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SPECIFICITY OF THE USE OF METAPHOR BY OLD KABYLIANS (70-90 YEARS OLD) IN THEIR EVERYDAY SOCIAL INTERACTION—CASE STUDY: THE KABYLIAN MINOR COMMUNITY IN ALGERIA

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Abstract: Because of the significant role of metaphor in our everyday lives and in our culture, we almost all bring different interests to it, this is the reason why we tend and take the opportunity to check whether metaphors are much more powerful instruments dealing with our experiences rather than being ornamental. In other words, metaphors are not just a play with words or even a free play for ideas, but they should be in harmony with the social and historical settings with the beliefs and personal constructs of the society or micro society of the time. In this paper, we tend to demonstrate that metaphors not only make the Kabylia (the Berber minor community in Algeria) thoughts vivid and interesting, but they do actually structure their perceptions and understanding. Metaphor is pervasive in our everyday life, i.e., metaphors play a central role in defining the old Kabylia everyday realities. Our aim is to show clearly that our category of informants (70-90 years old) are not using metaphors just for shaping their views in life in present, but metaphors are setting up expectations for the future, i.e., metaphors are rooted in the beliefs, practices and intentions of language. Some hypotheses will be presented in this work. They will help pave the way to test, measure, argue and interpret the findings through observation and analysis on the bases of the Berber society (the Kabylia) and its environment.

Keywords: Specificity of metaphor use, old Kabylia, everyday speech.

Introduction

Whether we like it or not, and whether we are aware of it or not, metaphor dwells in the language of every kind. Metaphor is deeply ingrained in our work, private life, thoughts processes, actions, daily conversations, speeches, discourses, etc. As Carter (2012:138) writes: "...such metaphors are often so deeply impregnated in language and culture that they are not noticed as such." That is to say, the everyday use of such linguistic metaphors is so evident, frequent and unnoticed, that we even do not realise it in many natural/usual circumstances. Metaphor is omnipresent in plain language, poetics and passionate language. Several theories view metaphors as a means of creative people, mainly (poets, or writers), yet metaphor is not restricted to this kind of people only, but it is encoded in our fundamental mode of thought. Metaphor, in fact, plays a more prominent role than we all imagine, i.e., it has a significant impact on our minds and attitudes, the same way, it pervades our world (daily activities, experiences), enriches our language and utterances.

Several recent studies, such as the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) attested and affirmed in their findings, that metaphor is widely recognised as the cornerstone of human cognition in ways previously unachieved and unacknowledged. This cognitive metaphor theory (sometimes called the conceptual metaphor theory CMT) which sprang as an outstanding variety of topics all over the 20th century, operates at the level of thinking. The proponents of this theory viewed that thought has primacy over language, and that few or even no abstract notions can be talked about without metaphor, i.e., there is no direct way of conceiving them and we can only understand them through the filter of directly experienced concrete notions (source domain notions). Furthermore, the metaphorical filter most of the time highlights certain aspects of target domain and hides others at the same time (Zweiri and Murphy, 2011:33).

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Our aim in this paper, is to show how metaphors reflect cognitive and cultural human experiences encoded by language as a means of recording human experience, how much culture models and constrains this cognition, and how much culture influences metaphor at a high degree. Thus, this research may give us a chance to see and recognise how the members of Kabyle culture structure or map their experience of the world and record it into their native language.

Definition

Aristotle is credited with being the pioneer of metaphor. He provided us with the first definition /treatment: “metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on the ground of analogy”(poetics, 1457b, cited in Gibbs 1994:210). Following and maintaining the same principle, David Leary asserted and backed up the Aristotelian idea saying that: “metaphor has been likened to a filter, a fusion, a lens, a pretense, a screen, a tension, a displacement, a stereoscopic image, a form of linguistic play, a false identity, a semantic fiction, a contextual shift, a translation of meaning, a twinned vision, and an incongruous perspective, to mention only few of its common metaphors.”(1990:4).

I.A. Richards (1936), the first modern writer who presented a cognitive theory of metaphor, argues that metaphor is not about using one thing instead of another thing which it resembles. Rather “fundamentally it is a borrowing between and intercourse of thoughts, a transaction between contexts” (Cited in Winter and Reed 2015: 76). Richards states that metaphor is far from being something deviant or special, a verbal affair or even something extra, but an “omnipresent principle of language” (ibid). In other words, metaphor is not a matter of adding spices to the language (an added power), but it permeates all language and, therefore, Richards claims, it should be regarded as a matter of major concern, i.e., the principle by which thought and language operate. I. A. Richards analyses metaphor into two formula: tenor and vehicle. The tenor is the “underlying idea or principle subject which the vehicle or figure means”, whereas, the vehicle is the phrase that seems analogous to the tenor: “the resultant of interaction between two thoughts ... at one extreme the vehicle may become almost a mere decoration or coloring of the tenor, at the other extreme, the tenor may become almost a mere excuse for introduction of the vehicle, and so no longer be the principle subject” (cited in Dahiyat 1974:43). Tenor and vehicle are two separate items/things, yet become involved in a crucial relation in and through the process of metaphorization. Other writers prefer using the general terms ground and figure to denote what Richards previously identified as tenor and vehicle. Thus, metaphor expresses the unfamiliar (the tenor) in terms of the familiar (the vehicle).

Consider the following utterances in Kabyle with their equivalents in English:

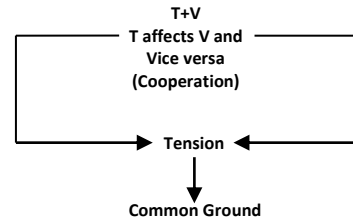
- 1.[ʌwæli:s tæmənt] → lit-trans (his word is honey).
- 2.[ʌduni:θ ðələv] → lit-trans (life is a game).
- 3.[ləqðifis ðəlmelk] → lit-trans (his/her work is angelic).
- 4.[enni:s tırşəsi:n] → lit-trans (his/her eyes are bullets).

Utterances in Kabyle ‘thought provoking’ (metaphor)	Tenor (primary subject)	Vehicle (secondary subject)	Tension	Common Ground (shared properties) (new effect/new meaning)
S1	[ʌwæli:s] (His word)	[tæmənt] (‘is’ Honey)	(apparent incompatibility between tenor and vehicle)	Softness + Sweetness: a ‘relief-recovering- sensation of well-being’ and ‘bringing comfort’.
S2	[ʌduni:θ] (Life)	[ðələv] (‘is’ a game)		Play/Game experience: success and failure. (similar to chess game) - (notion of happiness and sadness).
S3	[ləqðifis] (His/her work)	[ðəlmelk] (‘is’ angelic)		Quietness+ Perfection: goodness-purity-serenity and wisdom all together.
S4	[enni:s] (His/her eyes)	[tırşəsi:n] (‘are’ Bullets)		Target: the farsightedness-the exactitude in apprehending and grasping the situation.

Note: the auxiliary (to be in present ‘is’ and ‘are’) in all utterances (S1-4) is implied. Only native speakers can recognise that the auxiliary is present in the sentence without adding it.

Analysis

We may notice, that the two terms tenor and vehicle (T+V) of each sentence in the above table, being compared, involve a dynamic interaction and a relation which soon create an 'absent or a hidden tension' (Prandi,1999) and later shifts into the term 'ground' or 'common ground' (Richards,1936). We may thus conclude that the notion of compatibility between T and V (the borrowings back and forth between T and V) creates or generates a new domain/resultant called a metaphor. In the same vein, Richards writes: "[a metaphor presents] two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction" (cited in Kessler 2013:95).



The Motivation For Metaphor Use

We all look, speak and write with minds different and loaded with visions. We all live, share a world and see it from different angles. We are daily flooded with ideas and statements demanding assent, yet which we know or believe to be false, confusing or deceptive. It is now assumed, by almost everybody (psychologists and linguists), that metaphors are part and parcel of our activities in life. They are important tools of cognition and communication, providing us with unfamiliar ways of conceptualizing familiar things, and familiar ways of conceptualizing unfamiliar things (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Ortony, 1979). In that sense, as Ortony (1975) argued, metaphors are not just ornamental, they are necessary. Metaphor is not limited to specific studies or restricted to a minority interest, but its working is relevant to all students in all disciplines (literature, economy, medicine, politics, etc.). In other words, we use metaphors all the time to help us define our natural and scientific world, as well as they explain our behaviour and attitudes. Andrew Goatly (1997:1) notes in this context: "if, as I believe, metaphor and mental processes it entails, are basic to language and cognition, then a clearer understanding of its working is relevant, not just to literature students, but to any students." Metaphor remains essential, supplements knowledge about already quite well known things, and quite well understood topics. Metaphor is regarded as an integral component in our cognition, allows richness of detail, unexpectedness, wonder, admiration and speculation.

Consider the following utterances in Kabyle:

- 1.[jerwi wəχɑ:mi:s] → lit-trans (his/her home is upside down) → implicature (his/her family is in trouble-there is a problem at home).
- 2.[θəpwæ θəχæmθ] → lit-trans (the room is baked/cooked) → implicature (it's too hot and unbearable)
- 3.[juvales teqləndʒəts] → lit-trans (he became for him/her wheelbarrow → implicature (to make him a salve).
- 4.[θuqa:jəs θmellælt] → lit-trans (an egg got stuck in him/her) → implicature (she/he is tremendously curious about knowing the matter).

Note that the utterance number 2 could be approximately translated metaphorically into English as: it is as hot as hell/ it's hot as the fingers of hell, whereas, utterances (1, 3 and 4) are specific metaphors dealing with a specific language community (Kabyle). Indeed, the use of metaphor is pervasive in both mass communication and everyday linguistic exchanges (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). More often, we do resort to metaphors for the sake of extending to all sensory modalities as well as to emotive power. Metaphor is said to be a key component because of its multiple functions (explaining, clarifying, describing, expressing, evaluating, entertaining, etc.).

Metaphor tends also to accompany the expression of emotions and attitudes. For example, in case we reach a certain degree of happiness, we try to express our feelings through different words that fit them, more or less adequately, or with more accuracy depending on shades of meaning. Saying 'I am very happy' may appear to us quite different from 'my spirits rose', 'I'm cheerful', or 'I'm walking/dancing on air'. That is to say, we most of the time feel like a 'gap', or even a 'failure' in finding out appropriate adjectives which may specify and qualify any special feeling or desire.

Here are some examples concerning the degree of happiness in Kabyle:

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1. [lʌtsfərɸiræɣ silfarh] → lit-trans (I'm flying with happiness)
2. [lʌθətsæfæg silfarh] → lit-trans (she is flying up with happiness)
3. [lʌjetsnəgi:z silfarh] → lit-trans (he is jumping with happiness)

All three utterances together correspond to the following metaphorical English translation (by approximation):

- 'I'm feeling like a million'.
- 'She is walking on air'.

We are all attracted by the use of metaphor may be for one common reason that it provides us with more vigilance, more defence and more protection. Metaphor becomes then the best mediator between the speakers, so as to reach strength and subjectivity. Because metaphor is supposed to be one way for exteriorising our grief, sadness, deception, anxiety, anger, etc., and even away to escape from the bitter reality, we try to turn to it to reconstitute things and finally reach our satisfaction, aim the target and plug the gap.

Here are some specific utterances in Kabyle:

1. [ɸɔ:rən wuləwəna:ɣ] → lit-trans (our hearts are full) → implies (we are extremely sad/upset).
2. [jessæðer iwənni:s] → lit-trans (he lowered his eyes/he looks down) → implies (he got angry).
3. [lʌsniɸənnu θimuɸuhæ] → lit-trans (he is telling them stories) → implies (he is lying to them).

This shows that we often resort to metaphor for one simple reason, that we do not have any other choice. Thus, metaphors are in fact commonplace in ordinary speech and writing, and like any other language, the Kabyle is riddled with thousands of metaphors and most of them are so familiar that we no longer regard them as metaphorical in nature. Indeed, linguists have realised for some generations now that metaphors are a commonplace way of extending the expressive resources of a language (Trask, 2007:169).

Consider the following instances in kabyle (metaphors dealing with the notion of 'TIME'):

1. [jufæg lwəqθ] → lit-trans (time flew).
2. [lʌtsæzzælən wussæn] → lit-trans (days are running).
3. [jækkæjeɣ lwəqθ] → lit-trans (time betrayed us/deceived us).
4. [ðæɸu: lʌjetsradɣu:n ussæn !] → lit-trans (what is waiting the days !).

We notice in these examples (1 and 2) that the description of 'time' recommends and needs the use of spatial or motion words. The words used in utterances above such as [jufæg] (flew), [lʌtsæzzælən] (running) are words belonging to space, which are metaphorically used to map an abstract area of experience which is 'time'. Whereas, in examples (3 and 4), the notion of 'time' is associated with different properties: betrayal, surprise and wonder. For more details, we may add that utterance (4) – 'what is waiting the days!' - designates something specific. Thus, utterance (4) implies that the days coming would be completely different, and that things might change and that the new generations might be startled.

Metaphor as a basic mechanism can construct a new world (Levin, 1979), i.e., metaphors are actually 'building blocks' with which we can construct and conceptualise our real world. Levin (1988) acknowledges that metaphorical utterances arise simply because "our language is not an ideally efficient mechanism" (cited in Needham-Didsbury, 2014:91). The practical function of metaphor is to give concrete illustrations of objects (Brooks and Warren, 1961). We may draw the following conclusion: one major motivation among others behind the use of metaphor is the filling or the plugging of the infinite lexical gaps. In this context P. Ricoeur (1977) terms metaphors that help bridge those gaps as 'forced metaphor'. When ideas seem no direct, and when they are transmitted wrong through certain codes, concepts and signs, 'forced metaphor' come to emerge on the surface, i.e., they intervene systematically and naturally. We say for instance in Kabyle: [vəri:K wuli:s] lit-trans (his/her heart is black), [qəssi:h wuli:s] lit-trans (his/her heart is hard), meaning that the person is spiteful, mischievous, wicked, harsh and unforgiving depending on the context. We conclude that we may draw a conjuncture between the following two concepts:

The wickedness and the unforgiveness recognised as two 'conduits metaphor' in association with the black colour, which then becomes a proper sing of wickedness and the unforgiveness.

Theories Of Metaphor

As far as classical theories are concerned, three are main views of metaphor: the comparison view, the substitution view, and the interaction view.

Theory Of Comparison: goes back to Aristotle's rhetoric in which metaphors are regarded as implicit comparisons between a metaphorical expression and a literal paraphrase based on underlying analogy or

similarity (cited in Ning Yu 1998:10). This theory claim that metaphors are best viewed as condensed/elliptical versions of similes or comparison with the terms ‘like’ and ‘as’ omitted (Cornell Way, 1991:34). This doesn’t mean that a simile makes the same kind of apparent assertion or effect as its equivalent metaphor on the one hand, but simply that interpretatively the simile and metaphor will be equivalent on the other hand (Goatly, 1997:118-119). According to Black (1979), this conception of metaphor is just a special case (a subtype) of the substitution view (cited in Lynne Cameron 2003:16).

In short, advocates of the comparison theory postulate that a metaphor of the form ‘A is B’, such as: ‘Man is a puppet’ / is the collapsed form of ‘A is like B’, such as: ‘Man is like a puppet’ which is finally schematised ‘A is C’ such as: ‘Man is controlled to be a puppet’ → ‘Man is manipulated like a puppet’.

Consider the following utterances in Kabyle:

Similes (Kabyle)	English Literary translation	Elliptical similes: minus the use of simile markers (like+ as) – metaphors -	Implicature
[θəfvæ θəfθi:lt]	She is like/as a light.	[θæmətθinæ tæfθi:lt] (that woman is a light)	The sublime beauty.
[jefvæ lvæz]	He is like an eagle.	[ʔqfiʃinæ ðəlvæz] (that boy is an eagle)	Virility, smartness and handsomeness.
[θgæ Λməθsəkku:rθ]	She is like a partridge.	[θæqfiʃθinæ tæsəkku:rθ] (that girl is a partridge)	Graceful and elegant.

Note that the simile markers ‘like’ and ‘as’ in Kabyle are most of the time not apparent but hidden within verbs such as in the above examples (1) and (2): [θəfvæ] (she is like), [jefvæ] (he is like); whereas, in utterance (3) the simile marker ‘as’ or ‘like’ is an integral part of the vehicle [Λməθsəkku:rθ] (like a partridge). Thus, [Λmə] first part of the vehicle designates/denotes the simile marker ‘like’ or ‘as’.

We may draw then, the following conclusion:

Metaphor = simile [-] minus ‘simile markers’ (like and as) => a comparison by analogy.

Theory Of Substitution: this view holds that metaphor involves replacing one word with another word. Max Black (1955) explains:

“According to a substitution view, the focus of metaphor, the word or expression having a distinctively metaphorical use within a literal frame, is used to communicate a meaning that might have been expressed literally. The author substitutes M for L; it is the reader’s task to invert the substitution, by using the literal meaning of L. understanding a metaphor is like deciphering a code or unravelling a riddle.” (Cited in Lynn R. Huber, 2007: 70-71).

In other words, the metaphorical term stands in the place of the literal term, and the intended meaning of the statement dwells within the literal term. Black thus, implies that it is the reader’s task to invert the substitution, since understanding the entirety of a metaphor, demands the reader to be engaged in a mental decoding ‘deciphering’ that can bring to light the appropriate literal meaning underlying the metaphorical expression.

This theory is most of the time called ‘theory change’. It states that the metaphorical meaning can substitute the literal one (Kleiber, 1999). In other words, every metaphorical statement is equivalent to a literal statement. Advocates of this view (non-constructivist thinkers) such as (Black,1962) claim that the V-term (vehicle) is substituting for a literal term, and the meaning of the metaphor can be discovered by replacing the literal term, and that metaphor was finally a sort of decorative device (Black,1962, cited in WEN Xu and JIANG Feng, 2014:67). This view centralises much the V-term at the expense of the tenor/topic. For example, the figurative expression, ‘John is a rat’, substitutes the literal expression, ‘John is disloyal’.

Consider the following examples in Kabyle:

Tenor / Topic (Subject)	Eng lit-trans	The literal term (the denotative meaning)	V-term- (metaphorical expression)- (figurative)
[Λm̄mi:s]	His/her son	[ihəmməl kæn] (violent and careless)	[ðæzger] (is a bull)
[θæmətθinæ]	That women	[θwɑ:r] (being aggressive, quarrelsome, always disposed to attack)	[ðʒæhənnæmæ] (is the Gehenna/hell) [timəs] (is fire)
[jelli:s]	His/her daughter	[θzæð sifvæhæ] (very cute, graceful and elegant)	[tæninna] (is the female’s eagle)

Note that the utterances (1) and (2) starting with the sound /ð/ concerning the third column (figurative expression) refers to the indefinite article ‘a’.

One main conclusion may be drawn from the preceding table: the relationship between the tenor/topic (subject) and the literal expression is indirect because it is already implied in the V-term (figurative or metaphorical expression). Thus, the utterance [Λmmi:s ðæzger] (his/her son is a bull), the relationship between the son and ‘the state of being violent and careless’ is indirect because it is already implied in [ðæzger] (a bull).

The Interaction Theory Of Metaphor: this theory traced its roots back to the 1930s with I.A. Richards who offered a new insight (a rudimentary form) on how metaphor works. He was the first who shook the classical notion of metaphor (1936) in his ‘Philosophy of Rhetoric’. As a proponent Richards holds that essence of metaphor lies in an interaction between a metaphorical expression and the context in which it is used (ibid). In addition, he claims that not only the meaning of one word changes, but that several words or the whole sentence are concerned in the interaction which later bring about a new meaning. That is to say, Richards points out that single words have no meaning but they obtain meaning from their connections with other words in the discourse, which he calls the ‘interanimation of words’, i.e., the ‘transaction’ between contexts. In his book, ‘Models and Metaphors’ (1962), the revisionist scholar Max Black highlighted, supported and extended Richards’ interaction view. Black argues that metaphor “has its own distinctive capacities and achievements” and that sometimes it “creates” a similarity rather than formulating an antecedently existing one” (cited in David A. Bobbitt, 2004:69). We may summarise the key elements of this theory that Black (1979) propounded as follows :

- 1.A metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects- a “principal” subject and a “subsidiary” one.
- 2.These subjects are often best regarded as “system of things,” rather than individual “things”.
- 3.The metaphor works by applying to the principal subject a system of “associated implications,” that are characteristic of the subsidiary subject. According to Black, the metaphorical utterance works by ‘projecting upon’ the primary subject a set of ‘associated implication,’ compromised in the implicative complex, that are predicable of the secondary subject”.
- 4.These implications usually consist of “commonplaces” about the subsidiary subject, but may, in suitable cases, consist of deviant implications established ad hoc by the writer.
- 5.The metaphor selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the principle subject by applying to it the system of implications (commonplaces) related the subsidiary subject.
- 6.This involves shifts in meaning of words belonging to the same family or system as the metaphorical expression; and some of these shifts, though not all, may be metaphorical transfers.
- 7.There is, in general, no simple “ground” for the necessary shifts of meaning- no blanket reason why some metaphors work and others fail (quoted in Senko K. Maynard, 2007: 162-163).

In sum, the interaction theory is quite distinctly different from the preceding views presented in this paper. Black (1962) emphasised that both comparison and substitution metaphors could easily be changed to literal expressions, whereas interaction metaphors could not because they require the reader “to make inferences and to draw implications rather than merely to react” (Ortony et al, 1978:923). Thus, Black’s conception of metaphor still remains one of the most remarkable forerunners of the “cognitive theory of metaphor” that was later to be developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

Consider now the following instances in Kabyle:

- 1.[ergæz ðizem] → lit-trans (the man is a lion).
- 2.[lævð ðuʃʃən] → lit-trans (the human being is a wolf).
- 3.[θæmætə:θ ðterjel] → lit-trans (woman is an ogress/a monster).
- 4.[Λduni:θ tɑqsi:t / tæmefæhu:ts] → lit-trans (life is a tale/a story).
- 5.[θæsusmi ðadhəv] → lit-trans (silence is gold).

Utterances in Kabyle	The primary subject (frame)	The secondary subject/(the subsidiary subject)/(focus)/(metaphor)	The resulting meaning/(the tension)/ ‘the parallelism drawn between the subject + the subsidiary’
S1	[ergæz] (The man)	[ðizem] (‘is’ a lion)	[ergæz ðlæʃhəl + ðəlhivæ+ ðəzwara ək təzmerθ], [ergæz ðwin igzawran fjimæni:s] (Man is brave/courageous and capable).
S2	[lævð] (the Human being)	[ðuʃʃən] (‘is’ a wolf)	[lævð ðæχeddæ / jəqqəð] (Man is cunning/naughty/mischievous).
S3	[θæmætə:θ] (Woman)	[ðterjel] (‘is’ an ogress)	[θæmætə:θ θwɑ:r ðzæhənnæmæ] (A woman is ferocious / savage in behaviour and attitudes).
S4	[Λduni:θ] (Life)	[tɑqsi:t / tæmefæhu:ts]	[Λtɑ:ʃ Λθwəli:d] + [Λtɑ:ʃ Λθsædi:d] (life is an introduction, a body and a conclusion/life is what

		(‘is’ a story/a tale)	everyone <u>experiences- a beginning + an end</u>).
S5	[θæsusmi] (Silence)	[ðædhøv] (‘is’ gold)	[θæsusmi θelhæ / ðætsqəl / ðæslæm æk ðlemæn] / [θæsusmi ðælkenz urnætsfuku:] (Silence is like a treasure/it brings peace, safety + serenity).

Note that, this table demonstrates explicitly Black’s interactionist model of metaphor. In each utterance above, we use a metaphor to explain another metaphor → Black’s idea of “filtering” the primary subject through the associated commonplaces of the secondary subject is, itself, a metaphor (cited in Cornell Way, 1991:50).

The Cognitive Theory Of Metaphor: one of the variants of a cognitive model of metaphor is the theory developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) in their book, ‘Metaphors We Live By’. Lakoff and Johnson have vociferously maintained that the links between metaphor and thoughts are extremely tightened. They added that metaphors are more than just poetic devices; they are deeply rooted and embedded in our everyday language. Metaphors help us structure our experiences and activities as well as they frame and condition our thoughts and attitudes and affect the way that we act and react in our entire life. In this way, Lakoff and Johnson (1993:244) argue that the contemporary theory of metaphor “is revolutionary in many respects”. Thus, they sum up the contrast between the traditional and contemporary views of metaphor and redefine metaphor as follows:

“Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish — a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language ... For this reason, most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, 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.” (1980:3).

Constructivist researchers such as (Reddy,1979; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2002; Sweetser, 1990) and some other scholars, working primarily on “cognitive linguistics” have largely elaborated the idea that people speak metaphorically because they think, imagine, feel, reason and act metaphorically. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explored the matter further and thus, introduced three main amended categories of metaphors, namely structural, orientational and ontological.

Structural Metaphors: are mappings of structure between two domains (target and source domains), one of which is more abstract than the other. In other words, they are instances that allow us to structure one concept in terms of another (p.14). This type of metaphor phenomenon is exemplified by Lakoff and Johnson as follows: “LIFE IS A GAMBLE” - “THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS” – “LIFE IS WAR”, or “ARGUMENT IS WAR”. For instance, the first conceptual metaphor “LIFE IS A GAMBLE” is a structural metaphor, where the concept of life is structured by another concept, gamble. This is to say that two different concepts are combined to form a structural metaphor. Thus, the structural metaphor is used to express a part of a system, (a game, a chance, a goal, a winner or a loser).

Consider the following metaphorical instances in Kabyle:

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle	Literally translation	Target domain	Source domain	Structural metaphor
- [ʌduni:θ ðæqəmmər]	Life is a gamble.	[ʌduni:θ] (life)	[ðæqəmmər] (‘is’ a gamble)	[ʌduni:θ ʌməllæv ðærrəvh æk ðləχsara] (Life is a game, a chance => winning or losing). This to say that life is a gamble metaphor that suggests: life’s decisions have the same structure/shape as a game of chance. Thus, life’s decisions do not often come nicely and carefully packed.
- [ʌduni:θ ðæmfəfəw]	Life is a quarrel/fight/war.	[ʌduni:θ] (life)	[ðæmfəfəw] (‘is’ a war)	[ʌduni:θ ðækipwæh, ðəlfarh æk ðəlqarh: θæswæθ ðləhvæv æk ðæθmæθen, θæswæθ niqən ðæðæwən => ðærrəvh æk ðləχsara] (Life is a battlefield where we have to treat people either as friends or foes/and where we have to fight death with a wide range of weapons

				=> life is one time a victory and one other time a defeat).
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Oriental Metaphors: have to do with the orientation of objects in space. They organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another (ibid). These metaphors (spatial orientations) are derived from our physical or cultural experiences involving: ‘up-down’, ‘in-out’, ‘front-back’, ‘high-low’ and so on. Thus, we may conclude that, such binary opposites are no more than matters of our daily living and our lived experiences with physical and social entities. This category of spatial orientation is reflected by a great deal of metaphorical expressions such as: ‘he is in top shape’, ‘I’m really on a high these days’, ‘she is over the moon’, etc. In short, these linguistic examples illustrate that an upward orientation usually goes with a positive impact/evaluation which directly corresponds to ‘happiness’

Consider the following utterances in Kabyle:

Table 1. Happy / cheerful and good are ‘UP’ (cultural experiences).

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle (spatial metaphors)	Literally translation	Target domain	Source Domain	Production of an Upward representation/orientation. (positive connotation/impact/evaluation) = positive dimension feeling.
{ -[læjetsæfæg] or -[læjetsferfi:r]	He is flying (with happiness).	[læjetsæfæg] (He is flying)	[silfərh̄](with happiness) =>which is implicit	[lferh̄ Λmɔqra:n] (extremely happy)
-[ulinti:d iðæmmən]	Blood rose in him.	[ulinti:d] (rose in him)	[iðæmmən] (blood)	[jəfrəh̄ / ihənnæ] (being happy/at ease and very relaxed)

Table 2. Sad/depressed /unhappy and bad are ‘DOWN’.

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle (spatial metaphors)	Literally translation	Target domain	Source domain	Production of a Downward representation/orientation. (negative connotation/impact/evaluation) = negative dimension feeling.
- [jɛvli:d fəllæs igənni]	The sky fell on him/her.	[jɛvli:d fəllæs] (fell on him)	[igənni] (the sky)	[jɛhzən / jɛslæv] (being sad/depressed or unhappy)
- [jɛssævli:θ lhəm]	Troubles/miseries and worries led him to downfall.	[jɛssævli:θ] (led him to downfall)	[lhəm] (troubles and miseries)	[juvəl dəmɔɑ:r / θfu:k θəzmərθ] (he took a shot of old/no strength remaining)=> sad/unhappy.

Table 3. Health and life are ‘UP’.

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle (spatial metaphors)	Literally translation	Target domain	Source domain	Production of an Upward posture /representation/orientation . (positive connotation/impact/evaluation) = the state of recovery/becoming healthy/alive (resurrection).
- [Jekred silmu:θ]	He rose from death.	[Jekred] (he rose)	[silmu:θ] (from death)	[θuvəliθi:d Λrru:h̄] / [jɛhlæ] (being resurrected/healthy and alive).
- [krən wussæni:s]	His/her days rose.	[ussæni:s] (his/her days)	[krən]	[Λduni:θi:s θɛsggəm] (His life blossomed/regaining)

			(rose)	one's physical strength/vitality and dynamicity).
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Table 4. Sickness and death are 'DOWN'.

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle (spatial metaphors)	Literally translation	Target domain	Source domain	Production of a Downward posture/ representation/orientation. (negative connotation/impact/evaluation) => The decline of physical strength/serious illness forces us to lie down physically.
- [θexli: Λʂpra:w]	My body dropped down/fell.	[θexli:] (dropped down)	[Λʂpra:w] (my body)	[Λji:ɾ / urəzmirɾaræ] (Great fatigue/ health decline).
- [ɣli:ɾ əmmuθəɾ]	I dropped dead.	[ɣli:ɾ] (I dropped)	[əmmuθəɾ] (Dead)	[hussæɾ / Λji:ɾ] (Sickness and exhaustion).

Ontological metaphors: those metaphors allow us to conceive of abstract concepts as concrete entities. In other words, one abstract concept is represented in terms of another concept, where the latter is more concrete than the former (Anna Jelec, 2014:28). Lakoff and Johnson earlier presented this type of metaphor as “ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities or substances” (1980:25) “without specifying exactly what kind of object, substance, or container is meant” (Kövecses, 2010:38). Thus, we may deduce that there is a great variety of ontological metaphors with different purposes:

- a. The concept ‘**abstracts are things**’: I have too many ideas, this is an accumulation of problems, sadness is seen in her face.
- b. The concept ‘**the mind is a container**’: I can't get this idea/this tune out of my mind, I need/try to clear my mind.
- c. The concept ‘**states and emotions are containers**’: he fell in love, I have almost fallen into a depression.
- d. Another group of ontological metaphors, those that describe specific things as persons (personification): life betrayed him, the movie goes on, the rules prohibit these actions (cf. Lakoff /Johnson, 1980:25-29).

Table 5. Ideas are 'Objects'.

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle	Literally translation	Target domain	Source domain	Ontological metaphor with different purposes/viewing abstract ideas + feelings as entities or substances
- [lehzen ivenəd fuðmi:s]	Sadness appeared/is seen in her/his face.	[ivenəd fuðmi:s] (appeared in her/his face)	[lehzen] (Sadness)	[Λʂifæ nlævð Λtvəddəl] = [ləmləməh ppuðem / uqəðu:m Λðvədlənt] (The features of the face are tightened and quite blackened –tense face- the face changes).
- [sqɑ:ð Λwæli:K]	Erect/set upright your word.	[Λwæli:K] (your word)	[sqɑ:ð] (set upright)	[Λwæλ Λməlmizæn] [Λwæλ Λmθəɾɾɑ:sθ] (A word is like a bullet – one has to keep and honour his word)

Table 6. The mind is a 'Container'.

The metaphorical	Literally	Target domain	Source	Ontological metaphor
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expressions in Kabyle	translation		domain	with different purposes/ viewing mind as a container where we can fill and pull things out.
- [jəʃɔ:r uqarrɔji:w]	My head is full.	[uqarrɔji:w] (My head)	[jəʃɔ:r] (is full)	[ðæjen urəzmirɔræ] / [jæjæ uqarrɔji:w] (It's enough, I can't bear any more/no more problems/ I'm fed up).
- [fɔnt θizunæn səgqarrɔji:w]	The problems / (trivialities) got out of my mind.	[θizunæn] (The problems)	[fɔnt səgqarrɔji:w] (got out of my mind)	[rəkðæx] / [hennæx] (I'm okay/ I feel all right).

Table 7. Communication is 'Sending'.

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle	Literally translation	Target domain	Source domain	Ontological metaphor with different purposes/viewing communication as sending.
- [jəggæyæs λwæl]	I sent him/her a word.	[jəggæyæs] (I sent him/her)	[λwæl] (a word)	[λwæl λmθəvrɑ:ts jətsufəggæn] (a word is like a letter which is sent) => speaking/communicating is sending.
- [siwɔɑ:ʃ λslæm]	Bring (send) him/her greetings.	[siwɔɑ:ʃ] (send him/her)	[λslæm] (greetings)	[suðni:θ əgəvðili:w] (kiss him/greet him on my behalf) => Greeting is sending.

Time as an abstract concept is invisible and intelligible. Conceptualising time is universal across cultures and languages: time is regarded as the most common and dominant noun in the Kabyle language, with other temporal words like 'day', 'morning', 'afternoon', 'year', 'season', etc. Thus, the concept of 'time' remains ubiquitous yet ephemeral.

Table 8: The concept time. time is 'money'

The metaphorical expressions in Kabyle	Literally translation	Ontological metaphor: 'time metaphor' conceptualising time as a common and dominant noun.
- [fki:r snəθ nəswæjæ ðəgɣəmməm]	I spent two hours (in) thinking.	[ɣəmmæx λtɑ:ʃ] (I reflected on the matter for a long duration/it took me too much time to think it over).
- [λhækæn! læɣzəmmæx ussæn]	Be careful! I'm saving you the days.	[lætsɣelæx ðək] (I'm angry with you/declaration of an intention to punish).
-Time Is 'A Limited Source'-		
[fkiji λsuggæs æɣerræx idrimni:ɣ]	Give me one year to pay you back.	[λsuggæs sinnigəs ulæʃ] / [lwəqθ jətsunəhsæv] (one year, no more is added) / (time is counted).
[θeqqimærd əssæ λnawəd]	One hour is remained / (is left) to us to get there.	[urθətsæddæræ əssæ λnawəd] / [mæjhəwəl əssæ λnawəd] (it doesn't surpass one hour, and we arrive) / (It's all about one hour, no more and we get there).
-Time Is 'A Valuable commodity'-		
- [əlwəqθ jeswæ]	Time is valuable/precious.	[lwəqθ ɪlæj λtɑ:ʃ jeddæ ədhəv] / [λzæli:s (nəlwəqθ) jəɪlɔv ədhəv] (Time is overvalued / its price goes beyond than

		gold's price).
- [əlwəqθ juvɑ:l ðæzi:z]	Time became venerated /cherished.	[lwəqθ ʌtəʃurmθəɖəm lævð ʌmɒqra:n] (Time should be honoured / highly respected the same you respect and honour a wise person).
-Time Is 'A Person'-		
- [i:ɖ jəssəgæð / jəssuwhæf]	The night frightens/scares.	[i:ɖ ʌməlwæhʃ ɪgəssəgəðæn] (Night is like a beast that frightens).
- [ðəlwəqθ ɪgəvɑ:n ʌkkæ]	It's time who wants this.	[ðəlwəqθ ɪghəkmæn / ihəkkəm ʌmlævð] (It's time (who) is ruling and governing) / (he reigns (time) the same way a human being does.
- [jəggunikəm lwəqθ əkkær!]	Time is waiting for you, wake up!	[lwəqθ jətsrɑɖʒu: lævð ʌðikkær ʌðiʃʃiruw] (Time is waiting a person to get up, to be active and resourceful).

Conclusion

We may conclude that this research is an argument in favour of the cognitive approach, in describing conceptual metaphors as mappings across conceptual domains that structure our reasoning, our experience and our everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:47). That is to say, metaphors manifested in language are seen as reflecting patterns of cross-domain mappings already present in thought. As native speakers, we use a large number of metaphors when communicating about the world. Such metaphorical concepts and metaphorical processes may vary considerably from culture to culture, from society to society, and range from universality applicable to language-specific metaphorical mappings. Thus, some metaphorical mappings may represent potential 'metaphorical universals', and many others might be highly culture-and language specific. We may come to another conclusion that metaphors in Kabyle language are in many cases specific at a high degree, and this is verified on the basis of the specific examples we dealt with in this paper.

In short, as Mary Catherine Bateson (1994) points out: "Metaphor are what thought is all about. We use metaphors, consciously or unconsciously, all the time, so it is a matter of mental hygiene to take responsibility for these metaphors, to look at them carefully, to see how meanings slide from one to the other. Any metaphor is double-sided, offering both insight and new confusion, but metaphors are unavoidable" (cited in Taylor and Marienau, 2016:61).

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