A Comparative Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors in English and Iraqi Arabic

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**Aim:** This study is an attempt to compare some English and Iraqi Arabic conceptual metaphors in the hope to find out the extent to which they are similar or different. This study is carried out in the light of the embodiment hypothesis which contends that human beings experience and consequently comprehend the realities of the world in terms of their bodies. "The 'embodiment' of meaning is perhaps the central idea of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and indeed of the cognitive linguistic view of meaning" (Kovecses, 2002:16). Lakoff and Johnson (1999:59) explain that just by functioning normally in the world, we automatically and unconsciously acquire and use a lot of conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors are realized in our brains physically and are mostly not under our control.
They result directly from the nature of our brains, our bodies, and the world we live in. Lakoff and Johnson (ibid:45) ascribe our conceptualizing, for example: understanding an idea as grasping an object, to the conceptual metaphors we have built up since our early childhood. Lakoff and Johnson (ibid:46-47) state that these metaphors have developed after a period of conflation of our subjective and sensorimotor experiences. These experiences little by little give way to a period of differentiation creating separate domains, while the cross-domain associations continue to persist. This conceptual mechanism of cross-domain associations is what allows us to view a subjective experience of understanding an idea in terms of the sensorimotor experience of grasping. Lakoff and Johnson (ibid:57) believe that there are many such conceptual metaphors in a culture. Moreover; they predict that some of such metaphors are universal across cultures. Kovecses(op.cit.:16) claims that the human body plays a very central role in the emergence of metaphorical meaning, not only in English and other Western languages and cultures but in many other languages and cultures around the world as well.

Examples of cognitive metaphors that derive from our interaction with the environment are: HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP and SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN which are the result of our spatial orientation, that is, serious illness forces us to lie down physically, and when one is dead one is physically down (Lakoff and Johnson:1980:15).

It is possible for different languages and cultures to conceptualise certain phenomena in similar ways because of the universal aspects of the human body. Various Cultures have similar ideas about their bodies and seem to see themselves undergo the same physiological processes in
given situations (Kovecses, op. cit. :171). When a conceptual metaphorical concept has such an experiential basis it can be said to be embodied. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argued that key tenets of the Western philosophical tradition are actually structured by conceptual metaphors. Kovecses (op.cit.:163) claims that the best method to investigate the universalist hypothesis is to investigate some conceptual metaphors from different languages and then to check whether these same metaphors exist in typologically very different languages. If they do exist in these different unrelated languages one can assume that they may be universal.

Studies of conceptual metaphor have focused mainly on English. This paper attempts to investigate this universalist claim, and this is done through the empirical analysis of conceptual metaphors from an alternative tradition, i.e. Iraqi Arabic, to see if they are indeed structured in a way which is similar to English.

Theoretical framework:

Lakoff and Johnson(1980:3) state that:
"...metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature."

The theoretical assumptions on which the present paper is based are derived from the conceptual theory of metaphor initially developed by Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.). In its broadest sense, the cognitive approach claims that metaphors are far from being poetic and figures of speech but are pervasive in conventional language and thought. Metaphor is a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system, providing, at the same time, a
particular understanding of the world and a way to make sense of our experience. From this standpoint, metaphor is defined by Lakoff and Nunez (2000:5) as "the mechanism by which the abstract is comprehended in terms of the concrete."

Lakoff and Johnson (op.cit.) believe that the metaphors people use provide information on how they understand things. They note that a person's communication is a key source to indicating how that person thinks. Not only do metaphors provide a window for people to see another's person conceptual system, metaphors also shape people's conceptual systems. Metaphors also "govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around the world, and how we relate to other people" (p.3).

Thus, metaphors play a key role in people's communication and conceptualization. A good case in point illustrating what it means for a concept to be metaphorical and for such a concept to structure an everyday activity, is the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff, 1993:4). Love here is understood as a journey. English has many everyday expressions that are grounded on conceptualizing the domain of love in terms of the domain of a journey, such as: Look how far we have come. We cannot turn back now. We are at a cross-roads. We may have to go our separate ways. The relationship isn't going anywhere. Thus, metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience, love, in terms of a very different domain of experience, journey. "Technically, the metaphor can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain (in this case, journeys) to a target domain (in this case,
love" (Lakoff, ibid:4). Another good example is AFFECTION IS WARMTH and its opposite IDDIFFERENCE IS COLD (Lakoff, ibid.:30). These conceptual metaphors may be exemplified by the following expressions:

We received a warm welcome. Our relationship has come to be just lukewarm. She is absolutely frigid. She sent him an icy glance. He was cool to me today.

To summarise, in the cognitivist approach, metaphor is interpreted as understanding one (target) domain in terms of another (source) domain of experience in a way which is systematic and motivated, and which structures our conceptual system and helps us reflect our knowledge from more delineated concepts to less tangible ones in the understanding of the world outside.

Lakoff and Turner (1989:62) are of the opinion that the metaphorical mapping moves in only one direction, from the source domain to the target domain and not vice versa. To substantiate their standpoint, these researchers use by way of example the conceptual metaphor: LIFE IS A JOURNEY; they contend that we comprehend our life in terms of a journey. "We map onto the domain of life the inferential structure underlying journey, but we do not map onto the domain of journey the inferential structure underlying life" (Lakoff and Turner, ibid.:62). To press their argument further, Lakoff and Turner argue that people do not usually map some features of life such as waking and sleeping onto journeys; moreover, we do not assume that travellers can have only one single journey as people can have one life only. As a result, they come to the conclusion that the mapping goes into one direction, from the source domain to the target domain.

Lakoff and Turner (ibid.:97) classifies conceptual metaphors into two major types:
1- New metaphors which bind together kinds of things in an original and non-conventional way. Lakoff (op.cit. :23) refers to such novel metaphors as 'image' or 'one-shot' metaphors. He gives some examples for such metaphors. To take just one example, consider the image metaphor:

My wife….whose waist is an hourglass

Here, there is a mental image of an hourglass and of a woman, and we map the middle of the hourglass onto the waist of a woman. "the metaphor is conceptual, it is not in the words themselves, but in the mental images'(Lakoff ibid.:23). This kind of metaphor is outside the scope of the present paper.

2- Conventional metaphors which are so entrenched in everyday language that most people do not think of them as metaphors at all. Conventional metaphors are furthermore classified into:

a- Structural metaphors:

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14) in structural metaphors "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another". Structural metaphors are, by far, the most common type where there is a mapping of concepts, thereby requiring the hearer to transfer the basic domain of experience to another basic domain. Conceptual metaphors allow us to express abstract and difficult concepts in concrete terms. The key here is that the target is able to reveal interesting and important properties of the source through the process of metaphor. A classic example is LOVE IS A JOURNEY, which consists, according to Lakoff,1993:4)

of the following correspondences:
Source domain: JOURNEY Target domain LOVE
The lovers correspond to travelers.
The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle. The lovers' common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey. Difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel.

Another well-known example is the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor which entails conceptualizing the domain of argument discourse in terms of physical conflict or war. Structural metaphors bring to the fore the notion that metaphors are not merely linguistic, but relate our experiences of different concepts, making all metaphors a result of how we view the world.

b- Orientational metaphors:

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14) define orientational metaphors as metaphors which "give a concept a spatial orientation". Thus, through orientational metaphors some non-spatial notions such as emotion, mental state, quantity, power and control and so forth are articulated in terms of spatial categories such as: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. Examples of these orientational metaphors are HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN which are instantiated in English by such daily expressions as: I'm feeling up. That boosted my spirits. My spirits rose. I'm feeling down. I'm depressed. He's really low these days. My spirits sank. Orientational metaphors have a basis in our physical and cultural experience. Erect posture typically goes along with a positive emotional state while a drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression. An important aspect of the orientational metaphors is that they do not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organize "a whole system of concepts with respect to one another"(Lakoff and Johnson, ibid:14). This means that, for example, all the concepts that employ 'up' as a spatial metaphor tend to be related to each other;
thus we find GOOD IS UP, IMPORTANT IS UP, and MORE IS UP.

c- Ontological metaphors:

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:25) state that ontological metaphors arise when "our experience of physical objects and substances provides a further basis for understanding." Ontological metaphors, therefore, explain concepts in terms of the very basic categories of our existence such as objects and substances. Thus, ontological metaphors explain abstract notions such as time, idea, inflation and emotion in terms of objects and substances. The conceptual metaphor, INFLATION IS AN ENTITY (Lakoff and Johnson, ibid:25) Views inflation as an entity which is evident when we hear statements such as: Inflation is lowering our standard of living. We need to combat inflation. Inflation is backing us into a corner. Inflation is taking its toll at the checkout counter and the gas pump. Our biggest enemy right now is inflation. Treating inflation in this way enables us to refer to it, quantify it, see it as a cause and understand it.

The container metaphor figures prominently within ontological metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (ibid:30) state that "we use metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities and states. Events and actions are conceptualized metaphorically as objects, activities as substances, states as containers."

To illustrate what they mean when they say that events are objects, these scholars give a vivid example: A race, for example, is an event, which is viewed as a discrete entity. The race exists in space and time, and it has well-defined boundaries. Hence, we view it as a CONTAINER OBJECT, having in it participants (which are objects), events like the start and finish (which are
metaphorical objects) and an activity of running (which is a metaphorical substance). Thus we can say of a race:
Are you in the race on Sunday? (race as CONTAINER OBJECT)
Are you going to the race? (race as OBJECT)
Half-way into the race, I ran out of energy (race as CONTAINER OBJECT)
He is out of the race now (race as a CONTAINER OBJECT), (Lakoff and Johnson, ibid: 30-31).

In the prepositional phrase 'in the race', 'in' is a preposition signaling containment and 'the race' is a noun phrase indicating the container. In the second example, 'into the race' is a prepositional phrase. 'into' is a preposition showing containment while 'the race' is a noun phrase indicating the container. In the third example, 'out of the race' is a prepositional phrase. 'Out' is a preposition showing containment while 'the race' is a noun phrase showing the container.

According to these scholars activities in general are perceived metaphorically as SUBSTANCES. Activities are perceived as entities that have a beginning and an end. The following are examples of activities that are conceptualized as contained objects (Lakoff and Johnson Ibid: 31):
In washing windows, I spilled water all over the floor. How did Jenny get out of washing the windows? Outside of washing windows, what else did you do? How did you get into window washing as a profession? He's immersed in washing the windows. I put a lot of energy into washing the windows. I get a lot of satisfaction out of washing windows. There is a lot of satisfaction in washing windows.

'Washing' is viewed as a container into which energy is put. Therefore, getting into the activity entails containment. 'Washing' is perceived as a contained activity out of which
something (satisfaction) could be taken. 'Washing' is seen as an activity which has a beginning and an end. The beginning and the end of the activity bound the region in between. Therefore, what happens during the activity is within the bounded region. This is construed as containment. In all these cases the prepositions signal containment.

Lakoff and Johnson (ibid:31) also explain that various kinds of states may be conceptualized as containers.

To illustrate what these scholars mean by conceptualizing states as containers we take the English statement, 'He is in trouble.' By uttering this statement the speaker is conceptualizing trouble as if it were a container or a bounded region. What is relevant about metaphors is not that some expression is substituted for another but there is some sort of interaction between two conceptual domains. Thus, our knowledge and experience about containers make us aware that these have boundaries that make it hard to escape, and that once inside a container an entity is subject to the conditions prevailing in the container and may be affected by them. If a person is 'in trouble', he is affected by it, and there may be impediments for him to solve the problematic situation, that is to get out of the situation. These implications are to some extent part of the logic of the metaphor.

To summarize, this section has examined conceptual metaphors in order to provide a framework for a comparative analysis of English and Iraqi Arabic metaphorical mappings. For space limitation, this study will concentrate on comparing orientational and container metaphors in English and Iraqi Arabic to test the universalist claim as these metaphors are the basis on which the universalist claim has been founded. English and Iraqi
Arabic are unrelated linguistic systems and represent very different cultures. Thus, this fact provides a valuable opportunity to test the claim of metaphor universality deriving from embodiment. According to Kovecses (2002:165) it is possible for different languages and cultures to conceptualize specific concepts similarly; the reason is that the universality of such metaphors is motivated by the universal aspects of the human body.

Comparative analysis:

Orientalational metaphors, as explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14)), will be compared with corresponding ones in Iraqi Arabic. Both linguistic systems are typologically unrelated and represent very different cultures.

We start with the conceptual metaphors: HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN. Some metaphorical expressions which reflect such conceptual metaphors are given below, first in English and after that in Iraqi Arabic.

English: All English metaphorical expressions are taken from Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.:15-17).

I'm feeling up. My spirits rose. You are in high spirits.
That boosted my spirits. My spirits sank. I'm depressed.
I fell into a depression. He is really low these days.

Iraqi Arabic:

إرتفعت معنوياتي
(My spirits rose)
معنوياتك اليوم عالية
(Your spirits are high today)
شو إنت اليوم طاهر من الفرح
(You are flying with happiness today?)
من كتبته الأخبار لي بدأ افتكر من الفرح
(When I told him the news he began to jump with happiness)
أخبارك هبطت معنوياتي
(Your news lowered my spirits)
When his son died he fell into a depression.

Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.:15) relate drooping posture to sadness and depression but erect posture to positive emotional state. The typical Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions cited above have, broadly speaking, the same meaning as the one given by the English examples. One more Iraqi Arabic example can manifest both conceptual metaphors; when a young man does an exceedingly good job his mother would shout with joy:

عفيه إبني الماهبط راسي: (Well done! My son! You didn't lower my head!)

Thus, both in English and Iraqi Arabic upward movement has a positive connotation while downward movement has a negative connotation. Consequently, one has enough reason to believe that both conceptual metaphors may be universal; for them to occur in both linguistic systems which are very different typologically and culturally is more than just a mere coincidence.

FRONT IS GOOD ; BACK IS BAD

English:
I'm looking forward to it. He turned his back to me.

Iraqi Arabic:
أن مشتاق إلشوفتك
(I am eager to see you)
شافي أو دار وجه
(When he saw me he turned his face away)
دارلي ظهره
(He turned his back to me)
لو بيك خير چان لحگت ربعك
(If there were any good in you could catch up with your friends)
بالوجه مرايه أو بالګه سلایه
(Face to face he is a mirror(meaning good) and at the back he is a spear (meaning harmful and therefore bad)
It can be seen that there are some similarities, in English and Iraqi Arabic, in the conceptualization of reality to the extent that FRONT/BACK orientations are concerned.

CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN

English:
Wake up, wake up. I'm already up. He rises early in the morning. He fell asleep. He dropped off to sleep. He's under hypnoses. He sank into a coma.

Iraqi Arabic:
إنهض!
(Rise !)
سقط مغشيأ عليه طاح ونسحنت روحه
(He fell and fainted)
كافي نوم! ڱ
(You have had enough sleep, stand up!)
هو هسه تحت تأثير ألمخدر
(He is now under the effect of either)

Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.15) notes that humans and most other mammals sleep lying down and stand up when they are awaken. It is clear that such resemblances in English and Iraqi Arabic cannot be attributed to mere chance but to the notion of embodiment as hypothesized by the theory of conceptual metaphor.

HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN

English:
I have control over him. He is in a superior position. He is at the height of his power. His power rose. He is in the high command. He is under my control. He fell from power. His power is on the decline.

Iraqi Arabic:
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He is under his wife's control
(He is under his wife's control)

Your position is high in our eyes
(Your position is high in our eyes)

This order has come from higher sources
(This order has come from higher sources)

My brother was in the high command
(My brother was in the high command)

They are now under our control
(They are now under our control)

His stamina is on the decline little by little
(His stamina is on the decline little by little)

They placed him under their feet and trod on him severely.
(They placed him under their feet and trod on him severely.)

He caused him to fall down and lay on him.
(He caused him to fall down and lay on him)

These English and Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions show clearly that a favourable connotation is achieved when an upward position is indicated and that an unfavourable connotation is expressed when a downward position is indicated. Thus, (over, superior, height, and rose) have a positive outlook but (under, decline, and fall) have a negative outlook. The physical and experiential basis for these metaphors is that physical size typically correlates with physical strength and the victor in a fight is typically on top.

This similarity between the UP and DOWN orientations in English and Iraqi Arabic can only be accounted for by the notion of embodiment.

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN

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English:
The number of books printed each year keeps going up.
My income rose last year. His draft number is high.
The number of errors he made is incredibly low.
His income fell last year. He is under age.
If you're too hot, turn the heat down.

Iraqi Arabic:
 الإسلامية جاى تصعد يوم على يوم
(Prices are going up daily)
لاضائع عدك مكومه
(Your goods are in piles)
درجات إبنك ارتفعت بالفصل الثاني
(Your son's marks went up in the second term)
الدينار العراقي صعد
(The Iraqi Dinar rose)
خرط السوق
(The market plummeted)
الماء بالشط نازل
(The water in the river has gone down)
أسعار النقل مو ثابته يوم تصعد يوم تنزل
(Transport fares are not stable; one day they go up, another day they go down)
The words (rose, go up, high and in piles) are interpreted as being UP. 'More' gives a similar meaning to UP because if one has more of something its level goes up. The words (low, under, down, plummeted and go down) are interpreted as being DOWN. If one has less of something its level goes down.
On the basis of these metaphorical expressions in English and Iraqi Arabic we can say that these orientational metaphors are similar and because we cannot ascribe the similarity to similar cultures the logical conclusion is that they may be universal as they can be attributed to the embodiment hypothesis.
HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN

English:
He has a lofty position. She'll rise to the top.
He's at the peak of his career. He's climbing the ladder.
He has little upward mobility. He's at the bottom of the
social hierarchy. She fell in status.

Iraqi Arabic:
لا تنزل مستواك
(Don't lower your status)
إرفع راسك إنت عراقي
(Lift your head up, you are Iraqi)
مايطخ راس
(He is not used to lowering his head)
إحنا إشجاينا إمستواك إنت فوگ و إحنا جوه
(We cannot attain your status; You are up, we are down)
إشدعوه شايل خشماك علينا؟
(Why are you lifting your nose up at us?). (A high nose is a
sign of an assumed high status)
أين الثرا من الثريا؟
(What a big difference! What has the ground to do with the
Pleiades?!) 
خشم عالي أو جيب خالي
(A high nose, i.e. feining high status, but with an empty
pocket, i.e. penniless)
(An Iraqi Arabic idiom used to brand a person as having a
low status although he pretends that he is of a high status)
هذا فقد واحد منحط
(This one (a person) is low)
ذولي حثالة المجتمع
(These are the dregs of society)

These conceptual metaphors whether in English or Iraqi
Arabic, are well attested by the commonly cited Iraqi Arabic
proverb:
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ماطار طير وإرتفع إلا كما طار وقع (Whenever a bird flies and soars, it will sooner or later comes down). The meaning is that when a person attains an undeserved high status, he will quickly comes down to his real (low) status.

خيه هذا فد واحد يموت على مرته مايخلق لها على عينج حاجب (My sister, this person loves his wife very much; he never tells her there is a brow above her eye.

This popular Iraqi Arabic proverbial expression employs an embodiment reality; the brow may be mapped onto any person with a high status and the eye, in this context, may be mapped onto any person who is beneath him in social rank (the eye is situated beneath the brow). Thus, the general meaning of this proverbial metaphorical expression is that a certain man endears his wife so much that he does not think there may be another person who is above her in rank.

One may observe critically that the present paper uses examples from classical Arabic. The answer to such a critical observance is that nowadays the demarcation line is anything but clear. Any linguist who is interested in Arabic dialectology cannot fail to notice that many Arabic dialects are converging more than any other era towards a unifying norm which is nearer to classical Arabic. The reasons for such convergence are outside the scope of this paper. We usually come across many sentences filtering from classical Arabic (the high variety) into Iraqi Arabic (the low variety) due to genealogical link or from one Arabic dialect into another due to increasing language contact.

The metaphorical expressions in English and Iraqi Arabic are evidence that both conceptual metaphors, in English and Iraqi Arabic, are similar in both linguistic systems.
which support the universality of these orientational metaphors as deriving from embodiment.

**GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN**

**English:**
Things are looking up.
We hit a peak last year, but it's been downhill ever since.
He has little upward mobility. He's at the bottom of the social hierarchy.
Things are at an all-time low. He does high-quality work.

**Iraqi Arabic:**
أليد العليا خير من اليد السفلي
(The upper hand is better than the lower hand)
إيد فوڠ إنددين
(His hand is above all hands)
إسم إبنك على راس القايمه
(Your son's name is at the top of the list)
إبنك راسب
(Your son has sank to the bottom, i.e. failed)
إلطايح رابيح
(What has fallen down is gone)
ومن يتهيب صعود الجبال يعش ابد الدهر بين الحفر
(He who is too timid to climb mountains will live forever in ditches)

This line of verse, by the late Tunisian poet Abul qasim Al-Shabby, which is widely used by speakers of Iraqi Arabic in their daily conversations is a vivid instantiation of the conceptual metaphors; **GOOD IS UP** and **BAD IS DOWN**.

Undoubtedly, these metaphors are similar in English and Iraqi Arabic as attested by the metaphorical expressions cited above. Thus, we have more evidence bearing on the embodiment hypothesis.

**VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS LOW**
English:
He is high-minded. She has high standards. She is up right. She is an up-standing citizen. That was a low-down thing to do.I wouldn't stoop to that. That would be beneath me.

Iraqi Arabic:
إنت فوغ الشبهات
(You are above doubts)
هذا من عائله صاقطه
(This person is from a low family)
أخلاقه وضيعه
(His morals are low)
لا تنزل مستوى إله
(Do not lower your level to his)
خدعه وضيعه
(Low trick)
إسكت! سافل!
(Shut up! Low!)

These metaphorical expressions from English and Iraqi Arabic speak for themselves, that is they are similar and therefore lend more evidence to the embodiment hypothesis.

To conclude this section we can say that, as far as the investigated orientational metaphors are concerned, our data from English and Iraqi Arabic are compatible with the embodiment hypothesis and hence they may be tentatively claimed to be universal.

The above examples serve to illustrate that orientational metaphors are universal or at least that they are not-culture specific since they are found in both English and Iraqi Arabic.Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have proposed that what makes orientational metaphors universal is the issue of embodiment. In all cultures people experience life with their bodies. They experience or interact with the physical environment with their bodies. And because the bodies are
universal, people tend to construe their experiences of the world in the same way.

Container metaphor:

Let us now compare conceptual metaphors in English with conceptual metaphors in Iraqi Arabic.

**ACTIVITIES ARE CONTAINERS**

In the 'racing' example given above, we notice that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consider activities such as 'racing' as containers.

In Iraqi Arabic, we have some metaphorical expressions that are the result of containment such as:

د خل بالسباق أو هو تعبان
(He got into the race while he was tired)
التوى عده الكاحل فطلع من السباق
(He sprained his ankle and therefore he came out of the race)

The motion verbs د خل ب (got into) and طلع من (came out of) indicate movements into and out of and therefore they contribute to the idea of containment.

Another example from Iraqi Arabic is that we find that a 'way' is a container because it has a beginning and an end. Anything that falls in the way is considered to be on the way. We can, therefore say in Iraqi Arabic:

و خر من الطريق!
(Get out of the way!)
صبر على صفحته!
(Get to one side of the way!)

Just like English, Iraqi Arabic indicates containment by the use of prepositions.

**ACTIVITIES ARE CONTAINERS**

Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.:31) point out that activities are construed as containers. This so because activities have a beginning and an end. The two end-points (beginning and
end) define a bounded region. The following English expressions illustrate the conceptual metaphor ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER:

In washing the windows, I spilled water all over the floor. How did Jenny get out of washing the windows? Outside of washing the windows, what else did you do? How did you get into window washing as a profession? He is immersed in washing the windows. (Lakoff and Johnson, ibid.:31).

In the first example, 'in washing' is a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition 'in'. The preposition indicates containment. 'washing' is a gerund functioning as a noun, which is the container. In the next example, 'out of washing' is a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition 'out of' signalling containment and 'washing' in all the examples is a gerund functioning as a noun signalling the container. In the last example from English, the expression 'into window washing' is a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition 'into' indicating containment. 'Window washing' is a noun phrase consisting of a noun and a gerund indicating the container.

Similarly, in Iraqi Arabic, we find that activities such as running, cooking, fighting, eating, drinking and making and many other activities are viewed as activities and therefore containers. They are viewed as containers with a beginning and an end and with clearly bounded regions. Below are examples from Iraqi Arabic which illustrate the conceptual metaphor ACTIVITIES ARE CONTAINERS:

أخوي ماجد ماجد البطوله بركضة المية متر بالعراق (My brother, Majid has taken the championship in the one-hundred-metre run in Iraq)
مرتي خبيره بالطبخ (My wife is an expert in cooking)
Ahmed is a champion in boxing

My son, don't speak during eating or drinking

Why don't you tell me how you got into making furniture?

Clearly, in English as well as Iraqi Arabic activities reflect containers and prepositions such as in (in) and during (during) indicate containment.

STATES ARE CONTAINERS

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:31) states are regarded as containers because one can get into a state at some point and then out of it at another point. These observations are exemplified with the following English metaphorical expressions:

He is in love. He is out of trouble.

He is coming out of the coma.

Below, a comparison is drawn between English and Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions reflecting the container metaphors: LOVE IS A CONTAINER and LIFE IS A CONTAINER.

LOVE IS A CONTAINER:

He is in love. He fell in love. She is full of love. Her love is deep.

These metaphorical expressions clearly show that love as a state is a container and the prepositions ( in, full of) and the adjective (deep) clearly indicate containment.

It is astonishing to find out that in Iraqi Arabic the same holds true as evidenced by the following examples:

He has fallen in love (He is drowned in love) (He has fallen in love).

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(Her heart is full of love)
LIFE IS A CONTAINER
English:
I've had a full life. Life is empty for him.
There is not much left for him in life.
Her life is crammed with activities. His life is a great deal of sorrow. Live your life to the fullest.
These metaphorical expressions from English clearly show that life as a state is a container with the prepositions indicating the idea of containment.
Iraqi Arabic:
عاش حياة مليانه سعاده
(He lived a life full of happiness)
بعد موت زوجته صارت حياته خاويه
(After the death of his wife his life became empty)
أطفالى ماليين حياتي
(My children have filled up my life)
حياته مليانه مشاكل
(His life is full of trouble)
الأحزان ماليه حياتي
(Sorrows have filled up my life)
Some more metaphorical examples showing that states are containers are given below:
داخل بمشاكل وي شريكه
(He has entered into problems with his partner)
ليگته غاط بالنوم
(I found him drowning in sleep)
عابش بالظلام
(He is living in darkness)
بقي بالعناية المركزه اسبوع لمن طلع من الغيبه
(He stayed in the intensive care for a week before he came out of the coma)
هذا فد واحد غاوي مشاكل كلما يطلع من مشكله يورط روحه بمشكله ثانيه
A Comparative Analysis of Conceptual …… Dr.Safaa Issa Hassan

(This person is fond of troubles; whenever he comes out of some trouble, he involves himself into some other trouble)

All the examples cited above show clearly that love, life, trouble, sleep, darkness, problems, and a coma are perceived as containers in English and Iraqi Arabic. This confirms that container metaphors may be universal mainly because they are motivated by embodiment.

EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS

Lakoff (1993:14) claims that events are perceived as containers in English. We speak of getting into or out of an event. The metaphorical expressions from English given below illustrate that the basic characteristics of containment are mapped onto the target domain of events such as war, competition, and ordeal:

The country has just come out of a war. The allies got into the war. He came out of the competition. He went into the competition. The hostages spoke openly about the terrible ordeal they had been through.

The English metaphorical expressions can be analyzed in the following way:

The first example of the container event has a prepositional phrase 'out of war'. This consists of a preposition 'out of' which tells us that there is containment and the noun phrase 'a war' which is the container event. The next example has the prepositional phrase 'into the war'. The preposition 'into' indicates containment while the noun phrase that remains, the war, indicates the container. In the remaining two examples we have the expressions 'out of the competition' and 'into the competition' respectively. Both are prepositional phrases with the prepositions 'out of', 'into' respectively indicating containment and the noun phrase 'the competition' indicating the container. In the last
example,'ordeal' indicates containment while the preposition 'through' shows containment.
Similarly, in Iraqi Arabic, events seem to be regarded as containers. The following metaphorical expressions illustrate this:

Irish Arabic:

ةممالك طلع من المنافسة بشرف
(The boxer got out of the competition with honour)

إنه شاه الله يطلع العراق من هاي المحنة أو هو بخير
(God willing, Iraq will come out of the present ordeal and it is well)

The Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions contain the movement verbs دخل (got into) and طلع (got out of) that denote going into and out of a container respectively. The nouns الحرب (war) and المنافسه (the competition) (ordeal) indicate the container while the prepositions من (into) and من (out of) indicate containment.

The similarity between the English and Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions show that the universality of the container metaphors may be a reality as they are based on the hypothesis of embodiment.

To conclude this section we may quote Lakoff and Johnson's (ibid.: 29) claim that the concept of containment is universal because it has its origins in embodiment. They state that:
"People are containers that are clearly demarcated from the rest of the world by the outside of their skins. The rest of the world is outside us. Every one of us is a container with a limited surface and an in-out orientation. We use the ontology or our understanding of containers to understand events, actions, activities as substances and states as containers".

Conclusion and recommendation:
This study is concerned with the embodiment hypothesis, a central issue in cognitive linguistics. It claims that we as human beings experience our environment by means of our bodies and therefore conceptualize the world in terms of our bodily experiences. This means that embodiment accounts for the universality of conceptual metaphors.

To test the validity of the embodiment hypothesis, this study has carried out a comparative empirical analysis of some English and Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions instantiating conceptual orientational and container metaphors to establish the similarities and/or differences, in the conceptual mapping, between these two linguistic systems which are typologically and culturally different.

The present paper has yielded some evidence in support of the embodiment claim. The comparative analysis of everyday English and Iraqi Arabic metaphorical expressions have shown that English and Iraqi Arabic employ almost the same conceptual mappings as far as orientational and container metaphors are concerned. It seems that such conceptual metaphors are a result of the way our bodies interact with the physical environment. This is to say that there are bound to be similarities in the ways unrelated language types and different cultures conceptualise certain experiential phenomena.
To claim that conceptual metaphors are universal definitely requires more research particularly into languages which are culturally and typologically different. The impact of culture or ecological factors on conceptual mappings is an issue which looms large in conceptual metaphor theory. This paper recommends that such an issue be investigated in English and Iraqi Arabic. Kovecses (2002:183) contends that cultural differences may be brought about by the differences in environments or ecological factors. Such cultural differences may cause discrepancies in the conceptualization of reality and hence also in the cognitive metaphors of different languages. In a previous paper the present writer researched the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD in the daily conversations conducted into Iraqi Arabic. It was found out that speakers of Iraqi Arabic figuratively encode various abstract ideas in terms of food and cooking.
References:
Lakoff
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تحليل مقارن للاستعارات العقلية بين اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة العراقية وفق منظور علم الإدراك اللغوي

الملخص: تقارن هذه الدراسة بين الاستعارات العقلية في اللغة الإنجليزية واللهجة العراقية من منظور علم الإدراك اللغوي. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو اكتشاف مدى التشابه والاختلاف ما بين هذين النظامين اللغويين المختلفين من حيث البناء والثقافة في صياغة الاستعارات العقلية. توصلت الدراسة إلى وجود تشابه كبير بين اللغتين في الاستعارات العقلية المرتكزة على مفهوم جسم الإنسان مما يدل على أن هذه الاستعارات يمكن أن تكون متشابهة في معظم اللغات العالمية.