



A Cognitive Linguistics Study of Food Metaphors in Iraqi Arabic *

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Abstract:

This paper is an investigation of the notion expounded in the cognitive theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Lakoff, 1993) that abstract conceptual domains are comprehended by means of metaphorical mappings from domains grounded directly in experience, specifically whether the abstract domain of thought in Iraqi Arabic obtains its relational structure from the more concrete domain of food and cooking. "Recent studies on metaphor have proved it to be an important language device that reflects the cognitive source of human thinking" (I – Wen Sue, 2002, 589). Some everyday idiomatic and proverbial metaphorical expressions in Iraqi Arabic have been analyzed following the framework of the cognitive theory of metaphor. It appears that the abstract domain of thought in Iraqi Arabic is largely shaped by metaphorical mappings taken from the more concrete and experiential domain of cooking and food.

Introduction:

Cognitive linguistics is "a theory of language that attempts to describe language in connection to the rest of cognition (Valenzuela and Soriano, 2005, 1). Both authors (Ibid: 1) also state that the theory of cognitive metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, Lakoff, 1993) is one of the theories that form part of the movement known as cognitive linguistics. It is not a theory that attempts to account for how figurative language works but really it is a theory of abstract thought and reasoning. Lakoff (Ibid : 1) states that traditionally, metaphor was viewed "as a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept". On this view, metaphorical expressions are used for rhetorical effect and they are a set of deviant linguistic expressions that can be reduced to some sort of literal statements.

According to Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary , "a metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a similarity between them (as in The ship plows the sea)". This characterization of metaphor is explicitly rejected by the theory of cognitive metaphor . According to the cognitive theory of metaphor (Lakoff: Ibid :1), metaphor is primarily conceptual and conventional . It is part of the ordinary system of thought and language. The locus of metaphor is thought not language, that metaphor is a major and indispensable part of our ordinary and conventional way of conceptualizing the world, and that our everyday behaviour reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience. Lakoff (Ibid:2) defines metaphor as " a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system." Thus, metaphor is a basic embodied cognitive mechanism by means of which we normally comprehend one abstract concept in terms of another more concrete concept .

The essence of the cognitive theory of metaphor is the answer to the important question: How are we able to understand and reason about highly complex and abstract concepts like time, importance, love, argument, change etc.? It is hypothesized by the cognitive theory of metaphor that the human conceptual system is structured around only a small set of concepts those are directly grounded in experience and are defined in their own terms. These basic experiential concepts include a set of fundamental relations such as up/down, behind/beyond; a set of physical ontological concepts such as entity, container, and a set of basic experiences or actions like eating, moving. It follows from this view that all other concepts that are not related directly to physical experience must be metaphoric.

The cognitive theory of metaphor claims that people generally use metaphors to refer to and reason about abstract concepts and in these metaphors language borrowed from a certain concrete concept is used to talk about a more abstract concept. These conventional metaphors demonstrate a certain source-to-target mapping, e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, IDEAS ARE FOOD, etc. Practically speaking, the cognitive theory of metaphor hypothesizes two levels of metaphor: conceptual metaphor and linguistic metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are mental mappings that take the form of TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Linguistic metaphors are motivated by conceptual metaphors and are the realizations that appear in everyday written and spoken forms. For example, The conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT (target) IS WAR (source) is illustrated as follows (Lakoff & Johnson, 5) : The domain of (argument) can be structured by the mapping of

information from the domain of (war) , giving rise to such linguistic expressions as :Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument. His criticisms are right on target. I demolished his argument. I've never won an argument with him. You disagree? Okay, shoot! If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out. He shot down all of my arguments, and a great many more everyday metaphorical expressions as well as more elaborate extensions that occur in poetic language. The domain which is so structured (argument) is referred to as the target domain and the domain which provides the structure (war) and from which the information is mapped is referred to as the source domain. It is from these linguistic metaphorical expressions that cognitive linguists are able to hypothesize the existence of a wide range of conceptual metaphors. All the above metaphorical expressions use different words and if metaphor were no more than a linguistic device it would not be possible to talk about them as essentially the same metaphor; by locating metaphor at the conceptual level we can identify it as a conceptual structure.

According to the cognitive theory of metaphor, the underlying metaphor which determines our thinking pattern when we reason about an argument is ARGUMENT IS WAR. Clearly, an argument can be likened to a quarrel with words. When engaging in an argument one may even behave in a war-like manner: one may gesticulate, yell at the opponent, and finally, if one gets carried away, one may even begin to hit the other person. Usually after the argument, we feel like the winner or loser. Such linguistic patterns indicate that there may be some systematic metaphoric relationships between abstract and concrete domains.

The cognitive theory of metaphor suggests that metaphors are employed for organizing information within abstract domains. What the cognitive metaphor does is to provide relational structure to an abstract concept by linking it to a more concrete concept. For instance, when somebody describes a friend of his as /qari? nahim/ قارىء نهم (an insatiable reader), he uses a metaphor that employs the relationship between food and hunger to illustrate the relationship between food and intellectual needs. Thus, the cognitive theory of metaphor provides relational structure to those concepts which are not clear from world experience.

Aim:

This paper focuses on the abstract concept of thought in Iraqi Arabic, specifically in Southern Iraqi Arabic. and considers whether it is structured by being mapped onto the cooking and food domains. Research has revealed that the cognitive metaphors of a speech community correspond to the conventional

patterns of thought of that community (Gibbs, 1999, 192). When members of a speech community use metaphors to refer to certain concepts they reveal consciously or unconsciously the common values and assumptions of that community."Since the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms on another "(Lakoff & Johnson op cit, 5), many complex, social and cultural issues are talked about and experienced in terms of food and food related domains. This hypothesis is borne about by the importance of food for human beings as a source for nutrition and pleasure. The present paper focuses on the abstract concept of thought in Iraqi Arabic and considers whether thought is structured by being mapped onto the cooking and food domains. It attempts to show how metaphorical expressions of cooking and food are employed in Iraqi Arabic in general , and in Southern Iraqi Arabic in particular, to express some distinct patterns of thought and values within the Iraqi culture and society. The analysis of the metaphorical expressions ,employed by Iraqi Arabic speakers in their daily interactions, were conducted following the conceptual metaphor theory model as expounded by Lakoff and Johnson (Ibid.) ; Lakoff (op cit). Accordingly, some metaphorical expressions of food and cooking have been gathered by various means. These metaphorical expressions were regrouped and classified into distinct categories according to their metaphorical mappings.

Food metaphors in Iraqi Arabic:

A careful examination of some metaphorical expressions employed by speakers of Iraqi Arabic in their daily interaction reveals that food is used as a source domain to conceptualize the abstract target domain of ideas. In the present paper the focus is mainly on how the different facets of food such as its preparation, its flavour, its ingredients, and its digestion are used to understand the more abstract aspects of ideas such as the production , quality, content, and comprehension of ideas. Moreover, some more abstract properties of ideas such as their appeal and agreeability are being mapped onto the more experiential and concrete properties of food such as its form, sweetness and deliciousness in order to be comprehended with ease. In Iraqi Arabic a pretty girl is referred to as /kiaka/, كيكه (a cake) or /hilwah/, حلوه (sweet).An agreeable speech or idea is designated as /çasal/, عسل (honey) or /hilu:/, حلو (sweet). A job that can be done easily is described as /zala:ta/, زلاطه (salad).

Human disposition is also comprehended by being linked to the more concrete feature of food and drink flavour. A good temper is spoken of as /burtuqa:li:/, برتقالى (orange) or /ra:jiq/, رايق (pure and transparent).

The major cognitive metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD can be subdivided into the following metaphors:

1- LEARNING IS COOKING:

/jɪdraxildars/ يدرخ الدرس (He memorizes the lesson)

The Iraqi Arabic lexical item (jɪdrax / , يدرخ literally refers to the act of shaking some food ,specifically soup , continuously in the process of preparing it. This concrete domain of experience is employed to understand the abstract act of committing some academic material to memory which is done by reciting it aloud continuously .Sometimes, this kind of learning is accompanied by a continuous to and fro movement.

2-WINNING AN ARGUMENT IS EATING AND DRINKING

When someone is asked how he got on in an argument with someone else , it is very likely that he would reply , if he lost in the argument:

/ma:gidart aħçi wayya: ?akalni u: řirabni/

ما گدرت أحيي وياه، أكلني أو شربني

(I could not speak with him; he ate and drank me) .But if he won in the argument, it is likely that he would reply:

/?akaltah u: řirabtah/

أكلته أو شربته

(I ate and drank him)

3-SUSTAINING A MONETARY LOSS OR AN INJURY IS EATING

When someone is afflicted with an injury or a commercial loss, others would describe what happened to him as

/?akalha/ أكلها (He ate it).Thus, the injury or loss is conceptualized as a nasty meal which he was compelled to eat.

4- DEPRIVING SOMEONE OF HIS RIGHTS OR POSSESSIONS IS EATING

a- A person whose money, possessions, rights were taken illegally by someone else would describe what happened to him as:

/?akalni/ أكلني (He ate me), or /çilasni/ علسني (He chewed me) or /?inçilasit/ إنعلست (I have been chewed) or /?akalhaggi/ أكل حگي (He ate my rights).

b- When someone cheats someone else out of his money or convinces him to accept his viewpoint by dishonest means, others would comment on the situation by saying: /?akal ?ib çaq̄la ħala:wah أكل إبعقله حلاوه (He ate his mind as he would eat some desert)

c-This cognitive metaphor is well illustrated by the common Iraqi Arabic proverb:

/lo: ʕa:n saħbak hīlu: la:tliħsa killa / (لوچان صاحبك حلو لا تلحسه كله / If your friend is sweet do not lick him completely). In this proverb licking some sweets is used as a concrete domain to conceptualize the abstract idea of exploitation.

d - Another Iraqi Arabic proverb (Zlزالah, 1424 A. H.,182) may be cited to illustrate this cognitive metaphor in Iraqi Arabic : /?ilja:kil wajjalaçma ja:kil binša:f/

إلياكل وى الأعمى ياكل بنصاف

(He who eats with the blind should eat with fairness). This proverb is used to refer to the notion that a strong dominating person should not deprive a weak person of his rights. The abstract thought of advising people not to exploit a weak person is envisaged metaphorically by being mapped onto the concrete and experiential idea of not to cheat a blind person out of his share of food.

5-THE CONTENT OF THOUGHT IS THE INGREDIENT OF FOOD

a- Intolerable ideas, argument, speech or behaviour are usually conceptualized as an unpalatable ingredient of food. A person who tries persistently to impose his intolerable ideas on others is described as :

/sawwa:ha bala milih/ (سواها بلا ملح / He cooked it without salt)

Sometimes the person himself, because of his unbearable character, is conceptualized as an unpalatable ingredient of food:

/ ha:ða ?išgad ma:six/ (هذا إشگد ماصخ / This person is really without salt)

b- A person who tries unsuccessfully to convince others of his ideas, story or viewpoint by fraudulent means of persuasion is referred to by the sarcastic idiomatic expression :

/ hattilha ?išwajjat baha:ra:t/ (حطلها شوية بهارات / He added some spices to it)

and when the unconvinced listener becomes defiant he might retaliate with:

/ ?išçiddak ha:mid ?itbax/ (إشعدك حامض إطبخ / Cook all the sour ingredients that you may have). Thus salt , spices and sour things, which are food ingredients, are used as a concrete experiential source domain to conceptualize the abstract target domain of the content of thought.

c- Two people who appear to be very close are ironically or jealously described by others as: / s a:jri:n dihin ?u: dibis / (صايرين دهن أو دبس / They have become oil and dates syrup). The abstract idea of close friendship is expressed by being mapped onto the concrete experiential domain of some food ingredients , namely oil and date-syrup when they are mixed together.

d- The Iraqi Arabic proverb (Ibid: 31) :/ inhîjam biatha lilba:mya išgad tinfax/ إنهم بيتها للبامية إشگد تنفخ
(May the okra be cursed! It inflates the belly), is used metaphorically by someone to inform his interlocutor that there is a flaw (a lie or a trick) in his argument. The okra, as an ingredient of food and its undesirable impact on the belly is the concrete experiential source domain metaphorically used to conceptualize the abstract target domain of a flawed argument.

e- The Iraqi Arabic proverb : /jittil jô:z lilma:çiddasnu:n / (Ibid:251)
يطى الجوز للماعده سنون
(Nuts are given to him that is toothless), is used to express the idea that sometimes a person yearns for something but he cannot get it, and when he finally gets it he no longer needs it or he cannot make use of it. This abstract thought is comprehended by being associated with the concrete domain of the food ingredient (nuts) and the inability to eat them for lack of teeth.

f- The Iraqi Arabic proverb(Ibid:196) :/ miøil tamra:til çabid/مثل تمرات العبد
(Like the slave's dates) is used metaphorically to express the abstract situation where someone is unable to distinguish between what is good and what is bad; good or bad dates are used as a concrete domain to express the abstract notion of the ability to distinguish between the good and the bad.

g- The following commonly used Iraqi Arabic proverb can illustrate this cognitive metaphor very well. When someone offers some suggestion, advice or ideas that are deemed by others as worthless or suspicious the situation is traditionally expressed metaphorically by the proverb:

/hala:wa ?ib jîdir maxsu:f/ حلاوه إيجدر مخسوف (sweets prepared in a battered pot).The abstract idea of discontent is conceptualized as some food ingredient, namely sweets cooked and served in a battered pot.

h- The proverb (Ibid:16)/? isbir çalhusrum ta:kla çinab/
إصبر علحصرم تاكله عنب
(Be patient with unripe sour grapes and you will eat them ripe), is used to conceptualize the abstract domain of achieving one's ends by acting prudently and patiently by mapping it onto the concrete domain of waiting patiently for the sour grapes until they become ripe .

i- The proverb (Ibid :29)/ inta ham ma:kil kubba/
أنت هم ماكل كبه
is used to conceive the abstract concept that a person is punished for an unknown sin by linking it to the concrete concept of eating kubba, a traditional Iraqi food.

j- The proverb (Ibid: 38) /basil do:lma ?išlo:n ja:klu:nha/

بسلولمه إشلون ياكلونها ؟

(But how is the dolma (a traditional Iraqi food) eaten ?) is used to express the abstract concept that a person tries to put right a mistake but commits a more serious one instead) by mapping it onto the concrete experiential act of eating dolma, a traditional Iraqi food.

k- The Proverb (Ibid:53)/ tamril ta:kla niwa:h ibjje:bi/

تمر التاكله نواه إجبببي

(The stones of the dates you are eating are in my pocket)is used to metaphorically express the abstract concept that someone is aware of his opponent's scheming or intrigues by mapping it onto the concrete domain of knowing where the stones of the dates which someone else is eating are.

L- The proverb (Ibid:57) / jiznamnilcinab winri:d sallatnah/

جزنه من العنب و نريد سلتنا

(we abandoned our attempts to get the grapes but we want our salla (a traditional Iraqi bowl made from the leaves of a date – palm) back.

is used in Iraqi Arabic to conceptualize the abstract concept that a person is sometimes compelled to abandon his attempts to obtain something in order to escape a greater harm by mapping it onto the concrete situation that someone stops his attempts to get some grapes in order to save his salla .

M- The proverb (Ibid:62) / habba:ja habba:ja itsi:r kubba:ja/

حبايه حبايه إتصير كبايه

is used to conceptualize the abstract thought of (belittling some minor matters but eventually they combine together to create a serious situation) by linking them to the concrete domain of very small portions of a kubbayah (a singular of the traditional Iraqi food (kubba) to form a complete kubbayah.

N- The proverb (Ibid: 73) / ?ilxalikaski:n jiksir ma:cu:nah ?

إخل الكسكين يكسر ماعونه

(strong vinegar damages its bowl)

employs metaphorically the ingredient of food, namely vinegar to express the idea that a strong temperamental man will do himself serious harm. Strong vinegar is used as a concrete experiential source domain to conceptualize the abstract target domain that bad – temper causes a lot of harm.

O- The idiomatic expression /hali:b umma ta:hir / حايب أمه طاهر

(His mother's milk is pure)

is used to say that a certain man has a noble character. His mother's pure milk (a metaphoric reference to her modesty and chastity) which he sucked from her breast , when he was a baby , is used as a concrete concept to express the

abstract concept of good manners. His noble character results from his good upbringing.

P- The common Iraqi Arabic proverb /margatna çalazja:gnah /

مرگتتا على إزيانگنه

(Our stew is on our collars) means that we should be the sole beneficiaries of what we possess. The abstract notion of excluding strangers from benefits is conceptualized via a metaphorical mapping. The food ingredient مرگه (stew) is used as a concrete domain to express metaphorically the abstract notion of excluding strangers from benefits.

Q- The proverb (Ibid :) /?ilma:jnu:šilçinab ?i:gu:l ha:mid /

إلماینوش العنب إيگول حامض

(He who is unable to reach the grapes says they are sour) is usually cited to remind a person metaphorically that he should not belittle the achievements of other people because he himself is not able to do likewise. Thus the abstract idea that one should not devalue the achievements of others is conceptualized metaphorically by being linked to the inability to reach the high grapes.

The idiomatic and proverbial expressions cited in this section is a remarkable evidence that speakers of Iraqi Arabic employ extensively various ingredients of foods to conceptualize metaphorically various abstract and complicated ideas.

R- The commonly used proverb /mu kul ?imdaçbal jô:z/

مو كل مدعبل جوز

(not every circular figure is a nut) is similar to the English saying (You never can tell).It is used as a hedged warning that one should not be deceived by appearances. The person one is dealing with is not what he appears to be; therefore, you should take him seriously. This abstract idea is expressed by being mapped metaphorically onto the concrete experience that one should not consider all circular objects as nuts simply because nuts have circular shapes. Although people look similar, they are not really similar.

S- The idiomatic expression /timmen imšaçwit/ تمن مشعوط

(burnt rice) is used (though not commonly) to refer metaphorically to the abstract idea that a certain job is done badly because it was done in haste. Thus, a hastily done job is conceptualized by being mapped metaphorically onto some rice which was spoiled by being cooked hurriedly , i.e. exposed to a lot of heat.

Another less common idiomatic expression / xubazha xabiz / خبزها خبز

(He baked it in a hurry) is used to say that a certain person made a mess of a certain job because he performed it in haste. The abstract idea that a certain person made a mess of a job by doing it hastily is conceptualized metaphorically as some bread baked hastily. The idea of a job done in haste is conceptualized metaphorically as exposing some food to a strong fire. The result is definitely spoiled food or a badly done job.

T- The commonly used idiomatic expression /jiørum busal / يثرم بصل

(He is chopping onions finely) is metaphorically used to express the abstract idea that someone is bragging excessively about himself and his achievements. The food ingredient (onion) and its preparation in the process of cooking is used in Iraqi Arabic as a concrete and experiential domain to conceptualize metaphorically the abstract notion of excessive boasting.

U- The idiomatic expression /la: tgu:l simsim lamman tilham/

لاتتغول سمسم لمن تلهم (Don't say it's sesame unless you eat it)

is metaphorically used as a warning not to jump into conclusions. The desirable food ingredient, i.e. sesame is metaphorically used as a concrete and experiential domain to understand the abstract notion of favourable conclusion.

6-EMBEZZLING IS DEVOURING

a- A untrustworthy government official who embezzles the fund under his care is characterized as :

/ jilgaf / يلغف (He devours) or / lagga:f/ لغاف (a devourer).

b- Two popular commonly used Iraqi Arabic proverbs may be cited to illustrate this metaphor:

/?ilja:klalçanz ?i:talçalddabbağ/ إياكله العنز إطلعه الدباغ (Whatever the goat devours is extracted by the tanner ,i.e., he who takes unrightfully the possessions of others will be punished sooner or later. The embezzler is depicted as a goat which is notorious for its indiscriminate eating.

/waddiçilbazzu:n šaħmah/ ودع البزون شحمة (place a piece of fat in the trust of a cat).An untrustworthy dubious individual is traditionally thought of as a cat that won't hesitate a moment to jump on and devour a piece of fat. The imperative form is used sarcastically because the reaction is very obvious; No one would trust a dubious and treacherous person. This proverb is used to describe ironically a situation in which a certain individual complains bitterly that another person breached his confidence and stole the money which he put in his trust. The listener would most likely cite the proverb almost immediately. The meaning is that he should not have trusted him in the first place.

7-ACCEPTING IS SWALLOWING

a- Someone who is decoyed into accepting or believing some idea or a trick is described as :

/bilaçi ltuçum/ بلع الطعم (He swallowed the bait)

b- A person who does not retaliate with a remark or action when affronted is usually described as :

/ bilaçha/ بلعها (He swallowed it (the insult)). This evidence shows Iraqi Arabic speakers usually conceptualize accepting or believing some abstract thought by linking it to the concrete domain of swallowing some food.

8- COMPREHENSION OF IDEAS IS DIGESTION OF FOOD

a- A student who cannot understand some academic material would usually say:

/ ma: ha:ðimil ma:dda/ ماهاضم المادة (I have not digested the material)

b- A person whose ideas, language or behaviour is

hard to understand or to tolerate is characterized as:

/ ðiqi:l çal miçdah/ ثغيل علمعه (heavy on the stomach) . Thus, Iraqi Arabic speakers usually understand the abstract thought of comprehension by mapping it onto the concrete and experiential domain of digestion.

9- RECURRENT WORRYING IDEAS ARE EATING

1- Perpetual memories of bereavement, financial loss, and worrying events are conceptualized as eating:

/ha:jil sa:lfa ta:kil u: tišrab wajja:j/

هاى السالفه تاكل أو تشرب وياى

(This idea is eating and drinking with me).

10- FRIENDSHIP IS FOOD SHARING

a- The act of sharing food with someone else (even if he were an enemy) makes friendship with that person morally binding. A person who feels betrayed by someone else would rebuke him/her by reminding him/her that they once shared food together:

/mu: bijana:tna za:d u milih/ مو بيناتنا زاد أو ملح

(There is food and salt between us)

/ma: gzzaril za:d wil milih/ ما غزر الزاد والملح

(Have the food and salt no effect on you?)

The concrete and experiential domain of food sharing is used metaphorically as a source domain to conceive the abstract target domain that sharing food with someone necessitates friendship with him/her .

The Iraqi Arabic proverb (Ibid:141)

/finja:n gahwa ?i:gazzir ?arbiçi:n sanah/

فنجان گهوه يغزر أربعين سنه

(One cup of coffee has an impact of forty years)
is used metaphorically to express the Iraqi tradition of gratitude, that is , to befriend a person who shares some food with you even if it were as trivial as a cup of coffee. The phrase ' forty years ' signifies a long period of time.

Discussion and conclusions:

In the literature of cognitive linguistics , evidence for cognitive metaphors is mainly linguistic in nature since the theory of cognitive metaphor has been advanced by linguists (Valenzuela & Soriano op cit : 4). "Metaphors are postulated by putting together a number of linguistic expressions , examining what they have in common (e.g., membership of its lexical items to a given semantic field or domain) , and then finding the metaphor that would seem to explicate the use of all these expressions" (Ibid :4).

The present study is no exception. It has gathered by different means some idiomatic and proverbial expressions about food and cooking employed by speakers of Iraqi Arabic in their daily conversations, analyzed them and provided ample evidence that:

1- speakers of Iraqi Arabic , in their daily speech , comprehend some various abstract ideas such as learning, winning or losing an argument, suffering a loss or injury, expression and comprehension of ideas, embezzlement, agreement , recurrent ideas and the notion of friendship on the basis of concrete experiential concepts via metaphorical mapping from the more concrete and experiential source domain of food and cooking, specifically the cognitive metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD. One conceptual metaphor (THE CONTENT OF THOUGHT IS THE INGREDIENT OF FOOD) figures prominently in the data analyzed by this study. Moreover, the ample evidence provided by the present study may be interpreted that the cognitive metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD is a social feature grounded in the culture of the Iraqi speech community. To be referred to as 'hospitable' معذب is a high honour eagerly sought for by all Arabs in general and all Iraqis in particular. 'Hospitability' as a social trait is mainly judged by the kind and amount of food offered to guests. When a friend whispers to a host that he has offered too much food to his guest(s) he would usually respond by the statement (The guest eats with his eye) إخطر ياكل بعينه or if the host gets indignant by such a remark he might retaliate by saying

لايرد الكريم إلا اللئيم (Only the mean gets in the way of the generous). Furthermore, An Arab or an Iraqi would take offence if he is branded as 'inhospitable'. Little wonder then that this paper claims that the conceptual

metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD is a social feature deeply grounded in the Iraqi folklore.

2- The present study has provided some evidence in support of the cognitive theory of metaphor, namely that it is a useful device which may be employed by linguists to reveal the insights, attitudes and assumptions of a certain speech community that are encoded in its language and culture. This study has shown that conceptual metaphors are deeply entrenched in our cognition. They pervade our thought and dictate our language. What has been regarded as literal ordinary language has turned out to be metaphorically based.

3- The evidence provided by this study dovetails with the tenet in cognitive linguistics (Johnson, 1987 cited in Papafragou 200:4) "that concept formation is guided by (external) experiential and cultural factors rather than by the (in-built) human capacity of abstraction."

Ad hoc evidence from various examples in classical Arabic may be thought of as supporting the conclusion arrived at in the present study. What is required, of course, is a thorough investigation of the cognitive metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD in classical Arabic.

A List of (Mainly Southern) Iraqi Arabic Phonemic Symbols

A- Consonants:

b	ب	voiced bilabial plosive	باب	ba:b	door
t	ت	voiceless dental plosive	تمن	timman	rice
d	د	voiceless dental plosive	دار	da:r	house
<u>t</u>	ط	voiceless pharyngealized alveolar plosive	طين	<u>ti</u> :n	mud
<u>d</u>	ض	voiced pharyngealized alveolar plosive	ظلم	<u>dilim</u>	injustice
k	ك	voiceless velar plosive	كريم	kari:m	generous
g	گ	voiced velar plosive	گلب	galib	heart
ʔ	ء	voiceless glottal plosive	ألام	ʔalam	pain
q	ق	voiceless uvular plosive	قلم	qalam	pencil
θ	ث	voiceless dental fricative	ثوب	θo:b	dress
ð	ذ	voiced dental fricative	ذنب	ðanib	sinn
f	ف	voiceless labio-dental fricative	ف	fi:	in

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s س	voiceless alveolar fricative	سم	sim	poison
z ز	voiced alveolar fricative	زين	zian	good
ʃ ش	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative:			
		شمس	šamis	sun
x خ	voiceless velar fricative	خوف	xo:f	fear
ʁ ص	voiceless pharyngealized			
	alveolar fricative	صوم	so:m	fasting
h ه	voiceless glottal fricative	هنا	huna	here
ġ غ	voiced uvular fricative	غريب	ġari:b	strange
ħ ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	حليب	ħali:b	milk
ç ع	voiced pharyngeal fricative	علم	çalam	flag
r ر	voiced alveolar trill	ريف	ri:f	countryside
l ل	voiced alveolar lateral	لون	lo:n	colour
m م	voiced bilabial nasal	مركب	markab	boat
n ن	voiced alveolar nasal	نوم	no:m	sleep
w و	voiced labio-velar approximant	ولد	walad	boy
j ي	voiced palatal approximant	يوم	jo:m	a day
ç چ	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	چای	çaj	tea
ʃ ج	voiced palato-alveolar affricate	جمل	ʃamal	camel
B- Vowels:				
i	short front close unrounded	جسم	ʃisim	body
i:	long close front unrounded	ريم	ri:m	deer
e:	long between half-close and half-open front unrounded	عين	ʔe:n	eye
a	short open front unrounded	أسود	aswad	black
a:	long open back unrounded	الأم	a:la:m	pains
o:	long between half-close and half-open back rounded	لون	lo:n	colour
u	short close back rounded	مدرس	mudarris	teacher
u:	long close back unrounded	سوغ	su:g	market

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دراسة التعبيرات الاستعارية حول مفهوم الطعام**في اللهجة العراقية وفق منظور علم الإدراك****اللغوي**

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تعنى هذه الدراسة بدراسة موضوع علم الإدراك اللغوي بان المفاهيم المجردة يتم فهمها عن طريق ربطها استعاريا بمفاهيم مركوزة في الخبرة اليومية وبالتحديد فيما اذا كانت بعض الافكار المجردة تكتسب شكلها المادي عن طريق ربطها بمفاهيم مستقات من مفاهيم الطعام واعداده .
قام الباحث بجمع عدد كبير من التعبيرات والامثلة والمصطلحات الدارجة في اللهجة العامية العراقية حول مفهوم الطعام واعداده ، وباستخدام ادوات التحليل الخاصة بعلم الادراك اللغوي ظهر بأن هذه التعبيرات والامثلة الدارجة تعبر بالحقيقة عن كثير من الافكار المجردة . الادوات المستعملة في عملية الربط هي الأستعارة .