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Introduction: Comparative Investigation of Literal and Figurative Language

There are two ways of using words: in a literal and congruent way or in a figurative and incongruent way. The literal senses of words are those that normally belong to them, however, the creative language user may take words out of their original context of use and give them a fresh sense by applying them to a novel context. Figurative language creates a tension between original and novel contexts - usually for a particular emotive purpose. Figurative language can therefore be defined as the creation of an incongruity or tension between original and novel contexts of use. The main figures of speech are metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche.

We know when comparing languages that there are evidently differences in their grammatical, phonological and lexical patterns; however, an issue that remains unclear is the extent to which there is variation in the underlying concepts that are expressed. Views of language that argue in favour of its role as an encoder of culture emphasise the uniqueness of concepts to a language whereas those that view language as encoding common human experience argue in favour of the universality of the underlying concepts that are expressed. A better understanding of figurative language as can be gained by comparing the figurative expressions of two languages provides an important source of insight into these issues. Figurative language in particular provides linguistic evidence of conceptualisation.

If figurative language creates a source of tension between literal and novel contexts, then the extent to which resolution of this tension requires knowledge of the cultural system in addition to knowledge of the linguistic system provides evidence that concepts are dependent on culture rather than on language. I will use the term cultural resonance to refer to the set of beliefs, knowledge and values without which figurative language cannot be understood. In this paper I hope to provide some insight into the cultural resonance of some Malay and English figurative phrases in which lexemes for human body parts occur.

Theoretical Context: Cognitive Semantics

A central tenet of cognitive semantics is that figurative language is motivated in so far as there are relationships that exist between the meanings of language units that could not otherwise be accounted for with reference to the syntax, grammar and lexicon alone. As Croft (1993: 336) notes: ‘One of the central tenets of cognitive semantics is that the meaning of words is encyclopaedic: everything you know about the concept is part of its meaning’. This view has emerged in reaction to the view that language exists independently of the contexts in which it is used.

The notion of conceptual metaphor has emerged as a theoretical construct that can relate a range of surface forms of metaphor to a common underlying idea or deep structure based on experience - thereby showing them to be motivated rather than arbitrary (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). A conceptual metaphor is a proto-metaphor (a term preferred by Goatly 1997) that explains the relatedness of linguistic metaphors - i.e. that they exist as part of a system rather than independently of each other. A conceptual metaphor is a formal statement of the idea that is hidden in the linguistic metaphor but can be inferred from a number of linguistic occurrences. In a sense conceptual metaphor is the reverse of linguistic metaphor; for whereas linguistic metaphor creates an incongruity between the original and novel contexts, conceptual metaphor resolves this incongruity. Conceptual metaphor is, then, an explanatory construct as it represents relationships of figurative meaning that would not otherwise be represented. It does this by making a formal statement of the underlying grounds of the metaphor: it therefore articulates the general knowledge structures that are implicit in linguistic metaphor. The most effective way of testing the validity of a particular conceptual metaphor is the extent to which it is able relate a number of conventional linguistic metaphors to a common idea. To the extent that conceptual metaphors can do this they are valuable notions for describing, classifying and explaining clusters of figurative language.

We can illustrate the use of a representation of the conceptual level to compare figurative expressions by considering the expressions in example one:

Example 1

The pot calling the kettle black (English)

The prawn does not know of the hump on its back. (Malay)

The camel cannot see his own hump. (Moroccan Arabic)

In each case these expressions refer to a similar situation: that of when a person criticises others for the same faults that he or she possesses. In the case of the first expression, this is done with the use of an anthropomorphic figure that involves a metonym *kitchen artefact for person*; in the other two the metonym is *animal for person*; in all three cases evaluation is based on metaphors relating to culturally familiar phenomena. We can summarise the conceptual basis as follows:

1/ METONYM: *INANIMATE/ NON-HUMAN FOR HUMAN*

2/ METAPHOR: *ATTRIBUTES OF AGENT ARE BAD (= NEGATIVE)*

3/ ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE OF ARTEFACTS/ANIMALS. *IMPLIES THAT AGENT DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT THESE BAD ATTRIBUTES.*

Equivalent figurative expressions such as these demonstrate how linguistic encodings reflect cultural knowledge. These expressions are resonant within a culture because they encode particular evaluations that are determined by the value placed on a particular attribute or entity. Understanding the evaluation relies on cultural knowledge frameworks. For example, interpreting the evaluation in the figurative phrase *the pot calling the kettle calling the black* presumes a metaphor *BLACK IS BAD*; in some cultures black may not be negatively evaluated. Similarly, the other two figurative phrases presume a metaphor: *PHYSICAL IRREGULARITY IS BAD* - in other cultures physical irregularities (e.g. long necks, or short feet) may be taken as signs of beauty. Interpretation of the above expressions relies on prototype associations; for example, the negative connotation of the Moroccan Arabic expression depends on encyclopaedic knowledge of how camels behave in relation to humans. In the case of the example from English, prior to electric kettles, kettles were similar in appearance and function to pots; for example they shared the same colour because they were heated by fire. Historical knowledge of the similarity between

these artefacts probably accounts for the form of the proverb but it does not account for its connotation.

Methodology

This descriptive study was based on the analysis of figurative expressions that include a body part term in two corpora: the Bank of English held by Collins at the University of Birmingham and a Malay corpus owned by the Malay Language Agency (*Dewan Bahasa*) in Kuala Lumpur. The English corpus contains 12 separate sub-corpora and 323 million words and the Malay corpus is comprised of 25 million words taken from 3 sub-corpora: books, newspapers and magazines. Conceptual keys were determined by introspection and were based on the criteria of resolving the incongruity of original and novel contexts of use. Connotation was established by comparison of verbal contexts in both the English and the Malay corpus and by a questionnaire given to 23 native speakers of Malay; they were asked to classify 25 figurative phrases presented in short contexts as either negative, positive or neutral in their expressive meaning.

Resonance was calculated by multiplying the number of types for each conceptual key for which evidence was found in the corpus by the sum of the number of tokens for these types. Each of the figurative phrases that occurred in the corpus and were classified as sharing a conceptual key contributes towards the quantitative measure of conceptual resonance of that key. I propose that this use of a corpus enable us to combine data on both lexical productivity and frequency to produce a measure of resonance that can be used to compare languages – even though it is likely that variations in the number and frequency of figurative phrases will be part of the overall differences in the lexicons of different languages.

Findings

Figurative Phrases- *Tangan* ‘Hand/arm’

The core meaning of *tangan* can be translated into English either as ‘hand’ or as ‘arm’. This reflects differences in the lexical field for the human body in the two languages: Malay employs a single body part term for senses that are conveyed in English by two distinct terms.

Conceptual keys for this body part are summarised in table one:

Table 1 - Summary of Conceptual Keys and Connotation for *tangan* and ‘hand’

MALAY					
CONCEPTUAL KEY	types	Sum of tokens	Resonance (types X tokens)	%	CONNOTATION
HAND FOR CONTROL	7	1,102	7,714	78%	Negative/ Neutral
HAND FOR TYPICAL ACTION	8	242	1,936	20%	Negative/ neutral
HAND FOR TYPICAL BEHAVIOUR	6	41	246	2%	Negative/ positive
TOTAL	21	1,385	9,896	100%	
ENGLISH					
HAND FOR CONTROL	19	13,413	258,847	98	Positive/ neutral
HAND FOR PERSON	6	683	4,098	1%	Neutral
HAND FOR ACTION	6	774	4,644	1%	Positive
TOTAL	31	14,411	267,589	100%	

There is strong evidence that the conceptual basis for *tangan* in figurative units is primarily metonymic in both languages; many of the figurative phrases can be accounted for by a generic conceptual metonym BODY PART FOR FUNCTION. In terms of the evaluation expressed by this group of figurative phrases an important difference between the two languages is that the Malay phrases are typically expressive whereas English phrases may not have an expressive meaning. Sixteen of the English figurative units (52%) are classified as neutral as compared with only six of the Malay figurative units (29%). In the remainder of the discussion I will deal with each of the conceptual keys in turn in relation to both languages identifying differences in both conceptual key and in connotation. Taken together I suggest that this will provide a comprehensive account of the cultural resonance of these figurative phrases in the two languages.

HAND FOR CONTROL (see tables 2 & 3)

Both languages share similar figuratively based conceptualisations based on association of the sense of exerting power or control in their phraseology. This is clearly the most resonant conceptual key in both languages accounting for 78% of the resonance for this body part in Malay phrases and 98% in English. In both languages, for example, there is the expression *in hand* - *dalam tangan* with the sense ‘to be under control’, this is a figurative extension from our knowledge of the anatomical functions of the hand to the abstract domain of exerting authority. This suggests that our bodily experience of holding or grasping as a means of physical manipulation can be extended to any means (including non-physical) by which the external world can be controlled.

However, when it comes to connotation there are clear differences between the two languages: in Malay there are neutral or negative connotations associated with control whereas in English they are positive or neutral. It may be helpful to illustrate this important contrast of connotation because inevitably it has implications for the cultural resonance of figurative expressions in the two languages.

Perhaps the most interesting Malay example of cultural resonance for the conceptual key HAND FOR CONTROL is the phrase *campur tangan* ‘mix hand’; this may be translated as ‘to interfere’ or ‘to get involved’ or even ‘to meddle’ depending on the context. It is the most frequent figurative unit in this group occurring as often as 33 times per million words. In the native speaker survey 56% evaluated its meaning in randomly selected contexts as negative, 33% as neutral and 11% as positive. This variation indicates that aspects of context influence the evaluation of individuals differently. I have selected some typical examples of the negative connotation conveyed by this conceptual key in the use of *campur tangan* to describe the British colonial intervention in the affairs of the Malay states:

Example 2

Setelah **campur tangan** Inggeris di Pahang pada 1887 kedudukan raja-raja di negeri ini telah terancam dan prestasi pendidikan agama dan taraf alim ulamak turut terjejas.

After the **interference** of the English in Pahang in 1887 the position of the sultan of this state was **threatened** as was the status of religious education; the position of the religious leaders was also **jeopardised**.

British colonial involvement is evaluated negatively because *campur tangan* is in proximity with the verbs: *terancam* ‘threatened’ and *terjejas* ‘scratched’. For this reason I have translated *campur tangan* as ‘interference’ rather than the more neutral alternative ‘involvement’. At times, a more neutral translation may be chosen:

Example 3

Apabila British **campur tangan** di negeri-negeri Melayu, proses pembangunan bandar baru berlaku secara perlahan-lahan.

When the British **intervened** in the Malay states the process of building towns proceeded quietly.

Context provides a less explicit indication of evaluation in these sentences which is why I have used ‘intervened’ as a translation. There is an implication that social progress was taking place in the Malay states as a result of factors *predating* British intervention rather than as a result of this intervention.

In a number of cases the contexts for *campur tangan* imply that intervention was motivated by self-gain rather than principle:

Example 4

Kalau gaduh jadi panjang, nanti kaki busuk itu pula **campur tangan**.

The longer the quarrel went on, the more that trouble maker would likewise **be able to meddle**.

Here the translation of *campur tangan* by ‘to meddle’ seems more than justified as the meaning is associated with another phrase expressing a negative meaning: *kaki busuk* - literally ‘rotten foot’ which means ‘a trouble maker’.

By contrast, an examination of verbal contexts in the English corpus shows that there is a positive connotation in notions of control. If, for example, we *take something in hand* there is a positive evaluation implying that the action of controlling was necessary and justified as we can see from the following:

Example 5

seemingly tough **hoodlum is taken in hand** by PC George Dixon, who succeeds in is nothing more

but he has recently been **taken in hand** and brought on board the **modernising good** technique after being **taken in hand** by swarthy/natural/uninhibited

There is a positive evaluation of the agent that *takes in hand*. The objects that are *taken in hand* are labelled as problems that are in need of solutions; control is presented as the solution and is positively evaluated. A further example of the positive evaluation of the conceptual key HAND FOR CONTROL in English is in the figurative unit to *have someone eating out of your hand*. I found that two situations accounted for nearly all relevant lines in the corpus; the most common situation is where a woman uses her sexual attractiveness as a means of gaining control over a man as in the following:

Example 6

After all, **she does love having men eating out of her hand**, doesn't she?"
civilized Plover, almost had **him eating out of her hand**, the smooth-skinned
they left it was **Fergie who had Mark eating out of her hand**.
vivacious **Hannah, who has boyfriends eating out of her hand**. And Julia thinks

The second most common context was the power of a performer over an audience:

Example 7

drunk scene which had **audiences eating out of her hand** during its run of
Lang. But his witty **speech had them eating out of his hand**. 'His finest hour,'
speaker might have had **the audience eating out of his hand** last week, but an
like an old pro - he had **the crowd eating out of his hand** right from the word

We can see clearly from these examples that control is evaluated much more positively in English phraseology than it is in Malay phraseology.

An interesting comparison is that between *tangan besi* - hand iron - meaning 'to rule ruthlessly' and *an iron fist* in English. In both cases the reference is to an authoritarian ruler but similar figurative conceptualisations have a different cultural resonance in each language. The idea of having things under control is potentially given a negative connotation in Malay where *tangan* 'hand' is modified by a nominal form *besi* 'iron' to mean 'an oppressor': here the qualities of the metal - strength, but of a dull and inflexible kind - are transferred to the human referent. The same metaphor has been used in English in the expression *the iron lady* to refer to a conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who was associated with an authoritarian approach to

government. It was often not clear whether the use of this referent signalled a positive or negative evaluation of the person i.e. whether it was the inflexibility or strength of iron that determined the expressive value; in this respect evaluation is strongly influenced by cultural values.

We have seen in the above analysis of verbal contexts that Malay speakers often place a negative evaluation on the conceptual key HAND IS CONTROL. *Tangan* ‘hand/arm’ does not in itself have a negative connotation: the semantic field of the modifying element determines this. So in the case of *campur tangan* ‘mix hand’ the expressive element comes from the verbal premodifier; this is why positive evaluations are also possible in *tangan* figurative units. Since the figurative role of the body part is metonymic – that is, it stands for some form of typical action or behaviour, evaluation depends on whether or not the modifier has a positive or a negative connotation. It is identification of the figurative head that enables us to access cultural resonance; the figurative head therefore supplies the connotation. We will see further examples of this in the analysis of the next conceptual key.

OTHER HAND CONCEPTUAL KEYS

We can see good examples that a figurative head supplies connotation by comparing the three most frequent Malay figurative units motivated by the conceptual key HAND FOR TYPICAL ACTION. These are *tangan buah* - hand fruit - ‘gift’; *tangan kosong* - hand empty - ‘empty-handed’ and *tangan kasar* - hand hard - ‘to treat roughly’. In interpreting the first two of these we should recall the importance of social visiting and gift giving in Malay culture. The stereotypical frame or *image schema* (Lakoff 1993) is: visitors arrive, they offer gifts to the children, they are in turn offered some form of sweet cakes and drinks and spend a period of pleasant social interaction. With this background in mind we may expect to find positive connotation of the figurative unit *buah tangan* – fruit hand – meaning ‘gift’. This was indeed the case as in the survey of 58 Malay native speakers 74% evaluated it as positive and 24% as neutral.

Given the importance of gift giving it is not surprising that *tangan kosong* ‘hand empty’ has a basically negative connotation in Malay. In the native speaker survey 66% evaluated it as negative and 32% as neutral. It is this affective dimension of

figurative language that also accounts for the high frequency of *tangan kasar* – hand rough – ‘to treat roughly’ in the corpus. In the native speaker survey 61% evaluated it as negative and 39% as neutral; it was one of only two items in the survey which no informants rated as positive.

Whereas the Malay conceptual key, the hand stands for in general for typical behaviour, the English conceptual key is slightly different as the hand stands for a specific action as represented by the conceptual key HAND FOR ACTION. Figurative expressions such as *turn one’s hand to*, *try your hand at*, *keep one’s hand in* suggest part time physical occupations or hobbies rather than characteristic behaviour. In other figurative expressions physical actions involving the hand symbolise the states of mind that typically accompany them such as appreciation (*to give a big hand*) or agreement (*to shake hands on*). Unlike Malay *hand* figurative units that often contain adjectives English figurative units are typically verbal.

The other conceptual key for this body part in the English data is HAND FOR PERSON. Examples of the traditional definition of synecdoche as a part-whole relation are found in expressions such as *old hand*, *a factory hand*, *a deck hand* etc. these are based on the metonym HAND FOR PERSON. In this case of metonymy there is a single domain, that of the human body, in which a part is used to stand for the whole person. There is only one example of this in Malay which is the expression *kaki tangan* referring to the manual staff in an institution (gardeners, maintenance staff etc.). The motivation for this conceptual key in either case is that the hands are a salient feature in the occupation of the referents.

Figurative Phrases *Kaki* ‘foot’:

Table 4 summarises the evidence for the conceptual keys and resonance of these figurative units:

Table 4 - Summary of Conceptual Keys and Connotation: *Kaki* Foot -

MALAY					
CONCEPTUAL KEY	Types	Sum of Tokens	Resonance (Token s X Types)	%	CONNOTATION
TO BE, TO DO, OR TO BE ADDICTED TO DOING, SOMETHING NOT GOOD	17	305	5,185	90%	NEGATIVE
BODY PART STANDS FOR ITS FUNCTION	3	97	291	5%	NEUTRAL/NEGATIVE
METONYM: SIZE STANDS FOR THE OBJECT	1	271	271	4.7%	NEUTRAL
APPEARANCE BASED SIMILE	1	15	15	0.3%	NEUTRAL
TOTAL	22	688	5,762	100%	
ENGLISH					
THE FOOT FOR CONTROL	15	1,342	20,130	47%	POSITIVE
LIFE (RELATIONSHIPS) IS/ARE A JOURNEY (FOOT = 'TRAVELLING')	10	1,474	14,740	34%	NEUTRAL
THE FOOT IS VULNERABLE	10	833	8,330	19%	NEGATIVE
TOTAL	35	3,649	43,200	100%	

We may notice immediately that there is much less overlap in the conceptual senses of these figurative expressions in the two languages. There is also little overlap in connotation with the most resonant conceptual key in English having a positive connotation while the most resonant Malay conceptual key has a negative connotation. In Malay the most common figurative sense of *kaki* is a way of liking something that is so intense that it overcomes the will of the individual to resist it. It can therefore be translated into English as *addiction* or *obsession*; I use these terms because they convey an important negative connotation that I will argue is central to the phraseological meaning of *kaki*. (see table 5)

The phraseological sense of *kaki* refers to social behaviour that is negatively evaluated, this can be represented in the conceptual key: TO BE, TO DO, OR TO BE ADDICTED TO DOING, SOMETHING NOT GOOD. This is an interesting semantic divergence from compound word senses, none of which contain any negative evaluation; compound nouns primarily exploit the spatial or functional senses of *kaki*. The disparity between phraseological and lexical meaning helps account for the discourse function of figurative language which Cameron (1999b: 86) describes as follows:

Not only does metaphor shield a proposition from direct discourse, as nothing literal has been said, but it has the inestimable advantage of

combining the fact that the speaker cannot be held responsible for the message with the flagging of the fact that there is message being conveyed which cannot be discussed openly.

I suggest that the highly productive metaphorical meaning of *kaki* in Malay phraseology is a culturally resonant way of both talking about and evaluating behaviour that is not approved of in the prevailing belief system. Moreover, the selection of metaphor shields the speaker from responsibility for this evaluation. Further evidence of this motivation can be found in the use of *kaki* in what have been referred to as ‘hybrid creations’; these are defined as follows:

The hybrid creation is a lexical form in which is combined both native and imported elements. Hybrid creations involve a kind of “reverse substitution”, in which loan morphemes are filled into native models. Heah Lee Hsia (1989:202)

In the newspaper section of the corpus, we find that a number of these hybrid creations are used to fill semantic gaps to describe patterns of contemporary social behaviour that may be negatively evaluated according to the dominant belief system:

Example 8

Kita harap ia memberi pengajaran kepada "kaki Internet" supaya tidak menyalahgunakan kemudahan berkenaan.

We hope he give instruction on foot Internet” in order to not abuse new appeal.

‘We hope he gives instruction on “Internet addiction” so as not to misuse something novel and appealing.’

Example 9

Jangan sekali-kali menjadi "kaki gosip" Ini mudah.

Never excessively become “foot gossip” this easy.

‘We advise against addiction to gossip – this is all too easy to do.’

Example 10

Kalaupun ada mereka yang disebut oleh senator tadi, mungkin sebilangan kecil bapa-bapa yang kaki judi, kaki 'enjoy' atau kaki perempuan.

Although there are they who be mention by senator just now, perhaps every small father-father who foot gamble, foot enjoy or foot woman

Although there are those who have just been referred to by the Senator, perhaps he was referring to every gambler, hedonist and playboy.

Clearly the use of figurative phraseological units with a modifying verb or noun has a strong pragmatic force in communicating the writer's negative evaluation of certain types of social behavior. These include adultery, gambling and other behaviour that is forbidden by the Islam and therefore is socially disapproved of. It is common in Muslim societies for religious values to take on a strong socio-cultural role and this is manifested at the phraseological level in the case of Malay.

The productivity of this type of evaluational framework is evidence of its cultural resonance. For example, we have an extension of the meaning of 'addiction' to behavior that is not prohibited or negatively evaluated; however, people's attitude towards it is such that it recalls the behavior of those who are addicted to forbidden types of behavior. A good example of this is *kaki bola* - foot ball - 'to be crazy about football'; while enjoyment of football is not sinful in itself, over indulgence can have a negative connotation. We may also recall the use of *fan* in English; this term originated in *fanatic* but now the metaphorical meaning is less active. We would suggest, nevertheless, that it is dormant and can readily be reactivated when in collocation with words such as *hooligan*. We have further evidence of the productivity of pragmatically motivated cultural resonance when the conceptual key TO BE ADDICTED TO DOING SOMETHING NOT GOOD is extended to TO BE SOMETHING NOT GOOD, as in *kaki gaduh* - foot quarrel - 'a hooligan' and *kaki pukul* - foot strike - 'a bouncer'.

I suggest that cultural resonance of this body part can be traced to a socio-cultural meaning related to orientation in Malay culture. In traditional views of the social order that which is *atas* (above or on top) signifies high status - by analogy with the *raja* or king - and that which is *bawah* (below) - as with the common people - signifies low status. While spatial metaphor does not in itself signify a negative evaluation in Malay it can do so when it is associated with the lower part of the human body. This is evidence of a culture specific adaptation of the cross-linguistic image schema UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD. When this is applied to the domain of the human body those parts that are at the top when we are standing up are positively

evaluated while those parts which are lower are negatively evaluated. We can find evidence for this cultural model in the characteristic behaviour in Malay society: the shoes are obligatorily removed from the feet on entering a house and it is considered impolite to show the soles of your feet; for example, by placing them on a stool. Address titles for sultans include reference to the addressor not being fit to kiss the dust in front of the sultans' feet. While the social practices may be associated with traditional society, I believe that the phraseological productivity of *kaki* - as evident from its use in contemporary hybrid creations - provides linguistic evidence for the resonance of this cultural model.

In terms of expressive meaning it is interesting to note that English phraseological units in which *foot* occurs can either have a positive, a negative or a neutral expressive meaning; this contrasts with the Malay data where an exclusively negative connotation was found for this body part. In English the only phrase that seems to have a negative evaluation based on the body part alone is the expression *my foot*. What is of particular interest is that the evaluation for the same body part can be primarily positive or negative according to the conceptual key. This suggests that, in English, evaluation originates in the part of the figurative expression that modifies the body part; this contrasts with Malay where evaluation was found to reside in the body part term and therefore this constitutes the figurative head. This variation in location of the figurative head is potentially important from a contrastive perspective as it assists in interpreting the expressive meaning of figurative units.

THE FOOT FOR CONTROL (see table 6)

The conceptual key THE FOOT FOR CONTROL has an exclusively positive connotation; this can be seen both from the lexical context of the phraseological units for example in verbs such as *find*, *land*. Typical high frequency collocations imply slow progress towards a satisfactory goal within a sports context. There is perhaps a common conceptual basis in the notion of preserving or winning territory in which ball, ground and foot are all conceptually associated. This can be distantly related to the positive associations of communal tribal hunting ritual that probably accounts for the almost universal popularity of competitive sports in which territorial control are vital such as football and rugby.

Many English figurative phrases containing foot or hand refer to physical gestures. Indeed non-verbal communication is a very good example of the way that our encyclopaedic or schematic knowledge of the world associates particular types of action or behaviour with the mental state which is antecedent to and motivates that form of behaviour. By a process of metonymic extension the material behaviour can be taken to signify the mental state that preceded it. For example, we know that if we *drag our feet* we are reluctant to walk and if we *put our feet up* it is because we are feeling relaxed. In each of these the physical action stands for an underlying affective cause or state of mind. In fact, we have mental scripts for a number of things people do when they are relaxed. However, we select a particular salient part of this image in order to represent the whole. In each case, a particular example is selected and given a generic application.

THE FOOT IS VULNERABLE (see table 7)

English figurative phrases that generally convey a negative evaluation originate in a conceptual association between the foot and its metonymic extensions (walking, standing) with vulnerability. In these cases it is clear that the foot is associated with types of actions that are misjudged as in *put your foot in your mouth*, *put your foot in it*, and *shoot yourself in the foot* or with failure to act as in *to have feet of clay*. Here there is basic bodily knowledge that if there is a miscalculation involving the foot one is likely to fall down and possibly inflict injury on oneself. This contrasts with the positive associations of moving confidently on the feet: this is the bodily experience that underlies the positive evaluation implied by the conceptual key FOOT FOR CONTROL. In effect we know that our vertical positions can be an advantage as long as they are sustained but can be a source of danger if there is any impediment to our balance. In figurative terms the foot can function as a metonym for controlled movement or for uncontrolled movement, movement is then extended metaphorically to domains other than the physical such as general abstract statements for mental control or vulnerability.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY (see table 8)

Finally, I will consider another type of figurative blend in which the foot stands metonymically for travelling; then this combines with a conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY to imply general evaluative statements as regards human emotional relationships. We can see here that these phraseological units typically contain a verb of motion (e.g. *start, drag, follow, sweep*); we may infer that motion is conceptualised as a source of experience. The association between the physical act of travelling and an accompanying mental state is conveyed in units such as *footloose and fancy free* implying a carefree mental state and *to get itchy feet* implying a desire to travel based on a state of frustration or boredom with one's current situation.

Since in life – as in journeys – we can have good or bad experiences, figurative units in this group can communicate either a positive or a negative evaluation. There is an extension from knowledge of bodily experience to general human relationships. Experiences can be either positive as when we *put our best foot forward* or negative as when we *start off on the wrong foot*. This is indicated by lexical content such as *right/wrong*, since it is not the body part term that indicates the nature of the evaluation we can say that the accompanying lexis comprises the figurative heads of these phraseological units. However, it seems that the journey metaphor is typically a positive one: we can see this in the most frequent figurative units *to follow in someone's footsteps*; the most common adjectives in the slot preceding *footsteps* were as follows: *famous, distinguished, hallowed, successful, musical* and *illustrious*. On this basis we can say that the text producer offers a positive evaluation of the life achievements of an individual and implies that these relate to a hereditary influence (the most common noun collocates were *parents* and *fathers*). The iconic image for LIFE IS A JOURNEY is therefore one in which a person is seen as following the footsteps left by a parent (typically a father).

Conclusion

The aim here has been to show how figurative expressions can be demonstrated to be systematic and how the figurative meaning can be represented by identifying underlying metaphors and metonyms that I have described as conceptual keys. We have also seen the need to examine the lexical content of a figurative unit as

expressive or affective meaning can be conveyed through the choice of body part term or through the semantic field of the modifying verb, adjective or noun. I have provided a number of illustrations of how these meanings are conveyed in Malay using verbs that may be associated with the typical actions of traditional agrarian society or adjectives from the domain of the textures and tastes of the material world. I have also raised the issue of the extent to which anatomical knowledge of the functionality of parts of the human body may reflect universal tendencies in human conceptualisation in cases where the body part constitutes the figurative head. In other cases where the figurative head is in the modifier we have found that the evaluation tends to be culture specific. There are two components to encyclopaedic knowledge: first universal knowledge of the biological functions of the human body and secondly knowledge of how people behave in particular socio-cultural contexts: are social practices, gestures, body parts etc. approved or otherwise? We have seen this with the exclusively negative connotation of 'foot' in Malay. This has been accounted for with reference to specific anthropological practices (cultural or social). Identifying the figurative head is therefore crucial to interpreting the meaning of figurative units. The cultural resonance of figurative expressions in which they occur should be interpreted as the outcome of both conceptual and expressive content. In this respect there is support for the view that conceptualisation is to some extent experientially grounded but that there also culture specific dimensions.

**2ND CONFERENCE IN CONTRASTIVE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS
A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE ON FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN MALAY AND ENGLISH**

by Jonathan Charteris-Black, University of Surrey

Example 1

The pot calling the kettle black (English)
The prawn does not know of the hump on its back. (Malay)
The camel cannot see his own hump. (Moroccan Arabic)

Example 2

Setelah **campur tangan** Inggeris di Pahang pada 1887 kedudukan raja-raja di negeri ini telah terancam dan taraf alim ulamak turut terjejas. (DB)
After the **interference** of the English in Pahang in 1887 the position of the sultan of this state was **threatened**.....the position of the religious leaders was also **jeopardised**.

Example 3

Apabila British **campur tangan** di negeri-negeri Melayu, proses pembangunan bandar baru berlaku secara perlahan-lahan. (DB)
When the British **intervened** in the Malay states the process of building towns proceeded quietly.

Example 4

Kalau gaduh jadi panjang, nanti kaki busuk itu pula **campur tangan**. (DB)
The longer the quarrel went on, the more that trouble maker would likewise **be able to meddle**.

Example 5

seemingly tough **hoodlum is taken in hand** by PC George Dixon, who succeeds in is nothing more but he has recently been **taken in hand** and brought on board the **modernising good** technique after being **taken in hand** by swarthy/natural/uninhibited (Bof E)

Example 6

After all, **she does love having men eating out of her hand**, doesn't she?"
they left it was **Fergie who had Mark eating out of her hand**.
vivacious **Hannah, who has boyfriends eating out of her hand**. And Julia thinks (B of E)

Example 7

drunk scene which had **audiences eating out of her hand** during its run of Lang. But his witty **speech had them eating out of his hand**. 'His finest hour,' speaker might have had **the audience eating out of his hand** last week, but an

Example 8

Kita harap ia memberi pengajaran kepada "**kaki Internet**" supaya tidak menyalahgunakan kemudahan berkenaan. (DB)
We hope he give instruction on foot Internet" in order to not abuse new appeal.
'We hope he gives instruction on "Internet addiction" so as not to misuse something novel and appealing.'

Example 9

Jangan sekali-kali menjadi "**kaki gosip**" Ini mudah. (DB)
Never excessively become "foot gossip" this easy.
'We advise against addiction to gossip – this is all too easy to do.'

Example 10

Kalaupun ada mereka yang disebut oleh senator tadi, mungkin sebilangan kecil bapa-bapa yang kaki judi, **kaki 'enjoy'** atau kaki perempuan. (DB)
Although there are they who be mention by senator just now, perhaps every small father-father who foot gamble, foot enjoy or foot woman
Although there are those who have just been referred to by the Senator, perhaps he was referring to every gambler, hedonist and playboy.

Table 1 - Summary of Conceptual Keys and Connotation for *tangan* and ‘hand’

MALAY					
CONCEPTUAL KEY	types	Sum of tokens	Resonance (types X tokens)	%	CONNOTATION
HAND FOR CONTROL	7	1,102	7,714	78%	Negative/ Neutral
HAND FOR TYPICAL ACTION	8	242	1,936	20%	Negative/ neutral
HAND FOR TYPICAL BEHAVIOUR	6	41	246	2%	Negative/ positive
TOTAL	21	1,385	9,896	100%	
ENGLISH					
HAND FOR CONTROL	19	13,413	258,847	98%	Positive/ neutral
HAND FOR PERSON	6	683	4,098	1%	Neutral
HAND FOR ACTION	6	774	4,644	1%	Positive
TOTAL	31	14,411	267,589	100%	

Table 2 - HAND FOR CONTROL - MALAY**Occurrence, Frequency and Connotation of Figurative Phrases (n = 7 types)**

FIGURATIVE UNIT	TRANSLATION	BOOK	NEWS	MAG	TOT.	Freq	CONNOTATION
Campur tangan Add/ mix up hand/ arm	To become involved/ interfere	303	462	69	834	33.4	NEGATIVE
Dalam tangan In hand/ arm	To have under one's control	65	45	10	120	4.8	NEUTRAL/ POSITIVE
(ber)lepas tangan escape(d) hand/ arm	To resist involvement/ shirk responsibility	23	51	9	83	3.3	NEGATIVE
Tangan kanan Hand/arm child	Someone who can be trusted	30	9	3	42	1.7	POSITIVE
Angat tangan Raise hand	surrender	15	2	1	18	0.7	NEUTRAL
Tangan besi Hand/ arm iron	Authoritarian rule	5	0	0	5	0.2	NEGATIVE
Cuci tangan Wash hand	Not want to be involved	0	0	1	1	0.04	NEUTRAL

Table 3 - HAND FOR CONTROL - ENGLISH**Occurrence, Frequency and Connotation of Figurative Units: (n = 19 types)**

IDIOM	CONCEPTUAL BASIS	Total	frequency	CONNOTATION
In hand	HAND FOR CONTROL	4,125	12.8	NEUTRAL
In the hand/s of		3,188	9.9	POSITIVE
At the hand/s of		1,864	5.8	NEGATIVE
out of hand		1,367	4.2	NEUTRAL
Change hand/s		1,302	4.0	NEUTRAL
Right hand man/woman		342	1.0	POSITIVE
Have one's hand in		298	0.9	NEUTRAL
Strengthen one's hand		238	0.7	NEUTRAL
Wash one's hands of		220	0.7	*
Get a grip on		208	0.6	POSITIVE
Rule with an iron hand/fist		117	0.4	NEUTRAL
Have something on/off one's hands		117	0.4	NEUTRAL
Get the upper hand		99	0.3	POSITIVE
Be in good hand/s		77	0.2	POSITIVE
Take something in hand		52	0.2	POSITIVE
Join hand/s with		45	0.1	POSITIVE
take in hand		29	0.1	POSITIVE
Have someone eating out of one's hand/s		18	0.06	POSITIVE
Give with one hand and take away with the other		5	0.01	POSITIVE

*Depends on context

Table 4 - Summary of Conceptual Keys and Connotation: *Kaki Foot*

MALAY					
CONCEPTUAL KEY	Types	Sum of Tokens	Resonance (Tokens X Types)	%	CONNOTATION
TO BE, TO DO, OR TO BE ADDICTED TO DOING, SOMETHING NOT GOOD	17	305	5,185	90%	NEGATIVE
BODY PART STANDS FOR ITS FUNCTION	3	97	291	5%	NEUTRAL/NEGATIVE
METONYM: SIZE STANDS FOR THE OBJECT	1	271	271	4.7%	NEUTRAL
APPEARANCE BASED SIMILE	1	15	15	0.3%	NEUTRAL
TOTAL	22	688	5,762	100%	
ENGLISH					
THE FOOT FOR CONTROL	15	1,342	20,130	47%	POSITIVE
LIFE (RELATIONSHIPS) IS/ARE A JOURNEY (FOOT = 'TRAVELLING')	10	1,474	14,740	34%	NEUTRAL
THE FOOT IS VULNERABLE	10	833	8,330	19%	NEGATIVE
TOTAL	35	3,649	43,200	100%	

References cited in paper

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Table 5 - TO BE, TO DO, OR TO BE ADDICTED TO DOING, SOMETHING NOT GOOD - MALAY

Occurrence, Frequency and Connotation of Figurative Phrases (n = 17 types)

FIGURATIVE UNIT	TRANSLATION	BOOK	NEWS	MAG	TOT.	Freq.	CONNOTATION
Kaki lawan Foot fight	To enjoy fighting	122	2	2	126	5.04	NEGATIVE
Goyang kaki To shake foot/ leg	Someone who lives comfortably but is apathetic	31	8	6	45	1.8	NEGATIVE
Kaki judi Foot/ leg gamble	Someone who has a gambling habit	9	24	1	34	0.96	NEGATIVE
Kaki perempuan Foot/ leg woman	Someone who is crazy about women	2	8	4	14	0.56	NEGATIVE
Patah kaki Broken foot/ leg	Someone who no longer has the means to do something	5	5	3	13	0.52	NEGATIVE
Kaki botol Foot/ leg of the bottle	Someone who drinks heavily	8	2	3	13	0.52	NEGATIVE
Kaki pukul Foot strike	Bouncer	3	7	0	10	0.40	NEGATIVE
Kaki minum Foot/ leg drink	Someone who is crazy about drinking	6	2	1	9	0.36	NEGATIVE
Kaki gaduh Foot/leg quarrel	A hooligan	7	1	0	8	0.32	NEGATIVE
Kaki kuda Foot/ leg horse	Someone who loves betting on horses	8	0	0	8	0.32	NEGATIVE
Kaki bola Foot/leg ball	To be crazy about football	0	6	1	7	0.28	NEGATIVE
Kaki wayang Foot/leg screen	Someone who adores films	2	2	1	5	0.25	NEGATIVE?
Kaki joli Foot/ leg an easy liver	A spendthrift	4	0	0	4	0.16	NEGATIVE
Kaki temberang Foot nonsense	To love idly chatting	2	1	0	3	0.12	NEGATIVE
Kaki bangkang Foot oppose	To like protesting	1	0	0	1	0.04	NEGATIVE
Kaki betina Foot female	womaniser	1	0	0	1	0.04	NEGATIVE
Kaki bodek Foot/leg support	Flatter someone	0	1	0	1	0.04	NEGATIVE
Kaki seribu Foot/leg one thousand	Run away because one is afraid	1	0	0	1	0.04	NEGATIVE

Table 6 - FOOT FOR CONTROL - ENGLISH**Occurrence, Frequency and Connotation of Figurative Phrases (n=15)**

IDIOM	CONCEPTUAL BASIS	Total occurrence	frequency per million words	CONNOTATION
To find one's feet	FOOT FOR CONTROL	232	0.70	POSITIVE
Put your feet up		232	0.70	POSITIVE
Put your foot down		215	0.65	POSITIVE
Stand on your own (two) feet		167	0.51	POSITIVE
Vote with one's feet		165	0.50	POSITIVE
To fall/land on one's feet		81	0.25	POSITIVE
Think on one's feet		59	0.18	POSITIVE
A foot in the door		55	0.17	POSITIVE
The boot/shoe is one the other foot		31	0.10	*
Have one's feet on the ground		28	0.08	POSITIVE
Get one's feet under the table		23	0.07	POSITIVE
To cut the ground/ pull the rug from under someone's feet		21	0.06	*
A foot in both camps/ A foot in each camp		20	0.06	*
Get one's feet on the ground		12	0.04	POSITIVE
The ball is at someone's feet		1	0.003	POSITIVE

- Depends on context

Table 7 - THE FOOT IS VULNERABLE - ENGLISH**Occurrence, Frequency and Connotation of Figurative Units (n = 10)**

IDIOM	CONCEPTUAL BASIS	Total occurrence	frequency per million words	CONNOTATION
To foot the bill	THE FOOT IS VULNERABLE	288	0.87	NEGATIVE
Shoot yourself in the foot		244	0.74	NEGATIVE
To get cold feet		116	0.35	*
Put your foot in it		98	0.30	NEGATIVE
To have feet of clay		32	0.10	NEGATIVE
Not put a foot wrong		20	0.06	POSITIVE
Dead on one's feet		19	0.02	NEGATIVE
Put your foot in your mouth		7	0.02	NEGATIVE
Bound hand and foot		7	0.02	*
Caught on the wrong foot		2	0.006	NEGATIVE

* Depends on context

Table 8 -LIFE IS A JOURNEY (FOOT = 'TRAVELLING') - ENGLISH**Occurrence, Frequency and Connotation of Figurative Units (n = 10)**

IDIOM	CONCEPTUAL BASIS	Total occurrence	frequency per million words	CONNOTATION
Follow in someone'sfootsteps	LIFE (RELATIONSHIPS) IS/ARE A JOURNEY	728	2.20	POSITIVE
drag one's feet		385	1.17	NEGATIVE
One foot in the grave		170	0.51	*
Sweep someone off their feet		58	0.18	POSITIVE
get one's feet wet		39	0.12	POSITIVE
Put your best foot forward		33	0.10	POSITIVE
Footloose and fancy free		22	0.07	POSITIVE
Get itchy feet		21	0.06	*
start off/ get off on the right foot		10	0.03	POSITIVE
Start / Get off on the wrong foot		8	0.02	NEGATIVE

- Depends on context

