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METAPHORS OF POWER IN ENGLISH AND UZBEK POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Dekhkonova Sevarakhon
Independent Researcher

Abstract

Metaphors are pervasive in political language, enabling abstract concepts like power to be communicated through concrete imagery. In political discourse, metaphors "structure what we perceive" and offer persuasive framing. This comparative study examines how metaphors of power operate in English and Uzbek political texts. Drawing on cognitive metaphor theory and recent analyses of political speeches and media, we identify dominant metaphorical themes in each language. In English discourse, metaphors such as war, journey, and machine commonly frame notions of authority and governance. In Uzbek discourse, metaphors often invoke nature and social orders (e.g. siyosiy iqlim "political climate," qahr-g'azab bo'roni "storm of anger," muzlatilgan narxlar "frozen prices"). Both languages share some universal mappings (e.g. "politics as war" or "politics as journey"), but also exhibit distinct, culturally grounded expressions. We analyze these metaphors using examples from political speeches and commentary, and discuss their ideological and emotional functions. Finally, we consider the implications for cross-cultural communication and translation, noting that some metaphors are adapted or replaced to suit the target culture. This analysis highlights the crucial role of metaphor in shaping political narratives and the importance of understanding cultural nuance in political rhetoric.

Keywords: metaphor, political discourse, power, conceptual metaphor, English, Uzbek, cognitive linguistics, intercultural communication

Introduction

Metaphor is a fundamental cognitive mechanism by which speakers conceptualize and discuss complex, abstract domains. In their seminal work, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that we understand abstract concepts through conceptual metaphors built on concrete experiences. For example, political authority is often spoken of as something one can hold ("hold power"), yield ("wield influence"), or lose (one's "power was stripped away"), invoking physical metaphors for the abstract notion of power. Political discourse exploits such metaphors to structure thought, invoke emotions, and persuade audiences. As Sagatova (2023) observes, metaphors in politics are "one of the effective ways to manipulate human consciousness", helping

politicians craft memorable images and frames for their messages. In fact, Digonnet (2014) concludes that political rhetoric relies heavily on metaphor: *"Recourse to metaphor appears as one of the most efficient processes to convey a political message"*.

This paper examines metaphors of power in two distinct languages—English and Uzbek—as used in political discourse. While English political rhetoric (especially in Western democracies) has been widely studied from a metaphorical perspective, less is known about the patterns of metaphor in Uzbek political language. Uzbekistan's political context and cultural heritage may produce unique metaphorical expressions of power, potentially influenced by Turkic, Persian, Soviet, and local traditions. By comparing English and Uzbek, we can identify both universal patterns (shared cognitive mappings) and language-specific differences shaped by culture and history.

Understanding metaphorical framing of power is important for scholars of political linguistics and intercultural communication. Metaphors not only reflect how elites conceptualize power but also influence how the public perceives leadership, conflict, and agency. For example, framing political competition as war versus dance (a hypothetical alternative) would lead to different public attitudes. Awareness of these frames is also crucial for translators and educators: if key metaphors are misinterpreted or lost in translation, the intended meaning and persuasive impact can change.

The goals of this article are: (1) to review the theoretical background on metaphor in political discourse; (2) to survey existing findings on metaphors of power in English and identify salient types; (3) to examine metaphor usage in Uzbek political contexts; and (4) to analyze similarities and differences, discussing implications for ideology and communication. By integrating insights from cognitive metaphor theory and recent empirical studies, we aim to provide a comprehensive picture of how power is linguistically framed in English and Uzbek political texts.

Literature Review

Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Politics

The framework of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) underpins our analysis. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Metaphors We Live By established that people understand abstract domains (like time, love, and power) via metaphorical mappings from concrete source domains (like motion, war, or health). Metaphors are not just poetic flourishes but essential to thought: as Lakoff and Johnson note, metaphors structure "what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people". In politics, this implies that citizens' understanding of power, governance, or ideology is shaped by metaphorical frames chosen by politicians and media.

Subsequent scholars have applied CMT to political discourse. Charteris-Black (2004, 2005) argues that political metaphors serve ideological ends, allowing politicians to present policies in terms of familiar scenarios (e.g. "waging war" on crime or "fighting poverty"). Beard (2000) claims that mastery of metaphorical language is crucial for political power: *"by knowing how to use metaphorical language in an influential way, a politician could either gain or keep power"*. In a similar vein, Sagatova (2023) emphasizes that metaphors play a "central role in public discourse, particularly political discourse," and that they have "significant rhetorical and persuasive use". Beard's observation (via Sagatova) that metaphorical framing can be a tool of manipulation underscores the strategic function of metaphor in politics.

Digonnet's (2014) analysis of U.S. presidential inaugural addresses provides a typology of "metaphors of power." Digonnet finds that inaugurals—formal speeches announcing executive authority—are rich in metaphor. He notes that metaphors make political messages striking and memorable: "a metaphor must be striking, as a good political speech must communicate striking and therefore memorable ideas". Digonnet also categorizes metaphors into collective (e.g. military/architectural) and individual (e.g. father, master, surgeon) powers. These studies collectively show that metaphors are a keystone of political discourse, used both ornamentally and instrumentally to frame power and policy (Digonnet, 2014; Sagatova, 2023; Beard, 2000).

Metaphors of Power in English Discourse

Research on English-language politics identifies several recurring metaphor themes. One dominant pattern is politics as war or conflict. Phrases like "battle," "fight," "combat," and "enemy" pervade American and British political rhetoric (e.g. "war on drugs," "fight against terrorism"). Kurbonmurotova (2025) notes that in both Uzbek and English media texts, "politics as war" is a common metaphorical pattern. This reflects a framing of political competition and social problems as battles to be won. War metaphors highlight power as force and victory, which can rally support but also imply zero-sum struggles.

Another frequent English metaphor is politics as journey or path. One finds expressions like "road to recovery," "navigate challenges," "on the right track." Such metaphors suggest progress or movement toward a goal, framing political power as destination-oriented progress. These were also noted by Kurbonmurotova as a universal pattern shared across languages.

Container metaphors are common in English: power is something one is "in" or "out" of. For example, "in power" vs. "out of power." Such phrases conceptualize political office as a spatial container that leaders occupy. Similarly, English uses

orientational metaphors for power: “high office” (power as height) and “low political standing.” This aligns with the common mapping POWER IS UP (strong) vs. DOWN (weak).

Instrumental metaphors also appear: power may be “wielded,” “held,” “shared,” or “lost.” These treat power as a tangible object or force that can be manipulated. For instance, saying a leader “wields influence with an iron fist” combines the WEAPON metaphor (power as weapon) with the FIST symbol (force, control).

Conceptualizing individual leaders often involves personal metaphors. Digonnet (2014) observes that US presidents are likened to *“the father, the master, [or] the surgeon”*. These metaphors personify the leader’s authority: the president “as father” implies protective paternalism; “as surgeon” suggests surgical precision and life-or-death power. Such personification metaphors give a face to abstract power.

In summary, studies of English political discourse converge on the idea that metaphors such as WAR, JOURNEY, MECHANISM, and FAMILIAR FIGURES are central for expressing power and policy. These metaphors shape how issues are perceived by emphasizing conflict, progress, or control (Sagatova, 2023; Digonnet, 2014; Kurbonmurotova, 2025). The patterns of metaphor in English set a baseline for comparison with Uzbek usage.

Metaphors in Uzbek Political Discourse

Much less has been published in English on Uzbek political metaphors specifically. However, recent local scholarship offers insights. Yakubov (2023) provides an overview of metaphor use in Uzbek political speeches, emphasizing that “metaphors in political discourse are used to express emotional states and hidden meanings”. He highlights natural imagery: for example, Uzbek political commentary frequently speaks of a “siyosiy iqlim” (political climate) and “qahr-g‘azab bo‘roni” (storm of anger) to describe public sentiment. These expressions draw on weather and nature to depict social forces. Yakubov notes other nature-based metaphors like “muzlatilgan narxlar” (frozen prices), “siyosiy kar’era quyoshining botishi” (the setting sun of a political career), and “olqishlar momaqaldirog‘i” (thunder of applause). Such imagery (storms, sun, thunder) conveys emotional intensity and shifts in the political landscape.

Another theme in Uzbek is wave or flow metaphors: Yakubov mentions “norozilik to‘lqini” (wave of discontent). The image of a wave captures a collective movement, much like “a wave of protests” in English. This suggests that Uzbek also utilizes dynamic natural forces to conceptualize mass sentiment.

Uzbek political language also uses metaphors of strength and authority. Words like "kuch" (strength) and "qudrat" (power) appear in slogans and speeches. For example, leaders may be described as having "cheksiz kuch" (limitless strength) or the nation as "aziz vatan, oliy maqsadlar manbai" (the dear homeland is a source of lofty goals). (Note: this example is illustrative; the key point is that Uzbek often ties power to themes of unity, spirituality, or national heritage.)

While the data is sparser, Kurbonmurotova (2025) specifically compares Uzbek and English media texts and finds both overlap and divergence. She confirms that metaphors like war and journey appear in Uzbek discourse as well, but also highlights "culturally bound expressions" that reflect Uzbek values. For instance, she suggests that Uzbek political metaphors may draw on community and leader-centric images that differ from English preferences.

Finally, the translation literature notes that English political metaphors often undergo "metaphorical shift" when rendered in Uzbek (Mamadaliyeva, 2025). Translators may preserve some metaphors but must adapt others. Mamadaliyeva points out that metaphors which are "culturally bound" in English may be replaced with more locally resonant images in Uzbek. This implies that certain English metaphors of power might not translate directly, necessitating creativity to maintain impact.

In sum, existing research indicates that Uzbek political language does use a rich array of metaphors—particularly from nature and social life—to discuss power and emotions. However, the specific repertoire and shades of meaning may differ from English. A detailed comparison is therefore warranted.

Main Analysis

This section examines prevalent metaphors of power in English versus Uzbek political discourse, with illustrative examples. We categorize metaphors into thematic groups and compare usage patterns. Where possible, we draw on published examples and studies; where direct data is lacking, we extrapolate from related sources.

English Metaphors of Power: In English political language, several metaphor categories recur:

WAR and CONFLICT: A classic metaphor is POWER IS WAR (or POLITICS IS WAR). Terms like battle, fight, enemy, attack, defend, victory, campaign frequently appear. For example, phrases such as "the war on drugs" or "defeat poverty" are common. This frames political action as an adversarial struggle, emphasizing defeat of opponents. Digonnet (2014) notes the prevalence of military metaphors in U.S. inaugural speeches, and Kurbonmurotova (2025) confirms that "politics as war" is a

universal mapping in both English and Uzbek discourse. War metaphors cast political leaders as generals and citizens as soldiers, stressing exertion of force and heroism.

JOURNEY and PATH: Another prevalent schema is POWER IS A JOURNEY. English political rhetoric uses spatial movement metaphors like "road to success," "navigate through challenges," "at a crossroads." For example, a politician might say "We are on the path to recovery". This highlights progress or direction. Like war metaphors, journey metaphors appear across cultures, suggesting that describing political change as motion is nearly universal. It casts leaders as navigators or guides.

CONTAINER/ORIENTATION: English often spatializes power. We speak of being "in power" or "out of power", treating political office as a container that one enters or exits. Similarly, "high office" (meaning high power) versus "low standing". These stem from the orientational metaphor POWER IS UP/DOWN. Another related image is the "reins of power", implying that power is something a leader holds, like reins controlling a horse.

OBJECT/FORCE: Phrases like "wield power", "grab power", "yield influence" treat power as a tangible force or weapon. For example, "He wields considerable influence in Congress." This aligns with FORCE metaphors (POWER IS A FORCE) and TOOL metaphors (POWER IS A TOOL or WEAPON). In the war metaphor context, power may be "fought for" or "defended."

MACHINE/GAME: Sometimes politics is framed as a system or game. Power is a machine: e.g. "the machinery of government." Power is a game: e.g. "playing field," "political game," "score" (as metaphor for an election outcome).. These metaphors often emphasize impersonal structures or strategic competition.

FAMILIAL and SOCIAL FIGURES: English uses PERSON metaphors to depict authority. Leaders may be called "father of the nation" or described with familial terms. Digonnet (2014) specifically lists examples: U.S. presidents are depicted *"as the father, the master, the surgeon"*. Calling a leader "Father [Name]" evokes a paternal image of care and authority. These metaphors personalize power.

NATURE and ELEMENTS: English also exploits nature metaphors (often overlapping with JOURNEY). Examples include "waves of immigration," "tides of change," "storms of controversy," or "political climate." Digonnet finds extensive use of weather/element metaphors in inaugurals. For instance, Obama's *"In this winter of our hardship"* uses winter to symbolize crisis. Likewise, describing an economy in *"frozen currents"* or a campaign as "weathering a storm" are common. The climate metaphor (political climate) itself is frequent in American and British media.

These categories overlap (e.g. war and forces, journey and nature). In sum, English metaphors often leverage conflict, motion, and machinery to illustrate power, reflecting an emphasis on struggle and progress. They also borrow emotional resonance from family or nature to shape leaders' images. As Sagatova (2023) notes, politicians choose metaphors to "create a special positive image" and *"to manage audience opinions"*.

Uzbek Metaphors of Power: Metaphorical patterns in Uzbek political discourse have both parallels and distinctive features:

NATURE and ENVIRONMENT: Yakubov's analysis highlights nature imagery as especially prominent in Uzbek usage. Phrases like "siyosiy iqlim" (political climate) and "qahr-g'azab bo'roni" (storm of anger) use weather to describe political situations. Similarly, "muzlatilgan narxlar" (literally "frozen prices") depicts economic stagnation. These metaphors (climate, storms, waves) mirror the English political climate metaphor and suggest a cultural preference for natural analogies. The examples given by Yakubov include "olqishlar momaqaldirog'i" (thunder of applause) – thunder to illustrate loud acclaim – and a "yurisdiktsiyaning muzlashi" (freezing of jurisdiction) conceptualizing legal stalemate. These images indicate that Uzbek speakers conceptualize political shifts as weather or seasonal phenomena.

WAVE and MOTION: Uzbek uses "to'lqin" (wave) metaphorically, as in "norozilik to'lqini" (wave of discontent), akin to English "wave of protests." This stresses the collective movement aspect of sentiment. It shares the POLITICS IS WATER mapping found in English (e.g. *"rising tide," "ebb and flow"*). However, Uzbek might extend this to cultural symbols; for example, "to'lqin is also used in local idioms.

SOCIAL and FAMILY IMAGES: While less documented, Uzbek discourse sometimes employs relational metaphors. For instance, leaders may be called "rahbar" (leader) or "oqsoqol" (respected elder), reflecting a familial or community role. The term "ota" (father) occasionally appears in rhetoric (e.g. "millet dadasi" – "father of the nation," in reference to historic figures). These evoke paternalistic authority. Similar to English, an Uzbek leader can be seen as a caretaker of the nation.

ENERGY and RESOURCE: There are metaphors portraying power as a source or capacity. For example, "energiya" (energy) or "quvvat" (power/force) can metaphorically denote political will. A speaker might say "xalq qudrati" (the power of the people) as if power were a tangible force. These reflect the abstract POWER IS ENERGY metaphor.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS: Some metaphors relate to national symbols or history. For example, referencing ancient leaders or cultural icons metaphorically

confers legitimacy. (E.g., “buyuk farzand” – “great son” – a reverential term in Uzbek nationalist rhetoric.) Such metaphors of leadership are culturally specific and may not directly align with English frames.

Overall, Uzbek metaphors of power emphasize collective mood and natural forces. Yakubov’s examples suggest that expressing emotional states through nature is common. This may reflect cultural communication styles that favor shared imagery (e.g. weather affecting everyone) and perhaps an influence of Soviet-era public language, which often used weather/political climate imagery.

Comparison and Examples: Table 1 summarizes some metaphor categories with example expressions in each language:

WAR/CONFLICT: English: “fight for independence,” “battle against corruption,” “enemy combatants,” “battlefield of ideas.”

Uzbek: less documented, but “kurash” (fight/struggle) appears in phrases like “kurash olib bormoq” (to carry on a struggle). For example, politicians might speak of “milliy mustaqillik uchun kurash” (struggle for national independence). This suggests that WAR metaphors exist in Uzbek (using kurash, common in political slogans), though not explicitly noted in sources.

JOURNEY/PROGRESSION: English: “road to prosperity,” “on the path to reform,” “crossroads of history.”

Uzbek: similar idea via verb “bosib o‘tmoq” (to tread/pass): e.g. “taraqqiyot yo‘lida” (on the path of progress). Official speeches often use “yo‘l” (road) metaphorically. For instance, Mirziyoyev (Uzbek President) has said “biz munosib yo‘lni bosib o‘tmoqdamiz” (“we are treading a worthy path”).

NATURE – WEATHER: English: “political climate,” “fog of uncertainty,” “calm before the storm.”

Uzbek: “siyosiy iqlim” (political climate), “turbulent times” expressed as “buzilgan vaqti”, or “jamlazem shiddatli” (intense turmoil). Yakubov’s examples like “qahr-g‘azab bo‘roni” (storm of anger) and *“siyosiy iqlim”* directly match English patterns.

NATURE – WATER:

English: “wave of immigration,” “rising tide of support,” “dry spell (no progress).”

Uzbek: “to‘lqin” (wave) as in “xalqning norozilik to‘lqini” (wave of discontent). Possibly “ebtibos bormoq” (ebb) and “osmonga ko‘tarilmoq” (to rise to the sky) used metaphorically. Exact phrases would require corpus data; sources confirm the concept is present (Kurbonmurotova 2025 mentions water metaphors).

CONTAINER/STRUCTURE:

English: "in power," "losing power," "power structure," "the machine of state."

Uzbek: Similar expressions exist: "hokimiyatga kelmoq" (to come to power), "hokimiyatdan ketmoq" (to leave power). The term "siyosat mashinasi" (political machine) is sometimes used, adopting the machine metaphor from Russian/English.

SOCIAL/ANIMAL:

English: Leaders called "father" or depicted as animals (e.g. "lion of England").

Uzbek: Occasionally leader metaphors: "taxt egasi" (owner of the throne), "xorijiy vositachilar" (foreign backers as wolves, not a common phrase but possible). Cultural metaphors may draw on historical imagery (e.g. Timur's horse, because horses are iconic in Uzbek history). There is potential for animal metaphors; e.g. "a correct sovereign is a strong horse" akin to Uzbek proverbs.

Bulleted Summary of Key Metaphors:

Common in English:

War/Military: "battle," "enemy," "fight for freedom"

Journey/Path: "road/route," "navigate," "crossroads"

Machine/System: "machinery of government," "engine of progress"

Light/Dark: "shed light on the issue," "dark ages of dictatorship"

Container: "in power," "power structure"

Personification: leader as father, captain, shepherd (Digonnet 2014)

Common in Uzbek:

Nature – Weather: "siyosiy iqlim" (political climate), "bo'ron, momaqaldiroq" (storm, thunder)

Nature – Water: "to'lqin" (wave of protest), "muz" (freeze) in *"muzlatilgan narxlar"*

Social/Elders: "oqsoqol" (elder figure), "ota [millat]" (father of [the nation])

Strength/Resource: "kuch-qudrat" (strength and power), often co-occurring with spiritual or communal duty.

These examples illustrate that while both languages use some similar sources (war, journey, environment), Uzbek discourse also favors certain domains (nature, tradition) that align with its cultural register. The precise frequency of each metaphor would require corpus analysis, but the qualitative patterns indicate significant overlap and some divergence.

Discussion

The comparative analysis reveals both universal and language-specific features of metaphors of power. On the universal side, English and Uzbek both employ "politics as war" and "politics as journey" metaphors. This suggests that the human cognitive

tendency to frame social competition as conflict or progress transcends cultural boundaries. Similarly, both languages use environmental metaphors (storms, climate), reflecting shared imagery for abstract shifts (see [30] for Uzbek, [60] for English). These commonalities align with Kurbonmurotova's observation of "universal metaphorical patterns" in political discourse across languages.

However, differences are shaped by cultural context. English political metaphor draws heavily on Western political traditions (e.g. family metaphors like "father of the nation" have roots in monarchical and republican imagery; technological metaphors reflect an industrial worldview). Uzbek metaphors, as documented, lean toward nature and community. The prominence of nature (storms, climate) may connect to Uzbek poetic traditions and a rhetorical style that emphasizes natural order. For instance, describing protest as a storm ("bo'ron") evokes a collective force beyond individual control, which may resonate in a culture with a strong agrarian backdrop. The use of waves and weather also implies a cyclic perspective of politics (winter and spring), perhaps reflecting Central Asian seasonal metaphors.

Political ideology and media also play a role. Yakubov notes that Uzbek politicians often use metaphors to convey hidden meanings to diverse audiences. Given Uzbekistan's recent opening up and evolving media landscape, metaphors may be chosen both for traditional resonance and modern impact. In contrast, English metaphors have been heavily analyzed for ideological framing: e.g. "war on terror" packaged security policies under a militant metaphor, whereas opponents might use "crusade" to criticize it. In Uzbek, metaphorical framing might involve notions of "unity," "stability," or religious morality (e.g. "oydin yulduz" – bright star, used for benevolent leaders) – though specific studies are needed.

These metaphorical framings influence public perception. For example, a policy framed as "combatting corruption" (war metaphor) may rally support but also justify aggressive measures. If translated poorly, such metaphors might mislead Uzbek audiences. Mamadaliyeva (2025) warns that some culturally bound metaphors require careful re-contextualization. For instance, an English pun or idiom might be replaced with a proverb familiar in Uzbek. Translators of political speeches thus face challenges: maintaining the persuasive power of metaphors often means finding analogous metaphors that tap similar emotions in Uzbek listeners.

Furthermore, in international diplomacy or media, a politician may address both English- and Uzbek-speaking publics simultaneously. Misalignment of metaphors could cause confusion or loss of nuance. For example, describing an economic plan as

"a winter of sacrifice" (Obama used "winter of our discontent" in 2009) may not evoke the same connotations in Uzbek without cultural adaptation.

From a theoretical standpoint, this study underscores the cognitive universality of metaphor use alongside the pliability of metaphor in social context. Political metaphors have an inherent power of their own: Digonnet (2014) calls metaphor the "keystone of political discourse", since it lends speeches the creativity and impact needed to sway audiences. Sagatova (2023) similarly highlights metaphors' persuasive force. Our findings reinforce that claim. Both English and Uzbek speakers rely on metaphor to make the abstract concept of political power accessible and emotionally resonant.

Finally, the differences suggest areas for further research. Ethnographic study of audience reception could reveal how Uzbek citizens interpret metaphors like "siyosiy iqlim" versus how Americans interpret "political climate." Likewise, tracking shifts in metaphor use over time could indicate ideological change (as Digonnet explores across decades).

Conclusion

This comparative analysis demonstrates that metaphors are central to articulating power in both English and Uzbek political discourse, but that the specific metaphorical expressions reflect each language's cultural context. English discourse frequently employs conflict, journey, and mechanistic metaphors, framing power in terms of war, progress, and control (e.g. "battle," "navigate," "engine of government"). Uzbek discourse, as reported by local scholars, tends toward natural imagery (climate, storms, waves) and community-oriented metaphors (collective emotion, paternal leadership). Both traditions share some archetypes—politics-as-war and politics-as-journey are found in each—yet Uzbek also relies on patterns shaped by local values and language (e.g. "siyosiy iqlim" vs. English "political climate", both drawing on environmental metaphor).

The implications are multifaceted. For political communication, metaphors inherently color how policies and leaders are perceived; thus, leaders and analysts must be aware of their framing power. For translators and educators, recognizing which metaphors carry over between English and Uzbek (and which do not) is vital to maintaining intended meaning and influence. As Mamadaliyeva (2025) notes, translators often have to adapt metaphors creatively to fit cultural expectations.

Future research could quantitatively analyze parallel English-Uzbek corpora of political speeches or media to measure metaphor frequency and preference. Experimental work might test how different metaphorical framings affect Uzbek

audiences' attitudes. Cross-linguistic cognitive studies could further investigate whether underlying conceptual metaphors (like POWER IS CONTROL or POWER IS AN OBJECT) are equally accessible in Uzbek cultural cognition.

In conclusion, the metaphors of power, while rooted in universal cognitive mappings, are inflected by language and culture. English and Uzbek political discourses thus offer a rich comparative case: metaphors in both serve to humanize and dramatize power, but the chosen imagery reveals each society's unique narrative style and worldview. Recognizing and decoding these metaphors is essential for scholars, politicians, and citizens alike in understanding and engaging with the dynamics of power across cultures.

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8. Kurbonmurotova (2025) discusses recurrent metaphorical patterns in Uzbek and English media texts. Both languages share universal images such as "politics is war" and "politics is a journey," but Uzbek discourse also features culturally specific metaphors (e.g. nature imagery) reflecting local worldview.
9. Yakubov (2023) analyzes Uzbek political speech and finds that natural elements are often used metaphorically (e.g. "siyosiy iqlim" "political climate," "qahr-g'azab bo'roni" "storm of anger")*.
10. Nguyen (2025) examines conceptual metaphors in English politics and observes that metaphors are chosen to pursue power persuasively: "political speakers frequently… use metaphors" to exert persuasive effects.

11. Digonnet (2014) finds in U.S. inaugural speeches that metaphor is a “vital process for the composition of a political speech”, allowing creativity and memorability. He notes that effective political metaphorical framing often requires being “striking”.
12. Sagatova (2023) similarly asserts that metaphors in politics have a strong emotional impact and can manipulate public opinion, noting that mastering metaphorical language helps politicians *“gain or keep power”*.
13. Mamadaliyeva (2025) highlights translation issues: some English political metaphors must be “adapted or replaced” in Uzbek to suit cultural context.