

Conceptual Metaphors in Kurdish FOOD Idioms: A Cognitive-Linguistic Analysis

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پوخته ی توێژینه وه

ئهم توێژینه وه یه شیکارییه کی کۆگنیتیفانه ی ئیدیۆمه کانی خوارنده له زمانى کوردی ناوه راستدا له روانگه ی تیۆری خوازه چه مکیه کانه وه. ئامانجى توێژینه وه که سى لایه نه؛ یه که میان سه لماندى ئه وه ی که ئیدیۆمه کانی خواردن له زمانى کوردیدا ده وله مه ندن به میتافۆر یان خوازه؛ دووه میان بریتیه له دۆزینه وه ی خوازه چه مکیه هه ره گرینگه کانی که له ئیدیۆمه کانی خوارندا هه ن و سییه مېش بریتیه له ئاشکراکردنى ئه وه هۆکاره بنه په تیانه ی له پشت ئه وه خوازه چه مکیه و مه عربیانه وه ن له گۆشه نیگای فهره ننگ و ئه زموونى مرۆبیه وه.

توێژینه وه که به هه ردوو مېتۆدى چۆنیتى و چه ندیتى ئه نجام دراوه. یه که میان بۆ دیاریکردنى خوازه کان و بریاردان له سه ر ئه وه ی کامه یان به خوازه هه ژمار ده کرېت و کامه شیان نا له گه ل ئاماژه کردن به وه هۆکارانه ی له پشت ره فتارکردنیان وه ک خوازه ی چه مکى. مېتۆدى دووه مېش بۆ پۆلینکردنى خوازه کانه و دابه شکردنیان به سه ر خوازه چه مکیه کان به وه جوړه ی که له داتا کوردیه کاند هاتوون ئه ویش به پېی تیۆری خوازه چه مکیه کانی له یکوڤ و جۆسن.

دواى شیکارییه کی فراوانى داتاگان، یازده خوازه ی چه مکیمان جیاکردۆته وه له زمانى کوردیدا بۆ ئیدیۆمه کانی خواردن که بریتین له: مرۆڤ خوارنده؛ هه سه ته کان خوارندن؛ ئاخاوتن ره فتارى مرۆڤ خوارنده؛ گوزه ران خوارنده؛ ژیان خوارنده؛ گرینگى به ها خوارنده؛ هه لومه رج خوارنده؛ ده سه تکه وت زیان خوارنده؛ پاره خوارنده؛ ووزه خوارنده؛ ئه نجام خوارنده. هه موو ئه وانه ش به لگه ن بۆ سه لماندى ئه وه ی که خوازه چه مکیه کان سه روشتیکی سه رتاسه ربیان هه یه و ده شی له هه موو زمانه کانی دنیا دا بوونیان هه بن.

المستخلص

يتناول هذا البحث تحليلاً معرفياً عن الإستعارات المفهومية في التعبيرات الإصطلاحية للأغذية المستخدمة في اللغة الكردية في كردستان العراق.

يهدف البحث إلى تحقيق ثلاثة أغراض أساسية، منها: أولاً أن يثبت أن اللغة الكردية الوسطى غنية بالإستعارات، ثانياً أن تجد الإستعارات المفهومية وهي الأهم الموجودة في التعبيرات الإصطلاحية للأغذية في اللغة الكردية، وثالثاً أن يلقي الضوء على الأسباب الرئيسية وراء تواجد الإستعارات المفهومية من منظور الثقافة والتجارب الإنسانية.

اعتمد البحث على المنهجين النوعي والكمي لدراسة الإستعارات المفهومية في المدونة الكردية. فالمنهج الأول تم استخدامه لتحديد ماهية الإستعارات والتميز بين ما يعد استعارة وما لا يعد كذلك، إضافة إلى التحقق من الأسباب

التي وراء السلوك المفهومي للإستعارات. أما المنهج الثاني فقد تم استخدامه لتصنيف الإستعارات المفهومية ضمن المدونة الكردية في ضوء نظرية الإستعارة المفهومية. ولتحديد وتعريف الإستعارات المفهومية فقد تم استخدام طريقة شتاين ذات الخمس خطوات للتعرف على الإستعارات. وأثبتت هذه الدراسة وجود إحدى عشرة إستعارة مفهومية في المدونة الكردية، وهي كالآتي: البشر هم أغذية، العواطف البشرية هي أغذية، الكلام / السلوك البشري هو غذاء، المعيشة هي غذاء، الحياة هي غذاء، الأهمية / القيمة هي غذاء، الظروف هي أغذية، الربح / الخسارة هي أغذية، المال هو غذاء، الطاقة هي غذاء، النتيجة هي غذاء. وكل تلك الإستعارات تدل على أن نظرية الإستعارة المفهومية ذات طابع عام وشامل ويمكن أن تطبق على كل لغة.

Abstract

This study is a cognitive analysis of conceptual metaphors in food idioms of Central Kurdish as spoken in Iraqi Kurdistan. The aim of the study is threefold; firstly, it aims to verify that food idioms in Central Kurdish are rich in metaphors; secondly it aims to find out most important conceptual metaphors in Kurdish food idioms and thirdly it explores the underlying reasons behind the existence of the conceptual metaphors from the perspectives of culture and human experience.

The study has adopted a qualitative and a quantitative method of research. The former is used to determine what to be counted as metaphors as well as accounting for the underlying reasons why they behave conceptually, and the latter has been used to categorize these metaphors and abstract conceptual metaphors from the Kurdish corpus in the light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Steen's five step metaphor identification procedure has been used to identify the conceptual metaphors. After a thorough analysis of the data, eleven major conceptual metaphors have been isolated in the corpus, namely, HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOOD, HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD, HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD, LIVELIHOOD IS FOOD, LIFE IS FOOD, IMPORTANCE/VALUE IS FOOD, SITUATION IS FOOD, BENEFIT/LOSS IS FOOD, MONEY IS FOOD, ENERGY IS FOOD, RESULT IS FOOD which verify the ubiquitous nature of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Key terms: Conceptual Metaphor Theory; idioms; food; Kurdish; conceptual metaphor.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Idioms lie at the core of human languages which carry a lot of connotation and their interpretation requires, in addition to linguistic knowledge, cultural information about the society where they are produced and spoken. Hence, their acquisition poses difficulties for learners and their structure and meaning can be challenging for linguists.

Generally, idioms have been studied from syntactic, semantic and pragmatic perspectives. The studies fall into two major approaches: the traditional view and the compositional view. The traditional view or approach regards idioms as arbitrary chunks that behave like lexical entries and whose meanings cannot be predicted from the meanings of its constituent parts. However, the compositional view maintains that literal meanings of the constituents of an idiom contribute to its figurative meaning. From a linguistic perspective, both approaches maintain that idioms are isolated from each other at the conceptual level but since language itself is the outcome of human cognition, then idioms are best understood as the outcome of human cognition too. Accordingly, a third approach comes about here to take a different view of idioms, that of cognitive linguistics.

Since 1970s, researchers have been exploring idioms from a cognitive linguistic approach which, contrary to the traditional view, argues that idioms are decomposable. They are not only the result of human experience through which human beings acquire knowledge about the world gradually, but also the outcome of the conceptual system of humans. According to cognitive linguistics, metaphors

are ubiquitous in our life. This paper studies idioms from the standpoint of conceptual metaphor including structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors since this approach helps us understand abstract and unfamiliar concepts through concrete and familiar entities.

Nonetheless, research on Central Kurdish language data as spoken in Iraqi Kurdistan (henceforth Kurdish) from a cognitive perspective, is rare. This paper is the first of its kind to explore idioms of food in Kurdish from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

1.2 Methodology and procedure

This paper has adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method made it possible for us to calculate what is to be counted as metaphor. First, metaphors from Kurdish food idioms were collected in the light of Steen's procedure for metaphor identification, which is as follows: 1. Identifying metaphorical focus; 2. Identifying metaphorical idea; 3. Identifying metaphorical comparison; 4. Identifying incomplete propositions; 5. Identifying metaphorical mapping (Steen 1997: 393).

Then, the metaphors have been derived from the corpus data in the light of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and finally, the underlying causes of the use of each metaphor have been accounted for.

Moreover, to ensure the validity of the data, the corpus is collected from some well-known and authoritative Kurdish dictionaries of idioms such as: The Dictionary of Idioms in Kurdish by Abdulwahab Shekhani (2009), Idioms in Kurdish language by Jalal Mahmud Ali Subhani (2012), and Proverbs by Shekh Muhammad Khal (ed.2014). Each of these dictionaries contains over 5000 Kurdish idioms. 108 idiomatic expressions involving food were drawn from the main sources and were closely examined to determine their affiliation with relevant conceptual metaphors in the light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. After thorough examination, it turned out that all the 108 idioms could be properly distributed over eleven conceptual metaphors as indicated in the study.

1.3 The Aims of the Study

The aims of this study can be summed up as follows:

- a. to gain a more profound understanding of Kurdish idioms,
- b. to explore the impact of conceptual metaphors on the creation and explanation of Kurdish idioms by applying the new cognitive analysis rather than the traditional approach. This can serve as supplemental to the traditional analyses conducted earlier.

1.4 Research Questions

This study is an endeavour to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the conceptual metaphors of food idioms in Kurdish?
2. How do the food idioms in Kurdish distribute over specific conceptual metaphors according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory?
3. What are the underlying reasons triggering the existence of the conceptual metaphors in the Kurdish food idioms?

2 Theoretical Basis

2.2 Definition of idioms

Idioms are an integral part of human language for which various definitions have been put forward by different scholars. The complex structure of idioms is the main reason why it resisted a well-defined clear-cut definition that can capture all its syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features, as well as its cultural connotations, which vary from one society to another.

The American Heritage Dictionary (1983) defines an idiom as "an expression bearing a particular meaning which can't be obtained or is not clear from usual semantic meaning of the words in the

fixed expression, and it is the particular grammatical, syntactic, and structural character of a certain language". The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language (1997:339) refers to it as "an expression with the meaning that can't be foretold from the usual grammatical law of a language or from the usual semantic meanings of its constituent parts, and it is a language, or style of speaking peculiar to a people".

Fernando (1996:20) thinks that idioms are single units which deny any division and whose component parts cannot be altered or altered only within certain limits and usually cannot be recombined. Similarly, albeit with more focus on meaning, Katz and Postal (1963:275) maintain that an important feature of an idiom is that its whole meaning is not equal to the compositional function of the semantic meanings of the component parts of one idiom.

Moreover, from a transformational-generative standpoint, Fraser defines idioms as a series of constituents for which the semantic interpretation is not a compositional function of the formatives of which it is composed (Fraser, 1970).

To sum up, Langlotz has come up with a general definition of idioms that almost captures many of the aforementioned views that runs:

"an idiom is an institutionalized construction that is composed of two or more lexical items and has the composite structure of a phrase or semi-clause, which may feature constructional idiosyncrasy. An idiom primarily has an ideational discourse-function and feature figuration, i.e. its semantic structure is derivationally non-compositional. Moreover, it is considerably fixed and collocationally restricted (Langlotz,2006:5)".

2.3 Characteristics of idioms

Although different definitions are given for idioms from different syntactic or semantic angles, idioms possess some special characteristics. Nunberg, Sag and Wosow (1994:493) classify the properties of idioms into primary and secondary. The former applies to all idioms to varying degrees. They include:

a. Conventuality: This means that the meaning of the idiom is not completely predictable. According to Nunberg et al (ibid:493), "the meaning of the idioms cannot be predicted... on the basis of a knowledge of the independent conventions that determine the use of their constituents when they appear in isolation from one another".

b. Invariability: This refers to the lexical, syntactic, and morphological fixedness although some degrees of variability can be detected. Lexically, idioms are seen as lexical chunks whose component parts resist replacement by other words. Syntactically, they are not flexible and they do not undergo syntactic operations such as passivization. Morphologically, they are fixed and do not allow internal change.

The secondary characteristics of idioms are as follows:

a. Compositionality: This refers to the fact that the general meaning of an idiom is the sum total of the meaning of the different constituents of the idiom. Only some idioms are compositional in nature. For example, in *pop the question*, there is a clear correspondence between 'pop' and 'question' and the relevant parts of the figurative meaning 'propose marriage'. This is an example of a compositional and decomposable idiom. However, an example like *kick the bucket* poses difficulty for explanation since such correspondence between the different constituent parts does not exist and the general meaning is 'to die', which does not carry the sense of any of the component parts of the idiom.

b. Grammaticality: This refers to the grammatical structure of the idioms some of which conform to the familiar rules of grammar while some others do not.

c. Figurative properties: According to Nunberg et al (ibid:492), figurative properties of idioms refer to the fact that the meanings of idioms are often based on some other forms of figurative language such as metonymy and metaphor.

d. Informality: According to Nunberg et al (ibid:492), idioms are typically associated with relatively informal or colloquial registers and with popular speech and oral culture.

e. Affective property: Idioms are typically used to imply a certain evaluation or affective stance towards the thing they denote (ibid:492).

2.4 Conceptual Metaphor

The metaphors studied in this paper are analyzed in the light of cognitive linguistics. Hence, they are divided into three types according to Lakoff's theoretical framework, namely, structural metaphors, orientational metaphors, and ontological metaphors.

Structural metaphors have been defined by Lakoff as "one concept that is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:14). An example for this type of metaphor is the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR which is expressed through a series of expressions such as the following:

- Your claims are undefensible.
- He attacked every weak point in my argument.
- His criticisms were right on the target.
- If you use this strategy, he will wipe you out.
- I've never won an argument with him. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:4)

These examples show the actions we perform when debating or arguing with each other are structured from the concept of war. We may lose or win in an argument during which we may consider one as our opponent.

In an orientational/spatial conceptual metaphor, however, a system of ideas is organized in the relation and interaction in space like up-down, inside-out, front-behind, shallow-deep, center-periphery etc. They are called orientational because they are related to the orientation in space. They are used to express abstract or intangible meanings. Theoretically speaking, in orientational metaphors, concrete spatial orientation of source domain is mapped onto abstract concepts of target domain, therefore human beings understand more abstract concepts in non-spatial domain, and generally those abstract concepts include feelings, emotions, physical state, social status, etc.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the conceptualization of our experience under the conceptual domain of material or tangible things helps us extract abstract experiences and ideas out and see it as objects or concrete substances. Once we can conceptualize the experience into a specific object or material, we can classify, group, quantify, etc. as a result of which we can reason about the experience. According to Lakoff & Johnson, experience in an interactive process with the specific object or substance is the foundation for a wide variety of conceptual metaphors in which events, activities, feelings, ideas etc. are considered as the essence. This is shown by the following examples representing the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A MACHINE:

- We're still trying to grind out the solution to this question.
- My mind just isn't operating today.
- Boy, the wheels are turning now!
- I'm a little rusty today.

The above ontological metaphors allow us to focus attention on different aspects of thinking. The conceptual metaphor *thinking is a machine* tells us that thinking can be seen as a machine operating under on-off mechanism.

2.5 Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

Conceptual Metaphor Theory put forward by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), has been highly influential both within cognitive linguistics and within the cognitive and social sciences, particularly the neighboring disciplines such as cognitive psychology and anthropology (Evans, 2019:309). The theory has made several claims related to the present study which are:

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- a. Metaphor is not only language but a matter of conceptual thinking as well.
- b. Conceptual metaphor is a cross-domain mapping of one conceptual gestalt-structure (source domain) onto another conceptual gestalt-structure (target domain).
- c. Conceptual metaphor represents a systematic correspondence between two domains.

The notion of Conceptual Metaphor started with the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and was further developed in *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor* (Lakoff, 1993). According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980), conceptual metaphor is a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system. The authors maintain that metaphors are not mere poetical or rhetorical embellishments; instead, they are part of everyday speech that affects the ways we perceive, think and act—they are pervasive in everyday language. Metaphor is a figure of the mind, a way of thinking, and the mapping is a tool to comprehend new things. Most importantly, they are conceptual and part of long-term memory in people's conceptual system.

The essential point, which would be used in vocabulary expansion is that through “cross-domain mapping”, a series of linguistic metaphors are produced. Take the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY for example, the mapping is illustrated in the following figure:



We find the following linguistic metaphors:

How do you spend your time?

That flat tire cost me an hour.

I have invested a lot of time in her.

Is that worth your wife?

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:7-8)

Several words that appear in the above sentences, namely, *spend*, *cost*, *invest*, and *worth*, etc. are all associated with the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY. These words are generally used in their concrete meanings in the source domain of ‘money’; but after a systematic mapping. They are now used in their abstract meanings in the target domain of ‘time’ in the form of linguistic metaphors. A conceptual metaphor can be seen as a bridge which links the lexical meanings between the two conceptual metaphors (Mei, 2012:12).

3 Data Analysis and Discussion:

In this section, the researcher has identified and categorized metaphorical expressions in Kurdish food idioms drawn from some well-known and authoritative Kurdish dictionaries of idioms. Then all the collected idioms from the corpus have been distributed over the eleven conceptual metaphors covered in the study. Finally, an analysis of the distributed data has been conducted and as follows:

3.2 Human beings are food:

Source domain: Food Target domain: Humans

دوگ به پشیله نه سپیرئ - Dûg be pşîle espêrê - **He/she entrusts fat tail with the cat**

The cat in this idiom is the embodiment of gluttonousness and untrustworthiness since no cat can be trusted once meat or flesh is around. This provides an experiential model for the conceptualization of dishonest people who miss no opportunity to grab or take over one's belongings or take advantage of their naivety and credulousness. Thus, fat tail conceptualizes naïve people exploited or betrayed by unscrupulous and dishonest people represented by cat.

شەکره سینو - Şekre sêw - **Sweet Apple**
 شەکر - Şekir - **Sugar**
 شەکره پیاو - Şekre piyaw - **Sugar man**
 شەکره ژن - Şekre jin - **Sugar woman**

Sugar is a sweet material that consists wholly or essentially of sucrose and obtained from sugarcane or sugar beet and other plants. It is important as a source of dietary carbohydrate and as a sweetener and preservative of other foods. In the above examples, the idea of sweetness and pleasantness of sugar is mapped onto humans who are pleasant, decent, good-mannered, and those who are popular due to their principles, character, and flawlessness.

نارووی بیرکین - Arû\ arûy birrkêkin - **Cucumbers of the same plant**
 نانێکی لهگهڵ نهودا خواردوه - Nanêkî legell ewda xwarduwe - **They have had a bread together**
 نانێان بهبێن یهک نهدهخوارد - They did not eat a single meal separately -

Cucumbers of the exact same plant are seen to have similar color, shape, look and taste. Here humans who share similar look, shape, habits and behavior are conceptualized as belonging to the same lineage or origin. Likewise, when two people eat together regularly, they are expected to be compatible and share many characteristics. So, sharing characters and personal habits are framed in terms of food and vegetables grown together or eaten together.

قهساب گۆشتی بێ نېسقان نافروشی - Qesab goştî bê êşqan nafroşê - **The butcher will not sell boneless meat**

Here bones are negatively viewed as shortcomings. It is conventional in the Kurdish culture that when a butcher sells meat, he/she does not sell it without bones. Some bones must be put in so that the butcher will not be left with only the cheap bones at the end of the day. The metaphor conceptualizes bones with shortcomings which every human being inevitably possesses, albeit the shortcomings may not outweigh the man's merits.

هه‌لوا گه‌زویه - Helwa gezoya- **Halwa Gazo (chewy sweet made from manna, nuts and flour)**
 ماستی مه‌یو - mastî meyu- **Coagulated yoghurt**
 گوێزی ناو بێژنگ - gwêzî naw bêjing- **The walnut in the riddle**

Halwa gazo, which is a chewy sweet made from manna, nuts and flour, and coagulated yoghurt are delicious. Thus, ordinary people whose character and actions are perceived to be valuable and admirable are conceptualized in terms of such sweet food mentioned above. Thus, someone being *Halwa Gazo* would be a sweet person with sweet manners and great popularity while someone conceptualized in terms of coagulated yoghurt would be expected to be patient, composed and sagacious and in being so, s/he will earn a considerable amount of popularity. On the other hand, in the Kurdish mountainous areas where there is plenty of nuts, the areas are still industrially undeveloped. The farmers usually use riddles to keep the nuts and their kernels from the unwanted parts. When riddled continuously, nuts keep moving up and down in the riddle. This metaphor is mapped onto people who are restless and impatient as if they were moving up and down in a riddle.

فستق Fistiq- **Pistachio nut** -
 گۆشتی دهخوری - Goştî dexurê- **A woman's flesh is eatable** -
 گۆشتی قیمه‌ت ناکا - Goştî qîmet naka- **A woman's flesh is not marketable (worthless)**

Pistachios are said to be nature's super nut which (according to the Bible) can bring happiness, and warmth of the soul. They were once considered exclusively the food of the royalty. In the Kurdish culture, beautiful young and virgin ladies are conceptualized as pistachios due to their freshness, tightness, and beauty.

However, human flesh (particularly women's flesh) can exhibit freshness in the early stages of life, i.e., youth. Thus, the idea of flesh being worthy or eatable translates to young and beautiful flesh. Accordingly, the idea of beauty, freshness and worthiness is mapped onto the concept of the young woman's flesh.

گندۆره به رهنگ نیه Gindore be reng nîye- A cantaloupe's color does not matter

ماش و برنج Maš u birinc- Indian pulse and rice

گهنم و جو Genm u jo- Wheat and barley

In the three idioms above, we have instances of food displaying appearance, which may or may not reflect the true nature and reality of the thing or person in question. For example, a cantaloupe with an ugly color might taste very good. Thus, color is not always a reliable indicator of taste and content. However, in the second and the third examples, we notice that the food metaphors reflect the conceptualization of white and black hair or humans indicating advancement in age. The same conceptualization also implies prudence, good decision and insight enjoyed by such people shown by the food colors mentioned.

گهندهخور Gendexor- Petty thief/pilferer

ناندان Nandan- To give bread (to feed)

These two idioms exhibit two contrasting human characters; that of miserliness and that of generosity. The first Kurdish idiom refers to someone who feeds on rubbish and garbage or eats petty things and never spends anything on food or other personal needs. The concept of miserliness is mapped onto the concept of petty food. However, the idea of giving bread is seen as showing generosity since 'bread' in Kurdish culture basically denoted sustenance and life. Thus, a bread giver is marked as generous and the notion of generosity is conceptually framed in terms of bread giving.

3.3 Human emotion is food:

Source domain: Food Target domain: Human emotion

The corpus data for this study show that examples of idioms containing the conceptual metaphor HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD fall into **five** subcategories: **sorrow is food**; **miserliness is food**; **generosity is food**, **fear is food** and **anger is food**. Below is a discussion of the relevant corpus instances:

A. Sorrow is food

تال Tal- Bitter

تالاو talaw- Bitter drink

خواردن Xwardin- To eat

خوخواردنهوه Xoxiwardinewe- To eat oneself

نانمان بی خوئییه nanman bê xiwêye- Our bread has no salt in it

These idioms all denote sorrow in their core senses. First, the idea of bitterness in the first two instances is a clear indicator of sorrow and unhappiness while in the third, the idea of eating comes in the sense of suffering such as a penalty. Moreover, sometimes people have to swallow something that they dislike and people may bottle up their hatred or sorrows instead of speaking them out as we find in the example 'to eat oneself'. The last example also shows the conceptualization of food onto sorrow metaphor since 'salt' here denotes appreciation by others. Thus, when in Kurdish we say that

one's bread has no salt in, it means that the person's or rather the host's effort went unappreciated despite being delivered sincerely.

B. Miserliness is food

نانی Nanî xoy le qurgî awâ nabê- Even his/her own bread does not go down his/her throat

خۆی له قورگی ناوا نابێ

نان و تف دهخوات Nan u tif dexwat- To eat bread and spit

نان نهخۆر Nan nexor- He who never eats

نان کویر Nan kiwêr- Bread blind

نانبژیر Nan bijêr- Bread counter

These idioms all denote miserliness in their senses with reference to bread, of course. Bread has an ancient ancestry, but in fact its use as a 'baked dough' is comparatively recent. According to Ayto (2002:41) the first bread was probably a rudimentary dollop of porridge-like dough made from toasted and roughly crushed corn baked over fire, and it was not until about 3000 BC that flour-and-water loaves recognizably similar to modern flatbreads seem to have emerged. The ancient Egyptians are generally credited with the development of yeast-fermented dough, to give raised rather than flat bread.

The web of metaphor spun around bread confirms its key place in the human diet. Its use in English as a general term for 'food' dates back at least to the fourteenth century, and to this day 'bread and water' is the proverbial minimal diet (ibid:42). Thus, bread is the quintessential human food and a basic necessity. The Kurdish idioms containing 'bread' are essentially the same as those of English in their connotations and conceptualization. When a person is described by the fact that his/her own bread does not pass his/her throat, s/he is so close-fisted and miserly that refuses to eat from his/her own food or consume anything from his/her financial resources. Thus, food is conceptualized in terms of sustenance and financial assets or resources. The instances 'to eat bread and spit', 'he who never eats', and 'bread blind' refer to a person who hoards wealth and spends as little money as possible. 'Bread blind' refers to someone who is blind to his/her own properties and belongings and never wants to count them to distract others from focusing their attention on his/her belongings. Moreover, a 'bread counter' is a person who is so miserly that constantly casts his/her eyes on his/her belongings to prevent others from touching them or taking them. This is said of someone who has no initiative whatsoever to extend a helping hand to the needy or the poor.

C. Generosity is food

نانبده nan bide- Bread-giver

ناندان nandan -Bread giving

ناندهر nander- Bread-giver

The above idioms all denote generosity as a human trait. Here bread as a conceptual metaphor is equivalent to and is mapped onto the idea of voluntary acts of giving and assisting others. Generous people have no expectations. While some people actually give in order to get, truly generous people give simply to give and nothing else. Thus, when 'bread' actually denotes the basic necessity of life or the quintessential human food, then giving it out to others is a true indication of generosity.

D. Fear is food

پهلهکه pelke piyaz- Onion peel or skin

This idiom specifically refers to white onion which has a very white skin. When a person's face is said to have taken on a color like onion's skin, s/he is said to have been horrified. Thus, the source

domain of onion skin is mapped onto a human's face (the target domain) and the color turning very white is conceptualized in terms of the onion peel or skin.

E. Anger is food

سماق\سرکه فرۆشتن simaq/sirke firoštīn- Sumac/vinegar selling

This idiom can be said of someone who is frowning or scowling at people or a disagreeable personality. The term 'sour' denoted here by sumac or vinegar can also show an unpleasant, tart, bitter, acidic, or vinegary taste. This source domain is mapped onto the target domain of something that you find unpleasant or distasteful on the one hand and a person who is disagreeable or not a very congenial companion on the other.

F. Hypocrisy is food

ئهێنی نیسکه؛ بهر و پشتی نیه Elêy nîske, ber u pištî niye-S/he is like lentil; has no inside or outside

Lentils are an ancient source of human food: there is evidence of their cultivation in Neolithic times, around 6000 BC, and cultures in most parts of the world have included them as part of their diet. Lentils, when cleaned and made ready for boiling, have both sides as similar or identical as each other (Ayto, 2002). Thus, it is not possible to know which is right side or left side. In Kurdish, hypocrites or double-faced people are likened to lentils with the idea of lentils being mapped onto the target domain of double-faced people.

3.4 Human Speech/Behavior is Food

Source domain: Food

Target domain: Human Speech/Human behavior

The corpus samples in this study showed various categories of human speech and/or behavior conceptualized in terms of food. Here is a discussion:

به ههنگوین\شهکراو خنکاندن

Behenguyñ\şekraw xinkandin

-بهرووی دهمی بزنی

Berrû-berrûy demî bizne

به هارات-به هاراتی پیوه دهکات

Beharat-beharatî pêwedekat

بریشکه-بریشکهی جو دهخوات و دهست به سابوون دهشوات

Brêşke-brêşkey co dexwat û dest be sabûn deşwat

خواردن -Xwardin

ماستاوی -Mastawçî

له بنی کودوو دان\ له بنی کولهکهدان

bnî kulekedan

نان که بووه کهرتک خوی ناگریتهوه

Nan ke buwe kertik xoy nagrêtewe

نانی شوانی خوارد

Nanî şwanî xward

نان و پیازی لهگهڵ نهخواردوووه

Nan û pyazî legell nexwarduwe

ههناری شیرین -Henarî şîrîn

دۆبیر -Dobirr

شهکرت له زاری دیتته دهر

Şekrit le zarî dête der

To strangle someone with honey

Like an oak from a goat's mouth

Spreading spice on something

He/she eats barley seeds and washes his/her hands with soap

To eat

Yoghurt drink maker

To strike the bottom of the pumpkin

Once bread is cut off, it will never come together

He/she ate the shepherd's bread

Not to have had bread and onion with someone

Sweet pomegranate

Buttermilk weaner

Sugar comes out of his/her mouth

گولهبەرۆژه - Gulleberroje
 له بهر سیله هه‌لوا دروستکردن
 Le bersîle hellwa drustkirdin
 ماستاو کردن - Mastaw kirdin

Sunflower
He/she makes sweets from sour grapes
To make yoghurt drink

Human speech or behavior can also be framed in terms of food such as honey, oak, spice, yoghurt, pomegranate, sunflower, etc. From the examples listed above, we also notice that apart from the conceptual metaphor HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD is embodied, other idioms manifest the sub-metaphors related to HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD.

Sweet food like honey and sugar are palatable to the mouth, which resembles pleasant words or actions pleasing people. In contrast, bitter, sour or tough food is unpalatable to the mouth, which is like disagreeable words or actions annoying people (Hongmei:2013). The first four Kurdish idioms all embody the conceptualization of pleasant and satisfying words in terms of honey, pomegranates, sugar and sweets. Moreover, each idiom embodies a subcategory of the conceptual metaphor HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD. They represent these subcategories respectively: **kind words are food**; **showing up infrequently is food**; **to speak sweetly is food**, and **exercising patience is making food**.

In the example *like an oak from a goat's mouth*, quick expectations forming the source domain, are conceptualized in terms of such an event when an oak falls from a goat's mouth.

Spices are used to add flavor to food and thus adding more interest and attraction to the food. The example *spreading spice on something* embodies exaggeration or fabrication of stories mapped onto the source domain, which is spice. Thus, in the same way that adding more spice to a food can make it more delicious and interesting, exaggerating a story can also make it more appealing to the audience.

In the past, ordinary Kurdish peasants had used barley seeds rather than wheat, to make bread, the latter being more delicious. Using barley seeds was considered a practice of poor or underprivileged people just as washing hands with soap was restricted to richer people; yet some people who were poor still displayed some sort of haughtiness and pride. Thus, the idiom *s/he eats barley seeds and washes his/her hands with soap* manifests the conceptualization of unjustified haughtiness in terms of barley eating.

The Kurdish people in the past, and perhaps still, find yoghurt drink very delicious. In the past, however, it was even more popular in the villages and rural areas. Moreover, when someone who made yoghurt drinks to another in a higher position, the behavior was considered submissive and flattering especially that which is done with the aim of winning the favor of the higher-positioned person. Thus, the two idioms *yoghurt drink maker* and *to make yoghurt drink* both represent the conceptualization of flattery and insincere feelings in terms of making yoghurt drink.

The verb *to eat* in the Kurdish idiom denotes usurpation and taking away other people's property, goods or money by force or by using unfair tactics. The concept of usurpation here is conceptualized in terms of eating. The example *s/he ate the shepherd's bread* can be a subcategory of HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD by delimiting it into *making serious mistakes is to damage food* subcategory since eating the bread here denotes damaging it and thus exposing the doer of the action to unavoidable penalty. Exposing him/herself to a danger by making a serious mistake is mapped onto the conceptual metaphor of damaging the bread or food which is likewise applicable to the idiom *once bread is cut off, it will never come together again* alluding to the fact that the mistake cannot be fixed. However, eating food can also be subcategorized under *acquaintance is food* in the example

not to have had bread and onion with someone. Here, having bread and onion with someone is conceptualized as having acquaintance with the person.

Buttermilk was a common drink in the Kurdish society in the past. Its use is now diminished due to various reasons. It was omnipresent and a basic food together with bread in every home. When someone was vile and despicable, s/he was described in terms of someone who was so cruel as to dry up the sources of buttermilk for a family without which the members would probably perish. Hence, in the example *buttermilk weaner*, vileness and despicability are conceptualized in terms of drying up the sources of buttermilk.

Finally, the example *sunflower*, due to the fact that it bends and turns its head towards the sun on a constant basis, has been conceptualized as a symbol of opportunist people who never miss out any opportunity to capitalize on their friend's weaknesses and whose actions are motivated only by their personal interests.

3.5 Livelihood is food:

Source domain: Food

Target domain: Livelihood

The following corpus samples all contain the word *bread*, or *morsel* on a few occasions. They all denote livelihood or means of subsistence. Below is a discussion:

پارووو نان پەیداکردن -Paruwe nan peydakirdin	Earning bread
پارووو نان -Paruwe nan	A morsel of bread
پارووی درکاوی -Parûy dirrkawî	A thorny morsel
پارووو نانێک هەیە بێخۆی -Paruwe nanêk heye bîxoy	We have at least a morsel of bread to eat
خوا پارووو نانێکی داوه -Xwa paruwe nanêkî dawe	God has offered a morsel of food
نان -Nan	Bread
نان پەیداکردن -Nan peydakirdin	To earn bread
نانانە -Nanane	Bread fee
نانی وشکیان نەبوو -Nanî wişkyan nebû	They even had no dry bread
نانی لەین بەردی پەیا دەکا -Nanî lebin berdî peya deka	He/she gets his/her bread under the stones
نانی بە دۆی راناگا -Nanî be doy ranaga	His/her bread cannot reach his/her buttermilk
نانی نیە بێخوا -Nanî nye bîxwa	He/she has no bread to eat
نان و دۆیەك -Nan û doyek	A bread and buttermilk
نانی شەو شەك نابا -Nanî şew şik naba	He/she does not possess a night's bread
نانبیراوکردن -Nanbirrawkirdin	To cut someone's bread
نان لە دەمی شیر دەر هێنان -Nan le demî şêr derhênan	To take out bread from the lion's mouth
نان برارو -Nan brraw	Deprived of bread
نان و ناو -Nan û aw	Bread and water
نانەزگ -Nanezg	Belly bread
نان لە گەرووی شیرداپە -Nan le gerûy şêrdape	Bread is in the lion's throat

As we know already, food provides nutrients and supports the human body, which is similar to the function of livelihood or jobs. Moreover, *bread* is seen as the basic human need that can keep them alive. It is a huge source of nutrition and contains carbohydrates and fiber which are essential parts of one's daily diet. Generally, and from a cultural and perhaps religious point of view, *bread* symbolizes God's provision because God Almighty knows that His people's survival depends on it. Thus, as long as it is essential for people to continue their life, no wonder that the word *bread* symbolizes subsistence, job, salary or making a living.

All the examples above, by way of explication or implication, contain three subcategories of the conceptual metaphor LIVELIHOOD IS FOOD which are: **subsistence is food**, **unpleasant job is food**, and **salary is food**. The example *a thorny morsel* indicates a hard, tough or unpleasant job. So, the hard or tough job that a man strives to secure and maintain his family through, is conceptualized in terms of a thorny morsel. The examples *to cut someone's bread* and *deprived of bread* both map the idea of job or means of subsistence onto the notion of bread. Apart from these three instances, all the remaining instances come under the category of **subsistence is food**, which conceptualize a man's job or livelihood in terms of food or rather bread.

3.6 Life is food:

Source domain: Food

Target domain: Life

In the examples below, the concept *life* is conceptualized as *food* and experiencing life is conceptualized as the act of eating:

چهور و شیرین

Çewr û şîrîn

چهور و نهرم

Çewr û nerm

خورما-خورمای بابی خواردوه

Xurma-xurmay babî xwarduwe

مشك له مالیان كلکی به نارد نابی

Mışk le mallyan kilkî be ard nabê

سئلقی روت - Sillqî rût

نان تالیوون

Nan tallbûn

نان لی هرامکردن

Nan lê heramkirdin

نان و هلوا - Nan û helwa

Fatty and sweet

Fatty and soft

Dates (has eaten his/her father's dates)

Even a mouse's tail will not be smeared by flour in their house

A naked chard/ a mere chard

To have your bread gotten bitter

To make someone's bread bitter

Bread and sweets

Fatty and sweet food are delicious and enticing. People find it hard to resist eating them. However, for all people in general and for those over forty, such fatty and sweet food pose serious health problems. Thus, the idea of deception and misleading things are mapped onto fatty and sweet foods.

When someone is said to have eaten his/her father's palm dates, it is meant that he/she sticks to his/her father's beliefs and perhaps does not give up superstitions.

If a house has no flour in it and when mice run back and forth in the house without their tails being smeared by flour, it means that the house is in a very poor state of living. So, flour here conceptualizes life. Moreover, a *naked chard or mere chard* is viewed in Kurdish culture as something inexpensive perhaps due to its abundance; so, when a person possesses nothing except chard, s/he is said to be impoverished or destitute. Again, if you are said that your *bread has become bitter*, it means that your life has become hard and you are facing potential challenges to earn a living. Yet, if someone *makes your bread bitter*, then they are probably annoying you constantly making your life sour and unpleasant. Thus, the ideas of *bread*, *chard*, and *flour* are conceptualized in terms of a man's life in general.

Finally, *bread and sweets* can be used in Kurdish to denote a very easy and pleasant job and the job is equivalent to life; hence the conceptualization of life in terms of food.

3.7 Importance/value is food:**Source domain: Food****Target domain: Importance/value**

برنج ئالیکى کەر نیه - Brinc alikî ker nye
 دىل و دلخواز ئه بى به نان و پياز - Dill û dllixwaz ebê be
 nan û pyaz
 تهر متوله که
 Terretolleke
 تهره ماش - Terre maş
 تهره ماشى بو کردوه - Terremaşî bo kirduwe
 نانیکى سووتای ناینی - Nanêkî sûtay naynî
 هیلکه ی بو ئهوان
 و ريقنه ی بو ئیمه
 Hêlkey bo ewan û rîqney bo ême

Rice is not a donkey's fodder
The lover and the loved will become bread and onion
Fresh mallow
Fresh Indian pulse
One has made Indian pulse for him/her
He/she is not worth a burnt bread
The egg for them and droppings for us

Depending on their nutritional values and size or quantities, or stereotyped cultural considerations, foods can be viewed as important or unimportant. As observed from the corpus instances given above, rice and egg are deemed important foods while onion, fresh mallow, Indian pulse and burnt bread are seen as unimportant perhaps due to their abundance or the fact that they have less nutritional value.

Thus, the first example implies that rice is an important food which is not worth such people as worthless as donkeys (donkeys being portrayed as worthless or stupid in the Kurdish culture). Thus, rice is conceptualized as valuable while a worthless man is conceptualized as donkey. By contrast and in the remaining examples, fresh mallow, Indian pulse and droppings are worthless as they are mapped onto the notion of people or things without value or having little value.

3.8 Situation is food:**Source domain: Food****Target domain: Situation**

ئاردی بیژراو - Ardî bêjraw
 ئاردی ناو درکان
 Ardî naw dirrkan
 ئه ماسته موویه کی تیدایه
 Ew maste mûyekî têdaye
 پارووه که گهروهیه به گهرووتدا ناچیت
 Paruweke gewreye be gerûtta naçêt
 پارووی ده روون کھوت\ کھوته روونی
 Parûyê de roonî kewt\ kewte runî
 de rûnê kewt\ kewte runê

Sifted flour
Flour scattered through thorns
There must be a strand of hair in this yoghurt
The morsel is too big to go down your throat
His/her morsel fell into oil

Sifted flour and fatty morsels are delicious and are similar to advantages that give people superiority and success in life. Thus, when a person finds him/herself in a situation like sifted flour or is offered a morsel in oil, it means s/he is in good luck. Hence the notion of situation is embodied. However, if someone's flour is scattered through thorns, then s/he is in distress or is experiencing a difficult situation that is hardly surmountable. The idiom *there must be a strand of hair in this yoghurt* denotes a situation where something has gone wrong or you smell a rat and think that there is a hidden cause behind what has happened.

3.9 Benefit/loss is food:**Source domain: Food****Target domain: Benefit/loss**

پارووی چهور Parûy çewr	A fatty morsel
سیر بخۆ و زورنا لێده Sîr bxo û zurna lêde	Eat garlic and play the trumpet
گوشت هر لایقی بازه-قابیلی بازه Goşt her layqî baze-qabilî baze	Meat is only worth the falcon
نانی بو دمخاته شوورباوه Nanî bo dexate şorbawe	To put bread in the broth for someone

When a person receives a fatty morsel, it means that s/he enjoys an advantageous offer. So, the beneficial act or deed is visualised in terms of food or fatty morsel. The idiom *eat garlic and play the trumpet* is used for someone who will not reach the goal s/he is seeking; hence futility of an act is conceptualized as eating garlic and playing the trumpet since this behavior indicates that the person is jobless and spends his/her time loitering and wandering around.

The idiom *meat is only worth the falcon* denotes a man who is well worth a job. Thus, the man is conceptualized in terms of falcon and the job as the meat. The last example *to put bread in the broth for someone* is used when a person receives assistance whether covertly or overtly from someone or some party. Thus, bread in the broth is conceptualized as assistance which is benefit.

3.10 Money is food:**Source domain: Food****Target domain: Money**

پارووه بهرماوێك Paruwe bermawêk	A leftover morsel
دووگی چهور بی به لای نیه Dûgî çewr bê bella nye	A fat tail is not without misfortune
چهور - Çewr نانت له خوانه، خزمت له دهورانه Nant le xwane, xzimt le dewrane	Fatty When your table is filled with food, relatives cluster around you
نانی شهوی پی نه هیشتین Nanî şewêy pê nehêştîn	He/she rendered us without a night's bread

A leftover morsel in this corpus refers to a small amount of money that a tribal chief gives to a servant. Thus, the tiny amount of money here is conceptualized in terms of leftover or junk food. The second idiom a fat tail is not without misfortune refers to the fact that a sheep with a fat tail comes under covetous eyes from envious people. Hence, a financially capable man should give a portion of his/her money to the needy so that s/he avoids being coveted or envied. The idiom fatty is obviously an indicator of being rich and fat here symbolizes abundance of financial resources.

It is common in Kurdish culture to find money being conceptualized in terms of food as found in the idiom *When your table is filled with food, relatives cluster around you* which means that when you are rich, your relatives will cluster around you or cling to you with the aim of winning a favor. Finally, the idiom *s/he rendered us without a night's bread* denotes someone being robbed of all his/her wealth and belongings. Again, the notion of money and wealth is conceptualized in terms of bread.

3.11 Energy is food:**Source domain: Food****Target domain: Energy**

Tîke ta neycûy - تیکه تا نهیجوی قوت نادری
qut nadrê

A morsel cannot be swallowed until chewed well

Sawer alîkî mêrdane - ساوهر ئالیکى مێردانه

Cracked wheat is the husband's fodder

Xwardinî min nye - خواردنی من نیه

It is not my food

Gwêzî sax - گوێزی ساغ

A full and well-developed walnut

Mast ta neyjenî kere nadat - ماست تا نهیژهنی کهره نادات

Not until churned, yoghurt will not produce

Mast ta neyjenî kere nadat

butter

These idioms all denote energy and good health and each provides some conceptualization of energy in terms of food such as morsel, cracked wheat, walnut and yoghurt, which were common Kurdish foods in the past and to date.

Food contains essential body nutrients such as carbohydrates, fats, proteins, vitamins, or minerals and is ingested and assimilated by an organism to produce energy, stimulate growth, and, maintain life. Therefore, food is frequently used to represent energy in idioms containing cracked wheat, walnut and yoghurt, etc.

The first instance conceptualizes energy in terms of morsel which here implies that every job requires sufficient effort to be carried out. Hence, energy is mapped onto the concept of food just as it is mapped on cracked wheat being traditionally known in the Kurdish culture as the food of the mighty and well-built men who carried out heavy work and duties. Additionally, when someone uses the idiom *it is not my food*, s/he means that the job or the obligation assigned to him/her cannot be discharged by him/her since it requires more power or energy both physical and mental. Likewise, the idiom *A full and well-developed walnut* is used for a person who enjoys good health and is full of energy. The notion of a healthy, powerful and energetic person is mapped onto a full and well-developed walnut. Finally, the Kurds in the past produced butter from yoghurt by churning it manually not through manufacturing. Hence, it required a considerable amount of muscular or physical efforts to do it. This is manifested in the idiom *not until churned, yoghurt will not produce butter*.

3.12 Result is food:**Source domain: Food****Target domain: Result**

Many types of food and eatables should be improved, modified or formatted in one way or another before they are cooked or made ready for eating. This resembles the results of human work. Below are corpus instances exhibiting such metaphors:

له سیر ههتا پیاز

From Garlic to onion

Le sîr heta pyaz

Pyaz-pyazî spîkrawî - پیاز-پیازی سپیکراوی لهدهست نا

They put a peeled onion in his hands

ledest na

Ardî xom dabêjtuwe - ئاردی خۆم دابێژتووه

I have sieved my flour

The idiom from garlic to onion denotes the temporal framework of a job or mission or any task that has a beginning and an end. It usually points out to a satisfying result. Thus, the satisfying completion of a work or mission is conceptualized by onion here. It is assumed that this metaphorization stems from the fact that the outer peels of onion should be removed one by one until

the part is reached which is eatable or suitable for cooking. This is also manifest with regard to the second instance when someone offers a peeled onion to another denoting a well-settled or positively settled matter (perhaps a challenge) for the intended person before s/he embarks on his/her assigned mission.

The last instance refers to the completion of a job or mission which has ended in a good result. The notion of result is conceptualized in terms of sieved flour.

4 **Findings of the Study:**

This study has identified **eleven** major conceptual metaphors for Kurdish food idioms. Obviously, each conceptual metaphor occupies a different percentage which indicates that the degree of importance varies from one conceptual metaphor to another in the Kurdish corpus. The following table shows the statistics:

Conceptual metaphors	Number	Percentage
HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOOD	20	21.6%
HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD	15	16.2%
HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD	16	17.28%
LIVELIHOOD IS FOOD	20	21.6%
LIFE IS FOOD	8	8.64%
IMPORTANCE/VALUE IS FOOD	7	7.56%
SITUATION IS FOOD	5	5.4%
BENEFIT/LOSS IS FOOD	4	4.32%
MONEY IS FOOD	5	5.4%
ENERGY IS FOOD	5	5.4%
RESULT IS FOOD	3	3.24%
TOTAL	108	116.64%

According to the above table, there are 108 Kurdish food idioms in the corpus giving form to eleven conceptual metaphors. The two dominant conceptual metaphors in the Kurdish corpus are HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOOD and LIVELIHOOD IS FOOD. These two metaphors come first in the corpus followed by HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD which comes second in rank. The third most frequently used conceptual metaphor is HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD. These four conceptual metaphors are more dominant than the others since they occupy two-third of the entire corpus data (71 instances out of 108). Other kinds of conceptual metaphors (albeit significant), have less frequencies.

The frequency of the metaphors indicates that the Kurdish individuals have sought knowledge about themselves, their emotions, their speech/behavior, their life and the situation where they are since ancient times. Moreover, food, as a basic human necessity, is closely related to human beings and may be the first thing of which people acquired knowledge. The Kurdish society is a predominantly Muslim society, so its culture is mainly shaped up by Islamic teachings and traditions albeit there is some degree of Kurdish character in the way they practice the rights. The notion of food and its importance is present both in religious tradition and cultural practices in general. It is worth mentioning that agriculture and the production of food was first practiced in the world in the village of Charmo (Jarmo) in Iraqi Kurdistan around 7000 BC. According to the online version of the Encyclopedia Britannica, Jarmo, (also called Qalat Jarmo), is a prehistoric archaeological site located east of Kirkūk, in northeastern Iraq. The site is important for revealing traces of one of the world's first village-farming communities (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Jarmo>).

So, the Kurdish people have a deep-rooted history of familiarity with food production especially the basic ones and those of the basic Kurdish cuisine.

The Kurdish idioms had their inception some time back in the past and in the rural areas of Iraqi Kurdistan. Back then, even the urban areas depended almost entirely on the villages for their consumer goods and foodstuffs since very few food products were imported from abroad.

From the foregoing discussion of the idioms, it has become clear that some types of food were quite common and the evidence is their high frequency in the idioms and which can be summed up as follows:

1. Fat, sugar, cucumber, meat, Halwa gazo, yoghurt, walnut, pistachio nut, and melon are mainly used to conceptualize **human beings** in terms of characteristics such as dishonesty, sweetness, fallibility and imperfection, good manners, sagacity, impatience and restlessness, freshness, beauty, worthiness, prudence, miserliness and generosity. This conceptual metaphor produced 20 examples out of the corpus which represented 21.6% of the all the corpus samples.

2. Bitter food, bread, bread-giving, onion, sumac/vinegar and lentil are mainly used to conceptualize **human emotions** such as sorrow, miserliness, generosity, fear, anger, and hypocrisy. This conceptual metaphor produced 15 examples out of the corpus which represented 16.2% of the all the corpus samples.

3. Honey, pomegranate, sugar, sweets, oak, spice, barley, yoghurt, pumpkin, bread, buttermilk, and sunflower are used to conceptualize **human speech or behavior** such as using kind words while communicating, showing up infrequently and thus endearing oneself to others by one's absence, and exercising patience. This conceptual metaphor produced 16 examples out of the corpus which represented 17.28% of the all the corpus samples.

4. Bread and its variant forms, such as morsel or can conceptualize **livelihood**. All examples of bread in the corpus that denote livelihood contain, by way of implication or explication, some conceptualizations such as subsistence, unpleasant job, salary and wages, or any payment on which a man lives and maintains a family. This conceptual metaphor produced 20 examples out of the corpus which represented 21.6% of the all the corpus samples.

5. Fatty and sweet food, dates, flour, chard, and bread can be used to conceptualize **life** and the act of eating is conceptualized as experiencing life. This conceptual metaphor produced 8 examples out of the corpus which represented 8.64% of the all the corpus samples.

6. Rice, bread & onion, fresh mallow, Indian pulse, and egg can be used to conceptualize **importance or value**. Since food can be viewed as important or not depending on various factors such as nutritional value, size, quantity, abundance or rarity, etc., then the same value or importance can be conceptualized and mapped onto human beings and their behavior accordingly. This conceptual metaphor produced 7 examples out of the corpus which represented 7.56% of the all the corpus samples.

7. Sifted flour, yoghurt, and morsel can be used to conceptualize **situation** such as an advantage given to people, good luck, experiencing a difficult situation, and distress. This conceptual metaphor produced 5 examples out of the corpus which represented 5.4 % of the all the corpus samples.

8. Fatty morsel, garlic, meat, and bread in broth can be used to conceptualize **benefit/loss** such as receiving an advantageous offer, a well-paid job and assistance. This conceptual metaphor produced 4 examples out of the corpus which represented 4.32% of the all the corpus samples.

9. Leftover morsel, fat tail, fatty food, and bread can be used to conceptualize **money** such as tiny amounts of money, financial assistance, financial allurements, and bankruptcy. This conceptual metaphor produced 5 examples out of the corpus which represented 5.4% of the all the corpus samples.

10. Morsel, cracked wheat, food, walnut, and yoghurt can be used to conceptualize **energy** such as good health, growth, heavy work, and muscular or physical efforts. This conceptual metaphor produced 5 examples out of the corpus which represented 5.4% of the all the corpus samples.

11. Garlic, peeled onion, and flour can be used to conceptualize **result** such as a satisfying result and the completion of a job or a mission. This conceptual metaphor produced 3 examples out of the corpus which represented 3.24 % of the all the corpus samples.

5 **Conclusions:**

The present study has conducted a linguistic examination of conceptual metaphors in Kurdish food idioms. Drawing on the data analysis and the findings of the study, which we summarized earlier, we can make some general conclusions as stated below:

1. The study has outlined eleven major conceptual metaphors in the corpus of Kurdish food idioms, namely HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOOD, HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD, HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD, LIVELIHOOD IS FOOD, LIFE IS FOOD, IMPORTANCE/VALUE IS FOOD, SITUATION IS FOOD, BENEFIT/LOSS IS FOOD, MONEY IS FOOD, ENERGY IS FOOD, RESULT IS FOOD. The existence of these metaphors bears out the ubiquity of conceptual metaphors and contributes to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory advanced by Lakoff and Johnson.

2. Moreover, the Kurdish corpus data demonstrated that the conceptual metaphor HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD could be further divided into several other subcategories of conceptual metaphors, namely, SORROW IS FOOD, MISERLINESS IS FOOD, GENEROSITY IS FOOD, FEAR IS FOOD, ANGER IS FOOD and HYPOCRISY IS FOOD. Similarly, the conceptual metaphor HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD from the Kurdish data also covered some further subcategories, namely, KIND WORDS ARE FOOD, SHOWING UP INFREQUENTLY IS FOOD, TO SPEAK SWEETLY IS FOOD, and EXERCISING PATIENCE IS FOOD.

3. The corpus data analysis revealed that the most common conceptual metaphors in Kurdish food idioms were HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOOD, LIVELIHOOD IS FOOD, HUMAN SPEECH/BEHAVIOR IS FOOD, and HUMAN EMOTION IS FOOD in order of frequency.

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Appendix

Distribution of conceptual metaphors:

1. Human Beings are food

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances in both Perso-Arabic and Latin characters	English Translation	Meaning
Human beings are food	ئارووا ئارووی برکین Arû arûy birrkêkin	Cucumbers of the same plant	From the same lineage
	دووک به پشیله ئهسپیرین Dûg be pşîle espêrê	He/she entrusts fat tail with a cat	Entrust your belongings with dishonest people
	قەساب گۆشتی بی ئیسقان -نافرۆشێ - Qesab goştî bê êsqan nafroşê	The butcher will not sell boneless meat	Everything has shortcomings
	گندۆره به رەنگ نیه Gindore be reng niye	A cantaloupe's color does not matter	Don't be misled by outward appearance
	هه‌لوا گه‌زویه Hellwa gezoye	Halwa gazo (chewy sweet made of manna, nuts, and flour)	Said of someone who is very pliable and everyone can influence him/her
	شەکره سێو -Şekre sêw	Sweet apple	Someone who is very pleasant
	شەکر -Şekre	Sugar	A patient man who also offers wise and pleasant daily consultation to people
	شەکره پیاو -Şekre piyaw	Sugary man	A man with principle, character and flawlessness
	شەکره ژن -Şekre jin	Sugary woman	A decent and good-mannered woman
	فستق - Fistiq	Pistachio nut	Very beautiful
گۆشتی ده‌خورێ -Goştî dexurê	Her flesh is eatable	Said of a beautiful lady	

گۆشتی قییمهت ناکا Goştî qîmet naka	Her flesh is not marketable	Said of an ugly lady who is not in demand
گۆیزری ناو بیژنگ Giwêzî naw bêjnig	The walnut in the riddle	Restless and impatient
گه‌ندمه‌خۆر Gendexor	Petty thief/pilferer	Miserly and close-fisted
گه‌نم و جو Genim û co	Wheat and Barley	White and black hair
ماسستی مه‌یو Mastî meyîw	Coagulated yoghurt	Said of someone patient and composed
ماش و برنج Maş û birinc	Indian pulse and rice	Grey, mixed black and white in color
نانیان به‌بێ یه‌ک Nanyan bebê yek نه‌ده‌خوارد nedexward	The did not eat a single bread separately (they always ate their bread together)	They had very strong and affectionate relations
نان دان Nan dan	To give bread	To be hospitable
نانیکی له‌گه‌ڵ نه‌ودا Nanêkî legell ewda خواردوه xwarduwe	They have had a bread together	They have the same character and behavior

2. Human Emotion is Food

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
	په‌لکه‌ پیاز Pelke pyaz	Onion peel or skin	Very white
	تال Tall	Bitter	Unhappiness
	تالو Tallow	Bitter drink	Great sorrow and calamity
	خواردن Xwardin	To eat	To suffer (such as penalty)
	خوارده‌نه‌وه Xoxwardnewe	To eat oneself	To be in grief or sorrow
	سماق فرۆشتن، سرکه‌ فرۆشتن Smaq froştin, sirke froştin	Sumac selling, vinegar selling	Said of someone who is frowning or scowling at people
	نانمان بێ خوێیه Nanman bê xwêye	Our bread has no salt in it	We are unfortunate
	نان بده Nan bde	A bread-giver	Generous and magnanimous
	نان دان Nan dan	To give bread	To be generous
	نان Nan bjêr بژیر	Bread counter	Said of someone miserly and mean
	نانده‌ر Nander	Bread-giver	Generous
	نان کوێر Nan kwêr	Bread blind	said of someone miserly, mean and close-fisted

نان و تف دمخوات Nan û tif dexwat	To eat bread and spit	To be miserly and stingy
نانی خۆی له قورگی ئاوا نابیت Nanî xoy le qurrî awa nabêt	Even his/her own bread does not pass his/her throat	Said of someone stingy and miserly
ئەلێی نێسکه بهر و پشتی نیه Ellêy nîske ber û piştî nye	He/she is like lentil; has no inside and outside	Said of someone hypocrite and double-faced

3. Human speech/behavior is food

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Human Speech/behavior is Food	بهههنگوین\شهکراو خنکاندن Behenguyn\şekraw xinkandin	To strangle someone with honey	To defeat one's enemy by kind words and deeds
	بهروو-بهرووی دهمی بزنه Berrû-berrûy demî bizne	Like an oak from a goat's mouth	Expecting his/her efforts to yield results soon
	بههارات-بههاراتی پێوهدهکات Beharat-beharatî pêwedekat	Spreading spice on something	Exaggerating or fabricating stories either to mislead or for fun
	بریشکه-بریشکهی جو دمخوات و دهست به سابوون دهشوات Brêşke-brêşkey co dexwat û dest be sabûn deşwat	He/she eats barley seeds and washes his/her hands with soap	Said of someone who is haughty; haughtiness; pride
	خواردن - Xwardin	To eat	To take someone's goods or money or belongings by force
	ماستاوچی - Mastawçî	Yoghurt drink maker	Flatterer, adulator
	له بنی کودوو دان\ له بنی کولهکه دان - Le bnî kudû dan\ le bnî kulekedan	To strike the bottom of the pumpkin	To disclose everything in a matter
	نان که بووه کهرتک خۆی ناگریتهوه Nan ke buwe kertik xoy nagrêtewe	Once bread is cut off, it will never come together	Said of a mistake that cannot be fixed
نانی شوانی خوارد Nanî şwanî xward	He/she ate the shepherd's bread	He/she did something wrong that can expose him/her to danger	

نان و پیازی لهگهڵ نهخواردوه Nan û pyazî legell nexwarduwe	Not to have had bread and onion with someone	Not to know someone, not to be acquainted with someone
هناری شیرین Henarî şîrîn	Sweet pomegranate	Said of someone who makes little appearance or show up infrequently
دۆبیر Dobirr	Buttermilk weaner	Despicable, vile
شکرته له زاری دێته دهر Şekrit le zarî dête der	Sugar comes out of his/her mouth	He/she speaks or says pleasant things
گولبهرژه Gulleberroje	Sunflower	Said of an opportunist person who changes attitude according to his/her changing interests
له بهرسيله حهوا دروستکردن Le bersîle hellwa drustkirdin	He/she makes sweets from sour grapes	Said of someone patient and composed
ماستاوه کردن Mastaw kirdin	To make yoghurt drink	To flatter in order to win someone's favor

4. Livelihood is food

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Livelihood is Food	پارووه نان پهیداکردن Paruwe nan peydakirdin	Earning bread	Earning subsistence
	پارووه نان Paruwe nan	A morsel of bread	Means of subsistence
	پارووی درکاو Parûy dirkawî	A thorny morsel	A hard, tough or unpleasant job
	پارووه نانیک هیه پارووه نانیک هیه Paruwe nanêk heye bîxoy	We have at least a morsel of bread to eat	Having the lowest level of subsistence
	خوا پارووه نانیک Xwa paruwe nanêkî dawe	God has offered a morsel of food	I am well-off
	نان Nan	Bread	Subsistence
	نان پهیداکردن Nan peydakirdin	To earn bread	To earn subsistence
	نانانه Nanane	Bread fee	wage
	نانی وشکیان نهبو Nanî wişkyan nebû	They even had no dry bread	They were too poor/destitute

نانی لهبن بهردی پهیا Nanî lebin berdî peya deka	He/she gets his/her bread under the stones	He/she is clever enough to earn his/her living
نانی به دۆی رانگا Nanî be doy ranaga	His/her bread cannot reach his/her buttermilk	He/ she is too poor or destitute
نانی نیه بیخرا Nanî nye bîxwa	He/she has no bread to eat	He/ she is too poor or destitute
نان و دۆیهك Nan û doyek	A bread and buttermilk	A little subsistence
نانی شمو شك نابا Nanî şew şik naba	He/she does not possess a night's bread	He/ she is too poor or destitute
نان برراو کردن Nanbirrawkirdin	To cut someone's bread	To cut someone's wage or salary
نان له دهمی شیر دهر هینان Nan le demî şêr derhênan	To take out bread from the lion's mouth	To earn a living with hard and strenuous efforts
نان برراو Nan brraw	Deprived of bread	said of someone who is deprived of wage or salary or means of subsistence
نان و ئاو Nan û aw	Bread and water	The means of supporting or maintaining yourself
نانهزگ Nanezg	Belly bread	Said of someone who works for his/her boss in return for his/her daily meals only
نان له گهرووی شیردایه Nan le gerûy şêrdaye	Bread is in the lion's throat	It is hard to make a living

5. Life is food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Life is Food	چهور و شیرین Çewr û şîrîn	Fatty and sweet	Said of something misleading
	چهور و نهرم Çewr û nerm	Fatty and soft	Said of something misleading
	خورما- خورمای بابی خواردوه Xurma- xurmay babî xwarduwe	Dates (has eaten his/her father's dates)	He/she sticks to his/her father's beliefs; does not give up superstitious beliefs

مشك له مألین كلکی به ئارد ناجی Mişk le mallyan kilkî be ard nabê	Even a mouse's tail will not be smeared by flour in their house	They have nothing to consume; they are poor
-سلقى روت Sillqî rût	A naked chard/ a mere chard	Destitution, impoverishment
نان تالبون Nan tallbûn	To have your bread gotten bitter	Said of someone whose life is made difficult or hard
نان لئ حرامکردن Nan lê heramkirdin	To make someone's bread bitter	To annoy someone continuously, to disturb their life
نان و حلوا Nan û helwa	Bread and sweets	A very easy and comfortable job

6. Importance/value is food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
	برنج ئالیکى -کەر نیه Brinc alîkî ker nye	Rice is not a donkey's fodder	Said of someone who is not worthy of something
	دل و دلخواز ئەبێ بە نان و -پياز Dill û dllixwaz ebê be nan û pyaz	The lover and the loved will become bread and onion	After some time elapses, the two lovers will be so familiar that they contempt each other
	تەرمتولهکه Terretolleke	Fresh mallow	Something inexpensive; unbeatable in price
	تەر مەش Terre maş	Fresh Indian pulse	Valueless and abundant
	تەر مەشێ بۆ -کردوو Terremaşî bo kirduwe	One has made Indian pulse for him/her	Has done nothing important or valuable for him/her
	نانیکى سووتای -ناینى Nanêkî sûtay naynî	He/she is not worth a burnt bread	said of someone or something useless or unimportant
	هێلکەى بۆ ئەوان	The egg for them and	The good ones for them and the bad ones for us

	و ریقنه‌ی بۆ ئیمه Hêlkey bo ewan û rîqney bo ême	droppings for us	
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7. Situation is Food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Situation is Food	ئاردی بیژراو Ardî bêjraw	Sifted flower	Something improved, modified and cultivated; ready for use
	ئاردی ناو درکان Ardî naw dirrkan	Flour scattered through thorns	An intricate problem that is hard to solve
	ئهو ماسته موویهکی تێدایه Ew maste mûyekî têdaye	There must be a strand of hair in this yoghurt	There must be a reason for this
	پارووکه گهریه به گهرووتدا ناچیت Paruweke gewreye be gerûtda naçêt	The morsel is too big to go down your throat	Said of something hard to obtain; inaccessible; far-fetched
	پاروی ده روونی کهوت کهوته روئی Parûy de rûnê kewt\ kewte runê	His/her morsel fell into oil	Said of someone who had great luck

8. Benefit/loss is food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Benefit/loss is food	پاروی چهور Parûy çewr	A fatty morsel	A beneficial act or deed
	سیر بخۆ و زورنالیده Sîr bxo û zurra lêde	Eat garlic and play the trumpet	You will not reach the goal you are seeking

	گوشت هر لایقی بازه- قابیلی بازه Goşt her layqî baze- qabîlî baze	Meat is only worth the falcon	Said of someone who is worth a job
	نانی بو دمخاته شـۆرـبـاوه Nanî bo dexate şorbawe	To put bread in the broth for someone	To assist someone

9. Money is food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
	پارووه بهرماوێك Paruwe bermawêk	A leftover morsel	A small amount of money given by a tribal chief to a servant
	دووگی چهور بی به لا -نیه Dûgî çewr bê bella nye	A fat tail is not without misfortune	A financially capable one should give the poor a portion so they do not cast covetous eyes on him
	چهور - Çewr	Fatty	Said of a rich or wealthy person
	نانت له خوانه، خزمت له دهورانه Nant le xwane, xzimt le dewrane	When your table is filled with food, relatives cluster around you	When you are rich, your relatives will cling to you
	نانی شهوی پی نه ههشتین Nanî şewêy pê nehêştîn	He/she rendered us without a night's bread	he/she took all our wealth and belongings

10. Energy is Food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Energy is food	تیکه تا نهچووی قوت -نادری Tike ta neycûy qut nadrê	A morsel cannot be swallowed until chewed well	Every job requires sufficient effort to be done
	-ساوهر ئالیکی میزدانه Sawer alikî mêrdane	Cracked wheat is the husband's fodder	Cracked wheat is the strong man's food
	-خواردنی من نیه Xwardinî min nye	It is not my food	It is beyond my capability/ability

	گۆیزی ساغ - Gwêzî sax	A full and well-developed walnut	Free from diseases; sound and healthy
	ماسست تا نهیژهنی کهره نادات Mast ta neyjenî kere nadat	Not until churned, yoghurt will not produce butter	Not until you toil, you will not earn your subsistence

11. Result is food:

Conceptual metaphor	Corpus instances	English Translation	Meaning
Result is food	له سیر ههتا پیاز Le sîr heta pyaz	From Garlic to onion	From alpha to omega, from A to Z
	پیاز-پیازی سپیکراوی لهدهست نا -Pyaz-pyazî spîkrawî ledest na	They put a peeled onion in his hands	They settled the matter for him/her
	-ئاردی خۆم دابێژتووه Ardî xom dabêjtuwe	I have sieved my flour	I have completed my job or mission