

# **Metaphorical Systems and their Implications to Teaching English as a Foreign Language**

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**Abstract**

This paper is about an investigation into metaphorical systems as an approach to teach polysemous words to foreign language learners. Metaphorical usage is prevalent in authentic texts and the foreign language learner when dealing with them is faced with words that carry several meanings. In order to see the prevalence as such and also to see the nature of polysemy in comparison with the first language, two newspaper articles at random were chosen. The articles are both on the same topic, elections, and one is in English and the other in Japanese. The metaphorical systems found in the articles were found to be prevalent in both languages except for a few marked ones. However, the extent of polysemy seemed to differ. The method of translating each article into the other language made comparison of the usage of the polysemous words useful. It is argued that such an effective way of discovering polysemy may facilitate vocabulary learning. In conclusion, this study favors the introduction of an approach that uses metaphorical systems to develop the foreign language learner's English vocabulary.

# **Metaphorical Systems and their Implications to Teaching English as a Foreign Language**

## **1. Introduction**

In their joint commitment to finding out ‘how people understand their language and their experience’, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980: iv) studied the patterns of metaphors that occurred in everyday English. They found a systematicity in the usage of conventional expressions and novel language constructions as well as a systematicity in the reasoning of abstract concepts. Their findings led them to the generalization that ‘our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature’ (1980: 4) and that it is in constant use just like the ‘system of grammatical and phonological rules’ that operate unconsciously and automatically (Lakoff in Ortony, 1993: 245), and thus challenging the traditional view that figurative language is ‘unimportant, deviant, and parasitic on “normal usage”’ (Ortony, A. 1993:2).

For the English teacher, such as myself, this has some important implications. I have often wondered of ways to promote the understanding of metaphorical concepts ‘in the way that the target language community does’ (Deignan et al, 1998: 70). In the ‘authentic material’ I use, such as humourous language, song lyrics, movie scripts, newspaper and magazine articles, myths, tales and fables, the students have to deal with numerous metaphorical concepts which are sometimes quite different from their own Japanese ones. Usually, I would resort to paraphrasing, translations and dictionary definitions. But now with mounting evidence and empirical findings (Johnson, 1987; Kovecses, 1986; Sweetser, 1990) related to the systematicity and pervasiveness of conventional metaphors, I am motivated to think of a more macroscopic way of dealing with the problem.

In this paper, I will attempt at identifying and comparing the ‘metaphorical systems’ (i.e: the systematicity of metaphors) used in two newspaper articles, one in English and the other in Japanese. This is relevant to my teaching situation at Kyoto Municipal Saikyo Senior High School in Japan where I am preparing my students to read and comprehend university entrance examination reading texts which are usually ‘adult level, well-written, grammatically and stylistically correct’ (Brown, 1995).

After an analysis of the metaphorical systems, it will be argued that the systematic nature of metaphorical systems can be of use to the foreign language learner. But, first I will clarify my understanding of the term metaphorical systems, and attempt at showing how pervasive they are supposed to be in everyday language. It is argued that by

showing the pervasiveness of metaphors and their systems, the necessity of bringing them to the attention of learners becomes clearer.

## 2. Metaphorical Systems

### 2.1 Metaphors

In their study of metaphors, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) have found that far from being poetic and figures of speech, they were pervasive in conventional language and thought. Expressions like, *Your claims are indefensible; He attacked every weak point in my argument; His criticisms were right on target;* revealed the underlying metaphorical concept of: 'Argument is War'. In this way, they were able to identify many metaphorical concepts underlying our language about time, events, motion, spaces and emotions, to name a few.

One salient feature of these concepts is the systematic way the words from the source domain (war) are used in everyday language to describe the abstract war-like aspects in the target domain (argument). Another, is that when using the **Argument is War** system, other aspects of the target domain (e.g., cooperative aspects) become 'hidden' (ibid: 10).

Metaphorical language allows us to express our abstract and difficult concepts in concrete terms. Therefore, I can talk about *love* in terms of *falling in some bounded region*; and not just be content with the literal meaning of *love* to convey that extraordinary feeling. These are some of the features that make up the essential nature of a metaphorical utterance.

For the native speaker who is unaware of the metaphorical systems operating in the mind readily understands and uses expressions such as: '*Look how far we have come*', '*It's been a long, bumpy road*', '*We can't turn back now*' and '*We're at a crossroads*' (Lakoff in Ortony, 1993: 206). Lakoff and Johnson say that this is possible due to the 'generalizations governing polysemy' and 'generalizations governing inference patterns' found in language.

This brings up the question, **How can the foreign language learner acquire such unconscious behaviour?**

Hypothetically speaking, the acquisition process may be facilitated when the metaphorical systems are used to bring to the attention of the learner the 'generalizations governing polysemy' that are described 'in terms of conceptual organization' (Lakoff, 1987: 334) or for practical purposes exposure to the conventional usage of metaphorical expressions.

As far back as 1973, H. Clark hypothesized that many of our everyday metaphors relate to human perceptual systems and experiences with the real world and thus would

occur across languages (Hatch and Brown, 1995: 92-93). However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have shown that everyday metaphors in a language are culturally as well as perceptually based.

## 2.2 Primary Metaphors

Just by functioning normally in the world, we automatically and unconsciously acquire and use a vast number of such metaphors. Those metaphors are realized in our brains *physically* and are mostly beyond our control. They are a consequence of the nature of our brains, our bodies, and the world we inhabit. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 59)

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (ibid: 45) point out that the reason we conceptualize for example: **understanding an idea as grasping an object**, lies in the primary metaphors we have built up since early childhood (ibid: 46~47). These metaphors are said to have developed after a period of conflation of our subjective and sensorimotor experiences. These experiences gradually give way to ‘a period of differentiation’ creating separate domains, while the cross-domain associations continue to persist (ibid: 46). This cognitive mechanism of cross-domain associations is what allows us to view a subjective experience of **understanding an idea** in terms of the sensorimotor experience of **grasping**. Similarly, there are supposed to be several hundred of such primary metaphors (ibid: 57) prevalent in a culture. Some of them possibly exist, it is predicted, universal across cultures.

## 2.3 Basic Event-Structure Metaphor

The basic event-structure metaphor reveals ‘our most fundamental understanding of what events and causes are’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 178). In addition, Lakoff (in Ortony, 1993:219~220) had previously emphasized that ‘various aspects of event structure, including notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means, are characterized cognitively via metaphors in terms of space, motion, and force’.

The basic event-structure metaphors are fundamental categories through which we comprehend the world and such basic event-structure metaphors ‘are fundamental not only to our literal conceptualization of the world but to our metaphorical conceptualization as well’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 231). Support for this comes from the studies of Berlin et al (1974), Hunn (1977), Mervis and Rosch (1981) and Tversky and Hemenway (1984) who have shown that ‘our earliest and most natural form of categorization’ (Lakoff, 1987: 49) are the basic-level categories.

Of the many salient features of the basic event-structure metaphor (for discussion refer to Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), the hierarchical nature found in the interaction between metaphorical systems seems to stand out as being relevant to the foreign language learner. For example, the **Life is a Journey** metaphor entails the interaction of other events in life such as, **love**, **career** and so on. In other words, The **Love is a Journey** and **Career is a Journey** metaphors inherit the structure of **Life is a Journey** metaphor (Lakoff in Ortony, 1993: 223~224). This inheritance factor allows for expressing **love** and **career** domains in terms of the **journey** domain. This expression of metaphors in general categories is what connects them or in Lakoff and Johnson's words gives them 'coherence' (1980: 43~45).

## 2.4 Shortcomings

Though Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1999) and Gibbs (1994) have emphasized that metaphorical systems motivate large areas of our language use, Cacciari (in Katz et al, 1998: 187) cites two crucial problems. One, that the perceptual experience ends up being, once again, "disembodied", in their 'well-structured and predictable mappings' bearing similarities to the 'abstract-based format of traditional semantic accounts'. Two, that findings in the field of meaning representation studies (Cacciari, 1997; Cacciari and Levorato, 1997) show the inadequacy of the 'inferential-literal' language in describing many visual, haptic, kinesthetic and other perceptions (ibid: 187). In addition, Deignan (in Cameron and Low, 1999), finds the present theory of metaphorical systems to be inadequate in explaining the partial and overlapping aspects of metaphor.

Furthermore, Thornbury (1991) points out, that we need more justification before we rush to generalize for example, **She lost me then** as evidence that **she** is behaving according to the underlying metaphorical concept of **Learning is a Journey**. Gibbs (in Cameron and Low, 1999: 64) agrees and Low (ibid: 64) suggests the need for more ethnographic evidence.

## 3. Metaphorical Systems in the Newspaper Articles

In the next part of this paper, an attempt will be made at identifying the metaphorical systems found in similar newspaper articles of an English newspaper and a Japanese one. The systems will be compared and their similarities and differences will be highlighted. Finally, in this way, some important implications for the foreign language learner will be formulated.

### **3.1 Materials and Method**

For this study, an article about the elections in Iran from the February 21, 2000 issue of the Herald Tribune (see Appendix A) and a similar article on the same date from the issue of the Asahi Shimbun (see Appendix B), randomly selected, will be the subject of this investigation.

First, the metaphorical systems in the English newspaper article have been listed by categorizing the conventional metaphors (Table 1, Appendix C). Next, the same can be seen for the Japanese newspaper article in Table 2, Appendix D. Later, for the purpose of locating the similarities and differences in the metaphorical systems of the respective articles, the conventional metaphors were translated into the language of comparison (Table 1, and Table 2). However, only those metaphorical systems occurring more than once in the articles have been considered as the main metaphorical systems. The other metaphorical systems in the articles that were determined from single occurrences of conventional metaphors are not dealt with in this paper, but only those found to be different or marked when translated are cited and dealt with in section 3.6 of this paper (also Table 3, Appendix E).

For this study, *'The New Japanese-English Dictionary'* (Koh Masuda, 1974) was the basis for all the Japanese to English translations, and Mr. Kazutaka Nomura's (Japanese English teacher at Rakusei Junior and Senior High Schools) expertise for the Japanese translations.

### **3.2 Limitations**

The method of identifying the metaphorical systems is limited by the ability to recognize the source and target domains. There is going to be a 'measure of subjectivity' and 'randomness' in such a 'unilateral approach' (Graham Low, 1999: 49~51). In addition, 'peripherally relatable' (ibid) cases of metaphors might be emphasized due to reading the articles many times over. Finally, with an approach that is dependent on translation for seeking out the differences and similarities there is the danger of being satisfied when the 'truth conditions' (Lakoff, 1987: 316) have been fulfilled, thereby missing 'how concepts are organized'.

### 3.3 The Main English Metaphorical Systems in the English Newspaper Article and their prevalence in Japanese

The following metaphorical systems were found to operate in more than one instance of conventional metaphorical expressions in the English newspaper article:

- **Election is a Race**
- **Election is War**
- **Elections are Locations**
- **Election is a Movement of an Object**

(refer to Table 1, Appendix C for details)

The four metaphorical systems underlying the English newspaper article is dispersed in the following way:

- **Election is a Race** has thirteen sentences.
- **Election is War** has nine sentences of which seven overlap with the **Election is a Race** system.
- **Elections are Locations** has four sentences.
- **Elections is a Movement of an Object** has five sentences.

Now, in order to see the prevalence of the conventional metaphors found in the English newspaper article in Japanese, the expressions were translated. Conventional metaphors in Japanese were found prevalent for a majority of the cases. The exceptions were found for one sentence in the **Election is a Race** system, and all the five sentences in the **Election is a Movement of an Object** system.

The sentence, 'Preliminary results showed Mr. Rafsanjani coming in as far down the list as twenty-fifth' uses the words *coming in* metaphorically. This when translated to Japanese is nonsensical as the *ni kiteiru* the Japanese translation for *coming in* cannot be used to describe the meaning of the English sentence. Instead, the sentence would have to be translated using the Japanese words *ni ranku sareta* to literally mean, *was ranked* so as to describe the result of the candidate.

As for **Election is a Movement of an Object**, all the five sentences do not have translations using the same English equivalents for *went to*, *put in*, *give*, *handed* and *moving* (refer to Table 1, Appendix C) which in Japanese are *ni itta*, *ni oku*, *ataeru*, *tewatasu* and *ugokasu*, respectively. Instead, *tori* meaning *has taken*; *nari* meaning *became*; *ni yori* meaning *through*, *ijoushita* meaning *transfer*, and *ni* meaning *towards*, are the translations for the English words cited above. Nevertheless, these are words describing *movement of an object*. This indicates the similarity of the system but differences in describing the concepts. Moreover, as the words are all from the same

source domain of *movement of an object*, it is likely that this is a case of ‘coherence’ showing the connections between the metaphors in both languages.

### 3.4 The Main Japanese Metaphorical Systems in the Japanese Newspaper Article and their prevalence in English

The following metaphorical systems were found to operate in more than one instance of conventional metaphorical expressions in the Japanese newspaper article:

- **Election is War**
- **Election is a Race**
- **Positions are Body Parts**

(refer to Table 2, Appendix D for details)

The Japanese newspaper article is mainly based on two metaphorical systems and one other metaphorical system in a minor way. The occurrence of the metaphors are as follows:

- **Election is War** has twenty-one sentences.
- **Election is a Race** has seven sentences of which three sentences overlap with the **Election is War** system.
- **Positions are Body Parts** has two sentences.

Interestingly, all the Japanese conventional metaphors in the newspaper article could be translated into English without any sense of loss of the concepts that are expressed (refer to Table 2, Appendix D).

### 3.5 A Closer Look at Both the Systems

The two articles seem to highlight similar concepts about the elections in Iran. They highlighted the *war* and *race* aspects of the elections. However, the Japanese newspaper article stressed the *war* aspects more while the English newspaper article stressed the *race* aspect a little more than the *war* aspect. There were quite a few sentences indicating the *location* and *movement of an object* aspects, as well.

As a result, the *cooperative* and *journey* aspects that elections carry were hidden in both articles. For example, the elections might have been held in a very orderly and under civil circumstances (in some areas) showing cooperation among the voters, election officials and candidates. Besides, the long-term effects elections have on a country and the direction they take the country in have been hidden or downplayed.

Other similarities can be seen in the use of the expression *landslide victory* in both newspaper articles, and many instances of the use of the same polysemous words in the *war* and *race* domains. Similarities in most of the concepts can be seen in translations,

where most of the metaphorical expressions were found to exist in both languages.

However, the use of the exact same words differed in certain places. For example, the word *run* used to express *running for elections* had a corresponding word in Japanese called *shutsuba* (literally meaning *running away* or *run for*). On further analysis this word revealed that it is used only to describe the act of standing for election or running for election. Though the Chinese characters of 出 (*shutsu*, meaning *emerge* or *put out*), and 馬 (*ba* meaning *horse*) have metaphorical connotations, Lakoff and Johnson would call such usage as a ‘dead metaphor’ (1999: 126).

Moreover the Japanese word for *run* is *hashiru* which is not used to express the act of *running in an election*. In other words, the polysemous meanings of the English word *run* are not the same for the ones found for *hashiru*. One clear example can be seen in the following sentence where *hashiru* is not used for the translation: *His arguments run counter to what we have proposed*. The converse is also true. The Japanese language uses the word *hashiru* (*run*) to describe a moving car such as in the following: *hashitteiru kuruma kara tobi oriru* (*Jump off a moving car*). In the English language it would sound nonsensical to say, *Jump off a running car*.

There were many such words where the extent of polysemy varied. The Japanese particles ‘*ni*’ and ‘*o*’ are polysemous, too. ‘*ni*’ can mean *in*, *at*, *on* and *into*. While ‘*o*’ can mean *at*, *of*, *on*, *in* and *with*. This could be a very troublesome area to learn for a foreign language speaker, and in addition this seems to cause a lot of confusion to my students when dealing with English prepositions.

In the Japanese expressions under **Positions are Body Parts**, English equivalents were available, but on closer examination, there is a small difference in the Chinese character for *head* used to describe a *leader* or a *head of an organization*. The character used is 首 (*neck*) and not 頭 (*head*).

There were also two Japanese sentences with words that would sound odd when translated into English. The metaphorical systems followed were, **Blood Relations are Real** and **Omission is a Leakage** which are quite marked for the English language (refer to Table 3, Appendix E). The word *jittei* (*real younger brother*) is used to distinguish blood relations from other relations. It is common in the Japanese language to combine the Chinese character for *real* (実) with family relations such as, *real-father* (実父), *real-mother* (実母), and *real-older-brother* (実兄).

In the case of the metaphorical system **Omission is a Leakage**, a single occurrence of a Japanese sentence that describes a person being *omitted* from the list as a *leakage* (*moreta*), quite awkward in English. However, this word *moreta* (past tense of *moreru*) is also used for describing a *leaked secret*, very similar to the English usage in this

sense.

Finally, phrases such as *social labels*, *labeled as an American* and *labeled as a slang in my dictionary* are marked expressions in Japanese. The conventional usage of the word for *label* (*retteru*) is different in Japanese, though it is used to translate the just mentioned phrases. The English metaphorical system of **Categories are Labels** seems to sound odd in the Japanese language.

All in all, most of the metaphorical systems found in both the newspaper articles could be translated back and forth into the two languages with little loss of the meaning they carry. It may be safe to say that the metaphorical systems used for describing elections are very similar in the two languages. This could be due to the universality of the concepts governing elections across many languages. However, the extent of the polysemous usage of the words appearing in the metaphors seems to vary.

#### **4. Implications for Foreign Language Learners**

It is believed that as foreign language learners already possess ‘world knowledge’ and ‘discourse knowledge’ which can be used to help where there is a lack of ‘linguistic knowledge’ (Singleton and Little, 1991), an awareness of universal and differing metaphorical concepts may also be helpful.

Translating tasks are very common in Japanese English classrooms and this practice is highly favoured by most of the Japanese secondary school English teachers (Hino, 1988; Mulvey, 1999). However, using this task for ‘hypothesis testing’ (Rutherford, 1987: 18) is rare as mostly the practice is to do with building vocabulary and grammar knowledge (*ibid*). It is possible that by using translation as a tool to seek the metaphorical systems that underlie the target text the Japanese English teachers may find a way of providing for a more stimulating discussion of the phrases and words being used.

By contrasting and comparing the metaphorical systems used in authentic texts by first setting up a task of translation may offer the foreign language learner the opportunity to obtain ‘data crucial for the testing of hypothesis’ (Rutherford, 1987: 18). The data will speak of the similarities and differences in the metaphorical expressions and polysemous usage of words. For example, the information gleaned from the comparisons made between the English and Japanese newspaper articles on the elections in Iran could be extended to a writing exercise to describe elections in Japan. Furthermore, such topics as *politics* or *debating* could be described using the same source domain of **War** (same as for *elections*). In this way, the foreign language learner could form generalizations and strategies through trial and error for expressing abstract

concepts, and in addition develop a strong familiarity with the polysemous meanings of the words.

However, the introduction of metaphorical systems as an approach for understanding the target language may first require some understanding of the 'approach' itself. Metaphorical idioms may be a good source. One book, *The Big Picture* (King, 1999) in particular stands out for listing such idioms under metaphorical systems. King (ibid: xi) suggests that it becomes easier to remember such idioms when the meanings they entail are understood. Interestingly, the many metaphorical idioms are described in pictures, too. Again, a compare and contrast task by translation of the metaphorical idioms could be one way to introduce the 'approach'.

Familiarity to the foreign language may be facilitated, if not accelerated, by developing a familiarity to the metaphorical concepts that underlie the target language. Teachers of English as a foreign language need to provide tools and strategies to their learners to help them effectively build semantic memories of the words and phrases in the target language. The effectiveness can only be judged to the extent such knowledge of words and phrases are retained in long-term memory. The argument here is that metaphorical systems provide patterns in the linguistic data which may help build solid semantic mappings of words and phrases in the learner's brain as opposed to rote learning and learning from lists.

However, it is acknowledged that for a pattern to be discerned the brain requires quantum amounts of experience (Hart, 2002), which again are necessary for applying the pattern (ibid). In learning a foreign language as opposed to a second language, exposure is mainly limited to the classroom thereby making 'quantum amounts of experience' a far cry. Then what should be given priority is to provide efficient modes of exposure to the foreign language learner.

It may be interesting to note, that for example, a study in 1987 concluded that students (not foreign language students, however) were generally retaining, 10% of what they had read, 26% of what they had heard, 30% of what they had seen, 50% of what they had seen and heard, 70% of what they had said, and 90% of what they had said as they were doing something (J. Stice, 1987, in "Engineering Education" 77: 29, 1-296). It could be possible then, that the task of translating into the first language with the purpose of discovering the behaviour of polysemous words through contrast and comparison with the target language may actually help the learners retain more knowledge of the vocabulary and its semantics.

## **5. Conclusion**

This paper has been an attempt to find the implications of metaphorical systems in teaching English as a foreign language. For this purpose, random and dated newspaper articles which appeared in both English and Japanese dailies, that happen to be about elections in Iran, were selected and their respective metaphorical systems were compared and contrasted. The findings point to the many similarities in concepts regarding the description of elections. This study attempted to formulate some implications metaphorical systems have for the foreign language learner. Though this research has not been exhaustive, an attempt has been made to find a use for the pervasive nature of metaphorical systems. Metaphorical language is often a part-and-parcel of authentic material. In dealing with such material the foreign language learner is faced with the polysemous use of words. To be able to adequately grasp and use these words the learner requires a methodology that follows a systematic and reliable approach. This study into the nature of metaphorical systems and their pervasive nature in languages has shown that it may be one such approach. However, further research, especially empirically based evidence, is required to justify the use of metaphorical systems as a tool for teaching some areas of English as a foreign language.

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# Iranians Stun Conservatives With Landslide for Reform

By Geneive Abdo

*Special to the International Herald Tribune*

TEHRAN — Reformers allied with President Mohammed Khatami appeared Sunday to have won a solid victory over conservative rivals in parliamentary elections seen as crucial to moving Iran toward democratic change.

With about two-thirds of the votes counted, reformist candidates had swept to victory in virtually all major cities, some of which were once conservative strongholds.

In Tehran, candidates from Mr. Khatami's political faction were poised for a big victory. Preliminary results put the president's brother, Mohammed Reza Khatami, in first place, making him a strong contender for Parliament speaker.

Results released Sunday by Interior Ministry officials in charge of counting

the ballots showed reformers leading with approximately 102 of 290 parliamentary seats, while about 43 seats went to conservative candidates and 37 to independents. At least 50 contests will require second-round runoffs. Both reformists and conservative camps were claiming the independents as their own.

The true colors of the independent candidates, which could have a decisive impact on the degree of the reformers' strength in the new Parliament, will not be known until Parliament convenes.

Political labels in Iran are ambiguous and some candidates deliberately ran as independents to disguise their affiliations.

The election, held Friday, was seen as a referendum on Mr. Khatami's program for government accountability to the people, a civil society based on the rule of law and a political system with true separation of powers.

The battle for Parliament was so in-

tense that, when word spread of suspected vote-rigging Saturday in southern Khuzestan Province, clashes erupted. The state news agency IRNA said Sunday that eight people were killed.

Residents in the town of Shush accused the incumbent Parliament member of winning a seat through vote-buying and bribery.

The police used tear gas and shot into the air to disperse hundreds of demonstrators who hurled stones at the governor's office and attacked banks and state buildings.

An estimated 80 percent of the electorate cast their ballots in the balloting. Some said that they believed the election was a chance for social freedom and a true party system for the first time in Iranian history.

Now that millions of voters have

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handed President Khatami the mandate he desperately sought, the challenge he faces is to construct an Islamic system that is compatible with democracy.

Reformers from the Islamic Iran Participation Front, Mr. Khatami's ticket, won all five seats in Meshed, Iran's second-largest city, which is generally conservative. They also won all five seats in Isfahan, Iran's most politically polarized city.

The head of the leading conservative coalition, Mohammed Reza Bahonar, conceded defeat in Tehran. Even though definitive results will not be known for a few days, reformers captured at least the first 5 top places of 30 seats up for election.

A reformer who won handily was Alireza Nouri, brother of Abdullah Nouri, a jailed dissident cleric.

A conservative-dominated clerical court sentenced Abdullah Nouri to five years in prison in November, preventing him from running in the parliamentary election. He is one of Iran's most popular politicians and had been expected to head President Khatami's ticket and to become speaker of Parliament if the reformers won a majority of seats.

Mr. Nouri was released Sunday from jail, on leave until Wednesday. He told Reuters in an interview that he was pleased with the election results.

Jamileh Kadivar, a former adviser to President Khatami and the sister of a reformist theologian now in jail for his writings, appeared to finish within the first 5 places for one of the 30 seats representing Tehran.

"This election is a vote by the people for continuation of policies began with Khatami's election more than two years ago," Mrs. Kadivar said in an interview Sunday. "During the last two and a half years the Parliament was not moving toward reforms but going against them. This election will give reformers a chance to create policies in harmony with the president."

As a new Parliament member, Mrs.

Kadivar said reformers like herself would push for social freedom and the creation of real political parties. Reformers will also try to pass legislation decentralizing power, giving more authority to city councils, which were established last year through direct election.

Just as the voters sent a clear message for change, they also decisively voted against a former two-term president, Hashemi Rafsanjani, who was the conservatives' leading candidate for a seat in Tehran. Preliminary results showed Mr. Rafsanjani coming in as far down the list as twenty-fifth.

If he indeed finishes so far back, his political career will be over.

### イラン総選挙

# 改革勢力、地滑りの勝利

## 革命後初、保守派が劣勢

【ワシントン二十一日電】イランの総選挙が二十日午後八時、開票の結果、改革派が地滑りの勝利を収めた。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。

改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。

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# 主導権争い、加速か

## イラン総選挙、圧勝の改革勢力

## 経済改革が焦点に

### 急進派に、対米関係修復に流れ

【ワシントン二十一日電】イランの総選挙が二十日午後八時、開票の結果、改革派が地滑りの勝利を収めた。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。改革派は議院の半数以上を獲得し、保守派は劣勢に陥った。

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## Appendix C

Table 1: Metaphorical Systems in the English Article

(The polysemous words are in italics; and the number of asterisks indicates the number of times the sentence has appeared before. Words in the translations that are different from those used in English are highlighted.)

English Sentences	Japanese Translations
ELECTION IS A RACE	
1. Preliminary results put the president's brother, Mohammed Reza Khatami, in <i>first place</i> , making him a strong contender for parliament speaker.	Yobisen no kekka dewa daitoryo no ototo mohamaddo reiza khatami wa <i>ichi ni nari</i> gikai gichou no yuuryoku kouhou de aru.
2. Results released Sunday by Interior Ministry officials in charge of counting the ballots showed reformers <i>leading</i> with approximately 102 of 290 parliamentary seats, while about 43 seats went to conservative candidates and 37 to independents.	Kaihyou sagyou ni atateiru naimusho koukan wa nichiyoubi kaikakuha ga 290 giseki chu yaku 102 giseki o tori <i>leedo o shiteori</i> yaku 43 giseki wa hoshu ha kouhou ga tori mutouha ga 37 giseki o toru kekka to natta to akirakani shita.
3. Political labels in Iran are ambiguous and some candidates deliberately <i>ran</i> as independents to disguise their affiliations.	Iran no seiji seiryoku chizu wa aimai de kouhou no naka ni wa sozoku o kakusu tame ni mutouha toshite koi ni <i>shutsuba suru</i> mono mo iru.
4. Preliminary results showed Mr. Rafsanjani <i>coming in</i> as far down the list as twenty-fifth.	Yobisen no kekka ni yoru to rafsanjani shi wa lisuto no haruka shita no 25i <b>ni ranku sareta</b> souda.
5. If he indeed <i>finishes</i> so far back, his political career will be over.	Jissai sore hodo kai ni <i>owareba</i> kare no seiji seimei wa tatareu daro.
6. The head of the <i>leading</i> conservative coalition, Mohammed Reza Bahonar, conceded defeat in Teheran.	<i>Leedo shiteiru</i> Yotou hoshu rengo no toushu mohamaddo reiza bahonaru wa Teheran de no haiboku o mitometa.
7. A reformer who <i>won</i> handily was Alireza Nouri, brother of Abdullah Nouri, a jailed dissident cleric.	Te gi wa yoku <i>kachi</i> osameta kaikakuha toin wa kouchi chu no hantaisei bokushi abudulah nuuri no ototo alireiza de atta.
8. A conservative-dominated clerical court sentenced Abdullah Nouri to five years in Prison in November, preventing him from <i>running</i> in the parliamentary election.	Hoshuha ga taihan no seiryoku o shimeru seishokusha houtei wa abudulahnuuri o kinko 5 nen no kei o ewatashita kara wa gikai senkyou ni <i>shutsuba</i> dekinai.
9. Jamileh Kadivar, a former adviser to President Khatami and the sister of a reformist theologian now in jail for his writings, appeared <i>to finish</i> within the first five places for one of the 30 seats representing Teheran.	Katami daitoryo no moto komon de shomotsu no tame ni genzai kinko kei ni natteiru kaikakuha shingakusha no ane ni ataru jamile kadibaru wa Teheran daihyou no 30 giseki no 5 I inai ni <i>osamari</i> sou data.

<p>10. Reformers allied to President Khatami appeared Sunday to <i>have won</i> a solid <i>victory</i> over conservative rivals in parliamentary elections seen as crucial to moving Iran toward democratic change.</p>	<p>Katami daitoryo to doumei kankei ni aru kaikakuha wa iran no mishuka ni kakasenai to mirareteiru gikai senkyou ni oite hantai seiryoku no hoshuha osaete kakkotaru <i>shouri</i> o nichiyoubi <i>osameta</i> moyou.</p>
<p>11. Residents in the town of Shush accused the incumbent Parliament member of <i>winning</i> a seat through vote-buying and bribery.</p>	<p>Shushu no machi no juumin wa gengjin wa baishu to wairo de giseki o <i>kakuyoshita</i> to hinan shita.</p>
<p>12. Reformers from the Islamic Iran Participation Front, Mr. Khatami's ticket, <i>won</i> all five seats in Meshed, Iran's second largest city, which is generally conservative.</p>	<p>Isuramu iran sanko sensen katami shi no kouhousha meibo kara no kaikakuha ga tsuujō o hoshuteki na iran dai nni no toshi meshedo de zen 5 seki o <i>kachitotta</i>.</p>
<p>13. With about two-thirds of the votes counted, reformist candidates had <i>swept to victory</i> in virtually all major cities, some of which were once conservative strongholds.</p>	<p>Kaihyou ritsu 2/3 ni oite kaikakuha kouhou wa jujitsu jo subete no daitoshi de <i>shouri</i> o <i>saratta</i>. Sononaka ni wa katsutewa hoshuha jiban de atta tokoro mo aru.</p>
<p>ELECTION IS WAR</p>	
<p>1. The <i>battle</i> for Parliament was so intense that, when word spread of suspected vote rigging Saturday in southern Khuzestan Province, clashes erupted.</p>	<p>Kokkai e no <i>tatakai</i> wa amari ni hageshi tame kuzesutan chiho no nambu de no hyou no fusei giwaku ya doyoubi ni hiromatta toki hageshi shoutotsu ga okotta.</p>
<p>2. * Results released Sunday by Interior Ministry officials in charge of counting the ballots showed reformers <i>leading</i> with approximately 102 of 290 parliamentary seats, while about 43 seats went to conservative candidates and 37 to independents.</p>	<p>Kaihyou sagyou ni atateiru naimusho koukan wa nichiyoubi kaikakuha ga 290 giseki chu yaku 102 giseki o tori <i>leedo</i> o <i>shiteori</i> yaku 43 giseki wa hoshu ha kouhou ga tori mutouha ga 37 giseki o toru kekka to natta to akirakani shita.</p>
<p>3. Even though definitive results will not be known for a few days, reformers <i>captured</i> at least the first 5 top places of 30 seats up for election.</p>	<p>Saishu kekka ga deru made wa nisan nichikakaru ga kakushinba wa senkyou ni yoru 30 giseki no uchi toppu 5 I wa sukunakutomo <i>kakuho</i> shita.</p>
<p>4. * The head of the <i>leading</i> conservative coalition, Mohammed Reza Bahonar, conceded <i>defeat</i> in Teheran.</p>	<p><i>Leedo</i> shiteiru Yotou hoshu rengo no toushu mohammad reza bahonaru wa Teheran de no <i>haiboku</i> o mitometa.</p>

5. * Reformers allied to President Khatami appeared Sunday to <i>have won</i> a solid <i>victory</i> over conservative rivals in parliamentary elections seen as crucial to moving Iran toward democratic change.	Katami daitoryo to doumei kankei ni aru kaikakuha wa iran no mishuka ni kakasenai to mirareteiru gikai senkyou ni oite hantai seiryoku no hoshuha osaete kakkotaru <i>shouri</i> o nichiyoubi <i>osameta</i> moyou.
6. * Residents in the town of Shush accused the incumbent Parliament member of <i>winning</i> a seat through vote-buying and bribery.	Shushu no machi no juumin wa gengiin wa baishu to wairo de giseki o <i>kakuyoshita</i> to hinan shita.
7. * A reformer who <i>won</i> handily was Alireza Nouri, brother of Abdullah Nouri, a jailed dissident cleric.	Te gi wa yoku <i>kachi</i> osameta kaikakuha toin wa kouchi chu no hantaisei bokushi abudulah nuuri no ototo alireza de atta.
8. * Reformers from the Islamic Iran Participation Front, Mr. Khatami's ticket, <i>won</i> all five seats in Meshed, Iran's second largest city, which is generally conservative.	Isuramu iran sanko sensen katami shi no kouhousha meibo kara no kaikakuha ga tsuujo o hoshuteki na iran dai nni no toshi meshedo de zen 5 seki o <i>kachitotta</i> .
9. * With about two-thirds of the votes counted, reformist candidates had <i>swept to victory</i> in virtually all major cities, some of which were once conservative strongholds.	Kaihyou ritsu 2/3 ni oite kaikakuha kouhou wa jujitsu jo subete no daitoshi de <i>shouri</i> o <i>saratta</i> . Sononaka ni wa katsutewa hoshuha jiban de atta tokoro mo aru.
ELECTION RESULTS ARE LOCATIONS	
1. **Jamileh Kadivar, a former adviser to President Khatami and the sister of a reformist theologian now in jail for his writings, appeared to finish <i>within</i> the first 5 places for one of the 30 seats representing Teheran.	Katami daitoryo no moto komon de shomotsu no tame ni genzai kinko kei ni natteiru kaikakuha shingakusha no ane ni ataru jamile kadibaru wa Teheran daihyou no 30 giseki no 5 I <i>mai</i> ni osamari sou data.
2. **Preliminary results showed Mr. Rafsanjani coming <i>in as far down</i> the list as twenty-fifth.	Yobisen no kekka ni yoru to rafsanjani shi wa lisuto no <i>haruka shita</i> no 25i ni ranku saretu souda.
3. **If he indeed finishes <i>so far back</i> , his political career will be over.	Jissai sore hodo <i>kai</i> ni owareba kare no seiji seimei wa tatareudaro.
4. Reformers will also try to <i>pass</i> legislation decentralizing power, giving more authority to city councils, which were established last year <i>through</i> direct elections.	Kaikakuha wa mata chihou bunken ho o tsukasase sakunen chokusetsu senkyou <i>ni yori</i> seiritsu shita shigikai ni motto kenryoku o ataeyouto suru daro.

ELECTION IS A MOVEMENT OF AN OBJECT	
1. *** Results released Sunday by Interior Ministry officials in charge of counting the ballots showed reformers leading with approximately 102 of 290 parliamentary seats, while about 43 seats <i>went to</i> conservative candidates and 37 <i>to</i> independents.	Kaihyou sagyou ni atteiru naimusho koukan wa nichu youbi kaikakuha ga 290 giseki chu yaku 102 giseki o tori leedo o shiteori yaku 43 giseki wa hoshu ha kouhou ga <b>tori</b> mutouha ga 37 giseki o <b>toru</b> kekka to natta to akirakani shita.
2. * Preliminary results <i>put</i> the president's brother, Mohammed Reza Khatami, <i>in</i> first place, making him a strong contender for parliament speaker.	Yobisen no kekka dewa daitoryo no ototo mohamaddo reiza khatami wa ichi <b>ni nari</b> gikai gichou no yuuryoku kouhou de aru.
3. This election will <i>give</i> reformers a chance to create policies in harmony with the president.	Kono senkyou <b>ni yori</b> kaikakuha wa daitoryo to chowa rosen o ayumu moyo.
4. Now that millions of voters have <i>handed</i> President Khatami the mandate he desperately sought, the challenge he faces is to construct an Islamic system that is compatible with democracy.	Nanbyaku man no senkyou jin ga katami daitoryo no motometeita kengen o <b>ijoushita</b> imaya daitoryo ga chokumen suru kadai wa minshushugi ni hitteki suru isuramu seito no kakuritsu dearu.
5. ** Reformers allied to President Khatami appeared Sunday to have won a solid victory over conservative rivals in parliamentary elections seen as crucial to <i>moving</i> Iran <i>toward</i> democratic change.	Katami daitoryo to doumei kankei ni aru kaikakuha wa iran no mishuka <b>ni</b> kakasenai to mirareteiru gikai senkyou ni oite hantai seiryoku no hoshuha osaete kakkotaru shouri o nichiyoubi osameta moyou.

## Appendix D

**Table 2: Japanese Metaphorical Systems**

(The Japanese polysemous words are highlighted; and the number of asterisks indicates the number of times the sentence has appeared before. The English translations are kept as close as possible to the concepts in the Japanese sentences and words besides articles and prepositions that are included will be found within [])

Japanese Sentences	English Translations
ELECTION IS WAR	
1. Iran sousenkyou wa 20 nichi made ni sou touhyou su no hachi wari ijo no kaihyou wo owei, Hatami daitoryou ga susumeru kaihou.jiyuuka wo shiji suru kaikaku seiryoku ga giseki no yaku nanawari wo <b>shime</b> , jisuberi teki <b>shori</b> ga kakujitsu to natta.	With over 80% of the official vote counting done, the Reformers supported by President Hatami who has recommended for open and free trade, have <i>obtained</i> 70% of the parliamentary seats, giving them a landslide <i>victory</i> .
2. Douseiryoku no naka demo kyusokutekina kaikaku wo shikoushi, seishokusha no shihai ni hihan teki na kyushinha (saha) ga <b>attoteki na shiji wo atsumeteiru</b> .	Among them, the radicals (left-wing) who have intended for rapid reforms and bear a critical attitude to the rule of the clergy, have <i>gathered overwhelming support</i> .
3. Uchi, doutou no suisen giin ga 6 wari ijo wo <b>shimeteiru</b>	Among them, 60% of the nominated candidates from the same party, have <i>[obtained] power</i> .
4. Tohyo ritsu wa 80% wo koeru <b>mitoshi</b> de, Hatami shi ga daitoryo ni tousen shita 3nen mae no senkyou no 89% ni sematteiru.	The voter turnout of 80% has been <i>unobstructed</i> and close to the 89% turnout when Mr. Hatami was elected three years ago.
5. Daihyouden Teheran demo, kyushinha no shuyokoho ga <b>joi wo shimeru ikioi da</b> .	Even in the large favourable voting constituency of Teheran, the leading candidates for the radicals have <i>captured the top spots</i> .
6. Shousokusuji no hanashi dewa, yuruyakana kaikaku wo mezasu onkenha no ryoushu daga, hoshu ga <b>torikomi wo hakatta</b> tame IIPF ga suisen shina katta Rafsanjani zen daitoryou wa, dai ikkai tohyou de tousen dekinai kanousei mo detekita.	According to well informed circles, though belonging to the leadership of the reformers who aim for slow and easy reforms, the former president Rafsanjani may not be elected in the first round of voting and was not recommended by the IIPF [for fear of] the Conservatives <i>plotting some confusion</i> .

<p>7. Rafsanjani shi wa jiki kokkai gichou no sai yuuryoku koho to mirarete iru dake ni, (kaikaku) wo hatajirushi ni chihou senkyou ku de kyoutou shita kyushinha to onkenha no aida de <b>tairitsu ga fukamaru</b> to no mikata mo aru.</p>	<p>Due to Mr. Rafsanjani, who is seen to be the next speaker of Parliament and the most prominent candidate, there is a view that the <i>rift</i> between the radicals and moderates who put up a <i>joint campaign</i> [under] the slogan of reforms in the countryside elections will <i>deepen</i>.</p>
<p>8. Shyu Douken <b>Arasoi</b> Kasoku Ka</p>	<p><i>Battle for Leadership Accelerated</i></p>
<p>9. Iran Sousenkyou <b>Asshou</b> no Kaikaku Seiryoku</p>	<p>Iran general Elections <i>Overwhelming Victory</i> for Reformers</p>
<p>10. Kyushinha Ni <b>Ikdoi</b></p>	<p>Radicals <i>Strengthened</i></p>
<p>11. Iran sousenkyou wa 20 nichi, kaikaku seiryoku no <b>asshou</b> ga akirakani natta ga, naka demo seishokusha ga shihai suru gentaisei no minaoshi wo motome, beikokuto no kankei shuufuku no michi wo mosaku suru kyushinha (saha) ni <b>ikdoi ga aru</b>.</p>	<p>In the General Elections in Iran [held] on the 20<sup>th</sup>, the <i>overwhelming victory</i> by the Reformers has become clear and there is a desire among them to review the present system of control by the clergy; and the radicals (left-wing) who sought ways to restore relations with America have <i>gained in strength</i>.</p>
<p>12. Kaikaku no nagare ni hihanteki na hosyuha wa, wakamono ga hansuu chikaku wo shimeru yuukensha kara <b>kyozetsu sareta</b>.</p>	<p>The young who make up almost half the voters, have <i>rejected</i> the Conservatives who are critical of the flow of reforms.</p>
<p>13. Kaikaku seiryoku ga bunretsu shita Teheran no taisei wa hammeishiteinai ga, jikikokkai dewa, kyushinha to yuruyakana kaikaku wo shikousuru onkenha to no <b>shyudouken arasoi ga hageshiku</b> nari souda.</p>	<p>The tendency in Teheran where the Reformers are divided is not clear, but in the next Parliament, the <i>fight for leadership</i> between the moderates who aim for gradual reforms and the radicals will <i>intensify</i>.</p>

<p>14. Kyushinha no daiyou kaku de, senkyou mae ni hoshuha ga nigiru saibansho de kinko 5 nen no jikkei hanketsu wo uketa Nuuri zen naimu no jittei Ali Reza Nuuri shi mo <b>joi tousen no ikoi</b>.</p>	<p>The representative and former Home minister Nuuri's real younger brother Mr. Ali Reza Nuuri standing for the radicals and who was sentenced by the courts, controlled by the conservatives, to 5 years imprisonment has also <i>strengthened [his position]</i> to be elected to the top spot.</p>
<p>15. Dai ikkai tohyou de tousen ni hitsuyouana soutoku hyousu no 1/4 wo <b>kakutoku</b> dekiru ka bimyou na jyousei da.</p>	<p>[His] chances of <i>obtaining</i> the necessary 1/4 of the total votes are remote.</p>
<p>16. IIPF wa hoshuha no suisen mo uketa Rafsanjani shi wo <b>atooshisezu</b>. Teheran de wa kaikaku seiryoku wa <b>bunretsu</b> shitamama, senkyou sen ni <b>totsu nyu shiteita</b>.</p>	<p>Mr. Rafsanjani who also received the recommendation of the Conservatives was <i>not backed</i> by the IIPF, and <i>entered</i> the election race <i>in a rush</i> in Teheran where the Reformers are <i>divided</i>.</p>
<p>17. Hatami daitoryo wa Rafsanjani shi wo <b>shiji suru</b> shisei wo hyoumei shi, jyuurai no kyushinha to onkenha no kyoryoku wo iji suru kangae wo kaete inai.</p>	<p>President Hatami has declared his stance of <i>supporting</i> Mr. Rafsanjani and has not changed his view of cooperation with the radicals that has been maintained up to now.</p>
<p>18. Kokai de yui ni tatsu to mirareru kaikaku seiryoku naibu de, yuukensha kara no kitai ga okii keizai kaikakuwo megutte <b>shudouken arasoi ga hageshiku</b> naru to no mikata ga tsuyoi.</p>	<p>It is seen that the Reformers who have an advantage in Parliament are surrounded by high expectations of economic reform from the voters and the view that the <i>fight for leadership</i> within will be <i>intensified</i> is strong.</p>
<p>19. Ippo, onkenha no jyuuchin de Hatami daitoryo no <b>(koukenin)</b> demo aru Rafsanjani zen daitoryo wa kusen.</p>	<p>On the other hand, Rafsanjani the former president and <i>backer</i> of President Hatami, is in a tough race.</p>
<p>20. Ippo hoshuha wa Teheran ni tsuide yuukensha ga ooi Taburizu, Mashado, Isufahan no kaku senkyouku demo <b>zanpai</b> ga tsutaerareteiru.</p>	<p>On the other hand, soon after [the results in] Teheran, it was reported that even in the electoral districts of Taburizu, Mashado and Isufahan [which have] many voters, a <i>crushing defeat</i> [faces] the Conservatives.</p>

<p>21. Touhyou ritsu ga 8 wari wo koe, kaikaku seiryoku no <b>asshou</b> ga tsutaerareru naka, Arubrito bei kokumu choukan wa (Iran kokumin ga taikyoshite touhyou shita koto wa, minshu shugi wo motomeru koe ga kakudai shiteiru akashi da. Kono ugoki wo kangei suru) to katatta.</p>	<p>While the reports of voter turnout being over 80% and the Reformers <i>winning overwhelmingly</i>, the American Secretary of State Albright said (It is a fact the Iranian people who have voted in large numbers have escalated their call and desire for the spread of democracy).</p>
<p>ELECTION IS A RACE</p>	
<p>1. Kyushinha no chuukaku seito (Iran Isuramu Sanka Sensen IIPF ) no hikoshiki shukei ni yoru to, kaikakuseiryoku ga 7 wari wo <b>kakutoku</b>.</p>	<p>According to unofficial totals by the core political party of the radicals (Iran Islam Participation Front), the Reformers have <i>won 70%</i> [of the seats].</p>
<p>2. * Daihyouden Teheran demo, kyuushinha no <b>shuyou kohou</b> ga joi wo shimeru ikioi da.</p>	<p>Even in the large favourable voting constituency of Teheran, the <i>leading candidates</i> for the radicals have captured the top spots.</p>
<p>3. 20 nichi tsuki no seifu kei shibum ni yoruto, kakuha ga <b>shuyou kohou</b> wo narabeta Teheran de, kyuushinha no naka chuukaku seito Iran.Isuramu Sankasensen (IIPF) no toudo de, daitoryo no jitte no Reza Hatami shi ga shui wo <b>hashiteiru</b>.</p>	<p>According to the government newspaper on the 20<sup>th</sup>, in Teheran where each party has drawn up <i>leading candidates</i>, the leader of the radicals' core party: Iran Islam Participation Front (IIPF) and real younger brother of the President, Mr. Reza Hatami is <i>leading</i> [the race] for the top spot.</p>
<p>4. Ippo, onkenha no jyuuchin de Hatami daitoryo no (koukenin) demo aru Rafsanjani zen daitoryo wa <b>kusen</b>.</p>	<p>On the other hand, Rafsanjani the former president and backer of President Hatami, is in a <i>tough race</i>.</p>
<p>5. * IIPF wa hoshuha no suisen mo uketa Rafsanjani shi wo atooshisezu, Teheran de wa kaikaku seiryoku wa bunretsu shitamama, senkyou sen ni <b>totsu nyu shiteita</b>.</p>	<p>Mr. Rafsanjani who also received the backing of the Conservatives was not backed by the IIPF, and <i>entered</i> the election race <i>in a rush</i> in Teheran where the Reformers are divided.</p>

<p>6. * Isufahan de wa, hoshuha no oomono kouhou, Fuarahiyan moto johou sho ga <b>rakusen</b>, dai 2 kai touhyou no taisho kouhou kara mo moreta.</p>	<p>In Isufahan, the conservatives' big-name candidate, the former Communications minister Fuarahiyan <i>lost</i> and is {omitted} from the list for the voters of the second round candidates.</p>
<p>POSITIONS ARE BODY PARTS</p>	
<p>1. 20 nichi tsuki no seifu kei shimbun ni yoruto, kakuha ga shuyou kouhou wo narabeta Teheran de, kyuushinha no naka chuukaku seito Iran.Isuramu Sankasensen (IIPF) no <b>toushu</b> de, daitoryou no jittei no Reza Hatami shi ga <b>shui</b> wo hashiteiru.</p>	<p>According to the government newspaper on the 20<sup>th</sup>, in Teheran where each party has drawn up leading candidates, the <i>head</i> of the radicals' core party: Iran Islam Participation Front (IIPF) and real younger brother of the President, Mr. Reza Hatami is leading the race for the <i>top spot</i>.</p>
<p>2. Tomoni wakate no <b>shingao</b> kouhou da ga, yukensha kara wa ani no (daibensha) to mirareteiru.</p>	<p>Both are young and <i>new faces</i> and are seen by the voters to be spokesmen for their older brothers.</p>

## Appendix E

Table 3: Highlighting Different Metaphorical Systems in the Articles from Single Occurrences

English article: CATEGORIES ARE LABELS	
1. Political <b>labels</b> in Iran are ambiguous and some candidates deliberately ran as independents to disguise their affiliations.	Iran no seiji seiryoku <b>retteru</b> wa aimai de kouhou no naka ni wa sozoku o kakusu tame ni mutouha toshite koi ni shutsuba suru mono mo iru.
Japanese article: BLOOD RELATIONS ARE REAL	
1. 20 nichi tsuki no seifu kei shimbun ni yoruto, kakuha ga shuyou kouhou wo narabeta Teheran de, kyuushinha no naka chuukaku seito Iran.Isuramu Sankasensen (IIPF) no toushu de, daitoryou no <b>jittei</b> no Reza Hatami shi ga shui wo hashiteiru.	According to the government newspaper on the 20 <sup>th</sup> , in Teheran where each party has drawn up leading candidates, the leader of the radicals' core party: Iran Islam Participation Front (IIPF) and <b>real younger brother</b> of the President, Mr. Reza Hatami is leading [the race] for the top spot.
Japanese article: OMISSION IS A LEAKAGE	
1. Isufahan de wa, hoshuha no oomono kouhou, Fuarahiyan moto johou sho ga rakusen, dai 2 kai touhyou no taisho kouhou kara mo <b>moreta</b> .	In Isufahan, the conservatives' big-name candidate, the former Communications minister Fuarahiyan lost and is <b>omitted</b> in the list for the voters of the second round candidates.