

## **A Revolution Or A Journey Towards Liberty? A Cognitive Metaphorical Analysis Of The Jasmine Revolution In English And Arabic News Discourse**

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### **Abstract**

This study offers a cognitive metaphorical analysis of the events framing the Tunisian Revolution in English and Arabic news discourse between 2010 and 2014. The study addressed two central questions: (1) How has the Tunisian Revolution been metaphorically represented in English and Arabic political news discourse based on the cognitive domain of journey? What are the similarities and differences between the metaphorical representations in the same news discourse? The conceptual integration network emerging in the analysis is single-scope as the two input spaces of journey and revolution were demonstrated to have different organizing frames. Specifically, only the frame of journey is projected to organize the blend. Findings showed that anchoring the concept of revolution to that of journey has created a kind of semantic tension that helped journalists to evoke emotional responses and manipulate the discursive function of metaphors as persuasive tools. Because of the cross-space mappings between journey and revolution, nearly all concepts related to the revolutionary experience proved to have a counterpart in the journey frame. Equally important, the results of comparing and contrasting cognitive metaphors in English and Arabic news discourse could offer insights into the way language develops based on a cognitive basis. Therefore, learners of both English and Arabic could access the system governing language learning concerning the formation of semantic networks based on different conceptual frames, thereby enhancing their metaphorical competence. Developing learners' metaphorical competence would help them in analyzing, reconstructing, and translating diverse textual data.

**Keywords:** Conceptual Metaphor; Blending Theory; Integration Network; Jasmine Revolution; Journey

### **INTRODUCTION**

Recently, the wave of Arab uprisings, known as the Arab Spring Revolutions. It has received notable scholarly linguistic investigation because of the event's unprecedentedness and newsworthiness. The revolutionary wave started from Tunisia in 2010 with the Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi immolating himself in protest of police ill-treatment. The Tunisian uprising, known in media discourse as the *Jasmine Revolution*, sparked protests calling for liberty, dignity, and social justice. It eventually led to the Tunisian president Ben Ali's ousting after staying over 23 years in office. These protests seemed to have spurred

similar mobilizations in other countries, including Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. The Tunisian uprising was covered and mediated in news reports in metaphoricity is inescapable. Metaphors are said to create our psychological, social, and cultural reality. This may explain why journalists and news reporters heavily rely on metaphors that blend diverse conceptual domains to render experiences more conceivable. Such metaphors are known as '*conceptual/cognitive metaphors*' (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1990; Fauconnier, 1997; among others). A conceptual metaphor refers to understanding an abstract concept in terms of a concrete concept, referred to as the target and source domains. Conceptual metaphors are consciously and unconsciously integrated into the political discourse that is perceived as a textual representation of individual and collective mental processes intended to support, evaluate, or argue against a particular issue (cf. Chilton, 2004).

Indeed, the growing body of research in cognitive linguistics shows that various enterprises are described as journeys motivated by the schemas of 'motion' and 'path' (e.g. Charteris-Black, 2004; Semino, 2008; Cibulskienė, 2012). The domain of journey was first used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who coined the metaphors love is a journey and life is a journey realized through expressions such as 'road', 'companion', 'obstacles', 'path', 'beginning', 'end' and 'pursue' which are a part of daily communication. Charteris-Black (2004) claims that the conceptual metaphor the long-term purposeful activity is journey can be used to describe both individual purposes (e.g. pursuing a career or education) and social purposes (e.g. political reforms and military missions). Therefore, based on the conceptual domain of JOURNEY, the present study seeks to provide a cognitive analysis of metaphors used in the political news discourse addressing the Tunisian Revolution in English and Arabic. The main focus of present research is to analyze how journalists echo and mediate diverse political views that are manifested through a set of ideologically motivated mappings between the cognitive domains of journey and revolution. The theoretical framework fitting this research focus is Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002) as it potentially serves to interpret how existing knowledge could be adapted to the needs of average readers based on the recursive nature of the blend process itself. Thus, in view of such a theoretical framework, CBT is intended to reveal how the integration of the conceptual frames of journey and revolution offer various evaluations of the Tunisian Revolution. The data analysis seeks to answer two major questions: (1) How has the Tunisian Revolution been metaphorically represented in English and Arabic political news discourse based on the cognitive domain of journey? What are the similarities and differences between such metaphorical representations in English and Arabic? Answering these questions may explain how journalists and news reporters frame the news on the Tunisian Revolution and would then offer more insights into how language operates as a social practice in the domain of politics.

Indeed, approaching political news discourse from a cognitive perspective is a relatively modern, yet challenging discipline. Indeed, many studies have

applied diverse cognitive theories and frameworks to the analysis of political metaphors (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Charteris-Black, 2004; Cibulskienė, 2012; Caruso, 2014; Dávid & Furkó, 2015). In (mediatized) discourse addressing diverse political issues in the Arab region, the scenario typical of a journey as purposeful activity has proved significant (e.g. Al-Harrasi, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2018; Aldanani, 2018; Almaani, 2018; Al-Zou'bi & Kanakri, 2020). Similarly, the series of the Arab revolutions received notable scholarly cognitive linguistic interest (Lakoff, 2013; Bogomolov, 2014; Reumert, 2014; Torlakova, 2014; Moini & Fallah, 2016; Zibin, 2018; Altohami, 2019; Seo, 2020).

Emerging from the WORLD COMMUNITY AS FAMILY metaphor, Lakoff (2013) addressed the metaphor of the 'Red Line' used by the US ex-president Obama in reference to the objection declared by the international community on Assad's use of poisonous gas (sarin) against Syrian revolutionaries. By violating the international treaties prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, Assad, as a bad political actor, crossed the red line, and therefore he must be deterred. Based on the schema of punishment, redness stands for danger and blood that might emerge in case that the drawn line is crossed, and hence the metaphor is regarded as a threat. Therefore, any American reaction is moralized. Keeping the similar mental image of having two competing forces at different points of a line, Bogomolov (2014) explored how the Arabic concept FILŪL (enemies of the revolutionaries) used in public debates served to draw a line between Mubarak's regime and the Egyptian anti-Mubarak revolutionaries (ŠA'B). The study has synergized the tenets of frame semantics (Fillmore, 1977) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Findings showed that while revolutionaries assumed the semantic role of AGENT, FILŪL assumed the semantic role of CAUSE. In so doing, Mubarak's regime and fellows were demonstrated as being *othered*, while revolutionaries remained receptive of public authority.

Reumert (2014) investigated the conceptual metaphors underlying narratives and meta-narratives about the Arab revolts. Relying on frequent word-forms signifying natural forces such as 'spring', 'winter', 'fall', 'wave', 'storm', and 'wind', two major metaphors were identified: REVOLUTION AS EXCEPTIONAL PHENOMENA and REVOLUTION AS CYCLIC. Findings affirmed that framing revolts as natural phenomena negate the human agency and depoliticize the revolts. The fragmentation, instability, and exceptionality characteristic of the natural phenomena are reflected in the chaos that distinguished such revolts owing to leaderlessness. In addition to the seasonal shift analogous to the cycle of revolutions, Torlakova (2014), applying the procedure of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004), found that the Arab Spring revolutions, namely the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, were metaphorically represented through the source domains of fire/heat, crossing over/breaking through obstacles, and journey. The dataset included articles in Arabic collected from [www.al-Jazeera.net](http://www.al-Jazeera.net) between 2010 and 2011. The metaphors marking seasonal change were used to highlight a fresh start of new political regimes, and they also

imply that further evolutions are expected. Fears due to political vacuum were conceptualized as walls that must be crossed over. Furthermore, fire-based metaphors were manipulated to mark the quick spread of revolutions as well as the serious confrontations between demonstrators and authorities.

Moini and Fallah (2016) followed the procedure of CMA to conduct a cognitive-pragmatic analysis of the latent ideologies of the Arab revolts in sixty online editorials of Persian and American newspapers during 2011. Findings showed that the target newspapers framed the same events of the Arab uprisings differently. While Persian newspaper represented such uprisings as religious conflicts between demonstrators (God's soldiers) and dictators (unbelievers), the American newspaper represented them in light of the frame intrinsic to journeys (marking the progress of revolts), games (marking conflicts), and natural phenomena (marking enormous political changes). Regarding the domain of journey, democracy was the destination of the uprisings in the American newspaper, while Islam was the desired destination in the Persian newspaper. Relatedly, Altohami (2019) used the procedure of CMA to investigate the way the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions have been metaphorically represented in the British and American newspapers over three years (2011-2013). The study was mainly concerned with how these revolutions have been gamified based on the schema of competition. The frame of a game was conceived of as controlling the process of reporting conflicts, strategies, and techniques manipulated by different political powers, demonstrators, and authorities.

Zibin (2018) compared how metaphors and metonymies in Jordanian economic journalistic discourse have been influenced by the politico-economic setting caused by the Arab Spring Revolutions. The study relied on two corpora pre- and post-Arab Spring (2005-2015), and applied the Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) for identifying economic metaphors in two Jordanian newspapers issued in a mix of Modern Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic. Findings showed that most of the source domains used in journalistic discourse to discuss economic issues were found to be universal, including warfare, journey, game, and organism. The source domains of supernatural forces and kitchen were markedly culture-specific. Also, Seo (2020) explored the discursive patterns of metaphors in media news discourse on the Arab Spring. The corpus included articles from the English newspaper *The Guardian* and the Chinese newspaper *The People's Daily*. Results demonstrated that each newspaper has reinforced its ideological stance through the discursive choices of metaphors. That is, metaphors showed discrepant ideologies as realized through positive-self and negative-other representations.

Based on this literature review, it is clear that most of the related research addressed the metaphorical representations of the major events framing the Arab Spring Revolutions as a whole. Few studies offered in-depth analysis of each individual revolution, and most of them applied Charteris-Black's CMA (2004), being a well-known model for metaphor identification, explanation, and interpretation. Furthermore, despite the growing body of conceptual metaphor

studies, the contrastive dimension between English and Arabic is surprisingly scarce. Therefore, the present study would hope to bridge this gap by comparing the metaphorical representations of the Tunisian Revolution in English and Arabic news discourse based on the source domain of journey. Stressing the contrastive dimension in the analysis of cognitive metaphors in news discourse, the expected findings would offer pedagogical insights for enhancing the metaphorical competence of both English and Arabic learners. Developing learners' metaphorical competence would help them in analyzing, reconstructing, and translating news.

The present study takes Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT), also known as Conceptual Integration, as its theoretical framework. CBT was firstly introduced by Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2002). It is regarded as an extension of the Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier, 1994), and it is highly influenced by the theoretical underpinnings of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) firstly proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). CMT approaches metaphor as a cognitive – rather than purely linguistic – phenomenon arguably ubiquitous to everyday language and thought. The essence of metaphor is “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 203). A conceptual metaphor links two conceptual domains known as the source domain (concrete notion) and target domain (abstract notion). In its simplest form, it is structured as TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. For instance, in the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR, WAR is the source domain, while POLITICS is the target domain. Each conceptual metaphor is textually instantiated through words and word groups referred to as metaphorical linguistic expressions, e.g. ‘to defend the party’s views’ and ‘to attack new austerity measures’. Still, only components of meaning in source domains which remain coherent in target domains are systematically mapped. This hypothesis came to be known as the *Invariance Principle* (Lakoff & Turner, 1989), and it was later referred to as ‘selective projection’ in CBT. Though CBT shares many aspects of CMT, the process of meaning construction is more dynamic in CBT due to the fact that conceptual mappings in CBT are not unidirectional, i.e. the aspects of the source domain are not simply projected into the target domain. Still, both theories are complementary.

CBT moved away from the notion of domains to mental spaces. A mental space is a scenario structured by given domains regarded as an “idealized cognitive model” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 285). A scenario marks “a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about ‘typical’ aspects of a source-situation” (Musolff, 2006, p. 28). Conceptual blending/integration marks the cognitive process of creating meaning through forming a network of mental spaces that integrates ideas and images. As shown in Figure (1), such network involves four contextually motivated mental spaces: *two input spaces* (associated with the source and target domains in CMT), a *generic space* (shared conceptual structure of the input spaces), and a *blend space* (integrated, hybrid frames based on selective projection). The source and target spaces are mapped into the blend space that dynamically develops emergent structure. Such metaphorical cross-space mappings

are stored as a knowledge structure in the long-term memory, but they are refreshed and regenerated in the working memory.

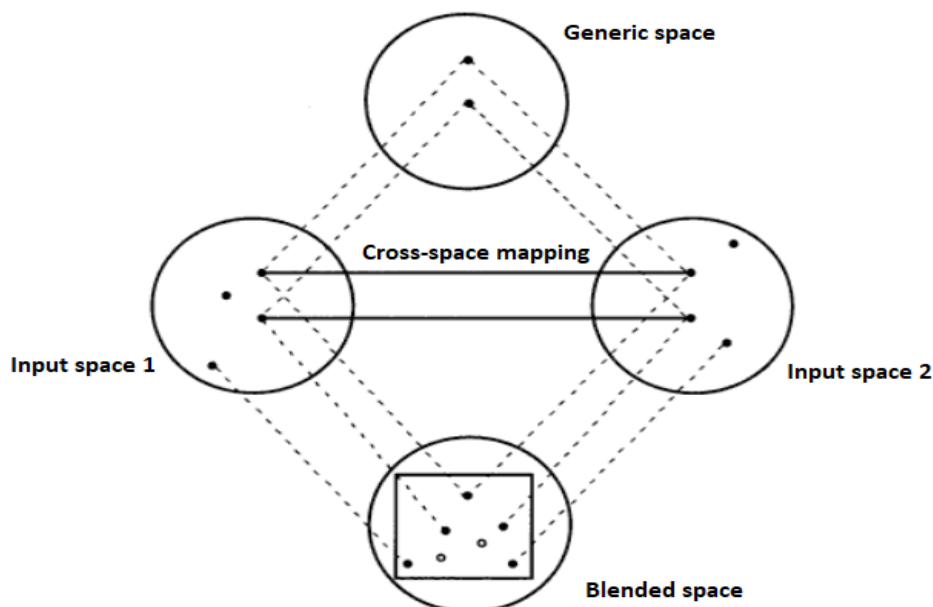


Figure 1. Conceptual blending/integration network

Fauconnier and Turner (1998) argue that the process of conceptual blending involves three stages creating an emergent structure: composition, completion, and elaboration. In the composition stage, the two input spaces are projected into the blended space. The resulting representations are not necessarily realistic. In the completion stage, based on the juxtaposition of the two input spaces, a pattern is filled out in the blended space and stored in the long-term memory. That is, a pre-existing background frame supplies missing aspects of the current scenario by means of inference. Finally, in the elaboration stage, a mental performance of the scenario is logically stimulated due to the dynamicity of the blend. Accordingly, other imaginary scenarios unfold, and other new frames arise. Yet, prior to these three stages remains the procedure of metaphor identification. Despite the diversity of metaphor identification procedure, the method offered by Pragglejaz Group (2007), known as MIP, have been proved as highly systematic, empirical, and reliable since it reduces individual bias. MIP identifies words with metaphorical potential once their conceptual and contextual meanings clash, thereby constructing cross-domain mappings. It follows four steps: (1) reading the entire text to establish a general meaning, (2) dividing the text into meaningful lexical units, (3) identifying the basic and contextual meanings of each lexical units and spotting similar and distinct senses, and (4) in case of dissimilarity between the basic and contextual meanings of a lexical unit, it is marked as metaphorical.

Furthermore, based on the notion of '*frame*' as conventional, schematic organization of knowledge, Fauconnier & Turner (2002, pp. 120-131) mention that the integration networks resulting from conceptual blending falls into four categories: simplex, mirror, single-scope, and double-scope. In a simplex

integration network, one input space consists of a frame (e.g. kinship, including roles such as ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘husband’, etc.), while the other input space consists of specific values (e.g. people assuming such roles) in a particular situation, i.e. it is a frame-to-value projection. In a mirror integration network, all spaces in the network share one organizing frame, e.g. cause and effect relations. In a single-scope integration network, the blend space relies on only one of two different input spaces, e.g. eating and reading as in ‘She digested the book’. Finally, in a double-scope integration network, a basic frame and identity properties are created by two different input spaces as each input space shares properties that do not exist in the other.

## METHOD

This section offers a description of the English and Arabic datasets, and the procedure of analysis following MIP and the theoretical underpinnings of CBT. The present study is based on selections of English and Arabic linguistic instantiations presumed to convey metaphorical meaning in written news discourse based on the scenario of a journey. These metaphorical instantiations are collected from a number of articles taken from eight newspapers published between 2011 and 2014 (see Figure 2), being the span that witnessed the spark of the Tunisian Revolution until the outset of Ben Ali and conducting of the first Tunisian presidential elections. The English newspapers are *The Independent*<sup>i</sup>, *The Guardian*<sup>ii</sup>, *The New York Times*<sup>iii</sup>, and *The Washington Post*<sup>iv</sup>. Meanwhile, the Arabic newspapers are *Al-Chourouk At-Tunisia*<sup>v</sup>, *Al-Sabbah News*<sup>vi</sup>, *Al-Jarida Al-Tunisia*<sup>vii</sup>, and *Al-Jomhuriyah*<sup>viii</sup>, and all of them are written in Modern Standard Arabic, the official language variety in the Middle East. The rationale of selecting these newspapers is that they represent diverse liberal and conservative political trends in addition to the fact that they are widely circulated and read as shown in the counter of visitors in their websites. Furthermore, a Google-based exploration shows that they include highly significant key word-forms marking the Tunisian revolution such as the *Tunisian Revolution* (الثورة التونسية), *Jasmine Revolution* (ثورة الياسمين), *revolt* (ثورة), *upheaval* (اضطراب), etc. and their Arabic counterparts, distributed over different sections including politics, the Middle East, opinions, and editorials.

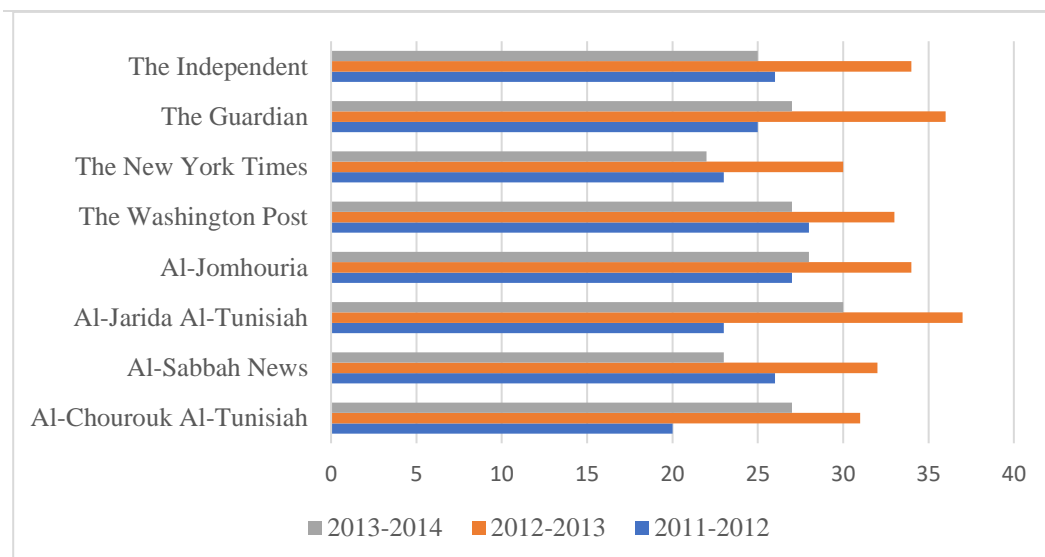


Figure 2. Google-based sources of datasets and the number of articles per each newspaper

The procedure of analysis adopted in the present study operates at three stages: metaphor identification, explication, and interpretation. For the identification of the metaphorical expressions framing the Tunisian Revolution, the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) proposed and developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) is followed. The MIP is largely claimed to be reliable, empirical, and flexible as far as metaphoricality varies across stretches of discourse. The explanation and interpretations stages are based on the theoretical foundations laid down by CBT (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Hence, taking the target domain of JOURNEY into consideration, the procedure of analysis could be summed up as follows. Firstly, the whole article has been read for stating its general meaning, and the lexical unit whose basic meaning proved to contrast with its contextual or analogy-induced meaning has been marked as being metaphorical. Different online corpus-based dictionaries were checked for spotting the literal meaning of each lexical unit. Each metaphorically marked lexical unit has been underlined and boldfaced. The Arabic excerpts have been literally translated into English. Secondly, based on co(n)textual cues, the input spaces underlying the use of each metaphorical expression were identified, and the metaphorical blending was explicated with reference to the scenarios identified in the generic space. Finally, based on the emerging integration network, the overarching cognitive metaphor has been used for interpreting the political events selected by the discourse producer to frame the Tunisian Revolution.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### List Of Lexical Units Making Up The Mega-Frame Of Journey

A close reading of the articles forming the English and Arabic datasets is quite revealing insofar as the Tunisian Revolution is concerned. Particularly regarding its core reasons, the conflicting political actors involved, transitional



period, parliamentary and presidential elections, and it is claimed to be the locomotive of the other revolutions. Based on the input space of JOURNEY, Figure (3) below shows the lexical units marked as metaphorical due to their contrasting basic and contextual senses.

Arabic dataset		English dataset	
المسار	منعرج	Pack one's bags	Slide toward
الانتقال	مسلك	Step	Avalanche
المرحلة الانتقالية	منعطف	Move	Scrambling
الطريق	مشارف	March	Rocky
مهدت	نهاية	Transition	Lumbering
انحراف	المروور إلى	Progress	Staggered
خارطة طريق	منارات	Path	Revert back
عودة	خطوات	Line	Sally forth
محطة	تنزلق	Turn	Cross
مغادره باتجاه	تتقدم	Smooth	Camp out
عبور	حافة الهاوية	Road map	Lurch
تجاوزنا الكثير	زورق بلا شراع	Obstacle	Foot steps
عثرات	رحلة طويلة	Head to	Roll on
رحيل	خط الوصول	Walk	No way back
تجتاز	يبحق	Reach	Set off
قطع الطريق	السبل	End	Far
منعرجات	حافة الخطر	Break down	Wear on
انسداد	قطعت شوطاً	Derail	Stops
سد منبع	تأشيرة	Direction	Starts
حجر العثرة	وقف	Faltering	Halt
نفق	ثفت طريقها	Bumps	The edge of
مطبات	خطوط حمراء	Take forward	Take backward
استقلت الفطار	رحلة	Steer toward	crossroads
خطوات مقدره	مفترق طرق	Move away	Cliff
مهدت له الطريق	مطبات	Right track	Departure
تسير في الاتجاه الصحيح	خارج السكة	Stop-go policy	Proceed

Figure 3. List of lexical units making up the mega-frame of JOURNEY

### *The cross-space mappings between journey and revolution*

As mentioned earlier, the Tunisian Revolution started on 17 December 2010 with the self-immolation of Bouazizi due to police malpractices, and ended with the downfall of the long-standing president Ben Ali. As per the traditional journey schema, the Tunisian Revolution had a beginning, a middle and an end. An aspect of such beginning is marked in the following instances:

١. اليوم نحن نسير طريقاً جديداً نطمح إلى تأسيس حكم يستمد شرعيته لا من القوة وإنما من التراضي الشعبي (الصباح نيوز – ١٨/٠٤/٢٠١٢)

Nowadays, we are proceeding on a new road aspiring for establishing a legitimate rule based on mutual consent, not on power

1. As the people of other North African and Arab nations staged their own topple-a-tyrant rebellions with varying degrees of success, Tunisia progressed relatively peaceably to democracy (The Independent, 7/1/2012)

The downfall of Ben Ali marked the beginning of the Tunisians' journey towards a legitimate rule based on popular consensus. By implicature, Ben Ali's

regime is represented as illegitimate and authoritarian, and therefore Ben Ali will never be one of the companions on such new road, i.e. he must depart. His departure is conceptualized through the image of a traveler packing his luggage, thereby marking the end of his journey as a ruler as shown in the following extract:

1. The United States didn't criticize Ben Ali until he was **packing his bags** (The Washington Post, 25/1/2011)

For the masses, the new journey road should ideally be initially paved, and hence the collocation يُمهّد الطريق (to pave the way) is used sparsely as shown in the following instance:

٢. 14 جانفي هو تاريخ غير النظام في تونس... لكن هياكل الدولة ومؤسساتها لم تتغير... تاريخ اعتبره البعض انقلابا **مهّدت له انتفاضة شعبية الطريق** (الشروق التونسية - ٢٠١٤/١/١٥)

2. 14 January is the date which changed the Tunisian regime, but the structure and institutions of Tunisia did not change. Some considered such date as a coup **whose way was paved by a popular uprising**

Though the Tunisian Revolution was largely welcomed as physically represented by the number of protesters who ran out to streets, it has been partially couched as a 'coup' or a 'rebellion' rather than a 'revolution'. Such labels would render it as illegitimate and even destructive.

Conventionally, the desired end of such a journey is to establish a legitimate rule. Good journey companions are normally expected to share similar interests, and therefore Ben Ali's regime cannot be faithful to any such expectations. Approaching the revolution as a journey road towards a political reform and revolutionaries as journey companions, the cognitive metaphor CORRUPTED REGIMES ARE BAD JOURNEY COMPANIONS is echoed in the following instantiation:

٣. بعد ان رفع التونسيون شعارات تطالب بالشغل والحرية والكرامة.. وبعد أن صاحوا «*dégage*» ضد كل أشكال الاستبداد والدكتاتورية والفساد يوم ١٤ جانفي ٢٠١١.. في ذلك اليوم **خرج الرئيس المخلوع وعائلته**. (الجريدة التونسية - ٢٠١٤/١/١٥)

After Tunisian people adopted slogans calling for employment, freedom and dignity, and after they shouted "dégage" against all forms of autocracy, dictatorship and corruption on January 14, 2011, **the ousted president and his family departed** (Al-Jaridah Al-Tunisiah, 15/1/2014)

Along the path of comprehensive reform, Tunisians witnessed various hardships which endangered the revolution path. As shown in the following instance, the then newly established democratic process has been personified as a toddler learning its first steps.

٤. تأتي هذه الذكرى العزيرة وقد نجحنا جميعا في عديد الاختبارات **وتجاوزنا الكثير من المشاكل** ونحن اليوم أكثر استعدادا **لمواصلة مسيرتنا المباركة من أجل استكمال**

الانتقال وبناء الديمقراطية... تأتي هذه الذكرى وقد تقدمت ديمقراطيتنا الناشئةخطوات مقدرة في تثبيت مكسب الحرية (الصباح نيوز - ٢٧/١٢/٢٠١٣)

In this honored anniversary (of the Tunisian revolution) we had passed various tests, and surmounted various problems. Today, we are more prepared to resume our blessed move for accomplishing transition and building democracy. In this anniversary, our newborn democracy had taken deliberate steps to maintain the profits of freedom

3. The events in Tunisia were a catalyst for the revolution here, but it doesn't mean that we will continue walking in their footsteps (The Guardian, 26/10/2011)

All possible considerable moves have been taken by Tunisians to achieve their revolutionary goals. Such moves are communicated through different lexical units such as خطوات مقدرة (deliberate steps), مسيرة مباركة (blessed move), انتقال/سلمي (peaceful transition), and المسار الديمقراطي (democratic path) in the Arabic dataset, and 'smooth/automatic transition', 'path ahead', 'right track', and 'important steps'. Therefore, it could be said that the scenario of setting goals, taking steps, and reaching a destination is underlain by the cognitive metaphor political reform is destinations. By analogy, the cognitive metaphor missing revolutionary goals is returning before reaching a destination is projected. To guarantee stable moves towards reform, a retreat line would never be permitted. This metaphorical correspondence is realized through diverse lexical units such as لا يعبر (going back), سحب العجلة إلى الوراء (pull the wheel back), العودة إلى الخلف (does not go back), and خطي ثابتة لا رجعة فيها (steady irreversible moves).

Since the outbreak of the Tunisian Revolution, the Tunisian youth have been deemed as the momentum of the revolts. Technology gave those youth a privilege as their moves, slogans, and demands were circulated very fast via the social media networks. The following instances serve as good examples:

4. Bloggers Lead the Way (The New York Times, 13/2/2011)

5. [The Tunisian youth] took the initiative and set the date and decided to go (The New York Times, 26/1/2011)

Though the Tunisian youth were so dedicated to the revolution, there was no clear leadership. Chaos swept over the country, and destinations were not well-identified. Furthermore, there was no ready collaboratively-made roadmap, and hence some of the journey companions were lost. Such instability can be conceptualized via the cognitive metaphor FAILURE TO ENACT A POLITICAL CHANGE IS BEING LOST. To avoid being lost in the journey course, a clear roadmap (خارطة طريق) to be charted and followed by all journey companions was a must. Consider the following instance:

٥. وأعطى الاتحاد العام التونسي للشغل الثقة إلى حكومة جديدة يفترض أن تكون مستقلة مكونة من كفاءات ملتزمة بخارطة الطريق (الصباح نيوز - ٢٠١٤/١/١٧)

The Tunisian General Labor Union declared its confidence in the new government which is supposed to be composed of independent competencies **committed to the roadmap**

The transitional periods stated in this roadmap metaphorically correspond to the stages agreed upon by the journey companions. These stages include reaching a political reconciliation, forming an independent government, scheduling elections, and preparing a conciliatory constitution. Such revolutionary measures are metaphorically approached through diverse vehicles on the way to reform such as trains and ships. Accordingly, the cognitive metaphor REVOLUTIONARY MEASURES ARE VEHICLES is projected. Consider the following metaphorical instance:

٦. وفوجئنا بهذه الجهة تتدخل وتقوم بعملية اغتيال «البراهمي» رحمه الله، لذلك خرج القطار التونسي عن مساره، وظل خارج السكة من ذلك الوقت إلى الآن، حتى رجع الحوار الوطني الذي عاد بالقطار التونسي إلى محطته، بعد أن أوشك القطار أن يتدهور نهائياً، وقد تسبب ذلك في تأخيرنا نحو خمسة أو ستة أشهر. (الجمهورية - ٢٠١٤/١/١٣)

We were surprised because of Al-Brahmy's assassination - God's mercy upon him, by this party. Hence, **the Tunisian train derailed and remained outside the railway from that time until now. The return of the national dialogue, the Tunisian train returned to its station after it was about to entirely deteriorate. Such case caused us to be late** for about five or six months.

The unmarked scenario of a journey train is that travelers pass by some stations until the final destination is reached. As represented in instance (11), to keep the Tunisian train (القطار التونسي) on track, a national dialogue (حوار وطني) must be maintained; otherwise, it would teeter and go off track; or simply a breakdown may set in causing a journey delay. Ill-practices such as assassinating the political leaders Mohamed Brahmi and Chokri Belaid were among hindrances that lowered the pace towards presidential elections. The necessity of initiating a national dialogue among the Tunisian political actors is echoed in the English dataset through the image of being on the verge of downfall from a cliff as illustrated in the following instance:

6. What impresses me about Tunisia is that the political actors seem **to walk to the edge of the precipice**, then **take a step back** and start talking to each other again. (The Guardian, 2/8/2013)

Similarly, the Tunisian journey is conceived of through the mental image of a voyage realized by diverse lexical units, including بر الأمان (shore of safety), مرفأً

منارات رشد (port of peace), زورق الخلاص (boat of salvation), and منارات (lighthouses). Consider the following instance.

٧. نحن في قلب زوبعة أو عاصفة، ولا ندري هل ستغرق الباخرة أم ستدفع بها إلى الأمام...  
الباخرة لم تغرق برغم العواصف، وهي تسير في الاتجاه الصحيح (الصباح نيوز -  
٢٠١٣/٣/٢٥)

We are in the heart of a tornado or a storm; we do not know whether it would **cause the ship to sink or to move forward.... The ship did not sink despite storms; it is going in the right direction**

In the above instance, the state of political chaos and unrest in Tunisia is conceptualized as a ship in a troubled, stormy sea. Though it is going on the right track, diverse factors might cause it to sink. Similarly, having the Tunisian Revolution with no leaders and political powers to drive it forward is mentally represented as a boat without a sail (زورق بلا شراع). That is, political multiplicity and heterogeneity has had the counterproductive effect of a blurred vision, and accordingly the shore scene has become hazy, if not lost sight of. Equally important, both datasets used the 'train' both explicitly (e.g. خرج القطار التونسي عن مساره) and implicitly (e.g. to derail democracy in Tunisia) as a key vehicle in the Tunisian journey. Just as trains move on tracks, a revolution should work to a well-planned course of action; otherwise, it may be prone to failure. Failure to follow the plan of the democratic journey is deemed as a 'return' to dictatorship as shown in the following instantiation:

7. Less than a handful of those revolutionary **transitions have reverted back** to dictatorship (The New York Times, 14/2/2013)

Conversely, on land, the journey schema is conceptually associated with steps (or moves) to be taken seriously and cautiously, especially amid dangers and perils. Such moves are realized by the lexical variants خطوة, خطي, and خطوات in the Arabic dataset and their English counterparts in the English dataset including 'steps', and 'moves', thereby projecting the cognitive metaphor revolutionary measures are steps in the path of journey. Such steps vary owing to the changing political situation, including guaranteeing transparent elections, establishing democratic institutions, formulating a fair constitution, enhancing socio-economic standards, and establishing regional unions (e.g. The Arab Maghreb Union). However, since the outbreak of the revolution, there has been no consensus among the political powers on the order of the coming potential moves, e.g. "النخبة"

**الخطوة القادمة** (the ruling elite which does not seem to agree on the next step). Still, elections are seen as the most reliable means for being on the right track of the revolution. The following instances serve as a good illustration:

8. If Tunisia's constitution is ratified and elections ***go forward***, it will demonstrate that the dream of liberal democracy is not a mirage in the Arab world. (The Washington Post, 10/1/2014)
9. The third is political settlement. That means all sides around the negotiating table, a ***swift return to the ballot box***, and no caviling at the outcome. (The Independent, 15/8/2013)

A universal aspect of the journey scenario is the existence of obstacles and impediments that travelers have to cross to reach their destination. The political void, deteriorating socio-economic level, and the counter-revolution are among the major obstacles that adversely affected the pace of the Tunisian journey towards democracy. These obstacles are textually represented through various lexical units, including طريق غير مُعَبَد (unpaved road), طريق محفوف بالمخاطر (fraught with dangers), منعرجات عديدة (many curves), مطبات (bumps), أشواك (thorns), عراقيل (impediments), حافة الهاوية (the edge of abyss), طريق مسدود (dead-end road), ليس مفروشاً بالورود (not furnished with flowers), and حجر عثرة (stumbling block). Similar lexical units can be found in the English dataset, including 'slow pace', 'a rocky and prolonged transition', 'hurdles', 'faltering', and 'very difficult to find a way forward'. Therefore, it could be said that these metaphorical instances are underlain by the cognitive metaphor anti-revolution forces/political faults are obstacles. Consider the following instances:

١٠. تدخل تونس اليوم على درب مسارها المتميز وقد بدى خط الوصول أماننا ليس بعيد  
بعد ان مررنا بمنعرجات عديدة. كان طريقنا غير معبد ومحفوف بعديد الصعوبات  
(الجريدة التونسية - ٢٣/١/٢٠١٤)

Today, Tunisia is going on its ***distinguished path***. ***The line of arrival*** is not far after ***we passed through many sinuous roads which were unpaved and fraught with numerous difficulties***

11. What impresses me about Tunisia is that the political actors seem ***to walk to the edge of the precipice***, then ***take a step back*** and start talking to each other again. (The Guardian, 2/8/2013)
12. And there are plenty of reasons to think we are not on the cusp of a democratic ***avalanche*** (The New York Times, 25/1/2011)

One newsworthy obstacle on the path of the Tunisian Revolution is the ideological clash between the so-called secular and Islamist political powers. The most powerful Islamist political party after the oust of Ben Ali tends to be El-Nahda Movement, which had a full control of the Tunisian parliament after the first parliamentary elections. Therefore, such secular powers became the new obstacles on Islamists' journey towards authority and vice versa. The orientation toward limiting the influence of El-Nahda is conceptualized as a blocked road, e.g. *لذلك* (to block the country's future road with El-Nahda). The reason is that El-Nahda would never leave rule easily, e.g. *ستكون رحلة*

البلد معها طويلة جداً (the country's journey with El-Nahda would be too long). The same challenge represented by El-Nahda is taken one step further in the English dataset as El-Nahda is evaluated as a more experienced journey companion moving cautiously to achieve political gains. The following instance serves as a good illustration:

13. But where Ennahda ***moved with caution*** and regard for consensus, the Brotherhood drafted a constitution that many revolutionaries rejected (The Guardian, 16/1/2014)

Furthermore, the English dataset is considerably concerned with the previous corrupt regime as the real challenge on the path to democracy. The frequent reference to Ben Ali's authoritarian rule makes it clear that the journey's perennial enemy is counter-revolution and the '*lumbering*' legal system that holds lingering trials as illustrated in the following expressions:

14. The Tunisian news media have reported that some of the violence was provoked by elements of the ancient régime seeking to undermine the new government and justify a ***return*** to dictatorship (The New York Times, 13/2/2011)
15. Yet the flawed and ***lumbering*** legal system has not satisfied a population yearning for genuine justice. (The Guardian, 15/7/2011)

Within the limits of the dataset, the best solution to overcome such obstacles is that all political parties and movements should reach a national reconciliation as shown in the following instance:

١٦. بما يعين على تحقيق وفاق وطني ***يفتح الطريق أمام استكمال مسار انتقالي متعثر ومهدد بأخطار الانهيار*** في أوضاع إقليمية مشتتة. (الشروق التونسية - ١٣/١١/٢٠١٣)

Thereby helping to achieve national reconciliation and to ***open the way for the completion of a failing transitional path threatened by the dangers of collapse*** amidst burning regional situations

This reconciliatory national dialogue would act like a compass for telling the appropriate direction and track to effect the desired political change. Hence, lack of political vision is better represented by the cognitive metaphor failure to effect a political change is being lost. By analogy, the cognitive metaphor carrying out conciliatory political activities is walking on the right path is projected. Repeated questions of which way to follow or for which destination Tunisia is heading reduplicate the notion of being lost. Consider the following metaphorical instance:

١٧. ثورة الياسمين: ***تونس إلى أين؟ والتداعيات الإقليمية*** (الشروق التونسية - ٢٥/١/٢٠١١)
- Jasmine Revolution: ***Where Tunisia is heading*** to and the regional repercussions

As the leaders of the Tunisian Revolution vary, the destination of the democratic journey differ. Such a destination includes holding elections, forming the constitution, raising living standards, ending corruption, preventing the previous corrupted regime from assuming new political roles, and finally rendering Tunisia

as a successful democratic experience as shown in the following metaphorical instantiations.

١٨. وضاح خنفر: تونس تقود طريق العرب نحو الديمقراطية (الجمهورية - ٢٠١١/١٢/١٩)

Wadah Khanfar: Tunisia leads the Arabs' path towards democracy

19. From Arab Spring to elections: Tunisia steps into a new era (The Guardian, 21/10/2011)

All of the previously projected cognitive metaphors could be now grouped under one overarching cognitive metaphor blending the input spaces of JOURNEY and REVOLUTION. The input space of JOURNEY, based on the schema of PATH, helped to unearth various aspects of the ideologies governing the Tunisian Revolutions with reference to their reasons, leaders, major political parties, problems, and possible solutions. The metaphorical correspondences underlying the blend of JOURNEY and REVOLUTION are best illustrated in Figure 4 below.

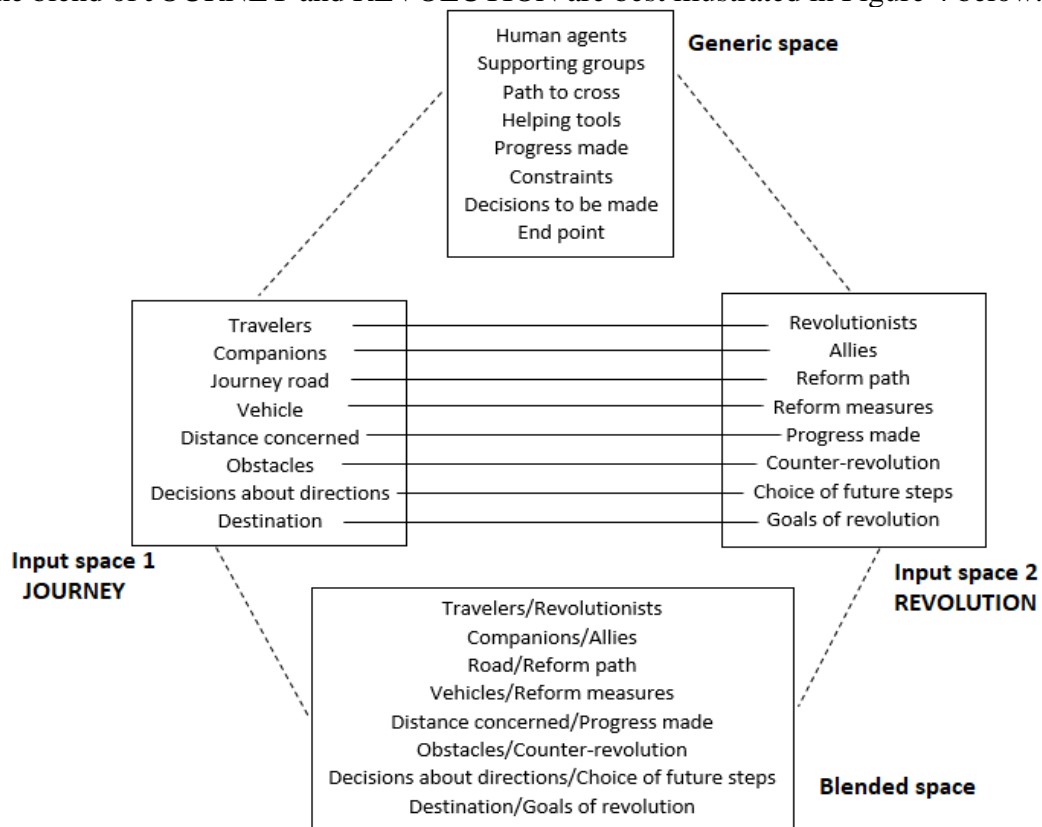


Figure 4. Conceptual integration network: the tunisian revolution is a journey

The present journey concept has a point of departure, a scheduled path, and a destination. As shown in Figure 2, the knowledge structure governing a journey has been put into correspondence with the scenario of the Tunisian Revolution. Both input spaces share the generic features of having a human activity, agents, supporters, path, tools, impediments, online decision making, and an end. On



account of the cross-space mappings between journey and revolution, nearly any concept related to the revolutionary experience is likely to have a counterpart in the journey frame. That is, metaphorical mappings are conceivably established as such: (a) travelers and revolutionaries, (b) course of journey and path to reform, (c) obstacles and counterrevolution, (d) vehicles and strategies of political change, (e) journey companions and political allies, (f) and destination and comprehensive reform and liberty. However, the blended space shows incongruity between the ends of a journey and that of a revolution. While journeys are meant for entertainment and amusement, a revolution typically ends with the triumph of one team and the failure of the other.

### **Pedagogical Implications**

Based on the study findings, I would argue that contrasting cognitive metaphors in English and Arabic would offer insights into both the universal and culture-specific nature of metaphors as well as their manipulation in vocabulary teaching, text analysis, and translation. Cognitive metaphors have been proved to be a part of everyday language, and also they are found in different discourses. The findings reached in the present study regarding news discourse could be extended to other types of discourses. Learning the way cognitive metaphors work would help to bridge linguistic as well as cultural differences especially when it comes to the analysis of sensitive topics such as political revolutions and upheaval. Furthermore, cognitive metaphors would show language learners how to organize their knowledge through the cross-mapping of domains owing to the universality of human thought. This fact is evinced by the similarities found in phrasing comments and analyses about the Jasmine Revolution through the blend generated between the conceptual frames of JOURNEY and REVOLUTION. Equally important, teachers of English and Arabic as a second language could benefit from the findings of the present study in enhancing vocabulary learning, retention, and figurative lexis acquisition, especially in second language learning. Learning vocabulary through blending conceptual frames would also enhance learners' creative writing skills. That is, learners would learn that a lexeme or a lexical bundle – specially diffuse and abstract ones – could signify diverse meanings across registers and discourses through metaphorical extension in addition to their prototypical meanings.

### **CONCLUSION**

Bearing in mind the complexity and high abstraction of political discourse, Semino (2008) argues that “metaphors can provide ways of simplifying complexities and making abstractions accessible” (p. 90). Anchoring the concept of REVOLUTION to that of JOURNEY creates a kind of semantic tension that helps journalists to evoke emotional responses and manipulate the discursive function of metaphors as persuasive tools. Indeed, the integration network representing the interrelations between REVOLUTION and JOURNEY managed to uncover a great deal about the prospects, attitudes, and values that governed the

Tunisian Revolution from 2010 to 2014. Assessing the events unfurling in Tunisia, the analysis of the English and Arabic datasets showed that the conceptual domain of journey fits typically to explain the basic political actors, political allies and adversaries, the action plan, implemented strategies, hindrances, and goals. Both datasets marked the Tunisian Revolution as legitimate in a country suffering from corruption and autocracy. Also, both datasets focused on the revolution's main constraints including political void and the counterrevolution. However, the English dataset was much concerned with the escalating power of Islamists. The emerging cognitive metaphors tend to have broadened the readers' conceptual understanding of the Tunisian Revolution by recontextualizing such an unprecedented political status by means of a seemingly common language describing the purposeful activity of having a journey. The input space of JOURNEY has been used by journalists and news reporters as a discourse strategy to get readers solidarize with the Tunisian revolutionaries, and to construct their own socio-political reality. This affirms the claim that "revolution gains public attention not merely when it is televised, but when a certain discourse of knowledge is produced on it, which people can refer to" (Reumert, 2014, p. 28).

The conceptual integration network emerged in this study is *single-scope* as the two input spaces of JOURNEY and REVOLUTION have different organizing frames. Only the frame of JOURNEY is projected to organize the blend. Based on the cognitive metaphorical chain created through the domain of journey, readers are invited to believe that Tunisians had no choice but to tolerate the hardships of the revolutions, select loyal political companions, go through ups and downs, and move forward toward fulfilling their goals. Though journeys and revolutions are purposeful activities, their means are totally different, an aspect revealing much about the semantic tension between the two conceptual frames. That is, while a journey is conventionally associated with entertainment and joy, a revolution with blood, violence, and discord. Equally important, due to the span of the dataset, much about the results of the Tunisian Revolution has been revealed. This would explain the reason beyond the skeptical tone that characterized most of the metaphorical instantiations covering the diverse aspects of the Tunisian journey toward liberty. Therefore, future research is recommended to explore other integration networks based on other input space so as to offer more in-depth analysis of mediated discourse on the Arab revolts. Corpus tools might be used for addressing larger datasets across different languages. Findings could help with augmenting second language learning through improving learners' metaphorical competence and awareness.

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