



Oriental Metaphor in Central Kurdish

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Abstract

This study is entitled "Oriental Metaphor in Central Kurdish". It attempts to explicate how non-spatial concepts are metaphorised in terms of various aspects of space in Central Kurdish. The main aim of the study is to interpret spatial metaphorical expressions that express the cognitive processes of meaning-making. The study adopts the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) within the framework of cognitive semantics. It deals with orientational metaphor as a specific type of conceptual metaphor. In cognitive semantics, language is a mirror of thought; linguistic expressions are manifestations of conceptual mappings structured in the mind. The data of the study is taken from ordinary everyday Kurdish. The data analysis illuminates the spatialization of a wide variety of abstract concepts through metaphorical uses of space. The study is in line with the cognitive linguists in that linguistic expressions that represent concepts are not semantically independent, as the Anglo-American philosophical tradition claimed, but are structured with respect to one another. Spatial concepts are first structured in thought in the form of a formula based on physical and socio-cultural experiences, and then expressed via linguistic metaphors; accordingly, metaphor is a cognitive phenomenon, it is in thought, not in language. It is patterns of thought that are echoed in patterns of language.

Keywords: Figurative Language, Classical theory of Metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Orientational Metaphor, Spatial Orientation.

1. Introduction

1.1 Literal language versus figurative language

Traditionally, both philosophy and linguistics distinguished two types of language or meaning: literal and figurative. Literal language is pertinent to ordinary, conventional language. It refers to the linguistic expressions used in their basic meanings. It is the language that directly and semantically expresses meaning (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 290). From this perspective, all everyday conventional language is literal; subject matters are interpreted precisely, without metaphor (Lakoff, 2006, p. 187). Hence, according to this view, there are no figurative or metaphorical uses of language in everyday conventional language.

Figurative language, on the contrary, is a form of linguistic usage in which words are not used in their basic and lexical meanings, but in a figurative way. It embraces the linguistic expressions that are not literally understood, i.e., their intended meanings are something other than their precise lexical meanings. Thus, figurative language is a semantic deviation; it is more attention-grabbing, and its use depends on creating an effective mental image, that is, a linguistic expression is employed figuratively when the literal use may not create the same effect (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 193).

This distinction between everyday conventional language and figurative language stems from traditional views of meaning. It is based on the objectivist worldview which is assumed by Anglo-American tradition in philosophy. In that tradition, meaning is the relationship between words and the world. Objective reality is independent of human cognition; it is mind-free (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 115). That is, meaning lies outside of the human mind. In other words, objectivism claims that "the meanings of all concepts are characterized via reference to an objective, mind-free reality" (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 119). That is, the concepts expressed by ordinary everyday expressions are semantically autonomous. This is because they are reflections of the physical world and therefore non-metaphoric. This means that the meaning of a linguistic expression is not construed in terms of another expression.

In this view, there are two types of language: metaphorical language, which is the language of literature and creative writers, and non-metaphoric language, which is the language of everyday speech. The literal-figurative distinction is also characteristic of the dictionary view of meaning, in which the meaning of a linguistic expression is reduced to its dictionary meaning. According

to this traditional division, what is literal is not metaphorical, literal language is the language of reality. Metaphor is a phenomenon used widely in literature. Poetic language, as opposed to literal language, is distinguished by its use of figures of speech, such as metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole and so forth. It is an indirect language containing exaggeration and embellishment (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 287). This perspective claims that "figurative language is imprecise, and is largely the domain of poetics and novelists" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 287). That is, traditionally figurative or metaphorical expressions are an uncommon use of everyday language and are typical of creative writers.

The current study agrees with Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in that everyday conventional speech is metaphorical in nature. Through the examples taken from ordinary everyday Kurdish, it rejects the literal–figurative distinction. That is, via the interpretation of the examples, it becomes obvious that literal language does not express meaning directly, rather it relies on metaphor. Thus, metaphor is not a phenomenon used only in literature, but in everyday language. The fact that ordinary conventional language is metaphoric comes from the fact that the human thought or conceptual system operates metaphorically, and language is a mirror of that system, thus, it is essentially metaphoric. Accordingly, due to the metaphorical nature of thought, language constantly produces metaphors. It is hard to find a non-metaphorical way of thinking when discussing concepts, for instance, when we speak of *time*, we often resort to a source of movement, (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 290). Such as: The time for a decision *has come*, here *time* is construed in terms of *motion*. Everyday Kurdish is full of linguistic expressions which show that the language depends on a particular concept so as to interpret another, i.e. metaphorically expresses the concepts. The metaphorical expressions, with passage of time, lose their metaphoricity after being used continuously and become common expressions of everyday conventional language.

1.2 Classical and contemporary theories of metaphor

1.2.1 Classical theory

Metaphor is a French word which is derived from the Greek *metaphora*, meaning above or beyond and *pherein*, which means to transfer. Metaphor originally means transferring a word from its literal meaning. For more than 2,000 years, metaphor was studied within the framework of rhetoric. Rhetoric, in ancient Greece, was developed with the intent to convince others of a particular viewpoint through the use of figures of speech. One of these figures or tropes was metaphor, and because of its significance, it was known as the master trope (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 293).

In the classical perspective, metaphor is the use of a linguistic expression to indicate something other than what it is basically applied to, or what it literally means, to imply some resemblance between the two things (Knowles & Moon, 2006, p. 2). Hence, metaphor is a rhetorical device wherein one thing is compared with another by signalling that one is the other, as in *He is a lion* (Kovecses, 2010, p. ix). Here, the word *lion* is used metaphorically to create some aesthetic effect, and *He* and the *lion* share the feature of courage. Thus, there is a linguistic formula: A is B, as in *He is a lion*, in other words, metaphor is an implicit comparison. According to the classical view, metaphor is a property of words, not concepts, it is a linguistic phenomenon. Its use is associated with some artistic purpose. In other words, metaphor is used as a rhetorical ornament. The basis of metaphor is a resemblance between two entities. And the use of metaphor requires a special talent, only great creative writers can be its masters (Kovecses, 2010, p. ix). Thus, metaphor is a rhetorical device; it is a semantic deviation that transfers meaning from one linguistic expression to another. It is also widely used in the domain of poetics for aesthetic purposes.

1.2.2 Contemporary Theory: Conceptual Metaphor

In the 1980s, a new theory of metaphor emerged known as conceptual metaphor. This new theory of metaphor was first proposed in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) book named *Metaphors We Live By*. In this new view, metaphor is associated with thought. According to Lakoff and Johnson "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, p. 3). Thus, our thought system from which our thinking and behaviour originate is metaphorical. Thought is metaphorical in the sense that we often understand one concept in terms of another. In Contemporary Theory, this is the way whereby metaphor is defined. That is "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). This means that the human mind operates metaphorically, i.e., so as to comprehend a concept in a given domain, it depends on another concept which is in a different mental domain. Hence, there are two conceptual domains; one domain is interpreted with respect to the other. The two domains are called the **source domain** and the **target domain**. The source domain is the conceptual domain out of which metaphorical expressions are drawn. It is the domain relied upon in the interpretation of the target domain. The target domain is the conceptual domain that we attempt to comprehend via the use of the source domain. The source domain is more concrete and is grounded from experience. In contrast, the target domain is more abstract and conceptualised in terms of the source domain (Kovecses, 2010, p. 4). We map the knowledge we have on the source domain onto the target domain. These conceptual correspondences (transfer of knowledge) between the target and source domain are called **mappings**. Thus, conceptual metaphor is defined as cross-domain mappings

between these two domains. It is the conceptualization of the target domain in terms of the source domain.

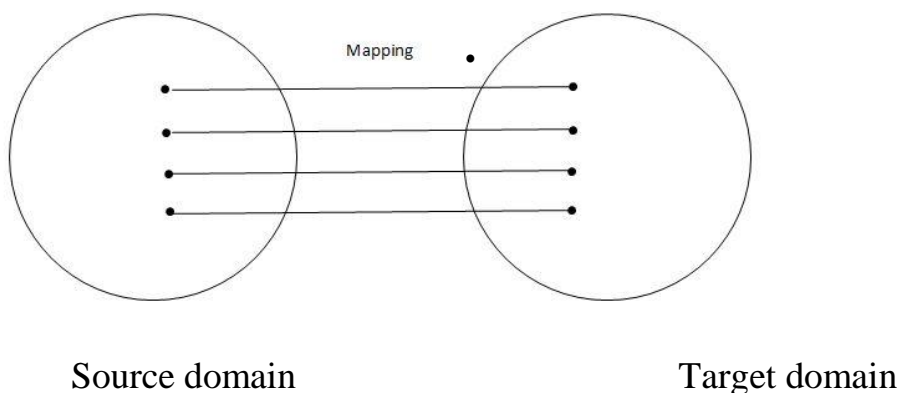


Figure 1: Cross-domain mappings (Evans, 2007: 53)

For instance, we construe the conceptual domain of *love* in terms of the conceptual domain of *journey*. Each of these conceptual domains contains several entities, *the journey* includes the travellers, the vehicle, the journey itself, the obstacles faced, and the destination. The concept of *love* embraces the lovers, the love relationship, events in the relationship, the difficulties experienced, and the goal of the relationship. That is, in our thought the concept of love is associated with the concept of journey. We map the knowledge we have on the conceptual domain of journeys onto the conceptual domain of love and apply it in the act of understanding it. In other words, there are ontological correspondences, whereby entities in the conceptual domain of journeys correlate in a systematic way to entities in the love domain. This correspondence is, at the conceptual level, represented as a formula: LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

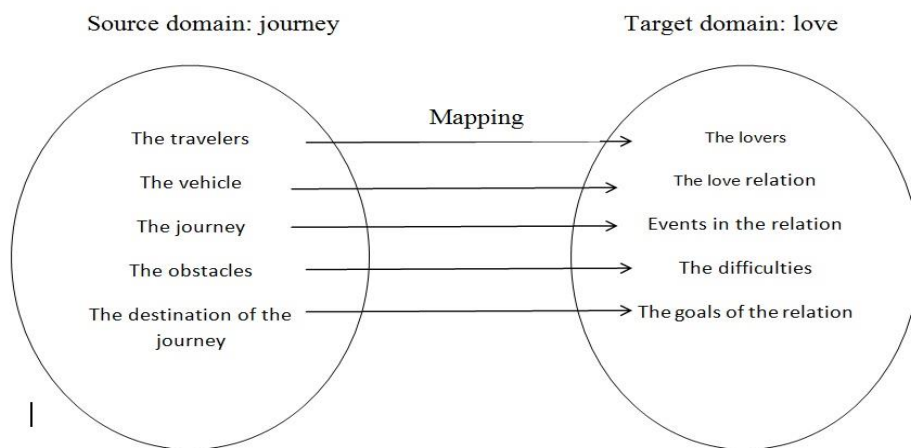


Figure 2: Conceptual mapping in LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor

In this conceptual metaphor, i.e., LOVE IS A JOURNEY, lovers are conceptualised as travellers, and love as vehicle. The difficulties faced by lovers are corresponded to the impediments to travellers. The goal of the relationship corresponds to the destination of the journey. In other words, just as there are impediments to travel, there are difficulties in a love relationship, and just as there are destinations in travelling; there are also goals in a love relationship. Thus, we transfer the knowledge we have on the source domain of journeys to the target domain of love, putting it differently, we think about love in terms of the knowledge we use to think about journeys (Lakoff, 2006, p. 191). To explain the principle through which we understand the domain of love in terms of the domain of journeys, Lakoff presents the below metaphorical scenario:

The lovers are travellers on a journey together, with their common life goals seen as destinations to be reached. The relationship is their vehicle, and it allows them to pursue those common goals together. The relationship is seen as fulfilling its purpose as long as it allows them to make progress toward their common goals. The journey is not easy. There are impediments, and there are places (crossroads) where a decision has to be made about which direction to go in and whether to keep traveling together (2006, p. 190).

It is in this sense that we conceptualise the abstract target domain of *love* in terms of the concrete source domain of *journey*. In conceptual metaphor, concrete physical domains are the source and abstract domains are the target. The direction of the mapping is from the concrete source domain to the abstract target domain. According to (Ungerer & Schmid, 1997, p. 121), we depend on models of the concrete world so as to comprehend abstract phenomena. That is, in our attempt to perceive the world, it is more reasonable to move conceptually in this specific direction (Semino & Demjea, 2017, p. 16). Thus, love is conceptualised via a concrete understanding of journeys (Gibbs, 1996, p. 310). Consequently, the main function of metaphor is a better understanding of some specific concepts, it is a cognitive phenomenon, and it does not only have aesthetic aims as assumed in the classical theory.

The process of understanding an abstract mental domain (love) in terms of a more concrete mental domain (journey) - the cross-domain mapping- has occurred at the conceptual or mental level; it is a pre-linguistic stage and has not yet been expressed. That is to say, the formula or the conceptual mapping (LOVE IS A JOURNEY) is first structured in our thought; it is the conceptual metaphor that can be manifested in a number of various expressions:

(1) It has been *a bumpy road*.

- (2) We will just have to *go our separate ways*.
- (3) This relationship *is foundering*.
- (4) We are *at a crossroads*.
- (5) Look *how far we have come*.

The examples (1-5) are the surface realisations of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. They represent the conceptual cross-domain mappings between the source domain (journey) and the target domain (love). Thus, the cognitive approach to metaphor distinguishes two types of metaphor: **conceptual metaphor** and **linguistic metaphor**. The linguistic expressions (words, phrases, sentences) are linguistic metaphors that were of interest to the classical theory; yet, the conceptual metaphor is the mental cross-domain mappings, it is what has occurred in the mind and has not been transferred to linguistic realisations. In other words, there are two layers of metaphor: “the conceptual layer and the linguistic layer” (Abdulla, 2019, p. 45). What is central to cognitive linguists is the conceptual layer, and the linguistic layer is peripheral. Accordingly, one of the main features of metaphor that distinguishes it from the classical theory is that metaphor is in thought, a characteristic of thought, not of language. In brief, metaphor is structured in thought through conceptual mappings, and metaphorical linguistic expressions are manifestations of the mappings.

2.1 Orientational metaphor¹

Orientation metaphor is a metaphor wherein concepts are spatially associated with one another, i.e., it entails spatial relationships. In other words, it is the formation of implicit associations between space and non-spatial concepts. Thus, they are pertinent to spatial orientations: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral. In this kind of metaphor, a concept is not structured in terms of another, but the whole system of concepts is organized with respect to one another (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 14). Many metaphors of this kind are associated with metaphors of movement. In orientational metaphor, a concept is given a spatial orientation, for instance, HAPPY IS UP, here; the concept of *happy* is oriented *up* leading to the following linguistic expressions in English:

- (6) I am feeling *up*.
- (7) My spirits *rose*.
- (8) Thinking about her always gives me a *lift*.

The sentences (6-8) are the surface realisations of the conceptual orientational metaphor HAPPY IS UP, in which an emotional state *happy* is associated with a vertical spatial concept *up*.

Oriental metaphors stem from physical and socio-cultural experiences. The above examples draw on the human body posture, that is, while they feel happy, they upraise their head and straight up their back. Thus, the abstract concepts receive spatial features; the spatial or orientational concepts become the source domain and assist us in interpreting the target concepts. Accordingly, orientational metaphor is understanding non-spatial target domains in terms of the source domain: *space*. Although orientational metaphors derive from physical and socio-cultural experiences and are generally universal, their use may vary from culture to culture. That is, there are conceptual orientational metaphors which are culturally motivated across languages (Kovecses, 2005, p. 262). For instance, in Kurdish culture, the future is the front and the past is behind, yet in Chinese it is the other way around.

One of the main functions of orientational metaphor is to evaluate concepts through spatial orientations. For example, in the majority of cases, GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN. From the religious perspective, upward orientation occurs with positive evaluation and downward orientation with negative evaluation. A believer who performs his religious duties well and behaves favourably is given a high status; his status is closer to God and God's Paradise. And Paradise is somewhere in the sky. Hence, FAITH IS UP, spiritual betterment and good deeds raise human status. This is a positive evaluation using orientational relationships like GOOD IS UP.

2. 2 Orientational Metaphor in Central Kurdish

In Central Kurdish (hereafter referred to as CK) there are a number of abstract concepts that are interpreted and expressed in terms of spatial orientations, that is, they are spatialised. Below, we present how the abstract, non-spatial concepts are construed in terms of vertical and horizontal dimensions of space. First, there are explications of the abstract concepts that are vertically metaphorised through UP and DOWN spatial orientations. Following this, there will be an interpretation of the utterances metaphorised via horizontal spatial orientations. The examples, taken from everyday ordinary Kurdish, are written in the Latin alphabet with English translations next to them. The lexical items used metaphorically are italicized.

2.2.1 UP-DOWN Orientational Metaphors

+MORALITY IS UP+, + IMMORALITY IS DOWN+

Morality and immorality are abstract concepts which are comprehended in terms of vertical dimension of space. That is, an association is made between these two abstract concepts and

verticality. This association structures MORAL IS UP, IMMORAL IS DOWN at the conceptual level. The sentences below are linguistic manifestations of that conceptual association:

- (9) **kuřeke řewiřti berze²**. {=The boy is of *high* morals}
 (10) **piyaweke rewiřti nizme**. {=The man is of *low* morals}
 (11) **min welamit nademewe, řunke qisekanit zor nizmin**. {=I will not respond to you because your words are too *low*}

Here, the word *berz – up*, in example 1, is metaphorically used so as to interpret the concept *řewiřt –moral*, it is a metaphor for good manners. That is, *berz -up* is the source domain and *řewiřt -moral* is the target domain. This is a positive evaluation used for someone who acts in accordance with the standards set by society. Conversely, in examples 10 and 11, downward orientation is used for those who do not act in accordance with those standards, that is, the lexical item *nizm, – low* is used as the source domain to construe the target domain *řewiřt -moral*. Hence, the word *nizm, – low* is a metaphor representing bad behavior. That is, immorality is conceptualised in terms of downward orientation.

+PRIDE IS UP+, +HUMILIATING IS DOWN+

This conceptual orientational metaphor demonstrates that CK speakers use space to represent *pride* and *humiliating*. For example:

- (12) **seri mintan berz kirdewe³**. {= You made my head *up* is the literal translation while the expression means: you make me proud}
 (13) **seri mintan řořkird**. {= You *lowered* my head}

The examples (12) and (13) show that *pride* and *humiliating* are oriented with respect to verticality and linguistically expressed through the use of spatial terms *berz-up* and *řoř-low*. Thus, in CK, these two target abstract concepts are conceptualised in terms of upward and downward orientations.

+MORE IS UP+, +LESS IS DOWN+

Quantity creates orientational metaphors, large amounts are associated with UP and small amounts with DOWN. That is, quantity is understood in terms of verticality. This is due to the fact that if more of a substance is added to a pile, the level goes up (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 16). The following sentences are linguistic realisations of the association between quantity and verticality structured in the Kurdish speakers' thought.

- (14) **qutabiyeke nimreyekî berzî bedest hêna**. {= The student got a *high* mark}

- (15) **nirxî goşt berzbotewe.** {= Meat prices have *gone up* }
 (16) **pestanî xwênî berzbotewe.** {= His blood pressure is *high* }
 (17) **mamostake dengî berzkirdewe.** {= The teacher *raised* his voice }

In these spatial metaphorical expressions (14-17), *quantity-more-* is conceptualised in terms of vertical space *up*. The upward orientation *berz-up* is the source domain and is relied upon in order to understand the target domains of *nimre--mark*, *nirx-price*, *pestanî xwên--blood pressure*, *deng-voice*. This means that quantity is linked to vertical elevation. This conceptual association has an experiential basis. For instance, when the height of something is increased, there is typically more of it. If water is poured into a glass this leads to a correspondence increase in height and the amount of water (Evans, 2007, p.76). This experience creates a correlation between quantity and vertical elevation at the mental level. The examples above are manifestations and linguistic evidence of that correlation. In the same vein, the instances below illustrate an association between quantity and downward orientation:

- (18) **nirxî dolar dabezî.** {=The value of the dollar went *down* }
 (19) **zextî dabezîye.** {= His blood pressure has *dropped* }
 (20) **newt hate xwarewe.** {= Oil (its price) came *down* }
 (21) **dengî kewtiwe.** {=His voice has *fallen* (literal translation) }

The sentences (18-21) show that the lexical items *dabezî*, *xwarewe* - *motion downward*, *kewtiwe* - *has fallen* are spatial terms used metaphorically in order to indicate that something has decreased in amount. Thus, they are linguistic realisations of the conceptual metaphor LESS IS DOWN.

+CONSCIOUS IS UP+, +UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN+

Consciousness is a non-spatial concept that is metaphorised in terms of the vertical aspect of space. The linguistic expressions below explain the way CONSCIOUS and UNCONSCIOUS are conceptualised using spatial terms.

- (22) **beyanyan zu lexew heldestim.** {= I get *up* early in the morning }
 (23) **a.bawkit hestaye?** {=Has your father woken *up*? }

b. wabzanim hêsta be aga nehatîye Çunke hêsta palkewtiwe. {= I don't think he's awake yet because he's still lying *down* }

- (24) **xewî lê kewt.** {= he *fell* asleep }

The expression *helsan-getting up* indicates the formation of an association between consciousness and upward orientation. And *palkewtin-lying down*, *xewî lê kewt-fell asleep* are indicative of

UNCONSCIOUS IS MOTION DOWNWARD. Thus, in CK, conscious and unconscious are metaphorised in terms of UP and DOWN spatial orientations. The experiential basis of the correlation is that when a person gets up or is awake, his head is at a high level or he stands up, but on the contrary, if he is asleep or unconscious, he may be lying down.

+SCIENCE IS UP, +IGNORANCE IS DOWN+

In CK, science has been conceptualised in terms of upward orientation and ignorance has been associated with downward orientation.

(25) **Lenêw xwêndkarekanî qonaghî çwarda ciwan le *lutke* daye** {= Among fourth year students, Jawan is *at the top*}

In (25) intelligence is associated with the upward orientation, that is, intelligence as an abstract concept belonging to the field of knowledge and science is interpreted through the up spatial orientation and is represented via the linguistic expression *le lutke dabun being at the top*.

(26) **Aram xewtiwe** {=Aram is *asleep*}

Example (26) indicates that, in CK, the lack of information or ignorance is metaphorised in terms of downward spatial orientation. The downward orientation manifested through *xew-sleep* implies unconsciousness and lack of information. This conceptual mapping-SCIENCE IS UP and IGNORANCE IS DOWN- is also reflected in Kurdish poetry:

(27) **le xew hestin drengê milletî kurd xew zerertane.** {= *Wake up* Kurdish nation, it is late, *sleep* is harmful to you}

(28) **birayne lexew hestin beyane, zemanî hewl u zîlm u hur jyane.** {= O brothers *wake up*, it is the era of science and freedom, don't stay at backwardness and ignorance}

In (27) and (28) the lexical item *hestan-getting up* metaphorically means social and political consciousness. In the linguistic and non-linguistic context of the expressions, the concept of *hestan-getting up* is a metaphor for learning and knowledge; it is to fight illiteracy. Here, *ignorance* has been pictured through *xew-sleep* which has a downward orientation.

+AMBITIOUS IS UP+, +UNAMBITIOUS IS DOWN+

Ambition, in CK, is another concept which is spatialised in terms of UP and DOWN orientations.

(29) **kiçeke le mindalîyewe berz deyřwanî, boye ayindeyekî başî hebu.** {=Since her childhood, the girl had *looked up*, therefore, she had a good future (literal translation)}

(30) **berz biřwanin.** {Look *up*}

(31) **mamosta be qutabîyekanî gut; nizm meřwanin.** {=Do not look *down*, the teacher told his students }

In the examples (29-31) ambition is given a high direction, that is, the expression *berz-up* depicts ambitious expectations. The experiential basis of the association between AMBITIOUS IS UP UNAMBITIOUS IS DOWN comes from the fact that elevation expands vision which leads to someone being more ambitious.

+WEALTH IS UP+, +POVERTY IS DOWN+

Some orientational metaphors come from cultural experience. In Kurdish society, those who are rich and wealthy are from a higher class of society. Therefore, they are oriented with respect to upward orientation, and those who are poor fall into the lower classes of society. This classification leads to the spatialization of WEALTH and POVERTY. Such as:

(32) **Şêx nurî şêx salih ser be çînî berze.** {=Sheikh Nuri Sheikh Salih belongs to *the upper* classes }

(33) **Aram nanî nebu bxwa, legeł em bazirganîye hesta.** {=Aram had no bread to eat, yet he *got up* with this businessman }

(34) **ewan lejêr hêfî hejarîyewen.** {=They are *below* the poverty line }

(35) **siyasetî řagwastin aburî gundekanî *textkird*.** {=The relocation policy *flattened* the rural economy }

(36) **min dewlemend bum, belam qumar kirdin benaxî zerdda birdimye *xwarewe*.** {=I was rich, but gambling took me *down* to the heart of the earth }

In (32) and (33) *çînî berz-the upper class* and *hesta-got up* are metaphors for wealth, that is, wealth is conceptualised in terms of upward orientation. In examples (34-38) the lexical items *jêrhêfî hejarî -below the poverty line*, *textkirdin -flattened*, *benaxî zerdda birdinexwar-down to the heart of the earth* refer to a correlation between poverty and downward orientation, that is, poverty is metaphorised in terms of the spatial concept DOWN.

+HAPPY IS UP+, +SAD IS DOWN+

The feeling of happiness is an experience that gives a happy person the strength to stand up. The following expressions illustrate that happiness causes someone to get up, hence, happiness is conceptualised in terms of MOTION UPWARD, i.e., UP is oriented to a sense of happiness.

- (37) **her em hewale bizanê, le xoşîyan heldepeřê.** {=As soon as he hears this news, he *jumps* for joy}
- (38) **ke kuřekey dît qît bowe.** {=He *stood up* when he saw the boy}
- (39) **be her bîstinî hewaleke hestayewe.** {= he immediately *got up* when he heard the news}
- (40) **le xoşîyan pêy bezewî nedekewt.** {= He was so happy that *his feet could not* fall to the ground}

The linguistic expressions *heldepeřê* -jumping, *qîtbowe*, *hestayewe* -stand up, are metaphorical uses of the spatial orientation UP. In the sentences, the direction of movement is upwards, when a person cannot hide his feelings of happiness, he/she stands up and expresses mental happiness through body movements, if he/she is sitting or lying down, he/she gets up, and if he/she is standing, he/she jumps. Thus, an association is made between upward orientation and the sense of happiness at the conceptual level. The above expressions are surface realisations of that association. In (40), *his feet could not fall to the ground*, which means that he kept raising up, i.e., happiness is conceptualised in terms of UP spatial orientation.

In contrast, sadness is conceptualised in terms of downward orientation, in which the source domain is DWON and the target domain is sadness. Such as:

- (41) **mergî kiçekey twandîyewe.** {=His daughter's death *melted* him}
- (42) **ke hewalî mergî bawkî bîst burayewe.** {=When he heard the news of his father's death, he *fainted*}

Melting *twanewe* and fainting *buranewe* have a downward direction. The expressions show that when a person feels sad, he/she does not want to move, or is more inclined to stop and fall, because he/she loses the strength to move and wants to use all his body energy to fight the pain, therefor, the direction of his movements goes down. That is, in Kurdish speakers' thought, sad is associated with down.

+FORCE IS UP+, + BEING SUBJECT TO FORCE IS DOWN+

This conceptual metaphor is related to physical and cultural experiences. The examples (35 and 36) show that POWER is conceptualised in terms of UP and WEAK is construed in terms of DOWN.

- (43) **em biřyare řetnkrêtewe çunke leserewe hatiwe.** {= The decision cannot be rejected because it has come from *above*}

(44) **ew pêşniyazey berz krayewe, řetkirayewe.** {=The proposal that was *lifted up* was rejected}

Kurdish administrative language usually uses *upper- lower* to higher authorities and lower sides respectively within the hierarchical organizations, accordingly, sending letters, documents and office papers from lower sides to the upper authorities called *berzkrdinewe* which can be translated as *lift up*. The lexical item *leserewe-from above* in (43) refers to a high position of power. The sentence says that because the decision came from there: *leserewe-from above*, it should not be rejected. The example (44) indicates that, a proposal is sent by those with less power to those with higher positions, and those who are in higher positions rejected the proposal. Thus, FORCE IS UP and BEING SUBJECT TO FORCE IS DOWN.

The physical experience that is the source of this metaphor, and gives a high position to the powerful and a low position to the weak and powerless, is interpreted as society derives part of human power from their proximity to God and the sky. For example, the power of a religious individual, or the power of a ruler or any other kind of power, stems from the fact that they are physically higher than the level of ordinary people, thus, religious people or those with superior positions sit or stand above ordinary people, i.e. their spatial location reveals information about their power. They spread their messages down to others, just as God send down messages from the sky. This has led to the fact that in almost every human society, the position of the physically and culturally powerful is viewed at a high level and the ordinary or powerless are treated at a low level. There are expressions specific to Kurdish culture which manifest this conceptual metaphor, such as:

(45) **Aram buyte jinî mudîr.** {= Aram has become the manager's wife}

(46) **Nazdar buyte mêrdman.** {= Nazdar became our husband}

In (45) and (46), the power of *mêrd-husband* and *jin-wife* has been metaphorised which has created an orientational metaphor. This metaphorization is associated with cultural experiences. Because in the marriage process, the woman is below and the husband is above, or because a cultural and religious source has given this power to the man, thus, power in Kurdish is conceptualised in terms of masculinity and expressed through husbandness. When the term woman is used for a man, it is given a downward orientation, but when the term husband is used, it is given an upward orientation. This leads to the formation of the conceptual metaphor: MAN/HUSBAND IS UP and therefore, POWER IS UP.

+RATIONAL IS UP+, +IRRATIONAL or EMOTIONAL IS DOWN+

In Kurdish, rational thinking is oriented with respect to an upward orientation and irrational thinking is associated with a downward orientation.

(47) **zeqî le çokîyetî.** {= His mind is on his *knees*}

(48) **pê le dilî xoy denê.** {= He steps on his heart }

These metaphorical expressions imply that the unthinking and irrational person, in Kurdish, is conceptualised in terms of downward orientation. The example (47) indicates that CK speakers metaphorically express the concept of stupidity by lowering the natural position of the mind from top of the head to the knee. And the example (48) implies that CK speakers express the concept of wisdom and rationality by bringing down the heart which is irrational and is the place of passionate decisions. The examples signify that the downward orientation is irrational and the upward orientation is conscious and logical.

Tables 1 and 2 present the spatialisation of abstract concepts in terms of UP and DOWN orientations.

Table 1, the spatialisation of concepts with UP orientation

Concepts	Spatial Orientation
MORALITY	UP
PRIDE	UP
MORE	UP
CONSCIOUS	UP
SCIENCE	UP
AMBITIOUS	UP
WEALTH	UP
HAPPY	UP
FORCE	UP
RATIONAL	UP

Table 2, the spatialisation of concepts with DOWN orientation

Concepts	Spatial Orientation
IMMORALITY	DOWN
HUMILIATING	DOWN
LESS	DOWN
UNCONSCIOUS	DOWN
IGNORANCE	DOWN
UNAMBITIOUS	DOWN
POVERTY	DOWN
SAD	DOWN
BEING SUBJECT TO FORCE	DOWN
IRRATIONAL	DOWN

2.2.2 DEEP-SHALLOW Orientational Metaphors

+ACCURATE THINKING IS DEEP+⁴

(49) *boçunekanî Saussure lebarey zimanewe qûln.* {= Saussure's views on language are *deep*}

The example (49) indicates that there is a conceptual association between deep orientation and accurate thinking in the minds of Kurdish speakers. *Accurate thinking* is metaphorised in terms of deep orientation, in other words, the lexical item *qûl-deep* is used metaphorically so as to represent the concept of accurate thinking.

+MEANINGFUL IS DEEP+

(50) *Em têkiste qûle.* {=This text is *deep*}

This example implies that the value and beauty of the text or its meaningfulness is interpreted via the deep orientation. That is, the word *qûl-deep* is metaphorically used so as to explicate that the text is artistically beautiful, meaningful, and not easy to understand. The same use of *qûl-deep* for the purpose of complexity can be seen in Kurdish proverbs, such as *gom ta qûl bê meley xoştire-the deeper the pond, the better to swim*, in which *gomî qûl-deep pond* is a metaphor for a

complex problem, i.e., the deep orientation has been used as the source domain in order to interpret the target domain of complexity. Thus, in CK, COMPLEXITY IS DEEP.

2.2.3 FRONT-BACK Orientational Metaphors

Front-Back orientation is another movement that is metaphorised in terms of spatial concepts. In CK, several concepts refer to a movement or spatial direction-*back and forth*-, the relationship between these concepts and spatial orientations is formed by a physical experience. Here we present the concepts of TIME, COURAGE, and VALUE that are metaphorised through forward and backward directions.

+FUTURE IS FRONT+, PAST IS BEHIND+

(51) *şerêkman le pêşe*⁵. {= We have a battle *ahead* of us }

(52) *şîkirdinewe siyasyekanî Aram hemîşe pêş rûdawekan dekwê*. {= Aram's political analysis always *precedes* events }

In (51) and (52), FUTURE is conceptualised in terms of FRONT spatial orientation; they are represented through the lexical item *pêş- ahead, precede*. In CK, the future tense is always in front of the speakers' faces, hence, it refers to the future. In (51)-We have a battle *ahead* of us-the word *pêş-ahead* means the future and the sentence implies that there will be a battle in the future. The example (52) is indicative of Aram's prediction of events before they happen. The speaker's direction in the expressions is forward and the lexical item *pêş-precede* represents the future tense.

(53) *boye detwanim berdewam bim çunke piştîm kirdote helekanim*. {= I can continue because I have turned my *back* on my mistakes }

The example (53) signals that PAST is metaphorised in respect of the spatial orientation wherein *backing* is a metaphor for time through the use of direction. According to the example, Kurdish speakers understand and interpret the concept of the past with regard to the backward spatial orientation, i.e., the metaphorical use of *pişt-back* indicates that past is behind in CK speakers' thought.

In these conceptual mappings-FUTURE IS FRONT, PAST IS BEHIND-the future is depicted by the forward direction of the speaker's path and the past by the backward direction of the speaker's path

+COURAGE IS FRONT+, COWARDICE IS BACK+

In CK, courage and cowardice are conceptualised in terms of front and back directions, that is, front and back spatial orientations become the source domain so as to interpret the target domains of courage and cowardice.

- (54) **cengawerî aza eweye ke pêş leşkir dekewê, tirsinokîş xoy dekşênêtewe yan xoy le diwawe deşarêtewe.** {= The brave warrior is the one who goes *ahead* of the army and the cowardly one *retreats*, or hides *behind*}

In (54) front orientation manifested through the lexical item *pêş-front* indicates courage and back orientation represented via *le diwawe-behind* is a metaphor for cowardice. According to the expression, those who are brave are at the *forefront* of war, confrontation and hard work, and the cowardly are *behind*. In the examples below, the forward direction from the face indicates courage and the back direction, which is the opposite of the face, is a metaphor for cowardice:

- (55) **Şêrwan çawnetirs bu, le paşemile qisekani nekird u hemu ştêkî řubeřu be beřêweberekey gut.** {= Sherwan was fearless and did not talk *behind* his manager, he told him everything *face to face*}
- (56) **Şêrwan řubeřuy hemuyan biwewe.** {=Sherwan *faced* them all}
- (57) **Aram her ke zanî şer le nêwan tímî ewan u beramberda řudeda, yekser xoy be paş xist.** {= When Aram realised that there would be a fight between his team and the opponent, he immediately *retreated*}

Thus, in CK, the linguistic expressions *řubeřu-face to face*, *řubeřubunewe-facing*, *řubeřu qisekirdin-face to face talk*, which express forward direction based on *face*, are all metaphors for courage, fearlessness and the value of bravery, on the other hand the expressions *le paşemile qisekrdin-talking behind*, *le diwawe-from behind*, *xo be paşxisnt- retreating*, in which the directions are backwards, imply cowardice and evasion.

+ VALUABLE IS FRONT+, WORTHLESS IS BACK+

In CK, what or who is valuable is oriented with respect to FRONT orientation and what or who is worthless is spatialised in terms of BACK orientation. For instance:

- (58) **ewey leber çawane, leber dilane.** {= He who is in *front* of the eyes is in the hearts}

In (58) the map of the relationship between the concept of value and the person's existence in the front direction is obvious. This relationship stems from the cultural experience that Kurdish

society pays attention to social relationships, the person who is close to us and present is valuable. The linguistic expression "*leber çawane-in front of the eyes*" signals that the person is valuable.

(59) **çakî ewe leber çawmandaye u feramoşnagrê.** {= Your goodness is *in front of my eyes* and will not be forgotten}

The example (59) indicates that *leber çawdanan* which literary means putting something in front of one's eyes is a metaphor for prioritizing the thing. The opposite is forgetting when you put something or someone behind which is expressed in CK as *ignore- piştgwêxistn*, for instance:

(60) **ewan amojgarîyekanî minyan piştgwê xist.** {= They put my advice behind (ignored it)}

In (60) the backward direction manifested through *piştgwê xist-to put something behind* is a metaphor for neglect. This is also true in CK for things, people, concepts, values and decisions, for example:

(61) **biřyareke lepêş seroke.** {=The decision is *in front of* the president }

The example (61) also shows that the forward direction which is manifested through *lepêş - in front of* is an orientational conceptual metaphor for the fact that the decision is important and has priority.

(62) **xwênkaran le řîzî pêşewê gořane syasî-komelayetîyekandan.** {= Students are at the *forefront* of socio-political change }

Example (62) clarifies the phenomenon better than *řîzî pêşewe – forefront* is a metaphor for the importance of students in socio-political changes

Even the words progress (forward motion) and regression (backward motion) in CK are basically metaphorical items that have been lexicalized and used as fixed lexemes. This obviously illustrates that in the view of CK speakers, the forward direction is always used positively for the concepts, things and people that are significant, and the backward direction is negatively used for unimportant concepts, people and things.

(63) **ewaney dwatdekewn u basit deken, herdem le dwawet demênnewe,boye piştyan têbike u berdewam be le serkewtinekanit.**

{= Those who *follow* you and gossip about you will always stay *behind* you, so *turn your back* on them and continue your successes }

(64) **Nazdar piştî le xizmekanî kirdibu, her seyrîşî nedekirdin.** {= “Nazdar had turned her *back* on her relatives and didn’t even look at them }

The expressions *le dwawet demênnewe - stay behind you*, *piştyan tê bike - turn your back on them* in (63) and *piştî le xizmekanî kirdibu-had turned her back on his relatives* in (64) illustrate that those we do not care and think about are not in front of us. The worthless people who gossip about others and Nazdar's relatives depend on that they are behind the speaker. This mapping originates from cultural structures but can be interpreted in terms of physical experience in that people always put valuable things in front of their eyes to take care of them and not lose them, but put worthless things behind because they do not care about losing them. The example (64) contains another orientational conceptual metaphor which is **+NEGLECT IS BACK+**, which refers to the fact that we turn our backs on those we neglect. The expression: *pishtt têdekem - I turn my back on you* is associated of that orientational conceptual metaphor.

2.2.4 RIGHT-LEFT Orientational Metaphors

In Kurdish culture, status, ideology, good deeds and evil deeds are conceptualised in terms of right and left spatial orientations.

+HIGH STATUS IS RIGHT+, **+LOW STATUS IS LEFT⁶+**

In Central Kurdish, high status is metaphorised in terms of the horizontal direction of the right hand, such as:

(65) **Azad desterasî wezîre le bişyardanda.** {= Azad is the minister's *right-hand* man in decision-making }

Thus, *desterast- right-hand* is a concept that indicates the administrative rank of individuals; it refers to a high-ranking advisor

+NATIONAL IDEOLOGY IS RIGHT+, **+COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY IS LEFT+**

Ideology and people's perspectives are also concepts that can be referred to in both right and left directions, such as right-wing and left-wing.

(66) **çepkan Kurdistan legeî bîr u boçunî řastřewekan yeknagirnewe.** {=The *leftists* in Kurdistan do not agree with the worldviews of *the rightists* }

Here the words *çep- left* and *řast-right* refer to the views and ideologies of their owners; they are concepts that have received their meanings through a spatial and cultural orientation. Initially, the meaning of this concept was made by a physical experience that those who had a certain view and support of the French king, in the French Revolution, sat on the right-hand side of the king and the revolutionaries sat on the left-hand side. But later these concepts took on cultural values

and now give ideological references to their owners. Thus, communist and national ideologies have been metaphorised and thought of in terms of left and right horizontal spatial orientations.

+GOOD DEEDS ARE RIGHT, +EVIL DEEDS ARE LEFT+

Kurdish society is a Muslim society; it is influenced by a religious culture that believes that all good deeds should be done with the right hand and all evil deeds should be done with the left hand. The effect of this as a cultural experience has formulated a number of metaphors, which are interpreted in terms of right and left spatial orientations. For example:

(67) **kuřim, dunya zor gořawe, agat le řast u řepî xot bê.** {=Dear son, the world has changed a lot, take care of your *right* and *left*}

In (67) the linguistic expressions *řast-right* and *řep-left* are metaphors for those who do good and evil deeds respectively. That is, in CK, good and bad deeds are metaphorised in terms of the spatial terms of right and left.

2.2.5 CENTRE -PERIPHERY Orientational Metaphors

Some concepts, in CK, are conceptualised in terms of centre-periphery spatial orientations. Important and valuable things are put in the centre and unimportant things are marginalized.

+IMPORTANT IS CENTRE +, UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERY+

(68) **xizmekanim minyan perawêz⁷ xistibu.** {= My relatives have put me in *periphery*}

(69) **Sîrwan le nawendî deselat daye.** {= Sirwan is in the *centre of power*}

The words *perawêz - periphery* and *nawend- centre* express the concepts of significance and insignificance of people through spatial orientations. In (68) the speaker's marginal position indicates that he is no longer valued by his relatives. On the contrary, Sirwan's position in the centre of power indicates the importance of the speaker in power.

(70) **xwêndkarekan dewreyan le mamosta dabu.** {= The students *surrounded* the teacher}

(71) **Şewan hemuman dewre le bapîrm dedeyn u gwê bo beserhatekanî řadegrîn.** {At night we all *gather around* my grandfather and listen to his stories}

(72) **ke Aram destîkird be witardan hemuyan bilaweyan lêkrd.** {= When Aram started speaking, they all *dispersed*}

In (70) and (71) *dewreledan-gathering around someone* indicates the importance of the person, the concept of centralism is metaphorically expressed through gathering around the teacher and grandparent. In contrast, the example (72) signals that dispersion (*biławelêkrd*) around Aram,

means that Aram is indifferent. Thus, in Kurdish, important is central and unimportant is away from the centre.

3. Conclusions

1. In Central Kurdish, the abstract concepts of *morality, pride, more, consciousness, science, ambition, wealth, happiness, force, and rational* are interpreted in terms of the upward spatial orientation. In contrast, the concepts of *immorality, humiliation, less, unconscious, ignorance, unambitious, poverty, sadness, being subject to force, and irrationality* are metaphorised through the downward spatial orientation.

2. Accurate thinking and meaningfulness are metaphorised in terms of deep spatial orientation.

3. The most common horizontal spatial orientations that form conceptual orientational metaphors are:

A. Front-Back: here, the concepts of future, courage, and valuableness are construed in respect of front orientation while past, cowardice, and worthless in terms of back orientation.

B. Right-Left: here, Status, goodness/badness, and ideology are given spatial orientations. High status, goodness and national ideology are spatialised with regard to right orientation, and low status, badness, and communist ideology are metaphorised via left orientation.

C. Centre -Periphery: importance is interpreted through the centre orientation and unimportance in terms of the periphery.

4. The linguistic expressions that represent positive concepts are sometimes more active than the expressions that represent negative concepts in forming conceptual orientational metaphors.

5. Many lexical items that represent conceptual orientational metaphors do not remain at the level of pragmatic use but are often established in semantics as fixed lexical units with different morphological categories.

میتافۆری ئاراستهیی له کوردیی ناوهراستا

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پوخته

ناویشانی ئەم توێژینه ویه بریتیه له " میتافۆری ئاراستهیی له کوردیی ناوهراستا"، توێژینه وهکه ههولیکه بۆ لیکدانه وهی چۆنیه تی به میتافۆرکردنی کۆمه لیک چه مکی ئەبستراکت، له روانگهی رهههنده جیا جیاکانی فهزاوه. ئامانجی سه رهکی توێژینه وهکه شرۆڤه کردنی ده برینه میتافۆرییه ئاراسته ییه کانه، که گوزارشت له پرۆسه مه عریفیه کانی واتا پیکهیناندا دهکهن. واته، توێژینه وهکه له بهر رۆشنایی تیوری میتافۆری چه مکیدا مامه له له گه ل جوړیکی دیاریکراوی میتافۆریدا دهکا، که بریتیه له میتافۆری ئاراسته یی (Orientational Metaphor). له روانگهی ئەم تیوره وه، زمان ئاوینه ی هزره، ده برینه زمانیه کانی نواندنێ و نه خشه کیشانه چه مکیهن، که له هزریدا به پشت به ستن به ئەزمون پۆنراون. داتای توێژینه وهکه ئاخاوتنی پۆژانه ی کوردیی ناوهراسته. ئەم توێژینه وهیه له گه ل بۆچونی زمانه وانه مه عریفیه کانی هاو پاره له وهدا، که ئەو ده برینه زمانیه کانی چه مکه ئەبستراکته کانی ده نوین سیمانتیکانه سه ره به خۆن، وهک ئەوهی نه ریتی فه لسه فه ی ئەنگلۆ-ئهمریکی (Anglo-American philosophy) بانگه شه ی بۆ ده کرد، به لکو ده برینه زمانیه کانی له په یوه ندیاندان به ده برینه زمانیه کانی تره وه پۆده نرین و مانا په ییاده کهن. میتافۆره چه مکیه ئاراسته ییه کانی سه ره تا له هزریدا له شیوه ی فۆرمیولایه کدا پۆده نرین دواتر به هوی ده برینی زمانی جیا جیاوه ده نوینرین، ئەمه ش واتی ئەوهیه میتافۆر له هزریدا نهک له زمان، واتا میتافۆر دیارده یه کی مه عریفیه و فۆرمه زمانیه کانی ده رکه وته ی جیا جیای فۆرمه هزریه کانی.

وشه گرنه گه کانی: زمانی رهوانیژی، تیروانیی دیرین بۆ میتافۆر، میتافۆری چه مکی، میتافۆری ئاراسته یی، ئاراسته فهزاییه کانی.

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Notes:

1. Conceptual metaphors are classified into several types on different grounds. On the basis of their functions, apart from orientational metaphor, two other types are distinguished: structural metaphor and ontological metaphor. In structural metaphor, the target domain is structured and understood in terms of the source domain. The abovementioned conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is a structural metaphor. Ontological metaphor is a kind of metaphor in which activities, actions, emotions and ideas are represented as concrete objects, the abstract concepts are objectified entities, substances and containers, or personified as human beings (Dancygier and Sweetser, 2014, p. 62).
2. The concept of *rewişt berz-high moral* has not remained at the level of pragmatic use; rather it has been lexicalized and is a synonym of *beřewişt-polite*. It sometimes drives lexical category of abstract nouns and functions as an adverb:
 - **rewiştberzî taybetmendiyekî gringî kesanî řoşinbîre**. {=Politeness is an important characteristic of intellectuals}
 - **beřeweberekem řewiştberzane legelman řeftar deka**. {My manager treats us politely}
 This phenomenon is a distinctive feature of Central Kurdish.
3. Here also the expression *serberz* has been lexicalized and is active in the word formation process, as the words *serberzî*, *serberzane* are derived from it.
4. In CK, the negative poles are sometimes not so active in creating conceptual orientational metaphors.
5. Here also the word *pêş-ahead* has become the base and a number of lexical items have been derived from it, such as *Pêşbînî-prediction*, *Pêşbînîkraw-predictable*, *Pêşîne-precedent*, *Pêşewa-leader*.
6. As mentioned earlier, In CK, the negative poles are sometimes not so active in creating conceptual orientational metaphors.
7. The spatial term *perawêz-marginal* is active in the word formation process and has formed several lexical items belonging to different morphological categories, such as: *Perawêzxistin-marginalization*, *Perawêzxiraw-marginalized*, *Perawêzî-marginal*.