

**Primary conceptual metaphors and what they inform us of our  
embodied mind: A study of five primary conceptual metaphors in Persian**

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## Abstract

In the thesis, I study five primary conceptual metaphors GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE in Persian to examine their mapping and experiential basis. The thesis is based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and the primary conceptual metaphors have been randomly selected among the primary conceptual metaphors cited in the literature (e.g. Grady, 1997). The data is gathered from two Persian novels: *Chashmhayash* 'Her eyes' by Bozorg Alavi (1952) and *Kelidar* Volume 1&2 by Mahmoud Dowlatabadi (2008). It has been claimed in the literature that primary conceptual metaphors are motivated by our embodied experiences and since human beings all share the same body and mind, these primary metaphors are universal. Thus, by analyzing the data, I conclude that all five primary conceptual metaphors are instantiated in Persian and that embodied experiences motivate the existence of these metaphors in Persian as has been evidenced in English.

Key words: Primary metaphors, Conceptual Metaphors, the CMT, Metaphors in Persian

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my family who give meaning to my life: my beloved wife, Mahboubeh, my cute daughter, Sana, and my selfless parents, Aliakbar and Fatemeh.

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Overview

In the thesis, I study five conceptual metaphors GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE in Persian to examine their mapping and experiential basis. The study's hypotheses are as follows: the five primary conceptual metaphors are represented by linguistic metaphors in Persian novels, and the metaphors' mappings are motivated by embodied experiences in Persian as has been evidenced in English. Conceptual metaphors have gained a lot of attention since the introduction of Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The focal point of their findings is the claim that metaphorical expressions that are employed by speakers are not single occurrences, but rather they are systematically connected to one another to what is called a conceptual metaphor. This systematicity is important since it is not limited to language, but it exists in human thought; that is, we think metaphorically as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) believe. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) provide us with some of these conceptual metaphors in English. For instance, take the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR where two concepts are at play --the concept of *argument* which is the target concept (an abstract concept), and the concept of *war* which is the source concept. The target concept, *argument*, is mapped onto the source, *war*. That is, we use expressions that are employed for war to talk about argument. For example, we win arguments, we lose arguments, we defend our viewpoints in arguments, etc.

Grady (1997) has proposed that conceptual metaphors are either primary or complex. According to him, primary metaphors are those that cannot be broken down into other metaphors, but complex metaphors can. For instance, according to Grady (1997), the metaphor A VIABLE COMPLEX ENTITY IS A BUILDING is a complex metaphor that could be broken down into three primary metaphors. The three primary metaphors are VIABILITY IS ERECTNESS, AN ORGANIZATION IS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, and THE CAPACITY TO ENDURE IS STURDINESS which are motivated by our embodied experiences, and their experiential grounding is “{Experiences with objects (including our own bodies) where erectness correlates with functionality, health} {Manipulation of complex objects, correlated with formation of mental representation of logical

relationships among parts (emergent)” (Grady, 1997, p. 68, curly brackets in original), respectively. The important notion about primary metaphors is that these conceptual metaphors are universal given their experiential bodily nature. In other words, since these metaphors are motivated by our embodied experiences and every human being shares the same body, they should be universal. That is, according to Grady (1997), our bodily interactions motivate primary metaphors; the interactions that are with our bodies (hands, legs, feet, etc.) and our senses (hearing, sight, touch, etc.).

The present study aims at finding whether the five primary metaphors listed by Grady (1997) are mapped in the Persian language as well as in English, which would add support for their universality. Secondly, whether the mapping of these primary metaphors in Persian is motivated by embodied experiences, as it is for English speakers, is discussed as well.

The study is based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) in the cognitive linguistics framework proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), as well as a cognitive linguistics view of the embodied mind (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The five primary conceptual metaphors under study follow Grady (1997) who lists them in his comprehensive list of metaphors with experiential grounding. The metaphorical expressions are examined in two Persian novels: *Chashmhayesh* ‘her eyes’ by Bozorg Alavi (1952) and *Kelidar* (A mountain and a village located in the northeast of Iran) by Mahmoud Dowlatabadi (2008). The justification for using these two novels as data sources is given in Chapter 3.

## **1.2. Organization of the Thesis**

In chapter 2, the background appears where I provide an overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, known as the CMT, that is proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). There, some of the critical terms that are used in the literature are introduced. Also, the distinction between the classical views of metaphor and the current cognitive views of conceptual metaphors is presented in order to inform the reader of the significance of the CMT. Then, the underlying hypotheses of the CMT that have been proposed in the field are introduced and explained. The hypotheses predominantly asserted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which I have compiled, are as follows:

1. Metaphorical structuring of thought
2. Embodied cognition
3. Universality of metaphor
4. Systematicity of metaphor
5. Variation and cultural models
6. Role of language.

I continue the chapter with an introduction to embodiment and its relation to conceptual metaphors. Then, I follow by reviewing the related conceptual metaphor studies that have been conducted in the Persian language.

The data and methodology appear in chapter 3. There, I will introduce the data which are linguistic metaphors that have been extracted from the two Persian novels: Alavi (1952) and Dowlatabadi (2008), and the methodology. The latter corresponds to the methods that I employ to gather the data (the linguistic metaphors) from the Persian texts. These metaphorical expressions give us insight into the nature of the five primary conceptual metaphors that the thesis is based on.

In chapter 4, I provide the linguistic metaphors with their translations and glosses preceded by the discussion of the mapping of the conceptual metaphors. Then, I discuss how the mapping of the conceptual metaphors in Persian could be further evidence of the embodiment theory. The metaphorical examples are categorized according to the five conceptual metaphors.

The discussion and conclusion of the studies' details is presented in chapter 5. An overview of chapters 1-4 and their significance are noted in this final chapter. Also, my suggestion for further studies is provided there.

## Chapter 2. Background

### 2.1. Introduction

Metaphor for long has been considered as a rhetorical device used in literature; it was considered as a way to give fantasy to the works of literature. It had been perceived as the matter of poetic language, not an everyday one (Taub, 2001; Lakoff, 2006; Kövecses, 2002, etc.), dating back to Aristotle. “In classical theories of language, metaphor was seen as a matter of language, not thought. Metaphorical expressions were assumed to be mutually exclusive with the realm of ordinary everyday language: everyday language had no metaphor, and metaphor used mechanisms outside the realm of everyday conventional language” (Lakoff, 2006, p. 185).

Cognitive linguistic studies on metaphor thoroughly reject the classical theory (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999). Lakoff & Johnson (1980) who cast a doubt on the classical theory present their theory that is called the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor. They believe:

“Metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words. We shall argue that, on the contrary, human thought processes are largely metaphorical. This is what we mean when we say that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 6).

Given that our thinking and acting can be metaphorical, the only way to be aware of such a system can be by language since there is no way to get inside the conceptual system. “Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 3).

Deignan (2005) presents two flaws regarding the classical view of metaphor. Firstly, she argues that some metaphors are related semantically but this fact is not accounted for at all in the classical view. She states that these semantically related words have related metaphorical meanings. For instance, the words that are used for plants like *blossom*, *cultivate*, *bear fruit* and *shed* are used metaphorically to talk about developments or deteriorations of projects and

feelings. Secondly, since metaphorical use is ubiquitous, that is, it is considered as a focal or central linguistic phenomenon but not an ornament, the classical view fails.

Lakoff (2006) also mentions how the classical theory fails:

“what are the generalizations governing the linguistic expressions referred to classically as “poetic metaphors”? When this question is answered rigorously, the classical theory turns out to be false. The generalizations governing poetic metaphorical expressions are not in language, but in thought: they are general mappings across conceptual domains” (Lakoff, 2006, p. 185).

Now, what do we mean by metaphor in the cognitive theory of metaphor, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)? “Metaphor involves a relationship between a source domain, the source of the literal meaning of the metaphorical expression, and a target domain, the domain of the experience actually being described by the metaphor. For example: to waste time involves comparing TIME (the target domain) to MONEY (the source domain) in the metaphor represented by the Lakoffian formula TIME IS MONEY” (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 55). So in dealing with metaphor two domains are involved: target and source. The concept in the target domain is mapped into the source domain. The mapping is partial, meaning not all aspects of the target domain are mapped. Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. You're *wasting* my time.
- b. This gadget will *save you* hours.
- c. I don't *have* the time to *give you*.
- d. How do you *spend* your time these days?
- e. That flat tire *cost me* an hour.
- f. I've *invested* a lot of time in her.
- g. I don't *have enough* time to *spare* for that. You're *running out of* time.
- h. You need to *budget* your time.
- i. Do you *have* much time *left*?

j. He's living on *borrowed* time.

k. You don't *use* your time *profitably*. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 8)

Almost every English speaker will comprehend the meaning of these sentences and will confirm that they are common everyday expressions. These sentences are all about time; yet, they cannot be true. In other words, how could one *waste, have, borrow, invest, run out of*, etc., an abstract concept (time) that is non-physical and not an object of direct experience such that could be perceived with senses such as vision or hearing. More importantly, these are not scattered unrelated expressions but linked, nor are they the only expressions that could be expressed in such a manner; novel expressions of this sort are possible and frequent.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. The CMT discussion appears in 2.2. and section 2.3. deals with the underlying CMT hypotheses. In 2.4., the relation between embodied experience and the conceptual metaphor is reviewed. The Persian studies on conceptual metaphors are presented in section 2.5 and the summary appears in 2.6.

## **2.2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

### **2.2.1. Introduction**

Expressions that do not convey their conventional or literal meanings are metaphors; the interest in metaphors is understanding how language users have no difficulty comprehending these expressions with the different meanings that they convey.

Studies that were conducted revealed that even the most technical concepts included conceptual metaphors: politics (Lakoff, 1996; Musolff, 2004), science (Larson, Nerlich, & Wallis, 2006), illness (Gibbs & Franks, 2002), psychoanalytic concepts (Borbely, 2004), and mathematics (Lakoff & Núñez, 2000).

A distinction has often been made between metaphorical expressions and metaphorical concepts. The number of metaphorical expressions is very large; metaphorical concepts usually include many metaphorical expressions. The example sentences in (1) are all instances of metaphorical expressions and the metaphorical concept (conceptual metaphor) is TIME IS MONEY. Grady (1997) believes that “conceptual metaphors can be discussed as *entities*—established

structures with long-term status in the minds of speakers, which transcend particular linguistic instantiations” (Grady, 1997, p. 13). Thus, they are not ‘particular linguistic instantiations’, but rather entities, in his view.

The relation between the two is systematic: “Since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 7).

The theory that illustrates this new perspective is proposed in Lakoff & Johnson (1980). The main hypotheses and claims pointed out by them will be presented and discussed later in the thesis; however, the focal point of the theory is that metaphor is not only pervasive in our everyday language, but it also exists in our thought and actions. In other words, it is not the abundance of metaphor in written literary texts that has attracted so much attention to metaphor studies, rather, the systematic presence of metaphor in everyday language.

### **2.2.2. CMT Discussion**

The CMT that has been drawn on by Lakoff and Johnson (1999); Kövecses (2000b) (2002); Gibbs (2017); Jäkel (2002) has provided enough evidence against the previous and classical views of metaphor tracing back to Aristotle. Aristotle believed that it is the resemblance between the two concepts that motivates metaphor; however, Grady (1997), a cognitive linguist following the CMT, challenges this and mentions that many metaphorical concepts have little or even no resemblance at all. “[T]here is often no objective similarity to point to between concepts that are associated with one another by linguistic metaphor. What could be the objective similarity between happiness and brightness, for instance” (Grady, 1997, p. 5).

What is a conceptual metaphor in the CMT? To elaborate on the answer, let us consider an example of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY that has been mapped in many different languages and been cited extensively in the literature (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Jäkel, 2002; etc.). In this conceptual metaphor, the concept of *life* is viewed and exemplified as a *journey*; that is, not only do we use most of the expressions and concepts related to the *journey* to talk about *life*, but we also think of life as a *journey*. To be more precise, in the languages where *life* is expressed via *journey*, people think and act this way. Let us observe some sentences in

English and Persian for more elaboration on metaphorical expressions and the concepts involved. Example (2) gives some examples from English and number (3) gives some examples from Persian, created by me.

- (2) a. She hasn't *gone as far* in life as her parents had hoped.  
 b. His life has taken a good *course*.  
 c. I *go where my path* leads me.  
 d. As I've *traveled through* life, I've made a lot of friends *along the way*" (Grady, 1997. p. 113 [example 16]).

- (3) a. Dar<sup>1</sup> zenedegi rah-ha-ye ziadi ra ræfteæm ke hichkodam mæ ra be  
 In life way-PL-EZ very OBJM go.1SG.PTCP that none me OBJM to  
 mæghsæd næ-resand.  
 destination NEG-take.3SG.PST.

‘ I have taken my ways in my life, but none has taken me to the destination.’

- b. hæmsær-æm, bia ta kulebareman ra bæra-ye in sæfær-e  
 Wife-1SG.POSS, come.IMP to backpack-1PL.POSS OBJM for-EZ this trip-EZ

<sup>1</sup> All Persian data, follow Leipzig Glossing Rules.

Abbreviation	Meaning	Abbreviation	Abbreviation
EZ	Ezafe construction	PRS	Present
PST	Past	AUX	Auxiliary
PTCP	Participle	POSS	Possessive
SG	Singular	SUBJ	Subjunctive
PL	Plural	PRF	Perfect
OBJM	Object Marker	NEG	Negative
REFL	Reflexive	MOD	Modal
INF	Infinitive	CONT	Continuous

Table (1): List of abbreviation used and their meanings.

moshtæræk mohkæm tær bebændim.

mutual stiff more close.PRS.SUBJ.1PL.

‘Dear wife, come in order to pack our backpack for this mutual trip [not an actual trip].’

c. Hæргеz næ-gozar dæstændaz-ha-ye zendegi to ra ziad motævæghef

Never NEG-let.IMP speed-bump-PL-EZ life you OBJM very stop

konænd, be hær gheymæti be mæsir-t edame bede.

do.3PL.SUBJ, to every cost to route-2SG.POSS continue give.2SG.IMP.

‘Do not ever let the speed bumps of life stop you for a long time, continue your route whatever the cost.’

These examples are very common among speakers of both languages and are not rare unrelated occurrences, but rather, a systematic way of conceptualizing one domain in terms of another domain. In other words, the occurrences of these metaphorical expressions in languages are not a coincidence; it is the way that our conceptual system functions: we conceptualize abstract concepts in one domain in terms of concrete concepts in another domain because we have no direct experience of these abstract concepts. To better understand the metaphorical nature of these examples, let us take a closer look at their mapping. I will present some of these correspondences for the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY identified by Gibbs (2017) below:

Source Concept	Target Concept
travelers	people leading a life
motion along the way	leading a life
destination(s)	purpose(s) of life
different paths to one’s destination(s)	different means of achieving
distance covered along the way	progress made in life
locations along the way	stages in life
guides along the way	helpers or counselors in life

## **Table (2): LIFE IS A JOURNEY Metaphors' Correspondences**

(Gibbs, 2017, p. 452)

These correspondences reveal how the mapping in the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY works. The concrete concepts on the left are the source concepts that could be mapped onto the target concepts on the right to make a myriad of metaphorical expressions. Some of these metaphorical expressions are illustrated above in examples (2) and (3). For instance in example 3a. the speaker is viewed as a traveler who has traveled different paths, but none of them has taken him to his destination. However, the meaning of this sentence is not literal, but metaphorical. It means that this person has experienced different means to achieve his goals, but the means that he has used were not appropriate; thus, he has failed to reach his goals in life. Regarding (3b), the husband is asking his wife to pack their backpacks to go on their mutual trip which constitutes their mutual life as a married couple. The backpacks denote the means they require in order to make the trip which include the vows and decisions couples make when they start their married lives. In (3c), the speaker uses the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY in order to give advice. The speedbumps of life are the problems that people encounter and people should not let these speedbumps stop them for going on. That is, they need to overcome the problems and go on with their lives.

### **2.2.3. The Underlying Conceptual Metaphor Theory Hypotheses**

Within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson(1980), there are several core hypotheses that form the foundation of the theory. These hypotheses include:

1. **Metaphorical structuring of thought:** This hypothesis suggests that metaphor is not only a linguistic device but a cognitive mechanism that structures our conceptual system. It posits that we understand abstract concepts in terms of more concrete and sensorimotor concepts through metaphorical mappings.

2. Embodied cognition: CMT emphasizes the embodied nature of metaphor, proposing that our physical experiences and sensorimotor systems are important in shaping our understanding of concepts. Our bodily interactions with the world provide the basis for metaphorical mappings and the creation of abstract concepts.

3. Universality of metaphor: This hypothesis suggests that certain metaphors are pervasive across different languages and cultures, reflecting shared aspects of human experience. It posits that metaphorical mappings are not arbitrary but grounded in universal human experiences.

4. Systematicity of metaphor: CMT argues that metaphors are not isolated instances but form coherent systems within specific domains. It suggests that metaphorical mappings within a domain are interconnected and consistent, allowing for systematic reasoning and understanding.

5. Variation and cultural models: While there are universal aspects to metaphor, CMT acknowledges that there can be variation in metaphorical mappings across cultures and languages. Different cultures may have distinct conceptualizations and metaphors for the same abstract concepts, influenced by their specific cultural, historical, and linguistic contexts.

6. Role of language: CMT posits that our conceptual system, shaped by metaphor, forms the cognitive basis for language. Metaphorical mappings in thought are reflected in the language we use to express and communicate abstract concepts. Language both reflects and reinforces our conceptual metaphors, and metaphorical language use can shape how we think and reason about the world.

The hypotheses that are presented above constitute the framework of the CMT.

### **2.3. Embodied Experience and Conceptual Metaphors**

Gibbs (2017) argues for the significance of embodiment in language and thought. Embodiment, in his view, was not taken into account seriously enough previously since scholars used to believe that language processing is performed by a special module of mind that has

nothing to do with bodily experience. However, he believes that our bodies interact with the mind and the world and this is how thought and language are formed. To him, the dualistic idea that mind and body are two distinct modules when it comes to meaning-making and action is not accurate at all. He believes that through the ongoing interactions that our bodies and mind and the world have, meanings are born. Therefore, he concludes that our thought and conceptual system are embodied.

Gibbs's (2017) stance on embodiment originates from the current viewpoints of cognitive linguistics and cognitive science that stress that our thought, action, and meaning-making overall are the products of ongoing interactions of our brains, bodies, and the world. That is, these interactions form our conceptualization. The concepts that we make are the product of our embodied minds. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) strongly criticize classical philosophy's accounts that regarded the mind as disembodied. They argue that not only do we need a body to reason, but the structure of reason is indeed embodied:

“The same neural and cognitive mechanisms that allow us to perceive and move around also create our conceptual systems and modes of reason. Thus, to understand reason we must understand the details of our visual system, our motor system, and the general mechanisms of neural binding. In summary, reason is not, in any way, a transcendent feature of the universe or of disembodied mind. Instead, it is shaped crucially by the peculiarities of our human bodies, by the remarkable details of the neural structure of our brains, and by the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 3).

Thus, it seems to them that those mechanisms that are at work during sensorimotor actions are responsible for our conceptualization and reasoning.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) make a strong claim regarding embodiment. They believe that reality is not as objective as it is claimed in the literature. That is, there is no such a disembodied objective reality in the outside world; the reality that we perceive and conceptualize with our brains is indeed embodied since we perceive the world and conceptualize it with our sensorimotor and neural systems, respectively.

Their argument gets strengthened with the examples that they provide regarding the status of reality. One serious example that illustrates the issue further is the way we

conceptualize color; they argue that color is the product of the interaction of the world, our visual system, and our brain. In other words, *the sky is blue, the sun is yellow*, etc., not because the ‘sky’ or the ‘sun’ inherently possess this quality( their color), but because our neural system and visual system conceive of the outside reality of *the sky* and *the sun*, etc. this way.

To elaborate on the idea of the embodied mind, it is necessary to review the CMT that underlies that most of the metaphors that we use in language are primarily conceptual. That is, the metaphors that are used in language are based on thought and action. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), these metaphors are formed because this is how we conceptualize the real world: metaphorically. For instance, it is argued in the literature that the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH has a direct experiential basis and we learn it in our childhood in various real-life situations: “... the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH (as in, "He's *a warm* person." or "She's *a block of ice*." ) arises from the common experience of a child being held affectionately by a parent; here, affection occurs together with warmth. In Johnson's terms, they are conflated. There is neuronal activation occurring simultaneously in two separate parts of the brain: those devoted to emotions and those devoted to temperature” (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003, p. 256). It also holds for other conceptual metaphors such as MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, etc. They have roots in our daily experiences of interacting with our bodies, and minds (and/or brains) with the world.

Most of the abstract experiences that we have in life are compared to and understood via the bodily tangible experiences of going on a journey. For instance, if we return to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, these two sentences make sense if we think of life as a journey.

(4) You do not need to run toward your goals. Walk toward them but constantly.

Although there seems to be no difficulty in comprehending what the above sentences actually mean, they underlie the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY that is based on our embodied experience of traveling; otherwise, how could we do a physical action of *running* and *walking* toward the abstract destination of *our goals*. Here, the embodied experience of *running* implies rushing and the embodied experience of *walking* implies taking your time. Therefore, in these sentences, the concept of *life* is seen as a *journey* with *goals* as our destination, and we could reach our goals if we *walk constantly* toward them that is slowly and constantly; however, if we *run*

toward them (due to our embodied experience of running and getting tired soon), we get exhausted and we might abandon our goals.

Another notion that constitutes an important aspect of the embodiment is the idea of primary metaphors proposed by Grady (1997). Primary metaphors are conceptual metaphors that cannot be broken down into other metaphors and that have a direct experiential basis.

Primary metaphors that have been enlisted and referred to extensively in cognitive linguistics literature (such as Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; 1999; Kövesces, 2005; Gibbs, 2017) have been claimed to be based on our direct bodily experience in the world which provides further evidence to the embodiment. Lakoff and Johnson(2003) believe that these metaphors are learned unconsciously and automatically in our childhood during our interaction with the world with our brains and body.

Gibbs (2017) believes that primary metaphors are cross-cultural as their basis is the body that all humans share. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) also note that since human beings all share the same brain, mind, and body, primary metaphors are universal. Gibbs (2017) provides further empirical evidence from social and cognitive psychology which both support the existence of primary metaphors in non-linguistic experience. The studies were performed by researchers in the field of psychology in order to find out whether primary metaphors that are claimed to be in people's thoughts are present in their actions and whether their real-life experiences reveal these metaphors. Their findings, on the studied primary metaphors such as AFFECTION IS WARMTH, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT, etc., depict that they are entrenched in peoples' thoughts and actions.

The image schema is another important subject that is discussed broadly in the discussion of embodiment. According to Johnson (1987), image schemas are: “embodied patterns of meaningfully organized experience (such as structures of bodily movements and perceptual interactions)” (Johnson, 1987, p. 19). Johnson (1987) argues against the propositional view of image schemas where the schemas are considered merely as conceptual abstract subject-predicate structures regarding events such as shopping for a car. Image schemas, in his claim, include our perceptual and motor knowledge as well. Some examples of image schemas include: “containment, force, moving along a path, symmetry, and balance” (Kövesces, 2005, p. 19).

Gibbs (2017) states that the source domain of conceptual metaphors is image schematic as it tends to appear from our everyday experiences. He mentions that the image schema Source-

Path-Goal is observed in the source domain of LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor which is *Journey*. This basic spatial experience (source-path-goal) is learned through our various bodily experiences such as throwing a ball into the basket, walking home from school, and jumping high to hit the ceiling, to name a few. Consider the first example of throwing a ball to the basket, the act of throwing is the source, the distance the ball moves toward the basket is the path, and the ball staying in the basket is the goal.

A substrate to the neural theory of language is embodied simulation. Gibbs (2017) refers to the empirical studies that support the idea that embodied simulation does occur in language understanding. For instance, in Glenberg and Kaschak (2002), people were faster in understanding the sentence *John opened the drawer* when they simulated the action by moving their hands toward their bodies than away from them. Also, in another study performed by Zwaan, et al. (2002), the candidates were asked to read a sentence like *The carpenter hammered the nail to the wall*. Then, they were shown a picture of a nail and were asked to judge whether they have seen the object before or not. If the orientation of the object and hammering matched, the candidates were faster in responding to the positive answer than when the orientation was different. Thus, it is claimed in the literature that when people are perceiving a proposition, they simulate it in order to facilitate their understanding. Moreover, these simulations can also help them comprehend conceptual metaphors that seem impossible to simulate. “Simulation semantics is based on a simple observation of Feldman’s: if you cannot imagine someone picking up a glass, you can’t understand the meaning of “Someone picked up a glass.” Feldman argues that, for meanings of physical concepts, *meaning is mental simulation*, that is, the activation of the neurons needed to imagine perceiving or performing an action” (Lakoff, 2008, p. 19). To Lakoff (2008), the simulation does occur when we hear a sentence and it is absolutely essential for language comprehension.

#### **2.4. Conceptual Metaphor Studies in Persian**

Most Persian conceptual metaphor studies have concentrated mostly on conceptual and linguistic metaphors related to emotions such as fear, anger, happiness, etc. (e.g. Afrashi and Ghouchani, 2018; Safarnejad et al., 2014, 2018).

Afrashi and Ghouhani (2018) have concentrated their study on the comparative analysis of the conceptual metaphors of FEAR that exist in Persian and English languages. In their corpus-based research, they searched keywords related to the concept *FEAR* followed by judging some expressions to be metaphorical. In the Persian corpus that they employed which contained 42 written texts, they found 600 metaphorical expressions related to the conceptual metaphors of *FEAR*. Studying the metaphorical expressions in both languages, they found out that the conceptual metaphors that I am listing below are mapped in both languages:

- (5) FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE
- FEAR IS AN ANIMAL BEHAVIOR
- FEAR IS INSANITY
- FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER
- FEAR IS A CONTAINER
- FEAR IS A SEED
- FEAR IS COLD
- FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER
- FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY
- FEAR IS A TORMENTOR
- FEAR IS ILLNESS
- FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING
- FEAR IS AN OPPONENT
- FEAR IS A BURDEN (Afrashi and Ghouhani, 2018, p. 48).

Some examples of the metaphorical expressions that the authors found in the written texts are presented below. For each conceptual metaphor, they presented an English metaphorical

expression followed by a Persian metaphorical expression and a literal translation of the Persian expression. I have added my own transliteration [below the Persian expression].

(6) FEAR IS AN OPPONENT

a. Eng. Ex: He was wrestling with his fear.

b. Per. Ex: Xanum<sup>2</sup> tævanest kæmi bær tæars-e xod ghælæbe konæd.

Woman could.PST a little over fear-EZ self.REFL overcome do.PRS.3SG

‘She could manage to overcome her fear a little’ (Afrashi and Ghouhani,

2018, p. 49).

In the Persian example, the abstract concept of *fear* is thought of as an *enemy*. Thus, there has been a battle between the woman and this enemy in which the lady has finally managed to succeed.

(7) FEAR IS A BURDEN

a. Eng. Ex: He was relieved when the danger was over.

b. Per. Ex: væhshæt æz rezashah ru-ye tæmam-e xanevade sængini mikærd.

fear of KingReza on- EZ all- EZ family heaviness do.3SG.PST.

‘The fear of Rezashah was a burden for the family’ (Afrashi and Ghouhani,

2018, p. 49).

The abstract target concept of *fear* in the Persian example is mapped into the source, a *burden*. The burden whose heaviness causes trouble for the family since it is over all the

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<sup>2</sup>I have adapted all Persian examples to the format used for Persian data in this thesis.

members' bodies such as an embodied experience of carrying a stone on one's back when they are moving.

(8) FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE

a. Eng. Ex: She was engulfed with panic.

b. Per. Ex: Væhshæti nagæhani æhali-ye Kerman ra færa gereft

a fear sudden resident.PL-EZ Kerman OB absorb take.3SG.PST

'An unexpected terror ceased people of Kerman city' (Afrashi and Ghouhani, 2018, p. 49).

*Fear* in the Persian example above is mapped into the source as wind-like energy or force that is absorbed by everyone who is in the surroundings. Thus, the people got frightened as soon as the fearful force reached them.

Amongst the various source domains with which *fear* metaphors were expressed, Afrashi and Ghouhani (2018) found out that substance, force, and movement were the most frequent domains, respectively.

The authors claim that their findings regarding the *fear* metaphors support embodiment. As these conceptual metaphors depict the way we interact with the world via our bodies, they provide further evidence supporting cognitive linguistics' claims concerning embodied experiences. The claims that our conceptual systems are not separate from our bodies, and that the way we experience the world does affect our conceptualization.

Another contribution to conceptual metaphors in Persian is Safarnejad et al. (2014) that has studied emotive metaphors related to the concept of *happiness*. This contrastive analysis compares *happiness* conceptual metaphors that exist in both English and Persian. They collected their English data from Lakoff (1980), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), and Kövecses (1991), and Persian data from two literary books. The authors claim that the metaphors relating to a vertical

orientation such as HAPPY IS UP, BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, BEING HAPPY IS BEING IN HEAVEN are mapped in Persian as well. Let us observe some instances of their Persian data.

(9) a) Roy-e<sup>3</sup> abr-ha dare rah mire.

On-EZ cloud-PL have walk go.3SG.PRS.CONT.

‘ [He/She is] walking on the clouds’.

b) Rohi-am kheili bala-st.

spirit-1SG.POSS very up-be.3SG.PRS.

‘My spirit is very up’.

c) Az khoshhali shish meter paridæm bala.

from happiness six meter jump.1SG.PST up.

‘I jump[ed] up six meters for happiness’.

d) Seda-ye ghæghæhe anha be fælæk miresid.

sound-EZ laughter 3PL.POSS to sky rise.3SG.PST.CONT.

‘Their laughter rose [was rising] to the sky’ (Safarnejad et al. 2014, p. 112).

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<sup>3</sup> I have adapted the data to conform to the Persian data that I am using in the thesis.

As can be seen from the Persian examples above, the abstract domain of *happiness* is viewed in the minds of Persian speakers as a rising orientation. The *happiness* could be expressed by words with the meanings of *up, high, rising, etc.* to name a few, such as in examples (b) and (c). Also, *happiness* could be expressed via concepts that are located in a high place such as *clouds* as in example (a), or the *sky* as in example (d). Moreover, the degree of *happiness* relates to how *high* that *happiness* can go for instance in example (d) they could not be imagined *happier* since their laughter has reached the *sky*.

The authors also found out that the metaphor related to light: HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, and the container metaphor: HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER are mapped into Persian as well. The authors presented the following examples as Persian data for the two conceptual metaphors, respectively.

(10) a) Tamam-e soræt-æsh ba læbkhændi roshæn shode bud.

Whole- EZ face-POSS.3SG with smile light-up become.PTCP be.PST.3SG.

‘His face brightened with a smile’.

b) Chæshmash bærg h mizæd.

Eye.PL.POSS.3SG electricity hit.PRS.3SG.

‘His eyes electricity hit’ (Safarnejad et al. 2014, p. 113).

(11) a) Chæshmhash por az bargh bud.

Eyes.PL.POSS.3SG full of electricity be.PST.3SG.

‘His eyes were full of electricity’.

b) ou labriz      az shadi bud.

He brimmed of joy      be.PST.3SG.

‘He brimmed over with joy’ (Safarnejad et al. 2014, p. 114).

They believe this universality is due to the embodied experiences that all human beings share. However, they argue that there is a conceptual metaphor that is mapped in Persian but not in English: the metaphor HAPPINESS IS AN ENERGY IN THE EYES. They believe that the presence of this metaphor in Persian is due to cultural differences that exist in these cultures; however, they do not elaborate on it further. “In Persian, the eyes are conceptually and linguistically highlighted in the face that can be the barometer of emotion. Thus, ‘eyes’ are such an important feature of the human face and as a result are used very frequently in the conceptualization of emotion in Persian. In the example, the energy in the body is reflected in the eyes of the person.”, (Safarnejad et al. 2014, p. 116). The example that they are referring to is example (a.) above with the translation of ‘His eyes were full of electricity.’

Besides emotive conceptual metaphors, some scholars study other conceptual metaphors in Persian. For instance, Golfam et al. (2019) compare conceptual metaphors of time in Persian and English. They identify eight conceptual metaphors of time that are claimed to be instantiated in both languages: TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY, TIME IS A LANDSCAPE WE MOVE THROUGH, TIME IS A CONTAINER, TIME IS A CHANGER, TIME IS A PURSUER, AND TIME IS A LIVING ENTITY. The authors provide us with the metaphorical expressions in Persian that depict how these eight metaphors are mapped in Persian. Illustrating these expressions with their English equivalents, they conclude that the metaphors are indeed mapped in Persian and English.

## 2.5. Summary

In Chapter 2, the Background of the conceptual metaphor studies is presented. The introduction to classical and current studies on conceptual metaphors is accounted for, and it has been noted that according to the current views, not only does metaphor exist in everyday language, but it also exists in our conceptual system and actions. The discussion of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory known as the CMT that has been proposed by Lakoff and Johnson(1980) is dealt with as well. The underlying CMT hypotheses is presented as well; these hypotheses include 1. Metaphorical structuring of thought 2. Embodied cognition 3. Universality of metaphor 4. Systematicity of metaphor 5. Variation and cultural models 6. Role of language.

Moreover, the relation between embodied experience and conceptual metaphors is reviewed. Referring to the literature, I have stressed that our conceptualization takes place with our embodied minds and some conceptual metaphors that have been termed primary metaphors have a direct root in our embodied experiences.

Some Persian studies on conceptual metaphors are reviewed as well. I have noted that these studies were mostly limited to emotive metaphors that are mapped in Persian. For instance, Afrashi and Ghouchani (2018) focused their paper on the comparative analysis of conceptual metaphors of *fear* that exist in Persian and that are cited in the literature about English. In a similar study, Safarnejad et al. (2014) studied the conceptual metaphors of *happiness* in English and Persian. They argued that the universality of the metaphors that exist in both languages could be the result of the bodies that all human beings share.

## Chapter 3. Data and Methodology

### 3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the data and methodology that I use to find the metaphorical expressions that are relevant to the five conceptual metaphors under study: GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, NOW IS HERE, and IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL which have been randomly selected among the primary conceptual metaphors cited in the literature (e.g. Grady, 1997). Moreover, the experiential grounding of these conceptual metaphors which are further evidence of embodiment is discussed as part of the methodology as well.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. The Data section appears in section 3.2 and the Methodology is dealt with in 3.3. Following these sections, the Summary is provided in 3.4.

### 3.2. Data

The current linguistic research is on Persian and the data is gathered from two Persian novels that I have selected to study. The novels are *Chashmhayash* 'Her eyes' by Bozorg Alavi (1952) and *Kelidar* Volume 1&2 by Mahmoud Dowlatabadi (2008).

I select "Her Eyes" by Bozorg Alavi (1952) as a source to explore conceptual metaphors within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) for several reasons:

1. Linguistic richness: Bozorg Alavi's writing style often involves the use of vivid language, and attention to detail that can provide a fertile ground for identifying and analyzing metaphoric expressions and conceptual mappings within the text.
2. Depth of language: Alavi's language is known for its psychological depth and exploration of human experiences. In this context, it is likely that the novel "Her Eyes" contains intricate and nuanced expressions that reflect conceptual metaphors and how they shape characters' thoughts, emotions, and interactions. This can provide valuable material for investigating the interplay between metaphor, cognition, and language.

3. Cultural context: As an Iranian writer, Alavi's work is rooted in Iranian culture, history, and traditions. Exploring conceptual metaphors within "Her Eyes" can provide insights into how metaphors are used in Iranian literature, reflecting cultural perspectives, values, and ways of thinking. It allows for an exploration of the cultural models and specific metaphoric expressions that may exist within the Iranian context.

4. Narrative themes: The thematic content of "Her Eyes" may also lend itself to the exploration of conceptual metaphors. By analyzing metaphors employed in relation to themes such as love, desire, identity, or social issues, we could gain a deeper understanding of how conceptual metaphors operate and contribute to the overall meaning and interpretation of the novel.

The second source, *Kelidar* by Mahmoud Dowlatabadi (2008), is selected since it is a highly regarded and influential novel in Iranian literature. It is considered a good source for exploring conceptual metaphors within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) for the following reasons:

1. Language and Style: Mahmoud Dowlatabadi is known for his rich language, as well as his innovative narrative style. The language in "Kelidar" may contain metaphoric expressions, symbolic imagery, and figurative language that can be analyzed to uncover conceptual metaphors. Dowlatabadi's linguistic creativity can provide a fertile ground for exploring metaphoric mappings.

2. Cultural Context: "Kelidar" is deeply rooted in Iranian history, culture, and societal dynamics. Exploring conceptual metaphors in the novel can shed light on how cultural concepts, values, and experiences are conceptualized and expressed through metaphorical language. By examining the cultural context within which the novel is set, one can gain insights into how metaphors shape and reflect cultural perspectives within Iran.

3. Narrative Themes: "Kelidar" covers a wide range of thematic elements, including social and political issues, historical events, and personal journeys. Such thematic breadth presents opportunities to explore a variety of conceptual metaphors that are employed to convey these complex ideas and experiences. By analyzing the

metaphors used in relation to specific themes, one can uncover the underlying conceptual structure of the novel.

4.      **Sociopolitical Commentary:** Dowlatabadi's works often delve into sociopolitical issues and offer critical commentary on Iranian society. The language and metaphors employed in "Kelidar" can provide insights into how power dynamics, social struggles, and historical events are conceptualized and represented in the novel. This allows for a deeper understanding of the metaphoric expressions that shape the narrative's sociopolitical context.

Several researchers have used novels as a corpus to explore conceptual metaphors within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Here are a few examples:

1.      **Zoltán Kövecses:** Kövecses is a prominent scholar in the field of cognitive linguistics and has extensively worked on conceptual metaphor theory. He has analyzed various literary works, including novels, to examine conceptual metaphors in different languages and cultures (for instance, Kövecses, 2000a)

2.      **Gerard J. Steen:** Steen is known for his research on metaphor in discourse and has conducted studies using literary texts as a corpus. He has explored conceptual metaphors in novels and other literary genres to investigate how metaphors shape meaning in literary contexts (e.g. Steen, 2007)

3.      **Alice Deignan:** Deignan has conducted research on metaphor in literature, particularly in novels. She has examined how metaphors are used by authors to convey meaning, create imagery, and shape reader interpretations (such as Diegnan, 2005).

4.      **Ray Gibbs:** Gibbs is a leading figure in cognitive linguistics and has studied metaphor use in various contexts, including literature. He has examined metaphors in novels to explore their role in shaping narrative structures and character development (for instance, Gibbs, 1994).

Overall, although I have used novels as my sources for the current study, it does not mean that the poetic style is employed. On the contrary, the authors provide us with a sort of prose that is an example of the ordinary language spoken by the people at the time.

The data are the linguistic metaphors that I have extracted from the two novels; the examples containing these metaphors are categorized according to the conceptual metaphor that they refer to. In this chapter, two example sentences containing the linguistic metaphors and relating to two of the conceptual metaphors (GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN) are presented in 3.3.1.

### **3.3. Methodology**

To find the metaphorical expressions that are relevant to the study and are used in the novels, I browsed the electronic versions of the novels for the words that were likely to occur; the words that were synonymous with the source concepts of the study's conceptual metaphors: GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, NOW IS HERE, and IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL. In doing so, apart from using my own knowledge of Persian as a native speaker, I made use of Persian dictionaries to help with finding the synonyms of the source concepts. For instance, when I was performing the study on the metaphor GOOD IS UP, where the *up* is the source domain, and GOOD is the target domain, I searched concepts related to the word 'up' in Persian such as *high, elevate, mount, go up, climb, tall, elevation, etc.* Then, I typed in the word in the search bar, for instance, the word *bala (high)*, and check each sentence that contained it. Then I analyzed the sentences to tell literal from non-literal (metaphorical) ones. I did so by paying close attention to whether this 'highness'/'upness' indicated the concept of 'goodness' or not. If so, then I could conclude that metaphorical mapping had taken place. Then, I noted down that metaphorical expression and wrote the gloss for the expression. I needed to be careful with the choice of words since it was essential that the English readers comprehend the metaphorical nature of the expression. Following the gloss, I provided the translation that kept the metaphorical concepts. Having found all the metaphorical expressions containing this concept *high*, I typed in the next concept in the search bar and did all the steps that I previously mentioned all over again. Following the example sentences and their glosses and translations, I discussed the example and its significance to the study.

However, I did not intend to find every single metaphorical expression that had been represented in the texts, rather, intended to find various metaphorical expressions that could help with a comprehensive analysis. As soon as one linguistic expression was used metaphorically in the text, we could conclude that the metaphor was mapped which corresponded to the existence of the metaphor in the language under study. Providing a higher number of examples made it more evident to the readers that the mapping was not only a single occurrence but rather a strong argument. Thus, some examples for each conceptual metaphor would suffice to let us understand that the metaphor was present in the minds of the language users, here Persian speakers. Consequently, neither is this research an exhaustive search nor it is a corpus one.

Following Grady (1997), I discuss how the metaphorical expressions that have been found in Alavi (1952) and Dowlatabadi (2008) provide further evidence for embodied experience.

### 3.3.1. Example sentences

Two examples of the first two metaphors GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN are given below as an example of how I collected and analyzed the data. These examples are taken from the first novel (Alavi 1952). First, I present the Persian example followed by the gloss and my English translation. Then, the metaphorical expressions in the examples are explained in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

(12) Bala ræftæn æz nārdeban-e bolænd-e honær (Alavi, 1952, p. 106).

Up go.INF from ladder-Ez high-Ez art.

‘going up art’s high ladder.’

This metaphoric example constitutes a gradual improvement of a character in the novel in the area of their expertise, the arts. That is, the higher the character goes ‘up the ladder’, the more professional they get in terms of their artistic capability. The source concept of the metaphor is *nardeban-e boland* denoting *high ladder*; however, this *highness* does not have a literal meaning as arts cannot have an orientation to be *high* or *low* nor does it have a physical ladder where

people could go up from. Going up the ladder denotes gradual improvement and the more one goes up the ladder, the more one has accomplished in their area of expertise which is arts here. Therefore, the sentence is metaphorical, and this highness refers to a *good* quality denoting improvement. Thus, it is concluded that the linguistic metaphor in (1) is an expression of the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP.

Below, I present an instance of the second conceptual primary metaphor BAD IS DOWN that had been extracted from Alavi (1952). To find the metaphorical expression, I searched the Persian online dictionaries for the synonyms of the source concept of the metaphor which is the concept of *bad*. Having found these concepts, I tried each concept and wrote down the expressions where the concepts appeared in. Then, I studied the sentences to find out the metaphorical sentences from the non-metaphorical ones. The example below is an instance of the metaphorical ones.

(13) Mæ-ra be zeshti væ pæsti va-midaræd. (Alavi, 1952, p. 104).

Me-OBJM to ugliness and low oblige.3SG.PRS.

‘S(he) obliges me to be ugly and mean.’

The metaphorical concept is the word *pæsti* which means both being *low* and being *bad*. The literal meaning of *lowness* is not meant here; that is, the author is not obliging the character to lie down or sit. The metaphorical meaning of *being mean* is intended for the lowness that has been employed in this sentence. The character states that he is obliged to be low and bad (mean). Thus, the metaphor BAD IS DOWN is mapped here since the source concept *down* is mapped onto the target concept *bad*.

### 3.4. Summary

Chapter 3 discusses the data and methodology that are employed in order to perform the thesis. It has been noted that the metaphorical expressions are extracted from the novels by searching for the concepts that pertain to the source domain. Then, the sentences are studied and

the metaphorical expressions that relate to the primary metaphors of this research are used as the data. Then, the experiential grounding of these metaphors is discussed.

## Chapter 4. Analysis

### 4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the study's data and analyze them. Also, I discuss the significance of this research.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. The data section appears in 4.2. and analysis section appears in 4.3. which is divided into five sub-sections. Every sub-section includes one of the primary metaphors' Persian data, glosses, and their literal translations which are followed by my discussion of their metaphorical and embodied nature. Thus, the sub-sections 4.3.1-4.3.5 include those of the metaphors GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE, respectively. Section 4.4. will be dedicated to the summary section.

### 4.2. Data

In this section, I am presenting the data of the study followed by a discussion of the metaphorical status of the examples. The examples are taken from the two novels that the study data are extracted from *Chashmhayash* 'Her eyes' by Alavi (1952) and *Kelidar* Volume 1&2 by Dowlatabadi (2008).

Conceptual Metaphor	Number of examples
GOOD IS UP	5
BAD IS DOWN	7
BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE	15
IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL	6
NOW IS HERE	3

**Table (3): Number of metaphorical examples found.**

### 4.3. Analysis

The metaphorical examples below are categorized according to the conceptual metaphors GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE, respectively.

#### 4.3.1. The Conceptual Metaphor: GOOD IS UP

The first conceptual metaphor that I am examining is GOOD IS UP whose mapping has been extensively referred to in the literature. Regarding what motivates this primary conceptual metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) believe that the “Physical basis for personal well-being: Happiness, health, life, and control—the things that principally characterize what is good for a person—are all up” (p. 17). The experiential basis for this conceptual primary metaphor is learned in our childhood and onward when we experience (perceive) the upward growth (which is a sign of wellbeing) of our surrounding entities such as plants, trees, people, etc. The growing of plants, trees, people, etc. is mostly by vertical upward orientation that could trigger our learning of this conceptual metaphor. The perceiving of co-relation of the wellbeing of the abovementioned entities and the upward orientation has led to the conceptualization of the metaphor GOOD IS UP.

The examples that follow are the Persian examples representing metaphorical expressions with their glosses, their literal translations, and their analyses.

The first example relating to each of the five conceptual metaphors is a literal one. That is, in the following sub-sections, I provide a non-metaphorical example below each conceptual metaphor in order to indicate how literal and metaphorical sentences differ.

(14) (Dowlatabadi, p. 261)

Beig Mohæmmæd choub-æsh ra **bala** aværd.

Beig Mohammad Stick-3SG.POSS OBJM **up** bring.3SG.PST.

‘Beig Mohammad lifted his stick’.

As could be observed in the (14) example, the concept of *up* has no metaphorical meaning, and it is relating to vertical orientation.

(15) (Alavi, p. 203)

Bæra-ye **bala** ræftan æz nârdeban-e honær, sær-e nætærs va poshtekar lazem  
For-EZ **up** go.INF from ladder-EZ arts, head-EZ brave and persistence necessary  
bud.  
be.3SG.PST.

‘To go up the ladder of arts, bravery and persistence were needed.’

This metaphoric example constitutes a gradual improvement of a character in the novel in the area of their expertise, the arts. That is, the higher the character goes ‘up the ladder’, the more professional they get in terms of their artistic capability. The source concept of the metaphor is *nardeban-e boland* denoting *high ladder*; however, this *highness* does not have a literal meaning as arts cannot have an orientation to be *high* or *low* nor does it have a physical ladder where people could go up from. Going up the ladder denotes gradual improvement and the more one goes up the ladder, the more they have accomplished in their area of expertise, which is arts here. Therefore, the sentence is metaphorical, and this highness refers to a *good* quality denoting improvement. Thus, it could be concluded that the linguistic metaphor in (15) is an expression of the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP.

(16) (Alavi, p. 358)

Mæn bæra-ye **bala** ræftæn æz in kouh-e bolænd sakhte næ-shode  
I for-EZ **up** go.INF from this mountain-EZ high build.PTCP NEG-done  
bud-æm  
be.PST-1SG.

‘I was not made for going up this high mountain.’

Before delving into the metaphorical nature of the example, I need to provide some context regarding the example. The narrator mentions earlier that she does not deserve the man of her dreams since in order to deserve him, she needs to sacrifice the things that she holds dear such as clothes, perfume, traveling, socializing with young guys, and partying. Then, later, she mentions that she is not made to mount this high ladder referring to the difficult struggles that she needs to go through to attain the goal of being with her lover. Her lover is a political fighter.

To explain the metaphorical status of the expression, I need to provide some background information about our conceptualization. Based on our embodied experience of going up a mountain that requires physical strength, effort, and patience, this metaphor is born. That is, climbing a mountain equals overcoming problems in life. This is because the physical experience of climbing a mountain gives us the satisfaction of performing a tough task. The higher we go and the closer we get to the summit, the more satisfied we get.

Here, the character believes that she cannot accomplish this hard task. The task is viewed as a mountain and the accomplishment is in climbing this mountain and reaching the top which is the goal. Thus, the metaphor GOOD IS UP is employed here.

(17) (Alavi, p. 97)

In pærde æz kar-ha-ye **ali-e** ostad bud.

This curtain from work-PL-EZ **high-EZ** master be.1SG.PST.

‘This curtain was from the great works of the master.’

The word (عالی) (ali) which has been borrowed from Arabic means high. It has some variants including (اعلی) (æ?la), (عليه) (eliye), (عليا) (oliya), (على) (æli), etc. which all denote goodness and highness. The word itself is a conventionalized metaphor since the *goodness* meaning is used more than the literal meaning of *high*. That is, in modern Persian, these words refer to something or someone that is *good*. Thus, in this metaphor, this piece of art is considered one of the high works of the master which literally means that it is a great work; thus, the metaphor GOOD IS UP is used.

(18) (Alavi, p. 106)

Næzær-e mæn xeili **ali** bud.

Vision-EZ my very **high** be.1SG.PST.

‘My idea was great.’

Similar to the previous examples, the word *aali* with the literal meaning of high is used metaphorically. The source concept of highness that is in the domain of orientation denotes the target concept of goodness in the morality domain resulting in the metaphor GOOD IS UP.

(19) (Alavi, p. 475)

Væ an ra hæm mixast væsile-ye tazeyi bæra-ye tæræghi væ **tæali**

And that OBJM also want.1SG.PST means-EZ new for-EZ improvement and **elevation**  
xod konæd.

self.REFL do.PRS.3SG.

‘And he wanted to use it as a means for his rise and improvement.’

The metaphorical nature of this example is even more obvious due to the use of the two nouns being coordinated. The words meaning improvement and elevation are coordinated since the latter one metaphorically means improvement as well; GOOD IS UP, thus elevation denotes improvement.

#### **4.3.2. The Conceptual Metaphor: BAD IS DOWN**

The second conceptual metaphor that I am examining is BAD IS DOWN. The embodied basis of this metaphor is opposite the experiential basis pointed out about the metaphor GOOD IS UP. An autumn-like view (downward movement when the well-being of our environment is at stake) could be explained as one of the experiential grounds of this metaphor. That is, tree leaves fall when they are dead, tree branches fall when they are stiff. Regarding people, they need to lie down when they are sick, they faint when they go unconscious, they sit or lie down when their

arms, legs, etc. are injured. These are among the various downward orientation when an unpleasant situation happens; thus, providing evidence for the grounding of the conceptual primary metaphor BAD IS DOWN.

The examples that follow are the Persian examples of metaphorical expressions with their glosses, their literal translations, and their analyses. However, the first example, which is number (20), is a non-metaphorical example.

(20) (Dowlatabadi, p. 58)

Mahdærvish æz sækkou **pæin** pærid.

Mahdarvish from platform **down** jump.3SG.PST.

‘Mahdarvish jumped off the platform’.

As could be observed, the character literally jumps down that shows the non-metaphorical nature of the example.

(21) (Dowlatabadi, p. 438)

Hæmishe negah-æsh be zæmin bud, be yek mæʔna **sær-æfkænde**

Always look-3SG.POSS to earth be.3SG.PST, to one meaning **head-lower.PTCP**  
bud.

be.3SG.PST.

‘He was always looking down, in other words, he was ashamed.’

The sentence above is an example of the metaphor BAD IS DOWN. In Persian, the idiomatic expression of lowering one’s head means being shameful or sorry; thus, as the author provides more context in the example itself, we could understand the metaphorical sense of the adjective that has been employed. The metaphorical expression here is the adjective *sar-afkande* which is made by the noun *sar* denoting head and *afkande* which is the past participle of the verb *afkandan* meaning putting down. The author used this metaphor in order to indicate how sorry the character was.

(22) (Alavi, p. 479)

Nægehan seda-ye dær amæd. del-æm horry rikht **pæin**.  
Suddenly sound-Ez door come.3SG.PST. Heart-me suddenly pour.3SG.PST **down**.

‘Suddenly, a door knock was heard. I got scared.’

In this example, the author uses an idiomatic expression that means getting scared: *of heart to pour down*. This is metaphorical since one’s heart cannot pour down; thus, the literal meaning cannot be what the author is referring to. Since *down* refers to having a bad feeling that is being terrified, the metaphor BAD IS DOWN is mapped.

(23) (Alavi, p. 355)

Næ an **elm** ælævi ra daræm væ næ donya-ye **sofla** ra. Bi  
Not that **knowledge high** OBJM have.1SG.PRS and not world-EZ **low** OBJM. Without  
pænah o poshtiban hæst-æm  
shelter and back-support be.PRS-1SG.

‘Neither do I have the Alavi(high) knowledge, nor the lower world. I am left with no support.’

The author has applied two antonyms which are the proper noun *Alavi*(high) and *sofla* (low) which constitute the source concepts of two opposite metaphors GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN. Regarding the proper noun *Alavi* that has been employed here, I should refer to two important facts that facilitate the comprehension of the example. Firstly, *Alavi* refers to the family of *Ali* who was the prophet Mohammad’s son-in-law and whose children were the only descendants of the prophet Mohammad(the Muslims’ prophet); thus, his name is holy and respectful for Iranian Muslims. Secondly, a large number of people’s names in Persian have lexical meanings associated with the root of the name used and in this example *alavi* means high

and is synonymous with the words *ali*, *aali*, *motaali*, *taali*, etc all of which denoting highness and goodness.

To explain the duality, it is worth noting that in Iranian culture, there has been a duality between science and the material world (e.g. wealth) where the former is considered *high* which metaphorically means good, and the latter *low* which metaphorically means bad. Thus, the author is pointing out that the character is neither knowledgeable nor wealthy.

(24) (Alavi, p. 200)

Ezhdeha-ei ke mæ-ra be zeshti o **pæsti** vamidaræd, an dærende-ei  
 Dragon which me- OBJM to ugliness and **baseness** oblige.3SG.PST, that beast  
 ke dærun mæ-ra chæng miændaz-æd, jelvegær shævæd.  
 which inner me-OBJM claw throw.PST-3SG, appearance become.3SG.SUBJ.

‘The dragon which obliges me to the evil, the beast that claws me from the inside will appear.’

The metaphor BAD IS DOWN is mapped with the source concept of *pæsti* meaning low. Here, the character is confessing that there is an inner force that makes him do evil deeds. The nouns that are coordinated are ugliness and downness both denoting sinister deeds. Thus, the source domain of down is mapped onto the target domain of bad.

(25) (Alavi, p. 255)

Goft besyar xob, tænha rah-e xoshbæxti næghash o honærmænd  
 Say.3SG.PST very alright, only way-EZ fortune painter and artist  
 shodæn nist, che æhæmiæt daræd? Hæmantor ke hezar rah  
 become.INF be.3SG.NEG, What Importance have.3SG.PRS? As that thousand way  
 be **pæsti** o nisti montæhi mishævæd, rah-e **tæali** hæm tænha  
 to **lowness** and non-existence termination Become.3SG.PRS, way-EZ **rising** also only  
 honærmændi nist.  
 artistry be.3SG.NEG.

‘He said: all right, the only way to happiness is not becoming a painter or an artist. It does not matter. As many paths lead to destitution, the only path to excellence is not artistry.’

The author has used the concept of *pasti* (low) to refer to the decline of a human being in contrast with *taali* (rising) of the same person. Therefore, we are dealing with two conceptual metaphors with opposite meanings: BAD IS DOWN and GOOD IS UP, respectively. Metaphorically, when a person goes higher and higher, they improve and become better people; conversely, the more one gets or goes lower, the worse they or their situation gets. Thus, the two metaphors BAD IS DOWN and GOOD IS UP are employed to serve this linguistic purpose.

(26) (Alavi, p. 421)

Xoda hich bædbæxti ra æsir o **zæilil**-e pasban-ha-ye زندان næ-konæd  
God none unfortunate OBJM captured and **low**-EZ warden-PL-EZ prison NEG-do.3SG.SUBJ.

‘I wish God would not make anyone low by putting them under the command of prison officers.’

The metaphor BAD IS DOWN is mapped with the concept of *zalil* (lowness) which metaphorically means humiliated. The character prays that they would never be low (humiliated) by having to deal with prison wardens since they treat them unfairly.

(27) (Alavi, p. 203)

Albæte ou hærgyz be mæn næ-goft ke be chenin **zellæt** o **pæsti**  
Of course, he never to me NEG-say.3SG.PST that to.such **lowness** and **lowness**  
tæn-dær-dæhæm.  
to.yield.1SG.PRS.

‘Of course, he did not ask me to yield to such wickedness.’

The two bolded concepts both have the underlying lowness meaning that maps onto the metaphorical concept of wickedness or humiliation; thus, the metaphor BAD IS DOWN is employed here.

#### 4.3.3. The Conceptual Metaphor: BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE

The third conceptual metaphor being studied in this thesis is BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE. Grady (1997) believes that what motivates this primary metaphor is “The correlation between being in a higher physical position and having greater control over objects, people, situations” (p. 290). This metaphor is the corollary of SOCIAL STATUS IS VERTICAL ELEVATION as Grady (1997) believes and it is motivated by “the tendency to defer to taller, bigger people” (p. 294). I believe that this experiential metaphor is also learned in our childhood and onward. During childhood, we believe parents and grown-ups who are indeed taller/bigger than us as more powerful (having authority). The co-occurrence of the parents’ everyday commands and their physical grandeur is one of the sets of embodied experiences that have triggered the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE. Thus, having a higher social status is represented in our mind and articulated in our languages, as in Persian, with the above-mentioned metaphor. The metaphorical examples below are all instances of the conceptual metaphor that is employed in Persian. However, the first example which is example (15) is non-metaphorical which aims at making the distinction between literal and metaphorical examples more vivid.

(28) (Dowlatabadi, p. 261)

Beig Mohæmmæd choub-æsh      ra      **bala** aværd.

Beig Mohammad    stick-3SG.POSS    OBJM    **up**    bring.3SG.PST.

‘Beig Mohammad lifted his stick’.

The concept of *up* in this example has a literal meaning compared to the following metaphorical example where the vertical orientation has the metaphorical meaning of being in control.

(29) (Alavi, p. 187)

Pedær-æsh æz saheb mænsæb-an **ali** rotbe vezarat-e xareje italia-ye  
Father-3SG.POSS from wner position-PL **high** rank ministry-EZ foreign.EZ Italy-EZ  
fashist æst.  
fascist be.3SG.PRS.

‘Their(his/her) father was from the **high**-rank officials of the foreign ministry of fascist Italy.’

The metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE is employed here with the word *aali* meaning high. A person’s rank cannot have an orientation that could be high or low; thus, the highness is viewed as being in charge and the lowness as being under command.

(30) (Alavi, p. 310)

Be xane yeki æz ghozat-e **ali** rotbe ke æz hæmvælayæti-ha-ye anha bud  
To house one of judges-EZ **high** rank that from fellow.villager-PL-EZ their be.3SG.PST  
væ khodæsh hæm chænd sæd jærib zæmin dasht, pænah bordænd.  
and himself.REFL also some hundred acre land have.3SG.PST, shelter take.3PL.PST.

‘They took refuge in one of the high-rank judge’s homes; he was one of their fellow villagers and who also had some hundred acres of land.’

Similar to the example above, the current example has considered the rank of the judge high metaphorically. This metaphor is used frequently in Persian as in English; that is, people consider high-rank people the ones that have managerial positions and have control over them. Thus, the metaphor is BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE is instantiated here.

(31) (Alavi, p. 285)

Anha ba siyasæt-e **ali**-ye keshvær sær o kar dashtænd væella kæsi  
They with politics-EZ **high**-EZ country head and work have.3PL.PST but somebody

ba mæn kar næ-dasht  
with me work NEG-have.3SG.PST.

‘They had to deal with the high political officials so no one had to deal with me.’

The author has used a contrast where the government officials and the character are in opposite positions (high and low, respectively). The officials are pointed out as high compared to the narrator who is *low*. As the meaning of the utterance suggests, the government officials are the ones with authority; thus, the source concept of high is mapped onto the target concept of being in control.

(32) (Alavi, p. 324)

Midanæm ke hæzrat-e ali æz kæsani hæstid ke æmlak-e-tan  
Know.1SG.PRS that **majesty-EZ high** from those be.2PL.PRS that lands-EZ-2PL.POSS

ra dær Mazændæran ba meil væ ræghbæt be æ?la hæzrat homayuni foruxteid.  
OBJM in Mazandaran with will and interest to **high majesty royal** sell.2PL.PST.

‘I know that you are one of those who sold their lands in Mazandaran willingly to **his highness**.’

In this example, two variants of the same concept that mean high are employed metaphorically. In the first instance, *hæzræte ali* is used when Persian speakers intend to be more respectful to their listeners and they call them *hæzræte ali* meaning your majesty. Thus, Persian speakers respect their audience more by placing that person in a high position by calling them *hæzræte ali*. The second instance is calling the royal family the high people as they are the most powerful people in a country. These two instances both have the source concept of being above and the target concept of being in control; so, the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE is mapped.

(33) (Alavi, p. 456)

Hæman tæghazayi ke hæzræt **eli-ye aliye** xub midanænd.  
That request which majesty **high-EZ high** well know.3PL.PRS.

‘The request that your highness knows well.’

The same as the sentence (32), the current usage of the words meaning high is used to respect the listener more. Although the person that the speaker is talking to might not be higher in rank than the listener, respecting intention places the listener in a high position. That is, the author is using the expressions (*eliye aaliye* literally means high high and is used in addressing the kings and queens) that are used for the royal family as the ones who are in the highest social rank, and being in control of the whole country. Thus, by using the expressions, the author is addressing the listeners as the royal family (having high authority) which serves as being polite to that person.

(33) (Alavi, p. 48)

Mozou fæghæt **zebær-dæsti-ye** ostad dær jelvegær sakhtæn-e in cheshm-ha-ye  
Point only **up-hand-EZ** master in appearance make.INF-Ez this eye-PL-EZ  
mærmuz ba halat gounagoun væ mæ?ani jourajour nist.  
mysterious with aspects.PL various and meaning.PL various be.3SG.NEG.PRS.

‘The issue is not only the master’s mastery in depicting these mysterious eyes that have different gazes and various meanings.’

The metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE is depicted with the concept of zebardasti (up-handedness) which denotes being professional in the profession being described. This concept is in contrast with the concept of zir-dast (low-hand) which denotes being under command. Zebardast (up-hand) is a person who has full control of the subject matter; therefore, they could perform it much more professionally than others.

(34) (Alavi, p. 115)

Ba kæmal-e mæharæt væ **zebær-dæsti** ke ba an xod ra amade kærde  
With completeness-EZ mastery and **up-hand** which with that self OBJM ready do.PTCP  
budæm baz hæm ghafelgir shod-æm.  
be.1SG.PST again also surprised become-1SG.PST.

‘I got surprised despite the fact that I had prepared myself not to.’

That is, someone who has mastery over a skill or a trade is called *zebar-dast* (up-hand meaning professional). The same concept that has been used in the sentence above is illustrated in this example. The character used to believe that he has full control of the subject matter; however, he got surprised when an unprecedented incident occurred to his surprise which corresponds to losing control despite previous control. Thus, the target concept of being in control is mapped into the source concept of being above providing more evidence for the experiential grounding of the primary metaphor. The experiential grounding of this example is when we experience having more control over doing an activity when we are physically in a higher position.

(35) (Alavi, p. 373)

Makan næghash-e **zebær-dæsti**-st  
Makan painter-Ez **up-hand**-be.3SG.PRS.

‘Makan is a professional painter.’

The painter in this example is considered zebra-dast (up-handed) since he has mastered all the techniques regarding painting; thus, he has control over his profession which is arts. Thus, the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE has been depicted here.

(36) (Alavi, p. 136)

Væghti **zæilil** mishod reghæt ensan ra bær-miængixt, inha fæghæt dær **oje**  
When **low** become.3SG.PST pity human OBJM arise.3SG.PST, these only in **summit**

færmanrævaei mitævanænd bozorg jelve konænd.  
 rule can.3PL.PRS big appearance do.3PL.PRS.

‘When he was humiliated, he aroused human pity, and these can appear big at the summit of one’s rule.’

The summit of one’s rule denotes the presence of a human being in the top position where they could do whatever they wish to as kings that rule a kingdom. Here, not only the *ruling* indicates that the person is in a high position, but rather they are at the *summit* of that rule which means everything is passing according to their wishes. Thus, the domain of vertical orientation is mapped onto the domain of authority.

(37) (Dowlatabadi, p. 34)

Ma hæm ke mærd **bala** sær-e xod næ-dashtim ke be shæhr berævæd,  
 We also that man **up** head-EZ self.REFL NEG-have.1PL.PST that to city go.3SG.SUBJ,  
 hakim o dæva be mæhæle biaværæd.  
 doctor and medicine to neighborhood brings.3SG.PRS.SUBJ.

‘No man was supporting us [in our family] so that he would go to the city to bring the doctor and medicine to the neighborhood.’

In the past, the men were considered the manager of the family who provided for the family members, and they were responsible for them. The man in this example is the man *above their head* which shows his superiority over other members. Thus, the concept of being above denotes being in authority.

(38) (Dowlatabadi, p. 61)

In ra fæghæt to midan-i, mæn midan-æm, Shirou midan-æd, væ  
 This OBJM only you know-2SG.PRS, I know-1SG.PRS, Shirou knows-3SG.PRS, and  
 Xoda-ye **bala**-ye sær.  
 God-EZ **up-EZ** head.

‘This is only known by you, me, Shirou, and God Almighty.’

God is considered to be up since he has absolute power over other creatures. This metaphor has been employed here with the source concept of being high and the target concept of having authority; thus, the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE is mapped.

(39) (Dowlatabadi, p. 138)

Mærg **bala**-ye sær-e Gol Mohæmmæd pærpær-mizæd  
Death **up**-EZ head-EZ Gol Mohammad hover.3SG.PRS.

‘Death was hovering over Gol Mohammad’s head.’

Death is an inescapable destiny for all human beings and it is extremely powerful. The power of death is depicted in the expression; it has full control of the sick man’s life. The vertical orientation of death is metaphorical and it denotes that when death decides to take life, no one could undo its action. Therefore, it results in the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE.

(40) (Dowlatabadi, p. 395)

Be xoda-ye **bala** sær ghæsæm æghl o housh-e mæn sære jash  
To God-EZ **up** head swear brain and consciousness-EZ me right-EZ place  
hæst  
be.3SG.PRS.

‘I swear to God Almighty that I have my intellect and wisdom.’

God is portrayed as existing above our heads and since God is viewed as Almighty (the most powerful) in the world, I believe that the metaphor is mapped, in this example. The target concept of *God* (the one who is considered the most mighty) is mapped into the source concept of *up*, thus leading to the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE.

(41) (Dowlatabadi, p. 669)

Mæn ra yekke mæ-gozar Mahdærvish! Shæb-ha zudtær bia xane.  
Me OBJM lonely NEG-put.2SG.IMP Mahdarvish! Night-PL sooner come.2SG.IMP home.  
To **bala** sær-æm bash. Ma inja gharib-im Mahdarvish.  
You **up** head-1SG.POSS be.2SG.IMP. We here strange-be.1PL.PRS Mahdarvish.  
Zanat javan ast.  
Wife-2SG.POSS young be.3SG.PRS.

‘Don’t leave me alone Mahdarvish! Come home earlier at night. Be present to support us.  
We are strangers here. Your wife is young.’

In this sentence, the wife is begging her husband to return home earlier at night since she is young and lonely and it is not safe to leave her alone at night. The man should be *up-head* denoting the managerial supporting role that the man has. Consequently, it uncovers the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE.

(42) (Dowlatabadi, p. 718)

Xod-e kædxoda hæm bayæd in jorboze ra dashte bashæd ke  
Self.ERFL-EZ chief also should this bravery OBJM have.PTCP be.3SG.SUBJ that  
betævand mesle toup berævæd be dæhæne mæmour o **raeis** o **mærous!**  
can.3SG.SUBJ like ball Go.3SG.SUBJ to mouth-EZ officer and **head** and **under-head!**  
Bayæd in sær-e zæban ra dashte bashæd ke jævab-e **balayi-ha**  
Should this tip-and tongue OBJM have.3SG.PTCP be.3SG.SUBJ that answer-EZ **up-PL**  
ra bedæhæd.  
OBJM give.3SG.SUBJ.

‘The chief himself should have the courage to deal with officers, managers, and subordinates. He should have the gift of repartee to answer to those in charge.’

The metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE is instantiated with the word meaning head and under-head. In Persian, the word manager is called *raeis* which has been derived from

the word *ra's* which means head; *marous* which is a derivative of the same root denotes being under the command of the manager. Since the head is at the very top of the body, it has been metaphorically associated with having more power; thus, a person who is being called a head means that the person is in charge and has authority over those who are under-head.

#### 4.3.4. The Conceptual Metaphor: IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL

The fourth conceptual metaphor that I am studying is IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL. Grady(1997) believes that the experiential (embodied) motivation for the current conceptual metaphors is that “ Being in a central position allows maximum access to, control over, causal effect on surrounding objects” and also “ the importance of internal (vs. external) features of objects”(p. 284). This metaphor could be learned unconsciously in our childhood when we are placed in the center and the toys around us and we have more access and control over our toys compared to when we are for instance in the corner and we have less access to the toys. This co-occurrence has been learned and this is why this metaphor is learned. There seem to be even more experiences that have triggered the primary metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL during our bodily interactions with the world through childhood onward.

The Persian examples, their glosses, their translations, and their analyses regarding the metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL are provided below. However, firstly a literal example appears to provide some information regarding the distinction between literal and metaphorical accounts of the source concept of the metaphor under study. The example is number (43), and the source concept is *central*.

(43) (Dowlatabadi, p. 547)

**Hæste-ye** xorma.

**Core-EZ** dates.

‘Date core’.

The example above is a literal example where the *central* concept has been employed to refer to the centrality of the object rather than its metaphorical target concept which means *important*.

(44) (Alavi, p. 273)

Mikhast-æm dær fæaliæt-ha-ye ejtemæi ke ælbæte bəraye mæn dær **hæste**-ye  
Want-1SG.PRS in activity-PL-EZ social that of course for me in **nucleus**-EZ  
an ghæræz-e shæxsi nəhofte bud ba xoshbæxti rouberu shævæm  
that intent-EZ personal hidden be.3SG.PST with happiness face.to.face become.1SG.PRS.

‘In the center of the social activities, I was seeking a personal intent which was facing prosperity.’

The stone in fruit that is placed in the middle of them such as in peach is called *haste* in Persian; moreover, the nucleus is also called *haste* in the language. Thus, the context determines which of those is meant in the utterance. Here, however, the concept of *haste* regardless of the literal meaning denotes the importance of the subject matter. That is, in this sentence, social activities cannot have a physical center, but rather an important part. Thus, the source concept of centrality is mapped onto the concept of importance resulting in the metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL.

(45) (Alavi, p. 450)

Ba edde-ei æz Iranian ke **hæste**-ye yek nehzæt-e enghelabi ra dær berlin  
With plenty of Iranian who **nucleus**-EZ one movement-EZ revolutionary OBJM in Berlin  
bonyangozari mikærdænd ashena shode bud.  
foundation do.3PL.PRS acquainted become.PTCP be.3SG.PST.

‘He had become acquainted with some Iranians who were founding the center of a revolutionary movement in Berlin.’

The word *haste* which denotes centrality is metaphorically used in this sentence as well. The Iranians that are referred to founded the most important section of a revolutionary movement in Berlin. This application of the word center is not like a branch that is situated in the center of the other branches, rather, it is the most important of them.

(46) (Alavi, p. 377)

æmma bæra-ye mæn che æhæmiæt dasht? Zendegi dor-e **mehvæ-r-e** ou  
 But for me what importance had.3SG.PST? Life around-EZ **axis-EZ** she  
 michærxid. Ya zendegi ba ou ya hæmin ke ælan hæm hæst.  
 turned.3SG.PST. or life with her or this which now also be.3SG.PRS.

‘It did not matter to me much. Life was turning around her axis. Either living with her or the current life.’

This metaphorical example is of a person who is deeply in love and believes that his life has only one center and that is his sweetheart. Therefore, the only goal in his life is to be with her. The mapping of the central orientation to the value of *importance* is depicted in this sentence which results in the metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL.

(47) (Dowlatabadi, p. 176)

Dæste kæm chænd gahi xod-e ou æz **mærkæz-e** xæshm o bizari dour  
 Hand few some moments self.REFL-EZ he from **center-EZ** anger and hatred far  
 mishod væ jay be Shirou midad.  
 become.3SG.PRS and place to Shirou give.3SG.PRS.

‘At least, at some moments he got away from the center of anger and hatred, and gave his place to Shirou.’

Considering the example, one cannot conceive of anger or hatred having shapes so they could not have a physical center. Negative emotions such as hatred and anger are viewed as issued that needs to be dealt with. In order to solve them, one needs to find the source of these

emotions. In other words, in this example, the cause or the source where the emotion is the most intense is located in the center (the most important location).

(48) (Dowlatabadi, p. 570)

Gousfænd-ha-ye mæn darænd            mimirænd, mæn hæm ræfteæm            be  
Sheep-PL-EZ    mine have.3PL.AUX die.3PL.PRS, I    also go.1SG.PRS.PRF to  
**mærkæz-e** Xorasan væ dæst-e komæk deraz kærdeæm.  
**center-EZ** Xorasan and hand-EZ help    stretch do.1SG.PRS.PRF.

‘My sheep are dying, and I have gone to the center of Xorasan and asked for help.’

In Xorasan province in Iran, there is a holy place that people visit to pray and the author has considered it the center of Xorasan which is in fact an important place rather than a physically central one. The source concept of *center* is mapped on the target concept of *importance* that results in the metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL.

(49) (Dowlatabadi, p. 570)

To dær **kanoun-e** hojoun hæsti.  
You in center-EZ raid    be.1SG.PRS.

‘You are in the center of attacks.’

The character is considered at the center of attacks due to his important role. It means that he has a central (important) duty compared to his fellowmen which is why he is being attacked. As can be easily understood, the concept of *attacks* itself is metaphorical as well, meaning verbal attacks in the context. The centrality of his role denotes the importance of the role, thus, leading us to the metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL.

#### 4.3.5. The Conceptual Metaphor: NOW IS HERE

NOW IS HERE is the final conceptual metaphor that is being studied and let us review its examples and their analyses. The literal example of the source concept (*here*) is provided in (50). However, before reviewing the examples and their analyses, let us review the experiential motivation for the metaphor. Grady (1997) believes that “The correlation between our awareness of a particular world-state and our own surroundings” (Grady, 1997, p. 288) is what motivates this metaphor. That is, in our experience, the co-relation between our physical presence (*here*) and the subjective experience of the present time (*now*) provides the motivation for this metaphor.

(50) (Dowlatabadi, p. 570)

Ou **inja** bud.

She **here** be.3SG.PST.

‘She was here’.

The literal example above depicts that the concept of *here* literally means the present location. However, the metaphorical meaning is the present time (*now*).

(51) (Alavi, p. 66)

Hæmin.ke vared shod, manænde kæsi ke sal-ha-st mæ-ra  
As enter become.3SG.PST, like someone who year-PL-be.3SG.PRS me-OBJM

mishenasæd væ ya mærdi ke hæme-ye xælgh ra xishavænd-e xod  
know.3SG.PRS and or man who everyone-EZ people OBJM relative-EZ self.REFL  
midanæd, gærm o xodemani goft: “agha, færrash-e-tan hæm ævæz  
know.3SG.PRS, hot and intimately say.3SG.PST: “sir, servant-EZ-2PL.POSS also change  
shode æst”. **Inja** digær mæn xodæm ra baxt-æm. ræng  
become.3SG.PTCP be.3SG.PRS”. **Here** again me myself.REF OBJM lose-1SG.PST. Color  
æz souræt-æm pærid.

from face-1SG.POSS fly.3SG.PST.

‘When he entered, like someone who has known me for yours or like a man who treats all people like his relatives intimately said: “sir, your servant has also been changed”. Now, I felt intimidated. I became pale.’

The abstract concept of time is depicted with various metaphors such as TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, TIME IS MONEY, etc.(metaphors from Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), and here with the metaphor NOW IS HERE. The concept of now is referred to by the concept of *here*; that is, a concept of place is used to refer to a concept of time. The concept of *here* in the example above is mapped onto the concept of *now* thus resulting in the metaphor NOW IS HERE. The co-existence of being physically present in a situation and the subjective experience of the present time in the minds of people (here, the Persian-speaking people) has provided the basis for the current application of the metaphor. And, since this experience (or metaphor) has been learned unconsciously during our sensorimotor (bodily) interactions with the world, we (language users) might not be at all aware of this. Therefore, Persian speakers employ this metaphor frequently in their speaking without being aware that they are using a metaphor.

(52) (Alavi, p. 123)

Xod-æm      ne-midanest-æm    che    kar    daræm                      mikon-æm. Ta **inja**  
Self-1SG.REFL NEG-know-1SG.PST what work have.1SG.PRS.MOD do-1SG.PRS. To **here**  
næghshe-am    motabegh-e      meilæm              ænjæm shode                      bud.      Ama  
plan-1SG.POSS according.to-EZ intent-1SG.POSS done    become.3SG.PTCP be.3SG.PST. But  
æz    in    be bæedash ra      digær næxande                      budæm.  
from this to later      OBJM other NEG-read.3SG.PTCP be-1SG.PST.

‘Even I did not know what I was doing. Until now my plan had proceeded according to my intent. But I could not anticipate what was going to happen next.’

The contrast *up to here* and *at the later times* depicts the metaphorical usage of the word *here* in this sentence. The adverb of place (here) is used metaphorically to mean (now) which corresponds to the metaphor NOW IS HERE.

(53) (Alavi, p. 379)

Goft-æm: “shayæd sælah næbashæd”. **Inja** digær sost shod.  
 Say-1SG.PST: “maybe correct NEG-be.3SG.PRS”. **Here** again numb become.3SG.PST.  
 Læhze-ei seda-ei næyamæd. Bæd.æz chænd saniye goft: “xodetan  
 Moment sound NEG-come3SG.PST. After some seconds say.3SG.PST: “Yourselves  
 midan-id. Shayæd hægh ba shomast. Shayæd salah næ-bash-æd.”  
 know-2PL.PRS. Maybe right with you-be.3SG.PRS. Maybe correct NEG-be-3SG.PRS.SUBJ.

‘I said: “Maybe it is not right to do”. At this moment, he was motionless. For a second, he was quiet. After some seconds, he said: “You know better. Maybe, you are right. Maybe, it is not right to do”.’

Similar to the examples above, the adverb of place (here) is used metaphorically to refer to the present time (now) which has been translated as *at this moment*. The concrete source concept *here* is mapped onto the abstract concept of *now* which is evidence for the mapping of the metaphor NOW IS HERE.

#### 4.4. Summary

In this chapter, the data regarding the five conceptual metaphors and their analyses are presented. The metaphorical expressions that are dealt with in this chapter are extracted from the two sources that the study is based on Alavi (1952) and Dowlatabadi (2008). The metaphorical expressions are systematically linked to the conceptual metaphors under study providing evidence for the mapping of these metaphors in Persian.

Each conceptual metaphor is firstly presented, and the metaphorical expressions, their glosses and translations are followed by the expression. Then, the analysis regarding each

expression is provided beneath each metaphorical expression. Finally, I discuss how the study supports the universality of the primary metaphors that Grady (1997) has claimed.

## **Chapter 5. Discussion and Conclusion**

### **5.1. Discussion**

In this section, the study's hypotheses as well as the findings that have been presented and analyzed in Chapter 4 are discussed. Moreover, the underlying hypotheses of the CMT that relate directly to the current study are touched on as well. The overview appears in 5.2. and the suggestion for further studies is dealt with in 5.3.

The study's hypothesis is as follows:

The five primary conceptual metaphors under investigation in this study (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE) are represented by linguistic metaphors in the Persian novels.

As the data (Persian metaphorical sentences) and their analyses in Chapter 4 depict, the primary metaphors GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE that have been selected among the primary conceptual metaphors are mapped in Persian. The presence of these conceptual metaphors in these novels corresponds to the presence of these conceptual metaphors in Persian speakers' language, and minds. Overall, thirty-six examples have been found in the novels as have been illustrated in table (3) on page 30.

The hypothesis is corroborated as mappings of these metaphors in Persian that have been exemplified in Chapter 4 depict. The number of examples does not make a significant difference in this regard since the mapping of conceptual metaphors is like propositional logic which has binary values of true and false. The same is valid here; that is, conceptual metaphors are either mapped or not. In other words, even if a conceptual metaphor is instantiated with merely one linguistic metaphor, it could be concluded that the conceptual metaphor is mapped in that language. Here, the least number of examples is for the conceptual metaphor NOW IS HERE which has been represented by three examples. Even, this low number of examples demonstrates the mapping of the metaphor in Persian language.

Primary metaphors, as already noted, have direct roots in our experiences, that is, if they are mapped and shown by linguistic metaphors in any given language, it provides more evidence in favor of the universality claim. That is, if embodied nature of these conceptual metaphors triggers the mapping of these metaphors in Persian, then the universality hypothesis is strengthened. The universality of the primary metaphors is the motive for the current study. As has been touched on earlier, primary metaphors cannot be broken down into other metaphors and are claimed to have a direct experiential grounding. Since all humans share the same body and mind, they interact with the objective world in the same way which results in similar experiences. These bodily experiences give rise to the primary conceptual metaphors that are claimed to be universal. Given the universality of the primary metaphors, this study is performed to examine whether these metaphors are instantiated in this language, Persian, or not.

### **5.1.1. The experiential basis for the conceptual metaphor: GOOD IS UP**

The foundational experiential (embodied) grounding for the initial conceptual metaphor being investigated (GOOD IS UP), as has been discussed in section (4.3.1) arises from the observed vertical growth that humans have encountered. This vertical growth, often indicative of a positive state, is noticeable in various elements around us, such as plants, trees, individuals, and more. The predominant vertical orientation in the growth of these elements likely plays a role in shaping our comprehension of this conceptual metaphor. The recognition of a connection between the well-being of these mentioned entities and their upward orientation has contributed to the formulation of the metaphor GOOD IS UP. The metaphorical expressions in (4.3.1) make this motivation evident as table (4) below illustrates.

<b>Source Concept</b>	<b>Target concept</b>
Going up the ladder	Gradual improvement
Going up a high mountain	Improving by using effort, strength, and patience
High works	Great works
High opinion	Great opinion

**Table (4). Source and Target Correspondences for the Metaphor GOOD IS UP**

**5.1.2. The experiential basis for the conceptual metaphor: BAD IS DOWN**

The metaphor's experiential foundation as has been noted on page (35) can be understood through an analogy to the autumn season, where a sense of descent is linked to the compromise of our environment's well-being. This association finds its origins in instances such as the falling of tree leaves upon their demise, the dropping of tree branches that have become rigid, the need for individuals to recline when unwell, the experience of fainting during loss of consciousness, and the act of sitting or lying down when injuries occur to limbs or body parts. These various instances of downward orientation in adverse situations collectively lend support to the establishment of the fundamental conceptual metaphor BAD IS DOWN, as outlined in table (5).

<b>Source Concept</b>	<b>Target concept</b>
Downward looking	Being ashamed
(of heart) to pour down	Getting scared
Lower world	Bad world
Downness	Badness

**Table (5): Source and Target Correspondences for the Metaphor BAD IS DOWN**

**5.1.3. The experiential basis for the conceptual metaphor: BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE**

According to Grady (1997), the driving force behind this primary metaphor is "The correlation between being in a higher physical position and having greater control over objects, people, situations" (p. 290). During childhood, we tend to perceive parents and adults who are physically taller or larger as possessing more authority. I believe that the convergence of their daily directives with their physical stature constitutes a collection of embodied encounters that have instigated the metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE. As a result, attaining a superior social standing becomes a cognitive representation translated into our languages. For instance, in Persian, this metaphor is reflected, as indicated in the accompanying table (6) below.

<b>Source Concept</b>	<b>Target concept</b>
High ranked person	Person with leading position
High policy	Great ranked policy
High majesty	Leading position person
Summit of rule	Great ruling position
High handed person	A master of a trade
Head	Boss/Manager

**Table (6): Source and Target Correspondences for the Metaphor BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE**

#### **5.1.4. The experiential basis for the conceptual metaphor: IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL**

Grady proposes that "Being in a central position allows maximum access to, control over, causal effect on surrounding objects" and emphasizes "the importance of internal (vs. external) features of objects" (p. 284).

This metaphor might be absorbed subconsciously during our childhood when we are situated in the center, granting us greater access and influence over the toys that surround us, in contrast to instances when we are positioned in a corner and our toy access is limited. This consistent co-occurrence contributes to the unconscious acquisition of this metaphor. Another experiential influence I envision arises from our interactions with fruits. The inner portion of the fruit (the flesh) is vital (edible), while the outer, less significant (non-edible) portion (the skin) is not as crucial. It appears that numerous experiences have combined to evoke the foundational metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, evolving through our physical engagement with the world from childhood onward. Refer to table (7) for an outline of the primary conceptual metaphor's source and target concepts.

<b>Source Concept</b>	<b>Target concept</b>
Nucleus of something	Important part of it
Nucleus of a movement	Headquarters of the movement
Life turning around one's axis	Their role being important in another's life
Center of Xorasan province	The Holy place in Xorasan

**Table (7): Source and Target Correspondences for the Metaphor IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL**

**5.1.5. The experiential basis for the conceptual metaphor: NOW IS HERE**

The co-existence of being physically present in a situation and the subjective experience of the present time in the minds of people (here, the Persian-speaking people) has provided the basis for the current application of the metaphor. And, since this experience (or metaphor) has been learned unconsciously during our sensorimotor (bodily) interactions with the world, we (language users) might not be at all aware of this.

Grady believes that “The correlation between our awareness of a particular world-state and our own surroundings” (p. 288) is what motivates this metaphor as table (8) depicts.

Source Concept	Target concept
Here	Now

**Table (8): Source and Target Correspondences for the Metaphor NOW IS HERE**

**5.1.6. The underlying hypotheses of the CMT and the current study**

In this sub-section, the underlying hypotheses of the CMT and the relevant hypotheses to the current study are accounted for. The postulations predominantly asserted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which I have compiled, are restated as follows:

1. Metaphorical structuring of thought
2. Embodied cognition
3. Universality of metaphor
4. Systematicity of metaphor
5. Variation and cultural models
6. Role of language.

The Persian data suggest that it is the embodied (experiential) basis of these concepts that trigger their mapping in this language. For instance, regarding the primary conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP, the experiential grounding is learned through childhood as human beings see the

vertical movement of the growth of the surrounding beings such as trees, animals, etc. This triggers the mapping of this primary conceptual metaphor in this language.

Another hypothesis that relates to this study is the Universality Hypothesis. According to Grady (1997), primary conceptual metaphors are universal given their embodied grounding. The data in Chapter 4 of this study confirm that these primary conceptual metaphors are instantiated in Persian. As human beings, Persian speakers experience the world around them similar to English speakers. For instance, consider the primary conceptual metaphor NOW IS HERE. Persian speakers experience being present in one location with the current time and this co-occurrence of current time and current location triggers the embodied (experiential) grounding of this metaphor. An experience that all human beings regardless of their language, and culture, share. Thus, this mapping of these primary metaphors in Persian provides more evidence in favor of the Universality Hypothesis of the CMT. That is, apart from English (and other languages that have been cited in the literature), Persian follows this universality claim as this study regarding the five conceptual metaphors show. Therefore, the primary metaphors are mapped in Persian which means that Persian speakers not only articulate these metaphors but also think metaphorically with these conceptual metaphors. Thus, it fortifies the universality claims regarding primary metaphors. Since it is our bodily interactions with the world (as human beings) in our childhood regardless of the language that we speak or the culture that we are brought up in triggers these metaphors, they could be mapped in any human language.

## 5.2. Overview

The thesis examines five primary conceptual metaphors in two Persian novels and concludes that they have all been instantiated in Persian, and thus the embodiment hypothesis has been fortified. The conceptual metaphors are as follows: GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, and NOW IS HERE which have been randomly selected among the primary conceptual metaphors cited in the literature (e.g. Grady, 1997), and the sources that I employed to carry out the research are: *Chashmhayesh* ‘her eyes’ by Bozorg Alavi (1952) and *Kelidar* (A mountain and a village located in the northeast of Iran) by Mahmoud Dowlatabadi (2008).

The primary conceptual metaphors are taken from Grady (1997) who recognized that some conceptual metaphors are more basic in that they cannot be broken down into other conceptual metaphors; he calls them primary metaphors. On the contrary, the metaphors that can be broken down into more basic metaphors are called complex metaphors. Grady (1997) believes that since primary metaphors are rooted in our direct experiences, they should be universal. In other words, languages other than English would depict the mapping of these conceptual metaphors as well. Thus, this study has been carried out to find out whether these metaphors are mapped in Persian or not, and whether the universality claim could be evidenced with Persian metaphors or not.

The study is based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (known as the CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003) in the cognitive linguistics framework. According to the theory, linguistic metaphors are not unrelated utterances but linked systematically to one another to what is called a conceptual metaphor. That is, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) “conceptual metaphor is a natural part of human thought, and linguistic metaphor is a natural part of human language.” (p. 247). A conceptual metaphor could be expressed with infinite linguistic metaphors in a given language. For instance, take the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR that could be expressed with sentences such as I won the debate, I lost the argument, he bombarded me with questions during the interview, etc. which all illustrate that we both speak about and think of arguments in terms of a battle (war) that could be won or lost, bombarded, attacked, etc.

In chapter one, I provide an overview of the thesis and its goals and how the organization of the thesis appears. I state that the framework that the thesis is based on is the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) in the cognitive linguistics discipline.

The Background chapter informs the readers of the background information regarding the classical and current views of metaphor (relevant to the thesis). I touch on some classical views that believed metaphor was merely an ornament that was employed in literary works contrasted with the current views, especially cognitive linguistic ones, that have discovered enough evidence to claim that metaphor is a matter of not only language but thought and found in many written texts with various subject matters. Moreover, I discuss the CMT in detail and explain the underlying hypotheses: 1. Metaphorical structuring of thought 2. Embodied cognition 3. Universality of metaphor 4. Systematicity of metaphor 5. Variation and cultural models 6. Role of language. Then, I provide the related literature on conceptual metaphor studies in Persian.

Chapter three is responsible for an introduction to the data that I have used to perform the research and the methodology that I employ to analyze the data. The data are the linguistic metaphors that have been extracted from the electronic version of the two Persian novels that serve as the sources of the thesis: Alavi (1952) and Dowlatabadi (2008). I explain in detail several factors such as: extracting the metaphorical examples from the sources, making sure that the examples are instances of the conceptual metaphors under study or not, writing them down, glossing and translating them, and discussing the mapping and the embodied nature of them.

Chapter 4 includes the actual data and the analysis. The thirty-six examples that have been extracted from the sources (Alavi,1952 and Dowlatabadi, 2008) are presented in this chapter; under each conceptual metaphor, the metaphorical examples that map this conceptual metaphor are written one after another.

The mapping of the conceptual metaphors under study has been crucial since it signifies that Persian speakers show similar behavior as English toward these five conceptual primary metaphors; thus, more evidence is provided in support of the universality claim of primary metaphors which is further evidence for the embodiment theory as well. Therefore, I chose this method of research which is neither a corpus study, nor an exhaustive search, but rather a study in which the mappings of the conceptual metaphors are evident to the researcher and the readers.

### **5.3. Suggestion for further studies**

I believe a similar study could be carried on in other languages in order to provide more information on primary conceptual metaphors and the experiential motivation of these metaphors. The studies could be on the mapping of the primary conceptual metaphors that I have been studying or other primary conceptual metaphors that have been cited in the literature (e.g. Grady (1997)). Moreover, studies on other languages could be carried on to study if our embodied experiences motivate these metaphors in those languages. The universality claim of conceptual primary metaphors could be fortified given that more evidence is gathered from other languages and cultures.

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