

دراسة دلالية-إدراكية للأعداد بوصفها علاماتٍ للثنائية في التعبيرات الاصطلاحية الكردية

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A Cognitive-semantic Study of Numbers as Markers of Duality in Kurdish Idioms

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ملخص

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى بحث دلالة الرقم "اثنين" كعلامة على الثنائية في التعبيرات الاصطلاحية الكردية، والكشف عن الدوافع والمفاهيم الإدراكية الكامنة وراء ذلك. تتسم الدراسة بطابعها النوعي، وتعتمد "نظرية الاستعارة المفاهيمية (Conceptual Metaphor Theory)" كإطار تحليلي، إلى جانب استخدام منهجية MIPVU لتحديد الكلمات المرتبطة بالاستعارة. وقد استخدمت ثلاثة مصادر كردية موثوقة ومعتمدة لتشكيل مجموعة بيانات تعتمد مبدأ التثليث (triangulation) واستخراج التعبيرات التي تتضمن الرقم "اثنين". ويؤكد التحليل المستفيض للرقم "اثنين" -باعتباره علامة على الثنائية في التعبيرات الاصطلاحية الكردية- أن هذا الرقم يعمل كأداة إدراكية تتجاوز مجرد التعبير عن قيم كمية بحتة. وتكشف الدراسة عن أربع وظائف رئيسية للرقم "اثنين" في هذه التعبيرات: الاكتمال/التكامل، والانقسام/التقابل، والتكرار/الزيادة،

والكمية القليلة. وتُظهر هذه الفئات الأربع استعارات مفاهيمية متنوعة على مستوى التعبير الاصطلاحي، موضحةً كيف تشكّل "الثنائية" معاني مجردة. وعلاوة على ذلك، تدعم نتائج الدراسة الطرح القائل بأن الأرقام لا تشير فقط إلى أبعاد كمية، بل تُستخدم استعارياً لتصوير مفاهيم مجردة وأقل ملموسية.

وتكمن أهمية الدراسة في وضعها ضمن سياق المساهمات الأكاديمية والعلمية الأوسع في مجال دراسة التعبيرات الاصطلاحية، وتحديدًا تلك المرتبطة بالأرقام. كما تضع الدراسة التعبيرات الاصطلاحية الكردية العديدة في إطار لغوي-إدراكي، موضحةً الترابط بين الثنائية واللغة المجازية في تشكيل المعنى. وتوفر النتائج أيضاً أساساً لتطبيقات عملية في مجالات الترجمة، والتعليم، والمقارنة بين اللغات، مع تسليط الضوء على الدور الحيوي للجوانب الثقافية في فهم المعنى الاصطلاحي.

Abstract

The aim of the current study is to investigate the number 'two' as a marker of duality in Kurdish idioms and to uncover the underlying cognitive motivations and understandings. The nature of the study is qualitative, and it adopts conceptual metaphor theory as an analytical framework, along with using MIPVU to identify metaphor-related words. Three reliable and authoritative Kurdish resources were employed to form a triangulation dataset and extract expressions including the number 'two'. A thorough analysis of the number 'two' as a marker of duality in Kurdish idioms confirms that this number functions as a cognitive tool rather than purely representing quantitative values. The analysis of this study reveals four key functions of the number 'two' in Kurdish idioms: completeness/complementarity, division/opposition, repetition/excess, and small quantity. These four categories present various conceptual metaphors at the idiom level that demonstrate how twoness forms abstract meanings. Moreover, the study findings support the claim that numbers do not merely indicate quantitative dimensions; rather, they are metaphorically employed to conceptualize abstract and less tangible concepts.

The study's significance is centered on positioning it within the broader academic and scholarly contributions in the study of idioms, and more specifically, numerical idioms. Likewise, it situates Kurdish numerical idioms within a cognitive-linguistic framework, clarifying how duality and figurative language are interrelated in the formation of meaning. The study findings further provide a foundation for practical



implications in translation, pedagogy, and cross-linguistic comparison, highlighting the vital role of cultural aspects in understanding idiomatic meaning.

1.Introduction:

Idioms are recognized as a subgroup of fixed expressions with dual meanings, including literal and figurative understandings (Abdulwehab, 2005; Glucksberg, 2001). They are also considered a critical part of any language and a reflection of someone's language proficiency (McDevitt,1993). They are linguistic components that mirror historical and cultural dimensions of particular people, along with their shared experiences. Following the claim of Oualif (2017), "idioms are linguistic expressions or lexical items that have a vast territory in a way that they can include many cultural aspects such as religious beliefs, culture-specific items, superstitions, and different ideologies of the people from diverse societies and nations".

Numbers have been widely employed and have a vital role in human social interactions and linguistic advancement. Therefore, people and numbers have been strongly connected for a long period of time. For example, numbers are observed as a second language in the Chinese language and for Chinese people. They are frequently used in idioms to create idiomatic meaning (Hu, 2022). Generally speaking, they are often adopted in idiomatic expressions to represent 'emptiness' like 'zero', 'unity' like 'one', 'duality or opposition' like 'two', and some of them, such as 'one hundred', 'one thousand' or 'a million', to express abundance and exaggeration. For example, English speakers regularly use the idiom "at sixes and sevens" to express confusion. In such cases, the numbers lose their literal meaning and must be interpreted non-literally (Parvaresh & Ghafel, 2012).

In the Kurdish context, idioms, and more specifically numerical ones, play a significant role in reflecting cultural and historical aspects. They are highly embedded in Kurdish everyday interactions and communications. In Kurdish idiomatic expressions, numbers are not simply used to represent quantitative aspects; rather, they carry figurative meanings, speakers' intentions, and cultural connotations. One of the frequent uses of numbers in the Kurdish language is to express duality, which normally symbolizes confusion and opposition. For example, the Kurdish idiom 'Du dil' literally means 'having two hearts' while the number serves as a symbol of duality to indicate confusion or indecisiveness. This example supports the claim that numerical elements are not merely adopted to indicate quantity; instead, they are powerful

and effective tools of communication to represent duality in Kurdish idioms.

Consequently, from the standpoint of conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth, CMT), the present study limits its scope to examining idioms that include numbers symbolizing duality in the Kurdish language, to depict and expose the conceptual structures that shape their understanding and interpretation. The study also seeks to address the following research questions: How is the number 'two' understood and conceptualized in Kurdish idioms, and what conceptual mappings help in shaping their figurative meanings? What cultural models and embodied experiences support the conceptualization of the number 'two' in Kurdish idioms, and which patterns reflect Kurdish-specific rather than shared conceptualizations? By providing answers to these questions, this study aims to discuss why number idioms that 'two' represent duality in Kurdish are so culturally influential and conceptually effective in meaning.

The study's significance is centered on positioning it within the broader academic and scholarly contributions in the study of idioms, and more specifically, numerical idioms. Likewise, it situates Kurdish numerical idioms within a cognitive-linguistic framework, clarifying how duality and figurative language are interrelated in the formation of meaning. The study findings further provide a foundation for practical implications in translation, pedagogy, and cross-linguistic comparison, highlighting the vital role of cultural aspects in understanding idiomatic meaning.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Interaction Between Conceptual Metaphor and Idiom

Cognitive semantics started in the early 1980s as a contemporary school of linguistic thought, arising in opposition to the formal and traditional viewpoints of semantic theory (Zhang, 2004; Evans & Green, 2006). This new linguistic perspective became popular following the work by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. The formal viewpoints of meaning, known as truth-conditional semantics, basically focus on how linguistic elements are connected to the actual and outside world. As opposed to pre-cognitive standpoints on meaning, cognitive semantics recognizes meaning as part of human cognition, rather than purely linking language to the real world. This supports the claim that language directly mirrors how thoughts and concepts are conceptually shaped. Accordingly, our physical and real-world experiences directly shape the semantic aspects of the linguistic expressions we frequently adopt (Evans & Green, 2006; Evans, 2019).





Within this new perspective of meaning, a modern theory known as conceptual metaphor theory was presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They claim that metaphor is not purely a linguistic device; instead, it serves as a cognitive mechanism for understanding one conceptual domain with respect to another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). For example, native English speakers regularly use expressions related to ‘journey’, such as “reach the end of the road”, “a good start,” and “get over something” in their communication with others as a powerful device for understanding more easily. English speakers employ these expressions because they are concrete and familiar concepts that ultimately lead to a better comprehension of the abstract and less familiar concept of ‘life’. It can basically be described as: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B, which is known as a conceptual metaphor. It is structured into two domains, where one domain helps to better understand the other one. There is a logical connection between the source and target domains in the conceptual metaphor known as *mappings*. Hence, the particular elements of one conceptual domain are linked to elements of another conceptual domain. For example, in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS JOURNEY, the elements in the concrete domain of JOURNEY map to the elements of the abstract domain LIFE (K ö v e c s e s , 2 0 1 0) .

Traditional linguists recognized idioms as conventional, unchangeable, and purely linguistic expressions fully detached from cognitive structures. In contrast to these formal perspectives, cognitive semantics recognizes idiomatic expressions as being rooted in the human conceptual system (Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2010). Similarly, there is a strongly argued claim that a considerable body of evidence for conceptual metaphors chiefly stemmed from the study of idiomatic expressions (Boers, 2014). Recent studies reveal that people frequently conceptualize and understand idioms through the use of metaphors, and these conceptual metaphors are considered fundamental factors for the formation of the idiomatic meaning (Gibbs, 1994). Therefore, idioms are believed to be motivated by conceptual frameworks like metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge, forming a connection between literal and non-literal or idiomatic interpretations. This further confirms that idioms are rooted in shared human knowledge and actual experience of the external world, rather than merely being a linguistic structure (Kövecses, 2010). For example, when someone says “the fire between them went out”, the idiom is sparked by the underlying conceptual metaphor: LOVE IS FIRE,

indicating that a romantic relationship is at its final stage, similar to burning out a fire.

Idioms are linguistic elements that often mirror history, culture, and shared experiences. Thus, they usually carry cultural meaning. As Oualif (2017) stated, “idioms are linguistic expressions or lexical items that have a vast territory in a way that they can include many cultural aspects such as religious beliefs, culture-specific items, superstitions, and different ideologies of the people from diverse societies and nations”. Moreover, recent studies confirm that numbers are commonly used in idioms. In such cases, numbers do not simply refer to quantitative aspects; rather, they lose their literal meaning and therefore should be interpreted non-literally (Parvaresh & Ghafel, 2012). For example, the English idiom “ten o'clock scholar” describes a lazy student who puts things off. Here, numbers do not simply refer to quantitative values; they further denote abstract qualities (Zhang, 2007). In addition, A large number of number idioms are not randomly formed; instead, they mirror underlying conceptual metaphors or metonymies because they originate from fundamental conceptual frameworks in our minds (Lakoff, 1987; Gibbs, 1990; Kovecses, 2002).

2.2 Metaphor and Duality: The Cognitive Interactions

Our real-life experiences are normally formed into binary relationships in our conceptual system. Examples such as life/death, male/female, or friend/enemy demonstrate how humans often experience several aspects of reality relying on paired concepts. This form of structuring our experience in pairs is known as duality (Lévi-Strauss, 1963). This phenomenon can also be supported by CMT introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), where people understand abstract and less familiar concepts through more concrete experiences structured around two conflicting or complementary elements. For example, the conceptual metaphors SUCCESS IS UP and FAILURE IS DOWN. In parallel with this, humans regularly connect the number ‘two’ with pairs, opposition, partnership, comparison, and balance. Moreover, duality derives from recurrent human experience; this feature is also supported by Kövecses (2010; 2020), who believes that conceptual metaphors are shaped by human bodily experience and cultural background.

The number basically acts as a linguistic device to form dual conceptual structures, rather than purely showing quantity. Consequently, many conceptual metaphors depend on binary oppositions, and duality is a key conceptual framework for metaphorical understanding. For instance: If



someone says “It takes two to tango.” The number denotes mutual participation and shared responsibility. Similarly, “Two sides of the same coin.” The number shows complementary opposition. This enables speakers to understand two seemingly unrelated concepts as interdependent features of one phenomenon. Accordingly, this study seeks to identify the cognitive patterns that are triggered by the number ‘two’ in Kurdish idioms such as opposition, partnership, balance, conflict, comparison, complementarity, and division. Duality is not competing with CMT; instead, it works as a conceptual foundation, allowing language users to visualize the world through pairs, while conceptual metaphor helps people understand one conceptual domain in connection with another using mappings.

2.3 Previous Related Studies

Recently, there has been a tendency to explore idioms from a cognitive perspective. CMT is generally known as a powerful and effective strategy to investigate how idiomatic language is structured in the mind. Unlike pre-cognitive accounts of idioms, recent studies strongly support the claim that human embodied experience plays a vital role in how idioms are conceptualized. For example, Sharifian (2011) examined the role of culture in shaping cognition and subsequently how that influence on cognition leads to the way language is used. Moloodi, Doostan and Bijankhan (2015) conducted a study to examine the concept of ‘anger’ in Persian idiomatic expressions using a cognitive model along with the adaptation of corpus data. Likewise, Moloodi and Doostan (2017) combined a corpus-based analysis with a cognitive framework to see how the concept of ‘fear’ is metaphorically conceptualized in the Persian context. Beyond the scope of Persian culture, Guo (2019) used the metaphorical categorizations suggested by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 to teach idioms to first-year university Chinese students and analyze their level of understanding. Similarly, Kovalyuk (2019) studied the roles of CMT and conceptual blending theory as two significant cognitive mechanisms to determine which one is more effective in the understanding of idioms. Parvaresh and Ghafel (2012) examined number idioms in Persian and English. They studied how numbers in idiomatic expressions can go beyond their literal understandings and obtain figurative and cultural interpretations. Their study reveals that numbers can show conceptual and cultural structures, not simply working as markers of quantity.

In the Kurdish context, a large number of studies have explored idioms using a cognitive model. For example, Muhammad (2020), Abdullah (2021), Jawad (2022), Karim and Fatah (2022), Mustafa and Hurmiz

(2024), and Omar (2024). These studies made a major contribution to the study of idioms within cognitive semantics in the Kurdish context. Their findings provide evidence that metaphor is recognized as an integral part of the linguistic and conceptual structure. The findings also revealed that metaphors are systematically and culturally formed in the Kurdish context. Unfortunately, using a conceptual framework and, more precisely, corpus-based data to study numerical idioms as a critical domain has largely been overlooked and understudied. Addressing this overlooked area is a necessity since idioms, in general, and number idioms, in particular, reflect how language, culture, and thought are combined and blended. Consequently, the present study aims to analyze number idioms in the Kurdish context, and more explicitly those numerical elements employed as markers of duality, which are regularly adopted by Kurdish speakers in daily interactions. Along with analyzing the metaphorical functions of the number 'two', the study also aims to determine how they are culturally and uniquely conceptualized and understood.

3. Methodology

3.1 Overall Approach

The current study adopts a qualitative research design, and it is based on descriptive and interpretive analysis. A cognitive-semantic approach, more precisely CMT, is selected as the analytical framework. The study aims to examine Kurdish number idioms and to understand how these expressions use the number 'two' as a marker of duality rather than purely measuring statistical frequency. The study further follows a systematic analytical design to identify universal cognitive and language-specific forms in Kurdish number idioms that represent duality. However, CMT is primarily employed as the analytical framework of the study; in understanding certain number idioms, the contribution of metonymic processes can also be observed.

It can be clearly observed in Goossens (1990) and Radden and Kövecses (1999), who argued that certain expressions may express metaphonymic relations. This is a process in which metonymic associations create the foundation for metaphorical understanding. Consequently, examples in which the number 'two' denotes a similar idea, including a small amount or a full human potential, are recognized as metonymic or metaphonymic extensions, while the study's focus is still centered on conceptual metaphor. Moreover, following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the study has endeavored to include the main metaphorical types, namely structural, orientational, and ontological, as analytical categories. However, these types may overlap in certain cases, and they are simply given to explain



metaphorical frameworks rather than being used for quantitative comparison.

3.2 Data Sources and Corpus Selection

The study adopts corpus resources to verify the contextual use of the expressions. The study also leans on a triangulated technique to blend three complementary data sources for collecting and extracting Kurdish data since there is no evidence of an inclusive, complete, and universally recognized corpus. To prepare an initial list, *Færhengê Kurdûatenî* (2020) was first selected as a primary reference; then the researcher used two supplementary sources, namely the *AsoSoft Kurdish Text Corpus* (Sorani) (2019) and the *Sketch Engine Sorani corpora* (2023), as complementary evidence and to verify expressions in context. They were not employed to conduct frequency or concordance-based analysis. Accordingly, thorough corpus documentation such as search queries and corpus statistics is outside the scope of the current study. The Kurdish data gathered from the three aforementioned sources are chiefly based on the Sorani dialect, and other Kurdish regional varieties, like Kurmanji, are outside the scope of the analysis. The study is primarily a qualitative analysis, even though corpus resources are employed solely to gather data and validate idioms in context. The corpora are predominantly used as a source to examine Kurdish idioms in actual context and evaluate how numerical expressions are employed cognitively. Moreover, descriptive statistics were utilized simply to show coding agreement, without conducting quantitative examination of idiom frequency or distribution.

3.3 Data Collection and Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

In this study, unique, one-time, and context-specific metaphorical practices are outside the scope of the analysis; therefore, particular attention is given to conventionalized Kurdish numerical idioms. Accordingly, the following inclusion criteria were taken into consideration to select and extract idioms from the Kurdish corpora:

- 1) The first phase consists of identifying expressions with the number 'two' to compile a preliminary list of idioms. The researcher excluded expressions with ordinal numbers since only cardinal numerical elements are part of this analysis.
- 2) The numerical expressions must be verified in at least one of the aforementioned three sources to be included in the list.
- 3) The numerical expressions were also checked to determine whether the number 'two' serves as a marker of duality beyond its literal interpretations or not, and subsequently conveys metaphorical understandings or not.

4) Moreover, the study follows a purposive sampling strategy and is narrowed strictly to include only the number 'two' that acts as duality and shows completeness, division, interaction, or complementarity. Consequently, numerical expressions that purely serve for literal understandings, duplicates, and non-duality applications such as sequence, comparison, or numerical progression were removed from the final list.

5) The final list of Kurdish idioms is formulated by including 23 number idioms as candidate expressions that met these criteria. For each Kurdish idiom, all relevant information is supplied in the Analysis and Discussion section, including their literal/figurative meanings, source/target domains, type of metaphor, conceptual mappings, and analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

Each candidate expression from the final list of idioms went through certain analytical phases. Each of them was analyzed to identify its metaphorical application in the Kurdish context. This examination was conducted by applying the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU), developed by Steen et al. (2010), and it originates from the original Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). This procedure first determines the contextual meanings of each numerical expression in context. In the second phase, to identify whether they have more basic meanings in other contexts or not. Then, a thorough comparison of both contextual and basic meanings was conducted to verify whether the number 'two' conveys metaphorical interpretations or not. Finally, the metaphorical meanings were explored using CMT. This cognitive mechanism, namely CMT, serves as the analytical framework of this study, which forces each idiom to go through specific stages of analysis. The idiom's literal and figurative meanings were first identified, and second, each idiom was evaluated to check the presence of duality in the number 'two', not merely presenting quantitative aspects. Third, the conceptual mapping procedure was conducted, and the source and target domains were identified using the CMT technique. The number 'two' was identified as a concrete source domain that maps onto abstract target domains, including opposition, partnership, balance, conflict, comparison, complementarity, and division. This mapping process reveals how this number functions as a conceptual device to express duality in Kurdish idioms.

3.5 Inter-Coder Reliability

All 23 extracted idioms were analyzed by two coders. The second coder was also invited to independently analyze the numerical idioms to ensure



the reliability and validity of the Kurdish data. The second coder was a university lecturer with a background in cognitive linguistics and was asked to evaluate the idioms' idiomaticity and conventionality. Finally, both coders' assessments were compared using Cohen's kappa. Concerning the idiomaticity aspects of expressions, the analysis revealed full agreement between Coder 1 and Coder 2. Both coders presented a 100% agreement rate for all 23 expressions in the list as figurative, with no inconsistencies in their responses. Cohen's kappa was therefore not used since both coders had no disagreement and no variation on any item; consequently, the statistic fails to offer meaningful information. In contrast, the conventionality aspects of expressions were evaluated by two coders using a binary arrangement (Yes/No). The analysis of this test revealed a high level of agreement between the two coders with 21 of the 23 idioms, resulting in a 92% observed agreement. Cohen's kappa was $\kappa = 0.62$, representing considerable agreement between the coders based on Landis and Koch's (1977) clarification. While the coders exhibited high agreement, the kappa value was lower because the coding decisions were unequally distributed across categories. Finally, to resolve cases of disagreement, both coders reached a final agreement on conventionality features based on the explanations and coding standards given in this study.

3.6 The Position of the Number Two in Idiomatic Expressions

The current study introduces three types of the status of the number 'two' in Kurdish idiomatic expressions. The first type is the literal form of this number, in which it denotes actual quantity in Kurdish idioms such as two hands, two feet, two eyes, or two sides. The second type presents the metaphorical twoness where this number is used as a non-literal form or to refer to an impossibility, for example, two hearts, two faces, or two lives. The third type shows an approximate or symbolic use of this number in the Kurdish context to display a small and limited amount rather than an exact quantity, such as two puffs or two steps. The status of this number in idiomatic expressions in this study is clearly shown in the following table:

Type	The number two's position in idioms	Examples
Type A	Literal use of the number two: it shows an actual pair	two hands, two eyes, two sides of an entity
Type B	Metaphorical use of the number two: it shows an impossible or non-literal pair	two hearts, two faces, two lives
Type C	Approximate use of the number two: it refers to a small or limited quantity	two puffs, two steps

4. Analysis

This part of the study sheds light on the key findings from a cognitive examination of Kurdish idioms including the number 'two' that express duality. The part further seeks to explore how Kurdish speakers use the number 'two' to conceptualize and understand abstract concepts. Analyzing idioms individually shows that the number 'two' is used in different conceptual mappings across the idioms. However, despite their differences, they share similar and identical functions in their use of the number 'two'. This study gives particular attention to the conceptual contribution of the number 'two' itself, not simply the literal elements linked with it. Thus, mappings were structured to display how twoness shapes meanings including completeness, division, multiplicity, and small quantity. The idioms are placed into four categories based on their figurative target meanings along with conceptual functions of the number 'two', not simply by their conceptual metaphors. The category that is assigned to each idiom is based on the function that is most applicable to its overall figurative meaning. When an idiom obviously has two cognitive functions, this overlap is clearly stated in the analysis. These idioms are grouped based on the following functional categories.

4.1 Two as completeness/complementarity

The idioms that are included in this category conceptualize the number 'two' as a symbol of completeness or complementarity. While each idiom has its own conceptual metaphor, they all use twoness to express the more general purpose of a complete, balanced, or complementary relationship.

4.1.1 Idiom: Ĥez nakat be du çawî ser bî bînê.

Corpus example: Ewînde rîqî lêye, Ĥez nakat be du çawî ser bî bînê.

Literal meaning: He/she does not like to see him/her with two eyes of the head.

Figurative meaning: A person with extreme hatred or dislike toward someone.

Conceptual Metaphor: EMOTIONAL REJECTION IS REJECTING TWO-EYED PERCEPTION

Source Domain: REJECTING TWO-EYED PERCEPTION

Target Domain: EMOTIONAL REJECTION

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → wholeness and completeness

Two eyes → full vision

No desire to see with two eyes → complete rejection of a person



Analysis: This idiom has roots in the social and emotional life of Kurds in close communities. In this idiom, *çaw* (eye) represents vision and its fusion with the number 'two' symbolizes full vision or perception in Kurdish culture, as in many other cultures. Therefore, this number, as a marker of duality, has cultural significance in its association with wholeness and completeness. Although this number refers to the real pair in this idiom, the expression uses the idea of two eyes to metaphorically represent completeness or full vision. The source of this conceptualization stems from the way people typically perceive the world with two eyes. The number 'two' basically strengthens the intensity of the emotion. The whole idiom, consequently, creates a scenario in which a person has an intense negative feeling and extreme hatred to see someone. This Kurdish expression does not simply refer to a person's inability to see someone with two eyes. Rather, it shows the intensity of dislike toward another person. The idiom represents a metaphorical understanding, as a physical and embodied experience (seeing with both eyes) is utilized to conceptualize an emotional condition or feeling (hatred). The metaphor 'EMOTIONAL REJECTION IS REJECTING TWO-EYED PERCEPTION' exposes how dislike of seeing someone with two eyes is used to understand a person's emotional rejection.

4.1.2 Idiom: *Be her du pê tê kewit*.

Corpus example: *Zorman amojgarî kird xoy biparêzêw neçê bew hewêleda axirî be her du pê tê kewit.*

Literal meaning: He/she fell into it with both feet.

Figurative meaning: A person who is deeply involved in a difficult, dangerous, or problematic situation.

Conceptual Metaphor: TOTAL INVOLVEMENT IN A BAD SITUATION IS PHYSICALLY FALLING WITH TWO FEET

Source Domain: PHYSICALLY FALLING WITH TWO FEET

Target Domain: TOTAL INVOLVEMENT IN A BAD SITUATION

Type: Orientational metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two feet → full involvement

Both feet working together → entire commitment to the situation

Falling into something with both feet → completely trapped in a bad situation

Analysis: This idiom originated from Kurdish physical, mountainous, and rural life. Since humans' normal standing and moving rely on both feet, they show complete bodily commitment in performing an action. Therefore, falling into an entity, for example, a hole, with two feet shows a person is involved entirely rather than partially. In Kurdish culture, the

number 'two' has a significant role since it regularly represents completeness or the entire involvement of the human body, for example, using paired body organs including two eyes, two hands, or two feet. These examples demonstrate how physical pairs can be used to show completeness, balance, and full participation, not merely indicating the quantitative aspects of 'two'. While this number refers to the actual pair of feet in this idiom, the whole expression adopts the idea of having two feet to metaphorically show completeness or entire involvement in a difficult situation. Accordingly, this Kurdish expression is not used literally to express physically falling into an entity or entering a container with two feet; instead, it provides a metaphorical understanding to describe a person who is totally involved and trapped in a problematic situation, and there is no way to escape. Here, the number 'two' reinforces the idea of involvement and commitment. While the number 'two' as a marker of duality signifies wholeness and completeness, the metaphor 'TOTAL INVOLVEMENT IN A BAD SITUATION IS PHYSICALLY FALLING WITH TWO FEET' exhibits how falling into an entity can be used to understand the abstract concepts of involvement in a problematic situation.

4.1.3 Idiom: **Be her du dest girtûyetî.**

Corpus example: Dujminekanî eyanewê bîxen belam amozakey destelatdare be herdû des girtûyetî nayelê bikewê.

Literal meaning: He/she has held it with both hands.

Figurative meaning: A person who supports and protects something or someone wholeheartedly.

Conceptual Metaphor: FULL SUPPORT IS HOLDING WITH BOTH HANDS

Source Domain: HOLDING WITH BOTH HANDS

Target Domain: FULL SUPPORT

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two hands → full support/ protection

Holding with one hand → less interest in supporting

Both hands working together → supporting without hesitation

Analysis: This idiom stems from Kurdish cooperative and family-based life. There is a general understanding that in Kurdish culture, as in many other cultures, performing an action seriously, cautiously, and with full energy requires using both hands. Culturally, paired body organs like two hands, two feet, and two eyes generally represent using entire strength and full participation. Thus, the number 'two' is employed to refer to a real pair of hands; however, the use of two hands in this idiom contributes



to the metaphorical meaning of completeness and wholeness. The combination of this number with the *dest* 'hand' symbolizes someone's complete support and strong commitment. Therefore, the whole expression does not literally mean holding an entity with two hands. It metaphorically creates an image of protecting and supporting someone with full commitment and without hesitation. The metaphor 'FULL SUPPORT IS HOLDING WITH BOTH HANDS' reveals how psychological or social support is conceptualized as a physical and bodily action with two hands, which can be counted and measured.

4.1.4 Idiom: *Dû rûy yek dirawin*.

Corpus example: *Ew dû hawirêye dû rûy yek dirawin*.

Literal meaning: They are two sides of the same coin.

Figurative meaning: A situation where two things or people are closely related and cannot be separated. They show different features of the same reality.

Conceptual Metaphor: CLOSE SIMILARITY IS TWO SIDES OF ONE OBJECT

Source Domain: TWO SIDES OF ONE OBJECT

Target Domain: CLOSE SIMILARITY

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → two related parts/aspect

Two complementary sides → shared properties among individuals

One coin comprising two sides → unity despite obvious difference

Analysis: This idiom stems from the physical construction of a coin, which is composed of two different but still interdependent sides. This idiom describes two people or situations that have similarities, are closely connected, or interdependent despite sharing some distinctions. It refers to two connected characteristics of a single issue. The idiom literally defines the physical formation of a coin, whereas the contextual meaning shows how two connected concepts or situations are related. This Kurdish expression clearly portrays the employment of the number 'two' for duality within unity as represented by the number 'one'. The number 'two' is literally used to refer to the actual two sides of one entity. However, its uses in this idiom show that this number contributes to the metaphorical understanding of the entire expression as it creates the image of paired but connected elements. This number signifies complementarity and related duality. While duality as a conceptual mechanism indicates complementary aspects, the metaphorical mapping shows how physical interdependency or similarity can be used to represent social and behavioral interconnectivity and similarity. The

metaphor 'CLOSE SIMILARITY IS TWO SIDES OF ONE OBJECT' treats the abstract concepts of similarity in individuals' behavior or situations as a quantity which can be measured and counted.

4.1.5 Idiom: Ba dû qise bideyn be xiwêda.

Corpus example: Werin ba kobînewe dû qise bideyn be xiwêda.

Literal meaning: Let's exchange two words/speeches together.

Figurative meaning: Let us talk and communicate to have an enjoyable time together.

Conceptual Metaphor: SOCIAL BONDING/COMMUNICATION IS MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF SPEECHES

Source Domain: MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF SPEECHES BETWEEN TWO PEOPLE

Target Domain: SOCIAL BONDING/COMMUNICATION

Type: structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → limited amount/quantity

Two words/speeches → a complete communication/ interaction

Two speeches coming together → exchanging ideas

Analysis: This idiom is rooted in Kurdish social and conversational tradition where speech or exchanging ideas is recognized as a cooperative process that needs interaction between at least two people (a speaker and a listener). In this idiom, the number 'two' does not have a literal function to express the quantity of words spoken. As a marker of duality, this number is culturally significant as it is a symbol of interaction, reciprocity, companionship, and mutuality without indicating quantity or exactly two words. The combination of this number and *qise* (speech) does not literally refer to two utterances. It creates a conventional form to indicate mutual exchange of talks between two participants. More precisely, the expression 'two speeches' indicates friendly talks, socializing, strengthening relationships, and spending enjoyable time with each other rather than an ordinary conversation. The metaphor 'SOCIAL BONDING/COMMUNICATION IS MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF SPEECHES' displays how joining two linguistic elements is metaphorically used to conceptualize the abstract concept of communication and social bonding.

4.1.6 Idiom: Dû berd be yekewe teqey neyet.

Corpus example: Weha ser ekewim du berd be yekewe teqê neyet.

Literal meaning: As two stones collide together without producing a sound.

Figurative meaning: To act secretly, quietly, covertly, or without attracting attention.





Conceptual Metaphor: HUMAN SOCIAL INTERACTION IS CONTACT BETWEEN TWO OBJECTS

Source Domain: CONTACT BETWEEN TWO OBJECTS

Target Domain: HUMAN SOCIAL INTERACTION

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two stones → two participants or elements that interact

Two entities colliding → an action is occurring

Two entities colliding without sound → acting secretly

Analysis: This idiom originated from Kurdish rural and mountain daily manual tasks. In our daily experience, we have learned that when two tough substances, like stones, collide, they obviously make sound. Therefore, the metaphorical meaning of this idiom is shaped by this shared embodied knowledge. The idiom creates a scenario where colliding two stones makes no noise, so the event that is happening must also be covert or secret without attracting the attention of others. One stone normally does not create a sound, so producing sounds requires the interaction between two stones. Here, the number 'two' is purely a numerical amount; however, the expression uses two stones to culturally represent interaction and mutual contact, and the absence of sound indicates secrecy and concealment. The metaphor 'HUMAN SOCIAL INTERACTION IS CONTACT BETWEEN TWO OBJECTS' explains how a numerical element is used to conceptualize human social interaction. Thus, an increase in this amount results in being more cautious in hidden actions.

4.1.7 Idiom: Elêy sêwêkn û kirawin be dû kertewe.

Corpus example: Seyrêkî ew du kiçe bike, elêy sêwêkn û kirawin be dû kertewe.

Literal meaning: They are like an apple which has been cut into two pieces.

Figurative meaning: Two people who are extremely similar in appearance, character, or behavior.

Conceptual Metaphor: SIMILARITY IS TWO HALVES OF ONE OBJECT

Source Domain: TWO HALVES OF ONE OBJECT

Target Domain: SIMILARITY

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two halves → Two people

Two equal halves → Two people with equal characteristics

Two parts sharing the same source → Two people sharing similar appearance or trait

Analysis: the idiom has roots in Kurdish rural and agricultural life where people, like many other cultures, used the physical similarity of two equal parts of the same object to conceptualize the abstract notion of resemblance between two people in appearance, personality, behavior, or thoughts. There is a cultural understanding that the two halves of an apple remain physically alike after being cut, sharing similar form, color, and internal structure. It further metaphorically represents perfect correspondence since both halves have been cut from the same object. Accordingly, the idiom depends on shared cultural knowledge of an apple's physical structure. Despite the fact that the number 'two' has a vital role in the understanding of the idiom, it has been used literally to indicate the real halves of one object. As a marker of duality, it indicates equal division and balanced duality rather than showing separation. The number 'two' changes one unified entity into two identical parts. The metaphor 'SIMILARITY IS TWO HALVES OF ONE OBJECT' shows how this concrete and physical similarity is mapped onto the abstract target domain of individuals' equal characteristics.

4.1.8 Idiom: Çawê bike be dû çaw.

Corpus example: Ewa eřom maleke boto becê dêlm, toyş çawê bike be dûçaw.

Literal meaning: Turn one eye into two eyes.

Figurative meaning: To be extremely careful, watch closely, or pay extra attention.

Conceptual Metaphor: GREATER ATTENTION/VIGILANCE IS TWO EYES

Source Domain: TWO EYES

Target Domain: GREATER ATTENTION/VIGILANCE

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

One eye → inadequate and partial attention

Two eyes → full attention

Turning one eye into two eyes → increasing attention and carefulness

Analysis: The idiom has roots in Kurdish social life and moral teaching traditions. This Kurdish expression does not literally ask someone to turn one eye into two eyes. It further instructs a person to be more vigilant and attentive. It simply advises increasing the level of carefulness. The number 'two', as a marker of duality, works literally here; however, the expression uses the paired structure to metaphorically indicate intensification. The number 'two' is culturally significant as it generally



represents completeness or wholeness. Therefore, this number reinforces the idea that a person needs to employ his/her full or complete attention. The idiom uses the movement from 'one' to 'two' to metaphorically portray a higher level of carefulness. The idiom exposes the cultural understanding that using small numerical elements can metaphorically show different levels of intensity, where two suggests the highest level of care as opposed to one. Thus, an increase in the number of eyes to 'two' leads to increased vigilance, while a numerical reduction to 'one' describes a person partially observing or watching. The metaphor 'GREATER ATTENTION/VIGILANCE IS TWO EYES' clearly displays how intensification of number is conceptually mapped onto mental attentiveness.

4.2 Two as division/ opposition

In this category, the idioms reveal how the number 'two' can be used to conceptualize division or opposition. Each idiom presents its own conceptual metaphor, while they all share the broader function of using twoness to express separation of objects, viewpoints, or forces into two different sides.

4.2.1 Idiom: Banêk û dû hewa

Corpus example: Bewanî be herzan firoşt be êmey be giran efroşê banêke û dû hewa.

Literal meaning: One roof and two airs (atmospheres).

Figurative meaning: A person who constantly changes opinions and shows inconsistent behavior.

Conceptual Metaphor: INCONSISTENCY IS EXPERIENCING TWO DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

Source Domain: EXPERIENCING TWO DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

Target Domain: INCONSISTENCY

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two airs/atmospheres → Two different opinions or decisions

Moving from one environmental condition to another one → inconsistency in thinking or behavior

Duality of airs/atmospheres → Duality of opinions or decisions

Analysis: This idiom stems from traditional Kurdish houses, environmental conditions, and rural life. A house with one roof is normally expected to have one atmosphere. Therefore, the expression 'One roof and two airs/atmospheres' basically stands against this expectation and represents internal inconsistency or contradiction. It's crucial to note that this expression does not basically explain a house with a single roof and two different kinds of atmosphere. Rather, it describes a

person who constantly changes his/her opinions, decisions, or behaviors. In this idiom, the number 'two' is not used as a numerical quantity. It is culturally significant as it denotes division and contrast; in contrast, the number 'one' shows unity and stability. The combination of the number 'two' and 'air' indicates instability and lack of consistency, while the fusion of the number 'one' with 'roof' shows a unified environment. Ultimately, the metaphor 'INCONSISTENCY IS EXPERIENCING TWO DIFFERENT CONDITIONS' shows how this environmental experience of Kurdish people is conceptualized as human behavior, where a change in 'airs' is metaphorically understood as a change in opinions and decisions.

4.2.2 Idiom: Du dil

Corpus example: Em cile rengekey ciwane emî tiriyan qumaşekey berge gire, du dilîm.

Literal meaning: Having two hearts.

Figurative meaning: A person who is unable to make a decision. / Hesitation, indecision, uncertainty.

Conceptual Metaphor: HESITATION IS HAVING TWO HEARTS

Source Domain: HAVING TWO HEARTS

Target Domain: HESITATION

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → separation into two conflicting options

Two hearts → hesitation/indecision

One heart → showing no hesitation in decisions

Analysis: This idiom has roots in daily observations of the 'heart' as the center of thought, feeling, intention, and decision-making. It further creates the clearest picture of using the number 'two' as the source of metaphorical understanding. This number, as a symbol of duality, has a culturally significant role since it symbolizes internal division in this example. The entire idiom does not literally describe a person possessing two physical hearts; instead, it explains a situation where someone is hesitant and uncertain about decisions. Generally speaking, in Kurdish culture, a person with one physical heart denotes certainty in his behavior and decisions, whereas adding one more heart entirely transforms the core meaning. There is a metaphorical extension of a numerical concept to show a mental condition. When this number is combined with 'heart', it creates an image of splitting thoughts and intentions into two parts. This form of duality hinders decisive action and leads to hesitation and mental conflict. The metaphor 'HESITATION IS HAVING TWO





HEARTS' obviously shows how quantity can be used to conceptualize internal division and conflict.

4.2.3 Idiom: Du riwe.

Corpus example: Mirovî dû riw zererey heye.

Literal meaning: He /She has two faces.

Figurative meaning: A person who is two-faced, dishonest, and insincere.

Conceptual Metaphor: DISHONESTY IS HAVING TWO FACES

Source Domain: HAVING TWO FACES

Target Domain: DISHONESTY

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two faces → two versions of the same person

Showing two sides of appearance → showing duality in behaviors toward people

Showing one face → behavioral consistency

Analysis: This idiom arises from moral judgments in Kurdish social life. It further provides a clear situation where the metaphorical meaning is directly motivated by the number 'two'. In this expression, the number does not refer to quantity; as a symbol of duality, it culturally represents division, separation, and the presence of dual conflicting sides. This Kurdish expression is not used literally to describe a person with two physical faces. Rather, it creates an image of a person whose actions, thoughts, or behaviors easily change based on the circumstance or audience. Therefore, the concrete idea of having two faces is mapped onto a person's social and moral traits, more precisely dishonesty, hypocrisy, deception, or inconsistency. The metaphor 'DISHONESTY IS HAVING TWO FACES' displays how quantity can be employed to understand abstract concepts such as mental division or behavioral contradiction. On one hand, reduction to one face signifies a unified identity since 'one' symbolizes unity, consistency, and sincerity in the Kurdish context. On the other hand, the increase in the number of faces, or two faces, conceptually exhibits the presence of two distinct selves or dual contradictory ways of showing oneself.

4.2.4 Idiom: Dû xew biwe.

Corpus example: Dû xew buwe. Boye xewekey wa qurse xeberî nabêtewe.

Literal meaning: He/she has become two sleeps. / He/she has had two sleeps.

Figurative meaning: A situation where a person has not slept peacefully because of repeatedly waking up during the night. Subsequently, the person feels exhausted, depressed, or unhappy.

Conceptual Metaphor: PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISCOMFORT
IS DIVIDED SLEEP

Source Domain: DIVIDED SLEEP

Target Domain: PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISCOMFORT

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → the existence of two conflicting options

Two sleep periods → lack of relaxation

Two instead of one → deviation from the typical resting condition

Analysis: This idiom originated from the observation of abnormal sleep forms in everyday life. Culturally, sleep is recognized as a single continuous period that is linked to physical relaxation, comfort, and relief. Any forms of interruption that split this normal process are seen negatively since it stops the state of complete rest. This idiom does not literally describe a situation where a person has become two sleeps. Instead, it provides an image of lack of relaxation and discomfort due to not having a continuous sleep and frequent awakenings. In this expression, the number 'two' acts as a marker of duality and is culturally significant as it symbolizes division, interruption, and separation. The number does not indicate quantity; its fusion with xew 'sleep' further signifies disturbed and incomplete rest. While duality shows how a numerical element is adopted to express separation and interruption of a continuous state, metaphorical mapping reveals how this number is employed to conceptualize the abstract concepts of emotional discomfort and lack of relaxation.

4.2.5 Idiom: Du berekên.

Corpus example: Jinî hewê sar û minalî dû jine duberekên.

Literal meaning: They are from two sides.

Figurative meaning: A situation where people have different feelings, positions, thoughts, or interests.

Conceptual Metaphor: DISAGREEMENT IS BEING ON TWO SIDES

Source Domain: BEING ON TWO SIDES

Target Domain: DISAGREEMENT

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → the presence of two competing possibilities

Two sides → opposing viewpoints, thoughts, and feelings.

To be divided into two parts → showing opposition or disagreement

Each side possessing its own location → differences in opinions or viewpoints





Analysis: This idiom arises from tribal, territorial life and real social divisions in Kurdish history. Paired oppositions, such as one side versus another side or agreement versus disagreement, are frequently used by Kurdish people to understand social division or separation. This Kurdish idiom does not literally refer to positioning on two different physical locations; rather, it metaphorically creates a scenario where two or more people have different viewpoints or feelings about something. As a symbol of duality, the number 'two' in this idiom serves as a numerical amount to basically refer to two real sides. However, it is culturally significant since it contributes to the metaphorical understanding of the whole idiom by representing binary separation, opposition, and different positions. When this number is combined with *berek* 'side', they denote two opposing directions or, more specifically, opposing viewpoints, thoughts, and feelings. The metaphor 'DISAGREEMENT IS BEING ON TWO SIDES' treats the abstract concepts of disagreement in thoughts and feelings as quantity that can be measured and put on scales. While duality as a cognitive model displays division, the process of metaphorical mapping shows how being placed in two different directions is mapped onto the abstract concept of opposition or difference in viewpoints.

4.2.6 Idiom: Dû hewa kewtuwe.

Corpus example: Xot dapoşe ba dû hewa nekewît.

Literal meaning: He/she has experienced two weather conditions, hot and cold.

Figurative meaning: A person who is sick due to suffering from alternating fever and chills.

Conceptual Metaphor: ILLNESS/SICKNESS IS EXPERIENCING TWO OPPOSITE CONDITIONS

Source Domain: EXPERIENCING TWO OPPOSITE CONDITIONS

Target Domain: ILLNESS/SICKNESS

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → the existence of two conditions

Two weather conditions → two physical conditions (fever and chills)

The fusion of both conditions → illness/ bodily trouble

To move between two conditions → experiencing bodily trouble

Analysis: This idiom originated from the experience and health beliefs of Kurdish mountainous regions. Kurdish people frequently depend on observable bodily experiences to understand sickness, not merely relying on medical terminology. For example, during fever, one of the most obvious symptoms of illness is when the weather alternates between heat

and cold. This shows how passing through hot and cold weather can lead to a sick person's bodily fluctuations between fever and chills. Subsequently, the number 'two' purely refers to quantity and literal use in this idiom. However, its combination with *hewa* (weather) contributes in the metaphorical meaning to represent the co-occurrence of two opposing bodily states. The number's cultural significance lies in its association with opposition, contrast, and alternation. While duality serves as a metaphorical framework to show opposition, metaphorical mapping expresses how numerical elements like 'two' can be used to understand a person's physical state during sickness. The physical experience of passing through two opposite weather states is mapped onto the abstract concept of illness.

4.3 Two as repetition/excess/multiplicity

This category presents how the number 'two' is employed in idioms to conceptualize repetition and excess. Moreover, each idiom has its own unique conceptual metaphor, and they are all connected by a broader function of using twoness to display the reappearance, intensification, or multiplication of an action, state, or quantity.

4.3.1 Idiom: *Be berdê dû nîşanî pêka*.

Corpus example: *Hem qerzekey wergirtewe hem îşekeyşî wergirt beberdê dû nîşanî pêka*.

Literal meaning: He/she strikes two targets with one stone.

Figurative meaning: A person who achieves multiple goals or outcomes with a single action or effort.

Conceptual Metaphor: MULTIPLE ACHIEVEMENT IS HITTING TWO TARGETS WITH ONE ACTION

Source domain: HITTING TWO TARGETS WITH ONE ACTION

Target domain: MULTIPLE ACHIEVEMENT

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

One action → a single attempt

Two → more than a single outcome

Two targets → multiple goals/ objectives

One action hitting two targets → one attempt achieving multiple outcomes/ benefits

Analysis: This idiom originated from Kurdish rural and tribal life where people often used stones to hit targets, for example, in hunting. Moreover, achieving multiple results with minimum effort was considered a practical cultural value in the traditional Kurdish context. It was crucial to be efficient in your work and use of resources. This idea is reinforced by using the number 'two' in this idiom, which stands for an additional





achievement beyond the expected single outcome. This number does not simply refer to quantity; rather, its combination with *nîşan* (target) indicates multiple outcomes. The entire idiom, ultimately, describes a person who achieves multiple objectives or benefits without demanding extra effort. Thus, the cultural significance of this number lies in its association with positive duality, multiplicity, plurality, efficiency, and additional achievement. The metaphor 'MULTIPLE ACHIEVEMENT IS HITTING TWO TARGETS WITH ONE ACTION' exhibits how the abstract concepts of achieving outcomes and benefits are understood as striking two physical targets.

4.3.2 Idiom: Le du lawe ebřê.

Corpus example: Wek qemey 'ecem le du lawe ebřê.

Literal meaning: He/she cuts from two sides.

Figurative meaning: A situation where an individual simultaneously benefits from two parties or situations, or more specifically, a person who gains advantages from multiple sides.

Conceptual Metaphor: MULTIPLE BENEFITS ARE TWO SIDES

Source Domain: TWO SIDES

Target Domain: MULTIPLE BENEFITS

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → more than a source of advantage

Two sides → different sources of benefit/opportunities

Two-sided access → Simultaneous achievement from multiple directions

Analysis: This idiom arises from real observation of tools and cutting actions. This Kurdish idiom obviously confirms how cutting an object from two sides can be used to represent gaining benefits from multiple directions. In Kurdish culture, the number 'two' regularly indicates the presence of alternative or identical possibilities. In Kurdish expressions, using dual sides commonly suggests that someone is linked to more than a single group, interest, or opportunity. The idiom further describes a situation in which an individual relies on at least two sources to gain benefit, rather than merely a limited opportunity. The number 'two' acts as a duality marker to convey non-literal meaning rather than a numerical amount. Its cultural significance lies in its association with multiplicity and having access to more than a single source. Here, duality acts as a metaphorical strategy to conceptualize having multiple opportunities far beyond a single direction. The metaphor 'MULTIPLE BENEFITS ARE TWO SIDES' clearly treats the abstract concepts such as numerous opportunities, exploiting multiple situations, and dual sources of benefits from different parties as an amount that can be counted and measured.

The physical action and experience are metaphorically mapped to social and financial gain.

4.3.3 Idiom: *Dû aw be nanê*.

Corpus example: *Le ciyatî ewêî gilopeke danêyt û daî gîrsênî eçî newit ekeyte çirake emeye dû aw be nanê.*

Literal meaning: Drinking water twice instead of eating one piece of bread.

Figurative meaning: A useless, ineffective, or meaningless action. A person who does something without producing the expected benefit.

Conceptual Metaphor: INEFFECTIVE ACTION/ WASTED EFFORT IS DOING SOMETHING TWICE

Source Domain: DOING SOMETHING TWICE

Target Domain: INEFFECTIVE ACTION/ WASTED EFFORT

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → useless and fruitless actions

Two acts of drinking water → repeated attempt and struggle

Two waters compared with one bread → action-benefit imbalance

Analysis: This idiom arises from subsistence and food culture, especially in food shortage and poverty. Food items including *nan* (bread) are recognized as of high importance in Kurdish traditional culture since bread is viewed as a symbol of crucial nourishment, livelihood, and real-world advantage. Water is essential, but it cannot take the place of bread as a source of nutrition. This Kurdish idiom describes a useless, unproductive, or pointless action where someone is performing a task and effort is spent repeatedly without producing the expected benefit. It creates an image of an imbalance between two portions of water and one portion of bread. Consequently, it does not simply refer to the physical action of drinking water twice instead of eating one piece of bread. As a duality marker, the number 'two' carries a non-literal interpretation as it shows the idea of unnecessary addition or repetition and the amount of effort. Therefore, the metaphor 'INEFFECTIVE ACTION/ WASTED EFFORT IS DOING SOMETHING TWICE' shows how numerical elements such as 'two' can be employed to conceptualize abstract concepts such as repetition beyond necessity or excess without benefit. The idiom adopts the number 'two' to convey the idea that greater effort does not guarantee more benefit in all cases.

4.3.4 Idiom: *Dû pêî bu diwanî tirî bo qerz kird.*

Corpus example: *Her ke xeberekeî bîst bawêî beşêweye du pêî bu diwanî tirî bo qerz kirdu roî be pêryewe.*

Literal meaning: He had two feet and borrowed two more.



Figurative meaning: A task which is completed very quickly by making extra effort.

Conceptual Metaphor: INCREASED ABILITY IS HAVING ADDITIONAL TWO FEET

Source Domain: HAVING ADDITIONAL TWO FEET

Target Domain: INCREASED ABILITY

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two feet → normal ability to act

Borrowing an additional two feet → to enhance capacity beyond normal level

Two plus two → expanding someone's physical ability to act

Analysis: This idiom has roots in rural life, livestock farming, and daily observation of the speed of animals. This idiom describes a situation in which someone performs a task with exceptional speed and urgency. It does not simply indicate borrowing another two feet. Instead, the image is reinforced by the additional two feet to express more effort and speed in completing tasks. The number 'two' acts as a marker of duality and is literally accurate in this idiom. Its combination with 'feet' as a paired structure contributes to the metaphorical understanding of the whole expression. This initial usage of the number 'two' represents completeness and wholeness. This cultural understanding comes from using 'two' with hands, feet, or other paired body organs that signify using complete bodily effort and ability. However, the subsequent use of this number's cultural significance lies in its association with an increase in physical capability and effort. It shows how the physical capacity, energy, effort, and power are doubled. It reveals how the image of repetition or excess is considered the primary function of duality in this Kurdish idiom. The idiom reveals the metaphorical use of both the first and the second application of the number 'two'. In both situations, the number 'two' is employed non-literally to conceptualize normal human capacity and increased speed and effort respectively. The metaphor 'INCREASED ABILITY IS HAVING ADDITIONAL TWO FEET' treats human capacity and effort as quantities that can be counted and measured. Ultimately, an increase in the number of pairs of feet leads to carrying out an action very quickly and with more energy and effort.

4.3.5 Idiom: Elên dû giyane.

Corpus example: Ew şite perşublawane kokerewe elêy dûgiyanî.

Literal meaning: Having two lives/souls.

Figurative meaning: A lazy and inactive person.

Conceptual Metaphor: REDUCED ACTIVITY/SLUGGISHNESS IS CARRYING TWO LIVES

Source Domain: CARRYING TWO LIVES

Target Domain: SLUGGISHNESS/REDUCED ACTIVITY

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Duality → divided energy

Carrying one body/soul → normal capacity of movement

Carrying two bodies/souls → sluggish movement

Extra life/ burden → increase in heaviness & tiredness

Analysis: this idiom has roots in daily observation of pregnancy as a physical limitation. In Kurdish culture, a pregnant woman is normally described as ‘dû giyan’ and having two souls or lives since it is believed that a woman has to carry her and her unborn baby’s lives. There is a Kurdish traditional belief that a pregnant woman, compared to a healthy person, has to be protected by other family members and move slowly around due to having responsibility for two lives. However, when a Kurdish speaker says ‘elên dû giyane’, it does not literally refer to a person who is pregnant or has two actual lives. Rather, this physical condition is metaphorically mapped onto a person’s sluggishness or inactivity. As a marker of duality, the number ‘two’ is not used literally for counting; it is culturally significant as it indicates coexistence or dual existence, or the presence of two entities in one body. Therefore, this number is used as a metaphorical trigger to show extra burden and responsibility. When this number is combined with *giyan* ‘soul’ in this idiom, they display a behavioral trait of reduced activity, sluggishness, and reluctance to move or perform an action. Metaphor ‘REDUCED ACTIVITY/SLUGGISHNESS IS INTERNAL DUPLICITY’ treats abstract concepts of laziness and sluggishness as numerical quantity.

4.3.6 Idiom: Be du bira kilawêkiyan heye.

Corpus example: Herdukiyan le kitêbêka exwênn, be du bira kilawêkiyan heye.

Literal meaning: With two brothers, they have one hat.

Figurative meaning: Extreme poverty, need, or lack of sufficient possessions.

Conceptual Metaphor: POVERTY IS HAVING INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES FOR MULTIPLE PEOPLE

Source Domain: HAVING INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES FOR MULTIPLE PEOPLE

Target Domain: POVERTY

Type: Ontological metaphor



Mappings: (source → target)

Two → numerous requirements and users

Two brothers → multiple individuals in need of resources

One item for two individuals → insufficient resources for several people

To share one item between two people → financial hardship

Analysis: This idiom is rooted in traditional Kurdish rural poverty and shared household life where people didn't have sufficient resources for their basic needs. Kurdish people had to share their clothing and other basic possessions with family members since their belongings were limited. Therefore, poverty or a lack of resources was regularly displayed by objects they used every day, like clothes or household goods. In this idiom, the number 'two' shows a negative duality, and its cultural significance lies in its association with multiplicity and plurality. When this number is combined with *bira* (brother), it represents multiple people, while the idiom as a whole indicates shared scarcity and a lack of resources. The metaphorical interpretation of the idiom arises from the interaction between two brothers and one insufficient item. The numbers 'two' and 'one' do not carry a literal understanding, purely referring to two brothers owning one hat. Instead, the contrast between the two numbers conveys the idea of poverty and deprivation since one object is not enough to be shared between two people. In such cases, the number 'two' serves as a conceptual amplifier of shared hardship and expresses the lack of balance between the number of people and the quantity of resources that are available. The metaphor 'POVERTY IS HAVING INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES FOR MULTIPLE PEOPLE' confirms how the concrete concept of sharing a single basic object between two people is employed to understand the abstract concept of poverty and scarcity.

4.4 Two as a small quantity

The idioms that are included in this category expose how the number 'two' is utilized to symbolize a small and limited quantity. These idioms have their own conceptual metaphors, but they all share a similar function of using twoness to represent limitation, which can be understood as insufficiency, brevity, or minimality according to the context in which they are used.

4.4.1 Idiom: Be diwan û siyan têr naxwa.

Corpus example: To etewêt hemûyt pêşkeş kem. Ezanim be diwan û siyan têr naxoyt.

Literal meaning: He/she does not eat enough with two and three.

Figurative meaning: A person who is never satisfied, always wants more.
/ Endless ambition

Conceptual Metaphor: INSUFFICIENCY/UNSATISFIED DESIRE IS NOT ACCEPTING TWO

Source Domain: NOT ACCEPTING TWO

Target Domain: INSUFFICIENCY/UNSATISFIED DESIRE

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two → a small quantity/ limited but available amount

Going from two toward three → rise in demands and expectations

Increase in number two → Continuous desire and interest for more

Analysis: This idiom arises from Kurdish rural economic life where people typically shared their food and goods. In Kurdish culture, the small plural numbers 'two' and 'three' frequently work as conventional forms that show an increasing amount that is more than one, rather than working as exact quantities. There is an assumption that 'two' should generally be sufficient in a certain situation; however, combining it with 'three' in a sequence gives the impression that abundance is growing step by step. Therefore, the idiom compares a person's level of dissatisfaction with the gradual increase of numbers. It shows that even when the amount rises from one to two and then to three, the person's needs are still not fulfilled. The number 'two' is used as a small amount and a marker of duality to represent insufficiency. When this number is combined with the number 'three', together they form an escalating sufficiency and convey endless human desire and greed. The metaphor 'INSUFFICIENCY/UNSATISFIED DESIRE IS NOT ACCEPTING TWO' reveals how not accepting a limited but available amount as concrete and familiar entities is employed to conceptualize the less tangible concepts such as human greed, dissatisfaction, and ambition. Thus, adding more numbers in the sequence shows more greed and desire to achieve more.

4.4.2 Idiom: Be yek û dû danakewê.

Corpus example: Ewa ew derkewit xîwardineket bişarewe egîna bîbînê hemûy exwa çûnke be yek û dû danakewê.

Literal meaning: He/she will not be satisfied with one and two.

Figurative meaning: An ambitious person who is never satisfied with small quantities, always wants more, or has excessive expectations.

Conceptual Metaphor: UNSATISFIED DESIRE IS REJECTING A SMALL QUANTITY

Source Domain: REJECTING A SMALL QUANTITY

Target Domain: UNSATISFIED DESIRE

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)



Two → a small amount / limited but available amount

Moving from one toward two → exceeding the normal demands and limits

Increase in number two → Continuous desire and interest for more

Analysis: This idiom derives from Kurdish rural economic and financial life where people normally had to share their properties and belongings. In Kurdish culture, the numbers 'one' and 'two' are regularly used as conventional forms to show that the amount is increasing step by step, rather than working as exact quantities. It is believed that 'two' should commonly be enough in a certain situation; though, its combination with 'one' in a sequence provides the understanding that abundance is rising step by step. Thus, the idiom draws a comparison between a person's level of dissatisfaction and the gradual growth of numbers. It demonstrates that even when the number increases from one to two, the person's desires are still not satisfied. The number 'two' is adopted as a small quantity and a symbol of duality to express insufficiency. When this number is paired with the number 'one', they create an increasing sufficiency and represent countless human ambitions and greed. The metaphor 'UNSATISFIED DESIRE IS REJECTING A SMALL QUANTITY' exposes how numerical sequences as concrete and familiar concepts can be employed to conceptualize abstract concepts such as human greed, dissatisfaction, and ambition. Consequently, including additional numbers in this numerical sequence presents more greed and desire to achieve more.

4.4.3 Idiom: Sabrêk û du fû.

Corpus example: Îşeke be sebirêk û dû fû cê be cê ebê.

Literal meaning: One patience and two puffs.

Figurative meaning: A situation where it takes only a very short time to perform an action or a task can be finished nearly immediately.

Conceptual Metaphor: A VERY SHORT DURATION/QUICK COMPLETION IS TWO PUFFS

Source Domain: TWO PUFFS

Target Domain: A VERY SHORT DURATION/QUICK COMPLETION

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Two (small number) → restricted time and effort

Two puffs (a very brief action) → very short time

Small number → simplicity and quickness of action

Analysis: This idiom stems from Kurdish observation of slow and repetitive tasks in rural life. Culturally, the picture of two puffs of breath is perceived as performing a task that normally requires a very short time.

Breathing as a familiar physical experience is used to measure time through the application of one patience with two puffs. Therefore, the entire idiom does not describe the physical action of one patience and two puffs; rather, it creates a situation where it is about how quickly the action is completed. In everyday interaction, Kurdish speakers regularly adopt small numerical elements, more precisely 'one' and 'two', to show smallness and brevity, not purely indicating exact numerical values. Therefore, the number 'two' carries a significant cultural role as it indicates brevity and limited quantity, which is conceptually linked to minimal duration and effort. This number serves as a conventional symbol to compress the time of happening an action into a very small measurable unit. Replacing this number with a greater amount shows requiring a longer duration to complete a task, whereas replacing it with 'one' indicates the shortest time needed. The metaphor 'A VERY SHORT DURATION/QUICK COMPLETION IS TWO PUFFS' reveals how Kurdish people use quantity to conceptualize the abstract concept of brevity of time.

5. Discussion:

Previous studies in the Kurdish context that adopted cognitive mechanisms to examine idioms have supported the non-arbitrariness of idiomatic expressions and believed that they are motivated by conceptual structures (Muhammad, 2020; Karim & Fatah, 2022; Mustafa & Hurmiz, 2024; Omar, 2024). Consistent with these studies, the current study shows that numbers can further contribute to meaning formation through the use of conceptual mappings. The data analysis of this study proves that the number 'two' is not merely used to show quantity. It serves as a cognitive tool to shape the figurative meanings of idioms. This claim aligns with Parvaresh & Ghafel (2012) and Guo (2019); however, the present study dives deeper by analyzing the conceptualization of the number 'two' in the Kurdish context. Their study paid particular attention to analyzing number symbolism in general, while the current study shows how this number can provide multiple conceptual functions based on the context in which it is employed. The present study also demonstrates that numbers can contribute to systematic metaphorical mappings, and that cultural factors are crucial in their conceptualizations, as emphasized by Moloodi, Doostan and Bijankhan (2015) and Moloodi & Doostan (2017). The present study exhibits four conceptual functions of the number 'two' in Kurdish idiomatic expressions. First, this number can denote completeness or complementarity, as it is normally understood as a natural pair. This can be observed in idioms including paired body parts or objects, for example: 'Be her du pê tê kewit'. Here, using natural



paired structures such as ‘two eyes’, ‘two hands’, ‘two feet’, and ‘two sides of a coin’ confirms how the number ‘two’ is used literally, while the idea of a complete pair still contributes to the formation of figurative meaning in idioms. The analysis demonstrates that the meanings which are linked to the number ‘two’ are affected by both bodily and cultural experiences. The conceptualizations of some instances seem to be rooted in shared human experience. Because humans normally experience the body through paired structures, the connection between twoness and completeness or balance is likely shared over a range of languages. This claim is supported by Lakoff & Núñez (2000) and Abdullah (2021), who argued that abstract concepts are rooted in bodily experiences. However, there are also some Kurdish idiomatic expressions that represent culturally specific patterns and real-world experiences. For example, the Kurdish idiom ‘Be du bira kîlawêkiyan heye.’, which literally refers to ‘two brothers sharing one hat’, represents how scarcity and poverty are traditionally conceptualized in the Kurdish context. These understandings are not formed merely by the number ‘two’ itself; rather, they are shaped by the way in which twoness appears in cultural situations. This claim can also be supported by Sharifian (2011) and Jawad (2022), who stated that bodily experiences offer a universal foundation for some meanings, while more specific interpretations are shaped by cultural conceptualizations that are rooted in Kurdish social experiences.

Second, this number can further show division or separation. For example, the idiom ‘Du dî’, which literally means two hearts and metaphorically refers to hesitation. The number greatly contributes to metaphorical meaning by showing divided feelings, conflicting positions, or absence of unity and separation. A similar phenomenon can also be identified in other languages. For example, in English, expressions such as ‘of two minds’ or ‘two-faced’ clearly show that some idiomatic expressions are shared across languages and finally originate from universal conceptual understandings. Third, the number ‘two’ can also denote multiplicity. In idioms such as ‘Be berdê dû nîşanê pêka.’ Which literally indicates hitting two targets with one stone, the occurrence of the number ‘two’ refers to multiple achievements, not merely showing opposition. Fourth, this numerical element can act as a small quantity. Examples such as ‘Sabrêk û du fû.’ show how ‘two puffs’ is employed to refer to a very short time, and the number does not simply refer to an exact number, but it signifies a limited amount. In such cases, the expressions are recognized as metonymic rather than purely metaphorical. This view was consistent with Radden and Kövecses (1999) and Kovalyuk (2019). To sum up, numbers in Kurdish idioms do

not merely show quantities; instead, they can activate the underlying and deeper conceptual meanings. Moreover, the deeper interpretations of the number 'two' stem from the interaction between bodily experience, cultural understanding, and idiomatic convention. Number symbolism is not always limited to metaphor; metonymy and metaphonymy are also involved and present in some examples.

A Summary of Key Findings:

After a thorough analysis of Kurdish idioms that contain the number 'two', the following key findings were identified:

1. Duality was recognized as a distinct cognitive mechanism that is not competing with CMT; instead, it enables language users to visualize the world through pairs, while conceptual metaphor helps people understand one conceptual domain in connection with another using mappings.
2. In the current study, the Kurdish data analysis of the number 'two' revealed that this number served not merely to indicate quantitative values; rather, it acted as a metaphorical framework to conceptualize the abstract and less tangible concepts.
3. The number 'two' as a marker of duality serves the following conceptual functions:
 - a. Completeness and complementarity as in *Ĥez nakat be du çawî ser bî bînê.*, *Be her du pê tê kewit.*, *Be her du dest girtûyetî.*, *Dû rûy yek dirawin.*, *Elêy sêwêkn û kirawin be dû kertewe.*, *Ba dû qise bideyn be xiwêda.*, *Çawê bike be dû çaw.*, and *Dû berd be yekewe teqey neyet.*
 - b. Division and opposition as in *Banêk û dû hewa.*, *Du diî*, *Du riwe.*, *Dû xew biwe.*, *Du berekên*, and *Dû hewa kewtuwe.*
 - c. Repetition / excess / multiplicity as in *Be berdê dû nîşanî pêka.*, *Le du lawe ebîrê.*, *Elên dû giyane.*, *Dû pêî bu diwanî tirî bo qerz kird.*, *Be du bira kiîlawêkiyan heye.*, and *Dû aw be nanê.*
 - d. Small quantity as in *Be diwan û siyan têr naxwa.*, *Be yek û dû danakewê.*, and *Sabrêk û du fû.*
4. Kurdish cultural and traditional values, including social and emotional life, tribal, mountainous, family-based life, environmental conditions, agricultural, and rural life, were identified as the underlying factors directly shaping the metaphorical conceptualizations of these idioms.

Conclusion

As linguistic elements, Idioms frequently expose shared experiences and historical and cultural dimensions of particular people. Numbers are



commonly employed in idioms to create figurative meaning. Similarly, number idioms in Kurdish play a significant role in mirroring cultural and historical aspects. They are strongly linked and embedded in Kurdish everyday interactions and communications. In these contexts, numbers are not purely utilized to express quantitative values; instead, they also convey figurative meaning, speakers' intentions, and cultural implications. Within the Kurdish context, several studies have examined idioms using cognitive strategies. Unfortunately, the investigation of number idioms, and more precisely number 'two' as a symbol of duality, as a key linguistic domain, has been deeply understudied and left unexplored. Thus, the current study aims to examine Kurdish idioms that contain the number 'two' and function as duality through the lens of CMT, with the support of corpus consultation. The Kurdish data analysis supports the claim that numbers do not merely act as quantitative values; they are further recognized as metaphorical mechanisms for understanding abstract concepts and transferring figurative meanings. The analysis further displayed four key functions of the number 'two' in Kurdish idioms: completeness/complementarity, division/opposition, repetition/excess, and small quantity. These four categories share various conceptual metaphors at the idiom level and prove how twoness shapes abstract meanings. Concerning the first research question, the study findings reveal that the number 'two' has a substantial role in the formation of the figurative meanings of Kurdish idioms, not simply presenting quantitative values. It is a factor in the conceptualization of meanings linked to completeness, division, multiplicity, and small quantity. These meanings are formed through conceptual mappings, a process in which the number 'two' acts as a significant cognitive component in the way idioms are understood. When it comes to the second research question, the data analysis supports the idea that embodied cognition and cultural experiences are essential factors in the conceptualizations of the number 'two' in the Kurdish context. Idioms, which are basically formed based on paired body parts, show shared human experiences and seem to be shared across languages. However, there are certain instances that represent culturally specific patterns; for example, the expression related to poverty clearly shows this aspect, which is closely linked to Kurdish society. Finally, the overall findings of the study demonstrate that the meanings of the number 'two' are greatly affected by universal conceptual frameworks and Kurdish culture-specific experiences.

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Appendix A

Appendix A provides a table for an overview of the Kurdish idioms that contain the number 'two' as a duality marker in this study. The table further lists all 23 idioms, including their figurative meanings, conceptual metaphor, conceptual category, type of twoness, and figurative strategy (metaphor, metonymy, or metaphonymy).

No	Kurdish Number Idiom	Figurative Meaning	Conceptual Metaphor	Category	Type of twoness	Metaphor/ Metonymy
1	Ĥez nakat be du çawî ser bî bînê.	Extreme hatred or dislike toward	EMOTIONAL REJECTION IS REJECTING TWO-EYED PERCEPTION	completeness/ complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphonymy

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		someone.				
2	<i>Be her du pê tê kewit.</i>	Deeply involved in a difficult, dangerous, or problematic situation.	TOTAL INVOLVEMENT IN A BAD SITUATION IS PHYSICALLY FALLING WITH TWO FEET	completeness/complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphonymy
3	<i>Be her du dest girtûyetî.</i>	To support and protect something or someone wholeheartedly.	FULL SUPPORT IS HOLDING WITH BOTH HANDS	completeness/complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphonymy
4	<i>Dû pê bu diwanî tirî bo qerz kird.</i>	A task which is completed very quickly by making extra effort.	INCREASED ABILITY IS HAVING ADDITIONAL TWO FEET	repetition/excess/multiplicity	A (literal)	Metaphor
5	<i>Çawê bike be dû çaw.</i>	To be extremely careful, watch closely, or pay extra attention.	GREATER ATTENTION/VIGILANCE IS TWO EYES	completeness/complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphonymy
6	<i>Dû rûy yek dirawin.</i>	Two things or people that are closely related and cannot be separated. / Similarity	SIMILARITY IS TWO SIDES OF ONE OBJECT	completeness/complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphonymy
7	<i>Ba dû qise bideyn be xiwêda.</i>	Talk and communicate together to have an enjoyable time.	SOCIAL BONDING/COMMUNICATION IS MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF SPEECHES	completeness/complementarity	B (metaphorical)	Metonymy
8	<i>Dû berd be yekewe teqey neyet.</i>	To act secretly, quietly, covertly, or without attracting attention.	HUMAN SOCIAL INTERACTION IS CONTACT BETWEEN TWO OBJECTS	completeness/complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphor
9	<i>Banêk û dû hewa.</i>	Constantly changing opinions and behaviors.	INCONSISTENCY IS EXPERIENCING TWO DIFFERENT CONDITIONS	division/opposition	B (metaphorical)	Metaphor
10	<i>Du dîl</i>	Hesitation, indecision, uncertainty.	HESITATION IS HAVING TWO HEARTS	division/opposition	B (metaphorical)	Metaphonymy
11	<i>Du riwe.</i>	A person who is dishonest and insincere.	DISHONESTY IS HAVING TWO FACES	division/opposition	B (metaphorical)	Metaphonymy
12	<i>Dû xew biwe.</i>	Exhausted, depressed, or unhappy.	PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISCOMFORT IS DIVIDED SLEEP	division/opposition	B (metaphorical)	Metaphor
13	<i>Du berekên.</i>	People having different feelings,	DISAGREEMENT IS BEING ON TWO SIDES	division/opposition	A (literal)	Metaphor



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		positions, thoughts, or interests.				
14	<i>Dû hewa kewtuwe.</i>	Sickness / illness	ILLNESS/SICKNESS IS EXPERIENCING TWO OPPOSITE CONDITIONS	division/ opposition	A (literal)	Metaphor
15	<i>Elêy sêwêkn û kirawin be dû kertewe.</i>	Two people who are extremely similar in appearance, character, or behavior.	SIMILARITY IS TWO HALVES OF ONE OBJECT	completeness/ complementarity	A (literal)	Metaphonymy
16	<i>Elên dû giyane.</i>	A lazy and inactive person.	REDUCED ACTIVITY/SLUGGISHNESS IS CARRYING TWO LIVES	repetition/ excess/ multiplicity	B (metaphorical)	Metaphonymy
17	<i>Be berdê dû nîşanî pêka.</i>	Achieving multiple goals or outcomes with a single action.	MULTIPLE ACHIEVEMENT IS HITTING TWO TARGETS WITH ONE ACTION	repetition/ excess/ multiplicity	B (metaphorical)	Metaphor
18	<i>Be du bira kîlawêkiya n heyê.</i>	Extreme poverty, need, or lack of sufficient possessions.	POVERTY IS HAVING INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES FOR MULTIPLE PEOPLE	repetition/ excess/ multiplicity	C (Approximate)	Metaphor
19	<i>Le du lawe ebrê.</i>	A person who gains advantages from multiple sides.	MULTIPLE BENEFITS ARE TWO SIDES	repetition/ excess/ multiplicity	B (metaphorical)	Metaphor
20	<i>Dû aw be nanê.</i>	A useless, ineffective, or meaningless action.	INEFFECTIVE ACTION/ WASTED EFFORT IS DOING SOMETHING TWICE	repetition/ excess/ multiplicity	B (metaphorical)	Metaphor
21	<i>Be diwan û siyan têr naxwa.</i>	Never satisfied, Endless ambition	INSUFFICIENCY/UNSATISFIED DESIRE IS NOT ACCEPTING TWO	small quantity	C (Approximate)	Metaphor
22	<i>Be yek û dû danakewê.</i>	An ambitious person who is never satisfied with small quantities.	UNSATISFIED DESIRE IS REJECTING A SMALL QUANTITY	small quantity	C (Approximate)	Metaphor
23	<i>Sabrêk û du fû.</i>	A task that can be finished nearly immediately.	A VERY SHORT DURATION/QUICK COMPLETION IS TWO PUFFS	small quantity	C (Approximate)	Metonymy