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# The Game-based Metaphorical Representations of the Arab Spring Revolutions in Journalistic Political Discourse

Arabų pavasario revoliucijų vaizdavimas politiniame žiniasklaidos diskurse pasitelkiant žaidimo metaforą

LINGUISTICS / KALBOTYRA

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## Abstract

This paper explores how the Arab Spring Revolutions (ASRs) are metaphorically represented in journalistic discourse in a way that highlights or hides specific ideologies related to the political events and actors associated with the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions over three years (2011–2013). Drawing on Charteris-Black's (2004) corpus-based approach of critical metaphor analysis (CMA), the main political events and actors represented metaphorically in the corpus data were identified, explained and interpreted at different levels of semantic, pragmatic and cognitive analysis. The present study reached three major findings. First, various source domains were manipulated to report different facets of the ASRs, while the source domain of games was the most dominant. Second, the corpus proved to be textually coherent based on the conceptual key THE ARAB SPRING REVOLUTIONS ARE GAMES which was built around the image schema of competition. Finally, gamification involved three basic scenarios: the first is a general frame of a game; the second clusters games into individual versus team games, and bodily-oriented versus mentally-oriented games; the final scenario represents games as a war. All ideologically-based conceptual metaphors constructed within the frame of gamification are typically Western.

**KEYWORDS:** Arab Spring Revolutions (ASRs), conceptual metaphor, critical metaphor analysis (CMA), gamification, ideology, corpus.

## Introduction



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The Arab Spring Revolutions (henceforth ASRs) are one of the unprecedented political events in the current decade, with a whole set of protests and strikes firstly initiated in Tunisia on 18 December 2010, and then spread to other Arab countries causing the fall of their ruling regimes. Reporting political events like ASRs, journalists seem to manipulate the public mind by indirectly employing linguistic strategies that shape ideologies, influence value judgement, and reveal speakers' intentions. One of these indirect linguistic strategies is conceptual metaphor which refers to an analogy-based transfer of attributes between two entities, objects or domains. Metaphor started as a rhetorical, ornamental persuasive trope. However, with the cognitive turn in metaphor studies (metaphorology) (see section entitled

*Conceptual Metaphor Theory*), metaphor was envisaged as mental devices for thinking and communicating faster and more intuitively through the conflation of semantic features into new conceptual frames (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a).

A conceptual metaphor involves a cross-mapping between a concrete source domain (A) and an abstract target domain (B) structured as B IS A. Domains are 'contexts for the characterization of a semantic unit' (Langacker, 1987, p. 147). Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) classify conceptual metaphors into structural, orientational or ontological. Structural metaphors involve a cross-domain mapping of similar correspondences (e.g., ARGUMENT IS WAR). Orientational metaphors regard spatial orientations (e.g., HAPPY IS UP). Ontological metaphors are limited to bodily experiences, entailing the projection of an entity or an aspect of a substance upon something which does not have that aspect (e.g., CANCER IS AN ENEMY). Conceptual metaphors are also classified into primary and complex metaphors. Primary metaphors map abstract concepts onto universal sensory-motor experiences and therefore are easily grasped and widely used (e.g., THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS) (Johnson, 1997; Zinken, Hellsten & Nerlich, 2008). Primary conceptual metaphors are less culture-specific and therefore are better candidates for universals (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Grady & Johnson, 2003). Contrarily, complex metaphors are susceptible to culture-specific influences (e.g., EUROPE IS A HOUSE). Still, Kövecses (2000) posits that there are wide discrepancies between any two cultures, and therefore many conceptual metaphors as rendered as culture-specific. Moreover, a metaphor may constitute a generic schema which can be filled out differently across cultures. For instance, based on the image schema of containment, different parts of the body are used to refer to the location of anger (Kövecses, 1995). In Hungarian, anger is located in head; in Japanese, in stomach; in Arabic, in chest; in Japanese, in belly (Matsuki, 1995).

Kövecses (2002) states that conceptual metaphor is one of the linguistic strategies which help audience to understand, support, and agree on the content of political speeches. Jeffery and Katz (1996) and Mio (1997) contend that conceptual metaphors render abstract complicated political views uncritically accepted. Metaphor is also basically ideological (e.g., Green, 1995; Goatly, 1997; White & Herrera, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004). Lakoff (2002) maintains that conceptual metaphors help people to have a better understanding of ideological values in political speeches. Mammadov (2010) argues that conceptual metaphor 'helps to identify the hidden meanings of the various subsystems functioning within these systems (formation of mind, means of formation of the culture and the ideology of society, preservation of the cultural-historical experience)' (p. 69).

The problem of the current study is that although many studies have conducted a conceptual metaphorical analysis of monologic and dialogic subgenres of political discourse such as speeches and debates (see section entitled *Literature Review*), few studies addressed the ASRs in journalistic discourse. Also, there is little empirical research integrating the cognitive, semantic and pragmatic levels for metaphor identification, interpretation, and explanation with reference to ASRs. Hence, the current study seeks to answer two basic questions: first, how have ASRs been metaphorically represented in journalistic political discourse? Second, how have political conceptual metaphors in journalistic discourse highlighted or hidden ideologies related to ASRs? In answering these two questions, this study, first, shows how conceptual metaphors help to reveal serious political views and evaluations on the series of events structuring ASRs; second, it marks how these conceptual metaphors vary as the context and political actors change; finally, it quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes how conceptual metaphors manage either to highlight or to hide the ideological motivations of the competing political forces since '[a]ll metaphors whether or not they are politically motivated, inevitably highlight some aspects of reality and hide others' (Semino & Masci, 1996, p.

267). The data cover three years (2011–2014) and are confined to the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions. With regard to the theoretical framework upon which the present paper is based, it follows the approach of critical metaphor analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004), which analyzes metaphors integrating the semantic, pragmatic and cognitive levels by means of corpus-based methodology.

The rest of the present study is divided as follows: *Literature Review* reviews relevant literature on conceptual metaphor in political discourse with special reference to political journalistic discourse and ASRs; *Theoretical Framework* provides the theoretical framework; *Method* explains the procedure of data collection and analysis; *Analysis* analyzes the data; *Findings* discusses the major findings.

## Literature Review

Applying the theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor theories to the empirical investigation of subgenres of political discourse has been an endeavor of many studies in various languages (Chilton & Lakoff, 1989; Voss, Kennet, Wiley & Schooler, 1992; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Beard, 2000; Lakoff, 2002; Bergen, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004, 2016; Mihas, 2005; Ferrari, 2007; Meadows, 2007; Drulák, 2008; Arcimavičienė, 2011; McEntee-Atalianis, 2011; Cox, 2012; Lakoff, 2013; Bogomolov, 2014; Reumert, 2014; Torlakova, 2014; Fallah & Moini, 2016; Salama, 2016). Only Lakoff (2013), Bogomolov (2014), Reumert (2014), Torlakova (2014), and Fallah and Moini (2016) have addressed the use of conceptual metaphor in the discourse of ASRs.

Lakoff (2013), based on transcripts of interviews on Al Jazeera America, analyzed the conceptual metaphors underlying the political scene in Syria during Al Assad-rebels clashes. First, the RED LINE metaphor implied two opponents standing at both ends of the line: Syria and the world community. Crossing such a line will cause harm to one opponent. Second, Assad's use of 'sarin' motivated the PUNISHMENT metaphor, which works through the Strict Father Model of international politics. America is the Strict Father, and unprincipled political actors like Assad are corrupt children. Third, with Congress, Obama adheres to diplomacy, thereby adopting the Nurturant Father Model. Hence, Obama depends on the LIMITED WAR metaphor and the SURGICAL STRIKE metaphor referring to striking specific targets causing no harm to civilians. Finally, the FORCE-OF-SHAME metaphor represented America as doing well for Syrians in order to motivate Arabs to admire America and support the rebels.

Bogomolov (2014) applied CMT (Lakoff, 1989) and the approach of 'frame semantics' (Fillmore, 1977) to web-based debates, in Arabic, about the Egyptian Arab Spring. He found that participants, though having different political affiliations, accept the concept of FILŪL (remnants) as a term of reference in public debates. Findings showed that the lexical unit FILŪL was essentially used for othering political opponents. All dictionary meanings for such a lexical unit showed metonymical shifts: material for a weapon; a weapon for a party; and a broken weapon for a trounced fighter. Also, 'FILŪL' showed a great potential to intertwine a net of conceptual metaphors including CENTER IS POWER, FILŪL ARE WRONGDOERS, FILŪL AND REVOLUTIONARIES ARE FIGHTING ARMIES, LACK OF ACTIVITY IS BEING INCLOSED IN A CONTAINER, and ENEMIES ARE PESTS.

Reumert (2014) explored the metaphorical structure of the metalanguage of the Arab revolts. He analyzed how the language related to the semantic frame of NATURE was used to codify the Arab revolts. The study identified two major analytical trends: REVOLUTION AS EXCEPTIONAL PHENOMENA and REVOLUTION AS CYCLIC. Frequent lexical units such as 'spring', 'winter', 'storm', and 'wind' created an ambivalent atmosphere of dual fascination and frustration as they presented temporal shifts, thereby connoting danger, volatility, and destruction. Findings showed that NATURE-related conceptual metaphors could obfuscate the genealogy of revolt and political mobility.

Torlakova (2014) analyzed Modern Standard Arabic metaphors used in the political discourse of ASRs. The dataset included articles from www.al-Jazeera.net issued between 17 December 2010 and 1 August 2011. Findings highlighted four basic domains to figure out the reasons and developments of such revolutions: (1) seasons of the year, (e.g., *al-rabi'i* al-tūnisiyyi 'the Tunisian *Spring*'); (2) to break through/to cross over, (e.g., *kasra ḥājizi* al-khawfi 'to *break the wall* of fear'; *ijtiyāza* al-khuṭūṭi al-ḥamrā' 'to *cross red lines*'); (3) fire/heat (e.g., *sa-yuḥriqu* al-hashīm 'will *torch* the dry grass'); and (4) movement along a path/journey (e.g., 'alā *sikkati* al-ḥurriyyati wa-l-mustaqbal 'on *the road* to freedom and the future').

Fallah and Moini (2016) examined conceptual metaphors representing the ASRs in two Persian and English newspapers: Keyahn and Washington Post. The corpus was limited to sixty news stories published in 2011 to highlight the possible ideologies they propagate. Findings showed the use of various source domains including war, journey, story, container, person, natural forces, etc. Completely different conceptual frames were used to reflect similar events. For instance, while, in Keyhan, political events were shown as a religious WAR against dictators to fulfill God's will, the Washington Post approached such events in terms of the source domain JOURNEY.

Most of the previous studies confined themselves to the framework of CMT, which overtly overlooked the pragmatic dimension of conceptual metaphor interpretation. Lakoff (2013) focused only on the clashes between Assad and the Syrian rebels. Rather than focusing on the way events about clashes are metaphorically expressed, the analysis addressed the way the US applies the Strict Father Model to the Syrian crisis through the PUNISHMENT schema. Similarly, Reumert (2014) was concerned with the source domain of NATURE which rendered such revolts as agentless. Bogomolov (2014) built his argumentation on one lexical unit (FILŪL) which triggered a set of conceptual metaphors drawn from three basic source domains war, animals, and container. All of these studies did not use a corpus-based methodology to highlight the metaphorical coherence of texts, and the critical dimension of analysis is missing.

This section explores the theoretical framework the current study is based on. It discusses the tenets of CMT, showing the shortcomings of the theory, and finally shows how CMA could provide a more integrative approach to metaphor identification and explanation.

The publication of the seminal book of *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a) marked a new approach in metaphor studies as it stressed the cognitive function of metaphors, and hence the term 'conceptual metaphors' (also known as 'cognitive metaphor') was firstly coined, giving rise to conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). CMT, since its genesis, has seen various changes, which can be traced in Lakoff (1989, 1993, 1996), Gibbs (1990, 1992, 1994), Keysar and Gluksberg (1992), Fauconier (1994), Steen (1994), and Kövecses (2002). According to CMT, metaphor is a way of conceptualization or a figure of thought 'pervasive in everyday language and thought' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a: ix). It is primarily understood as a conceptual realization and subsequently as a linguistic manifestation (Kövecses, 2002). Croft and Cruse (2004, pp. 196–197) argue that, in a conceptual metaphor, the mapping of a target domain into a source domain involves ontological and epistemic correspondences. Ontological correspondences represent a one-to-one similarity between one element in one domain and another element in another domain. For instance, in ANGER IS HEAT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, body is metaphorized as a container; anger as the heat of a fluid, and explosion as loss of control. Contrarily, epistemic correspondences represent relations between elements in one domain and elements in another domain. Accordingly, when fluid in a container is overheated, pressure increases and hence the container explodes. Similarly, when anger exceeds a specific limit, pressure becomes uncontrollable. Croft and Cruse (2004, p.

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## Theoretical Framework

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## Conceptual Metaphor Theory

197) posit that though metaphors are realized linguistically, they cannot be reduced to a finite set of metaphorical linguistic expressions. Lakoff (1993) argues that conceptual metaphor is perceived as the original image of the relevant culture, while metaphorical expressions are simply a verbal-linguistic reflection of that image. Still, Charteris-Black (2004) views metaphor as inherent in the linguistic expressions rather than in the mappings themselves. Each conceptual metaphor is constructed through a chain of linguistic metaphorical expressions (or simply metaphors) which represent 'a linguistic manifestation such as a word, a phrase, or a sentence, which in combination with related expressions, functions on the surface as an indication that a conceptual metaphor and its inferences might be operating below' (Kochis & Gillespie, 2006, p. 571). Also, they are said to form a conceptual network relating various 'entailment relationships' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b, p. 456). The aspects of the source and target domains are entailments of the relationship outlined in the conceptual metaphor. For instance, in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, love is conceptualized as a 'journey', and the relation between lovers is conceptualized as a vehicle. If a love vehicle breaks down, Kövecses (2005, p. 7) argues, a lover may leave it, try to make it work, or stay in it and, therefore, suffer. The discrepancy between the source and target domains is referred to as 'semantic tension'. Charteris-Black (2004, p. 21) argues that metaphorical linguistic expressions, unlike conceptual metaphors, resolve semantic tension by (a) reification, referring to the abstract in terms of the concrete, (b) personification, referring to the inanimate in terms of the animate, or (c) depersonification, referring to the animate in terms of the inanimate. Only components of meaning in the source domain which remain coherent in the target domain are mapped. This notion is referred to as the 'invariance principle' (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1990; Turner, 1996), which acts as a constraint on metaphorical mappings. This highlights the interdiscursive nature of metaphor, which is colored differently with reference to the type of discourse. For instance, the metaphorical expression 'our relationship has hit a dead-end street' is associated with the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The image schema of OBSTACLES is activated, whereas the image schema DESTINATION is suppressed since a dead-end street cannot be received as a destination.

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## Critical Metaphor Analysis

CMT was criticized for not being a theory about metaphor understanding in language as it is concerned with the various cognitive representations, not the linguistic manifestations, which project source domains onto target domains (Evans, 2010, p. 603). Ahrens (2010, p. 185) criticized CMT for being confined to explaining how conventional metaphors work. Also, Charteris-Black (2004) contends that CMT 'does not reflect the contrary cognitive goals of linguistic metaphor and conceptual representation' (p. 16). Moreover, it is argued that most of the linguistic expressions analyzed within the frame of CMT are decontextualized though context causes the same linguistic expression to have different and even contradictory senses (Charteris-Black, 2004, pp. 25–27). For instance, 'bloodshed' is associated with innocence, suicide, adultery, and murder. Not all these senses are activated simultaneously. One final criticism of CMT is the absence of the critical dimension of metaphor explanation. For all these reasons, the approach of critical metaphor analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004) is regarded as being empirically suitable for providing an integrative explanation of metaphors. Critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) integrates critical discourse analysis, pragmatic approaches, conceptual metaphor theory and corpus methodology for the analysis of metaphor on the semantic, pragmatic, and cognitive levels. He assumes that '[c]ritical analysis of the contexts of metaphors in large corpora may reveal the underlying intentions of the text producer and therefore serves to identify the nature of particular ideologies' (p. 28). It captures the methodology of CDA by integrating the ideational (the link created be-

tween the source and target domains), the interpersonal (the social relations constructed through metaphors) and the textual (metaphorical coherence) meanings for metaphor identification. In this sense, texts are not ideologically neutral, and metaphors thus help identify implicit textual content by investigating the relation between text encoder and decoder.

The CDA component of the approach justifies the selections made in constructing texts as well as their effects in view of the social relations manifested since discourse is not neutral. In this way, it helps to reveal speakers' intentions and ideologies through identifying, interpreting and explaining the metaphorical use of language (see Fairclough, 1995). CMA seeks to 'demonstrate how particular discursive practices reflect sociopolitical power structures' (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 29). It focuses on the agents responsible for generating certain metaphors and how they form a coherent view of reality, and it asserts that the use of metaphors in discourse is ideologically motivated. A corpus-based methodology provides attested, authentic, contextualized examples of metaphorical language. In addition, it helps to create a balance between modes of analysis: quantitative and qualitative. The pragmatic component of the approach helps to decide on the speakers' meaning and intentions. Levinson (1983, p. 65) argues that, with regard to the metaphorical content of utterances, semantics only characterizes the conventional content, while pragmatics provides the metaphorical interpretation.

CMA hinges upon three basic terms: metaphor, conceptual metaphor, and conceptual key. Metaphor is another name for Lakoff's linguistic metaphorical expression which results from the semantic tension generated through cross-domain mapping. Conceptual metaphor resolves such semantic tension by revealing mappings relevant to the context. Conceptual key manifests metaphorical coherence in discourse.

This section describes the data sources, collection procedure and size. Then, in view of CMA, it explains the procedure of metaphor identification, interpretation and explanation.

The data include articles collected from the electronic archives of four newspapers: The Guardian<sup>1</sup>, The Independent<sup>2</sup>, The New York Times<sup>3</sup>, and The Washington Post<sup>4</sup>. These newspapers are among the largest online news portals which are mostly cited and circulated around the world, collaborating with many media outlets. They have worldwide influence and readership. The Guardian and the Independent are British newspapers, while The New York Times and the Washington Post are American newspapers. All the four newspapers tend to adopt liberal policies. The publishers and the owners of the four newspapers are different. This is intended to avoid overlaps in the content of the selected articles. The corpus is confined to political news on both the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions due to similar conditions underlying their outbreak and results. It covers three years (2011–2014) and is limited to 674.312 words. Table 1 provides more information on the number of the articles selected from each newspaper in addition to the average word count.

These articles are chosen based on three keywords which appeared in their titles (or macro-propositions): ARAB SPRING, EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION, and TUNISIAN REVOLUTION. These keywords were used to search for the relevant articles in the electronic archives of these newspapers, using the facility of search box. This dataset is important for they reflect how the West, especially liberal political systems, evaluates these revolutions in a way they might provide other evaluations into the changing political scene in the Arab region due to such revolutions.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/> (Published by the Guardian Media Group, and owned by the Scott Trust)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.independent.co.uk/> (Published by Independent Print Limited, and owned by Alexander Lebedev and Evgeny Lebedev)

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/> (Published by A. G. Sulzberger, and owned by The New York Times Company)

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.washingtonpost.com/> (Published by Frederick James Ryan Jr., and owned by Nash Holdings)

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## Method

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## Data

Table 1

Statistics on the number of the articles collected from the source newspapers

Source Newspapers	25th Jan. 2011 to 25th Jan. 2012	26th Jan. 2012 to 25th Jan. 2013	26th Jan. 2013 to 25th Jan. 2014	TOTAL
The Guardian	17	16	21	54
The Independent	19	23	16	58
The New York Times	21	20	17	58
The Washington Post	22	20	19	61
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>231</b>

The average of word count in each article is (2,000–2,900) words

## Procedure

The current study applies both quantitative and qualitative methods for showing the metaphorical representations of the ASRs. In view of the quantitative method, the data is closely read to identify metaphorical linguistic expressions representing different facets of the revolutions. A total of 2,316 metaphorical linguistic expressions was identified. Then, these metaphors are clustered into different source domains to decide on which one is dominant.

For the qualitative analysis of metaphors, CMA acknowledges three steps to provide a full account of the choice of specific metaphors in a certain type of discourse. These three steps are identification (ideational meaning), interpretation (interpersonal meaning) and explanation (textual meaning). First, identification is a sort of quantitative analysis as it identifies metaphorical expressions based on highlighting the incongruity between a literal source domain (decoding) and a metaphorical target domain (encoding). In other words, for a word or a phrase, two different senses are to be highlighted: one more basic sense and a new-contextualized sense. Extended meanings, based on corpus investigation, render words and phrases as metaphorical, and accordingly literal meanings are excluded. Therefore, the step of identification includes two sub-steps. The first sub-step involves a close reading of the corpus for identifying candidate metaphors which are then examined for having a semantic tension either linguistically, pragmatically or cognitively, and finally they are classified as keywords and their presence is quantitatively measured. In the second sub-step, based on the corpus context, such keywords are qualitatively tested for metaphoricity as words or phrases causing no semantic tension are excluded. Second, metaphor interpretation links metaphors to the cognitive and pragmatic factors which shape them as it identifies the social relations constructed through the mappings offered by the metaphor. Third, explanation involves identifying the discourse function of metaphors which permits establishing their ideological and rhetorical motivation. It explores how metaphors become coherent in a specific context. This requires identifying the agents involved in the production of metaphors and how they are persuasive.

Following the tradition in conceptual metaphor studies, the current study uses small capitals to represent conceptual metaphors, and metaphorical linguistic expressions are italicized and bolded. After conceptual metaphors are stated with reference to its realizations through linguistics expressions, texts are compared against each other to discuss the ideological standpoints which control each conceptual metaphor.

## Analysis

Providing a full account of all the source domains used to reflect different views on the ASRs seems to be a difficult, and even impossible, task. Hence, based on a quantitative analysis of the corpus, a total of 2,316 metaphorical linguistic expressions was identified after being tested for metaphoricity in light of the context. Then, they were clustered into different source domains. Table 2 displays the top-five source domains identified in each newspaper.

The Guardian		The Independent	
Source domain	No. of metaphorical expressions	Source domain	No. of metaphorical expressions
JOURNEY	51 (2.20%)	GAME	81 (3.49%)
GAME	48 (2.07%)	JOURNEY	60 (2.59%)
PERSON	24 (1.03%)	CLIMATE	52 (2.24%)
UP AND DOWN	21 (0.90%)	NATURAL FORCES	24 (1.03%)
TECHNOLOGY	21 (0.90%)	FAIRY TALES	20 (0.86%)
The New York Times		The Washington Post	
Source domain	No. of metaphorical expressions	Source domain	No. of metaphorical expressions
GAME	84 (3.62%)	JOURNEY	68 (2.11%)
JOURNEY	63 (2.72%)	GAME	45 (1.39%)
CLIMATE	36 (1.11%)	CLIMATE	39 (1.68%)
BUILDING	24 (1.03%)	UP AND DOWN	21 (0.90%)
TECHNOLOGY	20 (0.86%)	BUILDING	20 (0.86%)

**Table 2**  
Number of metaphorical expressions in the top-five source domains

The number of metaphorical expressions related to a source domain shows that such a domain is markedly influential. Table 2 shows that the source domain of GAME is the most frequent as it accounts for a total of 258 (~11%) metaphorical linguistic expressions. Hence, this section focuses on how ASRs are represented within the frame of GAMES. Corpus-based dictionaries such as Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English and Collins agree that ‘revolution’ is changing a political system by force, while a ‘game’ is a rule-governed activity or sport based on competition for gaining an advantage or simply for entertainment. Table 3 displays the key lexical items signifying the frame of gamification.

The Guardian		The Independent		The New York Times		The Washington Post	
Lexical items	F	Lexical items	F	Lexical items	F	Lexical items	F
Player	27	Winner	25	Team	22	Race	12
Winner	17	Win	12	Win	12	Defeat	4
Defeat	16	Race	11	Victory	11	Win	3
Win	15	Victory	8	Winner	7	Tactics	2
Loser	14	Beat	7	Strategy	7	Heavyweight	1
Game	9	Game	3	Race	3	Vie over	1
Endgame	3	Domino	3	Stalemate	2	Field	1
Domino	3	Tactics	2	Tactics	2	Card	1
Tactics	3	Lunge	1	Loser	2	Rivals	1
Outmaneuver	2			Field	2	Dice	1
Rows	1			Tug of war	1	Square off	1
						Contender	1

**Table 3**  
Key lexical items forming the source domain of GAME



Concepts such as sports, games, races, and combats are core concepts based on the image schema of COMPETITION/CONFLICT which, in the context of the present study, reflects the rivalry and competition between different actors including revolutionaries, the ruling regimes, the political parties, the Islamists, the secularists, presidential candidates, etc. Understanding conflict in terms of a game is not a novel metaphor. But the way games are manipulated to metaphorically represent events and actors seems to be novel as they represent different stages of power conflict through such revolutions. As Charteris-Black (2004) puts it, 'While neither the term nor the referent is 'new', such a novel *use* is the basis for a novel understanding' (p. 2). Following Charteris-Black's CMA three-step procedure described in *Procedure*, the following is an integrative analysis of game-based conceptual metaphors.

One of the most striking events of ASRs was the falling of some ruling regimes after a set of protests and rallies. Such unprecedented event was metaphorically represented through the game of dominoes which recalls 'the domino effect' in which the fall of one piece placed vertically on a gaming board causes a chain of falling pieces. Likewise, the fall of Bin Ali of Tunisia triggered a chain of revolutions, causing the fall of other Arab regimes. Consider the following instances.

[1] it became the **domino** that fell and triggered a chain of revolutions across the Arab world. (The Guardian; May 14, 2011)

[2] The wind from Tunis will lift hopes and sharpen fears in Cairo. Egypt is the highest-value **domino** liable to topple if popular unrest blows through the tyrannies of the Middle East. (The Independent; January 25, 2011)

[3] Other repressive **dominoes** in the region could topple. King Abdullah of Jordan appointed a new government yesterday in response to protests in the capital, Amman. (The Independent; February 2, 2012)

The lexical item 'domino(es)' is related to the verb 'fell' in instance [1], and to the verb 'topple' in instances [2] and [3]. All three instances are triggered by the conceptual metaphor OUSTED REGIMES ARE FALLING DOMINOES. These dominoes seems to be perceived as metonyms based on a part-whole relationship representing the Arab ruling regime, as the fall of the head of state entails the fall of other members. Instance [1] renders Bouazizi's self-immolation, due to the slap he received from a policewoman, as the first domino triggering a chain of revolutions. Instance [2] marks the Egyptian regime as the next domino liable to topple, but simultaneously the actors involved are hidden as they are linked to natural elements realized by the lexical items 'wind' and 'blow'. Instance [3] describes other 'dominoes' as being 'repressive', and hence appointing a new government is perceived as a precautionary strategy to avoid being toppled. As the domino effect moves from Tunisia in instance [1], to Egypt in instance [2], and likely to Jordan in instance [3], the conceptual metaphor THE ARAB REGION IS A DOMINOES BOARD is activated.

Some other facets of ASRs are highlighted through another mentally-oriented game (viz., chess) as shown in the following instances.

[4] There is still a palpable sense of hope, enthusiasm, and a mushrooming of association and self-organisation, but no real sense of a vision for the **endgame**. The discourse is dominated by a social conservative agenda; Islamic ideologies seem to have become a force shaping this new history. (The Guardian; May 5, 2012)

[5] Then a four-day-long **stalemate** ensued, in which Mr. Mubarak refused to budge, and the protesters regained momentum. (The New York Times; February 13, 2011)

Instance [4] recalls a chess game through the lexical item 'endgame', which refers to the last stage in a game of chess when only a few of the pieces are left on the board, and one of the players must win soon. Islamic forces are marked as the most likely winning player. Hence, the whole political scene seems to be a game between a civil state and a religious state. An endgame situation highlights a political dilemma due to lack of vision concerning subsequent moves. A similar position is echoed in instance [5] through the mental frame of a 'stalemate', in which the Egyptian president Mubarak is captured and refuses to move; therefore, he is expected to lose the game for the protesters due to any single wrong move. Both instances are projected through the conceptual metaphors POLITICAL ACTORS ARE CHESS PIECES, POLITICAL INERTIA IS A STALEMATE, and A COUNTRY IS A CHESSBOARD. The context shows that such political inertia came as a result of a lack of consensus among American officials regarding whether Mubarak should stay in office or not. Hence, the hiding aspect of the image of an endgame is that Mubarak is being victimized since he is forced to leave office before his term ended.

During revolutions, political forces resistance is frequently tested. This idea of resistance is approached through a tug-of-war game as represented in instance [6].

[6] As their swelling protests shook the Egyptian state, they were locked in a virtual *tug of war* with a leader with a very different vision — Gamal Mubarak, the son of President Hosni Mubarak, a wealthy investment banker and ruling-party power broker. (The New York Times; February 13, 2011)

The tug-of-war game conjures the image of two individuals or teams holding opposite ends of a rope and pulling against each other. Though this game is sometimes used for recreation, the atmosphere projected is markedly rebellious, thereby manifesting the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL CONFLICT IS TUG OF WAR. In this context, both parties are equally matched; their goals are different, however. Gamal Mubarak is highlighted as a capitalist and is identified as 'a wealthy investment banker' and 'ruling power broker', opposing the masses. It seems to be a revolution against capitalism. The rope conceptually delineated through the game frame is the bond linking the two teams, and it acts as the clincher which decides which one would win. Gamal is highlighted as the direct reason beyond the Egyptian revolution, and it could be claimed that such revolution mainly aimed at eliminating any thought of dynastic succession. Other reasons such as poor economy, unemployment, and the police state are implied.

Another major scene in the ASRs is the elections organized after toppling the ruling regimes. Consider the following instance which seems to be complicated as it represents an extended metaphor.

[7] Mr. Elelaimy needs to stand out in a *race* that resembles a cattle stampede, with 130 candidates *running* in his south Cairo district alone in the first *round* of parliamentary voting, scheduled to begin Monday. (The New York Times; November 27, 2011)

Grounded in the frame of a race, instance [7] represents the first Egyptian parliamentary elections after the Egyptian Revolution as a 'cattle stampede' in reference to the chaotic political atmosphere and lack of coordination among revolutionaries and political forces. This understanding is manifested through a chain of conceptual metaphors including ELECTIONS ARE RACES, ELECTORAL CANDIDATES ARE RACERS, VOTING ROUNDS ARE RACE ROUNDS, PARLIAMENTARY SEATS ARE AWARDS, and POLITICAL CHAOS IS A CATTLE STAMPEDE. In the context of this article, Mr. Elelaimy, an outstanding activist at the time of the revolution, refused to join the elections, represented as a cattle stampede as candidates were mostly Islamists or supporters of Mubarak's regime. Racers are then dehumanized, and the whole situation becomes more of a ranch than of a political event.

The unpredictable result of the first Egyptian presidential elections after the revolution is approached through an interesting activity of 'rolling the dice' in instance [8]

[8] 'This is a decisive moment, but nobody feels confident about anything,' said Samia, 45, a Shafiq supporter who asked to be identified by her first name because of her government job. 'It's like *rolling the dice* and hoping for the best.' (The Washington Post; June 16, 2012)

The ambivalence created by juxtaposing 'a decisive moment' to 'rolling the dice' renders the event as being absurd, or simply a matter of luck. This understanding is triggered by the conceptual metaphor EGYPTIAN POST-REVOLUTION ELECTION IS ROLLING THE DICE. Though the action of rolling the dice is highlighted, the dicers are hidden. The dicers here are voters who had to vote for Morsi, a representative of the Muslim Brotherhood, and Shafiq, a representative of the military. According to the context, neither option was appealing to the voters. Equally important, rolling the dice is only a means for some other serious measures to be taken by the new president.

Though talking about negotiations in terms of a card game is conventionalized, the corpus showed a striking consistency in relating 'card' to 'Israel' as realized in instances [9] and [10].

[9] Israel, of course, is the easiest *card to play*... Indeed, Israel can serve as a perfect diversion to struggling governments. (The Washington Post; December 1, 2011)

[10] Perhaps the biggest surprise is that a Muslim Brotherhood government in Egypt has a better relationship with Israel today than does Turkey, a traditional ally of Jerusalem. This may be Morsi's best *card* with Washington -- that whatever his failings as a leader of Egypt, he isn't making trouble for Israel. (The Washington Post; March 71, 2012)

The lexical item 'card' is modified by two superlative adjectives: 'the easiest' and 'the best', and hence they entail a multitude of cards to be played, all of which are applicable, easy and good. In this context, Israel is cognitively perceived as a utility for diverting the Egyptians' – as well as Syrians' – attention from domestic problems in instance [9] and for guaranteeing American support in instance [10]. These ideas are manifested through the conceptual metaphors EGYPTIAN POLITICAL STRATEGIC PLANNING IS PLAYING CARDS and ISRAEL IS A WINNING CARD. The juxtaposition of instances [9] and [10] shows that the same card once used before the revolutions is still used by the Muslim Brotherhood, the new Egyptian ruling regime. The measure of success then becomes maintaining good relations with Israel, not fulfilling the objectives of such the revolutions.

More serious events and changes in the arena of elections are approached within the frame of games requiring strategic planning as well as physical power. Consider the following instance.

[11] After a raucous campaign involving 13 *contenders*, preliminary results on Friday from state media showed that the *field* had been whittled to a pair of candidates who represent the *heavyweight* forces of Egyptian politics — the Muslim Brotherhood and the military. (The Washington Post; May 25, 2012)

Instance [11] represents the conflict among the actors participating in the first presidential elections after the toppling of Mubarak. The lexical items 'contenders', 'field' and 'heavyweight' represent such election campaign within the frame of a professional boxing match between two experienced players: the Muslim Brotherhood and the military. Such political forces are then perceived as boxers, electoral conflict as boxing, and elections as a boxing ring, thereby manifesting the conceptual metaphors ELECTORAL CONFLICT IS BOXING, BALLOT BOXES ARE BOXING RINGS, and ELECTORAL CANDIDATES ARE BOXERS. Boxers in this context are The Muslim Brotherhood, represented by Morsi, and the military, represented

by Shafiq. By highlighting these two candidates, other political forces are implicitly viewed as being inactive. The Muslim Brotherhood members, who were once outlawed (compare instance 26), turned into a political force competing for state presidency.

Elections are also cognitively represented through the image of a race. While instance [11] focuses on the political actors in the process of elections, instances [12] and [13] focus on the election process itself for electing a successor to the Mubarak, the Egyptian ousted president.

[12] Long lines of voters began snaking out of schools and colleges early yesterday morning, as ordinary Egyptians turned out to cast their ballot in what is still very much an open **race** to elect a successor to Hosni Mubarak, who was ousted by last year's revolution. (The Independent; May 24, 2012)

[13] The announcement marked the official start of the second phase of **a race** in which Egyptian voters will face a stark choice in determining the successor to former president Hosni Mubarak, who was ousted last year. (The Washington Post; May 28, 2012)

Race conceptually entails the presence of runners, a track, a finish line, an audience, and a judging party, metaphorically corresponding to election candidates, the electoral process, and election results. These correspondences manifest the conceptual metaphors ELECTION CANDIDATES ARE RACERS, ELECTIONS ARE RACES, and ELECTIONS RESULT IS THE FINISH LINE. Race collocates with 'open' in instance [12] and with 'a second phase of' in instance [13]. Having an open race highlights a democratic atmosphere after the revolution by foregrounding the voters, and backgrounding the presidential candidates acting as racers. Also, instance [13] asserts that even in the second phase, voters 'will face a stark choice', and hence it is claimed that none of the candidates fulfills the voters' expectations.

One interesting aspect of the game metaphors in the data collected is linking them to war metaphors as both include participants, strategies, field, attack, defence, victory, and failure. Koller (2004) cites Eubanks (2000, p. 128) as arguing that "'game metaphors have a hologramic quality' in that they can either be attenuated to display the notion of peaceful leisure activity or intensified to approximate the WAR metaphor" (p. 68). Consider the following instance.

[14] 'We pulled out all the tricks of the **game** — the Pepsi, the onion, the vinegar,' said Mr. Maher, who wore cardboard and plastic bottles under his sweater, a bike helmet on his head and a barrel-top shield on his arm. 'The **strategy** was the people who were injured would go to the back and other people would replace them,' he said. 'We just kept rotating.' After more than five hours of **battle**, they had finally **won** — and burned down the empty headquarters of the ruling party on their way to occupy Tahrir Square. (The New York Times; February 13, 2011)

The clashes between the Egyptian revolutionaries and the police are perceived as a strategic war-like game of attack and withdrawal, with untraditional defensive weapons, including 'Pepsi', 'onion', 'vinegar', 'cardboard and plastic bottles', 'helmet' and 'barrel-top shield'. Lexical items such as 'strategy', 'battle', 'won', and 'occupy' complete the image of the war-like game, thereby manifesting the conceptual metaphor REVOLUTION IS A WAR-LIKE GAME. It is not war in the true sense of the word. Revolutionaries are represented as an under-resourced party who took only a defensive stance using primitive weapons. This is a covert way of establishing reader sympathy with the revolutionaries. The other party in such war-like game, though clearly represented as being more powerful, is not explicitly mentioned. It is metonymically referred to through the image of an empty headquarter of the party of the ruling regime: the National Democratic Party. The opposition between the collective 'we' and 'the empty headquarter of the ruling party' asserts the ideological stance of the revolutionaries who aimed to topple the ruling party as a step towards liberty.

A game prototypically ends with one team triumphing over the other. The course of revolutions showed some sort of a role shift among different political forces in terms of victory and defeat which are manifested through the conceptual metaphors FAILING POLITICAL FORCES ARE GAME LOSERS and SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL FORCES ARE GAME WINNERS. Consider the following instances.

[15] the Muslim Brotherhood's well-organised political wing, the Freedom and Justice party, is expected to **trounce** nascent secular parties. (The Guardian; October 23, 2011)

[16] But the spirit of unity gave way to new divisions: Islamists against liberals, political winners against **losers**, dealmakers willing to compromise with the military against activists demanding its immediate exit from power. (The New York Times; January 2, 2012)

[17] In the case of Egypt, any new political arrangement will have to include the Muslim Brotherhood, the apparent **losers** of the moment. (The Guardian; July 25, 2013)

These instances highlight a conflict between different political forces in the post-Mubarak era: Islamists and secularists, political winners and losers, and the military and activists. Instance [15] shows that, directly after the ousting of Mubarak, the evolving secular parties lost the game to the Muslim Brotherhood who was more organized. In instance [16], a year after the fall of Mubarak, new political divisions are highlighted as political actors are presented as dealmakers. The military appeared as a new political player who controls the whole political scene. In instance [17], two years after the fall of Mubarak, it seems that the Islamists, who were once the winners, became the losers as their policy failed to gain consensus.

In relation to instances [15], [16] and [17], it could be claimed that one test of political success is the result of elections, whether presidential or parliamentary. Winners differed with reference to the timeframe of the data. Consider the following instances.

[18] In the recent Tunisian elections the moderate Islamist Ennahda party was **the biggest winner** ... (The Guardian; December 3, 2011)

[19] After the fall of Mr. Ben Ali's regime, the Ennahda party **won** elections in October 2011 with a comfortable majority. (The New York Times; February 20, 2013)

[20] Tunisians face a choice of more than 100 new political parties, and about 11,000 candidates are **vying for** 217 seats. The **winners** will form an assembly to write the country's new constitution over the next year and appoint a transitional government. (The Independent; October 21, 2011)

[21] Mohamed Morsi **won** the election this month precisely because he stood up to the military council as a national leader. (The Independent; June 26, 2012)

[22] Mohamed Morsi is sworn in, having **won** a presidential election with 51.7 per cent of the vote. (The Guardian; August 15, 2013)

[23] Morsi was elected in June, narrowly **triumphing** over a Mubarak-era cabinet minister, Ahmed Shafiq, with 52 percent of the vote. (The Independent; November 24, 2012)

[24] Over the past three years the ultraconservative Salafis, a Sunni Islamist group that adopts a strict interpretation of Islamic teachings, have become a major **winner** as a result of the 'Arab Spring'. (The Washington Post; November 5, 2013)

[25] **Victory** for any of 13 candidates will pose serious questions about the future of a country that Egyptians like to call 'the mother of the world'. (The Independent; May 24, 2012)

Having one party won a game entails that the other party lost such a game. Winning a game is asserted through various lexical items such as 'won', 'winner', 'victory', 'vie', and 'triumph'.

Winners, in the context of both the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions, are Islamists who are mainly represented by Ennahda Party in [18] and [19], Muslim Brotherhood in [21], [22] and [23], and Salafis in [24], who all were once outlawed. This highlights a sweeping shift in the political structure of both countries through hiding the defeat of the liberal and military forces. Unlike other instances in this group, instance [23] highlights the defeat of Shafiq and the end of Mubarak's era by defining Shafiq as a Mubarak-era cabinet minister. Instance [25] doubts the efficacy of the victory of any of the candidates.

In sum, while the semantic profile of REVOLUTION traditionally activates senses of unsettlement and violence for changing political systems, the semantic profile of GAME activates senses of entertainment and recreation in tandem with senses of strenuous training and – sometimes – physical violence. However, both concepts are metaphorically fused through a set of metaphorical correspondences: political parties/regimes and revolutionaries correspond to players; ruling regimes correspond to competitors/adversaries; political plans and actions correspond to game strategies; elections correspond to game rounds; and political success/failure correspond to victory/defeat in a game.

Most of the metaphorical instances included under the conceptual key THE ARAB SPRING REVOLUTIONS ARE GAMES encompass adversarial connotations, highlighting the physical and mental struggle of the competing forces to achieve their political goals. This conceptual key helped figure out the textual meaning of such metaphors; the ideational meaning is realized through the cross-domain mapping between the ASRs and games; and finally the interpersonal meaning is realized through highlighting the social relations bonding the different political actors.

Events acting as hallmarks of the ASRs have been metaphorically represented through different source domains. The source domain GAME included the most frequent linguistic expressions as it showed the political implications arising from seeing politics in the light of games. With regard to the research first question of how ASRs have been metaphorically represented in journalistic discourse, the political events marking ASRs are represented through three key game-based scenarios. The first scenario is a general frame of a game as a competition between two teams using different strategies to achieve victory. The second scenario clusters games into individual versus team games on the one hand and mentally-oriented versus bodily-oriented games on the other hand. Individual games included chess, dominoes, race and cards, while team games included only tug of war. Most of the games are individual games which aim at highlighting the competing forces who were represented as dominoes pieces, chess pieces, racers, boxers, and card players. Power games include boxing, tug of war, and race, while tactic games include chess and dominoes. The final scenario represented game as a war which requires both physical and mental exercising. This is in line with Lakoff (1991) and Charteris-Black (2004) who reported sports and war as ideologically reversible.

Henderson (1986) argues that a change in metaphor selection is an indicator of a conceptual shift. A conceptual micro-shift is clear in the shift from one type of games to another, or even within the framework of the same game. One explanation for this shift is the turbulent political atmosphere accompanying such revolutions which used to stir different evaluations and to highlight new relations. However, recalling Lakoff and Johnson's (1980a) idea of 'metaphorical coherence' and Charteris-Black's (2004) notion of 'conceptual key', all the conceptual metaphors manifested and analyzed in section (5) can be grouped in one conceptual key: THE ARAB SPRING REVOLUTIONS ARE GAMES. Obviously, the typology of games reflected the Western view of the ASRs, which proved to be textually coherent.

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## Findings and Discussion

With regard to the question of how have political conceptual metaphors in journalistic discourse highlighted or hidden ideologies related to ASRs, findings go for the claim that metaphoricality and ideology are inextricably linked. The source domain GAME highlighted various ideologies related to the Egyptian and the Tunisian revolutions. All of the projected conceptual metaphors are almost structural and primary, and are based on reification. The competing political actors differed along the course of ASRs as the balance of power underwent major changes. The ruling regimes were more powerful at the beginning; then, revolutionaries gained more power, and finally Islamists jumped to the forefront. Players are revolutionaries, election candidates, and political parties who were envisaged as boxers, chess players and racers. The games involved reflected ideological differences among the competing political forces both in Egypt and in Tunisia. Political action plans and measures were regarded as games requiring deep thinking and logical organization, including chess and dominoes. The corpus was much concerned with chess being more popular in Western culture. Chess-related conceptual metaphors were used to reflect the complexity of political situations popped out through such revolutions. Conversely, politics of revolutions were also regarded as violent and atrocious games such as tug of war, boxing, and wrestling.

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## Conclusion

This paper discussed how game-based conceptual metaphors on ASRs are markedly ideological with special reference to the way language is metaphorically colored to highlight or hide ideologies. It may be argued that understanding 'conflict' in terms of 'game' is clichéd. This is partially true; but keeping the schema of COMPETITION in the context of conflict and struggle, being universal, is favored when addressing audience of different backgrounds and cultures in order to establish common ground with readers based on familiar experiential activities. Such universality is claimed to be the direct reason behind sticking to the frame of gaming. Equally important is the way games are represented, and the way new frames are highlighted through them. Games are used variably to establish different phases of the revolutions. Since the revolutions started with harsh clashes between the revolutionaries and the police, they were introduced through games which require physical strength rather than tactics. After Bin Ali of Tunisia and Mubarak of Egypt have been toppled, new political events – including the formation of new parties, new claims, presidential and parliamentary elections – were introduced through games which require tactics.

The variety of games used to conceptualize different issues related to ASRs is based on two different image schemas: conflict and competition. Such schemas are essentially evaluative of the ideologies of the competing political forces. The image schema of 'conflict' captures the war-like phase of revolutions represented by strikes and marches. Conversely, the image schema of 'competition' captures a more peaceful phase of the revolution, which involved the formation of coalitions and candidacy for party and presidency elections. Understanding REVOLUTION in terms of GAME captures the notion of expecting new sessions for such a game. Putting Arab regimes and the revolutionary masses on equal foot, in one stage of the revolutions, seems to motivate the audience to understand that neither party would accept defeat, and therefore it would come back again. Like a game, a revolution becomes a habit. Still, all these ideologically-based metaphors are typically Western.

Further research is recommended to explore other source domains which are crucial to understand the genesis and development of ASRs. These source domains might include climate, war, and journey. Moreover, once the discursive strategies manipulated to form such conceptual metaphors, the political agents and ideologies would be much highlighted and explained, with special reference to the contrast between liberal and conservative ideological stances.

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**Waheed M. A. Altohami. Arabų pavasario revoliucijų vaizdavimas politiniame žiniasklaidos diskurse pasitelkiant žaidimo metaforą**

**Santrauka**

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas Arabų pavasario revoliucijų (angl. ASRs) metaforinis vaizdavimas žurnalistiniame diskurse ir analizuojama, kaip toks vaizdavimo būdas išryškina ar padeda nuslėpti ideologinį požiūrį į politinius įvykius ir į Egipto bei Tuniso revoliucijų, vykusių 2011–2013 m., dalyvius. Taikant J. Charteris-Black'o (2004) kritinį tekstynų metaforų analizės (angl. CMA) metodą, pasirinktame tekстыne išskirti metaforiškai apibūdinti pagrindiniai politiniai įvykiai ir

jų dalyviai. Jų aprašymai aiškinami ir interpretuojami semantinės, pragmatinės ir kognityvinės analizės lygmenyse. Atlikus tyrimą, formuluojamos trys pagrindinės išvados. Pirmoji: apibūdinant skirtingus Arabų pavasario revoliucijų (angl. ASRs) aspektus, vartojamos metaforos su įvairiomis šaltinio sritimis, tačiau vyrauja ŽAIDIMO šaltinio srities metaforinė raiška. Antroji: tirtame tekстыne ryški konceptualioji metafora ARABŲ PAVASARIO REVOLIUCIJOS YRA ŽAIDIMAI, paremta KONKURENCIJOS vaizdine schema. Trečioji: pavyzdžius su žaidybinimo konceptu galima suskirstyti į tris grupes. Pirmajai grupei priskirti pavyzdžiai, sietini su žaidimu; antrosios grupės pavyzdžius galima priskirti smulkesnėms kategorijoms: atspindinčioms kontrastą „individualus žaidimas – komandinis žaidimas“ ir kontrastą „žaidimas kaip fizinė veikla – žaidimas kaip protinė veikla“; trečiosios grupės pavyzdžiuose pasirodo žaidimų kaip karo konceptas. Visos konceptualiosios metaforos, siejamos su žaidimo freimu (tema), kuriomis reiškiamas ideologinis požiūris, buvo pavartotos Vakarų žurnalistų kurtuose tekstuose. antra, įžvalgos apie ryšius tarp trijų teorijų pateikiamos iš tos pačios perspektyvos ir nuosekliai.

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