



## Embodiment and Metaphorical Symbolism: Exploring the Cultural Significance of “Head” and “Eyes” in Arabic and English

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### Abstract:

Grounded in conceptual metaphor theory (1980), this discourse analysis study explored the metaphorical use of “head” and “eyes” in Arabic and English. The data consisted of examples of “head” and “eyes” used in Saudi Arabic gathered from a conversation and English examples gathered from online dictionaries. The data were analyzed for linguistic similarities, embodiment-related distinctions, and factors influencing metaphorical expressions. Consultations with native speakers of Arabic and English ensured the credibility and validity of the findings.

The data revealed similarities and differences in Arabic and English conceptualizations and the connections between language, culture, and cognition. In the data, embodiment and metaphor were intertwined, illustrating how physical experiences shape language and thought. Arabic attributed positive associations to “head,” symbolizing respect and admiration, whereas English lacked these specific cultural connotations. Additionally, “eyes” in Arabic carried a deeper layer of personal value and warmth, influencing perceptions and relationships.

Future research could encompass other body parts, compare Arabic dialects, and make cross-linguistic comparisons with other languages. Incorporating native speaker perspectives and sociolinguistic factors could also enrich future work. Practical applications include the development of language programs

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addressing challenges faced by non-native English speakers in expressing and understanding metaphors to foster effective cross-cultural communication. As such, the findings could inform the design of cross-cultural communication training programs for professionals in diverse linguistic environments, contributing to more effective and harmonious communication in multicultural workplaces.

Keywords: Arabic, cognition, comparative analysis, conceptual metaphor theory, embodiment, metaphor

## 1. Introduction

Language can serve as a powerful reflection of cultural values. This study delves into the metaphorical use of two fundamental body parts—the head and eyes—in Arabic and English. A metaphor is a comparison between two items in which one idea is understood in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Grounded in conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), it reveals shared and divergent cultural perspectives, contributing to a deeper understanding of how abstract ideas are conceptualized in these languages. Furthermore, critical metaphor analysis has enhanced research within the framework of critical discourse analysis and cognitive metaphor theory (Li, 2016). This approach facilitates a more thorough exploration of metaphorical expressions in various contexts.

By exploring the symbolic meanings attached to “head” and “eyes,” the discourse analysis study enhances cross-cultural understanding and provides practical insights for language learners, particularly those mastering English as a second language. Ultimately, this research contributes to linguistic and cultural studies by shedding light on how individuals in Arabic- and English-speaking communities convey complex ideas, emotions, and societal norms through metaphorical expressions in everyday communication. The research question that guided this study asked, “How do individuals in Arabic- and English-speaking communities express complex ideas and emotions through metaphorical expressions involving ‘head’ and ‘eyes,’ and what does this reveal about the cultural dynamics of these societies?” The implications of these metaphorical representations can help understand the broader cultural values and cognitive processes within these communities.

## 2. Literature Review

Embodiment, in the context of cognition and linguistics, posits that our understanding of abstract concepts is grounded in our bodily experiences (Johnson, 1997). This means our sensory and motor experiences influence the way we conceptualize and express ideas. Metaphors, on the other hand, are linguistic devices used to convey abstract concepts by drawing on physical experiences. The relationship between embodiment and metaphors is evident in the use of bodily terms to represent abstract ideas. For example, expressions such as “grasping a concept,” “feeling heavy-hearted,” and “seeing the bigger picture” illustrate how physical experiences and sensations are metaphorically employed to convey complex meanings. Exploring the intersection of embodiment and metaphor thus provides valuable insights into the intricacies of human cognition and language, as well as the profound ways our bodies influence the conceptualization and expression of ideas.

Several studies (e.g., Ibarretxe-Antunano, 2002) have revitalized interest in metaphor, influenced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), whose findings have spurred a more comprehensive exploration of metaphor over the years (Aljumah, 2007). Cognitive linguistics has affirmed the conceptual and cognitive foundations of metaphor, establishing it as a recognized representation of conceptual domains and life experiences. Forceville (2009) suggested that individuals find it easier to comprehend tangible experiences, such as those involving sight, hearing, touch, taste, or smell (concrete phenomena), compared to abstract concepts that lack sensory elements. Therefore, according to Forceville, interpreting abstract ideas in relation to concrete ones can facilitate a more thorough understanding of the abstraction.

Aljumah(2007) emphasized the importance of studying the linksbetween metaphor and culture, particularly its source domains.Cross-cultural studies through language analysis, as language provides a valuable window into local cultures. Metaphor, ever-present in language, mirrors cultural nuances and traditions, passing them on from one generation to another.Wierzbicka (1998) argued that cultural differences are often encoded in language, particularly in lexical semantics, such as collocations, conversational routines, forms of address, and grammatical constructions, and that linguistic evidence offers insight into how people from different cultural groups think, feel, and relate to others. According to Wierzbicka, a metaphor that holds a specific interpretation within one culture may be perceived differently or not exist at all in another. She contended that our cultural affiliations shape not only our language but also our thoughts, emotions, and interpersonal connections. In essence, cultural diversity goes beyond linguistic distinctions, influencing our cognitive processes, emotional experiences, and social interactions.Although some conceptual metaphors appear universal because they stem from shared bodily experiences, there is great diversity across cultures and within them(Kövecses, 2006, as cited in Alsalem, 2019). Across cultures, individuals may adopt different conceptualizations for the same target domain. Moreover, variations within a culture can arise due to social influences, regional disparities, and individual idiosyncrasies, and other factors.

Díaz-Vera and Caballero (2013) explored culture's impact on metaphor, highlighting the cultural specificity in metaphor elaboration and cultural preferences in metaphorical entailments.Aljumah (2007) classified metaphors as either active or dead, with active metaphors maintaining their metaphorical force and dead metaphors losing their metaphorical sense. Thus, understanding metaphors is complicated by the dynamic nature of figurative language, where today's figurative expression may become literal in the future.

### 3. Methodology

This discourse analysis study comprised two phases of data collection. Initially, a compilation of 28 Saudi Arabic examples featuring the terms “head” and “eyes” was obtained through a conversation with five female friends at the university library (See Appendix A). The discussion centered around the topic of embodiment, and the participants, who are female graduate students studying various majors, including fashion design, special education, computer science, statistics, and business administration, shared examples in Arabic using body parts ‘head’ and ‘eyes.’ The participants’ ages ranged from 26 to 30. The examples were recorded by the researcher during the conversation using handwritten notes. Subsequently, 23 English sentences were collected from online dictionaries, encompassing formal and casual usage (See Appendix B). The data were examined to discern linguistic similarities and differences related to the concept of embodiment as well as to identify potential factors influencing metaphorical expressions. To ensure the credibility and validity of the findings, the analysis was validated through consultation with native speakers of both languages.

### 4. Findings and Discussion

The results revealed parallels and differences in the metaphorical use of the target body parts in Arabic and English. As explained in the methodology, the Arabic examples were obtained from a conversation, while the English examples were collected from online dictionaries.

#### 4.1 Shared Metaphorical Uses of “Head” in Arabic and English

Below are examples of shared metaphorical expressions containing the term “head” in Arabic and English.

The seat of the faculty of reason, intelligence, intellect, or mind:

English: “I did the figuring in my head” (Spontaneous speech)

Arabic: ḥsəbtha      fi      rəsi,      btʿləf      arχəsʿ      law      frətha  
 calculate-it    in      head-my      become      cheaper      if      buy-it

“I calculate it in my head, so it will be cheaper if I buy it [compared to another item]”

A person who leads, rules, or is in charge:

English: “the heads of government/state” (Oxford, n.d.-c)

Arabic: rəi:s alqsəm

head    the department

“the department head”

The most prominent member of any organized body:

English: “the head of the English department” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b)

Arabic: ent ræs alæylæh  
 you head the family  
 “You’re the head of the family”

ent ræsna  
 you [are] heads-our  
 “You’re our head”

ent ræs albet  
 you [are] head the house  
 “You’re the head of the house”

A turning point, a crisis:

English: “matters came to a head” (Collins, n.d.-a)

Arabic: htʕet alfekræh fi ræsi  
 put-[you] the idea in head-[my]  
 “You put the idea in my head”

The working end of a tool:

English: “the head of a hammer”

Arabic: ræs almæsmær  
 head the nail  
 “the head of a nail”

The uppermost part (the top of something):

English: “at the head of the page”(Oxford, n.d.-c)

Arabic: æktb esmæk fi ræs alsʕfh  
 write name-your in head page  
 “Write your name at the head of the page”

The end, considered the most important:

English: “The President sat at the head of the table” (Oxford, n.d.-c)

Arabic: galæsfi      ræs      al tʿawləh  
sit      in      head      the table  
“Sit at the head of the table”

As one’s responsibility or fault:

English: “If this project fails, it’s on your head”(Spontaneous speech)

Arabic: lw      dʿyʕna altʿariq,      la      thtʿha fi      ræsi  
if      lost      the direction [do] not      put-it      in      head-my  
“If we lost the directions, don’t put it on my head”

That end of a thing, regarded as the upper end:

English: “the head of a bed”

Arabic: ræs      alfærʕ  
head      the street  
“the head of a street”

To become confused or emotional about someone or something, or to lose one’s self-control:

English: “I got upset and I lost my head”

Arabic: dʿæʕ      ʕqli,      məqdr arkəz  
lost      mind-my      cannot focus  
“I’ve lost my mind, I can’t focus”

Note that in Arabic, people relate thoughts to the mind/brain, not to the head as a figure of speech. However, the examples in the two languages still imply the same meaning.

Furthermore, someone in Arabic can be described as having “a tough head,” meaning they are perceived as stubborn and difficult to deal with.

Arabic: ræsəh      yəbəs  
head-his/her [is]tough  
“His/her head is tough”

Similarly in English, someone can be described as hardheaded, thickheaded, or headstrong,

indicating this person is stubborn or unwilling to change their opinions.

#### 4.2 Different Metaphorical Uses of “Head” in Arabic and English

These examples illustrate scenarios where English employs the term “head” metaphorically, showcasing distinctions from its usage in Arabic.

To consult and plan together:

“If we put our heads together, we can think of a solution”(Cambridge, n.d.-e)

In English, the phrase “Let’s put our heads together” typically suggests collaboration and joint problem-solving. However, a similar expression in Arabic involving heads may convey a different meaning, implying disagreement or provocation. On the other hand, English also has the negative expression of “butting heads.” In Arabic, the collaborative connotation is more closely associated with putting hands together. The proverb “one hand cannot clap,” present in both Arabic and English, reinforces the idea that hands symbolize collaborative efforts.

Beyond someone’s understanding or competence:

“After a week in the new job, I soon realized that I was in over my head”(Oxford, n.d.-c)

Mental ability or aptitude:

“Kim has a head for numbers”(Cambridge, n.d.-c)

Appealing to a higher authority:

“Amanda was refusing to give me the week off so I went over her head and spoke to the boss”(Cambridge, n.d.-b)

“He usually stays quite calm in meetings but this time he just lost his head”(Cambridge, n.d.-d)

By the height of the head and shoulders; hence, by a great deal; by much; by far; greatly:

“They are/stand head and shoulders above the competition”(Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a)

Arabic also exhibits uses of the word “head” not identified in the collected English data. In Arabic, this body part holds intrinsic value and is predominantly associated with positive connotations, commonly linked with notions of respect and admiration. The following examples illustrate how this term is perceived by Arabic speakers.

To indicate respect, admiration of someone:

Mkænk                      ʔlʔ      ræsi  
place-[yours] [is]      on      head-[my]

“Your place is on my head”



To reply to someone’s request (by saying the following, you give the person’s request a priority and show that his/her request is appreciated):

ʔlʔ ræsi  
on head-my  
“on my head”

A way of apologizing:

həqk ʔlʔ ræsi  
right-[yours] [is] on head-[my]  
“Your right is on my head”

### 4.3 Shared Metaphorical Uses of “Eye” in Arabic and English

The data showed numerous similarities in how Arabic and English speakers use “eye” metaphorically.

Watchful attention or supervision:

English: “Could you keep an eye on my bag while I go to the toilet?”(Oxford, n.d.-b)

Arabic: hətʔi ʔink ʔlʔ labtobi  
put eye-[your] on laptop-my  
“Put your eye on my laptop”

Punishment in which an offender suffers what the victim has suffered:

English: “an eye for an eye”(Spontaneous speech)

In Arabic, the same expression is used, and it carries a religious connotation in the Quran, much like its significance in English, where it is also found in the Bible.

Doing something without having to make much effort; to do something easily:

English: “I’ve made this trip so often, I could do it with my eyes shut”(Oxford, n.d.-a)

Arabic: aqdr ahlha wana mymdʔəh  
can-I solve-it while-I closed-eyes-my  
“I can solve it with my eyes closed”

Fully aware of the possible difficulties or consequences:

English: “I went into this with my eyes open so I guess I only have myself to blame”(Oxford, n.d.-b)

Arabic: qəbl twəqf            xəl    ʕeunk            məftuħəh  
           before            sign-you            leave eyes-your            open  
           “Before you sign, leave your eyes open”

Someone you look at a lot and enjoy seeing:

English: “She is the apple of her father’s eye”(Oxford, n.d.-b)

Arabic: nðər ʕeni  
           vision eye-my  
           “my eye’s vision”

In Arabic, mothers often use the equivalent expression to describe their love for their children. The Arabic expression could also suggest parallels with the English phrase “a sight for sore eyes” (i.e., a welcome sight).

#### 4.4 Different Metaphorical Uses of “Eye” in Arabic and English

The English data revealed some uses of the term “eye” not found in Arabic.

Attention:

“This car immediately caught my eye”

Agreement:

“We’ve never seen eye to eye”(Collins, n.d.-b)

Watching closely with a lot of interest in what you see:

“We were all eyes as the celebrity guests emerged from the car”(Cambridge, n.d.-a)

On the other hand, Arabic exhibits uses of the word “eye” not found in English. Similar to the examples involving the term “head,” eyes in Arabic are associated with anything deemed truly valuable.

To show that someone is very welcome (usually stated to someone asking to enter a home):

alʕen awʕə lk                            mn    almakan  
           [the] eye    [is] wider [for you] than    place  
           “The eye is wider than the place”

To indicate one is happy to help someone or answer their request:

mn ʕeni

from eyes-my

“from my eyes”

ʕeni lk

eyes-my for-you

“My eyes are for you”

This expression figuratively means the person’s request is dearer than the eyes of the person responding. English also has the expression “I only have eyes for you,” but it has a different connotation. In support of the above examples, eyes are figuratively regarded as an especially valuable body part where we hold those whom we admire. The following example illustrates how someone might lose their place in another person’s eyes if they do something viewed negatively by that person.

tʕt mn ʕeni

fall-[you] from eye-[my]

“You fall from my eye”

Similar to the previous example, the following instances illustrate how someone’s image can be perceived in another person’s eyes, either positively or negatively. The next example is employed when someone surprises you by doing something exceptionally good, and you admire their actions, causing the image of that person to “grow” in your eyes.

kbərət fi ʕeni

[gets] bigger in eye-my

“It gets bigger in my eye”

However, the opposite meaning is evident in the following example, used when someone disappoints you by an unexpected action and is diminished in your view as a result.

sʕyərət fi ʕeni

[gets] smaller in eye-my

“It gets smaller in my eye”

The following examples illustrate how people describe the way a person talks down to others due to arrogance. Such individuals do not look at other people because they do not think those people deserve their attention.

etʕælf alnæs bnsʕin

she/he [is] seeing the people [by] half eye

“He/she is seeing people with his/her eyes half-closed”

ma                      et<sup>ʔ</sup>ælf    alnæs              bfin  
 [does] not-she/he    see    the people    by an eye

“He/she does not see people with his/her eyes”

In contrast, in English, when someone “does not look people in the eye,” it implies that person is shy or uncomfortable looking directly at someone.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

The metaphorical uses of “head” in Arabic and English reveal shared conceptualizations across contexts, indicating common cognitive patterns. In both languages, “head” symbolizes the seat of reason, intellect, leadership, and importance within organizations. These findings align with those of Ibarretxe-Antunano (2002), who examined the word “head” in Basque. Ibarretxe-Antunano identified a broad spectrum of meanings, ranging from the purely physical sense of a body part to more abstract concepts such as “intelligence.” In the present study, the metaphor could extend to crises, tools, the uppermost part of objects, and responsibility or fault.

There are cross-language differences as well. English employs “putting heads together” for collaboration, while Arabic uses a collaborative connotation with hands. Certain English expressions related to mental ability, anger, and appealing to higher authorities lack direct equivalents in Arabic. Additionally, Arabic portrays positive connotations associated with the head, expressing respect, admiration, prioritizing requests, and apologizing. English lacks these specific cultural associations. Interestingly, both languages share negative expressions, such as describing someone as having a “tough head” or being hardheaded. As this evidence implies, the connection between a body part and a metaphor is not arbitrary; it is motivated by people’s conceptualizations and experience in the world, showing the role of embodiment.

As with “head,” “eye” shows similar conceptualizations in Arabic and English. In both languages, “eye” conveys watchful attention, supervision, and vigilance. It is associated with the metaphorical expression “an eye for an eye,” which signifies retribution and holds religious significance in both languages. Additionally, “eye” is utilized in expressions denoting ease or proficiency in performing a task, as seen in the English phrase “with my eyes closed” and its Arabic counterpart. Both languages employ the term to convey awareness or lack thereof regarding risks or consequences. Its metaphorical uses extend to endearing expressions, such as “the apple of one’s eye,” signifying someone cherished and frequently observed.

There are also cross-language differences in how “eye” is used. English employs “catching

someone’s eye” to denote attention, agreement is expressed as “seeing eye to eye,” and intense interest is conveyed with “all eyes.” These expressions lack direct equivalents in Arabic. On the other hand, Arabic employs unique expressions associating eyes with warmth, welcome, and willingness to help, as in “the eye is wider than the place.” Moreover, eyes in Arabic are metaphorically linked to personal value, admiration, and approval. Expressions like “my eyes are for you” and “falling from my eyes” depict the significance placed on positive or negative perceptions of individuals. Additionally, the size of someone’s image in another’s eyes in Arabic may “grow” or “shrink” based on their actions. In essence, while there are commonalities in metaphorical usage, cultural nuances and linguistic differences shape the diverse ways these terms are employed in Arabic and English.

### **5.1 Implications**

The findings could inform practice, helping address the challenges faced by non-native English speakers in expressing and understanding metaphors, thereby promoting more effective communication and higher linguistic competence. The findings could be integrated into curricula to assist Arabic speakers learning English and vice versa as well as to improve cross-cultural communication training. Such programs, which cater to professionals working in diverse linguistic environments, could offer valuable insights into the varied metaphorical meanings associated with “head” and “eyes” in Arabic and English. Such training fosters cultural sensitivity, reducing the likelihood of miscommunication and contributing to more harmonious multicultural workplaces.

### **5.2 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research**

The data were limited to a specific set of examples from websites and spoken language, meaning the findings may not be fully representative. Moreover, the analysis focused on Saudi Arabic and English, neglecting potential variations across dialects.

Future research could include other body parts, providing a more comprehensive understanding of metaphorical expressions in Arabic and English. Additionally, a comparative study involving different Arabic dialects could reveal valuable insights into regional variations. Moreover, a comparison with other languages would contribute to a broader understanding of how metaphors are employed across diverse linguistic and cultural contexts. Incorporating the perspectives of native speakers and considering the impact of sociolinguistic factors on metaphorical expressions could likewise enrich the findings.

## المستخلص

## التجسيد والرمزية المجازية: استكشاف الأهمية الثقافية لمفهومي "الرأس" و "العينين" في اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية

نهى خالد السالم

استناداً إلى نظرية الاستعارة The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ليكوف & جونسون، 1980)، هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة الاستخدامات المجازية لجزئين أساسيين من الجسم "الرأس" و "العينين" في اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية. تم جمع الأمثلة من مصادر متنوعة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية وتم تحليلها تحليلاً شاملاً لاكتشاف التشابهات والتباينات اللغوية المتعلقة بمفهوم التجسيد وتحديد العوامل المؤثرة في التعبيرات المجازية، كما تم التحقق من ذلك من خلال التشاور مع ناطقين أصليين في اللغتين. أوضحت نتائج البحث وجود تشابهات واختلافات في التصورات العربية والإنجليزية في استخدام هذين الكلمتين، وسلطت الضوء على الروابط بين اللغة والثقافة والإدراك. تبرز الدراسة أهمية التجسيد والتشبيه كمفاهيم متداخلة وتوضح كيف تشكل التجارب الجسدية الجوانب المجردة من اللغة والفكر. تضمنت التوصيات للأبحاث المستقبلية توسيع الدراسة لتشمل أجزاء الجسد الأخرى، وإجراء المقارنات بين اللغات المختلفة. كما تسهم النتائج في التركيز على التطبيقات العملية لتطوير برامج لغوية تتناول التحديات التي يواجهها الأشخاص غير الناطقين باللغتين لفهم الاستعارات المجازية، معززة بذلك التواصل الثقافي الفعال.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التعبيرات المجازية، التجسيد، التواصل الثقافي، الاستعارات، التحليل المقارن، تعابير لغوية

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## Appendices

### Appendix A

#### Arabic Examples

1. ḥṣabtha fi rāsi, btʿlāf arḡasʿ law frətha  
 calculate-it in head-my become cheaper if buy-it  
 “I calculate it in my head, so it will be cheaper if I buy it [compared to another item]”
2. rāi:s al qsəm  
 head the department  
 “the department head” (Spontaneous speech)
3. ent rās al əyləh  
 you head the family  
 “You’re the head of the family” (Spontaneous speech)
4. ent rāsna  
 you [are] heads-our  
 “You’re our head” (Spontaneous speech)
5. ent rās al bet  
 you [are] head the house  
 “You’re the head of the house” (Spontaneous speech)
6. htʿet al fekrəh fi rāsi  
 put-[you] the idea in head-[my]  
 “You put the idea in my head” (Spontaneous speech)
7. rās al məsmər  
 head the nail  
 “the head of a nail” (Spontaneous speech)
8. əktb esmæk fi rās al sʿfhh  
 write name-your in head page  
 “Write your name at the head of the page” (Spontaneous speech)

9. galæs fi ræs al t<sup>ʰ</sup>awləh  
sit in head the table  
“Sit at the head of the table”(Spontaneous speech)
10. lw d<sup>ʰ</sup>yfna al t<sup>ʰ</sup>əriq, la t<sup>ʰ</sup>t<sup>ʰ</sup>ha fi ræsi  
if lost the direction [do] not put-it in head-my  
“If we lost the directions, don’t put it on my head” (Spontaneous speech)
11. ræs al ʃærʃ  
head the street  
“the head of a street” (Spontaneous speech)
12. d<sup>ʰ</sup>æʃ ʃqli, məqdr arkəz  
lost mind-my cannot focus  
“I’ve lost my mind, I can’t focus”(Spontaneous speech)
13. ræsəh yəbəs  
head-his/her [is]tough  
“His/her head is tough”(Spontaneous speech)
14. Mkænk ʃlʔ ræsi  
place-[yours] [is] on head-[my]  
“Your place is on my head”(Spontaneous speech)
15. ʃlʔ ræsi  
on head-my  
“on my head”(Spontaneous speech)
16. hək k ʃlʔ ræsi  
right-[yours] [is] on head-[my]  
“Your right is on my head” (Spontaneous speech)
17. hət<sup>ʰ</sup>i ʃink ʃlʔ labtobi  
put eye-[your] on laptop-my  
“Put your eye on my laptop” (Spontaneous speech)
18. : aqdr ahlha wana mymd<sup>ʰ</sup>əh  
can-I solve-it while-I closed-eyes-my  
“I can solve it with my eyes closed”(Spontaneous speech)
19. qəbl twəqʃ χəl ʃeunk məftuħəh  
before sign-you leave eyes-your open  
“Before you sign, leave your eyes open”(Spontaneous speech)
20. nðər ʃeni  
vision eye-my  
“my eye’s vision”(Spontaneous speech)
21. al ʃen awsfə lk mn al makan  
[the] eye [is] wider [for you] than place  
“The eye is wider than the place” (Spontaneous speech)
22. mn ʃeoni  
from eyes-my  
“from my eyes” (Spontaneous speech)
23. ʃeoni lk  
eyes-my for-you  
“My eyes are for you” (Spontaneous speech)



24. tʃht mn ʔeni  
 fall-[you] from eye-[my]  
 “You fall from my eye” (Spontaneous speech)
25. kbərət fi ʔeni  
 [gets] bigger in eye-my  
 “It gets bigger in my eye” (Spontaneous speech)
26. sʔyərət fi ʔeni  
 [gets] smaller in eye-my  
 “It gets smaller in my eye” (Spontaneous speech)
27. etʔælf al nəʂ bnsʔin  
 she/he [is] seeing the people [by] half eye  
 “He/she is seeing people with his/her eyes half-closed” (Spontaneous speech)
28. ma etʔælf al nəʂ bʔin  
 [does] not-she/he see the people by an eye  
 “He/she does not see people with his/her eyes” (Spontaneous speech)

## Appendix B

### English Examples

1. “I did the figuring in my head”
2. “The heads of government/state” (Oxford, n.d.-c)
3. “The head of the English department” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b)
4. “Matters came to a head” (Collins, n.d.-a)
5. “The head of a hammer”
6. “At the head of the page” (Oxford, n.d.-c)
7. “The President sat at the head of the table” (Oxford, n.d.-c)
8. “The head of a bed”
9. “I got upset and I lost my head”
10. “If we put our heads together, we can think of a solution” (Cambridge, n.d.-e)
11. “After a week in the new job, I soon realized that I was in over my head” (Oxford, n.d.-c)
12. “Kim has a head for numbers” (Cambridge, n.d.-c)
13. “Amanda was refusing to give me the week off so I went over her head and spoke to the boss”(Cambridge, n.d.-b)
14. “He usually stays quite calm in meetings but this time he just lost his head” (Cambridge, n.d.-d)
15. “They are/stand head and shoulders above the competition” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a)
16. “Could you keep an eye on my bag while I go to the toilet?” (Oxford, n.d.-b)
17. “An eye for an eye” (Spontaneous speech)
18. “I’ve made this trip so often, I could do it with my eyes shut” (Oxford, n.d.-a)
19. “I went into this with my eyes open so I guess I only have myself to blame” (Oxford, n.d.-b)
20. “She is the apple of her father’s eye” (Oxford, n.d.-b)
21. “This car immediately caught my eye”
22. “We’ve never seen eye to eye” (Collins, n.d.-b)
23. “We were all eyes as the celebrity guests emerged from the car”(Cambridge, n.d.-a)