besides Charteris-Black's model in metaphor analysis, is Kövecses's newly postulated model (2015). Kövecses's exhaustive study of metaphorical creativity, which he conducted in a number of his works, proves to be very useful for understanding the emergence of creative metaphors in political discourse. Thus, Kövecses (2005, pp. 259-267) deals with the issue of creativity within the realms of Conceptual metaphor theory and introduces the term "figurative creativity", which captures three basic cognitive operations: metaphor, metonymy and blending. He (2010b, p. 664) defines metaphorical creativity "as the production and use of conceptual metaphors and/or their linguistic manifestations that are novel or unconventional, explaining that novelty and unconventionality are graded concepts". The author (2005, 2010a, 2015) identifies three types of metaphorical creativity: creativity based on the source domain, creativity based on the target domain and context-induced creativity. He was among the first scholars who offered a quite extensive study of the issue of context-induced creativity but other scholars have dealt with this issue as well (for instance, Musolff, 2016). Kövecses (2015, p. 99) emphasizes that:

The context is in fact a major source of motivation for the use of novel and unconventional metaphors and identifies five contextual factors that commonly produce unconventional and novel metaphors: 1) the immediate physical setting, 2) what we know about the major entities participating in the discourse, 3) the immediate cultural context, 4) the immediate social setting and 5) the immediate linguistic context.

Furthermore, based on the major areas of human interaction with the world, Kövecses (2017) distinguishes four kinds of contexts: "the situational context, the conceptual-cognitive context, the discourse context and the bodily context" (Kövecses, 2017, pp. 312-316). It is

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important to note that these contextual factors do not work independently in real discourse; several of them are found to function in combination and thus influence the use of metaphors in particular discourse situations.

Nartey (2018) in a study critically explored how an independence leader used metaphor to develop a discourse of rebellion towards colonialism and imperialism. The researcher analyzed a series of speeches delivered by Kwame Nkrumah, Pan-African and Ghana's pioneering and independence leader, applying an integration of models that are critical metaphor analysis and membership categorization analysis. This study gave insight towards the use of language in the context of rebellion and activism, thus illustrating that using metaphor by political actors supports deceptive and/or ideological purposes (instead of having a literary/stylistic effect) and showing that metaphor is important to the persuasive power of a leader.

More recently, Aljukić (2019) in a study examined the rise of metaphorical imagination from the creative development of a single walking travel metaphor used in British political discourse to conceptualize the Brexit. Three incidents of creative metaphors have been studied at the level of conceptual realms and metaphor situations, using the cognitive linguistic theory of conceptual metaphor, and metaphorical stories triggered by such metaphors which seem to be important for the full understanding of creative metaphors. Particular attention has been given to contextual factors that inspire the advent of the walking travel metaphor imaginative instances, and the rhetorical intensity with which they influenced political reality.

In the context of Iran, Farahani and Adeli Jam (2019) carried out a study with the purpose of examining the role of metaphorical language in the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of political texts based on the CDA framework and attitudinal model of appraisal theory. Here is an excerpt of their study:

According to CDA, the categories of deception, power relations, manipulation, authority, legitimation, and ideology were considered in the analysis of the texts and, concerning attitudinal resources, judgment, appreciation, and affect were gauged. The corpus of this study consisted of different editorial articles in Western political magazines on the relations between the I.R. of Iran and the West in the time span of 2010-2017. The results of both content analysis and chi-square test tended to approve the significant use of metaphors in the texts with regard to both discursive and attitudinal resources. Regarding the former, deception, power relations, manipulation, and authority gained the highest frequency while with respect to the latter, judgment and appreciation were implemented more frequently (p. 17).

Based on this brief review of the literature and to the best of the researchers' knowledge, there has been no study so far to critically investigate conceptual metaphors in modern political discourse on Iran-West relations. Therefore, our knowledge of these concepts is premature and so, to gain more information about the above-mentioned key concepts, the present study attempted to explore conceptual metaphors utilized in a sample of modern political discourse on Iran-West relations through Kövecses's framework (2015). Thus, the following research question was addressed:

Q. What is the role of conceptual metaphors in structuring political media discourse based on CDA framework?

Method

Design

This study adopted a critical discourse analysis of the language used in the magazines written by journalists ideologically opposed to Iran. In fact, the analysis of the selected political magazines provided the researchers with sufficient data to examine the role of socio-political

beliefs and ideologies in arriving at comprehension of some of the significant political conflicts creating opposing political views, beliefs, and cultural values. The sampling used was purposive sampling, also known as judgmental or subjective sampling which is a kind of non-probability sampling technique.

Corpus

The corpus of this study included different articles in western established political magazines, that is, Time, The New York Times, Newsweek, Orient net, Washington Post, Daily Mail, Huffington Post, and BBC which usually include articles about the relations between Iran and the West. For the purposes of the study, the articles published in the time span of 2010-2019 were analyzed regarding metaphorical language use. The reason for the selection of articles from the aforementioned magazines was that they are regarded as the leading magazines in the West in terms of circulation, and the basic rationale for the mentioned time span was that within this period there were crucial discursive events such as nuclear negotiations--which was a hot topic in the Iranian as well as international media—which could be exploited for evaluating and collecting data. Actually, this particular period of time would render a dynamic picture of how the Iran-West relations were discursively developed in the texts.

Procedures

In order to gauge the role of conceptual metaphors in structuring media discourse, the framework postulated by Kövecses (2015) was used. The rationale for using this model was to furnish the conceptual metaphors with the political meaning and message that they are delivering. The framework situated within an understanding of linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive approaches. In general, this framework focuses on the intention of the speaker/writer with regard to the creation and promotion of metaphorical representations. Based on this model, analysis of conceptual metaphors contributes to the understanding of the culture itself (Kövecses 2015), hence the gist of metaphor analysis embedded in culture and pragmatics. Kövecses's framework (2015) is a multi-dimensional model to metaphor analysis that aims to reveal the covert ideological intentions of language users with taking a deep look at various aspects such as context and pragmatics. For purposes of the current study, there was a necessity to narrow down the model and just to focus on one aspect as follows:

The point of departure for finding the instances of metaphor in the political corpus of the study was through the 'conceptual mapping' theory of metaphor (also known as Cognitive Theory of Metaphor or Domain Mapping) within which a wording is an instance of metaphor when there is a 'source domain' from which the 'target domain' borrows, to say something more strongly and effectively than normal non-metaphorical wording would. In other words, in a conceptual metaphor, certain elements and the relations in a domain are mapped onto another domain. The domain, from which they are mapped is called the "source domain" and the domain onto which they are mapped is called the "target domain". Thus, the analysis proceeded to specify the source domain and target domain of each conceptual metaphor and classify the results in a number of tables containing the five categories of analysis proposed in the mentioned theory, that is, 'Linguistic Metaphorical Expression', 'Meaning in Context', 'Target domain', 'Source Domain', and 'Conceptual Metaphor'.

It is to be added here that conceptual metaphors of the corpus were identified and highlighted by three different people, that is, the researcher, the supervisor, and a university of Tabriz highly capable team, well-trained in conceptual metaphors, based on the framework under study. This ensured a high amount of reliability. Although the inter-rater reliability according to

Cohen's Kappa inter-rater reliability index was reported ($\kappa = .91$), actually the re-analysis and reidentification by the second and third analysts added a lot of conceptual metaphors that might have otherwise escaped notice or been felt too conventional.

Results and Discussion

In the following tables, the results of the analysis of CMs in the 8 political articles comprising 30,000-word corpus are presented. For reasons of space, only a selection of all the CMs analysed in each article are brought out.

Article 1: The U.S. and Iran are heading toward crisis: Washington Post, July 19, 2017

The Linguistic	Meaning in	Target	Source	Conceptual
Metaphorical	Context	Domain	Domain	Metaphor
Expression				
The US and Iran	Crisis will	An imminent	Journey	INTERNATIONAL
are heading	soon happen to the US and	negative		RELATIONS ARE A JOURNEY
toward crisis	Iran	eventuality		A JOUKINE I
Collision course	Crisis will	An imminent	Rapid and	IMMINENT
<u>Comsion course</u>	soon happen	negative	reckless	CONFLICT IS
	to two bodies	eventuality	Movement	COLLISION
	in interaction	resembling a	or speed	COLLISION
		collision	1	
Iran's compliance	Iran as a	Consenting of a	OM: The	COUNTRIES ARE
with the deal	human being	country with	human	HUMAN BEINGS
	agreeing with	something	being	
	the deal			
Trump assented	Trump agreed	An action or	Physical	ACTIONS ARE
to <u>the move</u>	to this action	decision	movement	PHYSICAL STEPS
	D 1 · 1 1		D'	OR MOVEMENT
Malign activities	Bad, wicked and harmful	Bad and	Diseases and bad	PERSISTENTLY HARMFUL AND
	activities	chronically harmful	medical	BAD BEHAVIOR IS
	activities	behaviour	conditions	A SERIOUS
		benaviour	conditions	DISEASE
Trump reportedly	Trump	Extreme anger	Fire	ANGER IS FIRE
fumed at	expressed	6		
	great anger at			
	•••••			
Allies see the	The deal is a	restriction	Physical	A LIMITATING
deal as an	restriction or		barrier	CONTROL IS
effective <u>curb</u> on	limitation.			PHYSICAL
Iran's ambitions				BARRIER

Table 1. A Sample of the CMs used in the Washington Post's Article 'the U.S. and Iran are heading toward crisis'

	TT 1 '	G(1)		
<u>Tehran's putative</u>	Tehran is a	Strong desire,	OM: The	(Metonymy)
nuclear ambitions	human being	enthusiasm	human	THE CAPITALS OF
	with a strong		being	STATES ARE THE
	desire to attain			POLITICIANS OF
	nuclear power			THAT STATE
				STATES ARE
				HUMAN BEINGS
Iran's other	Iran as a	Irritating	OM: The	STATES ARE
troublesome	human being	actions and	human	HUMAN BEINGS
behaviors	has annoying	manners	being	
	manners			
withdrawing from	Moving back	Deciding to	War	DEALS AND
the deal	or away from	stop being		OFFOCIAL
	the deal	committed to or		AGREEMENTS
		following		ARE WARS
		something		

Article 2: *How Trump can confront Iran without blowing up the nuclear deal*: Washington Post, August 6, 2017

The Linguistic	Meaning in	Target Domain	Source	Conceptual
Metaphorical	Context		Domain	Metaphor
Expression				
How Trump can	Deal with Iran	Dealing with and	OM:	STATES ARE
<u>confront Iran</u>	as if the country	confronting a	(Iran as)	HUMAN BEINGS
	Iran is a person	country in a	Human	
		serious and	being	
		deterring way		
without blowing up	Completely	Events and	Forces:	COMPLETE
the nuclear deal	destroying the	actions:	Blowing	DESTRUCTION IS
	nuclear deal	Destroying	something	EXPLOSION
			up(is	
			completely	
			destroying	
			it)	
Iran is complying	The Iranian	Politics And:	Games and	COUNTRIES ARE
with the nuclear	Politicians are	Events and	Sport	HUMAN BEINGS
deal	behaving true to	actions	And:	
	the nuclear		Business	
	agreement			
when that question	When he has to	Events and	Forces:	QUESTIONS ARE
comes before him	answer the	actions:	And:	HUMAN BEINGS
	question and	Having but to	(OM):	
	cannot evade	answer a	Human	

Table 2. A Sample of the CMs used in 'How Trump can confront Iran without blowing up the nuclear deal'

	answering	question	being Movement and direction	
blowing up the deal and the U.SIran relationship	Completely destroying the U.SIran relationship	Events and actions: Destroying completely And: Human relationships	Forces: Blowing something up (is completely destroying it)	COMPLETE DESTRUCTION IS EXPLOSION And: STATES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
Iran's violations	The politicians and decision makers in Iran fail to act on parts of the deal	Politics Events and actions (action of violating something, some law)	OM: The human being	STATES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
<u>provoking the</u> <u>deal's collapse</u>	Doing something that would destroy the deal by making the decision makers act angrily	Events and actions (provocative behaviour; tearing down a building)	OM: the human being And: Buildings	A POLITICAL DEAL IS A HUMAN BEING (that can be provoked) And: A POLITICAL DEAL IS A BUILDING (that can collapse)
the international effort to confront Iran's regional expansion, support for terrorism and other mischief	Politicians in all countries are trying to 	Politics Events and actions	OM: the human being	STATES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
the international effort <u>to confront</u> Iran's regional expansion, support for terrorism and other mischief.	Politicians in all countries are trying to 	Politics Events and actions (behaviour and action: confronting someone, dealing with them seriously)	OM: the human being	STATES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
the international effort to confront <u>Iran's</u> regional expansion, <u>support</u> for terrorism and <u>other mischief</u> .	Iranian politicians' support for terrorism and other nefarious things they do	Politics Events and actions	OM: the human being	STATESAREHUMAN BEINGSAnd:ROGUESTATESARE(NAUGHTY)CHILDREN

Article 3: There Is No Peace in the Middle East without Iran: Huffington Post, May 31, 2017

The Linguistic	Meaning in	Target Domain	Source	Conceptual
Metaphorical	Context	Turget Domain	Domain	Metaphor
Expression	Context		Domuni	1. Iouphor
open up Iran further to the rest of the world	Makethecountryhavefreeandunproblematicrelationshipswithalltheworld	Events and actions and Making free and unproblematic relationships between countries possible	Doors / gates And: OM: human being (walking through an open door)	OPEN DOORS ARE FREEDOM And: COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
Accusing Iran of factually incorrect actions	Accusing the Iranian decision makers and politicians of	Morality	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
<u>Blaming</u> Iran for the Saudi attack on Yemen	Blaming the Iranian decision makers and politicians for	Morality	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
Iran is essential to the peace process and <u>cannot be</u> <u>ignored.</u>	The importance of Iranian decision makers and politicians cannot	(mental) Events and actions: Ignoring	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS (that can be ignored)
Iran stands on its two feet	The country Iran is independent	Events and actions Human relationships	The human body (Human feet) OM: the human being	HUMAN BEINGS
Iran would not have collapsed within six months	The country Iran would not have been destroyed	Events and actions: Destruction	Buildings	COUNTRIES ARE BUILDINGS
<u>Strangling</u> Iran <u>economically</u> for a decennia	Putting extreme pressure on the economy of Iran to the point	Economy	Forces (stranglin) Health and illness	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS (who can be strangled)

Table 3. A Sample of the CMs used in 'There Is No Peace in the Middle East without Iran'

	of failing		OM: the human being	
The implementation of the agreement is happening, <u>without</u> <u>the United States</u>	11	Politics	OM: human beings	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
blaming Iran is dangerous	Blaming the Iranian decision makers and politicians	Morality	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
Iran deserves to be respected for what it is	1 0	Morality	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS

Article 4: A look at Iran's presidential candidates: Daily Mail, May 19, 2017

The Linguistic Metaphorical Expression	Meaning in Context	Target Domain	Source Domain	Conceptual Metaphor
The contest	The elections	Politics (elections) Political events	Sports contests (Games and Sport)	ELECTIONS AND OTHER POLITICAL RIVALRIES ARE SPORTS CONTESTS
pave the way for the country's nuclear deal with world powers.	Made possible the nuclear deal	Politics Actions (facilitating something)	Roads (buildings and constructi on)	POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE UNPAVED ROADS
President Hassan Rouhani <u>is widely</u> <u>seen as the front-</u> <u>runne</u> r	Seen as a candidate with the best chance	Politics Political candidate with the highest chance	Running contest (games and sport)	POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS ARE RUNNING CONTESTS Or:
				ELECTORAL CANDIDATES ARE RUNNERS

 Table 4. A Sample of the CMs Used in 'A look at Iran's presidential candidates'

Г <u> </u>	ſ		· ·	
Two other candidates <u>also are</u> <u>running</u>	ar e taking part in the elections	Politics Political candidates participating in elections	Running contest (games and sport)	POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS ARE RUNNING CONTESTS Or: ELECTORAL CANDIDATES ARE RUNNERS
in exchange for relief <u>from</u> <u>crippling</u> <u>international</u> <u>sanctions</u>	International sanctions that cause Iranians a lot of day-to- day life problems	Life and death (illness) Being crippled by something	OM: human beings	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS (that can be crippled) Or: INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SANCTIONS CAN BE INJURY OR ILLNESS
Iran has doubled its oil exports	Iranian decision makers and politicians	Politics Actions	OM: human beings	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
Iran has inked multi-billion-dollar aircraft deals with Boeing and Airbus	Iranian decision makers and politicians	Politics Actions	OM: human beings	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
He has vowed to <u>combat poverty</u> and corruption.	He has vowed to reduce the bad effects and harm coming from poverty and corruption	Economy Society / nation Politics	War (combat) OM: human beings (human enemies)	SOCIAL PROBLEMS (i.e. POVERTY/CORRUP TION) ARE ENEMIES
his candidacy also has revived the controversy	his candidacy also has caused the long- forgotten controversy to become a talking point again	Communication Events (bringing alive an issue long forgotten)	OM: Human beings (that are unconscio us)	CONTROVERSIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS (who are ill or unconscious)
one of the darkest moments of Iran's post-revolution history	One of the most saddening moments	Emotion	Light and darkness	DARK IS SAD

Article 5: How Iran fell out with the West: BBC News, July 17, 2015

The Linguistic	Meaning in	e CMs Used in Ho Target Domain	Source	
0	Context	Target Domain	Domain	Conceptual Motorbor
Metaphorical Expression	Context		Domain	Metaphor
Saddam Hussein	In the country	Society / Nation	Person /	COUNTRIES
	Iraq that shares	Society / Ination	Family	
	a border with		•	SHARING A BORDER ARE
Iraq			(neighbo	NEIGHBOURS
Saddam Hussein	Iran Without	Politics	ur) Drogogija	AWARENESS /
			Propertie	
was q <u>uietly</u> and	allowing the	(information for	s of	
methodically	media and	media and	objects	LOUD
preparing to	intelligence	intelligence	and	
invade Iran.	services to	services)	forces in	
	know	Actions	movemen	
		DIN	t : sound	
the Americans had	Of making the		Vehicle	A POLITICAL
given up any hope	revolution null	(a revolution)	(gears)	UPHEAVAL IS (A
of reversing the	and go back to			GEAR ON) A
<u>revolution</u>	the previous			VEHICLE
	regime	-		
the <u>main US</u>	The main	Emotion	OM:	COUNTRIES ARE
preoccupation at	preoccupation		human	HUMAN BEINGS
the time	of American		beings	
	decision			
	makers and			
	politicians			
plunge the two	cause the two	Events and	Forces	COUNTRIES ARE
countries into an	countries to	actions	(plunging	(SWIMMING)
obsessive crisis in	experience a	(being suddenly	; of	HUMAN BEINGS
relations	crisis they	faced with a	swimmin	
	cannot save	crisis)	g human	
	themselves		beings)	
	from			
crisis in relations	They have yet	Events and	Forces	COUNTRIES ARE
from which they	to save	actions	(emergin	(SWIMMING)
have yet to	themselves	(saving oneself	g from	HUMAN BEINGS
<u>emerge</u>	from	from crisis)	beneath	
			the	
			water)	
a coup engineered	A coup that	Politics	Machines	POLITICS IS A
by the CIA and	was designed	(Planning a	and tools	MACHINE/TOOL
the British	and planned	coup)	(engineer	
	by		ing)	

 Table 5. A Sample of the CMs Used in 'How Iran fell out with the West'

	-		0.14	
as the Islamist	Became	Religion	OM:	RELIGIOUS
trend strengthened	stronger and	Religious trend	human	TRENDS ARE
its grip.	more popular		beings	HUMAN BEINGS
			(the fist)	
the hard-liners in	Had to be	Relationships	Ship	A POLITICAL
Tehran had to be	informed and	Communication	-	TEAM IS A SHIP
on board	made to feel as	Politics		
	if they are on			
	the team as			
	well and			
	engaged in all			
	actions and			
	decisions			
The US was	The decision	Politics	OM:	COUNTRIES ARE
selling arms to	makers and	Communication	human	HUMAN BEINGS
Iran, via Israel of	politicians in		beings	
all people	the US were			
	selling arms to			
	those in Iran,			
	via those in			
	Israel of all			
	people			

Article 6: Five of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's Weirdest Conspiracy Theories: Newsweek, April 12, 2017

Table 6. A Sample of the CMs Used in 'Five of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's Weirdest Conspiracy

 Theories'

The Linguistic	Contextual	Target Domain	Source	Conceptual
Metaphorical	Meaning		Domain	Metaphor
Expression				
Ahmadinejad had	He would not	Politics	The	POLITICS IS THE
previously said he	participate in	(The elections)	human	HUMAN BODY
would not stand	the elections		body	(RUNNING FOR
				THE ELECTIONS IS
				STANDING)
He had	taking	Politics	Running	POLITICAL
discouraged	part in the	Political	contest	CAMPAIGNS ARE
Ahmadinejad from	elections	candidates	(games	RUNNING
<u>running.</u>		participating in	and sport)	CONTESTS
		elections		Or:
				ELECTORAL
				CANDIDATES ARE
				RUNNERS

a landmark 2015 nuclear agreement that lifted crippling economic sanctions	Lifted International sanctions that cause people a lot of day-to- day life problems	Life and death (illness) Being crippled by something	OM: human beings	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS (that can be crippled) Or: INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SANCTIONS CAN BE INJURY OR ILLNESS
have not <u>yet rallied</u> <u>around o</u> ne candidate against Rouhani	Have not yet gathered around one	Politics Society / nation (joining and gathering around one electoral candidate as support)	War (rallying around one command er and army)	POLITICS IS WAR
As many as eight <u>candidates</u> could <u>stand</u>	Could participate in the elections	Politics (The elections)	The human body	POLITICS IS THE HUMAN BODY (RUNNING FOR THE ELECTIONS IS STANDING)
moves to disqualify some <u>from running</u>	taking part in the elections	Politics Political candidates participating in elections	Running contest (games and sport)	POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS ARE RUNNING CONTESTS Or: ELECTORAL CANDIDATES ARE RUNNERS
one of his former deputies who has <u>also thrown his</u> <u>name into the ring</u> .	1 I	Politics Elections	Sports contests (boxing)	POLITICS IS SPORTS CONTEST
His two terms as president were peppered with outlandish statements	Were filled with	Emotion Communication (speech one tries to make more exciting by filling it with a quality)	Cooking and food	POLITICS IS COOKING (POLITICAL ACTION/DECISION IS FOOD)
As <u>he rides back</u> <u>into the political</u> <u>fire</u> in Tehran	As he confidently comes back into the center of political controversy	Politics (political controversy and opposition)	Fire Horse riding	POLITICS IS FIRE POLITICIANS ARE WARRIORS ON HORSEBACK

	and heat				
threatening to shape the election's outcome		Politics Actions	Forces: Mechanic al, Shaping by hand	IS	AN

Article 7: Turmoil in the Middle East Is Setting Up Some Strange Bedfellows: Newsweek, August 5, 2014

The Linguistic	Contextual	Target Domain	Source	Conceptual
Metaphorical	Meaning		Domain	Metaphor
Expression				
Turmoil in the	Is making	Politics	Human	POLITICAL
Middle <u>East Is</u>	unlikely	Relationships	relationsh	ALLIANCES ARE
Setting Up Some	alliances be		ips	ROMANTIC
<u>Strange</u>	established		(love)	RELATIONSHIPS
<u>Bedfellows</u>	between states			
	otherwise			
	hostile to each			
	other			
the romance	The very	Politics	Human	POLITICAL
between Iran and	friendly	Relationships	relationsh	ALLIANCES ARE
Hamas is at full	relations		ips	ROMANTIC
bloom again	between Iran		(love)	RELATIONSHIPS
	and Hamas			(allied) COUNTRIES
			OM:	ARE HUMAN
			Human	BEINGS (in a
		D 11 1	beings	romantic relationship)
the romance	the politicians	Politics	OM: the	(allied) COUNTRIES
between <u>Iran and</u>	and decision		human	/ POLITICAL
Hamas is at full	makers in Iran		being	PARTIES ARE
bloom again	and those in			HUMAN BEINGS (in
	Hamas	DIC		a relationship)
put the <u>Hamas</u>	the politicians	Politics	OM: the	COUNTRIES /
alliance with Iran	and decision		human	POLITICAL
to the test	makers in Iran		being	PARTIES ARE
	and those in			HUMAN BEINGS
Dussidant Darter	Hamas	I fo and death	A mime a la	
President Bashar	Was killing the		Animals	HUMAN BEINGS
Assad <u>was</u>	rebels in large		(slaughter	ARE ANIMALS
slaughtering the	numbers and	(killing in large	ing)	

Table 7. A Sample of the CMs Used in 'Turmoil in the Middle East Is Setting Up Some Strange Bedfellows'

rebels	like animals	numbers like animals)		
Assad's top backer, <u>Iran</u> , was Hamas's most- prized ally	the politicians and decision makers in Iran and those in Hamas	Politics	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES / POLITICAL PARTIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
a period <u>of major</u> <u>friction</u> with Iran	Major disagreement and frequent hostility	Relationships (Major disagreement and frequent hostility)	Basic entities: Surfaces: Properties of surfaces	A (GOOD) RELATIONSHIP IS A (SMOOTH) ROAD/SURFACE
above all losing its <u>major</u> backer, <u>Egypt</u>	the politicians and decision makers in Egypt	Politics	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
It has called on the world's Muslims to send weapons to Gaza	the politicians and decision makers in Iran have called on	Politics	OM: the human being	COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS
their marriage of <u>convenience</u> is alive and well.	The relationship between Iran and Hamas is based on the expedients of both sides	Politics Relationships	Human relationsh ips (love)	POLITICAL ALLIANCES ARE ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Article 8: Why the Iran-Russia Relationship Is So Uneasy: Newsweek, October 21, 2016

The Linguistic	Contextual	Target Domain	Source	Conceptual Metaphor
Metaphorical	Meaning		Domain	
Expression				
Why the Iran-	the alliance and	Politics	OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE
Russia Relationship	relationship	Relationships	human	HUMAN BEINGS
Is So Uneasy	between		being	
	politicians and			
	decision makers			
	in Iran and			
	Russia			
Russia froze the S-	The politicians	Politics	OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE

 Table 8. A Sample of the CMs Used in 'Why the Iran-Russia Relationship Is So Uneasy'

200 : :1 1 1	1 1 • •	A	1	
300 missile deal	and decision	Actions	human	HUMAN BEINGS
	makers in		being	
	Russia			
<u>Russia</u> has allied	The politicians		OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE
itself with the Iran-	and decision	Relationships	human	HUMAN BEINGS
led Shia axis in the	makers in		being	
Middle East	Russia			
Russia has returned	The politicians	Politics	OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE
to the Middle East	and decision	Relationships	human	HUMAN BEINGS
as a major and	makers in	_	being	
active player	Russia		-	
Russia has returned	The decision	Politics	Sports	COUNTRIES ARE
to the Middle East	makers and	(human/communi	OM:	HUMAN BEINGS
as a major and	politicians in	ty roles)	human	(AND PLAYERS IN A
active player	Russia as	5 /	beings	SPORTS CONTEST)
<u>·····································</u>	major and		8	,
	active players			
Russia seeks to take	The politicians	Politics	OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE
advantage of the	and decision	Thought =	human	HUMAN BEINGS
new post–Arab	makers in	intention –	being	Helman Denved
Spring situation	Russia seek	intention	being	
Spring situation	to			
Russia's	The politicians	Politics	OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE
intervention in	and decision	Action:	human	HUMAN BEINGS
				HOWAN BEINGS
Eastern Ukraine	makers in Russia	(intervention of a	being	
		person)	OM = 41	
trade opportunities	The Russian	Economy	OM: the	(MALFUNCTIONING
for <u>the struggling</u>	economy that is		human) ECONOMIES ARE
Russian economy	not in a good		being	(STRUGGLING)
	condition now	DIL		HUMAN BEINGS
Russia, Syria, Iraq	The politicians		OM: the	COUNTRIES ARE
		Actions	human	HUMAN BEINGS
anti-ISIS coalition	makers in		being	
	Russia, Syria			
an anti-ISIS	The politicians	Politics	OM: the	POLITICAL
coalition, one that	and decision		human	ALLIANCES ARE
in fact opposed all	makers from		being	HUMAN BEINGS
Sunni Islamists	various states			
	creating a			
	coalition			

In the 30,000-word political corpus analysed, more than half of the CMs were ontological metaphors and a metonymic or a metaphorical use of HUMAN BEINGS as their conceptual SD in their cognitive model. Furthermore, in many of such CMs, we have a version of STATES (COUNTRIES) ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor. But also we have other interesting recourses made to this SD, like in DEALS/AGREEMENTS ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor (e.g. in

articles 1, 2, and 4), with the issue of political and nuclear 'deals' a major theme running through the texts, lending support to Kovecses's (2015) Pressure of Coherence (to approach talking about 'deals' from many angles as demanded by contextual forces). Following the theory, we see 'deals' talked about metaphorically using the SD of SHIPS, BUILDING, and other SDs too, with some instances of POLITICAL DEALS ARE SHIPS metaphor, of POLITICAL DEALS ARE BUILDINGS, and of POLITICAL DEALS ARE OBJECTS IN A SCRAP YARD metaphor (Table 2), all lending support to the theory of Pressure of Coherence by Kovecses, casting political deals in many different guises, to trigger different cognitive interpretations in the reader.

Even when there are fewer CMs used in some articles, as in the case of Table 4, there are some creative and interesting ones, such as the CONTROVERSIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS and SOCIAL PROBLEMS (i.e. POVERTY / CORRUPTION) ARE ENEMIES metaphors and some instances using sports/running contests as SD, as in the POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS ARE RUNNING CONTESTS, ELECTORAL CANDIDATES ARE RUNNERS. Even so, the familiar COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor crops us among this few, and some interesting ones use a CONTROVERSIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor. Considering ENEMIES ultimately as a version of the human beings SD, we come out with the picture given above.

This shows that even when writers use a variety of other SDs and TDs, political writing still seems to necessitate such an ideological patterning of nation states as discussed above, since they need to extend such an undifferentiated and collective agentive role to countries /states when they talk about them, with SOCIAL PROBLEMS portrayed as ENEMIES and CONTROVERSIES metaphorically re-mapped as HUMAN BEINGS who are ill or unconscious and need 'reviving'.

In relation to the SD of human beings, the CM analysed in number 10 of Table 5 is very interesting. It is a version of COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor again, but the linguistic metaphorical expression evidencing it, *The US was selling arms to Iran, via Israel of all people*, uses the CM in a complex mega-metaphorical way, relying on the linguistic metaphor part of the CM in a conscious way by emphasizing the last part *Israel of all people*. Thus, we have three instances of one CM in one clause, using the three countries *the US, Iran*, and *Israel*, all as if they are human agents in a marked way, as if forcefully demanding such cognitive integration for the reader.

Such extensive recourse to OMs by different political articles writers seems to establish that writers-in-hire of political articles constantly fall back on human beings as SD not just to talk about COUNTRIES/STATES but also about entities as diverse as DEALS, CONTROVERSIES, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, RELIGION and RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES, etc. One could argue that this wide range of TDs shows that human beings offer the best SD to the writers, in lieu of some reasons and forces in discourse.

One minor comment the data lead us to make is that skilled writers of political articles, seem to make use of a more diverse range of SDs, and resulting CMs, in their writings. What is interesting in this case is the limited use such writers sometimes make of HUMAN BEINGS as SD and the more frequent use they make of inanimate entities instead.

In table 7 above, there are many prominent aspects to the text and the CMs analysed in the table that, according to a CMA outlook, are consciously used by the writer to certain political and critical ends. One interesting fact is that the writer's very first CM in the text and the very last one with which he closes his writing are one and the same POLITICAL ALLIANCES ARE ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS metaphor. Between these two, many other CMs are sandwiched, especially different versions of the given and familiar CMs such as COUNTRIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor.

In table 8, majority of the CMs analysed in the article, use OMs and a metonymic or a metaphorical use of HUMAN BEINGS in their cognitive model. This is a very important finding in relation to political texts that deal with the international relations between controversially opposed world powers. Generally, there are very insightful works on extending CM research to areas of Applied Linguistics (Caemeron, 2003; Farahani & Adeli Jam, 2019; Low, 1988). One major attempt in this regard is Cameron's *Metaphor in Educational Discourse* (Cameron, 2003) in which she offers an applied linguistics approach to metaphor in discourse. Similarly, as a crucial and central issue in this respect, she talks about how to research metaphor in classroom discourse and the linguistic form of metaphor in classroom discourse. She also talks about deliberate and conventionalized metaphor in classroom discourse and integrating metaphor in classroom discourse and integrating it in classroom activity, one (the educator/ESL teacher) needs to be trained and well-informed on researching metaphor interpretation and metaphors in text'.

Conclusions

As discussed above, the writers portray and manipulate a certain picture of politics through discourse by using the existing cognitive models of their readership to certain media and political ends in line with the maintenance of power relations and potential lengthening of the political/economic status quo and journalistic safeguards. Our comments are also reflected in the literature in different guises and voices, for example by Koller (2004), Kovecses (2009), Lakoff (1996), Musolff (2004, 2006, 2010, 2012), Cammaerts (2012), Eubanks (2000), and very forcefully by Goatly (2007), among others. To bring our CMA comments to a close, political articles have immediate social, ideological, political, and economic functions to discharge when faced with their readership. Thus, language and discourse need to be manipulated and used par excellence, without fault, so that certain ideological, political and economic powers are maintained.

As for pedagogical implications, providing EFL learners with insights from Cognitive Linguistics is crucial for both researchers and language teachers in the EFL classroom. In fact, through conceptual metaphor analysis as has been done with the current corpus, we can argue, like many previous researchers, that conceptual metaphors play insightful roles in classroom critical/discursive meaning-making practices and processes and, therefore, would merit consideration in the EFL contexts. To be more specific, the current study has some implications for the practice of critical metaphor analysis in EFL classrooms. One implication is to develop the practical and facilitated analysis in our tables above in order to offer foreign language education and educators a facilitated glimpse into how to quickly acquaint themselves with both the theory and practice of CMs, and then probably use a version of these tables in their own teaching, especially for teaching upper-intermediate and advanced writing and reading. Another implication is for teacher educators--they can help student teachers get a more comprehensive understanding of discourse, particularly political discourse, by attending to both metaphors and the specific genres such as political texts. The understanding of different features in metaphors can foster a better understanding the wider social, ideological and power issues in political texts. In general, critically studying metaphors in various genres can lead to the advancement of language consciousness and provide language learners with more control over their own language production as well as a better understanding of how metaphors are manifested in others' the language use.

Like any other qualitative discourse analytic study, this study might suffer from a number of limitations. First of all, it might be argued that the metaphors identified and analyzed in a specific sub-genre, such as the one this study restricts itself to, can very well be in use in other semantic and contextual chains in other genres and discourses (Musolff & Zinken, 2009). This limitation, expectedly, was the result of time, personal and scope constraints that robbed the researchers of going beyond the one sub-genre they focused on to forge linkages between the metaphors they brought out and those in other compared genres. Another obvious limitation is the limited corpus size and number of articles subjected to analysis. Needless to add, these limitations urge the conduction of further research with a more refined design and a complementary perspective to provide more insight on the field.

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