Metaphor within-Culture Variation

Metaphors of "The Islamic Veil", "Female's Body" and "Cultural Integration" among the mainstream British Culture and the Islamic British subculture

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Abstract

Metaphor within-culture variation is an innovative theory in cognitive linguistics which claims that conceptual metaphors tend to vary within the same culture. That is, the conceptualization of a particular image or concept could be done through the embodied experience that correlates with each subculture background. The fact that recent societies/cultures have complex diversities of subcultures leads to the assumption that conceptual metaphors could vary within the same culture. In this paper, a comparative study of conceptual metaphors in British culture has been done in order to test metaphor within-culture variation theory. In order to do so, the study has analyzed a set of data collected form British newspapers, which consists of 18 articles, 10 interviews and 34 comments all written or done by British women form both the mainstream British culture and the Islamic British subculture. Moreover, the work focuses on the variation of metaphorical structures used in conceptualizing the images of "the Islamic veil", "female body" and "cultural integration" between these social varieties. The analysis shows that each social variety, in the selected data, understands the investigated images according to different embodied experiences. Needless to say, these differences could be related to religious, political and social factors. Thus, the religious ideologies show profound influence in constructing the "veil" metaphors in the Islamic subculture. On the other hand, the "liberation" of western women in the western society in addition to other political factors explain several metaphorical structures in the mainstream British culture. Furthermore, this contradiction in understanding the image of the veil leads to the emergence of other metaphors express the "cultural integration" between these varieties. Overall, the combination between the study of metaphorical structures and within-culture social and religious varieties seems to be useful in understanding the within-culture variation in conceptualizing the images of the "Islamic veil", "female body" and "cultural integration".

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Desde la emergencia de la lingüística cognitiva como disciplina, un continuo entre todos los tipos de cognición y lenguaje han sido establecidos (Barcelona, 2003). Algunos lingüísticos están de acuerdo en que la imaginación es la principal habilidad cognitiva del ser humano (Tilley, 1999; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). De acuerdo con sus estudios, la imaginación concede al hablante de cualquier idioma la habilidad de proyectar conceptos en otros conceptos. Consecuentemente, los aparatos de la imaginación como la metáfora se han transformado en temas favoritos para el análisis de la lingüística cognitiva (Jonson, 1987).

En los últimos 30 años, la metáfora se ha convertido en una importante área de investigación en la lingüística cognitiva. El trabajo de Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* ha sido clasificado como uno de los más significantes influyentes en el archivo de la lingüística cognitiva. Por consiguiente Kovecses en su reciente estudio, presto más atención a la metáfora conceptual y a la cultura. Él argumentó que la metáfora es usada para conceptuar y construir la palabra no-física y la palabra abstracta.

Correspondientemente, las estructuras metafóricas, ambas conceptual y lingüística, son supuestas variaciones acordes a la social división dentro de la misma cultura. Esta variación ha sido llamada variación dentro de la cultura (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kovecses, 2002, 2005, 2006). Esta social división ha sido llamada" dimensiones" por Kovecses (2005). Además él identificó 9 diferentes dimensiones, como la dimensión social. La dimensión étnica, la regional y la dimensión subcultural.

La metáfora conceptual el la lingüística cognitiva es un cruze de asignaciones de dominio. El componente básico de la metáfora conceptual es listada por Kovecses (2006) como lo siguiente: los dominios de origen y la meta, las similitudes, las bases de la metáfora, cartografía, expresiones lingüísticas metafóricas y modelos culturales. Todos estos componentes están involucrados dentro de la variación dentro de la cultura. En adición a estos componentes, Johnson (1987) mantiene que la imagen de la esquena tiene una importante norma en la construcción conceptual de la metáfora. Kovecses (2006) define la imagen del esquema como la repetida y regular experiencia que estructura la metáfora conceptual. Además Lakoff and Johnson (1980) clasifican la metáfora conceptual en tres tipos que son orientaciónal, ontológica y estructural. Sin embargo la metáfora estructural parece ser la más rica meta de la elaboración metafórica.

En este papel, un estudio comparativo de las metáforas conceptuales en la cultura británica, ha sido hecho para examinar la teoría de la variación dentro de la cultura. El análisis se ha centrado en la variación de las estructuras metafóricas usadas en conceptuar la imagen del velo islámico, el cuerpo femenino y la integración cultural, en ambas corrientes principales, la cultura Británica y la subcultura islámica Británica. Los datos analizados consisten en 18 artículos sociales y políticos, 10 entrevistas y 34 comentarios seleccionados de periódicos británicos. Todos los datos provienen de ser escritos y dichos de mujeres Británicas de ambas variaciones sociales. El estudio ha puesto de manifiesto considerables diferencias en los hallazgos.

El análisis ha sido dividido en 3 subsecciones. La primera subsección examinó metáforas conceptuales para un particular destino de dominio que son lo mismo en las 2 variantes culturales, pero cada variación usa diferentes cartografías o diferentes expresiones lingüísticas para conceptuar el destino del dominio. La segunda subsección se centró en metáforas en las que cada subcultura usa un conjunto de diferentes fuentes de dominio para un particular destino. La tercera y última subsección analizó metáforas conceptuales que parecían ser la única variación social.

Sin embargo. El papel ha demostrado que las diferencias halladas pueden ser debidas a factores políticos y religiosos. Esto es, las ideologías religiosas muestran una profunda influencia en la construcción de las metáforas del velo en la subcultura islámica. Por otro lado, la libertad de la sociedad occidental y otros factores políticos explican severos estructuras metafóricas en las principales corrientes de la cultura Británica. En adición el análisis revela que la errónea concepción y el malentendido de la verdadera legitimidad de vestir el velo islámico tiene un sustancial efecto en la construcción de las metáforas conceptuales encontradas en las principales corrientes de los datos de la cultura Británica. En breve, la combinación entre el estudio de las estructuras metafóricas y dentro de la cultura social y variaciones religiosas parecen ser útiles en el entendimiento dentro-de la variación cultural en la conceptualización de las imágenes del velo islámico, el cuerpo femenino y la integración cultural.

Para concluir el estudio de la variación dentro de la cultura de la metáfora conceptual parece ser un reto dentro del área de investigación debido a que combina 2 dominios mayores: lingüística cognitiva y antropología.

Introduction

Since the emergence of cognitive linguistics as a discipline, a continuum between all sorts of cognition and language has been established (Barcelona, 2003). Many linguists agree on "Imagination" as the main cognitive ability of human beings (Tilley, 1999; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). According to their studies, imagination gives the speaker of any language the ability to project concepts onto other concepts. Therefore, imaginative devices, just like metaphor, have become favorite topics for analysis in cognitive linguistic (Johnson, 1987).

Historically, metaphor was ignored by linguistic studies. It is thought that Aristotle was the first who began the tradition of studying figurative language (Allan, 2008). Aristotle described metaphors as "the mark of genius, for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblance" (qtd. in Allan, 2008: 5). In most early studies, metaphor was considered as a "decorative addition to ordinary plain language" (Saeed, 1999: 303). Moreover, there was a widely spread discipline which classified metaphor as a misleading deceptive linguistic tool (Allan, 2008).

At the beginning of the 20th century, an entirely new theory was established by I.A. Richard who described metaphor as the fundamental principle of the language which we inevitably use in our everyday speech. Finally, in the last 30 years, metaphor has become an important object of interest in linguistic studies (Allan, 2008). The work of Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphor We Live By* (1980) is

classified as the one with the most significant influence on the field of cognitive linguistic (Allan, 2008). In addition to that, Allan notes that the originality of this work comes from, firstly, introducing the term of Conceptual Metaphor and, secondly, from establishing the connection between metaphors and thoughts. The result of this work, according to Allan, is "a coherent and convincing account of the way that metaphors underlie the fundamental structure of concepts" (Allan, 2008). On the other hand, Kovecses (2005) stresses the importance of this book because of the fact that it introduces the connection between conceptual metaphor and cultural background.

Recently, there has been growing interest in the study of metaphor-cultural interface (Kovecses, 2006). This interdisciplinary field contains two major disciplines: cognitive science, which includes contemporary cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics; and social science represented by anthropology (Kovecses, 2005). In late studies, metaphor has served the goal of social science because it provides scholars with the ground for interpretative understanding of the world. Additionally, the study of metaphors has been classified as one of the most important part in the process of the acquisition of any cultural knowledge (Tilley, 1999). Although anthropologists, who have been interested in metaphorical studies, were inspired by the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), they have not been satisfied by the overemphasizing of the universality of the majority of conceptual metaphors (Fernandez, 1986; Kovecses, 2000, 2005). They are, however, more interested in the study of the variation of metaphors a cross cultures, or even in the variation within the same culture (Kovecses, 2005).

In anthropology, within-culture variations have become a favorite topic to analyze the complex structures of modern societies (Kovecses, 2005; Tilley, 1999). In addition to that, this discipline has been extensively studied by sociolinguists. Sociolinguists capitalize on the results of anthropologists in order to study and interpret the variation in the use of language within the same community (Kovecses, 2005, 2006). In the light of this research, Kovecses (2005) argues that if language varies within the same community, metaphorical structures should vary as well.

So far, there has been multiple research on metaphor within cultural variations (Kovecses, 2000, 2005, 2006; Quinn, 1991). But these studies have concentrated on the political or social divisions within societies. However, although this paper is going to study the variation within the same culture, the main focus of the analysis is going to be on the "religious division" within the British culture. More specifically, the aim of this paper is to study the metaphorical variation among the mainstream British culture and the Islamic British subculture.

Literature Review

1. Conceptual Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistic

The study of metaphor has been the prime interest of a great number of linguists within the last 30 years (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Jakel, 1995). Although multiple research has been done so far, we may find little agreement on the definition of metaphor. The reason is that each discipline defines metaphor from its viewpoint. For example, in rhetoric, metaphor is classified as a figure of speech (Steen, 1994). A very similar view is found in *Oxford English Dictionary* (3rd edition revised). In this dictionary, metaphor is defined as "a figure of speech in which a name or a descriptive word or phrase is transferred to an object or action different from, but analogue to, that to which is literary applicable." Unlike rhetoric, cognitive linguistics deals with metaphor from a conceptual perspective. We have mentioned previously that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are considered to be the inventors of this new discipline. They identify metaphor through brain and thought. Moreover, they argue that our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. Consequently, what we think and what we experience every day are just matters of metaphors. They give a simple definition of metaphor in the following statement: "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). Barcelona's definition (2003) coincides with Lakoff and Johnson's. It is based on the process of mapping between two conceptual

domains which are the source domain and the target domain. Hence, he uses the term "Conceptual Metaphor" in order to refer to "the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially ¨mapped¨, i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one" (Barcelona, 2003: 3). In common with Barcelona's definition, Kovecses (2006) mentions that metaphors are cross-domain mappings which are used to represent "the relationship between two frames with the notion of A is B" (2006: 116).

1.1 The Components of Conceptual Metaphors

In order to understand how metaphor could be cross-domain mappings, we have to be acquainted with its basic elements. For this purpose, these elements will be briefly mentioned following Kovecses' study. Although Kovecses lists 12 components of conceptual metaphor (2006, ch: 8), only those which are related to our study are going to be explained below.

1.1.1. Source and Target Domains

Kovecses determines two main domains which are the source domain (more physical, represented by the letter B) and the target domain (more abstract, represented by the letter A). The relationship between these two domains is represented as follow: A is B. In other technical words, target is source. Another possible relationship is that the source domain may apply to several targets and a target may be attached to several sources[1].

1.1.2. Similarity between the Source and the Target:

There might be prominent similarity between concept A and concept B. This similarity could be embodied in our experience, besides; it could be similarities of all kinds. According to Kovecses, this theory explains why a particular source goes with a particular target.

1.1.3. Basis of Metaphor

Kovecses claims that our embodied experience is unconscious most of the time and it makes understanding metaphors easier for any language user. Accordingly, we accept substantial metaphors such like "AFFECTION IS WARMTH" without difficulty because the feeling of affection correlates with bodily warmth. In relation with this theory, Freeman (2003) claims that thoughts are embodied, which means that we conceptualize our ideas about the world and ourselves through our embodied experience of the world and self. Therefore, we can only understand abstract ideas, e.g. love and life, by projecting them into physical word. In other words, conceptual metaphor has been considered to be the outcome of the interaction between cognitive structures and our experience of the world (Kovecses, 2006).

1.1.4. Mapping

Mappings between the source and the target domains are taken to be basic and essential. Kovecses explains this element through the analysis of the conceptual metaphor "LOVE IS JOURNEY". In this illustrative example, the mappings are as follows: lovers are travelers, love relationship is a vehicle, progress made in relationship is distance covered and so on.

1.1.5 Metaphorical Linguistic Expression

Kovecses emphasizes the connection between the linguistic metaphor (rhetoric) and the conceptual metaphor (cognitive). He says that metaphorical linguistic expressions make conceptual metaphors manifest. Moreover, he argues that any language users use these linguistical expressions to express metaphors in thought by means of "hypothetically assuming links between two domains". However, Kovecses says that identifying what counts as metaphorical expressions is "an extremely difficult task" (Kovecses, 2006: 122).

1.1.6. Cultural Models

Finally, Kovecses argues that conceptual metaphors produce cultural models or frames which operate in thought2. These structures are "culturally specific mental representations of aspects of the world" (2006: 126). The given example in this standing is the understanding of time as an entity that moves. Kovecses claims that this cultural model of time understanding is based on the conceptual metaphor "TIME IS MOVING ENTITY". Consequently, we talk about time passing, coming on, flying and so on.

1.2 Image Schemas

Apart from the components of the conceptual metaphor, Kovecses (2006) has a further idea to stress. He emphasizes that when a certain structural description occurs repeatedly in our experience, certain schematic structures begin to emerge and get represented in the brain. Johnson (1987) calls these structures "image-schemas" and defines them as "dynamic patterns of our conceptual interactions and motor programs that give coherent to our experience" (Johnson, 1987: XIX). Kovecses (2006) claims that all these repeated regular

experiences bring further image-schematic knowledge that structures our metaphors. In the light of this theory, it might be worthy to list Lakoff's "Spatialization of Form" hypothesis on image-schemas (1987, P: 283) which implies the following categories:

1. Categories are understood in term of CONTAINER schema.

2. Hierarchical structure is understood in term of PART-WHOLE schemas and UP-DOWN schemas.

3. Rational structure is understood in term of LINK schemas.

4. Radial structure in categories is understood in terms of CENTER-PERIPHERY schemas.

5. Foreground-background structure is understood in terms of FRONT-BACK schemas.

6. Linear quantity scales are understood in term of UP-DOWN schemas and LINEAR ORDER schemas.

Lakoff specifies that this hypothesis requires "a metaphorical mapping from physical space into a conceptual space" (Lakoff, 1987; P: 283). At the same time, he stresses the idea that metaphorical mappings themselves can be understood in terms of image schemas. In addition to that, he suggests that image-schemas structure our conceptual system. Besides, any language user has an embodied understanding of the structure (form) of his/her conceptual system (cited in Kovecses, 2006: 211).

1.3 Kinds of Conceptual Metaphors:

So far, we have examined the basic components of conceptual metaphor. In addition, image-schemas have been explained as the repeated and regular experiences of the world for any language user. In light with image-schemas theory, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) list three kinds of conceptual metaphors which are orientational metaphors, ontological metaphors and structural metaphors. In the next paragraphs, a brief description of these kinds is going to be presented following Lakoff and Johnson's study (1980).

1.3.1 Orientational Metaphors:

They are metaphorical structures built on organizing a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. Most of orienational metaphors have to do with spatial orientation such like up-down, in-out or front back. The provided example is the following English expression: "I feel *up* today". The writers claim that this expression comes from the fact that HAPPY is oriented UP in the "HAPPINESS IS UP" metaphor. They, moreover, argue that such metaphorical orientations are not "randomly assigned" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 18). They are simply grounded on the speakers' physical and cultural experiences. As a sequence, these metaphorical structures can vary from one culture to another (Kovecses, 2005).

1.3.2 Ontological Metaphors

Understanding experiences in terms of objects and substances gives arise to ontological metaphors. These metaphors allow the speaker to treat parts of his/her experience as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Lakoff and Johnson maintain that the range of such metaphors is immense; besides, they could be elaborated within the cultural context$_3$. Some of the most

commonly used ontological metaphors are the following: containers metaphors, personification or visual fields.

1.3.3 Structural Metaphors

They provide the richest source of metaphorical elaboration. Additionally, they allow the speaker to use one highly structured and highly designated concept in order to structure another concept. Such kind of metaphors is more flexible than the previous ones. For example, structural metaphors provide us with more understanding of what communication, argument and war are. Additionally, they are grounded on the systematic correlations with the speakers' experiences. The provided examples are many such like IDEAS ARE BUILDING, ARGUMENT IS WAR and LIFE IS JOURNEY.

2. Conceptual Metaphors within Cultural Variation

2.1 Categorization and Frames

2.1.1 What Is A Frame?

 Interaction between human beings is thought to be guided by cultural forces. That is, for any interaction, it is believed that individuals initially categorize situations. Afterwards, they impose frames and forms of talk regulated by norms dictating the expressed emotions (Turner, 2006). From another perspective, Kovecses (2006), who describes such categorization as "essential for survival", claims that these conceptual categories established by the language speakers are the "backbone" of language and thoughts (Kovecses, 2006: 17). In other words, the relation that he creates between meaning-making

and conceptual categories tends to be fundamental in any language. Furthermore, he calls such categories "feature lists" which represent what a language speaker knows about concepts. In many of his research, Kovecses (2002, 2005, 2006) argues that "feature lists" may list unrelated features. He attempts to replace this term by the "Frames" concept. Form his standpoint, "Frames" are defined as structured mental representations of conceptual categories. He indicates that these mental representations can not be given as in "feature lists" (Kovecses, 2006: 64). Interestingly, frames are called different names by different scholars (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987; Kovecses, 2006, 2005; Johnson, 1987). The most used names are the following: scenario, scene, cultural models, cognitive models or, even, schemas. However, all of these terms designate a coherent organization of human experiences.

2.1.2 Metaphorical Frames in Cultures

It has been mentioned that culture can be seen as a set of shared understanding of the world. This shared understanding has been regarded as a mental representations structured by cultural models and frames (Shore, 1996; Quinn, 1997; Kovecses, 2005). Kovecses (2005) argues that every culture uses more than one set of coherent frames in order to conceptualize the world. Accordingly, the contradiction between the frames used to understand a particular domain of experience causes the variation within the same culture.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphors and Cultural Models

Many scholars have discussed the important role of culture in conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Kovecses, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Allan

(2008) emphasizes that conceptual metaphors can be interpreted only by considering the "cultural context" in which they occur. A similar view had been discussed many years ago by Lakoff and Turner (1989). They argued that basic conceptual metaphors are part of the "common conceptual apparatus" which is shared by the members of a certain culture. Many years later, Steen (1994) comments on the "common conceptual apparatus" term. He equalizes this term with social and cultural speech patterns which can be found among particular language users. Another study by Kovecses (2005) claims that conceptual metaphors could be tangible processes in our social and cultural practices. He builds his argument on the capacity of the source domain in becoming a social physical reality. To prove the validity of his argument, Kovecses gives the following example. He points out that in seating arrangement at a formal meeting usually important people tend to sit more centrally or higher than people who are less important. Kovecses associates this social phenomenon with the metaphorical structure which is provided by the conceptual metaphor SIGNIFICANT/ IMPORTANT IS HIGHER/CENTRAL and LESS SIGNIFICANT/LESS IMPORTANT IS LOWER/PERIPHERAL (2005: 142). Finally, Lakoff and Kovecses (1987) indicate that metaphors largely constitute the culture models or the native understanding of non-physical- social, legal or emotional concepts. Unlike Lakoff and Kovecses' theory, Quinn (1991) argues that metaphors simply reflect cultural models and no metaphor is needed to understand abstract concepts such like love and marriage[4]. According to her viewpoint, these abstract concepts emerge literary from certain basic experiences which structure them. For example, marriage, in her viewpoint, is an expectational structure which is derived from motivational structure of love. Love, in its turn, is derived from "the basic infantile experience between baby

and first caretaker" (cited in Kovecses, 2006: 196). Furthermore, she argues that the cultural model content of marriage is reflected by the metaphor of martial compatibility, difficulty, success, risk and so on. Quinn concludes that these metaphors are derived from "a contradiction that arises inevitably between the expectations of mutual benefit and that of lastingness" (Quinn, 1991: 67). However, Kovecses (2006) described Quinn analysis as incomplete and problematic. He added that it is theoretical and lacks evidence.

2.3 Metaphors within Cultural Variation

As has been said, there is constant agreement on the fact that metaphors are used in order to conceptualize and build the non-physical and abstract world (Kovecses, 2006, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Besides, this conceptualization could be done through the embodied experience which correlates with cultural background (Kovecses, 2006). This cultural background is argued to be universal in some cases. For example, the previously mentioned metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH is regarded to be universal due to the unconscious bodily experience of warmth. As a result, this kind of experience is called primary experience and believed to be responsible of producing such universal metaphors (Kovecses, 2005: 3). However, Kovecses (2005: 4) argues that not all universal experiences necessarily lead to universal metaphors. At the same time, primary metaphors are not inevitably universal. That is, metaphors are not necessarily based on bodily experience because many are based on cultural variation and cognitive processes of various kinds. Furthermore, Kovecses finds that the main meaning focus in conceptual metaphors is useful because of its "cultural- sensitivity". He states his rule as follow:

"Each source is associated with a particular meaning focus (or foci) that is (or are) mapped into the target. This meaning focus (or foci) is (are) constituted by the central knowledge that pertains to a particular entity or event within the speech community. The target inherits the main meaning focus (or foci) of the source." (Kovecses, 2003: 82).

In his viewpoint, this rule allows researchers to investigate ideas associated with a source domain and agreed upon by a community of speakers. In addition to that, he says "it also allows us to capture interesting cross -cultural (or, even, within cultural) shifts in source domains and what are they connected with in the target" (Kovecses, 2005: 12).

Recent societies have complex structures. The divisions within societies and cultures are well known by anthropologists and sociolinguists who study language variations within societies (Shore, 1996; Strauss and Quinn, 1997). It has been mentioned that metaphors expose and, sometimes, constitute human experiences within their cultural context. Correspondingly, metaphorical structures, both conceptual and linguistical structures, are supposed to vary according to these social divisions within the same culture (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kovecses, 2002, 2005, 2006). These social divisions have been called "dimensions" by Kovecses (2005). He identifies nine different dimensions, such as the social dimension, ethnic dimension, regional dimension and subcultural dimension. However, only the subcultural dimension is going to be explained because the main focus of the analysis is related to it.

2.3.1 Subcultural dimension

Each society and cultural consist of a number of subcultures (Fischer, 1982: 202). Anthropologists, such like Brake (1980), differentiates between cultural dimension, which concentrates on the meaning style, and the subcultural dimension, which involves behavior and lifestyle related to a wider social structure. From another different view, Kovecses (2005: 97) identifies subcultures by those who define themselves in contradiction to mainstream culture; and, often, they can be partially defined by the metaphors they use. Moreover, the self definition of the subculture involves "the unique metaphorical conceptualizations of important concepts on which the separateness of the subculture is based". Finally, Kovecses maintains that religion is one of the prominent subcultures in recent societies.

2.4 How the Components of Conceptual Metaphor are Involved in Variation

At this point, it is important to mention how the components of conceptual metaphors are involved in within-culture variation. A brief description of how these various aspects of metaphor participate in variation would be presented following a study done by Kovecses (2005, ch: 6, 7). In this study, Kovecses clarifies that all the components of a conceptual metaphor are involved in cultural variation. Starting by the source domain, Kovecses points out that different social varieties use different but congruent source domains at lower levels of conceptual organization. Whereas at higher levels, the source domains are more likely to be sub-culturally shared. Secondly, the target domain could be conceptualized differently within the same culture, and this could produce different metaphors. Thirdly, the relationship between the source and the target

has been set into distinct types which are the following: **A.** one social variety can have a certain target domain that is conventionally associated with a set of source domains. This set of source domains is called **the range of target**. **B. the scope of metaphor** is when a given source domain is associated with different sets of targets in two or more social varieties. Fourthly, mappings of the same metaphor may be different across any two subcultures. Finally, the same conceptual metaphor in two different social varieties commonly displays variation in the metaphorical linguistic expressions that are based on that metaphor.

Contextual Background Section

In the previous section, the updated theories of conceptual metaphor in cognitive linguistics have been mentioned. In addition, a relationship between metaphorical structures and their cultural background has been established. In this section, a brief religious-socio-political review is provided in order to give the reader an idea of the cultural background of the selected data.

1. Islam and Europe

When a relationship is established between these two terms, "Islam" and "Europe", a particular asymmetry might emerge in the reader's mind. This asymmetry comes from the distinctive meaning of these terms. That is, "Europe" is a geographical expression while "Islam" is a name of religion (Lewis, 1993: 3). However, Lewis (1993) claims that both terms, "Europe" and "Islam", represent a "primary civilizational self definition of the entities which they designate, and maybe seen as counter partners, whose association is inappropriate" (Lewis, 1993: 5). Therefore, he argues that any discussion of relations between these items or their "reciprocal" perceptions and attitudes doesn't have to be seen as asymmetrical.

Although Islam had a long history in the European countries[5], the current huge Muslim population in Europe is due to the waves of immigrant workers to western states after the World War II. Those workers were brought to the industrialized countries in order build what the war had damaged. Although it was assumed that those workers would return to their home countries, they had not. On the contrary, they managed to bring their family members to Europe. As

a result, the Muslim population in Western Europe expanded rapidly (Fetzer and Soper, 2005; Killian, 2007).

Immigrants were expected to abandon their cultural traditions in favor of the European culture (Killian, 2007). For example, Killian (2007) mentions that Muslim immigrants in France were assumed to be French. From her viewpoint, the French model of integration entails "a loss of ethnic identity and pressure to conform to a standard civic model" (Killian, 2007: 307). In accord with this viewpoint, Gendort (2007) points out that this pressure of losing the ethnic identity which was imposed on the immigrants and their children pushed most of them to establish a distance between their Islamic heritage and the accepted conventions and norms in French society. She concludes that this established distance prevented Muslims around Europe from getting fully integrated within the Western societies they live in. From the same perspective, Scott (2007: 69) reports that because of the post colonizing of France to Algeria, Muslims in France were preserved as "enemies within, neither entirely foreign nor yet fully members of the nation". However, Read (2007) points out that the Islamic practice of veiling is one of the most important phenomenon which captures the difficulty of Muslim integration.

The issue of the veil is one of the cultural integration challenges encountered by the European countries. This challenge had been treated distinctively through out Europe, especially the issue of wearing the Islamic veil at public schools. For example, Fetzer and Soper (2005) said that Britain embraced multiculturalism in state-supported schools. That is, British educational authorities allowed girls to wear the headscarves with an accord with the color requirements of the school uniform. On the other hand, France rejected the multiculturalism as an

appropriate educational model in state school, which proves Killian's theory of French integration.

2. The French *Laïcité* and the veil

The French version of the secularism *Laïcité* is not translatable by any other term. However, the general meaning of it implies the separation of church and state (Scott, 2007). The French debate weather Muslim girls should or should not wear the headscarf in public school have started in 1989[6]. In 2004, the French government passed a law that banned the wearing of "conspicuous" religious signs in public schools such like the Islamic veil, large crosses and Jewish kippot. According to this law, French public schools had the right to expel any female student wore the headscarf (Read, 2007). Finally, in 2010, another ban has been imposed on the full- length veil in public places on French territories (Lichfield, 2010).

The reactions on these laws have varied across the complex varieties of the European societies, especially in France. For example, French politicians arrogate that the republic is under attack by forces "antithetical" to equality and freedom (Killian, 2007: 309). Sarkozy, on the other hand, claims that such laws are needed in order to protect "the dignity of women" (Lichfield, 2010). Moreover, Feminists, who see the veil as a sign of subordination for women and sexual inequality, consider such laws a victory for Muslim women who, they claim, are obliged to wear the veil by their menfolks (Killian, 2007; Scott, 2007: 153). From another stand point, Scott (2007) describes the last claim of sexual inequality as inadequate. She argues that what is meant by the law of the ban is not the absence of sexuality but rather a remarkable presence "underlined by the girl's refusal to engage in what were taken to be the normal protocols of

interaction with members of the opposite sex" (Scott, 2007: 153-154). However, she disputes that if the Muslim women were victims of male domination as they claim, the ban, which prevents them from their right of education, would be no more than a form of "punishing the victim". Another reaction could be seen at sociologists who blame the French government of creating a national debate on an item of cloth leaving many of the real problems, such like discrimination, unemployment and violence in poor neighborhood; obscured (Killian, 2007). Finally, others have referred to the ban as a part of the "Islamophobia" which has spread around the world recently (Scott, 2007).

3. The Islamic Veil Among Misconceptions and Realities

The common European view about the veil consists of considering it as an old-fashion and static cultural practice which has not been changed for more than thousand years. Moreover, this practice has been associated with a stereotypical image of oriented women in the Arabic world (Hoodfar, 1993). For that specific reason, Western governments, such like Britain, thought that the Muslim female immigrants, or their daughters, would stop wearing the veil as a reaction of the following new circumstances: living out of the boundaries of their home cultures or living in "liberated" and "modern" countries (Lewis, 1993). This assumption has been proved to be wrong because of the religious origin of this practice. The provided evidence is that many British Christian women adopt the veil after they convert to Islam. A different view, expressed by Killian (2007), claims that Muslim women are obliged to practice the tradition of veiling because of the gender discrimination in the Arabic societies. Another outlook, which coincides with the previous one, describes the veil as a universal symbol of women oppression within a patriarchal religious culture (Read, 2007). A culture in

which the veil is worn in order to carry "the heavy burden of male honor" (Hawkins, 2003: 105). These misconceptions about the Islamic veil are found across Europe in many different forms. However, the Islamic philosophy about the veil is going to be expressed in the following sections.

3.1. The veil legitimacy in Islam:

 The term *Hijab* comes from the Arabic word *hajaba* which means "to hide from the view". The religious meaning if the word refers to the scarf which is worn by Muslim females over the head in order to cover the hair, neck, and ears (Hawkins, 2003). In addition to the "Hijab" term, the following terms: "Niqab", "Khimar" and "Burka" mean covering the whole face except the eyes (Scott, 2007).

Muslims' holy book, AL-Qur'an, sets the law of covering the hair and not to display the females' beauty in public (in Surah 24: An-nur: 30 and 31, qtd. in Syed, 2001). According to AL-Qur'an, the wisdom of wearing the veil is not to confine women into their houses. In the contrary, by wearing the veil, Muslim females can be liberated to interact in social life without being objectified by their sex, or even, being judge by their physical appearances (Syed, 2001; Read, 2007; Scott, 2007). From religious point of view, Nadwi (2004) expresses the legitimacy of different kinds of the veil in the following statement:

> "Throughout the history of Islam, the obligation of wearing hijab has been universally accepted as valid by all traditions. There are various opinions with respect to the covering the face, but when it comes to the question of hijab, i.e. covering the head, neck and chest, the scholar ...... have remained in agreement on its validity.

This is consensus upon which there has been historical consistency for over fourteen hundred years (Nadwi, 2004: 1)."

Although the majority of the Muslim women believe that their religion requires wearing the headscarf, taking in account that the full veil is a matter of extremism or an advanced religious choice; there are others who argue that the veil is not religious "requirement" but "modesty" is. Form their perspective, covering the whole body, but not necessarily the hair, dressing modestly and behaving well is what Islam is all about (Killian, 2007).

However, veiled women think about the veil as a statement of the necessity to restrain the seducing sexuality of women in social life. In contrast with this view, the European societies celebrate sex and sexuality as free of social and political risk. The current conflict between Islamic and Western culture on conceptualizing and apprehending the value of the female's body and beauty pushed Muslim women to look for their identity by wearing the veil (Scott, 2007). This fact might justify the reason why Muslim females born in European countries tend to adopt the Islamic veil and consider it part of their identity.

From another perspective, although she is not a linguist, Scott (2007) observes a conflict between the words used to refer or describe the veil. This conflict, according to Scott, reflects the way in which Islam is understood in the European countries. This observation coincides with Kovecses theories in metaphorical variations within, or even, cross cultures

Multiple research has been done by anthropologists and politicians on the issue of the Islamic veil and the French ban (Fetzer and Soper, 2005; Read, 2007; Killian, 2007). On the other hand, various works has discussed metaphor

within culture variation. However, little research has been done to investigate metaphor variations in conceptualizing the image of the Islamic veil and the law of the ban in European countries. The purpose of this paper, as has been mentioned before, is to investigate this variation within the British mainstream culture and the Islamic British subculture. In order to accomplish this goal properly, the analysis is going to focus on three main controversial images expressed in British newspapers; that means articles, interviews and comments. These images are the following: "the Islamic veil" and "the female's body" and "cultural integration". This paper argues that there are differences in conceptual metaphors used to represents the images of "the veil", "female body" and "cultural integration" between the British mainstream culture and Islamic British culture in the collected data form British newspapers. The paper extends to argue that these metaphorical variations are related, mainly, to religious subculture and to political and social dimensions. More specifically, the present paper is going to research the following questions:

1. How are metaphors of "the veil", "the ban" and "female body" constructed in British newspapers? What are the linguistic expressions used in conceptualizing these metaphors?

2. Is there any difference between the metaphorical structures used by British Muslim females who wear the veil and the metaphorical structures used by non-Muslim or non-veiled British females? If yes, what kind of linguistic expressions and metaphorical mappings does each group use?

3. What does the veil mean to those who wear it? And what is the connection they establish between the understanding of the veil and the image schema of the female's body?

4. To what extent could the British newspapers reflect the mainstream British understanding of the veil? What is the schematic image of the female's body used in the selected data?

5. Can the variation in the metaphorical structures used to express the Islamic veil reveal any of the metaphorical features of cultural integration expressed in the selected data? If yes, what are these metaphorical features?

6. How is the "religion" dimension reflected in the use of these metaphors? Do political and social factors have any effect in constructing these metaphors in both social varieties?

Methodology:

1. The Data

1.1. Controlling the Variables

In order to test the differences in metaphors of "the veil", "the female's body" and "cultural integration" between the mainstream British culture and the Islamic British subculture a total of 18 articles, 10 interviews and 34 comments has been collected from British newspapers.

All of the selected data has been intended to be written by female writers, speakers and commentators. The rational of this selection is stated as follow: the issue of the Islamic veil has been considered a feminists' area of research, besides; it is thought that veiled Muslim women are dominated by their menfolks and they are not allowed to speak their voices. For these two reasons, the study has selected the data which was written, interviewed (both the interviewer and the interviewed) and commented by women. As a result, the sex variable has been controlled. The second controlled variable is the culture variable. That is, all the female writers, speakers and commentators have been identified as "British women". This identification is done either by checking the nationalities of the writers of the selected articles on the newspapers website or by their direct declarations of being British citizen through out their writings. It is quite important to mention that women who were born in Britain for immigrant parents think over Britain as their homeland and identify themselves as "British". In addition to these two variables, the background from which the obtained data has been selected has been controlled when all the data were collected from daily British newspapers which are the followings: The Guardian,

The Independent, Daily Newspaper, BBC on line, This is London, The time, The Sun, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Telegraph.

Despite of the fact that the French ban of the headscarf at public schools in 2004 and the French ban of the full veil in public places in 2010 are not directly related to the analysis of this paper, it has been taken as the general theme of the collected data. The purpose of this selection is to control the content and the date of the selected data. Thus, all the selected articles, interviews and comments express the British reaction on the French bans since 2004 till 2010. However, there are some women who have been interviewed because they were expelled from their own institutions or work place because of their Islamic veil. The last variable in the obtained data is the "religion" variable. This variable has not been controlled. The justification of this decision is that the selected data shows no significant differences between those written by non-Muslim women and non-veiled Muslim women. The real difference lies between the veiled Muslim women from one side and non-Muslim women and non-veiled Muslim women from another side.

1.2. Citation of the Data:

The selected data is divided into two main groups which are, firstly, Social and political Articles (SPA) and secondly, Interviews and Comments (IC). Each group is divided into two subgroups which are For the French ban and Against the French ban. Through out the paper, these groups and subgroups are referred to by their initials as follows:

- Social and political Articles For the Ban (SPAF)

- Social and political Articles Against the Ban (SPAA)

- Interviews and Comments For the Ban (ICF)

- Interviews and Comments Against the Ban (ICA)

On the analysis section, findings were classified according to their social or religious backgrounds. Accordingly, they were divided into two groups which are the followings: the mainstream British culture, that contains the metaphorical structures used by non-Muslim women and non-veiled Muslim women, and the Islamic British subculture, those used by veiled Muslim women.

In the following, the titles and the writers of the articles and the interviews are going to be listed; the URL address is added as well. On the other hand, the comments have been collected from the same selected articles and interviews. Because of the possible difficulty in locating them, they have been added in the appendix.

1. Social and Political Articles (SPA)

A. Social and political Articles For the Ban (SPAF)

1. Banning the burqa unveils some nasty traits in us. India Knight, 10 January 2010.http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/india_knight/article6982292.ece

2. France may ban women from wearing burka in public, Lizzy davis, 22 December 2009. www.guardian\France may ban women from wearing burka in public_World news_guardian_co_uk.mht

3. The hidden truth of the veil: it's all politics. Jenny McCartney, 03 Decembre 2006. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3634871/The-hidden-truth-of-the-veil-its-all-politics.html

4. Cherie Booth launches test case on Muslim garb in schools. Jenny Booth, 20 Decemdre 2004. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article404599.ece

5. The veil is a feminist issue. Joan Smith, 8 October 2006.
http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

6. Heads to decide on school veil policy. Debbie Andalo, 5 March 2007.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2007/mar/05/schools.uk/print

7. Ban veils is the real issue of freedom. Debate ... woman wearing a niqab. Anila Baig, 07 April 2009.
http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/woman/2363617/Ban-veils-the-real-issue-of-freedom-Anila-Baig.html

8. They are right to ban the burka, even if it is for the wrong reasons. Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, 8 January 2010.
http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

9. Why banning religious dress in schools is a lesson in common sense. FRANCES CHILDS, 22 March 2007 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-443919/Why-banning-religious-dress-schools-lesson-common-sense.html

B. Social and political Articles Against the Ban (SPAA)

1. Beyond the Veil. Carla Power, 13 July 2009.
http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1908306,00.html

2. Muslim girls unveil their fears. Elizabeth C Jones, 28 March, 2005.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/this_world/4352171.stm

3. French headscarf ban opens rifts. Caroline Wyatt, 11 February, 2004.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3478895.stm

4. Comment: Minette Marrin: Cry freedom and accept the Muslim headscarf. Minett Marin, 1 February 2004
http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/article1008386.ece

5. What lies beneath the veil? Joan Smith, 25 January 2004.
http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/joan-smith/what-lies-beneath-the-veil-574330.html?cmp=ilc-n

6. The power behind the veil. Samra Mursaleen, 25 January 2010.
www.guardian\The power behind the veil_Samra Mursaleen_Comment is free guardian_co_uk.mht

7. Tearing veils off women will help no one. Vicki Woods, 22 January 2010. http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top8nav.htm

8. Seeing through a burqa ban. Daisy Goodwin, 28 June 2009. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/article6590102.ece

9. Response: We don't need Hegel. The burka is a cloth soaked in blood. Rahila Gupta, 8 July 2009. guardian\guardian ..The burka is a cloth soaked in blood Comment is free_The Guardian.mht

2. Interviews and Comments (IC)

A. Interviews and Comments For the Ban (ICF)

1. The many faces behind the veil. Arifa Akbar, *13 January 2010. (*Soha Sheikh) http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

2. 'Even other Muslims turn and look at me'. Zaiba Malik, 17 October 2006.

http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/oct/17/gender.religion

3. Why I, as a British Muslim woman, want the burkha banned from our streets. Saira Khan, 24 June 2009. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-1195052/Why-I-British-Muslim-woman-want-burkha-banned-streets.html#

4. Hairdresser sued in row about headscar. Martin Bentham and Anna Davis,08 11 2007 http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23420030-hairdresser-sued-in-row-about-headscarf.do

5. The many faces behind the veil. Arifa Akba, *13 January 2010. (*Nusrat Hussain) http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

B. Interviews and Comments Against the Ban: (ICA)

1. The many faces behind the veil. Arifa Akbar, *13 January 2010. (*Rahmanara Chowdhury) http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

2. Behind the Veil. Bridget Blair, 10/09/2008.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/leicester/content/articles/2008/09/10/niquab_feature.
shtml

3.The many faces behind the veil. Arifa Akbar, *13 January 2010. (*Rajnaara

Akhtar) http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

4.The many faces behind the veil. Arifa Akbar, *13 January 2010. (*Shelina Zahra

Janmohamed) http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

5. The many faces behind the veil. Arifa Akbar, *13 January 2010. (*Soha Sheikh)

http://dailynewspaper.co.uk/contents/nav/top10nav.htm

2. Procedure

After collecting the data, the metaphorical structures used to conceptualize the images of the "Islamic veil", "the female's body" and "cultural integration" had been investigated. After that, the obtained results were analyzed in order to examine the variation in the linguistic expressions as well as in mappings between the British mainstream culture and the Islamic British subculture. During the process of the analysis, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. The quantitative method was carried out to calculate the frequency of each conceptual metaphor en each social variety in the selected data. On the other hand, the qualitative method was used in analyzing these metaphors and establishing the connections between them and their religious, social and political backgrounds.

After analyzing the detected conceptual metaphors, religious and social explanations have been provided in order to get deeper understanding of the connotation of these used metaphors. At the end, final results were obtained

after comparing the findings in both social varieties, and final comments were added.

Finally, the examples provided in the analysis section are samples of the total findings. All the findings can be found in the appendix. In addition, the linguistic expressions in the detected examples have been italicized.

3. Difficulties

Two major difficulties had been encountered through out the analysis. These difficulties are explained below.

3.1. Difficulty in the balance of the data

It was expected that the SPAA subgroup and the ICA subgroup would reflect the Islamic British subculture, on the other hand; the SPAF subgroup and ICF would reflect the mainstream British culture. However, the Social and Political Articles, in both subgroups, tend to reflect the mainstream British culture. The stance of being against the French ban was based on the issue of the free choice and freedom. Consequently, only the ICA subgroup of data had reflected the Islamic British subculture. This fact possibly affects the frequency of the findings.

3.2 Difficulty in terminologies

In the analysis section, it was quite difficult to mention the diversities of the social, or religious, background of each cultural group in the selected data. In order to overcome this difficulty, the following steps had been taken:

- The term "mainstream British culture" is used to refer to the following social groups: non-Muslims and Muslims who oppose the concept of

the Islamic veil, at the same time, the term reflect the western European mainstream, culture in the United Kingdom.

- The term "Islamic British subculture" is used to refer to the British Muslim veiled women.

Although these terms are used extensively through out the analysis section, their references is confined to the results which have been found in the selected data. That is, no generalization could be done.

Another difficulty has been encountered in the multiple name of the Islamic veil. It has been mentioned in a previous section that the term hijab means the headscarf that covers the hair, neck and ears, in addition, the niqab and burqa refer to the full covering of the body. In the selected data, these terms were used interchangeably most of the time. Therefore, in the analysis section, the term "the veil" is used in order to refer to both Al-hijab and Al-niqab or Al-burqa. However, the term "the full veil" has been used to indicate the niqab and burka only.

3.3 Difficulty in anthropology

Since the writer of this paper is not a social expert, a lot of research has been done in order to find the social and religious interpretations of the findings. Even though a lot of reading has been done for this purpose, there are possibly more religious, social and political explanations to be added. However, the limitations in time and background knowledge have restricted the research process. In order to overcome this difficulty, the cultural analysis has depended, mostly, on the social and religious explanations provided in the selected data. These explanations are mentioned into quotation marks.

The analysis section:

In a previous section, the basic and updated theories of conceptual metaphor have been discussed. Moreover, a relation between metaphor and within culture variation has been established. Finally, considerable aspects of metaphor involved in within-culture variation have been briefly explained. Furthermore, a brief summary of the controversial debate on the Islamic headscarf and the veil in France and United Kingdom has been supplemented in order to give the reader a description of the environment in which the selected data were written. In this section, the analysis of the selected data, which consists of 18 political and social articles, 10 interviews and 34 comments, is going to be carried out in the light of the previously mentioned theories. The study is going to focus mainly on the metaphorical structures which relate to the aim of the current paper which are the following images: "the veil", "female's body" and "cultural integration."

Because of the variety of findings, the analysis is going to be divided into three main subsections which are the following[7]:

Subsection 1. Conceptual metaphors for a particular target domain are the same in two cultural varieties, but each variety uses different mappings or different linguistic expressions to conceptualize the target domain.

Subsection 2. Each subculture uses a set of different source domains for a particular target.

Subsection 3. Conceptual metaphors appear to be unique to one social variety

Subsection 1. Conceptual metaphors for a particular target domain are the same in two cultural varieties, but each variety uses different mappings or different linguistic expressions to conceptualize the target domain.

In the selected data, the analysis has revealed 7 common conceptual metaphors. Even though these metaphors exist in the mainstream British culture as well as in the Islamic British subculture, there are significant differences in the mappings and the linguistic expressions used by each social variety. These differences could be related to the religious, social and political understanding of the analyzed images.

Metaphors found in this section are divided into 3 groups following the classification of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) which are as follow: ontological metaphors, orientational metaphors and structural metaphors.

1.1 Ontological Metaphors:

The analysis shows four common ontological metaphors. These metaphors are the followings:

1.1.1. THE VEIL IS AN ENTITY

This metaphor has been mention 4.03% in the selected data. Yet, not all the "ENTITY" metaphors are similar. The similarity between the source domain, Entity, and the target domain, The Veil, varies among the previously mentioned social verities. That is, in the Islamic culture, the veil has been understood as a part of the Muslim women's identity. She is recognized Muslim by the veil. The linguistic expressions used to express this comprehension are "part of" and

feeling "incomplete" without it. This understanding consists 1.83% of the total frequency of the ENTITY metaphor. On the other hand, in the mainstream British culture, the veil has been understood as follows: "nationalistic prop", "framing it" and "used it". These expressions indicate that the image of the veil has been understood as an entity to be framed, fought over and used. This conceptualizing consists 1.09% of the total frequency of the ENTITY metaphor. These different understandings could be seen in the following example:

Example: 1

	The Mainstream British Culture	The Islamic British Culture
THE VEIL IS AN ENTITY	1.Sarkozy used Muslim dress as *a nationalistic prop*, seeing it as a threat to France's eternal values. 2.Now two presidents have taken up the veil *framing it* as a topic in radically different ways.	3. .., where people did not know me, and the scarf was just *a part of* who I was. 4. I felt my life would *not complete* unless I covered my hair.

Table: 1

Muslim veiled girls, in the selected data, seem to be so proud of being Muslims. For them, their religion is not just a cluster of spiritual believes. They maintain that Islam should manifest in the daily life of any Muslim. Therefore, wearing the Islamic veil, according to them, is just a part of practicing their religion which structures their daily identity. Consequently, the veil becomes a deep part of Muslim women's identities. On the contrary, the image of the "veil" has been a controversial issue to be discussed in the western culture. The huge debate on

weather Muslim girls should or should not wear the veil to school has taken the first line in news for several times. That could justify why they conceptualize it as an entity to be framed

A possible entailment of the THE VEIL IS AN ETINTY metaphor could be THE VEIL IS A TOOL. This metaphor has been found in the following frequency: 0.73%. The difference between the mainstream British culture and the Islamic culture is that the first social group considers it a tool of "oppression", in the contrary; the second social group understands it as a tool of "empowerment". The following example might reveal some aspects of the variation:

Example: 2

	The Mainstream British Culture	The Islamic British Subculture
THE VEIL IS A TOOL	1. The veil is *a tool of oppression* used to alienate and control women under the guise of religious freedom.	2. I have found it a *tool* of *empowerment.*

Table: 2

For veiled women, the headscarf, or the niqab, gives them the freedom to be what they want to be. The veil gives them the power of making it impossible for others to judge them according to their external-physical appearance. They stress the idea that when they wear the veil, their educational abilities and personal values are being valued, not their attractive outlook. On the other hand, the "oppression" understanding of the veil in the mainstream British culture is possibly due to the schematic image of the masculine patriarch Muslim community created in Europe. This image schema might be derived

from the radical practices of some countries known as "Islamic", such like Saudi Arabia where a woman is not even allowed to drive a car. These unacceptable practices, even in the Islamic law, have contributed in creating a connection between the image of the veil and the schematic image of oppression. However, this metaphor has been negated by Muslim veiled women in the collected data in a frequency of 6.96%.

1.1.2. PERSONIFICATION OF THE VEIL

This metaphor has been expressed in a high frequency in the collected data, which is 15.02%. The conducted analysis shows three inclusive entailments of the PERSONIFICATION metaphor. The first entailment is THE VEIL IS AN UNDESIRABLE PERSON. The frequency of this entailment is 1.09%. The following example illustrates the basic notion of it:

Example 3:

1. Burka *is not welcome* in France.

3. The big headscarf is not *startling* as the enormous burqa or the birdlike Arab masks, but its message is the same.

4. I find them equally *offensive* on my local highstreet

Similarities in this metaphor might be clear. The veil is the undesirable person, no one would like to have it in their home land, the inner feeling of having undesirable person at the one's place coincides with the feeling of seeing the veil in British streets, besides; such a person could be sometimes offensive or horrifying to others which, apparently, is the impression which is left by the image of the veil on mainstream British culture. The linguistic expressions

"offensive", "startling" and "not welcome" support the mentioned mappings. These linguistic expressions, especially "not welcome" expression, have been mainly used by the French government in order to justify passing the law of the ban. At the same time, these expressions had been supported by British speakers in the selected data. Killian (2007) mentions that the rejection of the Islamic veil is the reaction to assert the European identity. That is, the European countries feel threatened by globalization, immigrants and citizens convert to Islam. Furthermore, the selected comments reveal the fact that mainstream British culture does not accept the integration of veiled women in their society because, according to them, it doesn't coincide with their cultural heritage. These social facts possibly justify the use of the THE VEIL IS UNDESIRABLE PERSON metaphor in the British mainstream culture.

The second entailment of the PERSONIFICATION metaphor is THE VEIL IS A CHILD. This metaphor has been extensively used by Muslim girls in order to describe the act of wearing the veil. The frequency of this metaphor in the selected data is 3.66%. The following examples are some of the findings:

Example 4:

1. The reality is that you have a lot of well educated, young women choosing *to adopt* hijab…

2. .., but for me the niqab is not something I see myself *adopting*.

3. I am *proud of* wearing the scarf, I get more respect for it.

These metaphorical structures indicate the way how veiled Muslim girls in Britain conceptualize their headscarf or their niqab. The linguistic expression

"adopting" directly bring an image of a little baby being adopted to be cared of and proud of it. Similarity could be expressed as follow: to adopt a child the person should be fully aware of the responsibilities which the mother is going to face, in addition; it requires commitment in taking care of the child till the end of her life. These facts correlate with the decision of wearing the headscarf or the full veil. There should be awareness of its philosophy, commitment to be proud of it, wear it every single day and defend it in public life. Moreover, the veil, according to these girls, turns to be as valuable as the person's own child. For more illustration, mappings between the target, the veil, and the source, the child, could be as follow:

THE VEIL IS A CHILD.

Generic space	The Source Domain (a child)	The Target Domain (the veil)
Participants	The child The parents	The veil The Muslim girl
Process	Give love and care	Commit to the veil philosophy (modesty)
Features	Be proud of the child	Be proud of the veil.

Table: 3

The third, and last, entailment of the PERSONIFICATION metaphor is the following: THE VEIL IS A CAPABLE PERSON. In this metaphor, mappings significantly differ. It has been previously mentioned that the veil gives Muslim women the power of being what they want to be without being estimated by their physical appearance. Accordingly, they portray the veil as the "protector" who protects them from being sexually subjected, consequently; it affords equality between sexes. The frequency of this metaphor is 4.76%. On the

contrary, non-Muslims and non-veiled Muslim speakers understand the veil as a thief which "takes away" woman's individuality and "restrict" her interactivity. The PREVENTER metaphor has been mentioned in the following frequency: 3.29%. The structural variations could be seen clearly in the following examples:

Example: 5

	The Mainstream British Culture (PREVENTER)	The Islamic British Culture (PROTECTOR)
THE VEIL IS A CAPABLE PERSON	1. It is designate to *take away* women's individuality 2. It *stops* them achieving their full potential in all areas of their lives, and it *stops* them communicating.	3. It *preserves* their modesty and *protects* them from men 4. The veil *affords* equality.

Table: 4

According to the collected data, the British mainstream culture considers the veil as a mark of restriction of women's function in the society, especially the full veil.

1.1.3. THE FEMALE'S BODY IS A PRECIOUS ENTITY

This detected metaphor has been found only in the interviews and comments of both cultural varieties. The frequency of this metaphor in the collected interviews and comments in total is 4.99%. However, like all the metaphorical structures in this subsection, mappings significantly differ in each social variety. Starting by the mainstream British culture, women's body has been considered a precious entity to be "shown off". Therefore, linguistic expressions just like

"display", "celebrate" or even "sell" have been used in representing the body. The frequency of this metaphor in ICF is 2.49%. On the other hand, in Islamic British subculture, the body is understood as a precious entity which is preserved for those who have the privilege to see it such like the close family members. Consequently, the following linguistic expressions "jewel", "pearl" and other negations such like "I don't display my beauty" have been used. The frequency of these metaphors in ICA is 2.49%. In the following table, examples from both cultural varieties are listed:

Example: 6

	The mainstream British culture	The Islamic British culture
FEMALE'S BODY IS A PRECIOUS ENTITY	1. She was "*selling* image" and needed her staff to *display* their hairstyle to the public. 2. We should *celebrate our beauty*.	3. .., because a woman is *a jewel*, like *a pearl*. She doesn't need to be *shown off* for the world *to glare at*. 4. So what if I don't want *to display my beauty* and adornment to the world, I can still integrate….

Table: 5

The Islamic conceptualizing of this metaphor has a religious root. That is, the attractiveness and beautifulness of the female's body is a private issue. In public life, the body is reduces to a "vessel to intelligent mind and a strong spirit". On the other hand, the western equality between the two sexes, according to Scott (2007), lies in the liberty in exposing the body without any social or religious conditions. Interestingly, Scott (2007: 167) mentions that the Islamic theory

"puts sex out there as a problem for all to se by conspicuously covering the body", on the other hand, the western feminists call for a "conspicuous display of bodies in order to deny the problem" that sex poses for the western theory.

1.1.4. IDENTITY IS AN ENTITY

In both cultural varieties, identity is understood as an entity in the following frequency: 5.13%. Mappings differ among the two social varieties as follow: according to the mainstream British culture, identity is understood to be taken by the veil. These mapping are proved by the used linguistic expressions such like "took away my personality", "women's individualities", "the loss" and "invisibility". They have the following frequency: 1.83% of the ENTITY metaphor. On the other hand, in the Islamic culture, identity is understood to be completed by the veil in a frequency of 3.29% of the ENTITY metaphor. The mostly used linguistic expression is the "part of my identity" one. The disagreement in these mappings could be clarified in the following example:

Example: 7

	The mainstream British culture	The Islamic British subculture
IDENTITY IS AN ENTITY	1. It took away *my personality*. 2. I respect those who bear this endurance test...., *the loss of identity*.	3. ..a form of dress that for many Muslim women forms *an integral part of their identity*. 4. I will never take the veil off, it is *part of my identity*

Table: 6

The linguistic expressions used by the mainstream British culture possibly coincide with the PERSONIFICATION metaphor. That is, the veil is a capable

person that steals the identity of women. The identity which is meant here could be the sexual identity. Stasi (qtd. in Scott, 2007) mentions that veiled girls lost their feminine identity and they are deprived from their own sexuality. On the other hand, the identity that veiled women talk about is the Islamic identity. The veil, according to them, is the Islamic-spiritual value they lack in their communities (Scott, 2007).

1.2. Orientational Metaphors

In this category of metaphors, only one metaphor has been found; which is the PUBLIC LIFE IS A CONTAINER metaphor. The frequency of this metaphor in the selected data is 4.39%. The variation in this metaphor tends to appear in the mappings of the image of the Islamic veil among the two social varieties. This variation is going to be illustrated after reading the following example:

Example: 8

	The mainstream British culture	The Islamic British subculture
PUBLIC LIFE IS A CONTAINER	1. Women have *a conditional access to* the public space,... 2. We can't accept that women be prisoner behind a screen, *cut off from all social life,* deprived from identity. 3. Their clothing is *a barrier* between them and the world and between them and us.	4. There is a certain *degree of unity* you feel with other women who wear headscarf, even if you don't know 5. Different *does not mean* we are *segregated* from society. 6. She doesn't want her sexuality *to enter into* the interaction in the slightest degree.

Table: 7

It is quit interesting to notice that understanding the image of the veil has different connotation within each cultural variety. The linguistic expressions used by the mainstream British culture "a conditional access", "cut off" and "barrier" indicate the schematic image of the isolation of veiled girls form social life, in addition; they indicate the unacceptability of this item of cloth in their culture. This mapping has been mentioned in the following frequency of the "CONTAINER" metaphor: 2.56%. In the contrary, the linguistic expressions "unity", "integrate" and "enter into" that are used by the Islamic subculture show that they don't consider it a barrier at all. This conceptualizing has been mention in the following frequency 1.09% of the "CONTAINER" metaphor. In following table, the variations in mappings are illustrated:

THE PUBLIC LIFE IS A CONTAINER

Generic Space	The Source Domain (A Container)	The target Domain (The Public life)
Component	Different ingredients / elements.	Different cultures and subcultures
Function	Mixed together	Live together
Process	Blending	Integrating
Goal	Having mixed elements	Live equally

Table: 8

So far, both social varieties agree on this mapping. The disagreement arises in conceptualizing the veil as an obstacle which doesn't allow women to enter the public life. However, in the British Islamic subculture, they understand the veil as the "unifier" which strength the connection between them and social life.

1.3. Structural Metaphors

The analysis shows two substantial metaphors belonging to this category. These metaphors are: CULTURE INTERGRATION IS A WAR and WOMENE'S CLOTH IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON. These metaphors, just like most of the detected metaphors, are interconnected with each other. Starting by the first metaphor, the "WAR" metaphor might be slightly different from the common schematic image of cultural integration that entails "understanding" and homogeneously "integrating". Apparently, this is not the case in the integration of social varieties in British culture, more exactly; when the Islamic culture consists part of the equation. Statistically, the frequency of the "WAR" metaphor in the collected data is quite high, 5.13%. The linguistic expressions used by both social varieties indicate the schematic image of a sever war exists between social varieties. For example, the mainstream British culture refers to British veiled Muslim women as "mute victims", besides; they "battle us" and "divide the world in two campus". On the other hand, the linguistic expressions used by British veiled Muslim girls have the same connotation such like "blow up", "you are in for a fight" and identity is "threatened". To end this conflict, the following linguistic expressions have been used: "to compromise" and "amicable solution". The following examples could clarify this metaphor:

Example 9:

	The Mainstream British Culture	The Islamic British Subculture
CULTURE INTERGRATION IS A WAR	1. They are all tragically *mute victims* of an especially monstrous patriarchy... 2. What is needed is a bit of *give and take* from *all sides* of the	5. ... an outright ban is likely *to spark* accusations of Islam phobia... 6. There is a lot of tension

| | | society to make *a compromise*.

3. It (the Hijab) present a serious *challenge* to the West. It challenges our ideas of what's most important in our own culture and the points at which we draw the line of tolerance.

4. This is a benign version of Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilization" thesis, which *divide the world into* two campus, Western and Islamic. | in the Islamic community which feels *targeted*

7. A scarf throwing (Benazir Butto style) over the head could be an *amicable solution*

8. … and discussions around the removal of headscarves for women who felt *under threat*. |

Table: 9

Interestingly enough, reading these examples might confuse the reader's ability to know who the real victim is in this war. In order to clarify each variety's conceptualization of this metaphor, mappings between the source, a war, and the target, cultural integration, is presented in the following table:

<div align="center">CULTURE INTERGRATION IS A WAR</div>

Generic Space	The Source Domain (A war)	The Target Domain (culture integration)	
		British mainstream culture.	Islamic British subculture
Aims	The liberty of the country	Liberate Muslims girls	Protecting Muslim girls' identity
Involved parts	Enemies	Male domination	Western culture

	Defender	Western culture	domination
	Victims	Veiled Muslim women	Islamic culture
			Western women
Adjectives of the involved parts	Not trained (enemies)	Offensive, regressive, stubborn	Arrogant, ignorant
	Strong, well trained (defenders)	Feminists, power of authority	Proud of the Islamic identity, power of ideology
	Weak (victims)	Muted victims Oppressed women	Sexually subjected
The used equipments	Weapons, canons	Women's cloth, the law of the ban	The headscarf, the niqab, modesty
Features of the used equipments	Destructive	(law) Protector	(the veil) Flag of resistance
The action	Physical fighting.	Clash of cultures	
Results	Compromising, give and take	Wearing the headscarf instead of the full veil or just dress modestly	
Features	Fire, blood, dead body	Divided community	

Table: 10

These completely contradicted mappings could prove the deepness of the variation in the embodied experiences of cultural integration in each social variety. Another similarity between the source, a war, and the target, culture integration could be represented in "the rift" and "the spark" within the western culture that are caused by passing the law of the ban in France.

The second structural metaphor in this section is WOMEN'S CLOTH IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON. This metaphor has been mentioned in the previous mapping of the CULTURE INTERGRATION IS A WAR. Again, the frequency of this metaphor in the selected data is quite high 5.13%. The linguistic expressions, used by the mainstream British culture, such like "confronted", "threaten", "destroy" clearly indicate this metaphor. According to this social variety, the veil is seen as a negative figure that threats any kind of social interaction. This category of mapping has the following frequency: 3.29%. In the contrary, according to the Islamic British subculture, the veil gives a sense of unity between all veiled women and , most importantly, it gives them confidence in social life. The frequency of this conceptualization in the "WAR" metaphor is 1.38%. The following example show how each social variety has expressed this metaphor differently in the selected data:

Example 10:

	British mainstream culture.	Islamic British subculture
WOMEN'S CLOTH IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON	1. I entered the classroom….. to be *confronted* by three girls in the back row… 2. Sarkozy used Muslim dress as a nationalistic prop, seeing it as a *threat* to France's eternal values.	3. The veil.. etc.. but it only *unites* the Muslims, it makes us *stronger* 4. I 've found it a *tool* of empowerment.

Table: 11

Subsection 2. Each subculture uses a set of different sources domain for a particular target.

This module studies the variety of source domains applied by each social group on the same target domain (*the range of target*) (Kovecses, 2005). In addition to that, it investigates the relation of this variety with the cultural context of each. All the findings in this section are expressed by the mainstream British culture. The related findings in the selected data of the Muslim British veiled women were limited to the negation of these metaphorical structures. However, the frequency of the negation is mentioned in the analysis. This subsection is organized according to the semantical connotation of the findings. Accordingly, the present subsection is divided into two general metaphorical structures which are THE VEIL IS A BARRIER and THE VEIL IS A PRISON

2.1. THE VEIL IS A BARRIER

 This metaphor has been mentioned repeatedly by the mainstream British culture. The calculated frequency of this metaphor in the selected data is 3.92%. The following example might indicate some basic features of this metaphor:

Example: 11

1. Muslim women cover their faces *as a barrier* between men and women.

2. Their clothing is *a barrier* between them and the world and between them and us.

3. You now see women *hidden behind* the full length robe, *shielded* from view.

4. It creates *a formidable barrier* to integration.

The examples show that the mainstream British culture understands the full veil as a "barrier" between women and men, or even, between women and public life.. This mapping could be considered an entailment of the PUBLIC LIFE IS A CONTAINER metaphor, ex:8, in which the veil has been understood to be the obstacle that doesn't allow women to enter social life. Mappings could be stated as follow: women and social life, or men, are the opposite sides of the wall. The linguistic expressions "hidden", "formidable" and "shielded" indicate the purpose of the established wall which is hiding women from participating in social life and interact with the other sex. However, Muslim British veiled girls don't agree on this mapping which they have negated it in the following frequency: 5.97%. The common nature of the full veil which covers the whole body has an important role in the emergence of this metaphor. This metaphor could be based on the original Arabic meaning of the word of hijab, which mean to hide. The Islamic philosophy of the veil lies on establishing distance between male and female in public life in order to avoid potential gender discrimination. Scott (2007) maintains that although the veil deprived women from their sexuality, it creates a neutral environment of communication between men and women. In accord with this viewpoint, British Muslim women understand the veil as a "barrier between (women) and those who want to exploit (them)".

Furthermore, the analysis has found two entailments that are related to the "BARRIER" metaphor. These structures are the following: THE VEIL IS A TENT and THE VEIL IS A SCREEN. Each of these expressions has been mentioned once in the selected data, moreover; both of them are used to describe the full Islamic veil. The used linguistic expressions are the following:

Example: 12

1. Your burqa must be like *your own private tent*; a cloak of invisibility.

2. In our country, we can't accept that women be prisoners behind *a screen*, *cut off* from all social life.

The similarities between the target domain, the veil, and the source domains, the tent and the screen, could be as follow: the veil hides women from participating in public life in the same way that a screen or a tent used to hide objects off the sight.

2.2. THE VEIL IS A PRISON

This metaphor explicitly used by the mainstream British culture in the following frequency: 4.39%.It might be a spontaneous continuation of the previously mentioned metaphor. Since they think that Muslim women are hold behind a barrier, THE VEIL IS A PRISON metaphor will be another continuation of the BARRIER metaphor. However, this metaphor has been negated 5.13% by the Islamic subculture. The similarities between the target, the veil, and the source, a prison, can be as follow: the restriction and social segregation imposed on Muslim women by the veil coincides with those imposed on prisoners. The linguistic expressions used in conceptualizing this metaphor are many, such like "peering out of the grille", "isolate", "control" and "prisoners". These expressions are found in the following example:

Example: 13

1. There goes one of those women *peering out of grille*

2. The veil that those young women wore utterly *isolated* them

3. Women are prisoners *behind netting*, *cut off* from all social life, *deprived* of identity.

4. In our country, we can't accept that women *be prisoners behind a screen*, *cut off* from all social life

The mappings between the target, the veil, and the source, a prison, are quite complicated. The following table could clarify how the mainstream British culture conceptualizes the image of the veil:

THE VEIL IS A PRISON

Generic Space	The source (a prison)	The target (the veil)
Participants	Prisoners	Women
	Police officers	Male figure
Location	The jail, behind grilles	The (full) veil
Aims	To protect societies	to save male's honors
Features	Handcuffs	The headscarf, niqab, jilbab
Reason	Illegal action	Being females
Adjectives	Criminals	Ignorant, uneducated.
Solution	Rehabilitation	Banning the veil
Results	Good citizens	Civilized women

Table: 12

According to the findings, these mappings explore how the mainstream British culture understands the image of Muslim veiled women. In accord with this metaphor, the law of the ban is considered to be the enlightenment for Muslim

girls. Moreover, another important image schema appears in this mapping, which is expressed in the THE VEIL IS A SIGN OF IGNORANCE metaphor. According to the mainstream British culture, British Muslim veiled women have been considered uneducated, suppressed and ignorant, that justify the reason why they don't fight for their freedom to take the veil off. This metaphor has been mentioned in the selected data in the following calculated frequency: 5.49%. However, it has been negated 4.39%.

The stereotypical image of the Muslim world has an important role in creating the schematic image of these previously mentioned metaphors. Bullock (2002) says that third world, black and Muslim women are considered by the majority of feminists to be suppressive, oppressive and victims. The IGNORANCE metaphor could be related to the fact that British stream culture think over the veil as a rotten medieval tradition still be practiced by ignorant Muslim women. Besides, the separation between sexes is understood as degradation for women's right. Therefore, such metaphors have been structured.

Subsection 3. Conceptual metaphors appear to be unique to one subculture.

Unique metaphors emerge when both the source and the target domain turn to be unique to a given culture. In the selected data, two unique metaphors have been found. The first is detected form ICA data and the second one is observed in SPA data.

3.1 The unique metaphor in the ICA data:

The conducted analysis observes a specific image schema occurs in the embodied experience of all British Muslim veiled girls. This image schema tends

to appear repetitively in every time those girls talk about their decision of adopting the veil. The detected metaphor is the following: WEARING THE VEIL IS A JOURNEY. The following example indicates the linguistic expressions used to express this metaphor:

Example: 14

1. For others still hijab is *a complicated journey*.

2. For me it was *a pleasant journey*.

3. Deciding to wear the veil was very much *spiritual journey* for me…. It is about my spiritual connection with God.

4. The reality is that you have a lot of well educated, young women choosing to adopt hijab because when *they go down the path of trying to find out their religion and their identity* they choose a form of modesty which may include hijab.

5. When I have started Learning more about Islam, I realised there is *a criteria I have to meet*.

The used linguistic expressions "journey", "down the path" and "a criteria to be met" structure the JOURNEY metaphor. The frequency of this metaphor, which has been calculated within the Interviews and Comments Against the Ban subgroup of data, is 15.77%. Mappings between the target domain, wearing the veil, and the source domain, journey, is explained in the following table:

WEARING THE VEIL IS A JOURNEY

Generic Space	The source domain	The target domain

	(journey)	(wearing the veil)
Participants	Travellers	Muslim Girls
Process	Leading along the way	Research for the Islamic spirtuality
Destination	Reaching the intended location	Getting closer to God
Criteria	Keep clean environment, respect other travellers….	Sustain modesty
Obstacles	Difficulties: i.e. the weather, along the way	Self-assurance, people don't accept it.

Table: 13

The JOURNEY metaphor has been used extensively in the Islamic structure. This metaphor tends to emerge from the embodied experience of the process of understanding Islam as an ideology for life. Kada (2007) mentions that the discovery of Islam is "marked by a series of steps" that successively structure the identity of any Muslim. She explains these steps as follow: "one is a Muslim first, one adheres to a certain philosophy in life, in this context, one wants to wear the headscarf" (qtd. in Scott, 2007: 143).

3.2. The unique metaphor in SPA:

The analysis reveals a unique metaphor used by the mainstream British culture which is COVERED BODY IS A DEAD BODY. The calculated frequency, which is done within the Social and Political Articles For the Ban subgroup of data, is 3.72%.The examples below show how this abstract idea has been understood:

Example: 15

1. She wanted to go to school *shrouded* from head to toe in black.

2. Today I see Muslim girls 10, 20 years younger than me *shrouding* themselves in fabric.

3. Burqa turns women to *subject-creatures*.

Similarities between the target, covered body, and the source, dead body, could be as follow: the veil hides the beautifulness of women's body in public life in a similar way in which death takes away the life of human body. Accordingly, the veil is the shroud and the female's body is the dead body. It has been mentioned before that the sexual identity has been understood to be taken away by the veil, ex: 7. As a sequence, these veiled women has been considered "dead" in the eyes of the mainstream British culture.

Final results

In this section, it is important to clarify that the following results are obtained from the selected data. Therefore, no generalization is made.

1. In the selected data, both British cultural varieties share considerable metaphorical structures in expressing the metaphors of "the Islamic veil", "female's body" and "cultural integration". However, each social variety

uses a different set of mappings and linguistic expressions in order to convey each conceptual metaphor.

2. The analysis shows that both British cultural varieties use the ENNTITY and PERSONIFICATION metaphors in order to express the image of the veil. Still, mappings differ significantly. That is, in British Mainstream culture, the veil is an entity to fight over it; besides, it is undesirable person and a preventer. On the other hand, in the Islamic British subculture, it is an entity that integrates with the Islamic identity, the adopted child and the protector.

3. The study reveals the fact that both British cultural varieties express the female's body as a PRECIUOS ENTITY. However, according to the mainstream British culture, this entity is to be shown and displayed in public; in the contrary, according to the Islamic subculture, this entity is preserved to a reduced number of intimate family members.

4. In the selected data, identity is expressed to be taken by the act of practicing the Islamic veil in the mainstream culture, contrastingly, identity is expressed to be settled and completed by this practicing in the Islamic subculture.

5. The survey shows that according to the mainstream British culture, the veil is understood as a barrier or a prison that prevents women from integrating fully in public life. According to the Islamic subculture, the veil is an empowering tool that liberates them from being sexually subjected in public life.

6. In the selected data, Both British cultural varieties use the source WAR to express the process of cultural integration among them. However, mappings tend to seem slightly complicated. That is, the used linguistic expressions in each social variety imply that the other variety is the enemy or the women belong to it are victims.

7. The analysis shows that veiled women are considered to be ignorant and oppressed by the mainstream British culture; accordingly, the French ban is understood to be the enlightenment for them. This Schematic Image comes from the stereotypical image of Islam around the world.

8. In the performed study, British Muslim girls tend to use the JOURNEY metaphor in order to express the decision of wearing the veil. This metaphor comes from the embodied experience of the nature of the process of discovering Islam.

9. The analysis shows that, in the mainstream British culture, the covered body is understood as a dead body because it lacks its sexual identity.

10. Finally, religion as a subcultural dimension, as well as the social and political dimension, have been proved to cause substantial variation in the metaphorical structures used to convey the images of "the Islamic veil", "female's Body" and "cultural integration" in the selected data.

Conclusion:

In cognitive linguistic, metaphor is more than a figurative tool. It is a cognitive device used to conceptualize the non-physical word. At the same time, conceptual metaphors are a socio-cultural phenomenon. That is, metaphors

vary within a particular culture because people use alternative conceptualization for the same target domain according to the social dimension they belong to. In other words, metaphor differs because the experiences of human beings differ and because the cognitive processes that we use for the creation of abstract thought or image also differ (Kovecses, 2006: 88).

As has been explained, metaphor is cross domain mappings which contains several components such as source and target domains, similarities, linguistic expressions or embodied experience. All of these aspects are involved in metaphor within-cultural variation. In this paper, the study of metaphor within-culture variation has focused on the variation between the mainstream western British culture and the Islamic British subculture.

The study has investigated the variation in metaphorical structures used to understand the images of the "Islamic veil", "female´s body" and "cultural integration" between the previously mentioned social verities. The performed analysis has shown considerable differences in the linguistic patterns used in the process of conceptualizing the same metaphor in both cultural varieties in the selected data. Moreover, it has been sustained that religious, social and political backgrounds have a deep influence in structuring the detected metaphors.

In short, this paper has proved the fact that conceptual metaphors and culture are intimately connected. In addition, it has been argued that the complexity of the structure of modern societies leads to metaphor within-culture variation. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the Islamic British subculture has a real problem in cultural integration with the mainstream British culture, especially when it comes to the issue of the Islamic veil.

As a conclusion, the study of within-culture variation of conceptual metaphor seems to be a challenging area of research because it combines two major realms: cognitive linguistics and anthropology.

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Notes:

1. For further reading: Kovecses, 2006: 120; Kovecses, 2003.

2. More explanation about cultural models could be found in the analysis section on subsection: 1.2 and subsection: 2.1.1.

3. For further reading: Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 27-34).

4. The whole debate can be found in Kovecses, 2005: 196.

5. The full history is found in Lewis, 1993, ch: 1.

6. The story of the three Muslim girls who were expelled from their school because they refused to remove the headscarf (cited in Scott, 2007: 21).

7. This division has been inspired from a study of Kovecses (2005, ch:4)

APPENDIX

The ratio of the frequency of the main conceptual metaphors used in the selected data

	The whole Data	The Mainstream British Culture		The Islamic British Culture	
THE VEIL IS A PRISON FOR WOMEN	4.39%	A PRISON FOR WOMEN	4.39%	*NEGATION*	5.13%
THE VEIL IS A SIGN OF IGNORANCE	5.49%	A SIGN OF IGNORACE	5.49%	*NEGATION*	4.39%
WEARING THE VEIL IS A JOURNEY	2.39%	-----------------------------	-------	In ICA subgroup of data	15.77%
COVERED BODY IS A DEAD BODY	1.09%	In SPAF subgroup of data	3.72%	--------------------------	-------------
THE VEIL IS A BARRIER	3.29%	A BARRIER	3.29%	*NEGATION*	5.97%
WOMEN CLOTH IS A DEANGEOURS WEAPON	5.13%	THREATENING	3.29%	EMPOWERING	1.83%
IDENTITY IS AN ENTITY	5.13%	TAKEN BY THE VEIL	1.83%	COMPLETED BY THE VEIL	3.29%
PUBLIC LIFE IS CONAITNER	4.39%	THE VEIL KEEP WOMEN OU OF IT	2.56%	THE VEIL FACILITATES THE ACCESS INTO IT	1.09%
CULTURE INTEGRATION IS A WAR	8.42%	COMPLEX STRUCTURES	--------	COMPLEX STRUCTURES	---------
THE VEIL IS AN ENTITY	4.03%	FRAMED AND FOUGHT OVER IT	1.09%	PART OF THE IDENTITY	1.83%
THE VEIL IS A TOOL	0.73	OF OPPRESSION	0.36%	OF EMPOWERMENT	0.36%
THE VEIL IS A PERSON	15.02%	UNDESIRABLE PERSON	1.45%	A CHILD	3.66%
		PREVENTOR	3.29%	PROTECTOR	4.74%
FEMALE'S BODY IS A PRECIOUS ENTITY	IC data 4.99%	TO BE SHOWN OFF TO EVERY BODY	2.49%	TO BE PRESERVED FOR THOSE WHO SHE LOVES	2.49%

	Political and Social Articles for the Ban.	Political and Social Articles against the Ban	Interviews and Comments for the Ban	Interviews and Comments against the Ban
THE VEIL IS AN ENTITY/ TOOL		1. Sarkozy used Muslim dress as *a nationalistic prop*, seeing it as a threat to France's eternal values. 2. Now two presidents have taken up the veil *framing it* as a topic in radically different ways. 3. Obama *used it* as a chance to set out a new approach to U.S.-Muslim relations based on a framework of freedom. 4. The scarf is *a part of* who I am. It is everything. 5. It is *part of* who I am 6. The head veil (…) is in fact a liberating and an empowering force.	1. I still cover myself because *I will feel incomplete* without doing so. 2. I felt my life would *not complete* unless I covered my hair.	1. .., where people did not know me, and the scarf was just *a part of* who I was. 2. I 've found it a *tool* of empowerment. 3. The veil etc but it only unites the Muslims, it makes us stronger
THE VEIL IS BARRIER	1. Muslim women cover their faces as *a barrier* between man and women 2. … a ban will feel like yet another assault on Muslims and drive more women into	1. Their clothing is *a barrier* between them and the world and between them and us. 2. Your burqa must be like *your own private tent*; a cloak of invisibility.	1. You now see women *hidden behind* the full-length robe, their faces completely shielded from view 2. It is never	1. She does not believe *it represents a barrier* between people of different faiths.

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	adopting the hijab or burka *as a flag of resistance*		right for a woman *to hide behind* a veil and *shut* herself *off* form people in the community 3. In our country, we can't accept that women be prisoners behind *a screen*, *cut off* from all social life. 4. It creates a *formidable barrier* to integration. 5. Wearing the veil does *hamper* communication and trust.	
PERSONIFICATION OF THE VEIL	1. *Burka is not welcomed* in Franc 2. Burka *is not welcome* on French soil 3. The veil *protects* men from casual arousal 4. The veil *establishes* women as the sexual property of individual men…. 5. It is also physically *cuts women off* from other citizenship	1. The burqa *is not welcome* on France Territory. 2. The headscarf *adopted* by some Muslim girls. 3. … a ban will feel like yet another assault on Muslims and drive more women into *adopting* the hijab or burka as a flag of resistance 4. The veil *affords* equality. 5. It *preserves* their modesty and *protects*	1. The veil *restrict* women 2. It *restricted* the way I walked, what I saw, and how I interacted with the world. 3. It *stops* them achieving their full potential in all areas of their lives, and it *stops* them communicating. 4. It *took away* my personality. 5. For a large	1. But nine years ago she decided *to adopt* the niqab. 2. The reality is that you have a lot of well educated, young women choosing *to adopt* hijab because…. 3. .., if there are any outside pressures making a women feel compelled *to*

	6. It is designed *to take away* their individuality 7. It *cuts* women *off* their citizenship. 8. It is designate to *take away* women's individuality. 9. … a ban will feel like yet another assault on Muslims and drive more women into *adopting* the hijab or burka as a flag of resistance 10. I find them equally offensive on my local highstreet	them from men 6. The big headscarf is not *startling* as the *enormous* burqa or the birdlike Arab masks, but its message is the same. 7. It *preserves* their modesty and *protects* them from men.	group of women, covering their hair *gives* them something, women otherwise might not have a strong sense of identity. 6. It *gives* them confidence. 7. …an unquestioned given is simply *adopted*. 8. It *gives them confidence*.	*adopt* hijab then that becomes problematic. 4. .., but for me the niqab is not something I see myself *adopting*. 5. I wear burka and I am *proud of it*. 6. …, and who had made a personal choice *to adopt* the hijab. 7. …, and if the hijab *allows* Muslim women a freedom that us "liberated" sisters forfeited, good luck to them! 8. I will never take the veil off, *it is part of me*. 9. They should be *proud of* it. 10. I am *proud of* wearing the scarf, I get more respect for it. 11. I feel *liberated*. 12. It gave me the freedom to be who I want to be and not

				worry about what people might think of me physically…
				13. That *gave me much more confidence* to go out into the world and hold up the banners of truth and respect.
				14. It is hard for some people to accept that it is a sign of liberation.
				15. …, and if the hijab *allows* Muslim women *a freedom* that us "liberated" sisters forfeited, good luck to them!
				16. I feel this dress liberates me and make me feel special.
THE VEIL IS A PRISON FOR WOMEN	1. There goes one of those women *peering out of grille* 2. .. a legal adviser whose *muffling veil* meant that she couldn't actually be heard in court. 3. It *cuts* women *off their citizenship*.	1. Women are prisoners *behind netting*, *cut off* from all social life, *deprived* of identity. 2. They were shielding their dressed and finished heads… 3. Their clothing is *a barrier* between them and the world and between them and us.	1. You now see women *hidden behind* the full-length robe, their faces completely shielded from view. 2. The veil is a tool of oppression used *to alienate and control* women	

	4. The veil that those young women wore utterly *isolated* them	4. They were identityless, their faces were as effectively *concealed* form sight as though they wearing burqas.	under the guise of religious freedom 3. It is never right for a woman *to hide behind* a veil and *shut* herself *off* form people in the community 4. In our country, we can't accept that women *be prisoners behind a screen*, *cut off* from all social life.	
WEARING THE VEIL IS A JOURNEY				1. For others still hijab is a complicated journey. 2. For me it was *a pleasant journey*. 3. It brings me *one step closer* to my creator. 4. Deciding to wear the veil was very much *spiritual journey* for me.... It is about my spiritual connection with God. 5. The reality is that you have a lot of well
	4. The veil that	4. They were		

				educated, young women choosing to adopt hijab because when *they go down the path of trying to find out their religion and their identity* they choose a form of modesty which may include hijab. 6. It takes enormous account of courage to wear the niqab. 7. When I have *started Learning* more about Islam, I realised there is *a criteria I have to meet.* 8. I do change my look sometimes but I still make sure *this criteria is met.*
THE VEIL IS A SIGN OF IGNORANCE/ OPPRESSION. THE BAN IS ENLIGHTMENT	1. Christianity laid down similar conditions, but *the enlightenment,…,* successfully challenged such rigid divisions	1. We try *to educate* them. 2.…France's mission civilisatrice to *bring the enlightenment* to Arabs. 3. It is a law *for their*	1. It is a sign of *subservience,* a sign of *debasement* 2. To its detractors the headscarf-and	

	between sexes. 2. They are demonstrating their acceptance of an ideology that gives them fewer rights and *an inferior place* in society	*well-being* 4. Burka meant "*subservience*" "*debasement*" 5. It is *affront* to women	in particular its more visible cousin the face veil- is simply *a form of oppression,...* 3. If it is deemed *offensive/* threatening/ anti-social to the majority of people in a particular country, then it is disrespectful to continue that practice. 4. The burqa *symbolises the subjugation* of women and their being forbidden to take part fully in social life. 5. *The offensive nature* of the niqab, 6. The burka *is affront* to our open society. 7. All this effort would be better directed at *educating women* about thier choice over what they wear. 8. Better *to educate* than legislate.	
PERSONIFICA TION OF THE LAW OF THE	1. such a step would be an	1. The law is a segregation	1. Banning burka merely	

BAN	*affront* to individual freedoms	2. A law which *takes the risk* to make worse the rift between parts of the France population	*unveils* our humanity, our normality.	
	2. ...an outright ban is likely *to spark* accusations of Islamphobia.	3. The law is *to protect* those girls who are compelled to do things they don't want to do.		
	3. We must *rescue* the veiled women.	4. The law is *for their protection*.		
THE BAN IS UNDESIRABLE FIGURE	1. ... a ban will feel like yet *another assault* on Muslims and drive more women into adopting the hijab or burka as a flag of resistance	2. Arguments about hijab in France schools are a distraction from that reality, as well as *an assault* on secular values.		1. (If we accept the banning of the niqab)..we would have allowed a basic and fundamental freedom *to be infringed*.
				3. The ban seems only *to strength* the determined.
				4. Banning the veil *would not improve* community relations
THE COVERED BODY IS A DEAD BODY	1. She wanted to go to the school *shrouded* from head to toe.			
	2. Burka turns women to *object creator*			
	3. Today I see Muslim girls 10, 20			

	years younger than me *shrouding* themselves in fabric.			
THE BODY IS PRECIOUS ENTITY			1. I sell image,- it is very important- and I expect a hair stylist to display her hair.... 2. She was "selling image" and needed her staff to display their hairstyle to the public. 3. We should *celebrate our beauty*.	1. So what if I don't want *to display my beauty* and adornment to the world, I can still integrate.... 2. .., because a woman is *a jewel*, like *a pearl*. She doesn't need to be *shown off* for the world *to glare at*. 3. *Her beauty is for the one she loves*, for the sake of Allah, her husband
WOMEN CLOTH IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON	1. I entered the classroom..... to be *confronted* by three girls in the back row... 2. The niqab could *jeopardise* communications between pupil and teacher.	1. There are few trustier weapons than Muslims women cloth 2. Sarkozy used Muslim dress as a nationalistic prop, seeing it as a threat to France's eternal values. 3. We mustn't let a flimsy piece of cloth *destroy* the tolerant fabric of our society 4. ... a ban will feel like yet another assault on Muslims	1.. It is the weapon of radical Muslims me who want to see Sharia law on Britian's streets. 2. If it is deemed offensive/ *threatening*/ anti-social to the majority of people in a particular country, then it is disrespectful to continue that	1. I 've found it a *tool* of empowerment. 2. The veil.. etc.. but it only unites the Muslims, it makes us stronger 3. I don't think there is any proof that doing so (wearing the hijab) *damages* their

		and drive more women into adopting the hijab or burka *as a flag of resistance* 5. The head veil (…) is in fact a liberating and an empowering force. 6. When they have contact with men, they are in *full command of* their bodies	practice. 3. I find it strange and *threatening*. 4. I personally find the dress very *intimidating*. 5. When I see a person on the street covered up in this way *I feel threatened*.	brains! We have Muslim women doctors as a proof of that.
IDENTITY IS AN ENTITY	1. It is designate to *take away women's individuality*. 2. … who precisely *it* is that you are teaching.	1. Your burqa must be like your own private tent; a cloak of *invisibility*. 2. The scarf is a part of who I am- it is everything.	1. It took away *my personality*. 2. For a large group of women, covering their hair give them something, women *otherwise might not have a strong sense of identity*. 3. I still cover myself because I will feel *incomplete* without doing so. 4. I felt my life would *not complete* unless I covered my hair. 5. I respect	1. ..a form of dress that for many Muslim women forms *an integral part of their identity*. 2. .., where people did not know me, and the scarf was just *a part of who I was*. 3. Different means it is just *part of identity*. 4. It is something for me and *it is my identity*. 5. I will never take the veil off, *it is part of*

			those who bear this endurance test…., *the loss of identity*.	*me.*
PUBLIC LIFE IS A CONTAINER	1. Women have a conditional *access to* the public space,… 2. It *cuts* women *off their citizenship.* 3. It is also *physically cuts women off from* other citizenship.	1. Religion should *be out of* public life. 2. She doesn't want her sexuality *to enter into* the interaction in the slightest degree. 3. Their clothing is *a barrier* between them and the world and between them and us.	1. It sounds out a clear message: "I don't want to be *part of* your society" 2. We can't accept that women be prisoner behind a screen, *cut off from all social life,* deprived from identity.	1. There is a certain *degree of unity* you feel with other women who wear headscarf, even if you don't know. 2. You feel *united* in a sense, especially when you are younger. 3. We can still socialise, we can still *integrate with people.* 4. Different *does not mean* we are *segregated* from society.
CULTURE INTEGRATION IS A WAR	1. They are all tragically *mute victims* of an especially monstrous patriarchy… 2. Niqab is a mark of "*separation*", *segregation* and deviance against mainstream British culture" 3.…an outright ban is likely *to spark*	1. Obama avoided any sense that American values and Islamic ones were in conflict. 2. There is a lot of tension in the Islamic community which feels targeted 3. A law which takes the risk to make worse *the rift* between parts of the France population 4. It (the Hijab)	1. They cannot complain about not being accepted if they are wholly unwilling *to compromise*. 2. "the bottom line, I guess, is that you have *to fall into line with* the country you're living in." 3. They know that we feel	1. If things *blow up* in the media it's often not the best time to go out in public… 2. … and discussions around the removal of headscarves for women who felt *under threat*.

accusations of Islamphobia..	present a serious *challenge* to the West. It challenges our ideas of what's most important in our own culture and the points at which we draw the line of tolerance. 5. The *unity* of Britain is well worth a headscarf. 6. This is a benign version of Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilization" thesis, which *divide the world into* two campus, Western and Islamic. 7. .. *a struggle* between *militant forms* of different religions over the final say on sexual relationships, crime and punishment, education and foreign policy. 8. I am not sure it's terribly sensible or grown-up to have coppers actually *wrestling* the cloths off women 9. It is not only a threat for Muslims but for the whole French community.	uncomfortable with it but continue *to battle* us. 4. What is needed is a bit of *give and take* from *all sides* of the society to make *a compromise*. 5. . A scarf throwing (Benazir Butto style) over the head could be an *amicable solution*.	3. The ban seems only *to strength the determined*. 4. This is simply because they see their way of life/ *Identity threatened*. 5. As a Muslim women who *has seen life on both sides of the fence*, … , I am enraged to hear the argument that Muslims women are subservient. 6. *Force* me to take off my hijab and *you are in for a fight*.

THE FINDINGS