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Exploring Mosul Food Proverbs: A Cognitive Perspective

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Abstract

Metaphor stands out as one of the most well-known theories that deal with non-literal language. This concept is viewed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) as understanding abstract concepts through more tangible objects. This view differs from other theories that consider metaphor as merely as a play of words. This research investigates the utilization of food metaphors in Mosuli Arabic proverbs. Its aim is to shed light on the bases and motives of these metaphors; furthermore, it seeks how abstract ideas are conceptualized and comprehended through the use of terms related to food in Mosuli Arabic proverbs. It hypothesizes that food-related terms are employed to comprehend and interpret a diverse range of abstract concepts. Furthermore, it suggests that the bases of metaphor are culture and experience.

Written and oral data are collected then analysed on two levels: the first level is concerned with getting the correct explanation and discourse scenarios where these proverbs might be used. The second level consists of two sub-levels. Two models are used on the first part to investigate implicit metaphors. The two models are taken from the works of Lakoff and Turner (1989) on "GENERIC IS SPECIFIC" and Lakoff and Johnson (2003) on "Metaphors We Live By." Thus, the two models are used to reveal the metaphorical meaning of food in Mosuli Arabic proverbs. The second part investigates explicit metaphors using the paradigm proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003). This research concludes that the conceptual metaphor theory is able to reveal a various number of abstract ideas that are comprehended in reference to more tangible objects. Additionally, the metaphorical conceptualization is motivated by experience and cultural values.



About the Journal

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1. Introduction

"Half a loaf is better than no bread", this proverb suggests that humans should be grateful for what they have even if it is less than they wish. (Martin 2008: 5). Cognitively, it shows the human preference for partial solutions or success rather than total failure or facing complete deprivation. According to Baldick (2008:274), proverbs are defined as commonly known expressions of uncommon origin, demonstrating some well-known facts or common beliefs such as "too many cooks spoil the broth". This saying is common across all cultures and states that just one individual should bear responsibility for decision-making. In other words, involving multiple individuals in managing an activity can spoil it. Hence, there is either a sole president or king, a chief accompanied by assistants, or even a single school director.

Cognitive linguistics studies language, experience and mind. It investigates the connections among mind, language and socio-physical experience (Evans, 2007: VI). Studies conducted in this field have shown that metaphor plays an important role in the human conceptual system, and it's regarded as a crucial component of human cognition. This school appeared in the 1970s by a group of scholars including Lakoff, Fillmore, Rosch and others. Cognitive psychology, cognitive sciences, and other theories and findings that arose in the 1960s and 1970s have an important influence on this school (Evans et. al., 2007:22). The cognitive theory of metaphor shows how speakers can make connections between complicated and abstract ideas, like "time, importance, love, and argument" by connecting them to more tangible objects (Lakoff, 1993: 206).

2. Literature Review

Proverbs are frequently employed in our daily lives. It is difficult to define a proverb since sometimes it can be challenging to differentiate between sayings that are proverbial from those that are not. Russell presents one of the most common definitions of the concept of proverb, which is "the wisdom of many and the wit of one". According to Taylor (1931:3), the speaker is required to utter the appropriate proverb in the appropriate context at the appropriate time. Mieder (2004:3) states that the proverb represents a crucial part of a nation's identity. The proverb serves as an instructional tool due to its combination of facts, ethics and traditional beliefs. According to Bekkai (2010:17), a proverb is defined as a tangible, common, simple and repeated saying that clarifies a reality based on widely acknowledged human sensations or experiences. The speaker uses a proverb for a variety of goals. Occasionally, it is employed as a gentle way of saying something. On other occasions, proverbs are employed by individuals to strengthen a conversation; an individual who lacks confidence can employ them to support his argument.

From a cognitive perspective, the proverb is thought to be mentally economical because it allows us to understand multiple situations from a single situation mentioned in the proverb. That is, certain events that are stored in people's minds can be triggered and activated by a single reference to a relevant fact. For example, according to Lakoff and Turner (1989:162), the proverb "Blind blames the ditch" can be used by people to elicit a whole range of imaginative scenarios in which a blind person falls into a ditch and he / she blames it, ignoring that his / her condition (i.e. blindness) was the reason for this fall. This proverb can take us not just to the moment at which the person had already fallen into the ditch, but also to the beginning of the story at which the individual had not yet got to the ditch, but was still walking. Furthermore, this proverb is applicable to any situation in which a person blames other people for his / her failure.

Linguistic and cognitive research has focused for a long time on investigating proverbs, especially how they convey social norms and cultural values. The Conceptual Metaphor theory established by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 has contributed significantly to the comprehension of how proverbs,

involving those associated with food, reveal underlying cognitive mechanisms. In their words, metaphors are not simply language expressions; they additionally reflect how individuals conceptualize and understand the world around them (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:56). Proverbs related to food are loaded with metaphors; they often connect food to moral, social, or ethical norms (Gibbs, 2006). Perry (2012) presents a comparative view concerning the way food is represented in different cultures. This enhances our understanding of how food proverbs function in several cultural settings.

More focused studies on Arabic proverbs have looked at the way people employ them to express their cultural values and daily routines. In her 1989 research, Abu-Lughod emphasized the moral advice and socialization functions of proverbs along with other oral customs in Arab countries, and also their value in mirroring cultural norms. Similar results were reported by Al-Khatib (2003), who studied Jordanian proverbs and observed that food-related proverbs highlight strong cultural concepts of hospitality, kindness and collective life. Khelifi (2018) examines how food metaphors are employed in Tunisian proverbs to express social norms and cultural values. The study highlights the way the notions of charity, hospitality and social position are conveyed via metaphors containing food items, like olives and bread. He emphasizes the role of food metaphors in conveying complicated social and personal connections. Alaa (2021) explores proverb usage in Iraqi Arabic, particularly those related to food. The study stresses the way cultural values and social norms in different Iraqi regions are expressed in these proverbs. It highlights the ways in which food proverbs are employed in contemporary Iraqi society to convey social norms and cultural values.

Despite the fact that much research has been done about proverbs in Arab culture and the cognitive metaphors they express, few have specifically focused on the Mosuli dialect or proverbs related to food. Investigations of food - related proverbs in Iraq by Hassan (2018) and Jasim (2020) do not fully examine the cognitive aspects of these proverbs nor the way they may vary in settings such as Mosul.

What sets the present study apart from previous work is that it focuses on the cognitive interpretation of Mosuli food proverbs. This study attempts to look at the way Mosuli food proverbs mirror people's cognitive processes, in contrast to previous investigations that have primarily focused on the cultural or moral lessons involved in proverbs. This study presents a new viewpoint to the study of Arabic proverbs and cognitive linguistics through analysing these proverbs and the mental images they arouse. In particular, this study illustrates how people's conceptualization of abstract ideas like kindness, wisdom, or resilience are formed by food, which is a significant aspect of everyday life in Mosul.

Additionally, by focusing on a particular regional dialect, this study fills a gap in the literature and contributes to the comprehension of linguistic variety in Iraq. The cognitive approach of the present study provides a deep understanding of how Mosuli residents' thought processes are expressed in their language, especially around food, a subject that is closely linked to local identity and culture.

3. Origin of Proverbs

Determining the origin of proverbs can be challenging in any language because once a proverb is used and widely accepted by the people, the user tends to lose interest in its origin or who first uttered it (Ridout and Witting, 1983:9). However, there is no doubt that they have existed for a long time. Proverbs are considered to be among the first fields of science, going back to the beginnings of human culture. They are both diverse and universal and have been used by people around the world through history (Bradeanu, 2007: 22).

Rayess (1969) states that there are different origins of Arabic proverbs. For example, Az-Zamakhshari wrote a book about Arabic proverbs in 1107 C.E. He entitled this book "Al-Mustasqa fi Amthal al-Arab" (The Sought After Arabic Proverbs). This book is divided into two volumes and contains over 3461 Arabic proverbs with their origins and meanings.

According to Al-Abdullah (2011:32-33), proverbs can be divided into several sorts depending on when they first appeared. Thus, some proverbs originated in the pre-Islamic era, others during the Islamic era and some emerged after the era of protest.

These proverbs are constructed according to certain conditions. Regarding the Pre-Islamic era the proverb is credited to those who existed during that time. For example, the saying "رُبَّ اخٍ لَمْ يَلِدْهُ امُّكَ" (maybe a brother not born of your mother) is attributed to Luqman Bin Aad. Other proverbs are attributed to tribes as in "من دخل ظفار حَمَرَ" (Let whoever enters Dhifar speak Himyariyya). Regarding the Islamic proverbs, some proverbs are derived from the Holy Quran as in "أَتَبُّ مِنْ أَبِي لَهَبٍ" (more demand than Abu Lahab). Other proverbs are uttered by the companions of the prophet (Peace be upon him) as in "لا طامة الا فوقها طامة" (There is no calamity unless there is).

4. Importance of Proverbs

Two reasons, according to Hastings (1914: 414), exist for the manipulation of proverbs in general and in literary texts. First, they have a "subtle pervasive influence on popular opinions". Second, they offer a reliable perspective or evidence for the political, social, ethical and religious ideas of those who first employed and circulated specific proverbs.

Mieder (2004: 1) demonstrates the importance of proverbs in contemporary society. He states that "Proverbs are still relevant in today's world, despite isolated opinions to the contrary." Proverbs are useful in oral communication and written speech because they are easily and automatically remembered as "prefabricated verbal units". They have an important rhetorical force in various situations and communications, from friendly conversations, influential political speeches, best-selling novels, and religious sermons. However, the frequency of using proverbs may vary among individuals and contexts.

Samover (2009: 29) believes that proverbs provide a substantial set of values and beliefs for the community's members in almost every culture. They are employed in a clear and vibrant language with short sentences. They are also used to convey people's stories and wisdom which offer an insight of a culture. The German proverb "A country can be judged by the quality of its proverbs" reflects how proverbs are important in learning any language.

5. Mosuli Dialect

The Mosuli dialect represents an essential part of the heritage of Mosul, a city whose ancient history extends back thousands of years. It was the capital of the Assyrian Empire 1080 BC (Aziz, 2018:9). After the birth of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him, the Arab tribes migrated to Mosul from the Arabian Peninsula. Mosul had a beautiful accent among the Arabic dialects, which were an authentic mixture of the dialects of the Arab tribes that inhabited Mosul since the first migrations there. It continued until after the Arab-Islamic conquest. The Mosuli dialect is the dialect of the residents of the city of Mosul, and it is not a phonetic dialect that does not have specific grammar rules. It is one of the main dialects of northern Mesopotamia that is considered an extension of the Arabic dialects that spread in Iraq during the Abbasid era. It is considered one of the main dialects in Iraq (Aziz, 2018:9). According to Hammadi (2002:71-79), the most important characteristics of the Mosul dialect are:

1. Al-Qalqah: It is the confirmation of the pronunciation of the "قاف" (qaaf) in their dialect, which is the dialect of Quraysh, so they say "قال", "قال" /qɑ:la/, /qɑ:l/.
2. The lisp in the pronunciation of /r/: It is the changing of /r/ into /ʁ/. For example, the people of Mosul pronounce the word "حرامي – حرامي" as /ħayɑ:mi/ instead of /ħarɑ:mi/ meaning (thief). This changing is limited to certain words because not all words /r/ is changed into /ʁ/. There are no rules, but it is inherited from the antecedors.
3. Tilting: It is one of the features of Mosuli dialect. It is the changing of /ɑ:/ into /e:/, for example, "جامع – حيمع" /dʒe:mʕ/ for /dʒɑ:mʕ/ which means (mosque).
4. Getting rid of the *hamza* /ʔ/ unless it causes confusion in the recipient's understanding: "يستهبزون – يستهبزون" /jɪstəhʒu:n/ instead of /jastahziʔu:n/ which means (mock – masc. – plural).
5. Substitution between letters, for example, they say "نَحَقْ" /daħaq/ while the original is "حَدَقْ" /ħadaq/, meaning (gazed).
6. Deleting /ð/ from relative pronouns: they say "اليساعدك – الذي يساعدك" /ʔlɪsɑ:ʕdak/ for /ʔalaði jusɑ:ʕiduk/ which means (someone who helps you).
7. The use of verbal supplies which have equivalents in standard Arabic: they say "زي" /ze/ which means (too) as in "حسن سافر زي" /ħasan safar ze/ meaning (Hasan travelled too), and the use of "بقى" /baqa/ for confirmation as in "بقى احمد سافر" /baqa ʔaħmad safar/ meaning (Ahmed has already travelled).
8. Last, but not least, the use of "كِنْ" /kin/ as in "كِنْ كتب الدرس" /kin katab ʔil daris/ meaning (he had written the lesson). They also use "كوي" /kawi/ which signifies threat, warning and confirmation as in "كوي اضغيك" /kawi ʔdʒɪbak/ meaning (I will beat you) which implies threatening, and in "كوي غاح تقع" /kawi ɣɑ:h tqɑʕ/ meaning (you will fall) implying warning and in "كوي احمد كن سافر" /kawi ʔaħmad kin sɑ:far/ meaning (Ahmed had already travelled) which implies confirmation.

These characteristics give the Mosuli dialect a unique linguistic character and make it an interesting topic among linguists and researchers in the field of linguistics and dialects.

According to Al-Ubaidi (2011: 155-163) and Al-Imam (2011: 52-55), once Mosul became a significant sophisticated city and its citizens' economic situation improved, hearty meals like Burma, Kubba, Kabab and many other dishes were added to the Mosuli food menu. This reflects the city's sophisticated culinary tastes as well as the exquisite calibre of Mosuli women, who cook well which is a necessary skill for housewives. Al-Sabawi (2014: 4) reveals that Mosul has a saying system of its own due to the different crises the city has faced. This fact is made clear by historical documents that explain how the Mosuli citizens succeeded in resisting Nader Shah's siege, which was imposed to starve the citizens to seize control of the city. This success can be attributed to wise food preservation methods such as keeping cheese, meat, wheat, rice, and barley in barrels specifically made for this purpose. This made Mosuli people control and regulate spending using special methods. This behaviour is explicitly reflected in numerous proverbs as in "حبة حبة تصير كبة" meaning (A grain over a grain becomes Kubba). This proverb illustrates that when minor things accumulate, they become important, like food and money. It is used to advise people to save instead of wasting.

a. Key of Mosuli Arabic Sound System

A. Consonants

Symbol	Mosuli example	Transcription	Translation
/ʔ/ as in :	أب	/ʔab/	father
/b/ as in :	باب	/bab/	door
/p/ as in :	पर्दे	/parda/	curtain
/t/ as in :	تمبل	/tambal/	Lazy
/θ/ as in :	ثاٲى	/θaθi/	three
/dʒ/ as in :	جسغ	/dʒsy/	bridge
/tʃ/ as in :	چاى	/tʃɑ:j/	tea
/ħ/ as in :	حبل	/ħabil/	rope
/x/ as in :	خبز	/xibiz/	bread
/d/ as in :	دكان	/dikan/	shop
/ð/ as in :	ذىب	/ði:b/	wolf
/r/ as in :	رزان	/razan/	A female name
/z/ as in :	زبل	/zibil/	rubbish
/s/ as in :	سلمى	/salma/	A female name
/ʃ/ as in :	شامل	/ʃɑ:mi/	A male name
/s/ as in :	صوندة	/sɔ:nda/	hose
/d/ as in:	ابيض	/ʔabjad/	white
/t/ as in :	طاوة	/tɑ:wa/	pan
/ð ^s / as in :	ظفر	/ð ^s ɑfar/	A female name
/ʕ/ as in :	عادي	/ʕɑ:di/	normal
/ɣ/ as in :	غوح	/ɣɔ:ħ/	go
/f/ as in :	فیهى	/fehi/	silly
/q/ as in :	قوبچة	/qɔ:btʃa/	button
/k/ as in :	كلب	/kalb/	dog
/g/ as in :	گلاص	/glɑ:s/	glass
/l/ as in :	لمپة	/lampa/	lamp
/m/ as in :	مىز	/mez/	table
/n/ as in :	ناغ	/nɑ:ɣ/	fire
/h/ as in :	هالة	/hɑ:la/	A female name
/w/ as in :	وعد	/wayid/	flowers
/j/ as in :	ياسمین	/jɑ:smi:n/	A female name
/d/ as in:	ضو	/ʔdawʔ/	light

B. Vowels

1. Short Vowels

/i/ as in :	جىب	/dʒi:b/	bring
/a/ as in :	ابيض	/ʔabjad/	White
/u/ as in :	هدى	/huda/	A female name

2. Long Vowels

/i:/ as in :	كٲىغ	/kθi:y/	Many
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/e:/ as in :	كَيْك	/ke:k/	Cake
/ɑ:/ as in:	قال	/qɑ:l/	Said (for masc. sing.)
/u:/ as in :	أوتِي	/ʔu:ti/	iron
/ɔ:/ as in :	هوني	/hɔ:ni/	here

6. The Concept of Cognition

According to Evans (2007: VI), the main subjects of cognitive linguistics are language, mind and experience. That is, its primary concern is investigating the relationships among language, mind and socio-physical experience. Metaphor is considered as a crucial component of human thought and plays an essential role in the human conceptual system, as proved by studies on cognitive linguistics. This school was founded in the 1970s by a group of scholars, including Fillmore, Lakoff, Rosch and others. The cognitive sciences, cognitive psychology, and other theories and findings that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s have an important influence on this school (Evans et. al., 2007:22). This school does not view language as an isolated system. Accordingly, language cannot be investigated in complete isolation from the rest of the human body and mind. Thus, language is a highly elaborated and important manifestation of our general cognitive capacities. Due to the fact that cognitive capacities and the speaker's body are not separate, cognitive linguistics examines the connections among the body, mind and language (Tendahl, 2009:113). One of the most dominant theories that addresses figurative and nonliteral language is metaphor. Unlike other theories that view metaphor as a linguistic device, Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) proposed the conceptual metaphor theory which views metaphor as comprehending abstract ideas (the target domain) through using more tangible concepts (the source domain).

7. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

This theory claims that metaphor is ingrained in daily communication in both thought and action not only in language and other literally devices. Hence, our conceptual system which governs our thoughts and behaviours is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Moreover, this concept controls our everyday interaction with its details, not just intellectual matters (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 16). Cognitively, metaphor can be defined as understanding one conceptual domain (A) via the lens of another one (B). (A) is the source domain and contains metaphorical expressions, while (B) is the target domain which language users utilize to understand (A). This understanding is based on mapping of the correspondences between the elements of (A) and (B) (Kovecese, 2005:4). Evans (2007:130) states that this mapping between the two domains regulates how certain elements of an attention pattern are mapped onto the situation expressed by the speech. Thus, the source domain is more tangible and precisely defined than the target domain which is abstract and less distinct (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 49).

Occasionally, there could be several correspondences or more than one-to-one correspondence. For example, the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is highly inclusive since life is a whole entity with numerous aspects and is something comprehensive. However, because love is simply one aspect of life, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is quite specific. Consequently, we find that metaphors are grouped in a hierarchical fashion, with specific patterns derived from those that are more generic (Evans & Green, 2006; Grady, 2007). As an alternative to the terms broad and specific, Lakoff (2006) used the phrases higher, which is equivalent to broad, and lower, which is equal to

specific, to express the hierarchical structure of metaphor. He divides metaphor into three levels: the first level represents a metaphor for how events or things occur, the second level is more general (wide) which represents a metaphor for life, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, whereas the third level is lower (particular) metaphor LOVE/CAREER IS A JOURNEY. He adds, the third level obtains structure from the second level and this level obtains structure from level one.

a. Types of Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) established three main types of conceptual metaphor as explained below:

A. Structural Metaphor

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003:14), structural metaphors are "cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another". This means that the source domain provides the target domain with the structure or framework it needs. Knowles and Moon (2006:17) illustrate that in this kind of metaphor, the source domain provides the target domain with a framework, which in turn governs how we conceptualize and talk about the abstract things and activities that are included in the target domain. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) gives an example of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR which frequently appears in our everyday communication in a number of expressions such as 'He always wins arguments with her.'

B. Orientational Metaphor

According to Li (2010:14), these metaphors are arranged as a whole system of concepts in relation to another and "spatial orientational" result from our spatial and physical experiences with the environment. Radden & Dirven (2007), claim that this type provides us with rich sources of mental metaphor when they express things such as *rain comes down* or *smoke goes up*. These "spatial orientations" are not random; rather, they are determined by our physical interactions with our environment as well as the structure of our bodies. The majority of human concepts are organized by orientational metaphors, which use prepositions like up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, and so forth. For example, HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN led to expressions like: '*She feels up, you let me down, can you give me a lift?*' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:14).

C. Ontological Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 25) explain that "ontological metaphors arise when our experience of physical objects and substance provides a further basis knowledge for understanding tangible ones." By conceptualizing and comprehending our experiences in terms of things and materials, we are able to isolate and treat certain parts of our experience as distinct entities or substances of a particular kind. It is possible to think of the world as being made up of a variety of objects and materials, and our interactions with physical objects produce ontological metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This type of metaphor explains abstract concepts like (time, ideas, inflation and emotion) in terms of objects and substances. Mark (2008) explains that perceiving our experiences in the world as substances and objects is a good way for understanding them, for example, "*I have got a mountain of work to do*" or "*share prices are falling through the floor*". This way simplifies their categorization, referencing and quantification. The following example demonstrates the conceptual metaphor: INFLATION IS AN ENTITY.

- Our level of living is declining due to inflation.
- We won't be able to live if inflation increases significantly.
- We must fight inflation.

- The biggest enemy for us is inflation.
- Currently, inflation is our greatest threat (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:26).

7.2 The Characteristics of Conceptual Metaphor

This theory is defined by characteristics like ubiquity, conventionality, systematicity and unidirectionality. The term "ubiquitous" in this sense emphasizes the importance of metaphor in our daily life, thinking and behaviour. Hence, metaphor is not only confined to poetic language. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 8). Based on Lakoff (1993: 210), linguistic metaphors, or metaphorical expressions in language, are systematically connected to metaphorical concepts. Therefore, this characteristic defines metaphor as being systematic. Cognitively, metaphor is also characterized by directionality, which represents the irreversible shift of the metaphorical process from a more tangible to more abstract state. Thus, it does not go both ways (not bidirectional) (Grady & Ascoli, 2017: 31). Lastly, Kövecses (2010: 35) uses the term "conventional" in a cognitive metaphor to denote anything that is established and deeply ingrained. Hence, to state that a metaphor is highly conventional is to refer to the fact that it is firmly established and well rooted in the words used by society in an easy and natural way.

7.3 Conceptual Metaphor's Basis

Lakoff (1993: 239) demonstrates that conceptual metaphors are based on human experiences. Motivation includes more than only the shared biological and cultural origins between the source domain and the target domain, but also the connections found in the experience. Johnson (1987: 26) states that the human embody has a direct effect on how we see the objects around us as well as understanding their meaning. According to Bergen (2015:11), "embodiment" refers to the process of linking the mind and body. Conceptual Metaphor Theory embraces experiential realism which expresses that reasoning is the result of ongoing interaction with the environment. Meaning is characterized by experiential realism, namely, in terms of "biological capacities, physical and social experiences in the environment". (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:163)

According to Lakoff (1993:240), the English conceptual metaphor "MORE IS UP", is based on experiences like "prices rose" and "his income went down". As an example, when water is poured into a container, its level within the container increases. Thus, this metaphor emerges from the link between the conceptual domain of quantity and vertical space, in which MORE is connected with UP and LESS with DOWN.

Metaphors, as noted by Lakoff and Turner (1989:84), are based on the shared and culturally borrowed knowledge along with direct experience. As a result, metaphors range in the extent to which they rely on own experience or fit with the "commonplace knowledge of culture". The conceptual metaphor "PEOPLE ARE PLANTS", for instance, is not based on the direct experience that links the target and source domains. Using this metaphor implies an effective commonplace knowledge that connects the different phases of both plant and human life. It is used automatically and subconsciously in everyday communication in expressions like "He withered away". For example, the spatialization metaphors UP-DOWN cohere with certain cultural values. The English saying "The future will be better" cohorts with the conceptual metaphors "THE FUTURE IS UP" and "GOOD IS UP".

Lakoff and Johnson (2003:21) state that there is a coherence between the culture's metaphorical framework and its most significant concepts, and its most important values. Such values are deeply integrated into the culture. The saying "THE FUTURE WILL BE BETTER" represents the concept of achievement or progress. These cultural values are therefore not independent. They have to establish a logical framework employing the metaphorical concepts that we live by.

8. Classification of Metaphor

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989:174), metaphors can be divided into two categories: explicit and implicit. In the explicit one, there are three forms of the source and target domains like: "explicit metaphor" in which both source and target domains are clearly specified and mentioned. For instance, the conceptual metaphor "DEATH IS DEPARTURE" in Dickinson's poem "Because I could not stop for Death, He kindly stopped for me," exemplifies the metaphorical concept of DEATH as departure. In this case, it is obvious what domains are the source and target respectively. Thus, the target domain is Death while the source domain is represented by Departure which "stopped for me".

The implicit metaphor can be classified into two kinds: the first explicitly states the source domain whereas the target domain is unstated. In the English saying "A rolling stone gathers no moss", the source domain is explicit through the tangible image "A rolling stone", but the target domain which refers to human's characteristics or behaviour, is implicitly mentioned. Accordingly, the source domain "A rolling stone" is mapped onto the target domain that represents human's characteristics or behaviour.

In the second kind of implicit metaphor, both the source and target domain are implicit. An example of "DEATH IS DEPARTURE" can be observed in the poetry of T.S. Eliot "I have seen the eternal footman hold my coat, and I have seen the moment of my greatness Hicker". The phrase "eternal footman" metaphorically maps "the person leading a life" onto "person to be carried in the carriage," implicitly evokes and maps the source domain with the target domain. In other words, stepping out of the carriage signifies death (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 10).

9. Methodology and Data Collection

Proverbs from the Mosuli community, used in Mosul city, are included in the collected data. Both written and spoken data are investigated in the research. The written information was collected from sources that contain proverb collections by Al-Dabbagh (1956) and Al-Ghulami (1964). Apart from these written sources, the research gathered audio recordings from Mosuli native speakers. To make sure that the written data is authentic, a survey was conducted. Twenty participants of native speakers between the ages of 30 and 60 were directed to choose "yes" or "no" so as to keep only the proverbs that are spoken in Mosul. Therefore, the research covers an agreed-upon data.

The research gathered (130) proverbs, however, only (40) were investigated, and the remaining were excluded for these reasons:

1. Proverbs without metaphors were excluded.
2. Proverbs that had unsuitable words were not included.
3. Spoken data with less than 60% agreement were omitted.
4. Proverbs with recurring ideas and concepts as well as metaphors, were not included in the research.

Proverbs in this research have various source domains of phrases related to food, like eating process, food preparation, edible substances apparatuses and equipment. The proverbs are written between two slashes using phonetic symbols that represent Mosuli Arabic dialect. In addition, both literal

and non-literal translations of the proverbs are given. The literal translation of the proverb from Mosuli Arabic into the target language (English) is referred to by the acronym (Ltr). In addition, when the target language lacks any equivalents that are similar to the Mosuli proverbs in terms of text and meaning, the non-literal translation is done by paraphrasing. This non-literal translation is represented by the acronym (Ptr).

This research is qualitative and the data is analysed on two levels:

A. The first level

This level is used to verify the most suitable interpretations for the metaphors that proverbs are built on. This is done by interviewing Mosuli native speakers. Since the target domains are not indicated by real discourse situations; this study interprets metaphors out of real context. This procedure is supported by Lakoff and Turner (1989:175) who explain that in the case that we encounter a list of proverbs without context, there is no explicit situation to specify the target domains. Hence, some of the participants were invited to give imaginative conversation scenarios where these proverbs could be used. Additionally, these interpretations are considered more authentic because the researcher is a Mosuli native speaker.

B. The second level of analysis

After getting the appropriate interpretations and conversation situations where proverbs might occur; the adopted model is applied to these proverbs. Furthermore, there are two sections in this stage. While the second one examines explicit metaphors, the first examines implicit ones.

a. Examining Implicit Metaphors

Some proverbs indicate the source domain explicitly while avoiding any hint at the target domain. These proverbs are examples of implicit metaphors. Gibbs (1994:310) states that a specific context is needed to analyse this type of metaphor to make the target domain more explicit. Hence, this study examines this type of metaphor using two models. The first model, "GENERIC IS SPECIFIC", was developed by Lakoff and Turner in 1989 and provides a clear description of the target domain. The second model, proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in 2003, involves food-related expressions and their underlying metaphors.

Examining these implicit metaphors involves four stages. First, a generic level schema is extracted from the specific level schema. The proverb's wide – range imagery is described by the generic level schema, while the specific one includes rich images and information related to the text of the proverb like food, animals and objects. Second, setting out the specific level schema which gives the possible applications of this proverb and how it establishes the generic level schema. The third stage is identifying the relationship between the specific level schema (life context) and the extracted generic level schema. Fourth and last, mapping the source domain (terms related to food) onto various target domains. This stage also includes presenting conceptual metaphors basis.

b. Examining Explicit Metaphors

According to Maalej (2009:141), there are proverbs that explicitly mention the target domain within their text. These proverbs contain explicit metaphors. Only the second model (Lakoff and Johnson 2003) analyses this type of metaphor. Thus, this stage involves providing a basis for conceptual metaphors by mapping the source domain (terms related to food) onto various target domains.

10. Data Analysis

a. Implicit Metaphor Analysis

1. (الذست ما يتغكب الا على ثائي) (Survey)

/ʔildisit ma jityakab ila ʕala θa:θi/

(The pot does only stand on three) (Ltr)

(Unity is power) (Ptr)

The pot is a device that serves as a container for keeping food. This pot needs a firm base to stand on. So, a specific number (three) of solid pieces of stone is needed to put the pot on. This proverb might be used in a situation where a person faces financial difficulties. This person needs money to overcome these difficulties. Therefore, brothers and friends work hard to help him find a solution. The pot corresponds to the person who faces financial difficulties while fixing the pot steadily corresponds to overcoming the difficulties. Additionally, the need for a specific number of stones corresponds to the person's brothers and friends. The metaphorical mapping of the source domain (the pot with three stones) conceptualizes collaboration as the target domain. To understand this collaboration, experience setting the pot on three stones. The conceptual metaphor is COOPERATION IS FIXING FOOD APPARATUS.

2. (ما كل امدعبل جوز) (Al-Ghulami, 1964:130)

/ma kil ʔimdaʕbal dʒɔ:z/

(Not every circular shape is a nut) (Ltr)

(Don't judge things by their appearances) (Ptr)

This food (nut) has a circular shape. The proverb implies warning that not every circular shape is a nut. Thus, anyone should not be deceived by appearances. It can be used in any situation where a person is about to judge someone or something only based on how they look. Thus, it is used to warn the person that he/she is dealing with something or that someone is not what appears to be. The nut corresponds to what a person might face. The abstract domain (warning) is metaphorically understood by mapping the source domain (not every circular is a nut) onto it. In spite of having similar appearances, people are not truly alike. THE CONTENT OF THOUGHT IS THE INGREDIENT OF FOOD.

3. (نيس تاكل دجاج ونيس تتلقى العجاج) (Al-Dabbagh, 1956: 454)

/ne:s ta:kl dʒa:ɖʒ w ne:s titlaqa ʔlʕadʒa:ɖʒ/

(Some people eat chickens while others get dust) (Ltr)

(Two classes, one of which enjoys pleasure at the expense of the other, which works for them)

(Ptr)

This proverb evokes the general meaning of some people who get benefits at the expense of others who get troubles. It can be used in a situation like a man who steals a chicken from a farm and gives it to his companion. When he tries to flee, he falls into a fenced hole and is arrested. Hence, the thief's companion who got the chicken corresponds to his benefits at the expense of the thief who got into trouble. Thus, there is a mapping between the source domain (the proverb's text) and the target domain (the situation) which enables the listener to understand the metaphorical meaning of the proverb. People who eat chickens and those who get dust are the source domain that are used to conceptualize those who get pleasure and benefits from those who work hard and get only troubles. The conceptual metaphor is LIFE IS A FEAST.

4. (أكلو لحم وزتو عظم) (*Al-Ghulami, 1964:17*)

/ʔakalu laħm w zatu ʕaðʕm/

(He ate him as meat and threw him as bones) (Ltr)

(He made use of him and threw him away) (Ptr)

The generic level schema in this proverb is that people eat meat and exploit every bit of it then throw it with nothing left except bones. It implies that someone took advantage of someone else, using him/her for his/her benefit and dismissing whatever was left without any consideration. This proverb can be used in a situation where a man uses his friend's skills and connections to get a social position. Once he gets what he needs, he cuts all ties with his friend, leaving him with nothing. The meat corresponds to the friend at the beginning of their friendship while the bone corresponds to the friend after being with nothing left. The source domain (eating meat) is mapped onto the target domain (exploiting and discarding someone) to lead to the metaphorical meaning of the exploitation and subsequent abandonment of someone.

5. (ثقل عالمدي) (*Al-Dabbagh, 1956: 139*)

/θaqi:l ʕal mʕdi/

(He is heavy on the stomach) (Ltr)

(unpleasant to be accompnied) (Ptr)

Some food is heavy and hard to digest and makes people feel uncomfortable. This proverb has a generic meaning that implies that someone is unpleasant either because of his/her physical presence or character. It can be used in a situation where someone refuses to accompany someone else who is difficult in his/her personality or actions. The heavy food corresponds to a person whose ideas and behaviour are unpleasant. The metaphorical mapping happens between the source domain (the physical sensation of the heavy food) and the target domain (the emotional discomfort caused by the person's behaviour or presence). The conceptual metaphor in this proverb is COMPREHENSION OF IDEAS DIGESTION OF FOOD.

b. Explicit Metaphor Analysis

1. (الما ينوش العنقود يقول يا محمضو) (*Al-Dabbagh, 1956: 77*)

/ʔilma: jnu:f ʔilʕanqu:d jqu: ja maħmaðu/

(The one who can't get the grapes, says they are sour) (Ltr)

(A person should not belittle other's achievements because he can't do likewise) (Ptr)

The inability to reach the high grapes is the source domain which conceptualizes that one should not minimize the achievements of others just because he himself cannot achieve them, as the target domain. The conceptual metaphor in this proverb is THE CONTENT OF THOUGHT IS THE INGREDIENT OF FOOD.

2. (ضرب الحبيب مثل أكل الزبيب) (*Survey*)

/ðarb ʔilħabi:b miθil ʔakil ʔilzbi:b/

(A beat from the beloved is like eating sweet raisin) (Ltr)

(Negative things are accepted when they come from a lover) (Ptr)

Beating as a physical action, which is associated with pain and discomfort is compared with the enjoyment and comfort the person experiences while eating raisin. The metaphorical mapping between the source domain (eating raisin) and the target domain (the beloved's negative or uncomfortable action) emphasizes the idea that love can make an unpleasant experience enjoyable. The conceptual metaphor here is LOVE IS SWEETNEES.

3. (مثل طببخ المكادي) (*Al-Dabbagh, 1956: 413*)

/miθl ʔabi:x ʔilmaga:di/

(Like beggars' cooking) (Ltr)

(Messy and undesirable) (Ptr)

Beggars collect whatever ingredients they can find as their food. This mixture of food is undesirable, insufficient and of low quality. The source domain (characteristics of beggars' food) conceptualizes the target domain which refers to any messy or undesirable situation. The conceptual metaphor in this proverb is THE CONTENT OF THOUGHT IS THE INGREDIENT OF FOOD.

4. (اللي ما يعنف تدابير و حنطتو تاكل شعيرو) (*Survey*)

/ʔilli ma: jiʔxf tada:bi:ru hinqitu ta:kil faʔi:ru/

(The one who cannot handle his business well, allows his barley to be eaten by his wheat) (Ltr)

(Those who don't plan well, will bear the consequences) (Ptr)

The wheat and barley metaphorically represent someone's affairs or possessions. If someone manages his affairs poorly and does not plan for the future, he will suffer the consequences. The source domain is (agriculture: wheat and barley) and the target domain is (personal affairs and possessions). Therefore, (wheat) stands for one's affairs and possessions and (barley) stands for neglectance or mismanagement. Similarly, one crop may overtake and devour another if it is not properly tended to. The conceptual metaphor is RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IS FEEDING.

5. (لا تطلب الدبس من وج النمس) (*Al-Dabbagh, 1956: 572*)

/la tiʔlub ʔildibis min witʔ ʔilnimis/

(Don't ask for molasses from the face of the dirty) (Ltr)

(Don't expect help from unkind people) (Ptr)

Molasses as something sweet and valuable represents the source domain (asking for something valuable) and is mapped onto the target domain (a dirty person). This proverb implies not to expect good from someone who is unclean and unworthy. Molasses stands for kindness while the dirty person stands for those who lack kindness and generosity. The conceptual metaphor is PURITY IS GOODNESS.

11. Results and Discussion

It is observed that various abstract concepts are conceptualized by employing food – related terms. This research also highlights the essential role of food – related experiences and cultural values on the motivation of the metaphorical conceptualization of the abstract (target) domains. Few food metaphors are promoted by cultural norms; the majority are generated by direct culinary experiences. Moreover, most of the Mosuli Arabic proverbs include implicit metaphors, where the target domain is implicit while the source domain is stated explicitly.

12. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the collected Mosuli Arabic proverbs, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. By linking abstract and tangible domains, the conceptual metaphor theory is able to reveal a variety of aspects of languages and dialects across the world.
2. To comprehend various abstract concepts, Mosuli Arabic dialect uses metaphorical expressions of food – related terms. This conclusion confirms the first hypothesis.

3. It has been proved that the conceptual metaphors of terms related to food in Mosuli Arabic proverbs are strongly affected by experience and cultural norms. Thus, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

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گه‌ران به‌دوای پهنده‌کانی خوراکي موسليدا: پروانگه‌په‌کی معرپفی

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پوخته

میتافور وهک په‌کیک له تیورییې ناسراوه‌کان دهرده‌که‌ویت که مامه‌له له‌گه‌ل زمانې ناوشه‌یی ده‌کات. ئەم چه‌مکه له‌لایه‌ن لاکوف و جونسون (1980a) هوه وهک تیگه‌یشتن له چه‌مکه ئەبستراکته‌کان له ریگه‌ی توبژه‌ی به‌رجه‌سته‌تره‌وه سه‌یر ده‌کریت. ئەم بوجونه جیاوازه له تیورییې‌کانی دیکه که میتافور به‌تניה وهک یارییې‌کی وشه ده‌زانن. ئەم تویژینه‌وه‌یه لیکولینه‌وه له به‌کاره‌ینانی مه‌تافوره‌کانی خوراک له پهنده‌کانی عه‌ره‌بی موسليدا ده‌کات. ئامانجی رۆشنکردنه‌وه‌یه له‌سه‌ر بنه‌ما و پالنه‌ره‌کانی ئەم میتافورانه؛ جگه له‌وه‌ش، به‌دوای ئەوه‌دا ده‌گه‌ریت که چون بیروکه ئەبستراکته‌کان له ریگه‌ی به‌کاره‌ینانی زاراه‌ی په‌یوه‌ست به‌ خوارده‌وه له پهنده عه‌ره‌بییې موسلمانه‌کاندا چه‌مکسازي و تیگه‌یشتن‌یان لیده‌کریت. ئەم لیکولینه‌وه‌یه ئەو گریمانه‌یه ده‌کات که کومه‌لیک بیروکه‌ی ئەبستراکته‌ه‌مه‌چه‌شن به‌ به‌کاره‌ینانی زاراه‌ی په‌یوه‌ست به‌ خوراک تیده‌گه‌ن و لیکده‌درینه‌وه. جگه له‌وه‌ش ئەوه‌ پيشان ده‌دات که بنه‌ماکانی میتافور بریتین له کولتور و ئەزمون. زانیاری نوسراو و زاره‌کی بۆ ئەم تویژینه‌وه‌یه له کتیبه‌ ره‌سه‌نه‌کان و زمانه ره‌سه‌نه‌کانی موسلمانه‌وه کوده‌کریته‌وه. پهنده کۆکراوه‌کان وه‌رگيردراون بۆ وه‌رگيرانی وشه‌یی و وه‌رگيرانی وه‌رگيردراو و هه‌روه‌ها نووسینه‌وه‌ی فونيمیکيش دابین ده‌کهن.

داناکان له دوو ئاستدا شی ده‌کریته‌وه: ئاستی یه‌که‌م په‌یوه‌ندی به‌ ده‌سته‌ته‌ینانی روونکردنه‌وه و سیناریوی گوتاری دروسته‌وه هه‌یه که له‌وانه‌یه ئەم په‌ندانه به‌کاره‌ینان. ئاستی دووهم له دوو ئاستی لاهوکی پیکدیت. له به‌شی یه‌که‌مدا دوو مودیل به‌کاره‌ینان بۆ لیکولینه‌وه له مه‌تافوره ناراسته‌وخوکان. دوو مودیل‌که له به‌ره‌مه‌کانی لاکوف و تورنر (1989) له‌سه‌ر "GENERIC IS SPECIFIC" و لاکوف و جونسون (2003) له "میتافوره‌کانی ئیبه‌ ده‌ژین" وه‌رگيراون. به‌م شیوه‌یه ئەو دوو مودیل بۆ ناشکرکردنی مانای میتافوریکي خوراک له پهنده عه‌ره‌بییې موسلمانه‌کاندا به‌کاره‌ینان. به‌شی دووهم به‌ به‌کاره‌ینانی ئەو پارادایمه‌ی که له‌لایه‌ن لاکوف و جونسون (2003) پيشنبار کراوه، لیکولینه‌وه له مه‌تافوره روونه‌کان ده‌کات. ئەم لیکولینه‌وه‌یه ده‌گاته ئەو ئەنجامه‌ی که تیوری میتافوری چه‌مکی توانای ناشکرکردنی ژماره‌یه‌کی جوراوجوری بیروکه‌ی ئەبستراکته‌ه‌یه که به‌ ئامازهدان به‌ شته به‌رجه‌سته‌تره‌کان تیده‌گه‌ن. سه‌ره‌رای ئەوه‌ش، چه‌مکسازي میتافوریک به‌هوی ئەزمون و به‌ها کولتوریکي‌ه‌کانه‌وه پالنه‌ریکه.

وشه سه‌ره‌کییې‌کان: دۆمه‌ینی سه‌رچاوه؛ دۆمه‌ینی ئامانج؛ خواردن؛ میتافور؛ پهنده‌کانی موسلی

استکشاف امثال الطعام الموصلية: منظور ادراكي

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ملخص

تبرز الاستعارة كواحدة من النظريات الأكثر شهرة التي تتناول اللغة المجازية. ينظر لاکوف وجونسون (1980) إلى هذا المفهوم على أنه فهم للمفاهيم المجردة من خلال أشياء أكثر واقعية. ويختلف هذا الرأي عن النظريات الأخرى التي تعتبر الاستعارة مجرد لعب بالكلمات. يتناول هذا البحث استخدام الاستعارات المتعلقة بالطعام في الأمثال العربية الموصلية. يهدف البحث إلى تسليط الضوء على أسس ودوافع هذه الاستعارات؛ علاوة على ذلك، فهو يبحث عن كيفية تصور المفاهيم المجردة وفهمها من خلال استخدام المصطلحات المتعلقة بالطعام في الأمثال العربية الموصلية. يفترض هذا البحث أن مجموعة متنوعة من الأفكار المجردة يتم فهمها وتفسيرها باستخدام المصطلحات المتعلقة بالطعام. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فهو يشير إلى أن الخبرة والثقافة هما أساس الاستعارات. تم جمع البيانات الكتابية والشفوية لهذا البحث من الكتب الموثوقة والناطقين الأصليين الموصليين. تمت ترجمة الأمثال المجمعة إلى ترجمات حرفية والمعنى المقصود من المثل بالإضافة إلى توفير الكتابة بالرموز الصوتية.

وتم تحليل البيانات على مستويين: المستوى الأول يهتم بالحصول على التفسيرات الصحيحة والمواقف الخطابية التي قد تستخدم فيها هذه الأمثال. المستوى الثاني يتكون من جزأين. وقد استخدم في الجزء الأول نموذجان للتحقيق من الاستعارات الضمنية. النموذجان مأخوذان من أعمال لاکوف وتيرنر (1989) "العام محدد" و لاکوف وجونسون (2003) "الاستعارات التي نعيش بها". وتستخدم هذه النماذج للكشف عن المعنى المجازي للطعام في الأمثال العربية الموصلية. ويبحث الجزء الثاني في الاستعارات الصريحة باستخدام النموذج الذي اقترحه لاکوف وجونسون (2003). توصل هذا البحث إلى نتيجة مفادها أن نظرية الاستعارة المفاهيمية قادرة على الكشف عن عدد مختلف من المفاهيم المجردة التي يتم فهمها من خلال أشياء أكثر واقعية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فإن التصور المجازي مُحفز بالخبرة والقيم الثقافية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المجال المصدر؛ المجال المستهدف؛ طعام؛ استعارة؛ الأمثال الموصلية