

American Hip-hop vs. Egyptian *Mahraganat* Songs:

A Cognitive Linguistic Study Based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

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Abstract

This study investigated the similarities and differences between the conceptual metaphors (CMs) utilized in two popular music genres, American hip-hop and Egyptian *Mahraganat*. The study data consisted of the top ten songs of hip-hop and *Mahraganat* in 2020, as was determined by Spotify. The theory of CM (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which belongs to the cognitive linguistic domain, was employed to analyze the song lyrics of the two music genres to identify the CMs found in each. Then a comparison was constructed between the extracted CMs of each group, and the similarities and differences between them were determined. Findings revealed that the resemblance in the CMs between the two music genres rose from the presence of similar life challenges encountered in the music industry by both the American and the Egyptian artists. On the other hand, the differences in the CMs between the two genres were attributed to the oppositions in the values and concepts of each culture. This was exemplified in the presentation of love and women in each genre.

Keywords: Hip-hop genre; *Mahraganat* genre; Cognitive linguistics; Conceptual metaphor; Similarities and differences

المخلص

بحثت هذه الدراسة أوجه التشابه والاختلاف بين نوعين موسيقيين شهيرين، هما الهيب هوب الأمريكي والمهرجانات المصرية، من حيث الاستعارات الإدراكية المدرجة في كلمات كل منهما. وتضمنت الدراسة العشر أغنيات الأكثر سماعاً في ٢٠٢٠، وفقاً لتطبيق الموسيقى Spotify، بواقع خمس أغنيات لكل نوع. وتم توظيف نظرية الاستعارة الإدراكية (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) والتي تنتمي إلى المجال اللغوي المعرفي، لتحليل كلمات الأغاني ورصد الاستعارات الموجودة في كل نوع موسيقي. ثم تم إجراء مقارنة بين الاستعارات الإدراكية المستخرجة من كل مجموعة ومن ثم تحديد أوجه التشابه أو الاختلاف بينهما. أشارت النتائج إلى أن التشابه في الاستعارات بين النوعين الموسيقيين نشأ من وجود تحديات حياتية مماثلة يواجهها صناع موسيقى الهيب هوب والمهرجانات كل في بلده. ومن ناحية أخرى، فإن الاختلافات في الاستعارات التي رصدت في نوعي الأغاني الأمريكية والمصرية ترجع إلى التعارض في قيم ومفاهيم الثقافتين الأمريكية والمصرية. وقد تجسد ذلك في كيفية عرض مفهوم الحب وصورة المرأة في كل نوع.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أغاني الهيب هوب؛ أغاني المهرجانات؛ اللغويات المعرفية؛ الاستعارة الإدراكية؛ نقاط

التشابه والاختلاف

Cognitive linguistics is an interdisciplinary field that focuses on studying language, mind, and socio-cultural experience side by side (Lakoff & Thompson, 1975). It investigates language meaning in juxtaposition to language form, all conducted in the context of language usage with the objective of detecting a reflection of the general characteristics of cognition (Evans, 2012). The conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which represents the theoretical framework of this study, lies within the domain of cognitive linguistics. Many linguists argue that people's daily repertoire, including songs, is packed with metaphorical expressions; the latter play a crucial role in structuring people's thoughts and guiding their actions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Hence, it was suggested that uncovering the conceptual metaphors (CMs) in the lyrics of songs could help draw an outline of the common notions and the general attitude of the community where these songs were played and listened to.

The two music genres of American hip-hop, a live performance art which used to take place in block African American parties depending on disc jockeys (DJs), and the Egyptian Mahraganat, the successor of Egypt's shaabi (folk) music genre, were the fields chosen for this study as both genres have been highly popular and pursued and because it was reported that the Egyptian genre had been deeply influenced by this specific American one (Benchouia, 2015; El-Falaky, 2015). Despite this widespread and claimed influence, it was noticed that the two music genres were not linguistically compared in an empirical study before. Thus, this made it worth having both genres compared to one another from a linguistic perspective to reveal how far they had in common in terms of their metaphorical conceptions. To achieve this aim, this research attempted to answer the following question: *How far are the two music genres of American hip-hop and Egyptian Mahraganat similar or different in terms of the conceptual metaphors used in their lyrics?* To answer this main research question, these sub-questions were posed: 1.1) *What are the metaphorical expressions detected in the hip-hop lyrics?* 1.2) *What are the metaphorical expressions detected in the Mahraganat songs?* 1.3) *What are the conceptual metaphors realized through the metaphorical expressions in each music genre?* and 1.4) *How far are the conceptual metaphors revealed in both genres similar or different?*

2. Literature Review

2.1 The theoretical framework

2.1.1 Cognitive linguistics

Cognitive linguistics, initially founded during the 1970s, is an interdisciplinary field to the study of language, mind, and socio-cultural experience

(Lakoff & Thompson, 1975). The discipline is committed to studying language meaning in juxtaposition to language form, all conducted in the context of use (Evans, 2012). The discipline perceives language as a reflection of the general characteristics of cognition, and it has got two fundamental branches, cognitive semantics and cognitive grammar (Evans, Bergen & Zinken, 2007).

First, regarding the branch of cognitive semantics, Evans, Bergen, and Zinken (2007) demonstrate that its main focus is exploring the relationship between the conceptual system (how knowledge is structured in the brain), social experience, and language in terms of semantic parameters. They also add that cognitive semantics is the area of research that utilizes language, particularly linguistic semantics, as the tool via which cognitive phenomena, such as, knowledge representation and meaning conceptualization, can be examined. Second, considering the branch of cognitive grammar, Langacker (1986) hypothesizes that lexicon, semantics, and grammar are not autonomous entities; they rather stand together to form one continuum. Moreover, within the domains of this hypothesis, grammar is not an independent system which operates away from meaning, but rather each grammatical unit (verb, noun, and so on) is meaningful, significant, and interconnected with its semantic value (Langacker, 1986).

The conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), which represents the theoretical framework of this study, lies within the domain of cognitive semantics, one of the two main branches of cognitive linguistics as explained above. The theory is to be thoroughly explained in the coming sub-section.

2.1.2 The Conceptual metaphor theory

The theoretical framework employed in this study is the theory of conceptual metaphor (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). To understand why this theoretical framework has been, particularly, selected, it is essential to first explain what a conceptual metaphor is.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the majority of people assume that metaphor is only an element of poetic language; they think it is a stylistic tool of particularly literary writing. As a result, those people relate metaphors merely to words or to *decorative* language as Deignan (2005, p.2) puts it, not to thoughts, conceptions, or actions, and accordingly, they presume that they can go on through their daily lives without coming across metaphors. However, many linguists find that this represents a misconception, and they argue that the presence of metaphors is pervasive in people's everyday life, not just in their language use, but in the way they think and act as well; thus, these linguists suggest that metaphor is part and parcel of people's conceptual system (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Allbritton (1995), Deignan (2005), side by side with Lakoff and Johnson (1980) illustrate that an individual's conceptual system, i.e., the way a person views, understands, and deals with other people/items around him and relates to them, is crucial in shaping and presenting that individual's world, not just significant, essential objects in it, but also trivial, simple ones. In short, a conceptual system is in control of people's daily thoughts and deeds. In addition, these scholars suggest that this conceptual system is basically metaphorical in nature; accordingly, what governs people's thoughts and perceptions and leads them to act or experience life in a specific manner is metaphor. Nevertheless, all this takes place unconsciously. That is why Gibbs (1994) comments on the high frequency yet unmarkedness of metaphorical expressions in people's daily life saying, "those things that are most alive, and most deeply entrenched, efficient and powerful, are so automatic as to be unconscious and effortless" (p.22). Deignan (2005) calls this unconsciousness in itself a *proof* on the significance of metaphors in people's life (p.15).

To help demonstrate what a conceptual system contains, Evans, Bergen, and Zinken (2007) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose that language can be a key method, since language itself, as a human's means of communication, is derived from that system. Since that system has a metaphorical nature; therefore, analyzing the metaphors in the language that is produced by that system can be a vital source of inspecting what lies within that system. In other words, Lakoff and Johnson offer that since metaphorical expressions are born and obtained from metaphorical conceptions that lie within an individual's systematic way of thinking; therefore, studying the initial linguistically can lead to understanding the latter (Deignan, 2005).

In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) assert that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or experience in terms of another" (p. 455). Smith, Pollio and Pitts (1981) further clarify this idea by stating that emotional, abstract, or complicated subject matters are more liable to attract metaphorical linguistic expressions as for a person to think of one complex, abstract topic in terms of another simpler, more concrete one can make matters more comprehensible and definite in that person's mind, hence the importance of metaphorical expressions. Deignan (2005) identifies the abstract side of a metaphorical expression, which she calls a "linguistic metaphor", as the *target domain* and the concrete side as the *source domain* (p. 14). For instance, when expressing that HAPPY IS UP, HAPPY, as an abstract term (a feeling), is the target domain whereas UP, as a concrete term (a direction), is the source domain (Deignan, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

To illustrate the significance of metaphorical expressions/linguistic metaphors and how they control a person's life activities, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) set their popular example of the concept of an *argument* stating that *ARGUMENT IS WAR*, the latter being the conceptual metaphor (CM) (p.454). They explain that people tend to realize such a CM in their everyday repertoire through metaphorical expressions like, someone *won/lost/defended* an argument; someone *attacks/shoots down* another's fragile points in an argument; a *counter-opponent* uses a *strategy* to *wipe* the other *out*, (p.454) etc. Based on this, the two scholars conclude that by perceiving an argument as a war, people of that speech community's actions during an argument are directed accordingly.

Therefore, based on the proposition that metaphors have a leading role in structuring people's thoughts and knowledge, and guiding their actions, it can be suggested that examining them in the lyrics of the two popular music genres of hip-hop and Mahraganat can draw a picture of the common notions and the general attitude of their composers and consumers. This is why the particular framework of the CMT (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) is chosen for this study.

2.2 Studies on songs employing the CMT

This section projects how the framework of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT was used in many empirical studies about songs from different languages, such as, songs from the English (Climent & Coll-Florit, 2021), Indian (Ahmed, Jabeen, Khalique, & Hamid, 2021), Indonesian (Sari, 2020), Greek (Smaragdi, 2012), Kenyan (Akuno, Oloo, & Magonya, 2018), and Nigerian languages (Ajayi, 2020).

To illustrate, Climent and Coll-Florit (2021) relied on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT to investigate the novelty of the CMs of love, in the most commercially successful American pop songs. The two researchers compiled a diachronic corpus of the most popular pop songs across the time frame they chose. Their findings conveyed that there was an evolution in the conceptualization and the presentation of the theme of love in pop songs across the years. They also reported that erotic metaphors started to appear in American pop song in the 1990s era.

In addition, Ahmed et al. (2021) manipulated Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT to uncover the CMs in Indian songs. Their methodology depended on examining 13 different categories of CMs in 50 Bollywood 2016 pop songs. Their findings showed that the variation of CMs used in the songs had one or more of six purposes: animation-creation (simplifying abstract concepts by concretizing them), hypnotism (using catchy expressions to appeal to the audience), mitigation (depicting harsh topics in a smooth manner), attention-grabbing (describing

ordinary objects in an attractive style), melody-enhancement (embellishing the tone), and culture-representation (using some native expressions).

Furthermore, Sari (2020) used Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT to inspect the CMs of love in the Minang song, a song which represented the Minangkabau cultural heritage of the forefathers of Indonesia. The study findings revealed six different love-related CMs embedded in the Minang song, four of which presented love in a positive manner; love is light, power, precious, or protection whereas the last two showcased love in a negative way; love is longing or fears.

Smaragdi (2012), too, made use of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT to study the sentimental CMs in the rebétiko lyrics. Rebétiko is a form of modern popular Greek music genre which is very controversial in nature that it is either highly criticized or strongly acclaimed. Smaragdi elaborated that rebétiko had fought its way from being a marginalized and looked down-upon music genre until it succeeded in engraving its name in the mainstream of the Greek music scene, that was why the researcher found it worth investigating. It is noted that this position of Greek rebétiko resembles to a great extent the case of Egyptian Mahraganat in Egypt; that is why it is found that the latter too is worth examining. The findings of the rebétiko study indicated that CMs were primarily placed in the lyrics to either concretize abstract items (e.g. emotions) or to maintain a song rhyme.

Several more researchers, Akuno et al. (2018), explored the use of CMs in Dholuo, a language spoken across the shores of Lake Victoria in Kenya, love-songs utilizing the framework of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT. The scholars compared the CM of OBJECT OF LOVE IS FOOD in ten songs by two Kenyan artists belonging to two different generations, the 1970s and the 2000s, to detect the similarities and differences in the use of the CM in Dholuo songs across time. They believed this could help illustrate whether Kenyan society had the same perception of love, or this perception had changed. Their findings indicated that the two artists' songs under examination contained six similar metaphoric expressions, derived from the CM of OBJECT OF LOVE IS FOOD. They also found that all the metaphoric expressions detected in their data portrayed Kenyan women as domestic types of food like milk, vegetables, sugar, honey, sweets, and nuts. Thus, they concluded that the concept of love remained almost the same in the Dholuo-speaking community, and that it contained the idea of objectification of women.

One last essential study carried out by an African scholar in the field of songs utilizing Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT is Ajayi's (2020) study. This researcher's study is different from all the studies presented above because he did not limit his investigation to love-related CMs; he looked for all the metaphors

implanted in his data to uncover the most common identity-representations, attitudes, and social realities of the Nigerian youth. To accomplish his target, the scholar explored a famous Nigerian hip-hop singer's most popular song lyrics within the time frame 2008-2017. Ajayi's findings showed that the Nigerian hip-hop genre contained a considerable number of sex-oriented CMs and that in these metaphors, the male-figure was always drawn as the conqueror and the female as the entity being effortlessly vanquished. His findings also indicated that a female was often portrayed as food being devoured in these metaphors, which entirely agrees with Akuno et al.'s (2018) study findings. Moreover, Ajayi elaborated that the carnal, improper, and vulgar CMs identified in the Nigerian genre could be considered a reflection of the Nigerian youngsters' alpha-male orientation. Finally, the researcher's findings illustrated that Nigerian young men who were engaged in criminal, illegal activities were celebrated and praised in the songs as opposed to their good, law-abiding citizen peers.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

The aim of this study was to examine how far the CMs employed through the lyrics of the two music genres of American hip-hop and Egyptian Mahraganat were similar or different from each other. To accomplish this, the lyrics of the songs of the two music genres under study were downloaded then analyzed relying on the CMT (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) to unveil the metaphorical expressions in their lyrics. After that, the source and target domains in the metaphorical expressions were scrutinized to uncover the CMs found in them. Finally, a comparison was made between the CMs detected in each genre to find out how far they were similar or different from each other.

3.2 Data description

The data of this study consisted of the top 10 songs in the year 2020 of the hip-hop and the Mahraganat genres, with 5 songs from each genre, as it was expected that the more recent the data, the more developed the form of the genre it belonged to would be. Spotify music web-player was used to determine the study songs because it is considered one of the most popular and globally acknowledged music web players.

3.2.1 The hip-hop corpus (Corpus_H)

Corpus_H is the one which was built to compile the lyrics of the hip-hop songs. It included the most listened to five songs in 2020, according to Spotify. Their word count was around 3000 words. The lyrics were downloaded from the website: <https://www.lyricfind.com/>.

3.2.2 The Mahraganat corpus (Corpus_M)

Corpus_M is the one that was built to compile the lyrics of the Mahraganat songs. It incorporated the most listened to five Mahraganat songs in 2020, according to Spotify. The Mahraganat corpus contained about 1700 words. The Arabic lyrics were downloaded from: <https://elteeta.com/>.

3.3 Data analysis

The data was qualitatively analyzed based on the CMT (Deignan, 2005; Grady, Oakley & Coulson, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) which helped answering the main research question

and the four sub-questions under it. First, the most successful 5 hip-hop and Mahraganat song lyrics in the year 2020 (n=10 songs) were downloaded. The lyrics of each song on its own were inspected to detect the metaphorical expressions in it, then the source and target domains in these metaphorical expressions of that song were determined. This answered the first two research sub-questions (1.1 and 1.2). After that, the source and target domains in the metaphorical expressions in each genre were grouped together and scrutinized to uncover the CMs realized through them, this answered the third research sub-question (1.3). Finally, a comparison between the CMs identified in each genre was carried out to answer the fourth and last research sub-question (1.4).

4. The conceptual metaphor analysis and findings

4.1 The metaphorical expression analysis in 2020 hip-hop lyrics

The five most listened to hip-hop songs in 2020 according to Spotify were: *Mood* by 24kGoldn, *WAP* by Cardi B, *Savage* by Megan thee Stallion, *Runnin* by 21 Savage and Metro Boomin, and *Dollaz on My Head* by Gunna.

Song 1: The metaphorical expression analysis in *Mood* by 24kGoldn

The metaphors in this song are fundamentally about the persona's girlfriend and her mood swings. Table 1 presents the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song.

Table 1

Source and target domains in Mood

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
Baby, I ain't playing by your rules We play games of love to avoid the depression But try to play it cool	A game	A love relationship

In the song, a love relationship is denoted as a game in, “Baby, I ain't playing by your rules”, where the persona declares that he will not abide by his girlfriend’s game-rules. The love-as-a-game image is continued in, “We play games of love to avoid the depression”, where love is drawn as some games being played to kill the depression which both sides experience in their relationship. In “But try to play it cool”, asking the girlfriend to act smartly is compared to asking her to *play* in a cool manner. These love-game images demonstrate the dysfunctional type of relationship which the persona and his girlfriend have.

Song 2: The metaphorical expression analysis in *WAP* by Cardi B

In this song, the female singer is supposed to be celebrating female empowerment and sexuality through using sensual images. Table 2 displays the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song.

Table 2

Source and target domains in WAP

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
Hop on top, I want a ride	A horse-riding activity	Sexual intercourse
This pussy is wet, come take a dive	A sea/river where a male lover can take a dive	A female’s organ
I want you to park that big Mack truck right in this little garage	A garage A truck which will park in the former	A female’s organ A male’s organ
Gobble me, swallow me	Some type of delicious food which the male lover can	A female’s body
I let him taste it, and now he diabetic	<i>taste, swallow, or gobble</i> Causing diabetes	The female’s body being so sweet
In the food chain, I'm the one that eat ya	Being a predator who feeds on the male	A female being more powerful than her male partner

The explicit sexual metaphors start with, “Hop on top, I want a ride”, where sexual intercourse is depicted as a horse-riding activity. In “This pussy is wet, come take a dive”, a female’s organ is depicted as a sea or a river where a male lover can take *a dive*, and in “I want you to park that big Mack truck right in this little garage”, it is portrayed as *a garage* and a male’s organ as *a truck* which will park in the former.

The same type of graphic imagery continues in, “Gobble me, swallow me” and “I let him taste it, and now he diabetic”, the female’s body is portrayed as some type of delicious food which the male lover can *taste*, *swallow*, or *gobble*. It is also implied that it is very sweet to the extent that it can make the boyfriend become *diabetic*. In “In the food chain, I’m the one that eat ya”, the female lover is drawn as the one more powerful as she is the predator who is going to eat the male.

Song 3: The metaphorical expression analysis in *Savage* by Megan thee Stallion

Like the previous song, *WAP*, this song too is meant to be another anthem for empowering women through showcasing the self-confidence, success, and sensuality of the female persona. The source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3

Source and target domains in Savage

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
I'm the hood Mona Lisa	Being the Mona Lisa of the neighbourhood	Being a perfect beauty
Bitch, I'm lit like a match	Being lit	Being glamorous
Eat me	Something edible	A female’s body
Niggas say I taste like sugar	Declaring that her body tastes like sugar	Boasting about her sexuality

The first metaphor in the song noted in, “I’m the hood Mona Lisa”, illustrates how the persona perceives herself so highly. She declares she is the *Mona Lisa* of her neighbourhood; this reflects how she views herself as a unique and a perfect beauty within her community. In “Bitch, I’m lit like a match”, she announces she is *lit like a match* to mark out how glamorous she is.

The persona’s boasting about her sensuality can be perceived in, “Eat me” and “Niggas say I taste like sugar”, where in both images her body is portrayed as something edible, especially a delicious dessert, which men salivate after.

Song 4: The metaphorical expression analysis in *Runnin* by 21 Savage and Metro Boomin

Song number four in the most popular hip-hop songs of 2020 is *Runnin* by 21 Savage and Metro Boomin. Table 4 presents the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song.

Table 4

Source and target domains in Runnin

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
I bought a Hollywood bitch, the club crucial	Buying a Hollywood girl	Paying money in exchange of a girl's company

In "I bought a Hollywood bitch; the club crucial", Hollywood is compared to a private *club* with some *crucial* conditions to be registered as a member among its distinguished community. One of these conditions is to afford paying to have a perfect beauty accompany a man. Paying money in exchange of a female's company is revealed through the words: *I bought a Hollywood bitch*. Using the verb 'buy' in association with a female, portrays one as an object which is put for sale so that anyone can have her in exchange of money. Therefore, the image objectifies women; besides, it illustrates what measures people take to join what they believe to be an acclaimed community.

Song 5: The metaphorical expression analysis in *Dollaz on My Head* by Gunna

The fifth song in the 2020 list of top hip-hop songs is *Dollaz on My Head* by Gunna. The next table illustrates the source and target domains of the metaphorical expression identified in the song.

Table 5

Source and target domains in Dollaz on My Head

The metaphorical expression	Source meaning	Target meaning
I'm from Atlanta where these hoes ride the dick like peg	A horse-riding activity	Sexual intercourse

There is a sexual image in, "I'm from Atlanta where these hoes ride the dick like peg", where sexual intercourse is depicted as a horse-riding activity.

4.2 The metaphorical expression analysis in 2020 Mahraganat lyrics

The five most popular Mahraganat songs in 2020 according to Spotify were: بنت الجيران (The neighbour's daughter), لغبطيطا (Uproar), أنت بسكوتاية مقرمشة (You are a crunchy biscuit), أنت معلمة (You are a boss), and خالصانة معاكو بشياكة (It ends up with you elegantly).

Song 1: The metaphorical expression analysis in بنت الجيران (The neighbour's daughter)

The first song in the 2020 list of the most listened to Mahraganat songs is بنت الجيران (The neighbour's daughter) by Hassan Shakoush and Omar Kamal. The song metaphors mainly describe the beloved's splendid beauty and the persona's strong

love for her. The source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Source and target domains in بنت الجيران

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
سكر محلي محطوت علي كريمة	Being sweetened sugar added to cream	Being beautiful
دمك خفيف وضحكك شربات	Having light blood Having a sherbet laugh	Being funny Having a beautiful laugh
زي العسل روحك يا حلاويات	Having a honey spirit	Being amusing
شوفت القمر	Being the moon	Having breathtaking beauty
هأموت عليك	Dying to have her next to him	Strong wish for the beloved's proximity
هأتوه ومش هالأقيني...تسيبيني	Utter loss and feelings of disorientation	The beloved's absence from the persona's life
عليكي بصة تخلي العاقل مجنون	Turns a sane person into a crazy one	Her enchanting eyes
دوبتي قلبي بخطوة من رجلك	Her step melts his heart	Being charmed by her step
سحبتي روحي سابنتي وراحت لك	Being able to pull his soul out of his body	Her hypnotising effect on the persona
عنيكي ليا مراية	Her eyes are a mirror for him	How well she understands him
اللي أنتي سيبني عينيكي تحكي لي مخبياه	They tell the persona what she hides	Her eyes being expressive

There are several metaphors which describe the beloved's unique beauty. In "سكر محلي محطوت علي كريمة" (Sweetened sugar added to cream), she is referred to as 'sweetened sugar added to cream' to demonstrate how beautiful she is. In "دمك خفيف وضحكك شربات" (Your blood's light and your laugh's sherbet), light blood metaphorically signals a funny person; accordingly, the beloved is reported to be funny; besides, her laugh is portrayed as 'sherbet' to illustrate how beautiful it is. In "زي العسل روحك يا حلاويات" (Like honey, your spirit is, Sweets), her spirit is compared to honey to indicate that she is amusing. In "شوفت القمر" (I saw the moon), the beloved is referred to as 'the moon', a typical Egyptian expression which is used to signify a breathtakingly beautiful girl.

Several metaphors reveal how the persona is completely enchanted by his beloved, such as in “هأموت عليك” (I’ll die to be with you), where his strong wish for her proximity is depicted as his willingness to die. In “تسيبيني ... هأتوه ومش هألاقيني” (If you leave me ... I’ll get lost and I won’t be found), her absence from his life is portrayed as utter loss and disorientation for him. In “عليكي بصّة تخلي العاقل مجنون” (You have a look that can turn a sane person into a crazy one), her look is compared to magic which can ‘turn a sane person into a crazy one’. In “دوبتي قلبي بخطوة من ”رجلك” (You dissolved my heart with a step of your foot), her step is compared to a solvent which can dissolve the persona’s heart. In “سحبتني روعي سابنتي وراحت لك” (You pulled my soul, it left me and went to you), her strong effect on the persona is signaled as her ability to pull his soul out of his body.

There are two metaphors which have to do with the beloved’s eyes. In “عنيكي ”ليا مراية” (Your eyes are a mirror to me), her eyes are denoted as ‘a mirror’ for the persona to indicate how well she understands him. In “سيبي عينكي تحكي لي اللي أنتي ”مخبياها” (Leave your eyes; let them tell me what you’re hiding), her eyes being very expressive are depicted as a window into her soul; through looking into them, the persona can find out all that she is not telling him. This conveys how well the persona can understand his beloved just by a glance at her eyes.

Song 2: The metaphorical expression analysis in لغبيطا (Uproar)

The song لغبيطا (Uproar), by Hassan Shakoush and Omar Kamal, is the second song in the 2020 list of top Mahraganat songs. The metaphors in the song show the two personae celebrating their stardom and describing the girl they have a crush on. Table 7 exhibits the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song.

Table 7

Source and target domains in لغبيطا

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
كاسحين كل المجال	Tearing the entire field	Overrunning everybody else in the music field
يا حنة بونونايا يا حنة أناناس	Being candy and a slice of pineapple	Being so sweet
يا كريمة في بسكويتة	A cherry in a biscuit	
أه يا أطمع من اللوليتا	Tastier than ice lolly	
في المشية تشوفها بطة	Walking in a duck-like manner	Walking in a provocative, attractive manner
تلاقها حلوة ومعجزة	Being a miracle	Being unique
أنت في القلب وجوه الروح سكنتني	Having her reside in his heart and soul	The persona’s strong love of the girl
ما تسيبنيش دي العيشة مرة	Sour life	Harsh life

The metaphors start with the personae reveling in their success. This can be seen in, “كاسحين كل المجال” (We are tearing the entire field), where the music industry is depicted as a battlefield and the personae’s conquering their rivals in that field is compared to them ‘tearing the entire field’.

Several metaphors describing the girl the persona has a crush on are presented. Some of these metaphors use different types of sweet foods to describe the girl as can be noted in, “يا حنة بونبوناية يا حنة أناس” (You’re a piece of candy; you’re a slice of pineapple), “يا كريمة في بسكويتة” (You’re a cherry in a biscuit), and “آه يا أطعم من اللوليتا” (Oh! You’re tastier than ice lolly), where the girl is called ‘a piece of candy’, ‘a slice of pineapple’, and ‘a cherry in a biscuit’, before comparing her to an ‘ice lolly’ and finding her ‘tastier’. All these images point out how the personae perceive the girl as a sweet item. Her walk is described in, “في المشية تشوفها” (In the way she walks, she’s a duck), as that of a duck, which is typical in the Egyptian culture; this indicates that she walks in an attractive, provocative manner. In “تلاقيها حلوة ومعجزة” (You’ll find she’s a beauty and a miracle), the girl is referred to as a ‘miracle’ to reveal how unique and splendidly beautiful she is.

The relationship between the persona and this girl is further conveyed in, “أنت في القلب وجوه الروح سكنتي” (You’re in the heart and inside the soul residing), portrays the persona’s strong love of this girl, as his heart and soul are drawn as a home where the beloved resides.

There is an image which illustrates how hard life can be in case the beloved leaves the persona. In “ما تسيبنيش دي العيشة مرة” (Don’t leave me as life is bitter), life is denoted as being ‘bitter’ which signifies the harshness of life.

Song 3: The metaphorical expression analysis in أنت بسكويتية مقرمشة (You are a crunchy biscuit)

Song number three in the 2020 list of the most listened to Mahraganat songs is أنت بسكويتية مقرمشة (You are a crunchy biscuit) by Hassan Shakoush and Hamada Magdy. The song metaphors describe the beloved’s unique beauty and the persona’s great love of her. Table 8 reveals the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song.

Table 8

Source and target domains in أنت بسكوتاية مقرمشة

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
أنتي بسكوتاية مقرمشة يا لوز يا بونبوني	Being a crunchy biscuit Being almonds	Being attractive
فيكي كل حاجة مسكرة	Everything in her is 'sugary'	
أنتي قطة مخربشة قاعدة جوة قلبي مربعة	Acting like a wild cat Sitting in his heart crossed-leg	Acting in a playful manner Conquering the persona's heart
شايفك قمر ومنورة سمايا أنتي زي الليد منورة	Being a moon that lights his sky Illuminating like a LED light bulb	Being so beautiful Brightening the persona's life
أموت فيكي	Dying for her	Strong love of and devotion for the beloved
يا ساكنة جوايا أبيع حياتي من أجل معاليكي	Her residing in him Selling his life for her sake	Willingness to sacrifice anything for her
يا تاج علي راسي	Wearing her as a crown on his head	Honouring and valuing her

There are two metaphors in the song which refer to the beloved as sweet food, "أنت بسكوتاية مقرمشة" (You're a crunchy biscuit) and "يا لوز يا بونبوني" (You're almonds and sweets), where the beloved is called: 'a crunchy biscuit', 'almonds', and 'sugared-sweets' to compliment her and show how attractive she is. In "فيكي كل حاجة مسكرة" (Everything in you is sugary), all her aspects are depicted as being 'sugary' which shows how infatuated by her beauty the persona is.

The beloved is also described as a 'wild cat' in, "أنتي قطة مخربشة" (You're a wild cat), to show that she acts in a playful manner. Then in, "قاعدة جوة قلبي مربعة" (You're sitting in my heart crossed-leg), she is portrayed as sitting inside the persona's heart 'crossed-leg'. This is a relaxed, confident style of sitting which highlights how she has conquered his heart.

There are two metaphors where the beloved is depicted as a source of light which illuminates and brightens up the persona's life. In "أنتي زي الليد منورة" (You're illuminating like a LED light bulb), she is compared to 'a LED light bulb' and in "شايفك قمر ومنورة سمايا" (I see you as a moon that is lighting my sky), she is compared to 'the moon'. Besides, being compared to 'the moon' indicates her great beauty.

Several images convey the persona's strong love for this girl, such as, "أموت فيكي" (I die for you), which is a typical Egyptian expression that signifies adoration.

In “يا ساكنة جوايا” (You’re living in me), the persona is depicted as a home where his beloved resides which pinpoints his devotion for her. In “أبيع حياتي من أجل معاليكي” (I can sell my life for your Excellency’s sake), the persona is shown as selling his life for his beloved’s sake which connotes his willingness to sacrifice anything for her. In “يا تاج علي راسي” (You’re a crown on my head), the beloved is referred to as ‘a crown’ on the persona’s head to mark his honouring and valuing her.

Song 4: The metaphorical expression analysis in أنت معلمة (You are a boss)

The fourth most listened to song in the 2020 list of Mahraganat songs is أنت معلمة (You are a boss) by Omar Kamal and Hamo Bika. The metaphors in this song discuss the distinction of the beloved and the persona’s infatuation by her. The source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song are conveyed in Table 9.

Table 9

Source and target domains in أنت معلمة

The metaphorical expressions	Source meaning	Target meaning
نظرة منك أقوى طاقة	Being the strongest source of energy	Being supportive
برنسياسة و بنت باشا	Being a princess and a Pasha’s daughter	Having grace and poise
يا قل	Being jasmine	Being lovely
دي بقلادة لاء بوغاشة	Being baklawa and bughasha	Being a stunner and a very sweet girl
بسكوتة وغزل بنات	Being a biscuit and cotton candy	
معمولة بحلويات	Being made of sweets	
أنت أطعم من الجاتوه	Being tastier than cake	
أنت ملكة في المجرة	Being a queen in the galaxy	Being distinct and worthy
أنت نجمة فوق السما	Being a star high in the sky	
تقولش عينها يا ناس	Her eyes being a fishing-pole which attracts people	Having attractive eyes
سنارة بترمي الطعم يشدنا	Her body being music	Having a curvy, appealing shape
أنت جسمك ده مزىكا	Wiping all girls around her with a rubber	Her charming beauty and remarkable character
ماسحة الكل بالأسنكية		
أنت سهم في قلبي اترمي	Being an arrow which is shot into his heart	Her conquering his heart
أنت سايبتي المفاصل	Her making his joints loosen	The persona’s falling hard for her
عليكي ماشية تهدنا	Having a walk which can destroy men	Having a provocative walk
عقلي قام غايب و فاصل	His mind powers off at seeing her	Getting totally distracted by the beloved

American Hip-hop vs. Egyptian Mahraganat Songs

بأتنجنن لما بأشوفها مجنون ومريض بالحب	Going crazy when seeing her Being crazy and ill because of love	Being infatuated with her Being passionately in love
كل دقة ... بتناديكي يا نور عينيّ	His heart beats calling the beloved Being the light of his eye	Being precious to him

The images in the song start with, "نظرة منك أقوى طاقة" (A glance from you is the strongest of energy), where a glance from the beloved is depicted as the strongest source of energy for the persona. The intended meaning is that she encourages him, which illustrates her positive influence on him. In "برنسيسة و بنت" (You're a princess and a Pasha's daughter), she is called a 'princess' and 'a Pasha's daughter' to pinpoint her grace and poise. In "يا فل" (You're jasmine), she is called 'jasmine' to mark her loveliness.

Several images utilize different types of sweet foods to characterize the beloved. In "دي بقلاوة لاء بوغاشة" (She's baklawa, no, she's bughasha), the persona is confused whether to call her 'baklawa' or 'bughasha', which are two popular types of Egyptian dessert. In "بسكوتة وغزل بنات" (She is a biscuit and cotton candy), she is called 'a biscuit' and 'cotton candy'. In "معمولة بحلويات" (She is made of sweets), she is represented as being 'made of sweets' and in "أنت أطعم من الجاتوه" (You're tastier than cake), as 'tastier than cake'. All these images indicate that the beloved is a stunner who has a very sweet character.

The beloved's description continues in, "أنت ملكة في المجرة" (You're a queen in the galaxy) and "أنت نجمة فوق السما" (You're a star high in the sky), where she is referred to as 'a queen in the galaxy' and 'a star in the sky' to convey her distinction and worth. In "تقولش عينيها يا ناس سنارة بترمي الطعم يشدنا" (Aren't her eyes a fishing rod which, when thrown with a bait, attracts us), her eyes are compared to 'a fishing rod' which 'catches', i.e., attracts, people to her. This demonstrates that her eyes are striking. In "أنت جسمك ده مزيكا ماسحة الكل بالأستيكة" (Your body is music; you're wiping everybody else with an eraser), her body is compared to music to reveal how curvy and appealing it is. Besides, her beauty and character are depicted as 'an eraser' which wipes all surrounding girls to display how unique they are.

The effect of the beloved on the persona is expressed in a group of metaphors which start with, "أنت سهم في قلبي اترمي" (You're an arrow shot into my heart), the beloved conquering the persona's heart is compared to an arrow which is shot into his heart. In "أنت سايبتي المفاصل" (You loosened my joints), the persona's falling hard for this girl is portrayed as making his joints loosen. In "عليكي ماشية تهدنا" (You have a walk that destroys us), her provocative walk is symbolized as a weapon which can destroy men around her. In "عقلي قام غايب و فاصل" (My mind went absent and it powered-off), the persona's mind getting completely distracted by the girl is depicted as a device which powers off at seeing her. All these images indicate the infatuation of the persona with the beloved.

The persona's strong love of the girl is shown via several images, such as, "بأتجنن لما بأشوفها" (I go crazy when I see her), where being infatuated with her is depicted as going crazy when seeing her. In "مجنون ومريض بالحب" (I'm crazy and ill because of love), being passionately in love is compared to being 'crazy' and 'ill'. In "كل دقة ... بتناديكي يا نور عيني" (Every beat ... calls you, you the light of my eye), the persona's heartbeats are personified into a person who keeps calling his beloved to reflect his attachment to her. Besides, she is referred to as 'the light of his eye' to convey how precious and valuable she is to him.

Song 5: The metaphorical expression analysis in *خلصانة معاكو بشياكة* (It ends up with you elegantly)

There is *خلصانة معاكو بشياكة* (It ends with you elegantly), by Essam Sasa and Samer El-Medany, as song number four in the 2020 list of top Mahraganat songs. Table 10 illustrates the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions identified in the song.

Table 10

Source and target domains in خالصانة معاكو بشياكة

Item	Source meaning	Target meaning
جرحني الشوق	Longing scarring him	Longing being painful
بُعدھا بيكسر قلبي	Longing breaks the heart	
الفرحة بقت مقتولة	Joy being killed	Absence of joy

Some images mention the persona's suffering because of missing his beloved. In "جرحني الشوق" (Longing's hurting me), longing for her being painful is depicted as 'hurting' him. In "بُعدھا بيكسر قلبي" (Her absence breaks my heart), her absence being painful is signaled as 'breaking' his heart. The persona's life has become so gloomy without her as is shown in, "الفرحة بقت مقتولة" (Joy is killed), where joy is personified as a person who is killed to illustrate the entire absence of joy from the persona's life.

4.3 The CMs in the hip-hop song lyrics

Following a detailed analysis of the metaphorical expressions found in the five most popular hip-hop songs of the year 2020, here is a list of the CMs realized in them: Love Is A Game, Sexual Intercourse Is Horse-Riding, A Female Is Edible, A Female Is A Merchandise, A Female's Organ Is A Sea/Garage, And The Music Industry Is A Battlefield.

4.4 The CMs in the Mahraganat song lyrics

After conducting a thorough analysis of the metaphorical expressions found in the top five Mahraganat songs of 2020, this list of CMs was found: A FEMALE IS A DESSERT/SWEETS, SELLING IS SACRIFICE, BEING APPRECIATED IS BEING THE LIGHT OF THE EYES, BEING IN LOVE IS GOING CRAZY, LOVE IS TORTURE, and THE MUSIC INDUSTRY IS A BATTLEFIELD.

4.5 The similarities and differences between the CMs found in the hip-hop and the Mahraganat lyrics

The only common CM between the hip-hop and the Mahraganat music genres is: THE MUSIC FIELD IS A BATTLEFIELD. This highlights how the music field is thought of as being rough and full of competition, both in the USA and in Egypt.

Regarding the differences between the CMs realized in both music genres, the first one is related to love; the CM of LOVE IS A GAME was realized in the hip-hop lyrics whereas LOVE IS TORTURE occurred in the Mahraganat ones. Comparing a love relationship to a game implies the existence of competition between the two partners in this relationship; it is a relationship which includes rounds, like the ones in a game, which each player wants to win at and conquer the other. It also implies the presence of rules which each partner has to abide by. Moreover, it connotes having different options that one must choose among to enable one to move to the next level or round. All this suggests that American people tend to be conscious through their love relationships. On the other hand, in the Mahraganat lyrics, the love images focus on how love can torture a lover, how he is influenced by love, and what happens particularly to his heart which highlight that Egyptians are emotional in their love relationships.

Moreover, it is noted that there is much focus on the sensuality of a love relationship in the hip-hop genre as could be seen through the repetition of the CM of SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS HORSE-RIDING. Conversely, in the Mahraganat genre, the focus was on the effect of love on a person; this can be traced through the repetition of the CM: BEING IN LOVE IS GOING CRAZY. This difference in the presentation of a love relationship reveals how the American culture tends to be open and uninhibited in its way of expression of love while the Egyptian culture is more inclined towards being traditional and conservative.

One more difference has to do with the perception of females within each music genre. In the hip-hop one, a female is explicitly objectified by focusing basically on her sexuality; this can be seen in the CMs: A FEMALE IS EDIBLE and A FEMALE'S ORGAN IS A SEA/GARAGE; there, a female is fundamentally dealt with as a source of sensual pleasure. The main focus is on her body and

sexuality. In the Mahraganat genre, a female is complimented and praised via the CM, A FEMALE IS A DESSERT/SWEETS; being called sweet food here is a means to show adoration and admiration. It is not meant literally although the implication that a female is edible is present. Thus, in the Arabic lyrics, a female is neither explicitly objectified, nor perceived as a sex toy, as is the case in the hip-hop culture. There, definitely, is focus on her physical attributes; nevertheless, it is not realized in an explicit manner the way it is in the American culture. Besides, the physical attributes are not the only focus as a female's sweet personality is also included as part of her description in the lyrics.

5. Discussion and conclusion

5.1 Highlighting the conceptual metaphor most important findings

The aim of this study was to convey the extent of the similarities and differences between the two music genres of American hip-hop songs and Egyptian Mahraganat in terms of the CMs used in their lyrics. The commonality in the CMs of the two music genres was related to the perception of the music industry as a battlefield in both music genres, and it was explained that it must have been the challenges and difficulties which the artists in the American and the Egyptian society face in the music arena that have given rise to this similarity. It can be recommended that what makes this field tough is the high demand on it which has recently developed; this could have resulted due to the great fame and the tremendous wealth which co-occur with the success in it, i.e., a nobody can grow into a star with a lavish fortune overnight. This common CM also reveals how singers in both countries believe they must be fierce fighters in order to maintain their gains: success and stardom, as a singer might become a phenomenon considerably quickly; however, one may be as quickly forgotten, too. In order to maintain success, one has to keep acting vigilantly and resiliently to survive in this field.

Besides, considerable oppositions were detected between the two music genres mainly due to the variation in their perception of different concepts; for example, the concept of love was represented in association with calculations and planning in the hip-hop genre in contrast to its being associated with sentiments and romance in the Mahraganat one. This suggests that American people tend to be conscious through their love relationships; they calculate their moves and do not act spontaneously. On the other hand, Egyptian people are emotional and sentimental; they entirely surrender their feelings in a love relationship. Hence, the difference in the perception of love between the two cultures resulted in different CMs of love through their song lyrics. Another significant difference between the hip-hop and

the Mahraganat genres had to do with the female-presentation which was realized differently in the two music genres; the Americans were more overt and explicit in their presentation of women whereas the Egyptians tended to be more traditional and conservative. This could be attributed to the fundamental differences between the western and eastern cultures in general; the western culture (where the hip-hop genre belongs) objectifies women and perceives them solely as a source of sensual pleasure while the eastern culture (where the Mahraganat genre belongs) shows more respect to women as a female represents a man's (being a father, a brother, a husband, etc.) dignity and honour. That is why in the Egyptian lyrics, a female's sexuality is not focused on, and her physical attributes are not explicitly celebrated the way that they occur in the American genre.

This study findings agreed with Ajayi's (2020) in the identification of sex-oriented CMs in the hip-hop genre. Furthermore, this study outcomes went along with Akuno et al.'s (2018) finding related to the portrayal of women as food, which was found in this study's both American and Egyptian data.

5.2 Limitations

Expanding the study data to more than 10 songs might have helped in detecting more CMs in the two music genres under investigation; however, the data qualitative extensive analysis prevented this. Another limitation could be the time frame of one year as extending the time frame of the study could have uncovered more findings.

5.3 Recommendations

It is recommended that researchers in the future can work on more hip-hop and Mahraganat songs. They may as well include other music genres in their studies and compare the CMs embedded in their lyrics. Researchers may also investigate the hip-hop and the Mahraganat genres from other linguistic angles, such as, CDA or the genres' contributions to coinage. Sociolinguistic studies with the aim of investigating the Egyptian Mahraganat genre listeners' viewpoints and tastes are suggested, too; this can help highlight more reasons behind the wide popularity of this genre.

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