

**IDIOMS OF BODY PARTS IN HIJAZI DIALECT OF ARABIC: A STUDY
BASED ON COGNITIVE SEMANTICS**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
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In the Name of God the Beneficent the Merciful

ومن آياته خلق السموات والأرض و اختلاف ألْسنتكم وألوانكم إن في ذلك لآيات للعالمين ﴿٢٢﴾

And among His signs is the creation of heavens and the earth, and the differences of your tongues (languages) and colours. Verily, in that are indeed signs for men of sound knowledge.

(The Holy Qur'an, Ar-Ruum Chapter, verse 22)

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to

the dearest people to my heart:

*my father...who showed me the path to achieving knowledge, who believed in me in many
ways..*

and

my mother.. whose continuous prayers were my torch through my entire life..

ABSTRACT

Topic: Idioms of Body Parts in Hijazi Dialect of Arabic: A Study Based on Cognitive Semantics

This study explores the meaning of idioms concerning six parts of the human body (eye, head, mind, hand, tongue, and nose) in the Hijazi dialect of Arabic (henceforth HDA), as used in the city of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia. It uses the theoretical perspective of cognitive semantics and tests the cognitive linguistic hypothesis that idiomatic expressions are motivated by conceptual mechanisms of the native speakers of a language. These mechanisms are conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, and conventional knowledge of the speakers of a language. The study also explores how far our conceptual system results from the kind of beings we are and the way we interrelate with our physical and cultural environments. In the absence of Hijazi dialect dictionaries, the researcher collected these idioms first-hand and verified their figurative meanings with HDA-speakers. These figurative meanings were classified and then translated, both literally and figuratively, into English. Using the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy, developed mainly by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002), the analysis demonstrates that: HDA-speakers' conceptual system is metaphorical; that there are four main cognitive mechanisms used as motivators for the meanings of these idioms; that the overall idiomatic meaning of these HDA body-part idioms is motivated through one or more of these strategies and is never arbitrary; and that some of HDA body-part idioms are culture-specific.

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All the praises and thanks be to Allah, the Lord of all that exists

(Holy Qur'an, Al-FatiHa Chapter, verse 2)

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TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

In this thesis, Classical Arabic (henceforth, CA), and Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth, MSA) are represented phonetically. It is to be noted that CA and MSA have the same consonants, vowels and diphthongs and consequently the same transcription system. Short vowels and case endings are not an obligatory part of the Arabic writing system. The Hijazi Dialect of Arabic (henceforth, HDA) is a non-standardized variety of Arabic which has minor differences in the pronunciation of Arabic consonants and, unlike CA and MSA, no markers for case (Ryding: 2005). HDA-speakers use the same written system as CA and MSA when writing HDA. Short vowels are occasionally added in newspaper articles, memo notes, etc. in HDA, for words that might otherwise create difficulties in reading and comprehension the intended meaning (see Appendix 2). An enclosed note will be attached to the different pronunciation of consonant/s in the case of HDA. Otherwise, the same sound and transcription applies to them all. The transcription follows the IPA system:

Consonants:

b	a voiced bilabial stop	ب
t	a voiceless dental stop	ت
d	a voiced dental stop	د
k	a voiceless velar stop	ك
g	a voiced velar stop	(ق HDA)
T	a voiceless alveo-dental emphatic stop	ط
D	a voiced alveo-dental emphatic stop	ض
q	a voiced uvular stop	(ق CA, MSA)
ʔ	a voiced glottal stop	أ
f	a voiceless labio-dental fricative	ف
th	a voiceless inter-dental fricative	ث
dh	a voiced inter-dental fricative	ذ
s	a voiceless alveolar fricative	س
z	a voiced alveolar fricative	ز
Z	a voiced inter-dental emphatic fricative	ظ
sh	a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative	ش

h	a voiceless glottal fricative	هـ
S	a voiceless alveo-dental emphatic fricative	ص
H	a voiceless pharyngeal fricative	ح
9	a voiced pharyngeal fricative	ع
G	a voiced velar fricative	غ
x	a voiceless velar fricative	خ
j	a voiced palatal fricative	ج
m	a voiced bilabial nasal	م
n	a voiced alveolar nasal	ن
l	a voiced alveolar lateral	ل
r	a voiced alveolar trill	ر
w	a voiced labial semi-vowel	و
y	a voiced palatal semi-vowel	ي

Vowels of CA and MSA:

Long vowels	Short vowels	Case Endings
ا aa	فتحة — a	-an — تنوين الفتح
و uu	ضمة — u	-un — تنوين الضم
يـ ii	كسرة — i	-in — تنوين الكسر

Diphthongs

/ai/, /aw/, /iy/, /ya/

Vowels of HDA:

Long vowels	Short vowels
ا aa	فتحة — a
و uu	ضمة — u
يـ ii	كسرة — i

Diphthongs

/ei/, /aw/, /oa/

Abbreviations

AH	After Hijra year (Islamic calendar)
CA	Classical Arabic
CTMM	Conceptual Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy
ESM	Event Structure Metaphor
(f.)	Feminine
FGI	Focus group interview
H	High variety
HDA	Hijazi Dialect of Arabic
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Model
KAU	King AbdulAziz University
L	Low variety
L2	Second language
(m.)	Masculine
MA	Moroccan Dialect of Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
TA	Tunisian Dialect of Arabic

Typographical Conventions

LARGE CAPITALS	Conceptual metaphors and metonymies.
<i>italics</i>	Cited terms and Western idioms.
<u><i>italics</i></u>	IPA transcription of Arabic and Hijazi body-part idioms. A word-for-word translation is provided beneath this transcription.
<i>/italics/</i>	IPA transcription of other Arabic or HDA words and phrases.
‘single inverted commas’	Literal translation of Arabic and Hijazi body-part idioms.
<u>underlining</u>	Figurative meanings of Arabic and Hijazi body-part idioms.
“quotation marks”	Figurative meanings of Western idioms.
Qur'anic verses	Italicized and transcribed phonetically and accompanied with a footnote of the name of the Chapter and the verse number.
(number)	Serial number of example used in Chapter Four.
[number]	Number of example as it appears in Appendix 7.
{ }	are used to imply the literal meaning of HDA idiom.
◆	attached to idioms where there is a general agreement among informants on the figurative meaning/s of an idiom.
●	attached to HDA body-part metaphors/metonymies which are not accounted for by the established framework.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The conceptualization of abstract concepts using language has been the subject of heated debate among psychologists (Gibbs 1990a; 1990b), anthropologists (Foley 1997), and linguists (Osherson and Smith 1981; Armstrong *et al.* 1983). Indeed, the main challenge for all of them is to explain how abstract concepts are conceptualized in the human mind. Cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics explore this area from a linguistic perspective, and many theories have been proposed to explain the process of conceptualization. Cognitive linguistics is concerned with investigating the relationship between human language, the mind and socio-physical experience. As a branch of cognitive linguistics, cognitive semantics is concerned with investigating the relationship between experience, the conceptual system, and the semantic structure encoded by language (Evans *et al.* 2006).

Native speakers of any language have various ways of conceptualizing situations and experiences which cannot be visualized, such as life, death, love, or time. In English idiomatic expressions,¹ such as *love is sweet* or *jealousy kills*, the hearer can infer that love has good qualities but that jealousy has negative ones, based on our experience of sweet things tasting good and our knowledge that killing is illegal and wrong. Accordingly, conceptualizing any of these concepts can have an independent motivation

¹ *Idiom* and *idiomatic expression* are used interchangeably through this study.

in the conceptual system of an English speaker which can be similar or different from those operating for a Hijazi speaker or a Chinese speaker. In other words, emotions can be conceptualized similarly or differently in different cultures (Kövecses 2000b: 139). These examples give a hint of the basis of the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (henceforth, CTMM): "[o]ur experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains" (Kövecses 2002: 6).

Ever since the emergence of cognitive linguistics as a research theory, the analysis of semantic structures has been a priority on the cognitive linguistic agenda. Using their cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) claim that our conceptual system is metaphorical, and that the language we use reveals how we store images in our memory. They assert that cognitive strategies play an important role in the process of conceptualization, and that these strategies are ways of thinking about abstract things rather than ways of expressing ideas (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987). These strategies are conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, and the conventional knowledge of a community of speakers which motivate the idioms used. For example, the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A MACHINE² gives rise to expressions such as *My mind just isn't operating today*, *I'm a little rusty today*, etc. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 27).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) describe metaphor as pervasive in everyday life. The 'mind' examples, given above, show that we use metaphors in daily conversation without always being aware of them. These idiomatic expressions may become so

² I have followed Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in representing conceptual metaphors and metonymies in large capitals.

conventionalized that they are lexicalized (i.e. we do not treat them as metaphors but rather as linguistic expressions in their own right). We may use plenty of them, but we are not aware of their cognitive role in production or comprehension.

1.1 Aim of the Present Study

This study focuses on body-part idioms in HDA from a cognitive semantic perspective. Cognitive linguistics proposes that language, and particularly idioms, provides insights into the structuring and organization of thoughts and ideas in the human mind. Johnson (1992), for example, urged researchers around the world to undertake empirical investigations of idiomatic expressions based on the nature of our human bodies and experiences in order to prove universality through further cross-linguistic research.

The present study aims to collect and investigate idioms for six different parts of the human body in HDA. These are the eye, head, mind,³ hand, tongue, and nose. These idioms will be used to test five of the strongest claims of the cognitive linguistic framework of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002) among others:

³ In English, *brain* and *mind* are distinctively defined: the *brain* is the organ of soft nervous issue which fills in the cranium of humans and other vertebrates, while the *mind* is the faculty of consciousness and thought centralized in the brain (New Oxford Dictionary). In English, then, the brain is a part of the body while the mind is an abstract concept. This distinction between the *mind* and *brain* is not found so clearly in HDA, however: /?almux/, /?al9agil/, and /?addimaaG/ are all used to refer to what would be called *brain* (the body part) and *mind* (the thinking faculties) in English. Although I generally use the word *mind* in this study, because the idioms studied are associated mostly with thinking, wisdom, thoughts, intelligence, etc., it should be understood that the HDA terms translated by *mind* do refer to a part of the body.

- that our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical (i.e. conceptually structured through three cognitive strategies);
- that HDA body-part idioms are motivated through three cognitive mechanisms. These are conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and the conventional knowledge of the native speakers of a language;
- that the meanings of these idioms are not arbitrary but motivated by these strategies;
- that the basic claim of embodiment according to which our bodily experience is dominant in human meaning and understanding is present in HDA body-part idioms; and
- that culture has a role in HDA body-part idiomatic structure and comprehension.

1.2 Significance of the Present Study

Cognitive linguists have proved through a variety of languages that some ideas are cross-linguistic because they are associated with common knowledge and bodily experiences. For instance, the 'eye' is associated with 'eyesight', the 'hand' with 'activity', and so on. In this thesis, HDA body-part idioms offer additional evidence to prove universality complementing existing studies of idioms of the human body.

HDA body-part idioms offer useful data for the cognitive linguistic framework because of their extensive daily use.⁴ The human body is an ideal source domain for the metaphorical understanding of abstract concepts because it is visibly delineated and

⁴ In a statistical analysis based on the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms*, Csábi (2004a) found that human body idioms group was both the largest group of English idioms and the most frequently used.

well known to us. Kövecses (2002: 16) writes that "the human body plays a role in the emergence of metaphorical meaning not only in English and other "Western" languages and cultures, but also in languages and cultures around the world."

Simawe laments "the inadequacy of studies delving into the presence and influence of metaphors in modern Arabic poetry" (quoted in AlJumah 2007: 8), and it is true that Arabic idioms have generally been studied from a traditional perspective. Cognitive linguistics, as a relatively new field, was introduced to Arabic language through studies analyzing figurative expressions or comparing English and Arabic conceptual metaphors (see Maalej 2004; Berrada 2006; Shokr 2006; AlJumah 2007; Berrada 2007; AlDokhayel 2008). To the best of my knowledge, the present study is the first cognitive semantic study concerning body-part idioms for any of the high varieties (henceforth, H) or low varieties (henceforth, L) spoken in the Arabic world. This study will thus fill a substantial gap in the current Arabic language literature, with the intention of stimulating further cognitive linguistic research into idiomatic expressions in HDA and other dialects of Arabic. In addition, this study brings new cross-linguistic evidence to bear on conclusions reached so far about the human mind in cognitive linguistics.

Idioms often present a serious challenge to learners of any language because these expressions are closely related to cultural and experiential practices. Building on earlier work by Kellerman (1978, 1986), Andreou and Galantomos (2008: 3) state that "idiomatic expressions are difficult to understand and learn even when the two languages are similar in the use and meaning". Memorizing lists of idioms does not aid comprehension. By providing the linguistic structure of HDA body-part idioms based on the cognitive linguistic framework, along with the Hijazi cultural background and

bodily experiences, this thesis offers help to second language (henceforth L2) learners and their teachers dealing with HDA body-part idioms.

1.3 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are to be tested:

Hypothesis 1: That the conceptual system in which we think and act is metaphorical and that this will be mirrored in our everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3). HDA body-part idioms will reveal that HDA-speakers⁵ thinking is metaphorical and that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life.

Hypothesis 2: That three cognitive mechanisms will structure HDA body-part idioms: conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and HDA-speakers' conventional knowledge about the human body, society, and the world. The presence of these mechanisms in HDA body-part idioms will confirm that these idioms are products of our conceptual system.

Hypothesis 3: That the meanings of HDA body-part idioms will be motivated and not arbitrary (Lakoff 1993: 211).

Hypothesis 4: That people's ordinary, kinesthetic experiences are important in understanding the relationship between the mind and the body. In HDA body-part idioms, the human body and its interaction with the environment and the world will be

⁵ HDA-speakers are used in this thesis to refer to speakers who live in Jeddah city only.

an integral part of conceptualization. This is known as the *embodiment hypothesis* (Lakoff 1987: 206).

Hypothesis 5: That "[t]he kind of conceptual system we have is a product of the kind of beings we are and the way we interact with our physical and cultural environments" Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 119). In HDA body-part idioms, culture will be another important part of conceptualization.

1.4 A Brief Overview of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

1.4.1 The Background of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the largest country in the Arabic Peninsula. It is the focal point for Muslims all around the world because of Makkah and Medinah, the two holiest places in Islam. The kingdom was founded by King Abdul-Aziz bin Saud in 1932 and is now the world's leading petroleum exporter. It is divided into 13 regions and Riyadh, the capital, is located in the centre of the country. Because of its important geographical location on the Red Sea, Jeddah is the gate to the holy cities⁶ as well as the largest port on the Red Sea.

⁶ Jeddah is the nearest city to the two holy cities with an international airport for pilgrims coming from around the world. Pilgrims arrive in Jeddah as their first destination and then travel on to Makkah or Medinah by road.

Figure 1.1: Map of Saudi Arabia



http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Saudi_Arabia_map.png

1.4.2 Saudi Arabian Culture

Culture includes all the patterned, ideas, values, habitual actions that we perform, hold or cherish as members of a society, community or family (Shapiro, 1957: 19). The cultural beliefs and practices of a nation have a considerable impact on various features of national life, such as formal dress, relationships, social life and the structure of its language. Saudi Arabian culture mainly revolves around the religion of Islam (following the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and Prophet Mohammed's (peace be upon him) *Hadeeths* 'sayings', which involves complete surrender, obedience, and acceptance of the commands of Allah (i.e. God)).⁷ Muslims believe that Allah created the whole universe, that He sent Muhammed

⁷ The word *Islam* means 'submission to Allah'.

(peace be upon him) as his last messenger, and that the Holy Qur'an is the word of Allah. Islam is:

a complete way of life governing dress, economics, business ethics, rates of taxation, justice and punishment, weights and measures, politics, war and peace, marriage and inheritance, family and domestic life, the care of animals and livestock, sexual relations within marriage, education, diet, cookery, social behaviour, forms of greeting and rules of hospitality. (Horrie and Chippindale 2003: 3)

For example, men and women are segregated in most institutions, such as schools, work, and other areas of public life. Saudi women wear *Abaya*, a form of Islamic dress, and cover their heads and sometimes faces wherever they might be seen by men they are not related to. A Muslim man also has obligations, particularly within marriage, such as being responsible for his wife and children's material needs regardless of his wife's wealth.

Because Saudi Arabia is an Islamic country, many idioms are based on the teachings of the Holy Qur'an. All the translations are quoted from Al-Hilali and Khan (1995) entitled *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an in the English Language (A Summarized Version of At-Tabari, Al-Qurtubi, and Ibn Kathir with Comments from Sahih Al-Bukhari Summarized in One Volume)*. Though there are many translations, I find this the most clear and explanatory.

1.4.3 A Brief Overview of HDA and its Relationship with Classical and Modern Standard Arabic

Classical Arabic is "the language of Qur'an, the holy book of Islam ... [which] has served as the chief vehicle of this religion. It is the unifying force in the Arabic world" (Zughoul 1980: 203). It is also used in numerous literary texts from the Qur'anic period. Modern Standard Arabic refers to the variety of Arabic used in most formal settings through the Arab world today. It is a modernized form of CA, differing minimally in morphology and lexicon (Bakalla 1984: 11). Since most of the countries in the Arab world are narrow diglossic communities (Holmes 1992), CA and MSA are regarded as the H varieties in these countries, with local dialects seen as L varieties. In Saudi Arabia, CA and MSA are generally used in formal settings such as sermons, prayers, literature, newspapers, formal broadcasting on the media, education, and government official documents. For the purposes of this thesis, the distinction between CA and MSA is not significant, and *Arabic* is used to refer to both.

Contemporary Arabic dialects are lineal descendants of CA (Ferguson 1959). They are characterized by linguistic changes at various levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and phonetic. HDA is one of these dialects. It is spoken in the West-Arabian area of the Northern Hijaz region of Saudi Arabia, an area which includes the cities of Makkah, Madinah, Jeddah and Taif along the Red Sea. It is regarded as a L variety in Saudi Arabia, and is used in informal settings of daily life for activities like shopping, expressing feelings, and conversation with family, friends, and colleagues at work, etc. Holmes (1992: 23) writes that "[c]ertain social factors - who you are talking to, the social context of the talk, the function and topic of the discussion - turn out to be

important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech communities". Although it is a L variety, HDA is sometimes used in newspaper articles, novels, for chatting on the internet, and in many television and radio programs. In many instances, critics, authors, members of Hijazi websites, or television presenters, switch to HDA to express genuine appreciation, annoyance, a sense of local tradition and loyalty or friendliness, etc.

HDA has two varieties, urban and rural, but this study does not aim to explore the linguistic differences between them. HDA is used broadly here to encompass both varieties. The data was collected from informants in Jeddah city who speak both rural and urban varieties of HDA. When HDA-speakers want to write HDA, in personal notes or in text-messaging, for example, they use the alphabets employed for Arabic.⁸ Because CA is the language of the Qur'an, and all practising Muslims learn it to read the Qur'an, perform daily prayers, etc., studying or attempting to regularize other dialects is seen by some as an irreligious act (Abdulaziz, 1986). It was therefore necessary to reassure informants that this study of HDA was not intended to undermine the authority of CA (see Appendix 2).

It is worth noting here that there are some idiomatic similarities between Arabic and HDA. This arose from the genealogical link between them and also from their concurrent use in a diglossic situation in Jeddah. For this reason, I have referred to the Arabic dictionaries *lisaanul 9arab*⁹ and *?almunjid fil lluGatil 9arabiyyatil fuSHa*¹⁰ for every HDA idiom, in order to identify those that are peculiar to HDA. Footnotes

⁸ See the transliteration system used in this thesis.

⁹ Ibn ManDoor, A. (1990). *lisaanul 9arab* (Arabic Language Dictionary). Beirut: Dar Sabir.

¹⁰ *?almunjid fil lluGatil 9arabiyyatil fuSHa* (Arabic Language Dictionary). (2000). Beirut: Dar Al-Mashriq.

indicate where HDA body-part idioms are also found in Arabic. It is not the purpose of this study to investigate similarities or differences in the figurative meanings in Arabic and HDA nor to explain the absence or presence of specific idioms in each variety.

Many Arabic and Western contemporary linguists have applied Western linguistic theories to Arabic, ranging across comparative Arabic-English linguistics, stylistics, genre analysis, applied linguistics, rhetorical studies, and so on. This has provided fresh insights into Arabic and encouraged new perspectives on it (see Emery 1988; Baeshen 1995; Khattab 1995; Khojah 1999; Al-Jahdali 2000; to name only a few). Some aspects of HDA have been studied using Western linguistic theories (see for example Seiny 1978; Kheshaifati 1989; Abdoh 1994; AlZahrani 1997; Maghrabi 2002; Basaffar 2002), but no studies to date have applied the cognitive linguistic framework to idioms in HDA.

1.5 Data Collection

Since there are no dictionaries of HDA idioms in general or of body-part idioms in particular, and since the researcher is a native speaker of HDA, living and working in Jeddah (where the dialect is used), the data was collected using first-hand observation. Idioms in both oral and written use were collected, and their figurative meanings were checked through the open questionnaire method. Methodological issues are further discussed in Chapter three, but a brief outline is provided here.

1.6 Methodology

The present study makes use of the available literature in cognitive linguistics related to the motivation of idioms, embodiment, and culture-specificity in (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Gibbs 1990a, 1994; Kövecses and Szabó 1996; Kövecses 2000b, 2002; Yu 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004; to name only a few). This is an analytical study, in the sense that a detailed cognitive linguistic examination is made of the idioms in order to determine whether our conceptual system is metaphorical and motivated by conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, and HDA-speakers' conventional knowledge. It will also aim to discover whether these strategies motivate the overall figurative meaning of these idioms and whether embodiment or culture has any part in their structure and comprehension. The study is also descriptive, in that a description of the conceptual structure of HDA body-part idioms results from the analysis.

1.7 The Structure of this Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the study and outlines the research hypotheses and methodology. It also provides some background information for readers not familiar with Saudi Arabia, Jeddah, and HDA.

Chapter Two presents a survey of traditional and contemporary literature on figurative language, metaphor and metonymy in English and Arabic. It explores in particular the main focuses of cognitive linguistics, including motivation, culture, embodiment, etc.

Chapter Three describes the procedures of data collection and methodology used in the present study. The first part of the chapter focuses on the main method relied on in the collection of HDA body-part idioms. The second part describes the pilot study and the open questionnaire method used for collecting the figurative meanings of these idioms in the absence of HDA dictionaries. The selection of HDA-speakers as participants according to defined social cluster is also discussed in detail in this chapter, as are ethical issues and the reliability of the results. Another section discusses the categorization of HDA-speakers' responses and the process of translating into English. The final section presents the cognitive linguistic tool that will be applied to the data.

Chapter Four presents an in-depth analysis of HDA body-part idioms in relation to the framework presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002).

Chapter Five returns to the hypotheses presented in Chapter One. It presents and discusses the results, contains conclusions, contribution to knowledge, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Metaphor and metonymy are two kinds of figurative language that have traditionally been thought of as poetic: as fanciful and imaginative devices in the language used by poets and literary writers. They have been studied for centuries under the aegis of rhetoric in both Arabic and English.

In English, however, this traditional perspective started to change because of developments in fields such as pragmatics, psychology, cognitive linguistics, and physiology (Richards 1936). These fields have provided new perspectives, various angles of study and novel theories. However, metaphor and metonymy have continued to be the domain of rhetoric in Arabic research to the present day (Abdul-Raof 2006). In other words, Arabs still regard metaphor as a literary tool, while scholars in the West take part in cognitive and linguistic discussions about metaphor.

The review is a brief summary piecing together major works in Arabic and English dealing with figurative language, metaphor, and metonymy.¹¹ Arabic studies to date concentrate on CA and MSA and these are presented in lieu of studies of figurative language in HDA.

¹¹ Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36) treat conceptual metonymies like THE PART FOR THE WHOLE, which traditional rhetoricians called synecdoche, as a special case of metonymy. In this study, the term *metonymy* covers both metonymy and synecdoche since synecdoche is a branch of a metonymy.

2.1 Traditional Arabic and Western Rhetoricians' Work on Figurative Language¹²

Arabic and Western writers agree on the basic definition of figurative language: "figurative language ... involves the transfer of the figurative meaning of a lexical item to another item in order to form a figurative expression. The associated word (verbalized or estimated) helps the reader/hearer to interpret the expression figuratively not literally" (Khojah 1999: 1). According to Arabic scholars, figurative language is opposed to literal language, and figurative expressions have attracted the attention of Arabic scholars because they are associated with implicitness and stylistic deviation and are seen as more effective than explicit literal expressions.

In contrast, many Western scholars see literal and figurative language as the poles on a continuum, not as two different categories. For instance, Cantor (1982: 72) writes that "All language is a mixture of literal and figurative, since every linguistic utterance has some elements of customary in it and some elements of the novel." The major difference between the two views lies in their classification of figurative language into different tropes. Arabic rhetoricians recognize four major types (metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy and simile), while Western rhetoricians recognize numerous figures of speech, including metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, simile, conceit, personification, proverb, cliché, oxymoron, idioms, indirect requests, and many others (Glucksberg 2001; Katz *et al.* 1998).

Arabic rhetoricians analyze various examples of figurative expressions and categorize them as similes, metaphors, metonymies, or synecdoches. These linguistic figures of

¹² I have relied on Ghazala (2000) and Abdul-Raof (2006) for translations of Arabic rhetorical terms into English.

speech, as they are termed in Arabic rhetoric, have their own classifications, elements, and conditions which are detached from the conceptual system and refer only to language (Lakoff 1993: 208). Traditional Arabic rhetorical analysis is reviewed only briefly here, since this study applies a Western theory, but the examples are selected, wherever possible, from among body-part idioms. A comprehensive review of the Western theoretical framework is then presented in detail.

2.2 */?al?isti9aarah/*, Metaphor, in Arabic Rhetoric

/?al?isti9aarah/ is the Arabic equivalent of metaphor. Metaphor has a highly elevated status in Arabic (Abdul-Raof 2006: 218). For Arabic rhetoricians, the relationship that exists between the literal and figurative meaning is based on similarities between the two. Ateeq provides many of the traditional rhetoricians' definitions of metaphor, including that by Qudamah bin Ja'far, who defines metaphor as "the act of substituting some lexical items in the place of others for the purpose of figurative use" (Ateeq 1985: 367, my translation). Traditional Arabic scholars are in line with traditional Western scholars in their treatment of metaphor. Ateeq summarizes Arab scholars' view of metaphor as follows: first, metaphor is a purely linguistic figurative device which is based on similarity between its elements. In its deep structure, metaphor is a simile in which one of the components is deleted. It consists of three elements: tenor, vehicle, and resemblance. Lastly, the connector in any metaphor can be verbalized or comprehended from the given expression (Ateeq 1985: 369, my translation).

A traditional example of a metaphor is:

/raʔsul qabiilati/¹³
head the tribe

‘Head of the tribe’.
The chief of the tribe.

The tenor */qabiilah/*, ‘a tribe’, is given */raʔs/*, ‘a head’, as in a human body, to characterize the highest position. So both the tenor and the vehicle share the quality of holding the highest position. The similarity between the two components is that the head is the most important and the highest part in a human body and this signals the importance of this person in his tribe. Accordingly, the Arabic traditional view treats metaphor as purely a stylistic ornament and confines its function to comparison.

Two eminent Islamic scholars whose views are influential to this day are Abu Alabbas Ibn Taymiyah (died 742 AH) and Ibn Jinni (322-392 AH).¹⁴ Ibn Taymiyah analyzed Qur'anic verses pertaining to God's names and attributes, such as all-seeing, all-hearing, having a hand, etc. He proposed *no metaphor theory* in which he explained that there is no such thing as metaphor in comprehending the names and attributes of God. Most prevailing views at his time interpreted these names and attributes metaphorically, but Ibn Taymiyah considered them to be literal. He defended his view by the suggestion that these names and attributes are totally different from those of human beings and that it is beyond human mental capacity to understand them literally. He recommended the acceptance of God's names and attributes without questioning or comparing them to human characteristics. His justification from my point of view might be based on the

¹³ See Abbas (2000).

¹⁴ The *Hijra* is the emigration of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his followers to the city of Medinah in 622, and this marks the start of the Hijri year of the Islamic calendar. *AH* stands for ‘after Hijra’. The current Islamic Year is 1430 AH.

Islamic teachings that assert that God's physical appearance or attributes cannot be thought of in human terms.¹⁵

In contrast to Ibn Taymiyah, Ibn Jinni considered that most language is metaphorical, particularly verbs. For Ibn Jinni, metaphor is entrenched in human language, and more fundamentally, in human thought, a view which AlDokhayel (2008: 33) identified as also being "a basic tenet of CMT."¹⁶

2.3 /?alkinaayah/, Metonymy, in Arabic Rhetoric

/?alkinaayah/, is the Arabic equivalent of metonymy. Abbas defines metonymy as "intending a meaning and expressing it with a different lexical item" (Abbas 2000: 243, my translation). It is a figurative device intended for rhetorical purposes. An example of a metonymy is:

<u>/su9aadun naa9imatul kaffayni/</u> ¹⁷	‘Suad has soft palms’.
Suad soft the palms (dual)	<u>Suad is rich.</u>

In this example, Suad is described as being rich through the description of her soft palms. The meaning intended is that she has plenty of maids who perform household tasks for her. The palms are relevant because they are the parts of the hand that become calloused through manual labour.

¹⁵ There is nothing like unto Him, and He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer. (The Holy Qur'an, Ash-shuura Chapter, Verse 11).

¹⁶ In his thesis, AlDokhayel (2008) uses the abbreviation of CMT to stand for Conceptual Theory of Metaphor.

¹⁷ Abbas (2000: 248).

2.4 /?almajaazul mursal/, Synecdoche, in Arabic Rhetoric

/?almajaazul mursal/, is the Arabic equivalent to synecdoche. Al-Ladighi describes synecdoche as, "a linguistic lexical item used intentionally not to refer to its literal meaning. The relationship between its two meanings (i.e. the literal and the figurative meaning) is dissimilarity. A lexical clue should be present to help in preventing the hearer/reader from arriving at the literal meaning" (Al-Ladighi 2004: 179, my translation).

It is as a result of the dissimilarity relationship between the literal and figurative meaning that the most important types of *relation* in synecdoche appear. These relations, however, are considered as metonymic rather than synecdochic in Western rhetoric. Abdul-Raof (2006: 225) lists thirteen different kinds of these relations which include part-to-whole relationship, state relationship, past relationship, specific relationship, etc. Arabic scholars talk comprehensively about these different metonymic relationships, such as TOOL FOR FUNCTION as in this example:

*/wa ma ?arsalna min rasuulin ?illa bilisaani qawmihi*¹⁸ ‘And We sent not a Messenger except with their tongue (i.e. language of his people)’.¹⁹

The intended meaning of */lisaan/*, ‘a tongue’, in this verse is speech because the tongue is the instrument used for speaking.

¹⁸ The Holy Qur'an (Chapter Ibraheem, verse 4).

¹⁹ Abbas (2000: 153) calls this an instrumental relation: the tongue is the instrument for speech.

Another example is based on the CAUSE FOR EFFECT:

/lahu ?ayaadin 9alayya/²⁰

‘He has hands on me’.

has he hands on me He owes me many favours (either financially or emotionally).

The lexical word */?ayaadin/*, ‘hands’, is used figuratively here not to refer to its literal meaning but to signify financial/emotional favors. There is no similarity between hand and financial/emotional favors, but the hand is the part of the body responsible for giving help or relief.

A convincing point was raised by AlDokhayel, who asserts that Arab and Muslim scholars were able to distinguish many metonymic relationships that are based on "*human experience*, a major tenet in the cognitive-linguistic paradigm" (AlDokhayel 2008: 26, italics in the original). He argues that their rejection of the dichotomy between logic and experience led them to this conclusion. These traditional scholars analyzed Arabic examples according to logic and experience, which they believed to be intertwined.

Relating Arabic idioms to culture, Abdul-Raof (2006: 233) also discusses metonymy and its deeply rooted relation to Arabic culture. This is found in ancient expressions such as /zaydun kathiiru rramaadi/, ‘Zayd has got a lot of ashes’, meaning Zayd is too generous. This old idiom dates back to the period when Arabs lived in the desert and cooked using charcoal. Entertaining guests as they arrive requires recurrent cooking, which produces large quantities of ash. As a result, a person who has plenty of ashes is

²⁰ See Abbas (2000: 154).

one who has been generous. The structure and comprehension of such idiomatic expressions has its roots in cultural knowledge, and some modern Arab speakers do not understand this idiom because of changes in culinary methods. Ultimately, this idiom provides evidence that culture is essential to the structuring and comprehension of idioms. Idioms can also change through time within a given culture. Kövecses (2002: 189) gives an example of Victorian Americans moving from metonymic to metaphoric understanding of anger in which they used the pressurized container metaphor (based on (bodily) metonymic conceptualization) to conceptualize anger metaphorically.

2.5 The Definition of Idioms in Arabic

/ʔatta9biiraat ʔalmajaaziyyah/, ‘idioms’, in Arabic are defined in Omar as "semantic units whose overall meaning cannot be comprehended through their constituent parts, in this case the meaning is described as *ta9biiri*, idiomatic" (Omar 2006: 33, italics in the original Arabic text, my translation). It is apparent that Omar's definition is similar to the traditional Western one: "idioms consist of two or more words and that the overall meaning of these words cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituent words" (Kövecses 2002: 199, italics omitted). Omar (2006: 33) provides this example:

/Daraba kaffan bikaf/
hit he palm in palm

‘He hit palm in palm’.
He is in deep regret.

This idiom is used to describe a person who is in deep regret because of hearing a bad news or being incapable of solving a certain problem. It is an example of an idiom which has become conventionalized in a community through recurrent use (Omar 2006: 177). In traditional Western literature these expressions are called *dead metaphors*:

"metaphors that may have been alive and vigorous at some point but have become so conventional and commonplace with constant use that by now they have lost their vigor and have ceased to be metaphors at all" (Kövecses 2002: ix).

Omar states that idioms create problems in translating between languages because literal translation does not help in the interpretation of idioms. Omar (2006: 257) offers */rakiba ra?sahu/* as an example: translated literally into English, it means 'He rode his head', but the figurative sense is He is stubborn. Difficulties in translation are attributed to differences in social experiences and culture, and here Omar's analysis is similar to the cognitive linguistic view in which experience and culture are important ingredients in the structure and comprehension of idioms.

2.6 Contemporary Arabic Work under Western Cognitive Linguistics

There are a considerable number of contemporary Arabic studies which study CA, MSA, and other Arabic dialects in relation to the Western framework of cognitive linguistics. In an attempt to apply the cognitive linguistic framework to the Qur'anic verses, Shokr (2006) tackles the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY²¹ in Qur'anic verses, and supports the theory that life is conceptually structured and comprehended by means of a journey through various verses in the Holy Qur'an. This shared conceptual metaphor in English and Arabic is attributed to a religious teaching in both Christianity (English)²² and Islam (Arabic).²³ In a similar vein, Berrada (2006) applies the cognitive linguistic framework to Qur'anic verses in relation to the conceptual metaphors of light and darkness, and finds that metaphors of light structure

²¹ Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

²² Your life is a journey you must travel with a deep consciousness of God. (1 Peter 1, verse 18).

²³ Guide us to the Straight Way. (The Holy Qur'an, Al-FaatiHa Chapter, Verse 6).

verses in relation to faith, truth, conviction, and so on. In contrast, metaphors of darkness structure verses in relation to disbelief, falsehood, and hesitation. These findings demonstrate that these metaphors are structured and comprehended based on the underling human experience of LIGHT/DARKNESS in relation to FAITH/DISBELIEF grounded through religion teachings.

Other cognitive linguists have compared different forms of Arabic. These include Berrada (2007), who made a comparative comparison between food metaphors in Qur'anic verses and the Morrocan Dialect of Arabic (henceforth, MA). His study provides further evidence of the existence of these metaphors, with minor differences, in the two discourses. Although, Berrada expected that these metaphors would be seen in many unrelated cultures, due to the experiential basis of food to humans, his study actually found that many of these metaphors are culture-specific and untranslatable. His study adds additional evidence for the influence of culture on the structure and comprehension of conceptual metaphors and metonymies.

Other cognitive studies focus on comparisons between Arabic and other languages in relation to pedagogy. Working on empirical ground of general business writing by Arab students, AlJumah's (2007) study foregrounds the difficulties that Arab students have in expressing themselves metaphorically in English as well as in understanding English metaphors. This is a result of lack of mastery of the non-literal possibilities of the English language as well as the presence of cultural differences related to their metaphorical thinking. He recommends pedagogical programs on English metaphors and culture for non-native learners as a possible solution.

The Event Structure Metaphor (henceforth, ESM) is another pervasive system seen in conceptual metaphors such as CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS, STATES ARE LOCATIONS in expressions like *He went crazy* and *They are in love* (Kövecses 2002: 135). Checking the presence or absence of ESM in Arabic and whether Arabic has the same mapping, AlDokhayel (2008) argues that ESM is central to the comprehension of abstract and complex concepts in Arabic. He further demonstrates that speakers of different languages have similar cognitive structures at generic level, but there are also culture-specific models which can set English and Arabic apart. His study however supports the claim of universality in relation to ESM.

Maalej (2004) contributed to the field of cognitive linguistics through extending two more dimensions of embodiment in relation to meaning. His study of anger expressions in the Tunisian dialect of Arabic (henceforth, TA) used the cognitive linguistic framework with reference to embodiment and culture. He raised two further embodiment dimensions in addition to *physiological embodiment* distinguished by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (2000a, 2002), which yields expressions of anger where the part of the body part used for conceptualization is also physiologically affected. An English example is *She was blind with rage*. He proposed that there was also *culturally specific embodiment*, which refers to parts of the body that are culturally correlated with the emotion of anger. An example is this TA expression */digdig-li-3Daami-i/kraim-i/*,²⁴ ‘He broke my bones into small bits/joints’. Maalej also proposed *culturally tainted embodiment* which refers to the use of animal behaviours and cultural ecological features to taint physiologically embodied anger expressions. An example is the TA expression */lqayt-u yahdar ki-j-jmall/*, ‘I found him growling like a camel’.

²⁴ This phonetic transcription is from Maalej (2004: 66).

Maalej (2004: 56) argues that embodiment is an essential motivation for the metaphoric conceptualization, but recommends that the conception of embodiment be broadened to embrace more than just physiology. Embodiment is also a function of cultural correlation between a given emotion and its cultural bearing. He argues that these culturally based embodiments are not meant to create dichotomies, because even physiological embodiment is cultural in nature.

2.7 Metaphor Compared in Traditional Western Studies and in Cognitive Linguistics

The word *metaphor* comes originally from the Greek word *metapherein*, to transfer, *meta-* + *pherein*, to bear (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1979: 716). It is fitting that *metaphor* has its origins in Greek, because serious study of figurative language in the West began with the work of Aristotle. His main interest was in explaining the relationship that exists between metaphor and language and the role of metaphor in communication. His views, as written in *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, are still influential today.

The traditional view of metaphor treats it as purely a stylistic and linguistic ornament: the ultimate tool for poetry and for poets. It is a property of words, but not an inevitable part of everyday human communication. It is based on resemblance between two entities that are being compared: an objective, literal, and pre-existing similarity. Cognitive linguistics maintains that the human conceptual system is structured partly by conceptual metaphors and metonymies (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Gibbs 1994; Kövecses 2002) but it also goes further than this and treats metaphor as a cognitive tool central to human thought and reasoning. Lakoff and Johnson (1980)

consider metaphor as a property of concepts, including words used by ordinary people, and not confined to poets or literary writers. Its main function is to provide a better understanding of certain concepts, and as a result it is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning. Cognitive linguists disagree with the traditional view and maintain that the selection of the source domain depends on human factors that mirror non-objective, non-literal, and non-preexisting similarities between the source and target domains. These are referred to as the *experiential basis* or *motivation* of conceptual metaphors. In other words, metaphorical language and thought are not arbitrary, as the traditional view believes, but motivated through the basic bodily experience of being human. This idea of what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) call *embodiment* positions the cognitive linguistic view against the traditional view.

Language, as the means of communication and the reflection of patterns of thought, provides Lakoff and Johnson's (1980: 3) main evidence that "[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is metaphorical in nature". Their claim is that our conceptual system plays an important role in defining the realities we experience every day. They also claim that the way we think as humans, what we experience, and what we do every day, is very much a matter of metaphor. In other words, metaphor functions at a conceptual level without us being aware of this system. Metaphor is a cognitive tool by which we conceive the world around us. It can be said that we communicate these metaphorical conceptual understandings in linguistic expressions that reflect the metaphoric nature of the concept.

Cognitive linguists argue that metaphor creates schematic images in the language-user's mind and thus structures their modes of thought, Lakoff (1987: 113-114) calls these

conventional images *image schemas* and gives examples such as our knowledge of candles includes "a long, thin object schema". Lakoff and Turner (1989: xi) assert that metaphor is a matter of experience of everyday life rather than just a matter of language and the lexicon: "Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically ... it is irreplaceable: metaphor allows us to understand ourselves and our world in ways that no other modes of thought can." Following the conventions of cognitive linguistics, this is called *conceptual metaphor*.

Conceptual metaphors consist of two *conceptual domains* in which one domain is understood in terms of the other. The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called the *source domain*, the conceptual domain that we understand through the source domain is the *target domain* (Kövecses 2002: 4). The traditional rhetorical terms *tenor* and *vehicle* approximate the terms used in cognitive linguistics: Tenor is *target* while vehicle is *source* (Machakanja 2006: 10). Since this study relies on the cognitive linguistic framework, the terms *target* and *source* are preferred here.

A conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience (Kövecses 2002: 4). The source domain holds physical or concrete concepts, while the target domain holds abstract ones. The target domain is understood in terms of the source domain, as in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, according to which we could say *Our relationship has hit a dead-end street* (Lakoff 1993: 206). The metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) call this kind of process *mapping*: a systematic set of correspondences that exist between the elements of the source and the target language. In the example above, love

is understood by means of the elements of the source domain which is journey. Table (2.1) below gives details of the explanation made by Lakoff (1993: 206):

Table 2.1: Metaphorical Mapping between Conceptual Domains

<u>Source Domain</u>		<u>Target Domain</u>
JOURNEY	----->	LOVE
travelers	----->	lovers
vehicles	----->	relationship
impediments	----->	difficulties
destinations	----->	goals

The process does not go the other way at all: journey cannot be understood in terms of love. Kövecses (2002: 9) claims that this knowledge of mapping in the process of comprehending the figurative expression is largely unconscious. Janda (2000: 18-19) writes that "A metaphor is a mapping from a source domain to a target domain. In other words, whenever a person takes a concept that has been formed in one domain and tries to implement it in another, a metaphor has occurred". Mapping relies on our previous experiences to structure our new experiences, because these old experiences are already available as models of thought and perception. Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 49) state that "[i]n every act of categorization we are more or less consciously referring to one or several cognitive models that we have stored".

It is to be noted that an important differentiation should be made between metaphorical concepts and metaphorical linguistic expressions. In the example above, the metaphorical concept is LOVE IS A JOURNEY while *Our relationship has hit a dead-end street* is an example of metaphorical expression representing part of the conceptual

metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. Ultimately, these linguistic expressions (i.e. ways of talking) manifest the existence of the conceptual metaphors (i.e. ways of thinking).

Cognitive linguists have taken the abundant instances of metaphor in language as evidence of the existence of conceptual metaphors. This allows them to postulate the move from language to thought seen in the usage of conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 49), for example, have explored many of the conceptual metaphors that capture our thinking about the nature of love, including: LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, LOVE IS A PATIENT, LOVE IS MADNESS, LOVE IS MAGIC, LOVE IS WAR, etc.

Through conceptual metaphors, cognitive linguists are attempting to discover the pervasive metaphoric scheme underlying our thought. An example of this is the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS WAR. This metaphor is reflected in everyday language by numerous conventionalized expressions:

LOVE IS WAR

He is known for his many rapid *conquests*.

She *fought* for him, but his mistress *won out*.

He *won* her hand in marriage.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 49)

Though there is no battle between the people in these examples, they do actually win or lose the loved one. Many of these expressions are partially structured by the concept of war. When love is understood in terms of war, this is partial rather than total structuring. In total structuring, the two concepts would be the same. If love really were war, there

would be no benefit in using one word (i.e. war) to mean the other (i.e. love). Love, an abstract concept, is partially structured, understood, and talked about in terms of war. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS WAR is used in Western culture, but love can be structured, understood, and talked about differently in different cultures. In certain dialects of Chinese, for example, LOVE IS FLYING A KITE (Kövecses 2005: 3).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further classify metaphors according to their conventionality, function, nature, and level of generality. Metaphors can be conventional when they are deeply entrenched and used by everyone in a community for everyday purposes, such as the highly conventionalized conceptual metaphor LIFE IS JOURNEY: Conventionalized linguistic expressions, including *He had a head start in life*, are based on this metaphor, while a less conventionalized linguistic expression is found in Frost's *I took [the road] less traveled by* (Kövecses 2002: 31).

According to their function, metaphors can be structural, ontological, or orientational. Lakoff and Johnson define structural metaphors "as cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another ... such as ARGUMENT IS WAR ... Orientational metaphors give a spatial orientation to a concept; for example, HAPPY IS UP ... Ontological metaphors ... [the] ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc. as entities and substance, such as THE MIND IS A MACHINE" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14-27).

Metaphors can also be classified according to their nature; there are image-schema metaphors. These have no rich conceptual knowledge that can be mapped from the

source to the target: little knowledge can be mapped between the two sources. They have skeletal image-schemas such as the one associated with *in* as in *He fell in love*, or *out* as in *I am out of money*, etc. They derive from our interactions and experiences with the world, seeing ourselves and other objects as containers. Their importance lies in the fact that they structure many abstract concepts metaphorically. They can be the basis of many structural metaphors, such as the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Here the motion schema underlies the concept of journey, in that journeys have an initial point, movement and then an end point. Consequently, we can say that the domain of LIFE is image-schematically structured by the domain of JOURNEY.

Metaphors can be either at the specific-level or generic-level. The MOTION schema presents an example of conceptual metaphors that are at the generic-level because they have scarce details: initial location, movement along a path, and final destination. This generic-level schema is filled in with more details from the source domain of JOURNEY: travelers, a point of departure, a means of travelling, etc. So we can say that JOURNEY schema is more detailed than the MOTION schema outlined above. This occurs when the motion schema is realized not only as a journey but also a run, walk, mountain ascent, etc. These are examples of the specific-level of the generic motion schema. Most conceptual metaphors are at the specific-level.

Consequently, it is apparent that the central area of investigation for cognitive linguists is the relationship that exists between the conceptual metaphor and its linguistic expression. For those cognitive linguists, metaphor is not only a tool for poetry, but also a tool for the ordinary layman. For Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor is not primarily a linguistic phenomenon; rather it is a mode of conceptual representation.

2.8 The Role of Metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics

Traditionally, metonymy has been regarded as a figure of speech. It is an ornamental tool for poets and other literary writers. Among the wide range of definitions found in the Western literature, metonymy is characterized by Holman (1972: 318) as the "substitution of a term naming an object closely associated with the word in mind for the word itself. In this way we commonly speak of the king as "the crown" an object closely associated with kingship thus being made to stand for "king".

Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) provide various examples to prove that the ordinary use of language is systematically structured by metaphoric and metonymic thoughts. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) refer to *conceptual metonymy* as one of the basic characteristics of cognition. In conceptual metonymy, a part of an item or something closely associated with it stands in for the whole item. Conceptual metonymy thus provides *mental access* through one conceptual entity to another. Kövecses (2002: 145) provides many kinds of conceptual metonymies such as INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION as in *She shampooed her hair*; TIME FOR ACTION as in *The 8:40 just arrived*, etc. Metonymic expressions reveal the existence of these conceptual metonymies. Synecdoche, as special case of metonymy, is apparent in THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE as in the example provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36): *There are a lot of good heads in the university* referring to "intelligent people". In fact, out of the many parts of the human body, we tend to choose the one part that determines which aspect of the whole we want to refer to in that person. Here, the head (as a concrete entity) is chosen to provide mental access to the characteristic of a person that distinguishes him as a whole: his intelligence (abstract concept). Knowles and Moon

(2006: 48) add another case of a synecdoche in which a constituent part is referred to by the name of the whole, as in *Scotland have a great chance of winning the game*, where the Scottish national team is referred to through the use of *Scotland*.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) maintain the traditional view that the two entities are contiguously related, but clarify it in more detailed explanation: a vehicle can provide mental access to a target entity when the two entities belong to the same domain, or *idealized cognitive model* (henceforth, ICM, as in Lakoff 1987). So, HEAD and INTELLIGENCE belong to the HUMAN BODY ICM. Kövecses provides a cognitive linguistic perspective: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealized cognitive model (ICM)" (Kövecses 2002: 145, bold is omitted). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stood against the traditional view that metonymy is detached from thought and reason and remained a matter only for language and the lexicon. They provided evidence that metonymy is not arbitrary but functions actively in our culture and is systematic and grounded in our experience. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) compared conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy, as summarized in Table (2.2).

Table 2.2: Metaphor and Metonymy Compared in Cognitive Linguistics [based on Kövecses 2002: 146-149]

Metaphor	Metonymy
1. The two conceptual domains (A and B) participating in metaphor stand in relation of <i>similarity</i> .	1. The vehicle and the target entities in a metonymy are based on <i>contiguity</i> .
2. Metaphor involves two <i>distant domains</i> (i.e. distant in our conceptual system, that is one domain is concrete while the other is abstract) but similar.	2. Metonymy involves a <i>single domain</i> (i.e. ICM).
3. The main function of metaphor is to <i>understand</i> a whole system of entities through another system.	3. The main function of metonymy is to provide <i>mental access</i> to a single entity within a single domain. It allows us to use one entity to <i>stand for</i> another entity.
4. Metaphor occurs between concepts.	4. Metonymy occurs between concepts as well as between word forms and things and between linguistic forms and concepts such as a linguistic sign which contains one word and one referent.

Traditional studies of metaphor and metonymy focus mainly on rhetoric and poetic discourse. Cognitive linguists extend their scope of studies to include written discourses such as literature (Turner 1987, Lakoff and Turner 1989), political discourse (Lakoff 1992, Van Teefflen 1994, Rohrer 1995), sports (Jansen and Sabo 1994, Semino and Masci 1996) as well as visual fields related to dance, cartoons, art, and many other media of expression (Kittay 1989) to understand these discourses in relation to our conceptualization in daily life. These studies provide evidence that metaphor and metonymy are conceptual in nature and are manifested linguistically through metaphorical linguistic expressions as well as non-linguistically through cartoons, films, symbols, drawing, advertisements, myths, etc.

2.9 The Interaction between Metaphor and Metonymy

In some expressions, the conceptual metaphor and the conceptual metonymy blend with each other in a single expression that makes it difficult to determine which is involved. This phenomenon is discussed by Goossens (1990), who calls it *metaphonymy*. Kövecses (2002: 160) provides many examples of such cases, such as *to be closed-lipped*. Here there are two explanations according to each meaning: If the meaning is understood as “to be silent”, then the expression is metonymic because the closure of lips *results* in silence. However, if the meaning is “to say little”, then the expression is metaphoric because we are describing a person who is usually talkative but now is silent because he does not want to say what we would like to hear from him.

2.10 Conventional Knowledge in Cognitive Linguistics²⁵

Conventional knowledge, as a cognitive mechanism, distinguished by Lakoff (1987), provides language users with information they need about the world around them. Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 338) refer to it as "the shared information that people in a given culture have concerning a conceptual domain, like the human hand. This shared everyday knowledge includes standard information about the parts, shape, size, use and function of the human hand, as well the larger hierarchy of which it forms a part (hand as a part of the arm, etc)." Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 339) refer to a special case of general conventional knowledge which relates to certain conventionalized gesture of the hand as an example in idioms like *shake hands*. *Shake hands* is a description of a

²⁵ Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 338) write that "This conventional knowledge is variously called an *idealized cognitive model* or *folk theory* (Lakoff 1987), *schema* (Langacker 1987), *cultural model* or *folk theory* (Holland and Quinn 1987), or *frame* or *scene* (Fillmore 1982)."

conventionalized gesture and ultimately the meaning is motivated by this gesture to denote “to greet someone”. Conventional knowledge is regarded in cognitive linguistics as a non-metaphorical and non-metonymic cognitive tool that helps us to understand the meanings of various figurative expressions. This kind of knowledge can be described as folk understanding (i.e. the naïve and non-expert views that people have about different conceptual domains in the world).

2.11 Conceptual Motivation for Idioms in the Cognitive Linguistic View

Motivation, the explanation of how meaning is achieved, is central to cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguists argue that the relationship between the form and its meaning is primarily motivated. Kövecses (2002: 248) explains that "...the meaning of many idioms seems natural, or "transparent," to us because either metaphor, metonymy, or conventional knowledge links the nonidiomatic meaning of the constituent words to the idiomatic meaning of these words taken together". We can, for example, understand what life is because it is motivated by the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Thus we have coherently organized knowledge about journeys that we rely on in understanding life (Kövecses 2002: 4). Experience therefore plays an important role in the structure (i.e. journey) and understanding of abstract concepts (i.e. life). In other words, conceptual metaphors are motivated by this human experience of JOURNEY and LIFE. As a result, an English speaker will have a good reason for creating and using the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Also, we can comprehend what the idiom *feel down* means because of the conceptual metaphor SAD IS DOWN,²⁶ which is related to the human experience of the downward orientation image schema as a

²⁶ Kövecses (2002: 36)

negative evaluation. Ultimately, cognitive linguists stress the fundamental role of experience in constructing meanings, and emphasize that meanings are not arbitrary but are derived from these experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987).

These cognitive mechanisms are not only responsible for connecting domains of knowledge to the idiomatic meaning, but also provide motivation for the occurrence of particular words in several idioms. It is important to say that this notion of motivation stands against the traditional view. Predictability in the traditional view is associated with predicting which metaphors there are within a single culture or cross-culturally, while the cognitive view claims that metaphors are not predicted but motivated (Kövecses 2002: 67-68). Figure (2.1) explains the conceptual motivation for many idioms.

Figure 2.1: The Conceptual Motivation for many Idioms [based on Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 331].

<p>Idiomatic meaning The overall special meaning of an idiom</p> <p>Cognitive mechanisms Metaphor, metonymy, conventional knowledge (= domain(s) of knowledge)</p> <p>Conceptual domain(s) One or more domains of knowledge</p> <p>Linguistic forms and their meanings The words that comprise an idiom, their syntactic properties together with their meanings</p>
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2.11.1 Double Motivation for Idioms

Studying English hand idioms, Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 340-341) state that "The motivation for idioms rarely comes from a single source (i.e. from a single cognitive

mechanism)." However, they refer to cases of double motivation in which two sources are seen to work together for the motivation of the meaning of an idiom in cases such as the English example *ask for somebody's hand*. These two sources are THE HAND FOR THE PERSON metonymy and the knowledge we have about what we do with the hands in a marriage ceremony. They claim that it cannot be asserted that conventional knowledge about the motivation of an idiom is more influential than the conceptual metaphor or the conceptual metonymy used. Each one of these cognitive tools plays a role in the operation of comprehension. However, they write that " [t]o say which is "more powerful" is often difficult and a matter of individual taste" (Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 340), they chose the conceptual metonymy as "the dominant force and cognitive source" (Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 340) in English hand idioms.

2.11.2 Multiple Motivation for Idioms

Several mechanisms can all play a role in the motivation process of a single idiomatic expression. Kövecses (2002: 210) calls this *multiple motivation*. An example Kövecses provides is the idiom *have clean hands* which means "be innocent or act ethically". In this idiom, there are many cognitive mechanisms associated, including: the metaphor MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN, the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY/ACTION, and our conventional knowledge of the connection of unclean substances (in this case, blood), and the human hand. Kövecses refers to the structural metaphors MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN as *completely independent* of the system constituted by the concept of the hand. These conceptual metaphors relate to plenty of experiences that motivate for us the conceptualization of expressions relating to abstract concepts such as envy, admiration, etc. In this study, these metaphors whether

structural, ontological, or orientational are referred to as *extra motivators of HDA body-part idioms* since they are completely independent of the system constituted by the concept of the body parts studied here.

Yu (2004: 677) refers to this kind of association between these cognitive tools as "tightly intertwined". The purpose of this mingling is to facilitate the operation of comprehension (i.e. they jointly produce a large part of the motivation for the idiomatic meaning of an idiom). The estimated complicated character that could arise here is whether to refer to an idiom as *metaphorically* or *metonymically* understood, since both a metaphor and a metonymy are joined in one idiom as motivators. To resolve this complication, we could say that the difference lies underneath the function for which a metonymy or a metaphor is used: the *stand for* scheme of metonymy or *understanding* scheme of metaphor.

2.12 The Psychological Existence of Conceptual Metaphors and Conceptual Metonymies

Many experiments by cognitive psycholinguists offer support to the cognitive linguistic analysis of figurative expressions. These studies range from investigations of mental images associated with English idiomatic phrases (Gibbs and O'Brien 1990) to proverb meaning (Gibbs *et al.* 1997). They demonstrate through various examples the existence of the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies in the human conceptual system. Gibbs (1990a) also demonstrates that people appear to have tacit knowledge of the metaphorical basis of idioms and that they have mental images for these idioms. This proves the existence of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the conceptual

system that motivates the meaning of these idioms. In another study, Gibbs (1999: 148) further asserts that human embodied experiences give rise to their metaphorical structuring of abstract concepts which limits speakers' use and understanding of language and thus finds support for embodiment experiences. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 81-87) go further in claiming that the existence of these cognitive mechanisms is not only proved by psychological experiments but also through evidence from novel utterances, historical data, sign language, gesture and language acquisition.

2.13 Metaphor and Embodiment

Traditional theories of linguistic meaning make a distinction between body and mind and see meaning as a fixed state (Gibbs, *et al.* 1994: 233). Cognitive linguistics, however, gives a place to the body in the mind through the *embodiment theory*, which maintains that knowledge arises out of people's bodily interactions with the world. There is, therefore, no dichotomy between reason and experience: both take place in the body. Lakoff and Johnson claim that human bodily experience represents the main tool for conceiving abstract concepts, arguing that:

The mind is not merely embodied, but embodied in such a way that our conceptual systems draw largely upon the commonalities of our bodies and of the environments we live in. The result is that much of a person's conceptual system is either universal or widespread across languages and cultures. (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 6)

Accordingly, they argue, knowledge is grounded in patterns of bodily experience. The embodied view of meaning emphasizes the importance of people's ordinary and

kinesthetic experiences in understanding the relationship between the mind and the human body. Kövecses (2002: 72-4) pinpoints four kinds of experiences selected for the source domains; these include *correlation in experience*, in which correlations are not similarities but are events correlated in experience. For example, the event of adding more fluid to a container results in the level of the fluid rising, which structures the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP.²⁷ *Perceived structural similarity* is where the similarity is non-objective in examples such as *I'll take my chances*, which depend on the idea that LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME. Thirdly, Kövecses talks about *perceived structural similarity induced by basic metaphors*,²⁸ in which he describes similarities as being based on some basic ideas we have about containers induced by ontological metaphors such as container metaphors as in THE MIND IS A CONTAINER. A fourth kind of experience is related to cases of conceptual metaphors, where the source was the root of the target, Kövecses (2002: 74) calls this kind *source as the root of the target*. This fourth kind of experiential basis comes in two versions: Firstly, the source has biological roots as in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A BOND in expressions such as *There's a strong bond between them*. It is likely that the target domain has selected the source domain because the source is associated with biological properties such as the biological relationship between the child and his/her mother. Secondly, the source has cultural roots, as in ARGUMENT IS WAR in English. Historically, this conceptual metaphor may have developed from the development of physical fighting between people from the starting point of verbal dissension.

Experientialism then characterizes meaning in terms of embodiment. Kövecses (2002: 159) argues that human experiences are not only bodily but also perceptual, cultural,

²⁷ Kövecses (2002: 70).

²⁸ These are explored in Grady's work on Primary Metaphor Theory (1997a and 1997b).

and category-based. Of the large number of possible sources we have available to us as native speakers in a community, we select the ones that emerge from our human experience to be the appropriate source domain for the target domain we want to explain. These experiential bases then motivate the conceptual metaphors in the language we speak.

After a comprehensive generalization from studies on the expression of anger in languages as diverse as Japanese, Wolof, Zulu and American English, Kövecses (1995: 191) concludes that anger is "strongly motivated by bodily experience". He posits embodiment as the explanation for the existence of similar conceptual metaphors in unrelated languages (Kövecses 2002: 171).

Kövecses (2002) mentions a study made by one of his students, who counted all the body-based metaphorical idioms in George Nagy's *Figurative Idioms*, and found that of 12,000 idioms, over 2000 have to do with the human body. Kövecses attributes this to the fact that a large portion of metaphorical meaning arises from our bodily experience.

2.14 Metaphor and Culture

"[t]o study metaphor is to be confronted with hidden aspects of one's mind and one's culture." (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 214)

Cognitive linguistics studies the central role of the body and its interaction with culture to reveal more about human meaning and understanding. Culture is studied in relation to our experiences with physical and cultural aspects of the outside world. Lakoff and

Johnson (1980) claim that a person's culture shapes all the image schema they have for the world around them. As a result, these images are specific to each individual and would be different for people raised in a different culture. For example, TIME IS MONEY in expressions such as *You are wasting my time*, only makes sense in industrialized cultures (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 8-9). Non-industrialized cultures may have different value systems that would result in different interpretations of common experiences.²⁹

Kövecses (1995: 192) claims that anger expressions cannot be explained on cultural grounds alone: that embodiment must be involved as well. His justification is that embodiment "appears to constrain... the kinds of metaphors that can emerge as viable conceptualizations of anger". The present study agrees with Kövecses and Maalej's views (2004) that experience, embodiment, and culture should be taken into consideration when analyzing idiomatic expressions. These factors help us to understand the working of the human conceptual system.

2.15 Idioms in Traditional Western Work and in Cognitive Semantics

In their study, *Idioms: A View from Cognitive Semantics*, Kövecses and Szabó describe the group of expressions called idioms as "a mixed bag. It involves metaphors (e.g., *spill the beans*), metonymies (e.g., *throw up one's hands*), pairs of words (e.g., *cats and dogs*), idioms with *it* (e.g., *live it up*), similes (e.g., *as easy as pie*), sayings (e.g., *a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*), phrasal verbs (e.g., *come up*, as in 'Christmas is

²⁹ Comparative studies considering unrelated languages and cultures include Kövecses 1990, 1995, 2000b; Matsuki 1995; Taylor and Mbense 1998; Gevaert 2001; Neuman 2001; Machakanja 2006; Maalej 1999, 2004, 2007; Yu 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004.

coming up'), grammatical idioms (e.g., *let alone*), and others" (Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 327, italics in the original).

Kövecses (2002: 199) summarizes the traditional view of idioms, as follows:

1. Idioms are something special in the language, detached from any kind of conceptual thinking,
2. they have certain syntactic properties,
3. their meaning is unpredictable from their constituent parts, and
4. they are arbitrary pairings of forms with special meaning.

Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 330) challenged this traditional outlook and stated their view as follows:

An idiom is not an expression that has meaning that is somehow special in language in relation to the meanings of its constituent parts, but it arises from our more general knowledge of the world (embodied in our conceptual system). In other words, idioms (or, at least, the majority of them), are conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature... hence the meanings of idioms can be seen as motivated and not arbitrary (Lakoff 1987 and 1993, Gibbs 1990a and 1994).

2.16 Studies of Body-part Idioms from a Cognitive Linguistic Point of View

Bílková 2000; Charteris-Black 2003; Yu 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, are among studies which dealt with internal and external body-part idioms. Only two of the

numerous studies of body-part idioms are considered in detail here. Kövecses and Szabó's (1996) study of hand idioms sought to identify the main cognitive mechanisms motivating the meanings of these idiomatic expressions. They found that conventional knowledge was joined with conceptual metonymies in hand idioms. Arguing that it is a matter of an individual taste, they felt that conceptual metonymy is "the dominant force and cognitive source" (Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 340). An example they provide is the expression *have one's hand full* which means "to be busy", which arises from our general conventional knowledge that when we are holding things in the hand we cannot pick up other things with that hand at the same time. We are already busy with what we are holding and this prevents us from engaging in another activity at the same time. This knowledge underlies the idiom and motivates its meaning alongside other cognitive tools, such as THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION. Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 340) describe this conventional knowledge and conceptual metonymy as working together *jointly* to produce a large part of the motivation of the figurative meaning of idioms such as *sit on one's hands* and *put one's hands in one's pockets*. Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 341) claim that THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON³⁰ seems to be based on the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION and their justification is that the prototypical person is an ACTIVE person.

In his comparative study of eye idioms in Chinese and English using CTMM, Yu (2004) concluded that there are similarities as well as differences between the two languages, and that this results in similar expressions with similar meanings, similar expressions with different meanings, and different expressions with similar meanings. He suggests

³⁰ Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337).

that similarities arise from common bodily experiences, while differences arise from the interaction between culture and body. An interesting example of differences of cultures among languages is the abstract idea of beauty. In the Chinese example: *Xiao guniang mei-yan zhang de hen jun*,³¹ ‘little girl brow-eye look very pretty’ which its idiomatic meaning is “The little girl is very pretty”, the eye is paired with brows to indicate that the girl is “good-looking” as a whole.

2.17 Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to cover the literature of both Arabic and English with regard to metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and idioms: all topics essential to an understanding of the metaphor theory in the cognitive linguistic view. Although this is not a comparative study, the literature was comparative to situate the Arabic perspective on figurative language, both in traditional and contemporary studies, in opposition to Western traditional and contemporary studies, especially with regard to cognitive linguistics. The main corner-stones of the theory of metaphor in cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics - conceptual motivation, multiple motivation for idioms, embodiment, image schema, and culture – have also been explained to provide a basis for the analysis within the present study.

³¹ Written as in Yu (2004: 665).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This study concerns itself with studying six HDA body-part idioms in relation to the cognitive linguistic framework developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002), among others. This chapter explains how these idioms were collected, discusses the pilot study of three qualitative and quantitative methods, outlines the method used to collect their figurative meanings, explains the variables by which the sample of HDA-speakers was selected, the translation process, and ethical issues. It then presents the cognitive linguistic framework used for analyzing these idioms.

3.1 Research Philosophy, Strategy, and Design

3.1.1 Research Philosophy

Through analyzing numerous examples of daily expressions, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) managed to establish the basic claims of their metaphor theory: that our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is metaphorical in nature, and that our human conceptual system is motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and conventional knowledge. The present study aims to analyze the conceptual motivation of idioms concerning six parts of the human body in HDA and

their figurative meanings to test whether this theory can be considered universal in application. These parts are: eye, head, mind, hand, tongue, and nose. In the literature section of this study, some major Western cognitive linguistic studies were discussed, which applied the cognitive linguistic framework to idiomatic expressions in different languages such as English, Czech, Malay, Chinese, etc. In these, idioms and their figurative meanings were mainly collected from standard dictionaries (See Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Kövecses and Szabó 1996; Kövecses 2000b; Yu 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004; Charteris-Black 2003; Bílková 2000; Csábi 2004a; to name only a few). These studies relied on dictionaries such as the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms*,³² the *Metaphors Dictionary*,³³ the *COBUILD Dictionary of Everyday English Metaphors*,³⁴ *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms*,³⁵ etc. for English. *Hanyu Changyongyo Cidian*,³⁶ etc. for Chinese, and *English-Hungarian Concise Dictionary*³⁷ for Hungarian, *Kamus Perwira Bahasa Melayu-Bahasa Ingerris* for Malay,³⁸ etc. Some of the studies also used lists of conceptual metaphors such as the *Master Metaphor List*.³⁹

Cognitive linguistic studies of Arabic and Arabic dialects tended to rely on text-based collection and/or the researcher's native speaker intuition. Shokr (2006) and Berrada (2006) relied on the verses of the Holy Qur'an and its interpretation in their collection of data, for example, while AlJumah (2007) depended on ready-written data collected from

³² *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms*. (1995/2000). London: Harper Collins Publishers.

³³ Elyse Sommer and Dorrie Weiss. (1996). *Metaphors Dictionary*. Detroit: Visible Ink Press.

³⁴ Alice Deignan (1995). *COBUILD English Guides. Vol. 7: Metaphor Dictionary*, London: Collins CoBUILD.

³⁵ *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms*. (1979). Harlow: Longman.

³⁶ Duanzheng Wen (Ed.). (1996). *Hanyu Changyongyo Cidian* (A Dictionary of Chinese Idioms). Shanghai, Shanghai Dictionary Press.

³⁷ László Országh,, Tamás Magay, Dezső Futász, and Zoltán Kövecses. (1999). *English-Hungarian Concise Dictionary*. (In short: *EHCD*.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

³⁸ C. M. Kelana and L. Choy. (1998). *Kamus Perwira Bahasa Melayu-Bahasa Ingerris*. Selangor, Malaysia: Perbitan Daya Sdn. Bhd.

³⁹ <http://araw.mede.uic.edu/~alansz/metaphor/METAPHORLIST.pdf>

Arabic business magazines. As a native speaker of MSA using MSA dictionaries, he was confident about the accuracy of the figurative meanings of his data. AlDokayel relied on different texts and genres derived from newspapers, internet discussion forums, magazines and his "own native speaker's intuition" of MSA (AlDokayel 2008: 21). Maalej (2004) and Berrada (2007), who studied idiomatic expressions in two dialects of Arabic, do not explain their data collection methods or their processes for collecting figurative meanings. It is possible that they relied on their own intuition as native speakers.

As previously stated, the difficulty in this study arose from the lack of HDA dictionaries. As a researcher, I faced two challenges: no HDA idioms were available in a standardized reference work anywhere, from which it follows that there was no authoritative source for the figurative meanings of these idioms. These two challenges were met in two phases: collecting HDA body-part idioms and then verifying their figurative meanings so that the data would be ready for cognitive linguistic analysis. This issue of validity was my main concern. Fraenkel and Wallen giving an example of research on education, state that:

researchers need both an instrument to record the data and some sort of assurance that the information obtained will enable them to *draw correct conclusions* ... The drawing of correct conclusions based on the data obtained from an assessment is what validity is all about. (Fraenkel and Wallen 1996: 153, their italics)

In social sciences, techniques used for collecting data, divide broadly into two main paradigms: quantitative and qualitative (Borg and Gall 1989: 380). This study adopts a

qualitative approach lying within the interpretivist paradigm (Gorman and Clayton 1997: 23), which is an appropriate approach for this study because it draws data from the environment or context in which events occur. This natural context or setting serves as an observation post from which the researcher can gather data (Gorman and Clayton 1997: 24). The researcher "does not remain remote and detached from events but actually enters the context or situation, collecting data and – an important point, this – enhancing these raw data collected first-hand through the insights gained from actually being on site" (Gorman and Clayton 1997: 24). In a descriptive approach, notes on paper, video cameras, etc. are used to describe these events (Creswell, 1994). This is a bottom-up approach, since the researcher first collects the data and then provides explanations on the observed phenomena. This richness of data in the qualitative approach is best teased out through the descriptive use of language to provide an understanding of the data collected rather than by measuring or quantifying it.

3.1.2 Research Hypotheses

These are the hypotheses raised in (Chapter One, section 1.3) which will be put to test in this study:

Hypothesis 1: That the conceptual system in which we think and act is metaphorical and that this will be mirrored in our everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3). HDA body-part idioms will reveal that HDA speakers' thinking is metaphorical and that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life.

Hypothesis 2: That three cognitive mechanisms will structure HDA body-part idioms: conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and HDA-speakers' conventional knowledge about the human body, society, and the world. The presence of these mechanisms in HDA body-part idioms will confirm that these idioms are products of our conceptual system.

Hypothesis 3: That the meanings of HDA body-part idioms will be motivated and not arbitrary (Lakoff 1993: 211).

Hypothesis 4: That people's ordinary, kinesthetic experiences are important in understanding the relationship between the mind and the body. In HDA body-part idioms, the human body and its interaction with the environment and the world will be an integral part of conceptualization. This is known as the *embodiment hypothesis* (Lakoff 1987: 206).

Hypothesis 5: That "[t]he kind of conceptual system we have is a product of the kind of beings we are and the way we interact with our physical and cultural environments" Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 119). In HDA body-part idioms, culture will be another important part of conceptualization.

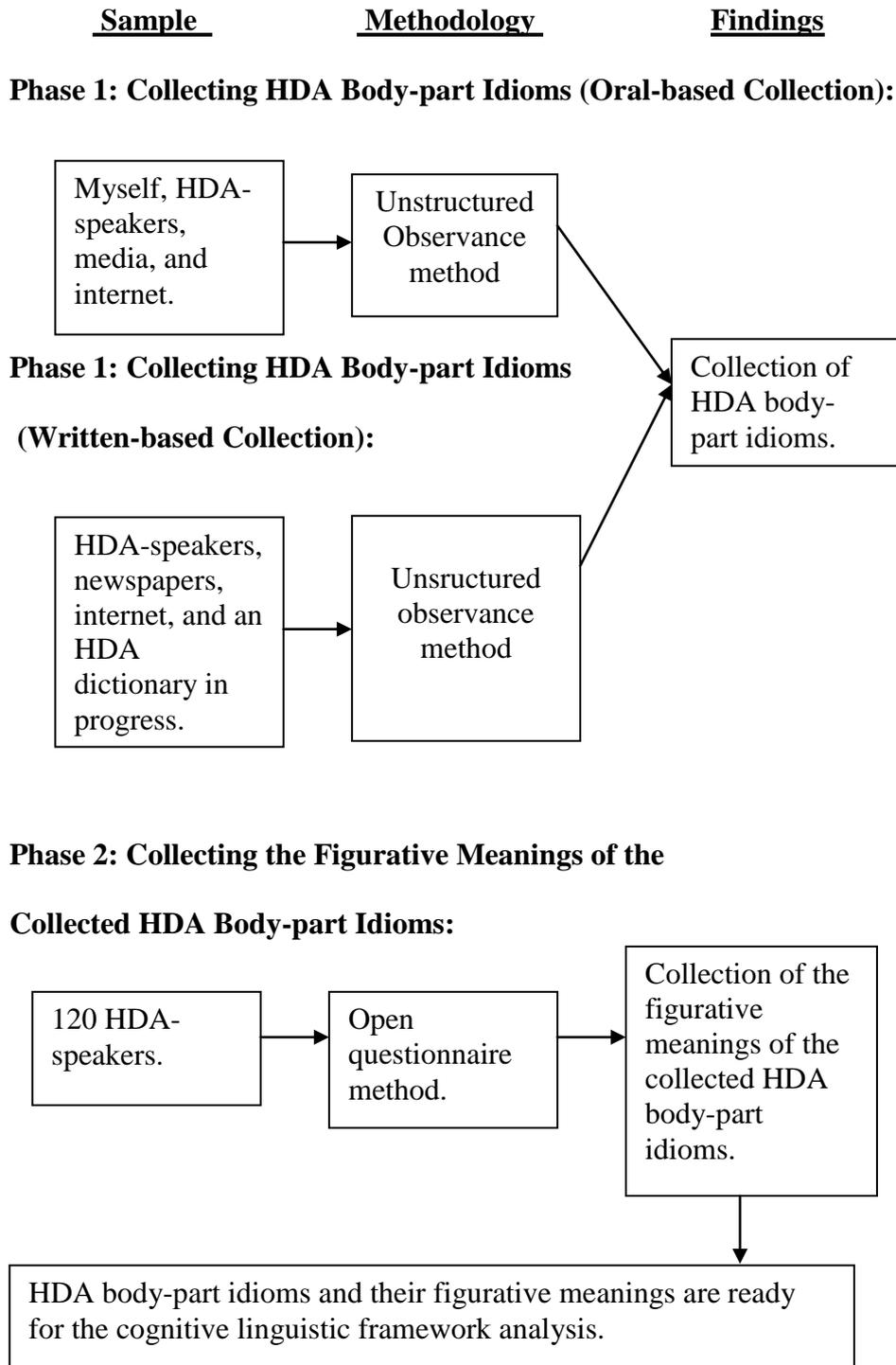
3.1.3 Research Strategy

In this study, the qualitative approach is chosen for collecting HDA body-part idioms for many reasons, among them is the fact that the researcher is the primary data-gathering instrument through observing and collecting the data in natural contexts. The

available literature on qualitative methods points to various procedures and tools to collect data, such as focus group interviews, in depth interviews, observance, etc. The study uses the unstructured observance method to collect HDA body-part idioms in both oral and written use. The open questionnaire method, a quantitative method, was used for the verification of figurative meanings. Figure (3.1) explains the data collection procedures used in this study.

3.1.4 Research Design

Figure 3.1: Data Collection Procedure



3.2 Unstructured Observance Method Used for Collecting HDA Body-Part Idioms

3.2.1 Phase 1: Oral-based Collection

The collection in this phase was done through the observation method, a method of qualitative investigation, which is defined by Gorman and Clayton (1997: 44) as "involv[ing] the systematic recording of observable phenomena or behaviour in a natural setting." I chose specifically the unstructured observation method, in which "the observer records any behaviour or event which is relevant to the research questions being investigated" (Gorman and Clayton 1997: 105). One of the advantages of this method is that the researcher does not interact with the informants or events being observed and can record information as it occurs (Creswell 1994: 150). I began collecting HDA body-part idioms first-hand in July 2003, long before I enrolled on my PhD program because observation is a time-consuming method (Gorman and Clayton 1997: 106). As a HDA-speaker living and working in Jeddah, I was able to collect these idioms first-hand. I was mainly concerned, while collecting the idioms, with conventionalized HDA body-part idioms⁴⁰ used by ordinary HDA-speakers on a daily basis for everyday purposes, and not with idioms used for rhetorical or ornamental effect. I carried a small notebook in my handbag, in which I wrote every body-part idiom I heard in conversation or on the television or radio, as well as those used by HDA-speakers in internet chat rooms. I also wrote down idioms I know and use myself.

⁴⁰ As stated in Kövecses (2002: 30), the term conventional is used "in the sense of well established and well entrenched".

3.2.2 Phase 1: Written-based Collection

1. I work at King Abdulaziz University (henceforth, KAU) in the English Department. KAU served as a natural setting, and many HDA-speakers work and study there. Ninety students, who speak HDA and live in Jeddah, were selected as informants.⁴¹ After informing them that I was doing my PhD thesis on HDA body-part idioms, I asked for their help in providing me with idioms they used and heard around them in Jeddah. This was a task that did not count towards their course mark and which they were free to take part in or not as they chose. They were asked to write HDA body-part idioms in reference to parts of the body, such as the eyes, nose, mouth, head, heart, ear, tongue, cheeks, hair, teeth, and so on to identify idioms absent from the initial collection. After one week, eighty-two informants handed me their collections, and eight chose not to. Approximately 35 idioms were added to the file, and the use of many previously collected idioms was further confirmed.⁴² Idioms restricted to HDA youth slang were excluded, including */wajhu 111/*,⁴³ ‘His face is 111’, He is extremely angry. This idiom appeared entirely opaque until the student who wrote it explained that 111 represents three deep furrows between the eyebrows of an angry person, which look like the graphic presentation of the number 111. Idioms like these are difficult for other age groups of HDA-speakers to comprehend and are, regrettably, beyond the scope of this study.

⁴¹ In KAU, there are students coming from outside Jeddah on a weekly basis just to attend lectures. These students were excluded because they speak different dialects of Saudi Arabic such as Thaqif, etc.

⁴² Refer to Appendix 1 to see one of the students' hand-written papers designed to provide additional HDA body-part idioms missed by the other collection methods. A translated version is also provided.

⁴³ 111 is read in its numerical presentation (i.e. one hundred and eleven).

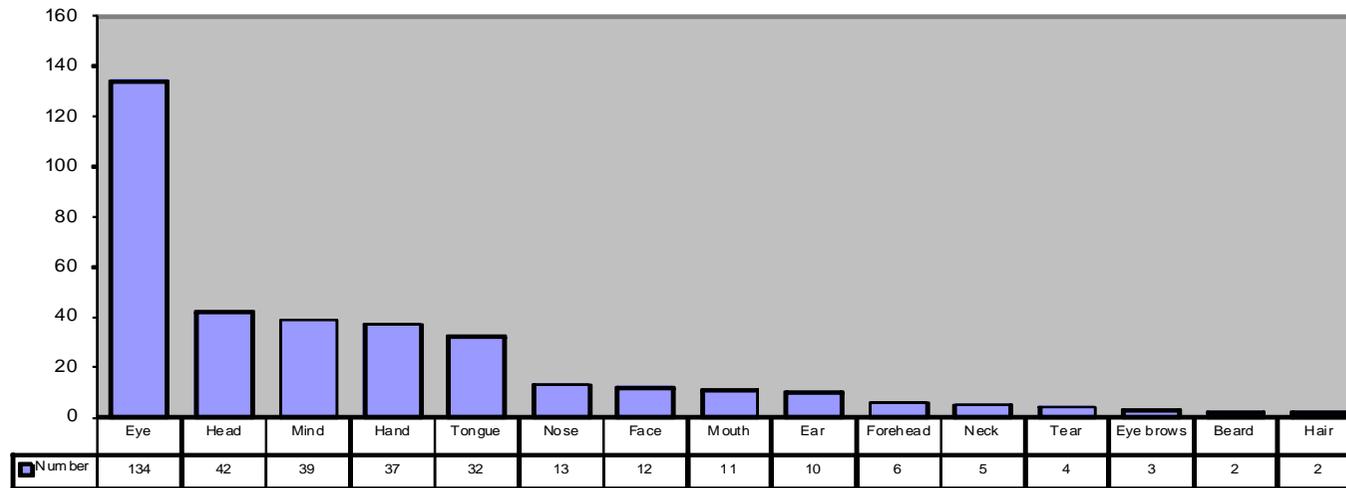
2. HDA is sometimes used in local newspapers for writing informal articles related to everyday life in Jeddah and for discussing current social issues. Whenever a body-part idiom appeared in a newspaper I was reading, I added it directly to the data collection file. Also, HDA is sometimes used in big advertisement screens, both printed and video-based, in the main streets of Jeddah, and I also collected body-part idioms from them.
3. HDA is used for informal written communication on the internet, and I also collected HDA body-part idioms from HDA-speakers' websites⁴⁴ by Google searches.
4. Although no HDA dictionaries are currently available, one is in progress, and in May 2006 Dr Lamia Baeshen provided me with the available idioms collected in her dictionary with regard to the specified body part of */?al9ein/*, 'the eye'.⁴⁵ She provided me with the idioms alone, and not their figurative meanings, which were not yet available. I am extremely grateful for her help. Approximately eleven of the thirty eight idioms she provided were absent from my collection.

The idioms collected, whether orally or written, were taken out of context and grouped according to the body part terms they included. Once these idioms were written down, they were transferred into a file which was classified according to the part of the body: one section held head idioms, another mind idioms, and so on. Any new idioms were added to the file, while previously recorded examples were discarded. In all, 352 idioms were collected, concerning fifteen different body parts, as shown in Figure (3.2).

⁴⁴ This includes www.jedawyah.net, www.alhjaz.org, www.jeddahnews.net, etc.

⁴⁵ It is to be noted that the dictionary is in its intermediate stages, and it is concerned with HDA dialect in general, not just its idioms.

Figure 3.2: Number of all HDA Body-part Idioms Collected



These were /ʔalʕein/, ‘the eye’, /ʔalxušum/, ‘the nose’, /ʔallisaan/, ‘the tongue’, /ʔarraaS/, ‘the head’, /ʔalʔidin/, ‘the ear’, /ʔalfam/, ‘the mouth’, /ʔaddigin/, ‘the beard’, /ʔalwajh/, ‘the face’, /ʔaljabiin/, ‘the forehead’, /ʔalmux/, /ʔalʕagil/, /ʔaddimaaG/⁴⁶, ‘the mind’, /ʔalHawajib/, ‘the eye brows’, /ʔashshaʕar/, ‘the hair’, /ʔarragabah/, ‘the neck’, /ʔaddamʕah/, ‘the tear’, /ʔalyad/, ‘the hand’.

Because of limitations of time and space, I chose the six most productively used body parts, and body parts occurring in only a small number of idioms were excluded. Six body parts yielded 297 idioms in all: /ʔalʕein/, ‘the eye’;⁴⁷ /ʔarraaS/, ‘the head’; /ʔalʕagil/, /ʔaddimaaG/, /ʔalmux/, ‘the mind’; /ʔalyad/, ‘the hand’;⁴⁸ /ʔallisaan/, ‘the tongue’; and /ʔalxušum/, ‘the nose’. Data collection stopped in January 2007 so that the collection of their figurative meanings could proceed. There probably are other idioms relating to these six body parts in HDA, but the most common are undoubtedly included.

3.2.3 Reliability in the Collection of HDA Body-part Idioms

Gorman and Clayton (1997: 59) argue that reliability is linked to repeatability. They define *triangulation* as "collecting information from several sources about the same event or behaviour" (Gorman and Clayton 1997: 32), and this is the main reason for using the observation method from many sources in collecting HDA body-part idioms.

⁴⁶ All these three HDA terms are used interchangeably to refer to ‘the mind’ in HDA.

⁴⁷ The largest number of HDA body-part idioms is concerned with the eye, confirming Yu's (2004: 664) argument that "the large number of compounds and idioms involving 'eye(s)' in the Chinese lexicon reflect the importance of our eyes as organs of sight in particular, and of cognition in general."

⁴⁸ Csábi (2004a) found out that the hand is the body-part yielding the most idioms in English.

Even though the process of note-taking was tedious and time-consuming, it proved to be the most effective method for recording HDA body-part idioms.

3.3 Phase 2: Methods of Collecting the Figurative Meanings of the Collected HDA Body-part Idioms

3.3.1 A Pilot Study of Three Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Tested in the Collection of the Figurative Meanings of HDA Body-part Idioms

The second phase was to collect the figurative meanings of the 297 HDA body-part idioms collected from HDA-speakers. This was necessary to ensure that the data would be ready for the cognitive linguistic framework analysis and would produce accurate cognitive linguistic results. Pilot studies were conducted using the open-closed method and focus group interview, and were useful in establishing that these methods would not be appropriate to this research for reasons explained below. The pilot study using an open questionnaire method did prove successful and appropriate, and was, therefore, employed for this thesis.

3.3.1.1 Open-closed Questionnaire Method

I gathered a small group of HDA-speakers for a pilot study of an open-closed questionnaire. The participants were fifteen in number: seven of my students at KAU aged 18-21 and eight relatives and friends aged 30-55. Ten were female and five male. Their educational level ranged from freshmen to MA. There were no illiterates. I gave each participant a brief description of the questionnaire and its purpose and asked for

their permission to analyze the results before handing them the questionnaire. I asked participants to answer individually without help from each other.

In an attempt to respect "the individual's freedom to decline to participate in or withdraw from the research at any time" (Borg and Gall 1989: 85), I stressed that this was not an obligatory task, and that students who chose not to participate would not be disadvantaged in any way. This was also intended to ensure that students gave honest answers rather than feeling that they were being tested (Fraenkel and Wallen 1996). The first page of the questionnaire consisted of general information: name, age, education level, and the variety of HDA spoken. The second, third, fourth, and fifth pages consisted of thirty idioms, selected to test the questionnaire method, each provided with three possible meanings. The three choices included the literal meaning of the idiom, and two possible figurative interpretations. For example, three choices were offered for the idiom */9einu ma yimliiha illat turaab/*:⁴⁹ He is greedy (the figurative meaning and correct choice), He deserves to have his eye filled with dust (literal meaningless meaning), and He is suspicious (totally wrong answer). As a native speaker of HDA, I provided these interpretations to test the informants' comprehension of the idiom in question. A space followed for the correct answer if none of the answers provided was acceptable. These participants were given two weeks to write their answers and return them to me by hand. After collecting the questionnaires, it was evident that this method was unsuccessful for the following reasons:

1. Some of the participants tended to choose the literal presentation (i.e. meaningless meaning) of the idiom from the multiple choices although none of these idioms was

⁴⁹ The pronouns appearing in all the idioms collected were gathered as they were heard/written during the process of collection.

likely to be used with its literal sense. One participant, for example, chose the literal presentation of the idiom: ‘the eye is never satisfied from eating’ for /*9einu ma tishba9*/, He is greedy/ He is envious.

2. A blank space was provided after each idiom for informants to provide an additional meaning if they were not satisfied with the choices. Instructions on the first page explained how to fill in this blank space: 'If you did not find the meaning you use in the listed choices, kindly write in the blank provided after each idiom'. Only three participants wrote anything in these blanks, and most blanks were left unfilled in all papers. The fact that the majority of participants did not fill these spaces indicated that the open questionnaire method was a better choice than open-closed questionnaires because it encourages informants to think for themselves.

3. If the 297 idioms were written in this manner, the questionnaire would consist of more than ten pages. This would be time-consuming to construct and discouraging for potential participants.

4. Although I am a HDA speaker, I could have overlooked an interpretation or omitted it because I do not use it in the sense that others do. If I confined the answers to choices that I provided, these second or third meanings of an idiom would not have been elicited from my informants.

3.3.1.2 Focus Group Interview Method

Another methodology recommended by my thesis committee was the focus group interview (henceforth, FGI). However, after reading literature about FGI,⁵⁰ it became clear that this approach would not have been appropriate:

1. This number of idioms could only be discussed across multiple FGI sessions, which would lead to complications regarding the composition of the group as well as the practical organizational difficulties.
2. With FGI, I would have a limited opportunity to obtain the information from a large sample of HDA-speakers. In other words, not all of the members would have the chance to provide their meanings individually, because the group might reach a conclusion before they have a chance to speak.
3. Sometimes one of the members will influence others in their answers. Others might be silent most of the time, feeling oppressed or overawed by other group members. Accordingly, results might be unrepresentative of the views of individual focus group members.
4. FGI produces relatively chaotic data which is difficult to analyze.
5. The most important reason is that the information required by this thesis can be easily obtained through HDA-speakers thinking and writing down the

⁵⁰ See Morgan 1997, 1998; and Morgan *et al.* 1993; Fern 2001; Denscombe 2003; Litoselliti 2003.

information at their leisure. In other words, they are not under pressure to give the answers of the selected idioms in one setting or feeling embarrassed if they gave an unusual answer. The open questionnaire method largely meets the criteria.

3.3.1.3 Open Questionnaire Method

The last pilot study I thought about was the open questionnaire procedure, and I initially tested a group of fourteen HDA-speakers to check its applicability. These were seven male and seven female HDA-speakers from among my friends and relatives. None of these was contacted again for the open questionnaire method, not only because this might represent an unreasonable claim on their time and patience, but also because their previous experience might have influenced the way they thought about figurative expressions. Their age ranged from 18-50, and they had different educational backgrounds. Their educational level ranged from freshmen to MA. There were no illiterates. They were instructed in the same way as the open-closed participants and were also given two weeks to complete the task. When the questionnaires were collected, the results were promising. All of the idioms in the fourteen questionnaires were answered fully, and sometimes there were two interpretations for a single idiom, indicating that this method collects a cross-section of views that might not be available by the FGI method. In addition, two of the participants informed me that they enjoyed answering the questionnaire and it was a pleasing experience for them because they had never thought about interpreting everyday idioms before, and that the questionnaire was not dull and boring as they expected it to be. A few minor modifications were necessary however:

1. Some of the words in the typed idioms on these questionnaires needed short vowels for facilitation of reading (see Transliteration system).
2. I had originally requested the participants' names as an obligatory piece of information so that I could contact them if necessary. However, many chose not to provide this information, and since it was not important to my study, I made this requirement optional.
3. It was embarrassing for some of the female informants to write their age. One female participant receiving her questionnaire by hand expressed concern that I would find out her true age. In the event, she entered an age rather younger than her real one. Colleagues in KAU doing questionnaire-based research in various fields, informed me from their experience that the date of birth is often regarded as a sensitive issue for women, especially in Saudi culture where it is considered a private matter. One traditional way of respecting their privacy while acquiring the necessary information, which is used widely in scientific research, is to ask respondents to tick one from a list of age bands (Breakwell *et al.* 2006: 223). Consequently I changed the open question about age into a choice from three age ranges, which seemed to be less intrusive.

I chose the open questionnaire, a data collection instrument used in the survey method, as my method of collecting the figurative meanings of the 297 HDA body-part idioms from a large number of representative participants of the target population. I was confident that this tool is an efficient way of collecting information from a large number of respondents because the participants "make any response they wish in their own

words" (Borg and Gall 1989: 428). In addition, it provides a great chance for the participants to give frank answers, it can be used to gather hard-to-obtain data, it facilitates the collection of huge number of data in a short period of time, and the questionnaire can be completed at the informants' leisure (Busha and Harter 1980: 62). Although one of its disadvantages could be that uneducated subjects might not be able to respond to a list of printed questions (Busha and Harter 1980: 63), the reading and writing was done for illiterate participants by the researcher.

297 idioms were too many for a single questionnaire, so they were divided into five groups of 59 or 60 to avoid over-working the informants. To ensure that the questionnaires were filled in without undue stress, literate informants were given two weeks to complete them. All of the five questionnaires had the same instructions written in MSA, which is the H variety used in formal settings all around the Arab world:

Kindly, read the following idiomatic expressions which are associated with the eye, mind, tongue, head, hand, and nose and then write the meanings of each idiom. If you have not used any of these idioms, please write "I have not heard it before" or "I don't know what it means".

The idioms were typed in HDA, with short vowels marked. The idioms were distributed so that each of the five questionnaires combined of all the six body-parts under study. Each questionnaire consisted of five pages, the first of which was the Informed Consent Form. The second page contained participants' general information: name (optional), gender, age (with different categories), HDA spoken: (rural or urban), education level: (different categories). As a short form of presentation for all their general information, I

attached a code number for each HDA-speaker. The rest of the pages, which were three in number, were the idioms whose meaning was being sought. Questionnaire 1, 2, 5 consisted of 59 idioms, questionnaires 3 and 4 included 60 idioms.

3.3.1.4 Ethical Issues

It is important that the researcher considers ethical issues that might occur during the research. Oppenheim (1992) and Sudman and Bradburn (1983) identified some basic principles in addressing ethical issues in research, including the avoidance of harm and participants' right to information that will allow them to make an informed decision to take part in the study, etc. In this study, and specifically with regard to the collection of figurative meanings, these principles were observed throughout. The Informed Consent Form was developed for the participants to sign before the study began to ensure their rights were protected.⁵¹ This form was placed in the first page of the questionnaire and was written in MSA, the most appropriate variety for formal situations. Literate participants were asked to read all of the information related to the study on this form carefully before answering the questions. If they agreed, the participant signed in the blank specified. If they did not consent, the paper was returned to its place unfilled. With illiterate participants, I read the Informed Consent Form and further informed them that there would be a tape-recording of the session which would be used only for the purposes of this project. It was made clear to the participants that if they did not

⁵¹ See Appendix 2 (a sample of the Arabic questionnaire in which the Informed Consent Form is on the first page). A translated version is also provided.

consent, they were free not to participate and would be replaced by another participant. But if they agreed, they signed the Informed Consent Form in the questionnaire.⁵²

I emphasized to all the participants that they could choose not to participate at any time during the process and were free to return the paper unanswered. No force was exerted on the participants. Many potential informants chose not to participate through lack of time or confidence.

3.4 Study Sample

Survey research is characterized by the selection of samples of a large population since investigators cannot question or interview the whole population (Busha and Harter 1980: 54). Considerations of money, time and effort influence the decision to select a sample of the target population.⁵³ This study selects a purposive or judgemental sample, in which the researcher "exercises *deliberate subjective choice in drawing what he or she regards as a 'representative' sample*" (Barnett 2002: 18, emphasis in the original).

The open questionnaire method tests a purposive sample of HDA-speakers' judgements by asking them to write the meaning/s of each idiom in the questionnaire. 120 HDA-speakers was the number agreed on following discussions with a research methods

⁵² All my illiterate participants were able to sign, since signatures in Arabic do not necessarily use the written alphabet. A person can use a permanent graphic presentation as his signature. See appendices 3 and 4 for examples.

⁵³ According to 2004 Ministry of Economy and Planning survey, the Saudi population in Jeddah is 1,495,121.

professor.⁵⁴ Because the individuals sampled represent a fairly homogenous population, a carefully chosen small sample can be representative (Busha and Harter 1980: 59).

3.4.1 Social Variables of the Selected Sample

A sample of 120 HDA-speakers was selected according to the following social variables:

1. Age: The study intends to include informants in three age ranges:

Group A: Young: (18-35),

Group B: Middle-aged: (36-55), and

Group C: Older: (56 and above)

This study is concerned with adults and not children, because experts disagree about the age at which children could be expected to understand certain idiomatic expressions. Gibbs states that many young children interpret metaphors literally because they either lack sufficient real-world knowledge or may be limited in their ability to distinguish reality and pretense:

"[a] variety of research demonstrates that very young children will often believe implausible ideas, such as that a prison guard can turn into a stone or that sweet people actually taste sweet." (Gibbs 1994: 407 quoting Winner 1976).

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Professor Hassan AlSeraihy at KAU for his advice on the selection of an appropriate number of informants.

In addition, there are also heightened ethical concerns about using child informants. The purpose of this age specification is to collect the meaning/s of an idiom from different age categories so as not to cause any bias towards a specific age. Also, age differences provide different points of views according to the experiential background of a person which may present more meanings for an idiom.

2. Education: It was essential to include illiterate people because they represent 6.29%⁵⁵ of the population of HDA-speakers. However, only five illiterates agreed to participate.

The education system in Saudi Arabia consists of six stages, none of which are compulsory. Children may attend Primary School (6+ -11+), Intermediate School (12+ -14+), and General Secondary School (15+ -17+). There are a further three levels of Higher Education: the Bachelors degree (lasting four years), Masters (usually taking 3-5 years), and finally PhD degree (usually taking between 3 and 5 years). Formal education is segregated by gender at all levels. Arabic is the language of instruction throughout, with English introduced as a foreign language in the Intermediate level in government schools. All curricula must conform to the Islamic law and the Qur'an. The educational policy in Saudi Arabia provides education to the bachelor degree level free of charge. Consequently, illiteracy is more common among older people. Education is financed through the state budget. Private education also exists at all levels, with state supervision to ensure equivalence of quality with government schools.⁵⁶ English is generally introduced earlier in private education (i.e. from nursery), sometimes following American or British curricula. A high proportion of wealthy and/or educated

⁵⁵ Ministry of Economy and Planning, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, *Population and Housing Census 1425 AH* (2004). Detailed Results: 58.

⁵⁶ Sedgwick (2001).

Saudis choose private education for their children for many reasons, but particularly because of the advantages attached to English as an international language, as a prerequisite to perusing higher studies locally or abroad, or getting a better job.

3. Dialect: Speakers of the two varieties of HDA in Jeddah were selected as HDA-participants. This was to ensure that the meanings collected would encompass potentially different point of views, experiences, and opinions. Jeddah is diglossic in relation to the two varieties. Most of the people who live in Jeddah, including the researcher, code-switch between the two varieties according to the social situation. Also, sometimes the code-switching happens for the purpose of easy comprehension between the members in a certain conversation. Saudis visiting Jeddah for other purposes like education or work may speak other dialects of Arabic and were thus not selected.

4. Gender: Both sexes were included to prevent any kind of bias towards one of them. The number of HDA-speakers of each gender is equal in this study (i.e. 60 males and 60 females).

Ultimately, these 120 HDA-speakers were classified into three groups as shown below:⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See Appendix 5, which is a demographic description of HDA-speakers participating in this study.

Table 3.1: A Summary of Informants Participating in the Open Questionnaire.

Age Group	Number of participants	Gender	Education	Dialect
Group A: Young Participants	40 HDA-speakers	20 M 20 F	Intermediate to BA	Rural – Urban
Group B: Middle-Age Participants	40 HDA-speakers	20 M 20 F	Intermediate to PhD	Rural – Urban
Group C: Older Participants	40 HDA-speakers	20 M 20 F	PhD holders to illiterates	Rural – Urban

M: Male; F: Female; BA: Bachelor Degree; PhD: Doctor of Philosophy.

Group A: Young Participants

The participants in this group were twenty Hijazi males and twenty Hijazi females aged 18-35 selected following the social variables outlined previously. Some of them were studying at KAU while others were either relatives or friends. Their educational backgrounds range from Intermediate School to BA.

Group B: Middle-Aged Participants

The participants in this group were twenty Hijazi males and twenty Hijazi females aged 36-55. The participants have different educational backgrounds, ranging from Intermediate School to PhD. The group included ordinary people around me with fairly little education and others who were selected according to their high level of education, their literary production in HDA, or their social status in the society of Jeddah as a literary scholar, a physician, etc. This group included figures from the male and female

branches of KAU, King Fahad Hospital (a mixed-gender environment), and the Literary Cultural Club in Jeddah (a segregated environment).⁵⁸

Group C: Older Participants

This group consisted of twenty men and twenty women who were fifty-six years old or over, selected following the social criteria outlined previously. Their educational background ranged from PhD holders to illiterates: 35 participants were literate, while only five participants (two men and three women) were illiterate. The small number of illiterate informants reflects this group's greater unwillingness to participate in this study.

3.4.2 Reliability in Selecting HDA-speakers

It is important to note that many of the participants in the three groups were my relatives, friends, colleagues, or acquaintances. I purposively selected them among others because I wanted to make sure that they were HDA-speakers living permanently in Jeddah. Also, through my work at KAU, I was in direct contact with many Hijazi community members either as students, workers, administrative employees, teachers, literary critics, etc. This was very beneficial to me because it gave me direct access to these different categories of the Hijazi community. Most of these participants were welcoming and willing to help. Because all of the informants were known to me or to

⁵⁸ Saudi Arabian hospitals, shopping malls, supermarkets, and restaurants are mixed-gender environments, with women wearing *Abaya* as their formal dress. The Literary Cultural Club in Jeddah and KAU is a mixed but segregated environment: men and women sit in separate conference rooms and communicate using an internal microphone.

my colleagues, I am confident that the information they provided about their social and education background was correct.

3.4.3 Distribution of Questionnaires

Each participant in the three groups received one of the five versions the questionnaire, as shown in Table (3.2):

Table 3.2: Division of Participants According to the Questionnaire's Number.

Participants in age groups: A, B, and C:	Questionnaire Number
Participants 1-8 (in A, B, and C)	1
Participants 9-16 (in A, B, and C)	2
Participants 17-24 (in A, B, and C)	3
Participants 25-32 (in A, B, and C)	4
Participants 33-40 (in A, B, and C)	5

Upon receiving the questionnaire, literate participants were asked to provide the figurative meanings and return them within two weeks. In the case of illiterate informants, data-collection was oral: I met with each of the five and wrote down their responses. As Table (3.2) shows, each of the three groups consisted of forty participants. The collection of the figurative meaning/s of each idiom in the five questionnaires relies on twenty-four HDA-speakers in total (i.e. eight participants from each of the three groups). Each participant in the three groups had a fixed code number in relation to the questionnaire they took.

3.4.4 Categorizing HDA-speakers' Responses

Each time a questionnaire was collected, I went over the Informed Consent Form at the beginning to ensure that the participant had signed to signify their Informed Consent. Then I proceeded to the next page of general information to see if the blanks were filled in. If an incomplete questionnaire was received, it was discarded and another participant was sought to fulfill the same social variables. Participants provided figurative meanings of the selected idioms in their questionnaire using MSA, or HDA, while others used both varieties interchangeably. In other words, each one of them wrote information based on whatever came mostly readily into their mind.

The next stage was to classify the figurative meanings collected. Darlington & Scott (2002: 145) highlight the importance of the coding process in quantitative research, stating that "coding is an integral part of the analysis, involving sifting through the data, making sense of it and categorizing it in various ways". All of the figurative meanings collected from HDA-speakers were placed in five files, one for each questionnaire. Each file consisted of fifty nine or sixty pages according to the selected number of idioms. On each page, there was a diagram to refer to an idiom.⁵⁹ Each idiom was given a code number for easy referencing. This code number consists of a letter and two numbers: the letter Q stands for questionnaire followed by the questionnaire number and another number which stands for the occurrence of the idiom in this questionnaire. For example Q/1 (23) stands for Questionnaire 1, idiom number 23. On the top corner of each diagram, the idiom was written in HDA, followed by its literal translation. The diagram had twenty four columns for the twenty four HDA-speakers' answers. Each column is

⁵⁹ See Appendix 6 A two-sided sample page of the diagram the researcher used for classifying HDA-speakers' figurative meanings.

labeled with the participant's code number on its left side and each HDA-speaker's answer was then written manually. At the end of each page of the diagram, there were spaces provided for writing the collected meanings of an idiom (i.e. meaning 1, meaning 2, etc.) along with the number of participants answering each one (i.e. meaning 1 was answered by 11 participants, meaning 2 was answered by 7 participants, etc.). There was another space provided specifically for idioms whose meaning was unknown or unheard of (not familiar to the informant). As soon as I collected the questionnaires, I started writing each HDA-speaker's answer into the appropriate column. Once all of this information was collated, the next step was to use the content analysis approach in which HDA-speakers' answers for each idiom were categorized. HDA-speakers' answers fell into one of the following four groups:

1. One single meaning: This includes HDA-speakers using different styles and uses of words in order to imply a single meaning. For example, in Q5 (2): */guddaam 9uyuuni/*, 'in front of my eyes', there were many answers with different styles but leading to one meaning:

- a. Participant (A33) answered: */?amaami mubaasharatan/*, right in front of me.
- b. Participant (A38) answered: */mawjuud wa HaaDir ?amaami/*, available and existing in front of me.
- c. Participant (C37) answered: */?amaami/*, in front of me.

Those three explanations all point to the same interpretation of the idiom.

The categorization of HDA-speakers' figurative meanings revealed a fluctuating number ranging from two to twenty-four different responses to a single meaning of an idiom.

2. More than one meaning: In this category are idioms for which multiple HDA-speakers provided unrelated meanings, and accordingly these idioms are said to have more than one meaning. For example, in Q1 (18): */ʔuyyūnaha ʔarba9 ʔarba9/*, 'her eyes four four', there were two different answers:

- a. Participant (B6) answered: */mintabha jiddan wibitraagib/*, She is extremely observant.
- b. Participant (A5) answered: */ʔeinaha gawiyyah/*, She is envious.

These two explanations point to two distinct meanings for this idiom. Table (3.3) presents a selective sample of the number of HDA-speakers' figurative meanings for two HDA idioms.

Table 3.3: Examples of Different Numbers of HDA-speakers Responding to Two HDA Body-part Idioms.

IDIOM AS NUMBERED IN THE OPEN-QUESTIONNAIRE AND THEIR LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING/S COLLECTED BY HDA-SPEAKERS	MARGINAL ANSWERS	I DON'T KNOW	I HAVEN'T HEARD THIS IDIOM BEFORE
Q1/5 <i>/fattiH 9einak</i> <i>ma9aava/</i> Literal translation: 'Open your eye with me'.	<u>Pay close attention:</u> 24	None	None	None
Q1/57 <i>/?um Isaanein/</i> Literal translation: 'She is the mother of two tongues'.	<u>She is disrespectful:</u> 9 <u>She is a negotiator:</u> 9 <u>She is talkative:</u> 2	None	None	4

This study analyses the meaning/s of an idiom according to the number of HDA-speakers answering: a figure that always falls between two and twenty four in this study.

3. "I don't know the meaning" or "I haven't heard it before" answers: The main two reasons I included these two choices for participants was to discourage them from guessing the meaning of idioms unfamiliar to them. In addition, idioms which receiving only the responses "I don't know its meaning" or "I haven't heard this

idiom before" were to have been excluded from the analysis. There were no idioms which were unknown to all of the participants and so no idiom was excluded. The study does not attempt to explore why HDA-speakers did not know the meaning of an idiom or had not heard it before. Table (3.4) presents four examples of idioms with high percentages of "I don't know" or "I haven't heard this idiom before".

Table 3.4: Examples of High Percentages (Not Complete Percentages) of "I don't know" or "I haven't heard this idiom before".

IDIOM AND LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANINGS COLLECTED BY HDA-SPEAKERS	MARGINAL ANSWERS	NOT KNOWN	NOT HEARD
Q4/56 <i>/baa9 lsaanu/</i> Literal translation: 'He sold his tongue'.	<u>He spread a secret:</u> 7	<u>He was unaware of what he was saying:</u> 1 <u>I am tired of talking to him:</u> 1 <u>He does not care about anyone:</u> 1 <u>He is a silent person:</u> 1	12	1
Q3/59 <i>/Isaanaha 9ala janbaha/</i> Literal translation: 'Her tongue is on her shoulder'.	<u>She is disrespectful:</u> 8	<u>She is unharmful:</u> 1 <u>She is stupid:</u> 1 <u>She is volatile:</u> 1	8	5
Q1/25 <i>/9ainaha zarragat/</i> Literal translation: 'Her eye was darkened'.	<u>He was severely beaten:</u> 4 <u>He is envying others:</u> 2	<u>Angry:</u> 1 <u>Tears in her eyes:</u> 1	6	10
Q3/21 <i>/qad ma 9eini twaSSil/</i> Literal translation: 'As far as my eye can reach'.	<u>The farthest I can see:</u> 11	<u>He does not care:</u> 1	6	6

4. Marginal answers: These answers have a very low percentage of use (i.e. only one informant provided this interpretation of an idiom. Their categorization as marginal should not be taken as implying that these answers are incorrect: that would require additional research beyond the scope of this thesis. An example is seen in Q3 (5): */9einaha ma tshuufal GalaT/*, ‘Her eye does not see wrong’. Three participants gave three marginal answers to this idiom:

- a. Participant (A24) answered: */mashaa? ?allah 9aleiha/*, God protects her.
- b. Participant (B22) answered: */mustahtira/*, She is careless.
- c. Participant (C18) answered: */muta9aaliah/*, She is arrogant.

However, sixteen informants were in agreement with the meaning She is blind to someone's faults, while two informants agreed on the meaning She does not like wrongdoing. Two had not heard this idiom before, while one did not know its meaning. It is important to note that this study analyzes all the meanings reported for any idiom except those marginal responses that were given only once. Marginal answers were not taken into consideration and hence not included in the analysis. The study is only concerned with answers given by at least two speakers.⁶⁰

The content analysis involved reading all of the figurative meanings selected for an idiom and then checking whether they were similar, different, marginal, unknown or unheard of, bearing in mind two important factors: the different styles and different uses of words of these speakers. My own judgements as to whether answers were similar,

⁶⁰ See Table (3.4) for additional examples of marginal answers.

different, or marginal were cross-checked with two Arabic literary critics who are both HDA-speakers. I asked them to do the following:

1. Read all the diagrams of all HDA body-part idioms with their HDA-speakers' answers.
2. Check the accuracy of my classification of these answers for each idiom.
3. Discuss with me any kind of alteration that needs to be added.

The experts' feedback brought more credence and weight to the reliability of this study as I applied all their comments after detailed discussions. For example, one of these experts suggested that two answers I had conflated: */baSbaaS/*, leering and */waqiH/* impudent for Q3 (8) */9einu Tawiilah/*, 'His eye is long', should be interpreted as two separate meanings.⁶¹ I am grateful for their help in this part of the thesis.

The data ready for the cognitive linguistic framework analysis consisted of 297 idioms and the total of 364 agreed meanings reported by HDA-speakers for those HDA body-part idioms. I transferred these idioms and their figurative meanings into a list for the purpose of translating them both literally and figuratively into English. All of these 297 idioms are listed in Appendix 7. Each idiom was given a number, and all the examples used in chapter four have these numbers inserted between square brackets for easy cross-reference.

⁶¹ The second meaning was a marginal answer.

3.4.5 Some Considerations in the Categorization of HDA-speakers' Answers

As stated in the previous section, the categorization of 120 HDA-speakers' answers revealed four possible types of response: a single agreed meaning; more than one agreed meaning; marginal answers; and that the idiom was not understood or known. Agreed meanings will be discussed in the cognitive linguistic analysis in chapter four. This section will talk briefly about some considerations that arose from the categorization of HDA-speakers' answers with regard to the social variables represented in this study, namely age, education, dialect, and gender. These social variables are not the focus of this study and it was not designed to explore them in detail. Their discussion is intended only to identify questions for possible future research. The following tables illustrate some of these issues:

Table 3.5: Total Number of "I don't know" Answers Categorized by HDA-speakers' Groups A, B, and C.

Questionnaire Number	Group A: Young (18-35)		Group B: Middle-aged (36-55)		Group C: Older (56 and above)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Questionnaire 1	28 (1.97%)	12 (0.84%)	5 (0.35%)	11 (0.77%)	12 (0.84%)	4 (0.28%)
Questionnaire 2	28 (1.97%)	4 (0.28%)	6 (0.42%)	5 (0.35%)	4 (0.28%)	11 (0.77%)
Questionnaire 3	21 (1.45%)	14 (0.97%)	5 (0.34%)	15 (1.04%)	0 (0.00%)	17 (1.18%)
Questionnaire 4	13 (0.90%)	18 (1.25%)	12 (0.83%)	22 (1.52%)	13 (0.90%)	18 (1.25%)
Questionnaire 5	33 (2.33%)	13 (0.91%)	10 (0.70%)	19 (1.34%)	13 (0.91%)	3 (0.21%)
Total	123 (8.62%)	61 (4.25%)	38 (2.64%)	72 (5.02%)	42 (2.93%)	53 (3.69%)

1. "I don't know" answers: Group A male participants had the highest number of "I don't know" answers (i.e. 123 answers) with Group B male participants having the lowest number in the three groups (i.e. 38 answers). The researcher cannot claim that the gender, educational background, dialect, or the age are the main reasons of this difference because Group A female participants had a lower number (i.e. 61 answers) than Group B female participants (i.e. 72 answers), with Group C mediating between the two groups. These remarkable and currently unexplainable differences deserve exploration in future studies.

Table 3.6: Total Number of "I haven't heard it before" Answers Categorized by HDA-speakers' Groups A, B, and C.

Questionnaire Number	Group A: Young (18-35)		Group B: Middle-aged (36-55)		Group C: Older (56 and above)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Questionnaire 1	18 (1.27%)	11 (0.77%)	2 (0.14%)	10 (0.70%)	3 (0.21%)	6 (0.42%)
Questionnaire 2	4 (0.28%)	20 (1.41%)	1 (0.07%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (0.42%)	18 (1.27%)
Questionnaire 3	15 (1.04%)	13 (0.90%)	7 (0.48%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.13%)	5 (0.34%)
Questionnaire 4	10 (0.69%)	5 (0.34%)	5 (0.34%)	15 (1.04%)	1 (0.06%)	1 (0.06%)
Questionnaire 5	8 (0.56%)	1 (0.07%)	4 (0.28%)	20 (1.41%)	5 (0.35%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	55 (3.84%)	50 (3.49%)	19 (1.31%)	45 (3.15%)	17 (1.17%)	30 (2.09%)

2. "I haven't heard this idiom before" answers: Group A male participants answered 'I haven't heard this idiom before' at the highest rate (i.e. 55 answers), which may indicate that age and experience are important factors here. This is confirmed by the similarly high rate of these answers among Group A females and the consistent decline in these responses across each age range. Group C had the lowest number in both genders, though women gave this response at a higher rate than men in all three groups.

Mills (2003: 9-10) explains that "[f]actors of gender, race, class, age, education, and knowledge play a major role in assumptions about of the appropriate behavior within particular communities of practice", and this is particularly relevant to the Islamic Hijazi community. Hijazi women are particularly aware of the importance of representing themselves well in their dress, speech, and morals. Anything they say will reflect on their role as a daughter, sister, wife, mother, etc. Accordingly it can be said that women are more careful linguistically, since inappropriate linguistic choices (as represented by some of the idioms here) would be less acceptable for them. As a result, their choices could be limited compared to Hijazi males. Another interpretation might be that the men were more confident in their opinions than the women. This is supported by the higher proportion of marginal answers among Group A and B males (See Table 3.7 below), which suggests a tendency to say something rather than admit that they don't know the answer. These gender-based differences would require more detailed research before any definitive explanation could be proposed.

Table 3.7: Total Number of Marginal Answers Categorized by HDA-speakers' Groups A, B, and C.

Questionnaire Number	Group A: Young (18-35)		Group B: Middle-aged (36-55)		Group C: Older (56 and above)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Questionnaire 1	1 (0.70%)	1 (0.70%)	5 (0.35%)	1 (0.70%)	1 (0.70%)	2 (0.14%)
Questionnaire 2	2 (0.14%)	2 (0.14%)	6 (0.42%)	3 (0.21%)	4 (0.28%)	3 (0.21%)
Questionnaire 3	1 (0.06%)	6 (0.41%)	3 (0.20%)	4 (0.27%)	2 (0.13%)	0 (0.00%)
Questionnaire 4	17 (1.18%)	3 (0.20%)	2 (0.13%)	2 (0.13%)	7 (0.48%)	2 (0.13%)
Questionnaire 5	1 (0.70%)	1 (0.70%)	1 (0.70%)	1 (0.70%)	2 (0.14%)	4 (0.28%)
Total	22 (2.78%)	13 (2.15%)	17 (1.8%)	11 (0.83%)	16 (1.73%)	11 (0.76%)

3. Marginal answers: These figures confirm that younger people are less familiar with the idioms studied here than middle aged and older people. They also suggest that males are more willing to hazard a guess at the meaning of an unknown idiom than females. It is also possible that the marginal responses reflect changes in the meanings of these idioms that are not recognized by the more conservative women and older age groups. More detailed research would be necessary to prove either hypothesis.

It is to be noted that the participants who responded "I don't know", "I haven't heard this idiom before", or gave marginal answers came from across the three age groups, both genders, and from the whole educational range. In addition, speakers of both varieties of HDA gave these types of response. For example, there were instances in which educated people did not know the figurative meaning of an idiom while an illiterate did, and another instance in which younger participants knew an idiom while an older participant had not heard it before. Kövecses (2005) provides a strong explanation of various dimensions to what he calls within-culture variation that can be proposed here as an explanation. This within-culture variation includes the social dimension, discussed extensively by sociolinguistics; the ethnic dimension, which can apply to HDA urban and rural varieties; the stylistic dimension, such as slang within each HDA variety; the diachronic dimension of the development of a particular metaphor, such as the development of THE MIND IS A MACHINE into THE MIND IS A COMPUTER; etc. A larger sample would be required to determine which trends were significant, but that is beyond the scope of this study.

3.5 Translation of HDA Body-part Idioms

Translating the idioms and their collected figurative meanings into English both literally and figuratively is important because: Arabic and English are distinct languages linguistically and culturally. The literal translation reflects accurately the different taste and foreignness of Arabic speech as well presenting their grammatical and lexical structure. The figurative translation alone would not mirror the different uses of words or the ways in which they are used figuratively. In addition, English is the lingua franca in scientific publication, and translating the idioms into English allows Western readers or native speakers of any language in the world to read and understand HDA body-part idioms.

I divided the translation process into two stages: The first stage included the literal translation. I started this stage myself, since it is a translation that depends on a word and its literal meaning. The second stage included the figurative translation. I waited until the figurative meanings were collected, codified, and classified, and then I started translating them from HDA into English.

After I finished the literal and figurative translation of these idioms, I asked for assistance from my local supervisor, a bilingual expert and an academic professor teaching English at KAU, who revised my translation to prevent any kind of errors of translation, interpretation, or typing. One of the alterations he directed my attention to is in Q5/ (28): */Talab yaddaha min ?ahlaha/*, 'He asked her hand from her parents'. My translation of the figurative meaning was He asked her for marriage which was a non-idiomatic translation. Accordingly, I changed my translation to He proposed. Cultural

differences emerged here when my British supervisor altered the translation to He asked her parents' permission for marriage because a man would generally propose to a woman rather than to her parents in the West, but to the parents in Arabic communities.⁶² My British supervisor was a great help in this translation process in many instances. Because she is a native speaker of English, she corrected many of the translations I made to suit the similar meanings in English. We spent time together reading each idiom, exploring the literal and figurative meanings, and then working towards a more appropriate translation through a process of clarification and negotiation. This feedback received from my supervisors was applied and taken into consideration in many other instances.

It is to be noted also that during the translation process, many difficulties were encountered. Recent research in metaphor has emphasized the psychological, social, cultural and linguistic aspects (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Murphy 1997), and these are believed to be the cause of these difficulties in this study. Although translations in this study are provided for the benefit of non-HDA speakers, and not for comparison between HDA and English body-part idioms, it is worth considering why difficulties in translation occurred (see Kövecses 2002: 186-189). Some were caused by differences in the cultural context, framing and prototypes. These include words which are culture-specific: such as /*taHSiin*/, 'a kind of verbal prayers recited to cast away the envious eye'; or have no equivalence in English, such as /*Sakku*/, 'a severe kind of hitting that cause extreme damage'. Also, relationships between men and women are manifested in many idioms: arrangements for choosing a bride and engagement procedures are

⁶² Csábi (2004a: 87) explains that difficulties of translation arise from similar or different conceptual motivation between languages. Accordingly, the degree of translatability is greater if the conceptual motivation is universal or shared between the two languages but lower if the conceptual motivation is not shared.

structured and comprehended according to the Hijazi culture. Other difficulties were a result of the physical environment. For example, the plant, colocynth, is widely known among HDA-speakers and is therefore used in HDA idioms. In addition, many of the idioms analyzed in this study reflected cultural scripts. Wierzbicka (2002: 401) defines cultural scripts as “representations of cultural norms that are widely held in a given society and that are reflected in language (in culture-specific “keywords”, phrases, conversational routines, and so on).”⁶³ In this study, these are shown in values and practices that fall outside Western culture and are HDA-specific. Examples include values such as degrading [100 a,b,c], shame [105 a,b,c], respect [108], viciousness [109], etc. that seem to relate more to cultural values than emotions. Where difficulties arose, I tried to provide the closest possible translation, taking account of differences in lexicon, linguistic structure, and categorization across the two languages.

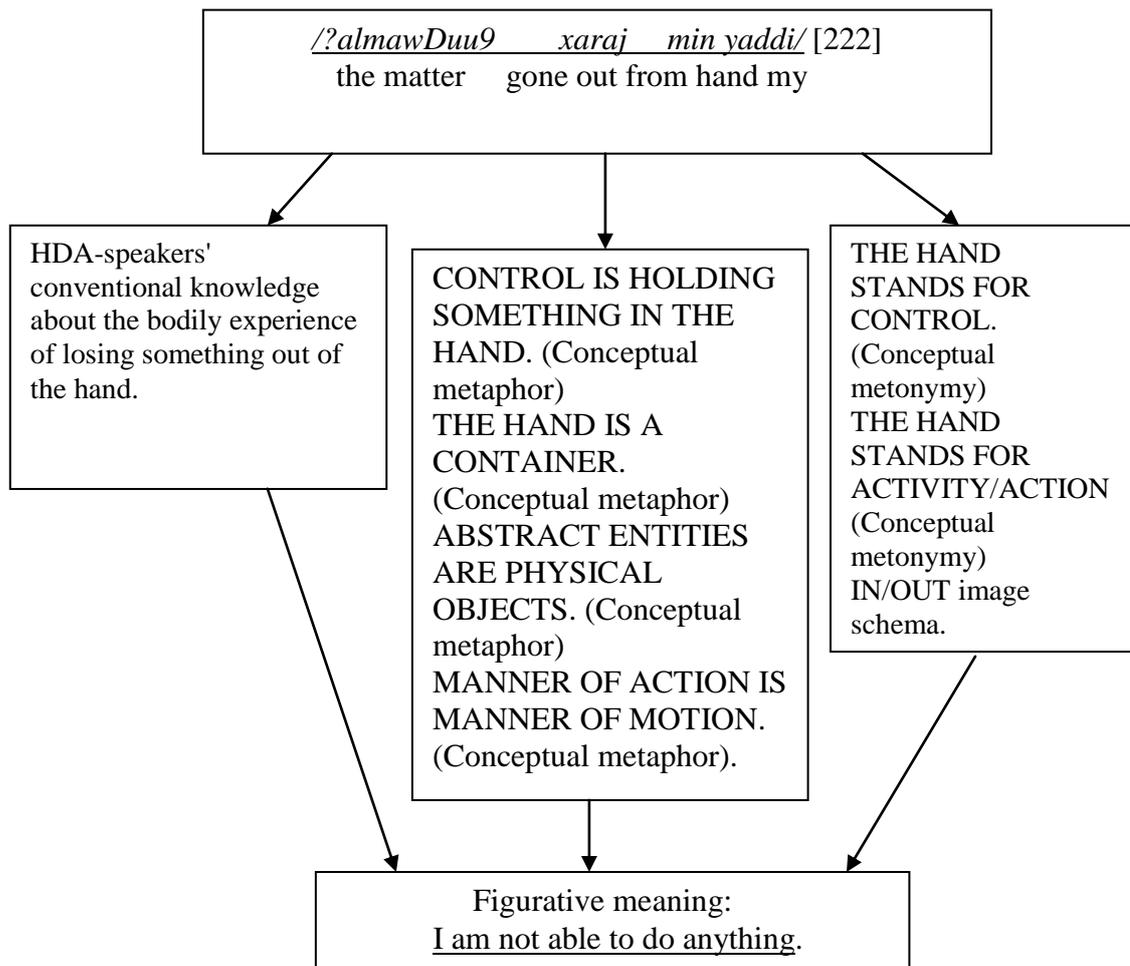
3.6 The Cognitive Linguistic Framework of Analysis for HDA Body-part Idioms

The idioms collected are used on a daily basis in Jeddah, and as a result, it can be claimed that the conceptual metaphors and metonymies motivating these idioms are popular and frequent too. After the 297 idioms were transcribed phonetically⁶⁴ and translated both literally and figuratively, they were ready to be analyzed according to the cognitive linguistic framework of metaphor and metonymy analysis developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002). I used diagrams representing the use of conventional/cultural knowledge, metonymies and metaphors to help me to analyze the cognitive mechanisms at work for each idiom, as shown below in Figure (3.3):

⁶³ See also Goddard 2000; and Goddard and Wiersbicka 2004, 2007.

⁶⁴ The idioms are represented phonetically according to the form in which I first documented them, so they occur in a variety of urban and rural forms such as 'nose' which is transcribed differently as: /*xashim*/ (rural HDA) and /*xushum*/ (urban HDA).

Figure 3.3: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in an Idiom



These diagrams were as a demonstrative picture for me to check whether I included all the cognitive mechanisms or not.⁶⁵ Although these diagrams were helpful in my analysis, I did not include them in the analysis chapter for three main reasons:

1. Their main use was as a checklist in guiding me through my analysis.
2. The cognitive mechanisms of an idiom in a diagram were all incorporated into the text of analysis with additional explanation. Presenting a diagram would represent unnecessary repetition.

⁶⁵ In this diagram, I presented the sequence of the cognitive mechanisms as they seemed most likely to me. Other speakers might apply the cognitive mechanisms in a different order.

3. A diagram for each idiom would have been wasteful of space and paper, but one diagram is presented for a single idiom for each part of the body in chapter four. The purpose is to illustrate a culturally specific idiom that might present difficulties in understanding for non-native speakers of HDA who are reading this study.

3.7 Validity

One of the serious concerns for any research project is the issue of validity. As stated in Gorman and Clayton (1997: 58), validity is linked to truth. The researcher, as a conductor of this study, can have an indirect influence on the participants who are relatives or friends, and this kind of influence could change the outcomes of the study. I was conscious about all these concerns, fears, and possibilities and attempted to adopt a neutral position to the best of my ability. For example, in meeting illiterates individually, I tried to make them as comfortable as possible. Upon each one's personal request, I met them in their homes or places where they were most comfortable. I asked in advance if it would be possible to record our interview, so that they could make a fully informed decision about participation. Meeting them was scheduled according to their convenience, and the date, time and location were checked in advance by telephone. Zoltán (2003) found that this kind of step had a positive effect on the response rate. The meetings began with five or ten minutes of small talk/inconsequential conversation to put the informant at their ease. I then read the Informed Consent Form loudly and clearly and reminded them that the interview session would be recorded. Upon agreement, I asked them for their signature on the consent form in the questionnaire. I assured them that it would be fine to stop me for any kind of explanation during the recording and to withdraw at any stage. This was to give them a

tension-free atmosphere and improve their responses. I assured that there are no correct or wrong answers for this kind of activity. This was important to ensure that the participant felt that their responses were valuable to me, no matter what form they took. This should also have reduced the possibility of skewing results towards my favored meaning for individual idioms. I sat down with each one of them and read the idioms loudly one at a time and then waited for the answer, which I wrote down immediately without any intervention, taking care not to react in any way. It is to be noted that some of the female participants were shy or spoke quietly, and in some cases, I asked them politely, during recording, to raise their voices so that the recording would be clearer. Each session lasted from fifteen to twenty five minutes. To diminish the danger of misquoting the exact words said, all transcripts of the recorded interviews were encoded verbatim and made available for future reference.⁶⁶ Moreover, I checked all the meanings I wrote during the interview against the recordings, to ensure that they were an accurate representation of the informants' responses.

Occasionally it was necessary to modify the interview format at the request of the informant. For example, one female participant was extremely nervous at the beginning of the recording and asked me to play back the first two minutes. After listening to her shivering voice, she asked me to erase what had been recorded and after a five minute break she was more relaxed and happy to start recording again. A male participant with impaired hearing was concerned that he might not hear the idioms properly, and so I raised my voice and read each idiom more than once.

⁶⁶ See Appendix 8 for an excerpt of a recorded interview with one of the illiterate HDA-speakers.

Classifying the figurative meanings collected was another important cornerstone of my cognitive linguistic analysis. I asked the assistance of two Arabic critics to check my classification of HDA-speakers' answers. The English translation process was also faithfully revised with the help of my local supervisor and my British supervisor to avoid misinterpretations and cultural differences. This technique of peer checking was used to improve the accuracy, credibility, and validity of the study. It gave me the ability to correct my own errors of translation and misguided interpretations. If a dictionary had been available, I could have consulted that, but in this context consulting these experts verbally was the best possible equivalent. They were selected on the basis of their experience with the topic of this study and all were native speakers of Arabic as well as HDA. The two Arabic experts were well-known figures in Arabic literature. The expert on translation was a bilingual Arabic-English professor at KAU who taught translation courses as well. My British supervisor also played an important role in the translation process as a native speaker of English. I was fortunate to have the time and valuable comments of these busy people to feed into a final decision about the translation of each idiom. No payment was made, and it would have been inappropriate to offer, but I am extremely grateful for their help.

3.8 Summary

This chapter explained the methodology of the study with reference to its philosophy, strategy, and design. A full explanation was provided of the methods used for collecting the idioms and their figurative meanings. The various social variables outlined for selecting the sample, the pilot study of three qualitative and quantitative methods, the classification of HDA-speakers' responses, and the translation process were also

essential parts of this chapter. The tool used for linguistic analysis was presented in order to orient the reader to the analysis to be conducted in Chapter Four. Validity, ethical issues, and reliability were three other topics explained extensively in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The human body is used as a source domain for a number of abstract domains. These abstract concepts are defined in Kövecses (2002: 20) as "abstract, diffuse, and lack[ing] clear delineation; as a result, they "cry out" for metaphorical conceptualization." As Lakoff (1987) argues that the kinds of mechanisms that seem to be particularly relevant in the case of many idioms are metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge. In other words, conventional expressions such as body-part idioms are not random, but reveal a system of metonymies and metaphors closely related to our bodily experiences. To give a simple example: the abstract concept of control in *to keep a strict hand upon a person*, which metaphorically means "to keep under total control", is understood in terms of the hand, as a part of the human body, and its role in keeping possessions or subordinates under control.

This chapter aims to present a cognitive linguistic analysis of HDA body-part idioms focusing on the conceptual motivation of meaning achieved through the three cognitive mechanisms outlined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987). These mechanisms were initially divided into separate sections for metaphors, metonymies, and others for conventional knowledge, but this obscured the way they work together in the interpretation of a single idiom or group of idioms. Accordingly, I present these mechanisms according to the abstract concepts they motivate, except in two cases. One

is the (BODY PART) STANDS FOR THE PERSON metonymy, where I treat this metonymy as a synecdoche.⁶⁷ The other is where I want to differentiate between the abstract concepts motivated metonymically or metaphorically, such as THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTION, or THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS where various emotions are possible. A table is provided at the beginning of each conceptual category to indicate the number of idioms categorized under them. See also (Table 5.1) which summarizes all the abstract concepts and the number of idioms is found in this study.

A cognitive linguistic analysis was made of all 297 idioms, but the prescribed word limit makes it impossible to discuss them all in this chapter, so between one and five idioms are analyzed here for each concept, presented according to the part of the body concerned. Where there was general agreement among informants on the figurative meaning/s of idioms discussed in this chapter, they are marked with <◆>. Where there were variant responses for an idiom, a footnote provides details of the variation. Separate schedules are made for these additional meanings for each body part in Appendix 7, but they are listed under the most frequent sense here to avoid repetition, and save space. For example, /*9einu ma tishba9*/, 'His eye is never satisfied', with the meanings He is never satisfied or He is envious [80], is placed under the section of concept of dissatisfaction (4.1.20), not envy (4.1.15). Such idioms will be marked to indicate that they have more than one meaning (e.g. [80 a, b]) in both this chapter and Appendix 7.

⁶⁷ In her thesis, Csábi (2004a) treats (BODY PART) STANDS FOR THE PERSON metonymy as personification, an analysis which I find unconvincing because personification involves giving "human qualities ... to nonhuman entities ... such as Life has *cheated* me" Kövecses (2002: 35). Lakoff and Johnson's (1980: 36) analysis of this kind of metonymy as a synecdoche is more convincing: here THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE, as a synecdoche, motivate idioms as in 'There are a lot of *good heads* in the university' = "intelligent people".

It will thus be observed throughout the analysis that some idioms have two or more meanings and in some cases different cognitive mechanisms are involved. This study will refer to these different mechanisms where relevant. Although this creates the potential for confusion, the alternatives were to ignore idioms with more than one interpretation or to consider only the most frequent interpretation. Either simplification would have misrepresented the complications of linguistic flexibility.

This thesis will rely, where possible, on conceptual metaphors and metonymies identified in Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Yu 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004; Kövecses and Szabó 1996; Kövecses 2000b; Bílková 2000; Kövecses 2002; Csábi 2004a; Charteris-Black 2003; Maalej 2004; 2007; and on metaphor and metonymy lists and indexes such as the *Master Metaphor List*, etc. References to these sources are provided in Appendix 9. Many of these metaphors and metonymies can be thought of as universal with reference to unrelated languages such as English and Chinese or English and Czech. The probability of them as being universal was explained in most cases because of the shared human body and its experiences with the outside world. HDA body-part metaphors/metonymies which are not accounted for by the established framework are marked <●>. These HDA-specific metaphors and metonymies are either culture-specific or were overlooked in the sources listed above. The conceptual metaphors and metonymies found in all of the 297 HDA body-part idioms are listed alphabetically in Appendix 9.

The idioms to be analyzed are: /?al9ein/, ‘the eye’ (134 idioms); /?arraaS/, ‘the head’ (42 idioms); /?al9agil/, /?addimaaG/, /?almux/, ‘the mind’ (39 idioms); /?alyad/, ‘the hand’ (37 idioms); /?allisaan/, ‘the tongue’ (32 idioms); and /?alxushum/, ‘the nose’ (13

idioms).⁶⁸ The body parts are examined in order of idiom frequency (see Figure 3.2): the body part occurring in the most idioms is analyzed first, as in the list above.

4.1 */ʔal9ein/*, ‘the eye’:

Our eyes are organs of vision and the means by which we know the world around us. It is through our eyes that visual information is stored in our memory and recalled even when the observed objects are absent. It is through our eyes, in part, that we expand our channels of knowledge and cognition.⁶⁹ This function is expressed in the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, which underlies many idiomatic expressions in HDA. Most HDA eye idioms are structured and comprehended on the basis of SEEING IS TOUCHING and the image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL (i.e. seeing includes the spatial movement of the eye, followed by physical contact between the eye and the target). We tend to rely on our eyes' function and physical appearance to understand abstract things that cannot be explained on a physical basis, such as extreme astonishment, being extremely sure, leering at women, etc.⁷⁰ It can thus be said that human beings' perceptions of their eyes are reflected in their idiomatic expressions.

In the section below, I explore how HDA eye idiomatic expressions have derived their metonymic and metaphoric meanings from the role of the eye in the human body. In

⁶⁸ Idioms are numbered only once even where they have more than one meaning.

⁶⁹ Lakoff (1993: 240) explains the experiential basis of the domain of SEEING and the domain of KNOWLEDGE as "the fact that most of what we know comes through vision, and that in the overwhelming majority of cases, if we see something, then we know it is true."

⁷⁰ Mberi (2003: 78) provides an example in Shona, the word, **ziso**, eye, can be used metaphorically in a number of ways to talk about abstract concepts associated with its function of seeing such as -bira ziso, steal for eye, *quick look*; -teya ziso, trap eye, *keep gazing at something*, etc.

HDA, the word /ʔal9ein/, ‘the eye’, has many morphological derivations such as: /9ein/, ‘an eye’; /9uyuun/, ‘eyes’;⁷¹ etc., and a literal translation is provided in each case.

4.1.1 Extreme certainty

Table 4.1: The Conceptual Category of (Extreme certainty) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme certainty	6

(1) /*shuft* *b9eini* *maHad* *gaalli* / ‘I saw with my eye, nobody told me’.
 saw I with eye my nobody told me I saw it for myself.♦ [1]

This idiom is an expression which stresses the belief that seeing for oneself is better than hearing from others. It relies on our conventional knowledge that the eye is a reliable source of evidence for transferring what really happened into the memory, while second-hand accounts may be unreliable. The example emphasizes the action of seeing through the use of the verb /*yshuuf*/, ‘to see’, and negates the action of hearing at the same time. This kind of expression is usually used in situations where there is some doubt or disbelief about what has happened. The result is a strong confirmation of certainty. In addition to our conventional knowledge, the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR THE EYESIGHT⁷² and the conceptual metaphor BEING SURE OF SOMETHING IS ACTUALLY SEEING SOMETHING are at work here.

⁷¹ HDA has no dual number for some nouns as the case of CA and MSA. As a result, /*9uyuun*/ could imply the dual number, ‘two eyes’, or the plural number, ‘eyes’. There are no gender distinctions in HDA either.

⁷² This metonymy is based on PERCEPTUAL ORGAN STANDS FOR PERCEPTION (Yu 2004: 667).

4.1.2 Keeping a secret

Table 4.2: The Conceptual Category of (Keeping a secret) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Keeping a secret	1

(2)/*GammiD 9einak 9an illi shuftu/* ‘Shut your eye on what you saw’.
 shut you (m.) eye your(m.) on what saw you(m.) Keep what you saw a secret.♦ [7]

In our experience, whatever happens in front of our eyes is perceived and recorded in our memories, producing specific and detailed information about the incident. The eyes play a major role in gathering this information, together with the mind, and this idiom is motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT and KNOWING IS SEEING. When someone is asked to close their eyes to what they saw, an idiom is motivated by (NOT) KNOWING IS (NOT) SEEING: the person is actually being asked to keep what they saw (i.e. know) a secret. The closing of the eyes implies the abstract idea of keeping secret, based on our bodily experience that when the eye is shut the person cannot see (or know) anything.⁷³ The verb /y*GammiD*/, ‘to shut the eye’, is geminated⁷⁴ to imply the idea of shutting the eye tightly to ensure that nothing is seen (and nothing is known). This idiom is based on CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy.

⁷³ As stated in Yu (2004: 672-673) "what is out of sight is out of mind" motivates idioms such as *turn a blind eye to something, close one's eyes to something*.

⁷⁴ Arabic uses a diacritic shaped like a small Latin *w*, called *shadda* (شدة), which is written above the consonant to indicate that it is doubled (i.e. geminated). HDA also uses this kind of gemination orally. However because HDA does not have a writing system of its own, HDA-writers use the Arabic diacritic when necessary. The purpose of gemination in Arabic and HDA is to avoid ambiguity in meaning (in words like /*madrasah*/, ‘a school’, or /*mudarrisah*/, ‘a female teacher’) or to give emphasis (in verbs like /*yiksir*/, ‘to break’, and /*ykassir*/, ‘to break extensively’).

4.1.3 Extreme astonishment

Table 4.3: The Conceptual Category of (Extreme astonishment) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme astonishment	1

(3) /*mani gaadir ?aSaddig 9uyuuni*/ ⁷⁵ ‘I couldn't believe my eyes’.
 not I can I (m.) believe I (m.) eyes my I am in a state of astonishment.♦ [8]

This is an expression often used when something extraordinary happens: something so unlikely that we cannot believe it really happened. This act of seeing what actually happened and hence denying the most reliable function of the eye metaphorically denotes extreme astonishment: I doubt my most reliable source of information because what I saw was so powerful and astonishing. Bodily experience confirms that seeing leads to knowing, but this idiom undermines this conventional knowledge. The conventional knowledge, the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, and the conceptual metaphor BEING SURE OF SOMETHING IS ACTUALLY SEEING SOMETHING are at work here.

4.1.4 Leering at women

Table 4.4: The Conceptual Category of (Leering at women) and the Number of Idioms

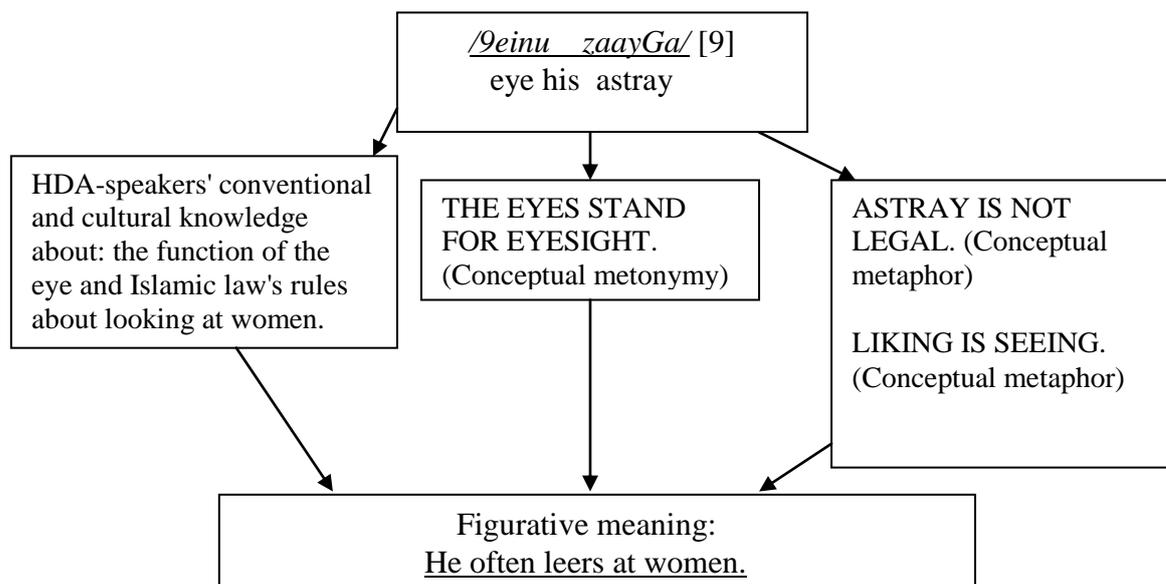
Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Leering at women	3

(4) /*9einu zaayGa*/ ‘His eye is astray’.
 eye his astray He often leers at women.♦ [9]

⁷⁵ Based on Arabic /*la yuSadiq 9ainaih*/, ‘He does not believe his own eyes’, He is astonished (?*almunjid* 2000: 1040).

Here the gaze is described rather than the eyes. An eye (or gaze) is /zaayGa/, ‘astray’, if it looks at things it is not permitted to observe. Instead of looking along a straight path (at women he is permitted to look at), it prefers to gaze outside it (at other women). This idiom is based on the Islamic /sharii9a/, ‘law’, in which it is prohibited for men to look at women other than their /maHram/, ‘allowable women specified through the /sharii9a/.⁷⁶ Men are not permitted to look at women outside their family group in case this arouses sexual desire (cultural knowledge). The idiom can imply the lecherous observation of women. It is motivated through our conventional/cultural knowledge, the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, LIKING IS SEEING as well as ASTRAY IS NOT LEGAL.

Figure 4.1: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in Idiom [9].



⁷⁶ Forbidden to you (for marriage) are: your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your father's sisters, your mother's sisters, your brother's daughters, your sister's daughters, your foster mother, your foster sisters, your wives' mothers, your stepdaughters under your guardianship, born of your wives to whom you have gone in - but there is no sin on you if you have not gone in them (to marry their daughters), _ the wives of your sons who (spring) from your own loins, and two sisters in wedlock at the same time, except for what has already passed; verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. (The Holy Qur'an, An-Nisaa Chapter, Verse 23).

4.1.5 Concentration

Table 4.5: The Conceptual Category of (Concentration) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Concentration	1

(5) /*HuTTi hadafik* _____ *guddaam* *9einik*/ ‘Put your goal in front of your eye’.
 put you (f.) goal your (f.) in front of eye your (f.) Concentrate to achieve
your goal.⁷⁷ [12]

Yu (2004: 667) states that "when you 'put your eye (light) to something', you actually set a 'viewpoint' that shapes your 'view' of the whole situation". This example presents a similar picture in HDA, except that the eye has no light. THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT is a metonymy used in this expression, but seeing is metaphorical here because the idiom implies concentration to achieve a goal. The conceptualization of the goal as a physical entity is motivated by ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS that can be manipulated by the hand and be placed in front of our eyes. This idiom is also motivated by PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. The use of the verb /*yHuTT*/, ‘to put’, again motivates the idea of physical contact between the eye and its goal, as if the eye reaches out for it. This idiomatic expression derives its picture from our daily life: when we see, we tend to look ahead. Putting a goal in front of our eyes implies that this goal should be the target of our vision: Here we have metaphorical mapping from the spatial (that which is in front of one's eyes) to the temporal domain (one's future goal) and from the physical (the eyes) to the mental domain (goal). Various cognitive mechanisms are at work here: our conventional knowledge, THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, SEEING IS TOUCHING, and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS.

⁷⁷ Nineteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Three answered 'I don't know', while two answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

4.6 Regaining a previous possession

Table 4.6: The Conceptual Category of (Regaining a previous possession) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Regaining a previous possession	1

(6) /*Hili* _____ *f* _____ *9einaha/* ‘It/He became beautiful in her eye’.
 became beautiful it/he (m.) in her eye She wants it/him back.⁷⁸ [13]

This idiom is used to describe a woman who wishes to regain a previously renounced possession once it has become the possession of another person. The eyes are used in this idiom because it is the eye that sees beauty. Our conventional knowledge tells us that we often like something or someone after seeing it or them. This is motivated by a relation of CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy (i.e. seeing leads to liking and then possessing). The abstract idea of regaining a possession is metaphorically based on seeing that thing/person and then trying to gain it/them. Several cognitive mechanisms work together to link the literal meaning to the figurative meaning: conventional knowledge, LOOKING AT SOMETHING STANDS FOR DESIRING IT, THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, and the conceptual metaphor LIKING IS SEEING.

4.1.7 Choice

Table 4.7: The Conceptual Category of (Choice) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Choice	2

⁷⁸Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered the marginal answer She is envious.

(7) /*haadi illi 9aleiha l9ein/* ‘This is the one on which/whom the eye is on’.
 this/ she whose on her the eye She/It is the chosen bride-to be/chosen [object], etc.⁷⁹
 [14]

The example above is used in the HDA community to refer to a man's bride-to-be, or to a desired possession, such as a house, or a car, etc. The eye sees the person/thing and chooses them as a target from a wide a variety of other people or things. This is motivated by CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy (i.e. seeing leads to liking and then possession) and THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, as well as THE EYE IS AN OBJECT which can be manipulated by the hand and left on the chosen person/thing as a marker (PRACTICING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND). The eye here admires what it has chosen because it has chosen to stay on its target, motivated by LOOKING AT SOMETHING STANDS FOR DESIRING IT. It is to be noted as well that /*?al9ein/*, ‘the eye’, is used in its definite case to show emphasis. The use of the preposition /*9aleiha/*, ‘on her’, is motivated by the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING.⁸⁰

4.1.8 Vast spaces

Table 4.8: The Conceptual Category of (Vast spaces) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Vast spaces	3

(8) /*9eini ma jaabat ?aaxirha/* ‘My eye did not reach the end of it’.
 eye my not reached its end It is so huge.⁸¹ [16]

⁷⁹Twenty HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Three answered ‘I don't know’, while one answered ‘I haven't heard it before’.

⁸⁰ Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 50) explain the English idiom *I can't take my eyes off her* as a case where there is touching between the eye and the object/person.

⁸¹ Fifteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Four answered ‘I don't know’, and another four ‘I haven't heard it before’. One gave the marginal answer I do not care about her.

This idiom is used to describe a place which is so huge that the eye cannot reach its limits. The eye as our part of the body responsible for seeing is described here as unable to reach or touch the ends of something. The eyes (representing the eyesight) are described figuratively as objects that reach out to their final destination; however, in this case, the space is so vast that the eyes cannot reach far enough. In our conventional knowledge, when we look at a destination far from our sight, we strain our eyes to see as far as we can. That the eyes here cannot reach what is beyond their sight metaphorically signifies huge space. Comprehension of the metaphorical meaning is through conventional knowledge, THE EYES STAND FOR THE EYESIGHT, (NOT) SEEING IS (NOT) TOUCHING, THE EYE IS AN OBJECT, and PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. All of this follows the image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL; in which the eye has to have a target in order to touch it.

4.1.9 Impossibility of gaining/reaching a person/thing

Table 4.9 The Conceptual Category of (Impossibility of gaining/reaching a person/thing) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Impossibility of gaining/reaching a person/thing	1

(9) /bu9d 9einak/
far eye your (m.)

‘Far from your eye’.

It is impossible for you to achieve/obtain.⁸² [19]

This idiom signifies the impossibility of reaching/getting a thing or person. Reference to the eye is motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT. This function, which naturally has certain limitations, is motivated by the use of /bu9d/, ‘far’: what is far in

⁸² Sixteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Six answered ‘I don’t know’, and two ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

space can not be reached by sight, a bodily experience that is manifested in the conceptual metaphor (NOT) SEEING IS (NOT) TOUCHING through the image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. This is based on our conventional knowledge of the limitation of seeing. This expression is commonly used to challenge unrealistic aspirations.

4.1.10 Skill

Table 4.10: The Conceptual Category of (Skill) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Skill	2

(10) */magaadiiri bil9ein/* 'My ingredients are with the eye'.
 ingredients my with the eye I am skillful at cooking (i.e. I do not even use measuring equipment).⁸³ [20]

This idiom is used to describe a person skilful at cooking. The eye is used to express the abstract idea of skill, motivated by the metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, THE EYES STAND FOR THE SKILL, and KNOWING IS SEEING, all of which stem from our conventional knowledge of learning while seeing. This function of seeing is mapped metaphorically to the concept of one's skills.

4.1.11 Knowing

Table 4.11: The Conceptual Category of (Knowing) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Knowing	1

⁸³ Fourteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Eight answered 'I don't know', and two 'I haven't heard it before'.

(11) */kalaamik fattaH 9uyuuni/*⁸⁴ ‘Your speech opened my eyes’.
 your(f.)speech opened eyes my Your speech enlightened me.⁸⁵ [22]

In our daily life, when we are alert and conscious of what is happening around us, we tend to have our eyes open. If our eyes are closed we miss things. The above idiom relies on conventional knowledge of this bodily experience, motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT and KNOWING IS SEEING.⁸⁶ Thus the function of the eye is used metaphorically to imply knowing. In addition, attention is also associated here, due to the metaphor ATTENTION IS LOOKING, where one is directed to pay attention to something absent from one's awareness. Attention is also conceptualized as a force, motivated through the geminated character in the verb used */fattaH/*, ‘to open’ manifested in the conceptual metaphor ATTENTION IS A FORCE, which causes the eyes to see the matter/event in the focus of attention, motivated by SEEING IS TOUCHING. The eyes need not be shut in real life for a person not to know a fact, but their shutting relates to not knowing. The opening of the eyes implies that the person now sees and knows facts and realities that they were not aware of before or did not fully understand. The eyes, as body parts, are used as the source domain because they are the primary parts for the function of perceiving and hence knowing. Through them, we reach the target domain which implies reality as seen through open eyes. It is a relation of CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy (i.e. seeing leads to knowing). The speech is conceptualized here as a physical entity motivated by ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS which have the ability to open one's eyes.

⁸⁴ Based on MSA idiom */fataHa 9ainai fulaan/*, ‘He opened his eyes’, He enlightened him (?*almunjid* 2000: 1040).

⁸⁵ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. One answered ‘I don't know’, and one ‘I haven't heard it before’.

⁸⁶ In his comparative study of eye idioms in Chinese and English, Yu uses the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT along with SEEING IS TOUCHING to “extend the pair to a new predominant metaphor MENTAL FUNCTION (thinking, knowing, and understanding) IS PERCEPTUAL EXPERIENCE (seeing)” (Yu 2004: 669, his emphasis).

4.1.12 Paying attention

Table 4.12: The Conceptual Category of (Paying attention) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Paying attention	8

(12) /laa tirmish 9einak 9annu/ 'Beware your eye blinks on him'.
 not blink you(m.) eye your(m.) on him Watch him carefully.⁸⁷ [23]

This idiom is used to convey the abstract concept of attention and vigilance and is motivated metonymically by THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT and THE EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. Both metonymies are the basis of ATTENTION IS LOOKING, which is used here to imply that seeing metaphorically means paying attention. Continuous watching provides some control over the watched person/object (SEEING IS TOUCHING). In our conventional knowledge, when we want to observe someone's actions carefully or to take care of someone, we maintain visual contact. If a person misses a particular incident, their eyes cannot have been watching at that moment. Accordingly, if someone is asked not even to blink when looking at someone, they are asked for an impossible level of attention. The figurative meaning is that the person who is under attention should not be let out of one's sight even for the time it takes to blink. Conventional knowledge about the function of the eye is used to denote the abstract concept of paying extreme attention to a certain person or object. This expression follows the image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL.

⁸⁷ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered 'I don't know'.

4.1.13 Observance

Table 4.13: The Conceptual Category of (Observance) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Observance	8

(13) /*9einu waraana/*
eye his behind us

His eye is behind us.
He is observing us.♦ [35]

This idiom is used to describe an extremely observant person. The eye extremely observant to the extent that it gazes at the target, following it at all times. The use of the preposition /*wara/*, ‘behind’ motivates this extremity of observance because the eyes are personified as a person who follows others as vigilantly as possible. It follows the image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, upon which our conventional knowledge about observing others through our eyes, the conceptual metaphors SEEING IS TOUCHING, STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, THE EYE IS AN OBJECT, PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND and the conceptual metonymies THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT and THE EYES STAND FOR OBSERVANCE operate.

4.1.14 Inspection

Table 4.14: The Conceptual Category of (Inspection) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Inspection	2

(14) /*tsharrig witGarrib bi9uyuunaha/* ‘She goes east and west with her eyes’.
go east she and go west she with her eyes She is inspecting everything.⁸⁸ [39]

⁸⁸ Thirteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Five answered ‘I don’t know’, and six ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

This idiom is used to describe people who pay careful attention to everything around them, particularly if they are too inquisitive. It is based on our eyes' gestures when they roam around in different directions in places to inspect possessions others have, peoples' manners, etc. The literal meaning is linked to the figurative meaning through our conventional knowledge about the function of the eyes, THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. In this example, the two verbs used /ysharrig/, 'to go east' and /yGarrib/, 'to go west' are geminated which adds to the motivation of the extremity of being very alert and watchful.

THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS

This metonymy belongs to the more generic metonymy THE BODY PART STANDS FOR THE EMOTIONS. The connection between the eye and emotions is metonymic as manifested in the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS. The examples below are emotions that the eyes stand for:

4.1.15 Envy

Table 4.15: The Conceptual Category of (Envy) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Envy	22

In the Hijazi community, envy is strongly connected to the eye as the body part mainly responsible for causing envy, based on the Islamic belief documented in Prophet's

(peace be upon him) sayings.⁸⁹ Belief in the evil eye is an important part of Islamic culture: it is believed that envy is within a person's vicious soul but it is attributed to the eye because the eye is the body part responsible for seeing what others possess. Envy is employed by a strange gaze (i.e. a gaze of admiration without a blessing) that remains focused on a coveted object, person, or a possession for a long time. This will result in misfortune for the other person, whether it is envy of material possessions such as livestock, or of beauty, health, or offspring. The envious eye can even cause death. The eye is believed to cause harm when its gaze is directed at the good luck of more fortunate people. This envious eye is commonly named */ʔal9ein/*, 'the eye' and */9ein/*, 'an eye'. Consequently, the eye is embedded in HDA culture as a representation of the abstract idea of envy. The following examples will illustrate this:

(15) <i>/9einu</i> <i>wil</i> <i>gabur/</i> eye his and the grave	‘His eye and the grave’. <u>His envy is deadly.</u> ⁹⁰ [44]
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This idiom is used to talk about a person whose envy is deadly. The idiom is based on the Prophet's (peace be upon him) saying:

[Abu Tharr (May Allah be pleased with him) reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "The evil eye sends a man into his grave, and a camel into the cooking pot."]⁹¹

A person who has a very strong envious eye is believed to cause immediate death to the envied person. The grammatical structure used in this idiom supports its meaning:

⁸⁹ ‘Narrated Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him): The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "The effect of an evil eye is a fact."' (Khan 1997, Volume 7: 351).

⁹⁰ Sixteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Six answered 'I don't know', one 'I haven't heard it before', and one provided the marginal answer He is old.

⁹¹ Al-Albani: Volume 3: Hadeeth 1249 [my translation].

joining the eye with the grave by the conjunction particle /waw/ ‘and’, to denote that both the eye of envy and the grave are combined when this person envies (i.e. CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy). The idiomatic expression does not even use a verb like ‘leads’ or ‘causes’ death. When the envious eye strikes a person, it is so quick that by the time it envies, the envied person is dead. The description is metaphorical in portraying the eye as having the ability to cause death to others instantaneously. HDA-speakers’ conventional/cultural knowledge of the relation of the eye with envy in the Islamic teachings, conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY, SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND INFLICTING HARM and the conceptual metaphor ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE⁹² are at work here as well. This expression follows the image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, where the envious person is seen as the source and the envied person is the goal of his envy.

(16) /*fiiha* *9ein*/
in her an eye

‘She has an eye (inside her body)’.
She feels the effects of the envious eye.⁹³ [49]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is sick or psychologically unwell for unknown reasons. Usually, they are referred to as an envied person. In this idiomatic expression, the envied person is believed to have been left with an envious eye within their body, which causes trouble to them daily. This is grammatically structured by using the preposition /*fi*/ ‘inside’, which denotes the physical closeness of the event to the experiencer via the metaphor STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. These troubles could be states of a disease, depression, etc. which in most cases lead to death. The use of the preposition is hence motivated by STATES

⁹² Based on the metaphor AN EMOTION IS A FORCE. Kövecses (2002: 19) provides several kinds of forces such as magnetic, electric, gravitational, etc.

⁹³ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. One answered ‘I don’t know’ and one ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

ARE LOCATIONS and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The idiom, based on Prophet's (peace be upon him) saying,⁹⁴ portrays the envious eye as causing continuous harm. THE EYE IS AN OBJECT that can travel from its place, reaching out, touching its target, and then staying there following the image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. Our conventional/cultural knowledge works towards the comprehension of this idiom along with SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND INFLICTING HARM, THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY (in a CAUSE- EFFECT relation), and the conceptual metaphor ENVY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE.

(17) /9einu Haarra/⁹⁵
 an eye hot

'His eye is hot'.⁹⁶
He is envious.♦ [52]

(18) /9eini 9aleik baarda/
 eye my on you(m.) cold

'My eyes are cold on you'.
I admire what you have without envy.♦ [53]

These idioms are antonymous. Example 17 describes a person who envies others and whose envy is harmful. The eyes are described as */Haarrah/*, 'hot', to signify the danger of high temperatures. The use of this adjective is metaphorical, in that they cause the eye to acquire properties of temperatures. Kövecses (2002: 96) refers to our nonscientific understanding of certain aspects of life, such as hot fluids, as 'folk understanding'. We, as naïve physicists, tend to rely on this simple understanding for the knowledge that anything in the world which is hot, such as fire, volcanoes, etc., can be harmful. A dangerous eye is thus described as hot, motivated by INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HOT. Conversely, our body experiences a rising temperature in

⁹⁴ 'Narrated Umm Salama that the Prophet (peace be upon him) saw in her house a girl whose face has a black spot. He said "She is under the effect of an evil eye, so treat her with ... *Ruqya*.'" (Khan 1997, Volume 7: 350-351). *Ruqya* means incantations.

⁹⁵ Yu (2004: 674) states that "Chinese does have *yan-re* (eye-hot) as a lexical item, meaning 'cast covetous eyes at something', 'eye sth. covetously' or 'be envious'". 'Hot' is interpreted metaphorically.

⁹⁶ Kövecses (2002: 19) states that while we can benefit from heat in talking about feelings such as *the heat of passion*, we could also use heat as we experience it in destroying things.

response to the intense emotion of envy motivated by THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. Describing eyes as strong, cold, sharp and hot is not found in the Prophet's (peace be upon him) sayings, proving that novel metaphors and metonymies have been created within HDA from the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY and the conceptual metaphor ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE. The idiomatic expression follows the image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. Our conventional/cultural knowledge, THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY, SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLICTING HARM (in a CAUSE-EFFECT relation), the conceptual metaphors ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE, and HOT IS DANGEROUS all work for the comprehension of this idiom.

Example 18 describes a person who does not envy others. Here the eye is */baardah/*, 'cold', motivated by LACK OF INTENSE EMOTIONS IS COLDNESS. This description metaphorically denotes the absence of envy. The use of the preposition */9aleik/*, 'on you', denotes the eyes touching the target body, but its touch is not harmful like the touch of hot things. This idiom follows the image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL on which our conventional and cultural knowledge, THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY, and SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLICTING HARM (in a CAUSE-EFFECT relation) all work for the comprehension of this idiom.

(19) */HaSSini nafsik minal 9ein/* 'Protect yourself from the eye'.
 protect you (f.) yourself (f.) from the eye Protect yourself against envy through reading the Qur'an and *taHSiin*.⁹⁷ [58]

In HDA culture there are many ways to protect oneself against envy based on Islamic teachings: this idiom recommends */taHSiin/*,⁹⁸ 'specific anti-envy verses from the Holy

⁹⁷ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while two answered 'I don't know'.

Qur'an and specific verbal prayers said by Prophet (peace be upon him)⁹⁹. These verses and verbal prayers are recited verbally with the palms of the hand over the mouth and then the prayers are spread physically over the whole body with the palms to ensure protection from envy. In reciting these verses and prayers, one is asking Holy God for the most effective protection possible. The gemination character used in the verb /yHaSSin/, ‘to recite anti-envy verses’, implies the importance of doing it to cast any envy. Our conventional/cultural knowledge, SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND INFLICTING HARM, THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY (in a CAUSE-EFFECT relation), and the conceptual metaphors ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE, and GOD IS PROTECTION work together for the comprehension of this idiom.

4.1.16 Extreme love

Table 4.16: The Conceptual Category of (Extreme love) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme love	4

(20) /*9einu ma tshuf Geiraha*/ ‘His eye does not see anyone else but her’.
 eye his not see but her He is deeply in love with her. ♦ [63]

In daily life, the eye sees many faces in the street, at work, on television, etc. The eyes usually see everything, intentionally or unintentionally: that is what they are for. It is interesting that the eyes are described in this idiom as having some kind of deficiency in their function through the use of the negative structure /*ma yshuuf*/, ‘not to see’. The eye is confined to one face alone among all others. Describing this functional failure metaphorically expresses the abstract idea of deep affection for the beloved one by

⁹⁸ The word /*taHSiin*/ originally comes from the word /*HiSn*/ which means ‘fortress used to protect castles from enemies’. (*lisaanul 9arab* :1990) [my translation].

⁹⁹ See Khan (1997, Volume 7: 352-353) for the /*Ruqya*/ of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

This idiom is used to refer to spies who record every bit of information about others. This idiom is mainly motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT in association with THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON: A person who is present sees everything with their eyes and so the eyes represent that person. Knowledge is gained through the presence of the person (their eyes) motivated by KNOWING IS SEEING. The use of the preposition /fi/, 'in', denotes the physical closeness of the event to the experiencer via the metaphor STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. Consequently, a person with eyes everywhere has people to watch and see for them.

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS

4.1.20 Dissatisfaction

Table 4.20: The Conceptual Category of (Dissatisfaction) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Dissatisfaction	5

(24)/*9einu ma yimliiha illat turaab/* 'He deserves to have his eye filled with dust'.
 eye his never filled up but with the dust He is always dissatisfied.¹⁰⁵ [79]

This idiom is based on a saying by the Prophet (peace be upon him):

Narrated Ibn Abbas (May Allah be pleased by upon them): I heard Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) saying, "If the son of Adam had money equal to a valley, then he

¹⁰⁴ Twenty HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Two answered 'I don't know', and two provided marginal answers She is observant and She has contacts.

¹⁰⁵ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. One answered 'I don't know', and one gave the marginal answer She is envious.

will wish for another similar to it, for nothing can fill (satisfy) the eye of Adam's son except dust. And Allah forgives him who (repents to Him and) begs for his pardon."¹⁰⁶

This idiom is motivated by THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS. The eye is conceptualized as a container which can be filled up with substances or materialistic pleasures. Satisfaction, as an emotion, is conceptualized as a fluid that can fill up this container (SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER).¹⁰⁷ Those who are unsatisfied with what they have are conceptualized as having their eyes empty, metaphorically signifying dissatisfaction. There is no reason to want one's eyes to be filled with dust, but the intended meaning is that the eye is so greedy that it will fill it in until it cannot see to desire any more. The use of the negative structure is to signify the impossibility of being satisfied.

4.1.21 Content

Table 4.21: The Conceptual Category of (Content) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Content	2

(25) /*9einu malyaanah/*
eye his full

'His eye is full'.
He is content.¹⁰⁸ [84]

This idiom is used to describe people who are content with what they have even if it was nothing compared to those who possess many things. The eye is described as a container (THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS) that is already

¹⁰⁶ Khan (1997, Volume 8: 244). Khan explains that Adam's son (man) "continues to love wealth till he dies, for then he will no longer think of collecting wealth."

¹⁰⁷ Based on the conceptual metaphor A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses 2002: 88).

¹⁰⁸ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. One answered 'I don't know', and one answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

filled up with satisfaction (SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER). Fullness represents the abstract idea of satisfaction in all the pleasures of life such as, food, cars, shopping, etc. If the eye is full, the person is satisfied; if it is not full, they are not.

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE

4.1.22 Extreme love

Table 4.22: The Conceptual Category of (Extreme love) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme love	3

(26) */ya nuur 9eini/* 'Oh, light of my eye'.
 oh light eye my Oh, you are as dear to me as the light by which I see. ♦ [86]

In this idiom, reference is made to the names that a loved person can be called by. It is based on conventional knowledge of the eyes being so dear to a person because of its important function (THE EYES ARE DEAR and THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS). The eyes are viewed as containers (THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE) which can contain loved ones (PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS and PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND). In this idiom, loved ones are placed in the light of the eye of which it is an important place because it is the core which allows the eye to see (INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS). It is the Hijazi culture which influences the structure of this idiom in which expressing extreme love is communicated through the valuable status of the eyes in our bodies.

4.1.23 Respect

Table 4.23: The Conceptual Category of (Respect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Respect	2

- (27) /ʔaHuTTak juwwa 9uyuuni/ ‘I will place you inside my eyes’.
 put I you inside eyes my I respect you highly. ♦ [88]

This idiom is used to refer to the great respect and affection one has for another person. Due to its invaluable function (THE EYES ARE DEAR), the eye is culturally correlated in Arabic to the loved one, who is as precious as one's eyes. Based on this, the eye is conceptualized as a container (THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE), in which only loved ones can get in and out. The eyes are also a place for emotions one has for others (THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS). So, when one is described as being inside someone's eye in the Hijazi community, it means that this person has a special status in the other person's heart and that they are highly respected. The use of the verb /yHuTT/, ‘to put’, is motivated by the idea that PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS who can be manipulated by the hand and placed inside the eyes (PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND). The use of the preposition /juwwah/, ‘inside’, is motivated by INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, where the emotionally important person is described as physically close. This preposition adds to the whole meaning by emphasizing the connectivity between two people.

4.1.24 Disrespect

Table 4.24: The Conceptual Category of (Disrespect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Disrespect	1

(28) /*TaaH min 9eini/*
 fell he from eye my

‘He fell from my eye’.
I don't respect him anymore.♦ [90]

It is interesting to note that this idiom is an extension of the previous one. If a person is not respected anymore, they fall from the place they once had in our eyes because they do not deserve the love and respect we once had for them. As stated in Yu (2004: 673) "when ...people, and things do not exist 'inside one's eye', it actually means that that they do not exist inside this person's mind. That is, the person either disregards or ignores them, mentally". That is because there is a relation between the eye and the mind motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND.¹⁰⁹ The idiom's meaning is motivated by THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE, PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS, and THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS. The use of the verb /*yTiiH/*, ‘to fall’ is motivated by MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. The abstract idea to be expressed here is lost respect.

4.1.25 Dependence

Table 4.25: The Conceptual Category of (Dependence) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Dependence	1

¹⁰⁹ This metonymy stands for mental states and activities which include emotions and feelings. Yu (2004: 669).

(29) */hiyya 9uyuuni illi bashuuf biiha/* 'She is my eyes that I see with'.
 she eyes my that I see with I depend on her in everything. [91]

In this idiom, the eye as a source domain is used to understand the abstract idea of dependence and this is related to the importance and function of the eye: we depend on the eye to see and know things around us in the world. The use of the verb */yshuuf/*, 'to see' stresses the fact that this person is relied upon utterly as a reliable source of knowledge about the world. Ultimately, the cognitive mechanisms motivating this meaning are THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE (in this case trusted or loved people), PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS, THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS, THE EYES ARE DEAR, THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT (which is associated with KNOWING IS SEEING), and INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. All are based on our conventional/cultural knowledge about the eye and its invaluable function.

4.1.26 Impudence

Table 4.26: The Conceptual Category of (Impudence) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Impudence	1

(30) */xash f 9eini/* 'He entered in my eye'.
 entered he in eye my He is extremely impudent. [92]

In our conventional knowledge, when we talk to someone, we tend to look them in the eye and when we are ashamed we tend to look away. A person who is rudely unashamed tends to look in the other person's eyes with impudent looks that mount as if they are entering the eyes of the other by force motivated through the use of the verb

/yxushsh/, ‘to enter’. The literal meaning is motivated by PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS, THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE and conventional knowledge about the looks of the eye and what they imply to others.

THE EYE IS AN OBJECT

4.1.27 Unconditional help

Table 4.27: The Conceptual Category of (Unconditional help) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Unconditional help	5

(31) */ʔaxdimu bi9yuuni/* ‘I serve him with my eyes’.
 serve I him with eyes my I am very willing to help him because I respect him highly. ♦ [93]

The above idiomatic expression is used by HDA-speakers when they are asked to do someone a favour or offer help of any kind. When one wants to help another it is usually by using the hands, if it is a manual activity, or by providing moral support. However, here the eye is the part of the body which serves another (THE EYES ARE DEAR): THE EYE IS AN OBJECT that can be manipulated by the hand to serve others (PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND). This is to imply the abstract idea of being willing to help unconditionally. The verb */yixdim/*, ‘to serve’, implies full service because of high respect. Again, this idiom is influenced by the Hijazi culture.

4.1.28 Sympathy

Table 4.28: The Conceptual Category of (Symapthy) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Sympathy	1

(32) /*ya 9eini 9aleik* / 'Oh, my eye on you'.
oh eye my on you(m.) Oh I sympathize with you/ Oh I admire what you did.¹¹⁰
[98 a, b]

This idiom is used to denote two meanings: either sympathy or admiration of someone's good deed or achievement. The first meaning is motivated by THE EYE IS AN OBJECT that can be taken and sent to sympathize with others since it is (A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS). The eye is precious (THE EYES ARE DEAR) because of its vital function (THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT). The second meaning is motived by different cognitive mechanisms: our conventional knowledge about the function of the eye (THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT), LIKING IS SEEING, and THE EYE IS AN OBJECT. Both meanings are motivated by the Hijazi culture in their structure and comprehension.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION

Eye expressions metonymically stand for the eye itself, since it is the body part responsible for these expressions, but it can be further mapped metaphorically onto more abstract concepts such as shame, humiliation, shyness, disrespect, strictness,

¹¹⁰ Fourteen HDA-speakers agreed on I sympathize with you, while ten agreed on I admire what you did.

snobbishness, etc. Appendix 7 contains many examples, but a variety have been selected here to represent a range of emotions.

4.1.29 Non-concentration

Table 4.29: The Conceptual Category of (Non-concentration) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Non-concentration	1

(33) */marrart 9eini 9aSSafHah/* ‘I passed my eye over the page’.
 passed over I eye my on the page I scanned the page without any focused concentration.¹¹¹[99]

This idiom is used to describe looking quickly at a page instead of reading it carefully to imply a lack of concentration arising from an absence of emotional interest in the whole issue. THE EYE IS AN OBJECT that can be manipulated and passed over the page. In reality it is the eye movement that passes over the page. The use of the verb */ymarrir/*, ‘to pass over’ also adds to the meaning because it implies this quick motion of sequential scanning, motivated by MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. The use of the preposition */9ala/*, ‘on’, implies the physical contact between the page and the eye by comparison with the experience of passing along a street without seeing every detail in it. The idiom is also motivated by several cognitive mechanisms: our conventional knowledge about the gestures of the eye when it scans a page, the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT and the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING.

¹¹¹ Twenty HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Three answered ‘I don’t know’, while one answered ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

4.1.30 Degrading

Table 4.30: The Conceptual Category of (Degrading) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Degrading	5

(34) /shaalatni w HaTTaTtni b9yuunaha/ ‘She carried me and dropped me with her eyes’.
 carried she me and dropped she me with eyes her She degraded me/
She was arrogant/ She was extremely observant.¹¹² [100 a, b, c]

Our experience tells us that the expressions of the eyes help us to understand how a person feels about others. The eyes can be used for covert observation, but also to look at others in a way that implies arrogance, observance, or contempt (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION). The eye can be raised and lowered at different speeds, and this idiom, motivated by SEEING IS TOUCHING, personifies the eye as a body that can lift up and drop others (PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS). Given that the eye reveals inner feelings (THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS), a quick glance indicates that the observed person or thing is unworthy of more detailed examination. This image is based on our conventional knowledge that we carry and take care of things that are important to use and drop things that are not. The third meaning has an extra motivator THE EYES STAND FOR OBSERVANCE.

¹¹² Seventeen HDA-speakers agreed on She degraded me, two agreed on She is arrogant, while another two provided the meaning She was extremely observant. Two did not know the answer while one provided the marginal answer She took care of me.

4.1.31 Shame

Table 4.31: The Conceptual Category of (Shame) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Shame	3

(35) /ma gidrat tirfa9 9einaha fiyya/ ‘She could not raise her eye in me/
my face’.
not could she raise she eye her in me She was extremely ashamed/ humiliated/
shy. ♦[105 a, b, c]

This idiom is used to express the idea of shame, humiliation, or extreme shyness. The idiom relies heavily on conventional knowledge of our bodily experience about our eye movements in these situations: usually we look people in the eye when we talk to them, but directing the eyes downwards can result from shyness, shame, or humiliation (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION). The idiom describes the eyes as being on the ground. That they cannot be raised to the other person's eye is indicated through the use of the negative structure */ma yigdar/*, ‘not being able to’ to metaphorically imply extremity of humiliation, shame, or shyness (LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHYNESS/HUMILIATION/SHAME).

4.1.32 Respect

Table 4.32: The Conceptual Category of (Respect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Respect	1

(36) */xalli 9einak marxiyya/* 'Keep your eye down'.
 keep you eye you (m.) down Keep your eyes lowered respectfully. ♦ [108]

This idiom is used to give an order to behave more respectfully to others, especially elders or respectful ones. Respect is shown by lowering the eyes and not by looking at someone directly or critically (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION and culturally-based metonymy LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR RESPECT).

4.1.33 Viciousness

Table 4.33: The Conceptual Category of (Viciousness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Viciousness	1

(37) */9einu kullaha sharr/*¹¹³ 'His eye is full of viciousness'.
 his eyes all of it viciousness He intends to do something vicious. ♦ [109]

This idiom is used to describe a vicious person. THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS OF THE EMOTIONS which can be filled up with viciousness (VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER). */kullaha/*, 'all of it', implies that this eye is completely full. An eye of this description is apparent to others through its expressions (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION).

¹¹³ Based on MSA idiom */9ainun shirriirah/*, 'A vicious eye', An eye which brings misfortune and bad luck (?*almunjid* 2000: 1040).

4.1.34 Strictness

Table 4.34: The Conceptual Category of (Strictness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Strictness	1

(38) */ma timshi illa bil9ein lHamra/* ‘She never obey orders unless faced with red eye’.
 never obey she unless with the eye the red You will have to be strict with her.¹¹⁴ [110]

This idiom is used as an advice of dealing with lazy or incompetent people so that they work harder or more efficiently. The eye is described as red to imply danger, a common association perhaps arising from the colour of blood and supported by the redness of angry eyes (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION). Our conventional knowledge about the red colour associated with the eye facilitates the meaning of this idiom. The use of the conditional clause in the negated verb */ma yimshi/*, ‘not to obey’ and */illa/*, ‘unless’, plays a role in the motivation of the overall meaning: this person never obeys unless threatened.

4.1.35 Impudence

Table 4.35: The Conceptual Category of (Impudence) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Impudence	7

(39) */9eini 9einak/* ‘My eye your eye’.
 eye my eye your (m.) Not being ashamed even in public.¹¹⁵ [111]

¹¹⁴ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while one answered ‘I don’t know’.

¹¹⁵ Twenty one HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Two answered ‘I don’t know’, while one answered a marginal answer She is confident.

This idiom is used to talk about an impudent person who does not care about anybody. When a person has performed a shameful or a shocking deed they tend to hide from people and when seen in public they tend to walk with their heads and eyes down (LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHYNESS/HUMILIATION/SHAME). (NOT) SEEING IS (NOT) TOUCHING is also relevant to the interpretation of this idiom, because people feeling shame or humiliation do not seek eye contact. A person who commits bad or shameful deeds and still makes eye contact has no regard for other people's opinions (LOOKING IN THE EYE STANDS FOR IMPUDENCE). Accordingly, the expression conveys the abstract idea of 'impudence'.

4.1.36 Boldness

Table 4.36: The Conceptual Category of (Boldness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Boldness	2

(40) */titkallam b9ein gawwiyyah/* 'She talks with a strong eye'.
 talk she with an eye strong She is bold/ She is impudent/ She is self-confident.¹¹⁶
 [118 a, b, c]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is bold, impudent, or self-confident. Here the act of talking is attributed to the eye instead of the mouth because the eyes express feelings such as anger, eagerness, happiness, etc. (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION). The eye is modified by the adjective */gawwiyyah/*, 'strong', to imply the abstract idea of strictness, impudence, or self-confidence depending on the situation itself. The eye is stronger than other people's: it is strong enough to meet gazes that it ought not to meet and wins in the fight between these gazes.

¹¹⁶ Nine HDA-speakers agreed on She is bold, another eight HDA-speakers agreed on She is impudent, while six agreed on She is self-confident. One provided the marginal answer She has contacts.

4.1.37 Absence of emotion

Table 4.37: The Conceptual Category of (Absence of emotion) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Absence of emotion	1

- (41) /*9einaha wala damma9at/* ‘Her eye did not even fill up with tears’.
 eye her did not even filled up with tear She is emotionless.¹¹⁷ [120]

This idiom is used to describe a person without emotions. THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS, but a person whose eyes do not fill with tears in a sad situation appears to be lacking in emotion (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION). The use of the negated structure /*wala ydammi9/*, ‘not even filled up with tears’, is to add to the motivation of being emotionless.

4.1.38 Harshness

Table 4.38: The Conceptual Category of (Harshness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Harshness	1

- (42) /*zaGaratni b9einaha/* ‘She gave me a bad look with her eye’.
 give she a bad look with her eye She looked at me harshly/ She degraded me.¹¹⁸
 [121 a, b]

In this idiom, the eyes represent squinting suspicion, which implies an intention to degrade the person scrutinized. Both meanings are motivated by our conventional knowledge, and (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN

¹¹⁷ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. One answered 'I don't know'.

¹¹⁸ Seventeen HDA-speakers agreed on the interpretation She looked at me harshly, while five others agreed on She degraded me. Two answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION). The use of the verb */yizGur/*, ‘to give the bad look’, and not an alternative verb, such as */yTul/*, ‘to look’, helps to emphasize the negative associations of this kind of look.

4.1.39 Verifying others' sincerity

Table 4.39: The Conceptual Category of (Verifying others' sincerity) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Verifying others' sincerity	2

(43) */min 9uyuunaha baayin/* ‘From her eyes it is shown’.
 from eyes her shown Her eyes revealed her inner feelings, thoughts, etc. ♦ [122]

Yu (2004: 676) states that the eyes are believed to be the 'window into the mind'. Our mental states include emotions and feelings about certain people, things, or concepts around us. They illustrate the close relationship between the eye and the mind (THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS). This idiom is used when we want to verify whether someone is telling the truth or lying. We tend to depend on their eyes' expressions to learn their inner feelings (THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND and KNOWING IS SEEING). The eyes play an important role in revealing inner thoughts and feelings through their expressions. Comprehension of this idiom is through our conventional knowledge about the expressions of the eyes as a basic motivator (THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION).

4.1.40 Anticipating good/bad news

Table 4.40: The Conceptual Category of (Anticipating good/bad news) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Anticipating good/bad news	1

- (44) /9eini bitriff/ 'My right/left eye is blinking through its lashes'.
 my eye is blinking I am optimistic/ pessimistic.♦ [124]

In the Hijazi community most people believe that if the right eye blinks then the person feels optimistic, while if the left eye blinks he feels pessimistic. The cognitive mechanism for the figurative meaning is our cultural knowledge. Conceptualizing the concepts of optimism or pessimism is culturally understood in relation to left and right:

Narrated Aishah (May Allah be pleased with her): The Prophet (peace be upon him) used to like to start from the right side as far as possible in combing and in performing ablution.¹¹⁹

It is customary in Islam to use the right hand in eating, drinking, while the left hand is used for cleaning oneself with water after defecating. Jabir Ibn Abdullah reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said:

Do not eat with your left hand, for Satan eats with his left hand.¹²⁰

Accordingly, left-handedness has negative associations in most Muslim communities, including the Hijazi community. The Holy Qur'an describes the faithful in the after-life

¹¹⁹ Khan (1997, Volume 7: 431).

¹²⁰ www.sahihmuslim.com (Hadeeth number 5007).

as people who will receive their book¹²¹ with their right hands (as a sign of not following Satan) while the unfaithful receive their book with their left hand (as a sign of following Satan). The metaphors WRONG IS LEFT and RIGHT IS RIGHT are clearly based on this Islamic belief.¹²²

4.1.41 Time

Table 4.41: The Conceptual Category of (Time) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Time	2

(45) /f *GamDat 9ein*/ ¹²³
 in blink an eye

‘In the blink of an eye’.
Very fast.♦ [125]

This idiom relies on our bodily experience that our eyes blink millions of times and that this blinking is so quick that it usually passes unnoticed. This eye movement thus denotes extreme speed or a very short period of time. In reference to Chinese idioms, Yu (2004: 669) states that the expression *zha-yan* (blink-eye) 'very short time; wink; twinkle' ".. [is] metaphoric with an apparent metonymic basis". His justification is that the blinking of the eye takes only an instant of time which is metonymical because it is related to the movements of the eye. This fast movement is then used metaphorically to imply 'very fast'. Yu's explanation also works for this HDA idiom.

¹²¹ It is believed in Islam that every person's deeds are recorded by two angels on their shoulders. The angel on the right records good deeds; the one on the left records bad deeds. On the Day of Judgement, each individual is given a book accounting their good and bad deeds.

¹²² Based on the Qur'anic verses "And those on the Right Hand, - Who will be those on the Right Hand? (They will be) among thornless trees, Among *Talh* (banana trees) with fruits piled one above another, In shade long-extended, By water flowing constantly And those on the Left Hand – Who will be those on the Left Hand? In fierce hot wind and boiling water, And shadow of black smoke, (That shadow) neither cool, nor (even) good" (The Holy Qur'an, Al-Waqi'ah Chapter, Verses 27-44).

¹²³ Based on the Qur'anic verse "One with whom was knowledge of the Scripture said: "I will bring it to you within the twinkling of an eye!" (The Holy Qur'an, An-Naml Chapter, verse 40). In addition, MSA uses this idiom, /fi *Tarfati 9ain*/, 'In a blink of an eye', Very fast (?*almunjid* 2000: 1040).

4.1.42 Extreme sorrow

Table 4.42: The Conceptual Category of (Extreme sorrow) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme sorrow	1

- (46) */9uyuuni nishfat min kutral buka/* ‘My eyes became dry with crying’.
 eyes my dried from too much the crying I am in deep sorrow.¹²⁴ [127]

This idiom is used to describe extreme sorrow of a person such as bereavement. The eyes become dry because they have run out of tears. This is an exaggeration to figuratively denote deep sorrow motivated through the semantic role contributed by the verb */yinshaf/*, ‘to dry out’. The cognitive mechanisms here are THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION and our conventional knowledge.

4.1.43 Relief from responsibilities

Table 4.43: The Conceptual Category of (Relief from responsibilities) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Relief from responsibilities	1

- (47) */duubni GammaDt 9eini/* ‘I just shut my eye’.
 just I shut I eye me I was just relieved.♦ [128]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is extremely exhausted or busy and now is ready to go to sleep. The idiom is motivated mainly through our bodily experience that when we are tired we tend to sleep, and that we ready ourselves for rest by closing our eyes motivated through using the particle */duub/*, ‘just’ and the verb */yGimmiD/*, ‘to shut

¹²⁴ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while two answered ‘I don't know’.

the eye’. The figurative meaning refers to relief from tasks and responsibilities. The cognitive mechanisms motivating the figurative meaning are our conventional knowledge and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION.

4.1.44 Extreme fatigue

Table 4.44: The Conceptual Category of (Extremefatigue) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme fatigue	1

(48) /*9eini ma daagat Ta9mal noam/* ‘My eye did not taste the taste of sleep’.
 eye my not tasted taste of sleep I am extremely exhausted.♦ [129]

This idiom is used to describe an exhausted person who has not slept for days. It is an example of personification.¹²⁵ The eyes which are closed when preparing to sleep are personified as a person tasting sleep, an abstract concept. The negated verb used /*ma yduug/*, ‘not to taste’, is used metaphorically to signal extremity of exhaustion. The cognitive mechanisms THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION, SLEEP IS FOOD, and our conventional knowledge are at work here.

¹²⁵ Personification is regarded as a case of ontological metaphors in cognitive linguistics (Kövecses, 2002: 35).

THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND

4.1.45 Judgement

Table 4.45: The Conceptual Category of (Judgement) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Judgement	2

(49) /?inta f 9eini wala shay/ 'You are nothing in my eye'.
you (m.) in eye my nothing In my opinion, you are worth nothing.¹²⁶ [130]

This idiom is used to describe the point of view of someone about others. The eye is used to represent one's mind because how one thinks about others is reflected in how one sees them. The person in this idiom does not have any deficiency in the function of their eyes; however, the others do not exist in their mind because they are worthless. This idiom is motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS.

Idioms Interpreted with Reference to the Physical Shape of the Eye

The following idiom is comprehended by HDA-speakers with reference to the physical shape of the eye.¹²⁷

4.1.46 Beauty

Table 4.46: The Conceptual Category of (Beauty) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Beauty	1

¹²⁶ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while one answered 'I don't know'.

¹²⁷ See Kövecses (2005: Chapter 6) where he provides several examples of figurative meanings expressed by their literal meaning.

(50) /9uyuunaha wsaa9/ 'Her eyes are big'.
 eyes her wide She has beautiful eyes /She has envious eyes/ She inspects
everything.¹²⁸ [132 a, b, c]

This idiom is used to describe either the physical shape of the eye or its expressions according to the context. In the Hijazi community, big eyes could signify beauty, where the interpreter relies basically on its physical shape (cultural knowledge BIG EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY). In the Hijazi community people with big round eyes are believed to be envious, perhaps because the pupils expand when looking at something/someone that is desired (THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY and BIG EYES STAND FOR ENVY). In addition, the third meaning relies on the expressions of a person who inspects everything around them, motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION, BIG EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION and ATTENTION IS LOOKING. In this case the eyes are wide open so that they do not miss a detail. Our conventional knowledge and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION also work as motivators in the third meaning.

¹²⁸ Eleven HDA-speakers agreed on She has beautiful eyes, four agreed on She has envious eyes and three agreed on She inspects everything. Four answered as 'I don't know', one answered 'I haven't heard it before', and one provided the marginal answer She is greedy.

Idioms Interpreted Mainly with Reference to Their Literal Meaning and then Figuratively

4.1.47 Literal: {Being severely beaten}¹²⁹

Table 4.47: The Conceptual Category of {Being severely beaten} and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
{Being severely beaten}	1

(51) /*9einu zarragat/* 'His eye was darkened'.
 eye his darkened {He was severely beaten}/ He is envying others.¹³⁰ [133a, b]

This idiom is used to describe a person who was so severely beaten that the area around his eyes became bruised and also a person who is envying others. The first interpretation relies on the physical shape and colour of the eye socket after a severe beating and is the literal presentation. The second interpretation relies on a cultural belief in the Hijazi community that the eyes are related to envy, and is motivated by THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY. In both meanings, the gemination in the verb /*zarrig/*, 'to make dark', indicates severity.

4.1.48 Literal: {Wearing glasses}

Table 4.48: The Conceptual Category of {Wearing glasses} and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
{Wearing glasses}	1

¹²⁹ { } are used in this study to imply the literal meaning of an idiom.

¹³⁰ Four HDA-speakers agreed on {He was severely beaten}, while two HDA-speakers agreed on He is envying others, one gave the marginal answer She was angry, another gave the marginal answer Her eyes have tears, six HDA-speakers answered 'I don't know' while ten HDA-speakers answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

I will now examine some HDA idiomatic expressions involving the head as a part in our human body. The head is used metonymically and metaphorically in these idioms. The word /*raaS*/, ‘a head’ has many morphological derivations such as: /*raaS*/, ‘a head’; /*ruuS*/, ‘heads’; /*?arraaS*/, ‘the head’, etc. Whenever any of these derivations is used, it will be followed by its translation.

THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON

4.2.1 A chief

Table 4.49: The Conceptual Category of (A chief) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
A chief	1

- (53) /*haadhi rraaS*al *kabiirah*/¹³⁴ ‘This is the big and old head’.¹³⁵
 this is the head big/old He is the chief of his tribe, family, etc./ He is the chief of this conspiracy.¹³⁶ [135 a, b]

This idiom is used to describe the chief person in a tribe or a person who is responsible for a conspiracy. The head is chosen specifically for what it contains (i.e. the mind and its thinking operations) as well its position at the top of the body. The mind is the seat of thoughts, and this idiom suggests that the individual has been chosen for clear-headedness and soberness of thought that place him above others. The head in the second meaning signifies the mind: A conspiracy needs a head filled with damaging

¹³⁴ Based on MSA /*ra?sul qawmi*/, ‘The head of the people’, The chief of the tribe (?*almunjid* 2000: 521).

¹³⁵ In Shona, **musoro wemba** head of family refers to the ‘father of the house’. “The conceptual metaphor can be seen as a “mapping”, FAMILY-IS-A-BODY and according to Lakoff (1993: 207) such a mapping is “a set of ontological correspondences that characterize epistemic correspondences by mapping knowledge” about a family onto knowledge about the body.” (Mberi 2003: 81)

¹³⁶ Thirteen HDA-speakers agreed on He is the chief of his tribe, family, etc., while six HDA-speakers agreed on He is the chief of this conspiracy. Three answered ‘I don’t know’, while two answered ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

thoughts. The head stands for the whole body again. Ultimately, both meanings are conceptually motivated by THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING, THE MIND STANDS FOR CONTROL, THE HEAD STANDS FOR CONTROL, and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. The head is described as big and old to show that this head is full of past experiences that raise the chief person's status among the other members of the tribe (BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE). Alternatively they show that he is a vicious and nasty person who has bad thoughts and nasty experiences. Both images are motivated by IMPORTANT IS BIG to refer to the many ideas and experiences the head contains, as well as the metonymy OLD STANDS FOR SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. The use of /haadi/, 'this is', as a determiner which is used for a person, object, or an idea to show which one is referred to, conceptually motivates the meaning of pointing to the whole person through their head.

4.2.2 Importance

Table 4.50: The Conceptual Category of (Importance) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Importance	1

(54) /?abGaak _____ f kilmat raaS/ 'I want you in word of head'.
 want you (m.) I in word a head I want to have a talk with you regarding important issues.♦ [136]

This idiom is used when asking someone for their opinion about an important issue. It is within our conventional knowledge that when people talk or negotiate, they tend to lean their heads together to pay greater attention or so that no-one can overhear. The head here represents the whole body (i.e. THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE) as well

as thoughts: THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING, and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS.

4.2.3 Not influencing

Table 4.51: The Conceptual Category of (Not influencing) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Not influencing	1

(55) */wala hazzat sha9rah min raaSi/* ‘She did not even shake one hair from my head’.
 not even shake she a hair from my head She did not have any effect on me at all.¹³⁷ [137]

This idiom is used to describe ineffectual verbal insults. It is based on our conventional knowledge that the head contains most of our senses and consequently receives certain physiological effects. One of these effects might be the unnoticed movement, change of colour or loss of hair. The head is chosen to stand for the whole body as well the temper, because they are interrelated. The loss of a hair is the least harm that could befall someone, but even that did not even occur. The literal meaning of this idiom is linked to its figurative meaning through our conventional knowledge as well as two conceptual metonymies: THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE HEAD STANDS FOR TEMPER.

¹³⁷ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while one answered 'I don't know'.

4.2.4 Responsibility

Table 4.52: The Conceptual Category of (Responsibility) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Responsibility	3

- (56) /*jaat 9ala raaSi/* 'It came on my head'.
 came it on head my I am the one responsible for this trouble even though
I am innocent.♦ [138]

This idiom is used to describe a situation where a person faces the entire consequences of a problem even though they were not its cause. For instance, the parents of a boy caught stealing a car would have to pay to get him out of prison. In HDA, it is said that this problem came on his parents' heads. The image of this is based on our conventional knowledge that having something fall on our heads causes us pain and shock. The fall of a thing (i.e. a problem) on someone's head will cause them to duck, which leads to debasement (PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS). The falling object signifies the problem, while the head signifies the whole person (THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON).

4.2.5 Competition

Table 4.53: The Conceptual Category of (Competition) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Competition	1

- (57) /*la tHuT raaSak braaSul* 'Don't put your head with his head'.
 not put you (m.) your head (m.) with head his Try to avoid him/
Don't challenge him.¹³⁸ [141 a, b]

¹³⁸ Eighteen HDA-speakers agreed on Try to avoid him while six agreed on Don't challenge him.

This idiom is used to advise a person not to compete with or challenge another person because of intractable problems between them. The head here represents the whole body (THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE) as well as the thoughts. Because both parties' ideas are fixed, there is no benefit in them putting their heads together. The literal meaning of this idiom is linked to the figurative meanings through our bodily experience of the head when fighting, THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON, PEOPLE ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS, the conceptual metaphors THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, and COMPETITION IS WAR.

4.2.6 Completeness

Table 4.54: The Conceptual Category of (Completeness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Completeness	1

(58) */min saasi lraaSi/*¹³⁹ 'From my toe to head'.
 from toe my to head my Completely, all over.¹⁴⁰ [142]

This idiom relies on our conventional knowledge that the head is at the top and the toes are at the bottom of our body (HEAD IS UP- TOE/FOOT IS DOWN). When we want to examine a person thoroughly, we scan the whole body from top to bottom or vice versa to see that person's full body and to gain an image of them in our brain. This idiom is thus motivated through this conventional knowledge, and the conceptual metonymies THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER and THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON.

¹³⁹ Based on MSA */min qimmatir ra?si ?ila ?axmasil qadami/*, 'From the top of the head until the fifth finger in the feet', Thoroughly, completely (?*almunjid* 2000: 521).

¹⁴⁰ Twenty one HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, two answered 'I don't know' and one answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

4.2.7 Confusion

Table 4.55: The Conceptual Category of (Confusion) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Confusion	1

(59) /mani 9aarfah raaSi min rujuuli/ ‘I don't know my head from my feet’.
 don't I know (f.) I head my from feet my I am extremely confused. ♦ [143]

This idiom is used to talk about a person who completely confused (THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON). It relies on our conventional knowledge about verticality, motivated by the general verticality schema (UP-DOWN), and specifically the orientational metaphor pair HEAD IS UP- TOE/FOOT IS DOWN and THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER (for its position, the head signals appropriate and correct position). The use of the verb /*ma yi9rif*/, ‘not knowing’, which is attached to /*raaSi min rujuuli*/, ‘my head from my feet’, implies a contradiction of familiar knowledge about the order of our body parts, to imply metaphorically the idea of confusion.

4.2.8 Helping out of respect

Table 4.56: The Conceptual Category of (Helping out of respect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Helping out of respect	2

(60) /9ala raaSi/¹⁴¹ ‘On my head’.
 on head my I am at your service gladly. ♦ [144]

This idiom indicates willingness to do anything for another person out of respect. The cultural gesture of putting one's hand on the head denotes that I am willing to help because I respect you. It is also motivated by our conventional knowledge about the

¹⁴¹ Based on MSA /9alarra?si wal9aini/, ‘On the head and the eye’, Gladly (?*almunjid* 2000: 521).

position of the head at the top of our bodies (HEAD IS UP). This upward orientation is rooted in Arabic culture and specifically in many Arabic poems. Abdulbadi' pointed out that the head and face are the two body parts where the physical altitude and height are apparent (Abdulbadi' 1986: 46, my translation). A duty is conceptualized as a physical object that can be manipulated by the hand (DUTIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS and PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND): Putting a duty on the head conceptually implies respect (BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED).¹⁴² The use of the preposition /*9ala*/, 'on', exerts additional meaning because the duties are placed higher than the head itself.

4.2.9 Respect

Table 4.57: The Conceptual Category of (Respect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Respect	2

(61) /*?aHuTTak 9ala raaSi min foag/* 'I put you on my head'.
 put you (m.) I on head my from up I respect you highly.¹⁴³ [146]

This idiom is used to indicate respect and willingness to do anything for another person. It is based on conventional/cultural knowledge about the position of the head and what it signifies in Arabic culture motivated by PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS, PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND which motivates the culturally-based metaphor BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED. Even though we know that the head is in the highest position in our

¹⁴² Kövecses (2002: 21) states that moral categories such as honesty, good and bad, etc. are understood by means of concrete source concepts such as forces, up-down orientation, light and dark, etc.

¹⁴³ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, one answered 'I don't know'.

body, the use of the preposition */foag/*, ‘up’, emphasizes the high position resulting from great respect.

4.2.10 Long life

Table 4.58: The Conceptual Category of (Long life) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Long life	1

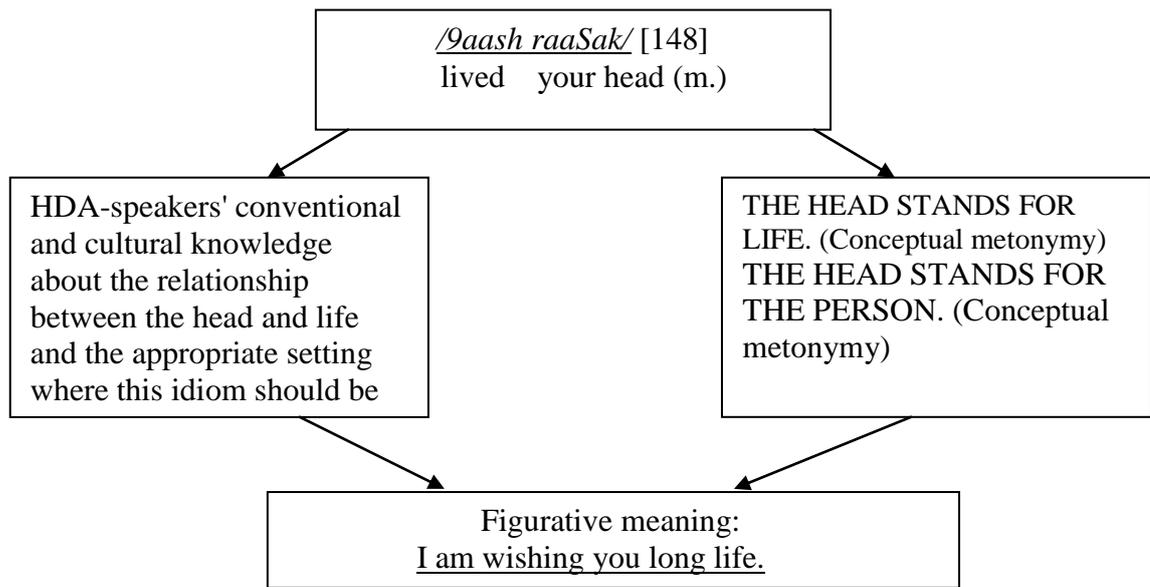
(62) */9aash raaSak/*
 lived head your (m.)

‘Your head lives’.
I am wishing you long life.¹⁴⁴ [148]

This idiom is used to wish long life to someone in gratitude. It is motivated metonymically by THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE, the image schema of UP-DOWN (where conventionally we know that living and healthy people are generally vertical while dead or unhealthy people lie down) and THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON, where a living head is a living person.

¹⁴⁴ Twenty one HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Two answered ‘I don’t know’, while one answered ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

Figure 4.2: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in Idiom [148].



4.2.11 Warning

Table 4.59: The Conceptual Category of (Warning) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Warning	1

(63) /ʔakssirlak raaSak/ ‘I will break your head’.
 break I will head your (m.) I am warning you not to do it again. ♦ [149]

This idiom is used as a warning. It is based on conventional knowledge that a broken head would cause great harm or even death. The head is the centre of all of an individual's physical and intellectual operations, and any threat against it is a threat to the individual (THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON), and THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE. The verb /ykassir/, ‘to break’, is geminated to emphasize warning.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION

4.2.12 Pride

Table 4.60: The Conceptual Category of (Pride) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Pride	1

(64) */yirfa9arraS/*¹⁴⁵
makes it high the head

‘It makes the head high’.
What he did is a great honour to us.♦[150]

This idiom is used to describe a situation of great honor based on the gestures of our head. When we achieve a success or victory, we tend to raise our heads high. This conventional image of pride is conceptually motivated by the orientational metaphor TO BE PROUD IS TO RAISE ONE'S HEAD UP and the general orientation metaphor GOOD IS UP. The use of the verb */yirfa9/*, ‘to make high’ is motivated by MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION, in which we raise our heads when we are proud of something. The head in this idiom stands for the whole person (motivated by THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON).

4.2.13 Shame

Table 4.61: The Conceptual Category of (Shame) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Shame	5

¹⁴⁵ Based on MSA */rafa9a ra?sana/*, ‘He made our heads high’, He made us proud of him (?*almunjid* 2000: 521).

(65) */nakkas raaSi/* 'He lowered my head'.
 lowered he head my Because of him, I cannot face others.¹⁴⁶ [151]

This idiom is used to describe a situation of extreme shame based on our conventional knowledge of the gestures of our heads. When we are in a shameful situation we hold our heads down. This conventional image of shame conceptually motivated by the orientational metaphor by LOWERING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR BEING ASHAMED and the general orientation metaphor DOWN IS BAD. The use of the verb */ynakkis/*¹⁴⁷ 'to lower' is motivated by MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION, in which we lower them when we are ashamed. The head in this idiom stands for the whole person (motivated by THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON) as well as it is further conceptualized as a flag whose owner cannot hold it high because of extreme shame.

THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS

4.2.14 Temper¹⁴⁸

Table 4.62: The Conceptual Category of (Temper) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Temper	4

(66) */rawwig raaSak/* 'Make your head calm'.
 calm make (m.) your head (m.) Try to calm down.¹⁴⁹ [156]

¹⁴⁶ Seventeen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Two answered as 'I don't know', four answered 'I haven't heard it before' while one provided the marginal answer He disturbed me.

¹⁴⁷ There is no equivalent word to */nakkas/* in English because in HDA it is restricted to lowering the country's flag as in */nakasal 9alam/*, 'The flag was lowered'.

¹⁴⁸ The available literature on anger expressions is mostly dominated by the view that its conceptualization depends on embodiment in many languages in most of which has a physiological bearing (Maalej 2004: 51).

¹⁴⁹ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while one answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, and COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. This process is known as the *conduit metaphor*, because ideas are believed to travel along a conduit (Kövecses 2002: 74-75). The abstract idea of influencing others' thoughts and opinions is conceptually motivated by TO CONVINCe OTHERS IS TO DIRECT ONE'S SPEECH TO THEIR HEADS since the head is the target for what it contains (i.e. the mind). The use of the verb /*yiHshi*/, 'to stuff', implies stuffing things as concrete objects (i.e. thoughts) into a container (i.e. the head where the mind is located) is motivated by PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS BY THE HAND.

4.2.16 Stubbornness

Table 4.64: The Conceptual Category of (Stubbornness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Stubbornness	4

(68) /*rikib raaSu*/¹⁵²
rode he head his

'He rode his head'.
He is stubborn.¹⁵³ [163]

This idiom describes a person who sticks stubbornly to his own intentions and does not listen to the advice of others (THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON). Here THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. A stubborn person is a person whose ideas and opinions are fixed and unchangeable. The use of /*yirkab*/, 'to ride', is based on our conventional knowledge

¹⁵²Based on MSA /*rakiba ra?sahu*/, 'He rode his head', He does not listen to anyone's advice and prefers his own wrong views (?*almunjid* 2000: 580).

¹⁵³ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

(70) */raaSaha malyaan balaawi/* 'Her head is full of devious ideas'.
 head her full devious ideas She is wicked.♦ [169]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is devious and wicked (THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON), THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. The ideas are objects inside the mind (ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) and are described as devious through the use of the word */balaawi/*, 'devious ideas', suggesting that this head contains a large number of devious ideas.

4.2.19 Wisdom

Table 4.67: The Conceptual Category of (Wisdom) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Wisdom	1

(71) */kabbir raaSak/* 'Make your head big'.
 big make (m.) head your (m.) Be wise and act sensibly.¹⁵⁶ [171]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is advised to rise above trivial matters and act wisely in a difficult situation. The literal meaning is linked to the figurative meaning through the following cognitive mechanisms: THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING, and THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. This person is advised to be calm (THE HEAD STANDS FOR TEMPER) and to enlarge his head so that there is space to think rather than to experience pressure caused by anger expanding in a narrow place (ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER).

¹⁵⁶ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while two answered 'I don't know'.

This is also motivated by BIGGER IS BETTER and BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE. The verb /*ykabbir*/, ‘to make big’ is geminated to emphasize the importance of acting wisely.

4.2.20 Flattering

Table 4.68: The Conceptual Category of (Flattering) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Flattering	1

(72) /*kabbarlaha raaSaha*/ ‘He made her head big’.
 made her big head her He flattered her.¹⁵⁷ [172]

This idiom is used to describe an act of deliberate and manipulative flattery. Here THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER OF OBJECTS. The flattering words and phrases are conceptualized as objects (ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) which can enlarge the flattered person's head. The manipulative person makes the head big by putting these objects into it. Part of the motivation of meaning here is emphasized through the gemination of the verb /*ykabbir*/, ‘to make big’, emphasizing the effect of extreme flattery.

4.2.21 Thinking

Table 4.69: The Conceptual Category of (Thinking) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Thinking	4

(73) /*fi Haaja tduur fraaSaha*/ ‘There is something going around in her head’.
 in something going around in head her She is busy thinking/
She is thinking evilly.¹⁵⁸ [173 a, b]

¹⁵⁷ Eighteen HDA-speakers agreed on He over-praised her. Three answered ‘I don't know’, while two provided two marginal interpretations: He fooled her and He made her stubborn.

This idiom is used to describe a person who is busy thinking over an issue or problem and also for a person who is plotting a conspiracy. Here again THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. The ideas are conceptualized as entities (ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) inside the container. The use of the verb /yduur/, ‘to go around’, is motivated by MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION to imply uncertainty of decision and specifically THINKING IS MOVING, where ideas are conceptualized as going around in the container to imply thinking. The act of thinking usually takes time and a variety of ideas are considered until the person makes a decision and thinking stops. Also, the act of circling that goes inside the container implies that an idea is given the chance either to stay or be thrown away from the container. Both meanings are motivated by the same cognitive mechanisms.

4.3 /?almux/, /?al9agil/, /?addimaaG/, ‘the mind’:

As previously stated, HDA uses /?almux/, /?al9agil/ and /?addimaaG/ to refer to ‘the mind’, and its mental operations in general. In other words, these three words can be used interchangeably within the same idiom to refer to ‘the mind’ without any change in meaning. HDA mind idioms refer to its shape, size, position, and function. They all have their own morphological derivations, and these are provided in the literal translations. The study uses ‘mind’ to translate all three HDA words.

¹⁵⁸ Nineteen HDA-speakers agreed on She is busy thinking while five HDA-speakers agreed on She is thinking evilly.

THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING

4.3.1 Thinking

Table 4.70: The Conceptual Category of (Thinking) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Thinking	3

(74) /*9agli mashGuul*/¹⁵⁹ ‘My mind is busy’.
mind my busy I cannot think properly because of worries and concerns.¹⁶⁰ [177]

This idiom describes a situation where the mind fails to think because it is too full of other thoughts and worries. Here THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS where the thoughts and worries are conceptualized as objects (ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) inside this container. The use of the adjective /*mashGuul*/, ‘busy’, contributes to the process of motivation in which it is known that when we are busy we do not have time to do other activities.

THE MIND IS A MACHINE

4.3.2 Thinking

Table 4.71: The Conceptual Category of (Thinking) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Thinking	3

¹⁵⁹ Based on MSA idiom /*haadha yashGilul 9aqla*/, ‘This makes the mind busy’, This makes the mind think improperly (?*almunjid* 2000: 1002).

¹⁶⁰ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. One answered as ‘I don’t know’.

(75) */fyuzaat muxxaha Daarba/* ‘The fuses of her mind are out of order’.
 fuses mind her out of order She cannot think properly.¹⁶¹ [180]

In this idiom, the use of the noun */fyuzaat/*, ‘fuses’ describes the mind as a machine that is out of order: THE MIND IS A MACHINE which is not processing thoughts correctly (THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING) through the use of the adjective */Daarba/*, ‘out of order’.

THE MIND IS AN OBJECT

4.3.3 Wisdom

Table 4.72: The Conceptual Category of (Wisdom) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Wisdom	1

(76) */muxxu mrakkab shmaal/* ‘His mind is positioned to the left’.
 mind his positioned left He is unwise.¹⁶² [183]

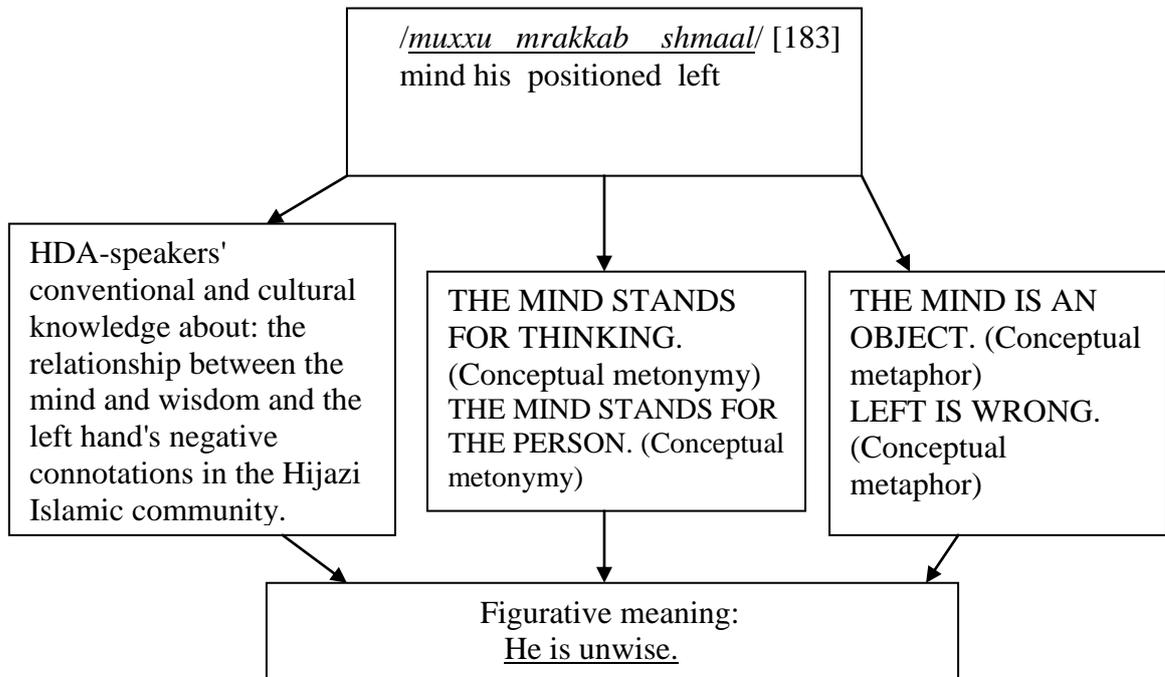
This idiom describes an unwise person who thinks irrationally. Here THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING and THE MIND IS AN OBJECT that can be located in different places. Locating it to the left contradicts our conventional knowledge that the mind occupies the centre of the skull. This bizarre description is culturally rooted in many verses in the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's (peace be upon him) sayings mentioned earlier (see section 4.1.40), where the right is preferred to the left (RIGHT IS RIGHT and LEFT IS WRONG). Accordingly, when the mind is located to the left side

¹⁶¹ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one provided the marginal answer She is crazy.

¹⁶² Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered as 'I don't know'.

this implies that it is functioning deficiently. The mind here represents the whole person (THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON).

Figure 4.3: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in Idiom [183].



THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS

4.3.4 Thinking

Table 4.73: The Conceptual Category of (Thinking) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Thinking	2

(77) /muxxaha faaDi/
mind her empty

‘Her mind is empty’.
She cannot think properly/ She does not have any
commitments to keep her busy.¹⁶³ [184 a, b]

¹⁶³ Twenty one HDA-speakers agreed on She cannot think properly, while three HDA-speakers agreed on She does not have any commitments to keep her busy.

4.3.6 Superficiality of thinking

Table 4.75: The Conceptual Category of (Superficialty of thinking) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Superficiality of thinking	1

- (79) /*9aglu SaGiir*/¹⁶⁶ ‘His mind is small’.
 mind his small His thinking is superficial.♦ [187]

This idiom is used to describe a superficial person who only thinks about trivial things (THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON). The mind is portrayed as small to signify shallowness and the limited number of ideas and thoughts inside it motivated by THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. When the mind is small, it can only think about trivial things which do not need deep thinking. When it is big, it can think in a complicated and deep way. The use of size is motivated by our conventional knowledge about the brain and thinking, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING, BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE, and the structural conceptual metaphor SMALL IS NARROW.

4.3.7 Open-mindedness

Table 4.76: The Conceptual Category of (Open-mindedness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Open-mindedness	1

- (80) /*9aglu kbiir*/ ‘His mind is big’.
 mind his big He is open-minded.♦[188]

This idiom is used to describe broad-minded people who are willing to discuss major issues and to consider modern ideas (THE MIND STANDS FOR THE WHOLE). The

¹⁶⁶ Based on MSA idiom /*9aqlun SaGiirun*/, ‘A small mind’, His thinking is superficial (?*almunjid* 2000: 1002).

mind is conceptualized as a container (THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS and THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING) in which there is a room for the mind to encompass ideas (BIG IS BROAD). The use of the adjective */kbiir/*, ‘big’, plays a major role in the motivation of the figurative meaning where our conventional knowledge about small/big sizes motivates the idea of big size in relation to the mind to show total broadness (BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE).

4.3.8 Influencing others' thoughts and opinions

Table 4.77: The Conceptual Category of (Influencing others' thoughts and opinions) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Influencing others' thoughts	1

(81) */Hashatlaha dmaaGaha/* ‘She stuffed her mind’.
 stuffed she mind her She influenced her with her ideas.¹⁶⁷ [189]

This idiom describes a person who influences someone else's views and ideas, motivated by THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, and COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER, and PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. The ideas are described as concrete objects which can be held in the hand and stuffed into the mind. The use of */yiHshi/*, ‘to stuff’, relies on our conventional knowledge in which we visualize the picture of stuffing the mind as stuffing food in a zucchini for example which distorts its shape.

¹⁶⁷ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, one answered 'I don't know', while another answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS, but it is also conceptualized as an object that others can manipulate (THE MIND IS AN OBJECT). The trickster manipulates the other person's mind (PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND) and plays with their ideas (PLAYING IS TRICKING). The use of the verb /*yil9ab*/, ‘to play’ has a role in the motivation of meaning because it relates to an activity which is both easy and fun to do. Accordingly, the mind, representing the whole person (THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON), will be influenced and easily tricked. This is another example of conduit metaphor.

4.3.11 Wisdom

Table 4.80: The Conceptual Category of (Wisdom) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Wisdom	4

(84) /*9aglaha yuuzin balad*/ ‘Her mind weighs (equals)¹⁷⁰ a country’.
 mind her weighs (equals) a country She is wise.♦ [197]

This idiom is used to describe a wise person (THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON). The mind is described as equivalent to the size of a country. Here the *country* is an example of metonymy based on a synecdoche:¹⁷¹ the reference is made to the people in that country and specifically to their minds (a metonymy in which THE

¹⁷⁰ Usually, the word /*yuuzin*/ would be translated as to weigh, but when comparing between people it denotes equal to another in the characteristic intended.

¹⁷¹ Al-Muraghi (2005: 244) provides an example of synecdoche in which the semantic relationship between the lexical item and the figurative meaning is place relationship in "And ask the *town* where we have been, and the caravan in which we returned, and indeed we are telling the truth." (The Holy Qur'an, Yusuf Chapter, Verse 82). The reference in *town* is to the *people who are living in that town*. Abdul-Raof (2006: 231) defines place relationship as "This semantic relationship refers to the lexical items that are places or institutions which are occupied by people."

PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE). THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS metaphor used to refer to the accumulated wisdom and experiences in the minds of those people in the whole country which is equaled by one person in the idiom above.

4.3.12 Forgetting

Table 4.81: The Conceptual Category of (Forgetting) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Forgetting	1

(85) /*9aglu mfawwit/* 'His mind escapable'.
 mind his escapable He forgets things/ He is unaware of what he is saying.¹⁷²
 [200 a, b]

This idiom describes a person who is not conscious of what they are saying because they are not paying it full attention or to a person who is forgetful. The mind is used in both meanings because its main function is thinking and it is also seen as the container of information and ideas. Ideas and information are conceptualized as objects (ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) that escape from the mind without sufficient thought. The second meaning is motivated by THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS and ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS and here the thoughts escape because they are not retained within the container. The mind here represents the whole person motivated by THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON. Part of the motivation is achieved through the use of the adjective /*mfawwit/*, 'escapable'.

¹⁷² Nineteen HDA-speakers agreed on He is unaware of what he is saying, while five agreed on He forgets a lot of basic information.

4.3.13 Stubbornness

Table 4.82: The Conceptual Category of (Stubbornness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Stubbornness	3

- (86) /muxxaha Hajar/ ‘Her mind is a stone’.
 mind her stone She is stubborn.♦[201]

This idiom describes an arrogant person who does not listen to others' opinions and who insists that their own views are right in all things. THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING, but this mind is not a container (THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS and ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) to be filled or a living thing to be nurtured: it is described as a stone through the adjective /Hajar/: It is inanimate, unchanging, and useless. Ultimately, the conceptual metonymy THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON is at work here.

4.3.14 Intelligence

Table 4.83: The Conceptual Category of (Intelligence) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Intelligence	1

- (87) /muxxu naDiif/ ‘His mind is clean’.
 mind his clean He is clever.¹⁷³ [204]

This idiom describes a brilliant thinker (motivated by THE MIND STANDS FOR PERSON, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS). The use of the adjective /naDiif/, ‘clean’, is

¹⁷³ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one provided the marginal interpretation He does not know how to deal with matters.

important in the motivation of the figurative meaning: This mind is portrayed as clean to signify high intelligence (CLEANNESS IS BRILLIANCE).

4.3.15 Comprehension

Table 4.84: The Conceptual Category of (Comprehension) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Comprehension	2

(88) */muxxaha taxiin/* 'Her mind is fat'.
 mind her fat She does not comprehend quickly.¹⁷⁴ [205]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is a slow learner or comprehends the wrong way (THE MIND FOR THE PERSON and THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING). The brain is described as fat to signify that the process of comprehension passes through a bumpy and difficult way in order to achieve full understanding and that this takes a long time. It is based on conventional knowledge that overweight people often move more slowly and with difficulty (BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE).

4.3.16 Misinterpretation

Table 4.85: The Conceptual Category of (Misinterpretation) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Misinterpretaion	1

(89) */muxxak la yruuH b9iid/* 'Don't let your mind go away'.
 mind your (m.) not go it away Try to understand what I mean.♦[207]

¹⁷⁴ Nineteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Three answered 'I don't know' while two answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

- (91) */la tHuT 9aglak min 9aglu/* ‘Don't put your mind against his mind’.
 not put you (m.) mind your (m.) from mind his Try to be calm and avoid him.♦
 [209]

This idiom is used to describe a situation where there is a disagreement between two persons and one of them is asked to calm down and avoid the other to prevent future problems. The idiom is based on conventional knowledge about the situation itself. We know that when people talk or negotiate, they use their thinking in order to express opinions or act in a specific way with regard to their circumstances. The mind is chosen here because it is associated with thoughts and ideas (THE MIND IS CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS). Because their ideas tend to be unchangeable, there is no benefit in them putting their minds together. The mind is used to signify the whole body (i.e. THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE) as well as thoughts. The literal meaning of this idiom is linked to its figurative meaning through our conventional knowledge about the mind and thinking and two conceptual metonymies: THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING, and the metaphor COMPETITION IS WAR.

4.3.19 Anger

Table 4.88: The Conceptual Category of (Anger) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Anger	3

- (92) */9agli Taar min raaSi/*¹⁷⁶ ‘My mind flew off my head’.
 mind my flew off head my I became angry.♦ [211]

¹⁷⁶ Kövecses (2002: 184) states that Hungarian also uses the container of the head (with the brain inside) to talk about anger.

This idiom describes someone who is so angry that they lose control over their emotions. This is in reference to stage 4 in Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) and Lakoff's (1987) anger scenario in American English (see section 4.2.14). Here THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. The intensity of anger is manifested by the UP image schema, where the verb /*yiTiir*/, 'to fly', makes the image of agitation vivid. Also, the body is conceived as a closed container in which the head is its lid, and accordingly when anger, as an internal pressure, is intensified, the pressure rises up until there is no further room and the lid flies off. Maalej (2004: 63-64) analyzes a similar example in TA: *muxx-i tla33 min raaS-i*, 'My brain left my head', and describes this kind of bodily experience as when the person loses control over his temper. Kövecses (2002: 96) writes that our folk understanding of closed containers helps us to understand the meaning of idioms like this.

4.3.20 Inability to solve a certain problem

Table 4.89: The Conceptual Category of (Inability to solve a certain problem) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Inability to solve a certain problem	2

(93) /muxxi Hayinfajir/ 'My mind will explode'.
 mind my will explode I have a lot of problems, but no solutions/
I have a terrible headache.¹⁷⁷ [215 a, b]

The above idiom is used to describe a person who is in a terrible situation of not being able to resolve his problems or having a terrible headache. Both meanings are based on the physiological feelings of a person under pressure. The severity of the bodily

¹⁷⁷ Eighteen HDA-speakers agreed on I have a lot of worries but no solutions to think of, five agreed on I have a terrible headache, while one answered 'I don't know'.

experience structures this idiom, in which the mind is described as being on the verge of exploding into pieces. THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING and ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION STANDS FOR SEVERITY motivate this idiom's meaning.

4.4 /?alyad/, ‘the hand’:

The word /yad/ in HDA literally means ‘a hand’. Possessive pronouns are attached to the noun /yad/ to make it, for example, feminine singular /yadd-aha/, ‘her hand’ or masculine/feminine plural /yadd-uhum/, ‘their hands’. This is in contrast to Arabic which uses different forms for each number and gender as in /?aydiihim/, ‘their hands’ for masculine plural. Whenever any of these derivations is used in the examples, it will be followed by its translation.

THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION

Almost all of HDA hand idioms in the database are based on this metonymy since the hands are our bodily tool for associating in manual activities (THE PART OF THE BODY FOR FUNCTION). Our daily experiences with our hands provide the cognitive basis for our understanding of the following abstract concepts:

4.4.1 Activity

Table 4.90: The Conceptual Category of (Activity) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Activity	9

(94) /*?almawDuu9 xaraj min yaddi/*¹⁷⁸ ‘The matter has gone out of my hand’.
 the matter gone out from hand my I am not able to do anything. ♦ [222]

This idiom describes a person who is helpless and cannot do anything in relation to a certain issue (THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON). The picture of his inability is described interestingly through the verb /*yuxruj/*, ‘to go out’: he is losing control over a matter that was once in his hands but has now gone out of them. Here THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION, THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL and CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. THE HAND IS A CONTAINER which contains or fails to contain various entities, such as responsibilities and problems. The matter (an issue or problem, etc.) is referred to as a physical object (ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS), which is further personified as getting away from its controller, although the verb used implies an unintentional escape. This kind of movement is motivated by the ESM system MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. The specific meaning that adds to the overall meaning is the image schema IN/OUT. The matter when it gets out implies that there can be no more control exercised over that matter.

4.4.2 Being ethical

Table 4.91: The Conceptual Category of (Being ethical) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Being ethical	1

(95) /*Gassalt yaddi minnaha/*¹⁷⁹ ‘I washed my hand of her’.
 washed I away hand my from her I have nothing to do with her. ♦ [225]

¹⁷⁸ Based on MSA /*xaraja min taHti yadaihi/*, ‘It came from under his hands’, He is not able to act (*?almunjid* 2000: 1567).

¹⁷⁹ Based on MSA /*Gasala yadaihi min/*, ‘He washed his hands of x’, He disavowed himself of ... (*?almunjid* 2000: 1567).

This idiom is used to describe the repudiation of responsibility for a person and their actions. The idiom is based on our conventional knowledge that if the hands are polluted we want to remove every speck of dirt. The hand is the part that is active in performing actions, motivated by THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION, AN ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER, PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS HAVING A HAND IN A CONTAINER and THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON. The washing of the hand implies cleanness, motivated by CLEAN IS GOOD, which in turn motivates MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN. The verb /yGassil/, ‘to wash’ is geminated to stress that washing was done extensively to remove all traces of contact.

4.4.3 Physical hurt

Table 4.92: The Conceptual Category of (Physical hurt) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Physical hurt	1

(96) /yaddu 9amiya/
hand his blind

‘His hand is blind’.
He hits indiscriminately.¹⁸⁰ [226]

HDA-speakers use this idiom to describe a person who hits others when irritated, purely to relieve his anger. The hand is the body part chosen because it is the one associated with hitting. Accordingly, this idiom is motivated by THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION associated with the act of hitting. Physical pain is conceptualized metaphorically through CAUSING

¹⁸⁰ Nine HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, four HDA-speakers provided five marginal answers: He does not borrow money from people, He does not know how to deal with financial problems, He does not bring valuable things, He does not know who deserves giving money and who does not, seven answered 'I don't know', while four answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. Interestingly, the hand is personified as a body in itself, and is modified by the adjective /*9amiya*/, ‘blind’, which adds to the motivation of our conventional knowledge that blind people cannot distinguish places, faces, etc. by sight BLINDNESS IS NOT DISTINGUISHING.

4.4.4 Skill and expertise

Table 4.93: The Conceptual Category of (Skill and expertise) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Skill and experience	3

(97) /*yaddu xafiifa*/
hand his quick

‘His hand is quick’.
He is a thief/ He is skilful.¹⁸¹[227 a, b]

The above idiom describes the professional hand of people in different activities such as embroidery, drawing, stealing, etc. This idiom is primarily motivated by THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION, THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, and THE HAND STANDS FOR THE SKILL, three metonymies which often accompany one another in idioms related to skill and expertise. The hand is further described as being /*xafiifa*/, ‘very quick’, in doing such tasks (QUICK IS SKILLED/EXPERIENCED). In HDA, if a person is described as having ‘a quick hand’, that means they are very skilful at that activity because they do not take a lot of time doing it. To name some examples: if that person steals, his hand is very skilful in that no one notices when he steals. If he is a cook, his hand will not take time in finishing even difficult recipes. HDA-speakers provided the two meanings separately, indicating that this idiom could refer to socially acceptable and unacceptable skills. Both meanings have the same cognitive operation because both relate to skill.

¹⁸¹ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on He is a thief, three provided this interpretation: He is skilful at a certain activity. One answered 'I don't know'.

4.4.5 Help

Table 4.94: The Conceptual Category of (Help) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Help	4

(98) */gaddamat yadal musaa9ada/*¹⁸² ‘She offered the helping hand’.
 offered she hand the help She helped us.¹⁸³ [230]

This idiom describes a person who is ready to offer help at any time. The body part specified in this idiom is the hand because it is the part of our body associated with helping others, motivated by THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION. Hence, the idiom suggests that one has a hand which can be presented to help others. The use of this verb */ygaddim/*, ‘to offer’, is motivated by a transfer metaphor CAUSATION IS TRANSFER, where the act of helping others is conceptualized as a physical object that can be transferred to others through the ontological metaphor ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS.

4.4.6 Generosity

Table 4.95: The Conceptual Category of (Generosity) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Generosity	4

(99) */yaddu beiDa ma9aaya/*¹⁸⁴ ‘His hand is white with me’.
 hand his white with me He is generous with me either financially or emotionally.¹⁸⁵ [235]

¹⁸² Based on MSA */baSaTa yadal musaa9adah/*, ‘He extended the helping hand’, He helped (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567)

¹⁸³ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered ‘I don’t know’.

¹⁸⁴ Based on MSA */lahu 9alaina yadun baiDaa?a/*, ‘He has a white hand on us’, He is beneficent with us (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567)

¹⁸⁵ Twenty one HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while three answered ‘I don’t know’.

This idiom describes a person who is always helping and giving the best he can to others, either financially or emotionally. The hand is used in this idiom because it is the body part associated with giving, motivated by THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION, and THE HAND STANDS FOR GENEROSITY. The act of generosity is further expressed through the use of the colour white. Whiteness is associated with brightness and clearness in comparison with black, which is associated with vagueness.¹⁸⁶ In Arabic tradition, white is preferable to black because of how this color works in the Holy Qur'an.¹⁸⁷ Ultimately, a person who has a white hand is a person with good and clear intentions. The colour term in the Arabic tradition is therefore motivated by MORAL PURITY IS WHITE.

4.4.7 Cooperation

Table 4.96: The Conceptual Category of (Cooperation) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Cooperation	1

(100) /HuT _____ yaddak _____ f yaddi/¹⁸⁸ ‘Put your hand in my hand’.
 put you (m.) hand your (m.) in hand my Let us cooperate.♦ [238]

This idiom is used to invite another person to join in a certain activity for the purpose of cooperation. Our conventional knowledge tells us that the image of two people putting their hands together implies unity and physical closeness. Thus THE HAND STANDS

¹⁸⁶ Sweetser (1990: 8) argues that it is a fact about the cultural community that they use whiteness as metaphorically standing for honesty or moral purity. She also says that this system of metaphorical uses of colour terms is not based on a systematic correlation between colours and morality in the world but is present in the speakers' linguistic and cultural models.

¹⁸⁷ "On the Day (i.e. the Day of Resurrection) when some faces will become white and some faces will become black; as for those whose faces will become black (to them will be said): "Did you reject Faith after accepting it? Then taste the torment (in Hell) for rejecting Faith. And for those whose faces will become white, they will be in Allah's Mercy (Paradise), therein they shall dwell forever." (The Holy Qur'an, Al-Imran Chapter, verse 106-107).

¹⁸⁸ Based on MSA /*waDa9a yadahu fi yadihi*/, ‘He put his hand in his hand’ He cooperated with him (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567).

FOR THE PERSON, THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION and the image schema of IN/OUT are the main motivators here. The abstract concept behind putting hands together is the idea of cooperation to achieve a goal. This goal could be verbal, such as negotiating in matters of mutual concern, or manual, such as working together to dig a drain. This goal is motivated by ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS, and the use of the verb /yHuTT/, ‘to put’, is motivated by COOPERATION IS JOINING HANDS.

4.4.8 Control

Table 4.97: The Conceptual Category of (Control) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Control	6

(101) /TaaH f yaddi/
 fell he in hand my

‘He fell in my hand’.
He became accidentally under my control/
Now, I can threaten him.¹⁸⁹ [240 a, b]

This idiom describes a situation of full control over someone. The picture visualizes a person who was out of reach but has since fallen into the hands of another person unintentionally. As a result, the other person has complete control and full authority over him. The hand is used here to represent that control and power, usually THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION, THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL, CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND,¹⁹⁰ and POSSESSING SOMETHING IS

¹⁸⁹ Nineteen HDA-speakers agreed on He became under my control unintentionally while three provided this interpretation: Now, I can threaten him. One answered ‘I don’t know’, while another answered ‘I haven’t heard it before’.

¹⁹⁰ Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 338) raise the issue of whether FREEDOM is to be taken metonymically in English hand idioms as THE HAND STANDS FOR FREEDOM or metaphorically as CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. These are cases of “metaphorical metonymies”. Accordingly,

HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND). This is conceptualized via our bodily knowledge that when we grasp things we have the free will to do what we wish with them. The picture of falling is doubly motivated through the use of the verbverb /yTiiH/, ‘to fall’, where the conventional knowledge of the experience of falling unintentionally and as a result being in a lower position (BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN). The image schema of IN/OUT is at work here as well, with the hand being described conceptually as a metaphorical container into which others (PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS) are seen to fall: THE HAND IS A CONTAINER. People who are caught are now under the control of those who caught them after falling. As a result they can be ultimately threatened by them.

4.4.9 Possession

Table 4.98: The Conceptual Category of (Possession) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Possession	3

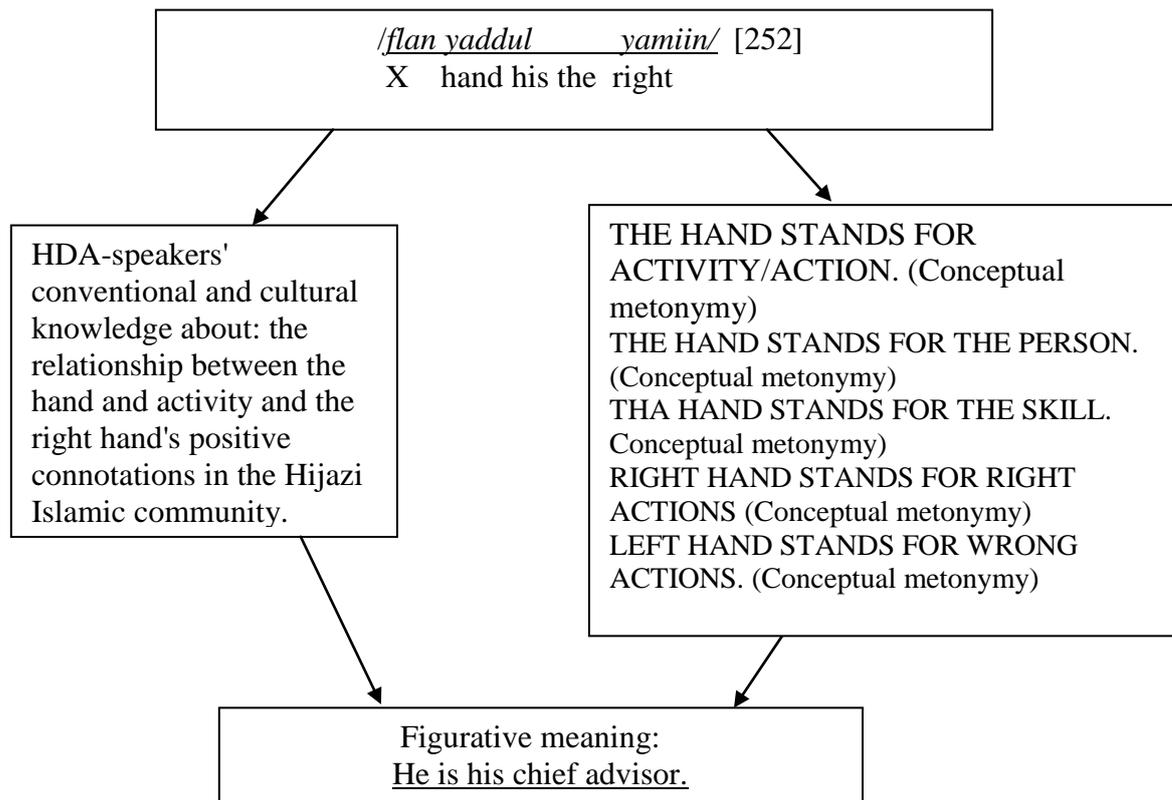
(102) /yad wara w yad giddam/ ‘One hand behind and one hand in front’.
 a hand behind and a hand in front He possesses nothing.¹⁹¹ [246]

This idiom describes a person who possesses nothing. Our conventional knowledge facilitates the picture of this person who holds nothing in his hands. The hand is chosen because these are our tools by which we grasp, buy and hold things as possessions, motivated by THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION, THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, and POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING

they decided to simplify matters and used only the metaphor in their analysis. In this study, I use both cognitive mechanisms for I see that the hand conveys control as a metonymy and it is also associated metaphorically with the activity of controlling things while they are in their hands as possessions.

¹⁹¹ Twenty two HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while two answered ‘I don't know’.

Figure 4.4: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in Idiom [252].



4.5 /?allisaan/, ‘the tongue’:

The tongue is used in HDA idioms, both metonymically and metaphorically, in relation to its shape, size, and function. Its use in these idioms is based on our conventional knowledge about its function as well as its gestures. In HDA, the word /?allisaan/ stands for ‘the tongue’. It has its own morphological derivations according to the gender and number. Whenever any of these derivations is used, it will be followed by its translation.

such differences between the right and left hand when referring to two capable assistants. Both can be referred to asymmetrically as being a right-hand man or a left-hand man with no violation in meaning.

4.5.2 Disrespect

Table 4.101: The Conceptual Category of (Disrespect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Disrespect	18

- (105) */Isaanaha Tawiil/* 'Her tongue is long'.
 tongue her long She is disrespectful. ♦ [255]

The above idiom describes a disrespectful person who answers back. Our conventional knowledge underlies THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. This tongue, however, is too long to signify metaphorically long lists of rude and harsh words that it should not say, too powerful for its owner to control. The figurative meaning is motivated through the conceptual metaphor EXTENDING THE TONGUE IS DISRESPECTING OTHERS, based on our experience that when we extend out tongue to others we are disrespecting them. Also, the experience of long distances is structured in this metaphor (LONG IS ENDLESS) in relation to the words produced.

4.5.3 Inability to convince others

Table 4.102: The Conceptual Category of (Inability to convince others) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Inability to convince others	1

- (106) */Isaani ti9ib ma9aah/* 'My tongue has been tired with him'.
 tongue my has been tired with him I could not convince him even though I tried very hard. ♦ [273]

The above idiom would be used by someone who had given up after a long process of trying convincing others to change their minds. Again, THE TONGUE STANDS FOR

SPEAKING and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON are at work here. We know that when we are exhausted we fail to complete certain activities such as walking, talking, etc. This kind of description, which is based on our bodily experience when exhausted, metaphorically implies that there was no hope of changing the other's point of view.

4.5.4 Extreme gratitude

Table 4.103: The Conceptual Category of (Extreme gratitude) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Extreme gratitude	1

(107) /lsaani 9aajiz 9an shukrak/ ‘My tongue is unable to thank you’.
 tongue my unable from thanking you (m.) I am extremely grateful. ♦ [274]

This idiom is used to describe a situation of great gratitude. This person wants to express his thanks to the other, but his tongue is inadequate to the task. The tongue is personified as a body which has become paralyzed and is not able to perform its task, motivated through the use of the adjective */9aajiz/*, ‘unable’ (PARALYSIS IS INABILITY TO ACT). The intention of this picture is exaggeration to show the other the extremity of gratitude that no words will ever satisfy, motivated by THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON.

4.5.5 Spreading secrets

Table 4.104: The Conceptual Category of (Spreading secrets) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Spreading secrets	2

(108) /masHuub min lsaanu/ 'He is dragged by his tongue'.
 dragged he by his tongue It is easy to induce him to reveal secrets.¹⁹⁵ [276]

This idiom is used to describe people who cannot keep a secret if they are pressured to reveal it. They are described as dragged by their tongues by others to show that they can easily tell whatever comes to their mind (THE TONGUE STAND FOR SPEAKING and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON). The use of the adjective /masHuub/, 'dragged by', facilitates the meaning. It is as if the tongue is a separate entity that has to be kept under control in case someone else gains control of its owner by gripping it.

4.5.6 Keeping secrets

Table 4.105: The Conceptual Category of (Keeping secrets) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Keeping secrets	1

(109) /?ibla9 lsaanak/ 'Swallow your tongue'.
 swallow you (m.) your tongue (m.) Don't spread the secret.¹⁹⁶ [277]

This idiom is used when advising others not to spread a secret (THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON). THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING and is conceptualized as an object (THE TONGUE IS AN OBJECT). The use of the verb /yibla9/, 'to swallow', is motivated by our conventional knowledge that when something is swallowed it disappears and this to imply that a swallowed tongue says nothing at all as if it has disappeared. The intention is not literal but figurative. The

¹⁹⁵ Nineteen HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation. Three answered 'I don't know', while two answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

¹⁹⁶ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered 'I haven't heard it before'.

action of swallowing facilitates the meaning: a tongue which is swallowed is a tongue that is kept shut.

4.5.7 Rightfulness

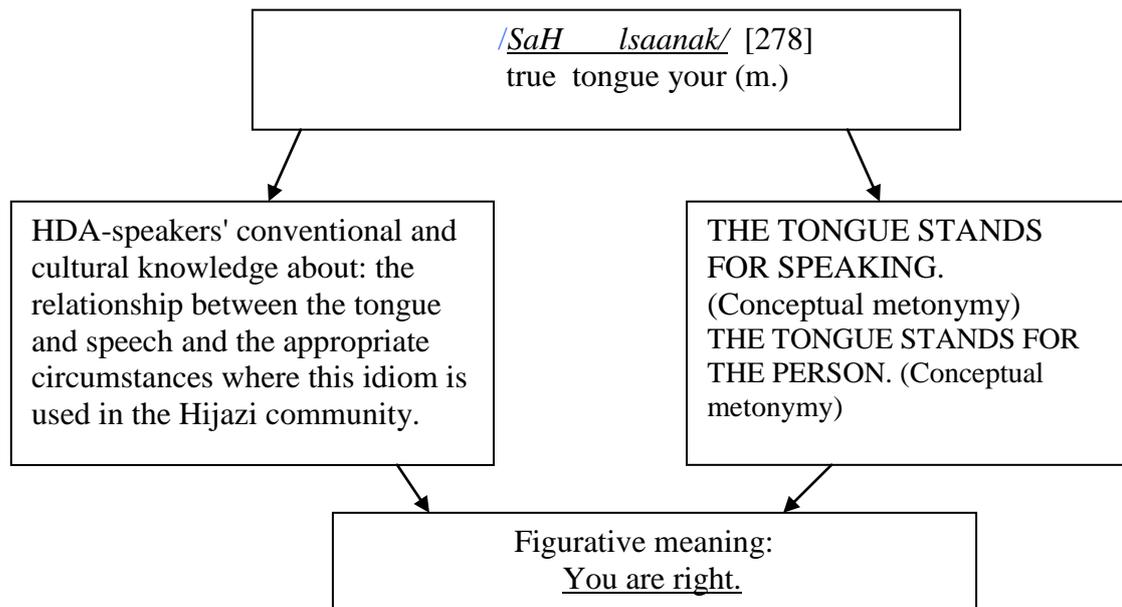
Table 4.106: The Conceptual Category of (Rightfulness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Rightfulness	1

- (110) /SaH lsaanak/ ‘Your tongue is true’.
 true tongue your (m.) You are right. ♦ [278]

This idiom is used in the Hijazi community as a compliment to a person who has told a story or recited a poem well. The tongue is referred to as right and not the person: the intention is to refer to the part of the body which is associated in the process of speech motivated by THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. Cultural knowledge influences the structure and comprehension of this idiom as well as the occasion where it is appropriate to use the idiom.

Figure 4.5: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in Idiom [278].



4.5.8 Fluency

Table 4.107: The Conceptual Category of (Fluency) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Fluency	1

- (111) */lsaanaha faSiiH/*¹⁹⁷ 'Her tongue is fluent'.
 tongue her fluent She is fluent.¹⁹⁸ [279]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is articulate and knows how to speak in public. She is well-educated and sophisticated, and this kind of judgment is often based on an individual's choice of words and style of speech. The tongue is chosen because it is the part of the body that is associated with speech. As a result, fluency is attributed to the tongue and not to the person because the intention is their fluent speech where the tongue is modified by the adjective */faSiih/*, 'fluent'. Our conventional knowledge, THE

¹⁹⁷ Based on MSA idiom */fulaanun faSiiHul lisaani/*, 'X is fluent-tongued', X is fluent (?*almunjid* 2000: 1282).

¹⁹⁸ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while one answered 'I don't know'.

TONGUE STAND FOR SPEAKING, as well as THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON motivate this idiom.

4.5.9 Speaking a foreign language

Table 4.108: The Conceptual Category of (Speaking a foreign language) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Speaking a foreign language	1

(112) /?it9awaj lsaanak lamma saafart/ ‘Your tongue has curved when you traveled’.
 has curved your tongue (m.) when you (m.) travelled You speak a foreign language/
You are arrogant.¹⁹⁹ [280 a, b]

This idiom is used to describe people speaking a foreign language or people who are arrogant because they are capable of speaking languages other than their mother tongue. The tongue is described as curved through the verb /yit9awij/, ‘to be curved’, to signify that the tongue has changed from its natural shape to produce unfamiliar sounds. The literal meaning is linked to the figurative meaning through our conventional knowledge, THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING, THE TONGUE STANDS FOR LANGUAGE, and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. An extra motivation for the second meaning is the culturally rooted metaphor SPEAKING ANOTHER LANGUAGE STANDS FOR ARROGANCE.

4.5.10 Control

Table 4.109: The Conceptual Category of (Control) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Control	2

¹⁹⁹ Twenty HDA-speakers agreed on You speak a foreign language, while two agreed on He is arrogant. Two answered ‘I don’t know’.

- (113) /ʔimsak lsaanak/ ‘Hold your tongue’.
 hold you (m.) your tongue (m.) Respect yourself and shut up!♦ [281]

This idiom is used when advising others to respect themselves and behave in a well-mannered way. It depicts the tongue as a potentially traitorous self-determining entity that must be kept under control so as not to misbehave verbally, motivated by THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING. The use of the verb */yimsak/*, ‘to hold’ is related to a daily experience when things are hindered or held it cannot function. As a result, if the tongue is held it cannot be used in speaking, motivated by THE TONGUE IS AN OBJECT and CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND.

4.5.11 Aggressiveness

Table 4.110: The Conceptual Category of (Agressiveness) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Aggressiveness	1

- (114) /lisaanaha zayyal mibrad/ ‘Her tongue is like a nail file’.
 tongue her like the nail file Her speech causes harm.♦ [283]

This idiom is used to describe a person whose words are aggressive (THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON). The tongue is described through the use of the noun */mibrad/*, ‘a nail file’, which motivates the meaning manifested in the conceptual metaphor (SHARP IS PAINFUL) because the words it sends are painful and cause damage (THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING). This is long-term low-level damage – grinding away by repeated harmful comments.

4.5.12 THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON

Table 4.111: The Conceptual Category of (THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON	1

- (115) */siiratha 9ala kul lsann/*²⁰⁰ ‘She (as a topic) is the talk of every tongue’.
 she (as a topic) on every tongue Everyone is talking about her bad reputation. ♦ [284]

This idiom describes a person who is gossiped about by other people. The idiom pictures those people as tongues (THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON) to emphasize that they are mainly occupied in speaking (THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING). The gossiped person is portrayed as being a physical object, motivated by PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS that can be situated *on* the tongue (i.e. ON image schema). This use of the preposition is to signify physical closeness: she is the main topic of conversation.

4.6 */?alxushum/*, ‘the nose’:

Yu (2002: 347) observes that "[o]f the features on or around the face, the ears and nose seem to be less expressive of emotions than brows, eyes, and mouth," and this is reflected in a smaller number of idioms in HDA. The human nose has the two main tasks of breathing and smelling. Its functions are limited compared to those of the head or the eyes. Nose idioms in HDA tend to refer to the shape, size, and height.

²⁰⁰ Based on MSA idiom */9ala kulli lisaanin/*, ‘On every tongue’, The talk of everyone (*?almunjid* 2000: 1282).

In the next few pages, I will examine how HDA idiomatic expressions involving terms for the nose have derived their metonymic and metaphoric meanings from the function of the nose as a body part. The word */ʔalxushum/* in HDA literally means ‘the nose’ in the singular form. The plural is formed with an intervening *-u-u* within it so we could have */xushm-uhum/* ‘their nose’, or */xushuum-ahum/* ‘their noses’, which both have the same reference of gender and number. Whenever any of these derivations is used in the examples, it will be followed by its translation.

4.6.1 Arrogance

Table 4.112: The Conceptual Category of (Arrogance) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Arrogance	4

(116) */xashamaha fi ssama/* ‘Her nose in the sky’.
 nose her in the sky She is arrogant.♦ [285]

This idiom is used to describe a snobbish person (THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON). In the Hijazi community, the nose signifies pride and dignity motivated by THE NOSE STANDS FOR PRIDE, and this metonymy is rooted in Arabic poetry.²⁰¹ Also, the nose is chosen because of our bodily experience that the human nose stands outwards from our face and is consequently more significant to others. Our conventional knowledge tells us that people who, instead of looking at people when they talk to them, look upwards because they do not like what they hear or see, is simply judged to be arrogant (TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP).

²⁰¹ In Arabic poetry, the *nose* represents pride because of its highest position in the face compared to the lowest part in the human body as in these lines:
 قوم هم الأنف والأذنان غيرهم فمن يساوي بأنف الناقة الذنب
 Some men are as high as the nose and the others are as low as the tail
 who can equate the nose of a camel with its tail

The sky is used metaphorically as the highest position to which a person can raise their nose, and this suggests extreme arrogance. It is also motivated by the IN/OUT image schema: the preposition /fi/, ‘in’, denotes that the nose of an arrogant person is not just pointed to the sky but has reached up into it.

4.6.2 Intrusion

Table 4.113: The Conceptual Category of (Intrusion) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Intrusion	1

- (117) /*tdaxxil xashmaha f kul shei*/²⁰² ‘She inserts her nose in everything’.
 insert she nose her in everything She is intrusive.♦[289]

This idiom is used to describe a person who likes to know every detail about others' lives (THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON). It implies that someone is looking and listening where they are not supposed to look or listen. The choice of the nose is for its central position in the face as well as its outward position, which signifies closeness to the surrounding events. This image is motivated through STRENGTH OF EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (when we are close to others physically we know more about them), THE NOSE STANDS FOR SMELLING and SMELLING IS KNOWING. Even though seeing is the function of the eye, the nose is associated with this function, and thus with knowing, because of its proximity to the eye and its outward position. The use of the verb /*ydaxxil*/, ‘to insert’, implies that this person is not welcomed in a certain situation but that they insert themselves anyway, in order to find out every detail. The IN/OUT image schema also works through the use of the preposition /fi/, ‘in’. The

²⁰² Based on MSA /*Hashara ?anfahu fi*/, ‘He stuck his nose in...’, He intervened himself in (?*almunjid* 2000: 48).

SITUATIONS ARE CONTAINERS metaphor into which one can put one's nose, and the whole image is metaphorically motivated through TO BE INTRUSIVE IS TO STICK THE NOSE INTO SOMETHING.

4.6.3 Warning

Table 4.114: The Conceptual Category of (Warning) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Warning	3

(118) /*GaSb 9an xashmak*/
in spite of nose your

‘In spite of your nose’.
I will force you to do it.²⁰³ [292]

This idiom describes a situation in which a speaker forces others to perform actions against their will to preserve their own dignity (THE NOSE STANDS FOR PRIDE). This idiom is a verbal representation of a widely-used gesture of pressing the finger on the tip of the nose to communicate to someone that they have failed to do something they must do (THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON). Being forced to do something against one's wishes represents a threat to the part of the body that symbolizes pride. The use of /*GaSb 9an*/, ‘in spite of’, signals forcing somebody to do things against their wishes.

4.6.4 Help out of respect

Table 4.115: The Conceptual Category of (Help out of respect) and the Number of Idioms

Conceptual Category	Number of idioms
Help out of respect	1

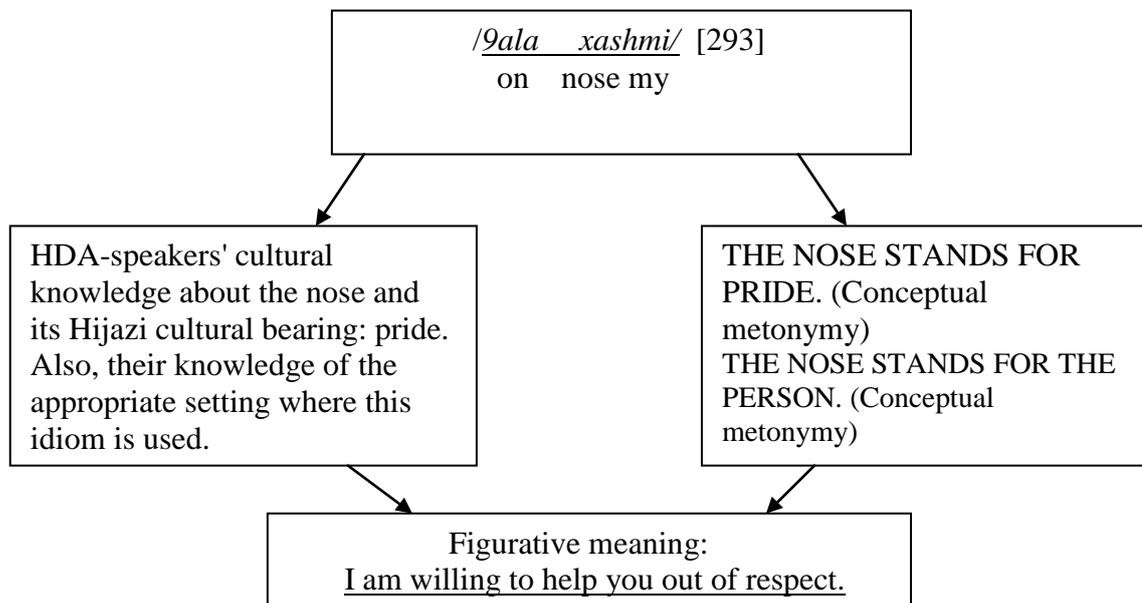
²⁰³ Twenty three HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation while one answered 'I don't know'.

(119) /9ala xashmi/
 on nose my

‘On my nose’.
I am willing to help you out of respect.♦[293]

This idiom is used to describe a person who is willing to do anything for another out of respect for them. It relies on our conventional/cultural knowledge about the outward position of the nose in the face and also its function as a symbol of pride in the Arabic tradition (THE NOSE STANDS FOR PRIDE) as mentioned above. The image schema of ON works here as well: a person who is put figuratively on the nose is a person who has the highest position in the face of that person motivated by THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and the UP schema. The use of this orientational metaphor adds to the meaning clearly.

Figure 4.6: A Diagram Used in Analyzing the Cognitive Mechanisms in Idiom [293].



This idiom is a reference to the straightness of someone's nose in a continuous line with the forehead: the Arabic ideal of human beauty (STRAIGHT NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY). The use of the noun /*saif*/, 'a sword', motivates the picture of the straight line of a beautiful nose, and it was chosen specifically for its cultural significance in Arabic tradition. However, if the idiom denotes a snobbish person, this is in reference to its upward shape (TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP).

4.7 Summary

This chapter presented a cognitive linguistic analysis of selected examples of HDA body-part idioms. The investigation focused on the cognitive mechanisms that motivate these idioms and their figurative meanings, namely conventional/cultural knowledge, conceptual metaphors, and conceptual metonymies. These have proved to be the main cognitive motivators linking the literal and figurative meaning in these idioms. Motivation, embodiment, and culture were also important corner stones to this analysis. Chapter five will present the discussion of the present analysis and present an overview of the results of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the results of the study and returns to the hypotheses introduced in the introduction. It then presents some pedagogical concerns, contribution to knowledge, and recommendations for future research in relation to this study.

5.1 Hypothesis 1: HDA-speakers' conceptual system is metaphorical

This study contributes to the scholarly debate in its analysis of a dialect belonging to a different language family and a more distant culture than those more commonly studied. Where previous studies have relied on standard dictionaries (see 3.1.1), this study broke new ground in its first-hand collection of HDA body-part idioms and their figurative meanings from HDA-speakers with different backgrounds (see Appendices 5 and 7). The first-hand collection of data demonstrates that HDA-speakers' conceptual system is metaphorical in use. The high frequency of shared interpretations further proves the pervasive nature of metaphor in everyday usage.

As well as being widespread and current, metaphor is also productive in HDA. For example, the conceptual metonymy THE EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION is reflected in everyday HDA language by a rich selection of expressions [23-30], some common to Arabic, but others unique to HDA. Additional evidence that this conceptual

system is live and dynamic is provided by idioms structured and comprehended by contemporary concerns, including THE MIND IS A MACHINE.

5.2 Hypothesis 2: Four cognitive mechanisms structure HDA body-part idioms

All the idioms analyzed were structured through one or more of the cognitive mechanisms distinguished by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Lakoff (1987). All of the six body parts selected are used in HDA as conceptual domains since they are concrete: in metaphors such as THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE; or in metonymies such as THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY/ACTION. These parts of the body help in the comprehension of less easily delineated abstract concepts, such as envy, concentration, or love. Conventional knowledge in relation to bodily and daily experiences is apparent in all the idioms analyzed in this study: it is an important cognitive prerequisite for structuring and comprehending HDA body-part idioms.

Another non-metaphorical and non-metonymical cognitive mechanism motivating many of the meanings in HDA body-part idioms is cultural knowledge. In this study, cultural knowledge covers two things: Cultural knowledge of the Islamic teachings of the Qur'an and the Prophet's (peace be upon him) sayings, which are the basis of most of the Hijazi culture and traditions and cultural knowledge of Hijazi traditions, which may not necessarily be based on Islamic teachings. Cultural knowledge can be classified into four types:

- General cultural knowledge, including knowledge of religious practices, Hijazi traditions, colors, culinary names, famous places, famous people, socio-cultural

practices, and even taboo words, etc. and their cultural bearings. Examples in the database included idioms dealing with gender relations, marriage practices, prayers for protection of envy, the image schema of WHITE/BLACK, RIGHT/LEFT, etc.

- Cultural embodiment (Maalej 2004), which involves parts of the body that are culturally correlated with a given emotion. This cultural embodiment accounts for the frequency of idioms relating to the concept of envy. Although the eye is associated with envy in both English and Hijazi culture, English refers to *eyes being green with envy*, which involves lexical associations absent in the conceptual system of the Hijazi. Others included the nose which culturally stands for pride.
- Qualified cultural embodiment, which involves the shape of a specific part of the body and its cultural meaning. These included examples such as */9einaha zayya rriyaal*, ‘Her eye is like a Riyal coin’, She is impudent, She has beautiful eyes, She is envious [117a, b, c] and */xashamaha waagif/*, ‘Her nose is straight’, She has a beautiful nose [295].
- Lexicalization of gestures, which involves knowledge of the social meaning of conventionalized gestures represented in idioms like [292], where pressing one's finger to the tip of one's nose denotes a warning that pride comes before a fall in HDA. In Britain, crossing one's fingers implies a desire for good luck. Neither of these acts, nor the idioms arising from them, is found in the other culture.

This study thus proves that there is an interrelated correlation between metaphor, cognition, culture, and body. In other words, when body-part idioms are culture-specific, their figurative meanings are language-specific. The presence of these cognitive mechanisms further proves that these idioms are the product of HDA-speakers' conceptual system.

Although this study is not comparative, the researcher has relied on metaphors and metonymies identified in studies of other languages (see 4.0). This study found similarities with existing lists, but also identified some different conceptual metaphors and metonymies.²⁰⁶ It has been demonstrated that similar conceptual metaphors and metonymies result from embodiment and shared bodily experiences (see 5.4); while different conceptual metaphors and metonymies result from cultural factors in their structure and comprehension (see 5.5).

5.3 Hypothesis 3: The meanings of HDA body-part idioms are conceptually motivated

As the analysis in chapter four illustrates, the 364 meanings of the 297 HDA body-part idioms are not random or arbitrary. The eye, head, mind, hand, tongue, and nose have a significant role in our thought and speech about a broad variety of different target domains. All of the meanings analyzed were conceptually motivated by a combination of one or more cognitive mechanisms, though it would be unwise to argue that any one of these mechanisms is more dominant. The overall meaning of HDA body-part idioms remains completely unmotivated unless we take into consideration the interplay

²⁰⁶ Appendix 9 lists all the conceptual metaphors and metonymies found in the analysis of HDA body-part idioms; Appendices 10-21 list them according to the body part involved. For example, Appendix 18 lists The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Tongue Idioms.

between meaning and our conceptual system as comprised by all the cognitive mechanisms used in an idiom.

5.3.1 Types of Conceptual Motivation in HDA Body-part Idioms

5.3.1.1 Single Motivation in HDA Body-part Idioms

Kövecses and Szabó claim that there is only a slight chance of single motivation in an idiom (see section 2.11.1). In this study, no cases were found of single motivation (0%).²⁰⁷

5.3.1.2 Double Motivation in HDA Body-part Idioms

There are thirty two meanings (8.79 %) of double motivation in HDA body-part idioms. An example is */ʔalʔakil naadir min xashmi/*, ‘The food is out of my nose’, I am extremely full [294]. Here our conventional/cultural knowledge work jointly as motivators for the motivation of the figurative meaning of this idiom.

5.3.1.3 Multiple Motivation in HDA Body-part Idioms

Three hundred and thirty two meanings (91.20%) analyzed in chapter four are multiply motivated: one or more conceptual metaphor/s combine with one or more conceptual metonymy/s and/or conventional/cultural knowledge in structuring their meaning. Conventional/cultural knowledge, conceptual metaphors and metonymies may work one

²⁰⁷ These percentages are based on the 364 agreed meanings reported by HDA-speakers for the 297 HDA body-part idioms.

or two at a time or all together in the process of comprehending these idiomatic expressions. Figure 5.1 presents an example of a combination of cognitive mechanisms working jointly in the conceptual motivation of [44].

Figure 5.1: The Conceptual Motivation for */9einu wil gabur/* [44] [based on Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 331].

<p>Idiomatic meaning <u>His envy is deadly.</u></p> <p>Cognitive mechanisms (A combination of metaphors, metonymies, and conventional/cultural knowledge): THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY, SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND INFLICTING HARM, ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, CAUSE FOR EFFECT and HDA-speakers' conventional/cultural knowledge about the relation between envy and the eyes (= domains of knowledge)</p> <p>Conceptual domains EYE and ENVY, SEEING and INFLICTING HARM, ENVY and DEADLY FORCE, CAUSE and EFFECT.</p> <p>Linguistic forms and their meanings 'eye', 'grave'</p>

In examples like the above, multiple motivation shows the complexities of different knowledge that native speakers have and use when they want to comprehend an idiom in their dialect/language.

5.3.1.4 Extra Motivators of HDA Body-part Idioms

For many of the idioms analyzed, additional information about target domains is mapped through orientational, ontological, and structural conceptual metaphors. These are metaphors completely independent of the system constituted by the concepts of the body parts: they are not related to metaphors of the hand or the eye, etc. but are a

system of their own that can be attached to any idiom. This study found examples of orientational metaphors (UP and DOWN, RIGHT and LEFT), structural metaphors (ETHICAL/MORAL IS CLEAN), and ontological metaphors (VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER). These metaphors may also be influenced by culture (see ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE [41-62], COLOCNYTH IS BITTER [263], WHITE COLOUR IS GOODS [235]).

5.3.1.5 Complete Absence of Motivation in HDA Body-part Idioms

Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 330) mention cases where there is a complete absence of conceptual motivation, and provide the idiom *kick the bucket* as an example, but no unmotivated idioms were found in this study. The key word (the body part) always plays a major role in motivating meaning: idioms including reference to the eyes deal with sight, and so on.

5.3.2 The Abstract Concepts Motivated by HDA Body-part Idioms

Table (5.1) summarizes the number of abstract concepts motivated by each of the selected body parts in HDA:²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Some abstract concepts are counted only once even if they were motivated differently by a metaphor or a metonymy. Examples include thinking motivated metonymically [177-179], or metaphorically [180-182].

Table 5.1: The Abstract Concepts Motivated by HDA Body-part Idioms

Part of the body	Number of idioms in the database	Abstract concepts motivated
Eye	134 idioms	58
Head	42 idioms	26
Mind	39 idioms	22
Hand	37 idioms	13
Tongue	32 idioms	16
Nose	13 idioms	7

As Table (5.1) shows, more HDA idioms involve the eye than any of the other body parts (134 idioms), and this can be attributed to its importance as the organ of sight by which our cognition and knowledge are expanded (Yu 2004: 664). The eye also motivates the most abstract concepts through its conceptual mechanisms (58 abstract concepts).

This study found that HDA-speakers rely on seven types of information to structure and comprehend HDA body-part idioms (see Table 5.2 and Chapter four).

Table 5.2: Types of Information HDA-speakers Rely on for Structuring and Comprehending HDA Body-part Idioms

The part of the body	The function of the part of the body	The position of the part of the body in the human body	The physiological expressions/movements of the part of the body	The physical shape of the part of the body	Cultural knowledge of the Islamic teachings	Cultural knowledge of the Hijazi traditions	Human bodily experiences
Eye	√	–	√	√	√	√	√
Head	√	√	√	–	–	√	√
Mind	√	–	–	–	–	–	√
Hand	√	–	√	–	–	√	√
Tongue	√	–	√	–	–	√	√
Nose	√	√	–	√	–	√	√

√ means found in the data; – means not found in the data

Explanation of Table (5.2)

1. The function of the part of the body: Idioms structured and comprehended on the basis of the function of the part of the body included. Those include using the eye for eyesight, the head for life and as the container of the mind, the mind for thinking, the hand for activity, the tongue for speaking, and the nose for smelling. These functions are represented through conceptual metonymies (THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT, THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY/ACTION, etc.). These functions

can be further used metaphorically to denote abstract concepts such as keeping a secret, being under control, etc.

2. The position of the part of the body in the human body: Idioms structured and comprehended on the basis of the position of the part of the body in the human body were found for only two body parts in this study: the head (vertical position) and the nose (upward position in the face). These idioms made use of body parts to motivate abstract concepts such as life/death, confusion (head idioms), and pride or arrogance (nose idioms). This study argues that embodiment might be the reason for making use of these two parts while HDA-speakers' preferences are the reason for not using eye, mind, hand, or tongue.

3. The physiological expressions/movements of the part of the body: Idioms structured and comprehended on the basis of the physiological gestures/movements of the part of the body to motivate certain abstract concepts. Examples of these concepts are lack of concentration, degradation, arrogance, observance (eyes); shame, pride (head); control, possession (hand); disrespect, kindness (tongue). These gestures/movements relate to our conventional knowledge of our bodily experiences or knowledge of their cultural meaning.

The mind and nose were the only parts of the body without idioms motivated in this way, and this strongly endorses the embodiment hypothesis. Although the mind is

unseen and the nose seen, they are linked by the absence of gestures or movements²⁰⁹ to express emotions.

4. The physical shape of the part of the body: Idioms structured and comprehended on the basis of the physical shape of the part of the body and what they imply in Hijazi culture was only found for the eye and nose. This is because each individual's eyes and nose are distinctive. Embodiment, which relies on the physical appearance, and culture blend together in these idioms.

Although the head and the hand can vary dramatically in size, shape, proportion, etc., there are no idioms related to these differences in HDA.²¹⁰ The tongue and mind had no idioms structured or comprehended according to their shape because tongues are mostly unseen while the mind is always so. Their absence is explained in relation to embodiment which structures our understanding of human body parts by our knowledge of them.

5. Cultural knowledge of Islamic teachings: Idioms in which the part of the body was structured and comprehended on the basis of Islamic teachings were confined to the eye in relation to envy. In addition, many idioms had constituent parts structured and comprehended in relation to words with religious connotations, such as RIGHT/ LEFT. HDA-speakers would not comprehend these idioms if they did not understand these connotations. These cases, do not contradict our bodily experiences: the eye is related to envy because it sees others' possessions, and left and right is understood in relation to

²⁰⁹ Wrinkling the nose to show disgust and flaring the nostrils to show anger are gestures found in the HDA community, but they are absent from HDA idiomatic expressions.

²¹⁰ English, for example, uses these differences to motivate idioms related to the head as *Fat head* to imply “A dull and stupid person”; idioms related to the hand as *Give a big hand* to imply “Applaud by clapping hands”.

the Islamic teachings but is supported by the fact that most people are right-handed. As a result, embodiment and culture complement one another.

The abstract concept of envy is the most frequent in the entire database and this confirms that "if a concept is important in the life of a culture, it is potentially emphasized in the language, as well" (Csábi 2004a: 25). Even though Saudi Arabia is an Islamic country, there are still cultural differences between its cities and between Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries. For example, in Egypt the idiom */xamsah wi xmeisah f 9einl 9addul/*, means 'Five and five in the enemy's eye', Cast the envy of the enemy. Five represents the five fingers of the hand raised to protect the envied person from envy. The */hamsa/* or */hamesh/* hand (also called the hand of Miriam)²¹¹ is a very old and still popular amulet for protection from the evil eye. The words */hamsa/* and */hamesh/* mean 'five' and refer to the digits on the hand. The Egyptian words */xamsah/* and */xmeisah/* could have originated from intercultural borrowings from Christians in Egypt.

6. Cultural knowledge of the Hijazi traditions: Idioms structured and comprehended in accordance with Hijazi culture and traditions are found in relation to the eye, head, hand, tongue, and nose in examples such as [85], [144], [250], [278], and [296].

7. Human bodily experiences: Idioms structured and comprehended in relation to human bodily experiences such as hot/cold temperatures [52 and 53], up/down [142], inside/outside [49, 222], sharp/blunt [56 a, b], etc.

²¹¹ <http://sefarad.org/publication/lm/038/13.html>.

Also, the human parts are conceptualized as containers in various HDA body-part idioms. This idea of the container is based on a non-metaphorical human experience in which many things can be inside a container such as */9einu malyaanah/*, ‘His eye is full’, He is content [84]. Based on this type of information, HDA-speakers' conceptual system selects the appropriate part of the body to structure an idiom.

An idiom can combine many of these sources of information to structure a single idiom. For example, */?it9awaj lsaanak lamma saafart/*, You speak a foreign language and You are arrogant [280 a, b]. This idiom motivates two abstract concepts. Speaking a foreign language is structured on the function of the tongue (THE TONGUE FOR SPEAKING), conventional knowledge of unfamiliar sounds, and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE TONGUE STANDS FOR LANGUAGE. Arrogance is structured according to the same cognitive mechanisms as well as the culturally-based metonymy SPEAKING ANOTHER LANGUAGE STANDS FOR ARROGANCE. This further proves that even when the meaning motivates two abstract concepts, neither of them contradicts embodiment, culture, or our conventional/cultural knowledge of the intended meaning.

Table (5.1) proves that HDA body-part idioms are governed by a combination of physiological embodiment (manifested in the use of the human parts and daily human experiences with our bodies and the external world in structuring of idioms) and culture.

5.4 Hypothesis 4: Embodiment is present in HDA body-part idioms

The embodiment hypothesis is central to HDA body-part idioms. In section (5.3), it was proved that all the abstract concepts result from experiences of the body part specified; none were unrelated. Embodiment is central, but culture influences it profoundly, as is proved by physiological embodiment and cultural embodiment. This study adds weight to existing evidence that metaphor and metonymy are grounded in experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1993).

This thesis has proved that body-part terms used in the comprehension of several target domains are chosen according to HDA-speakers' human experiences, whether cultural, biological, or cognitive. Each source domain is associated with a specific meaning that is mapped onto the target. The speech community agrees on this meaning conventionally, and ultimately the target inherits the meaning of this source domain throughout that speech community (evidenced here in the high level of agreement among HDA-speakers about the meanings of HDA body-part idioms). In other words, the source domain is intentionally selected to the range of target domain to which it applies.

Although this study is not comparative, where conceptual metaphors and metonymies found in previous studies also occur in HDA, these can be attributed to the universal motivation provided mainly by embodiment and the common experiential base (Appendices 10-21).

Though grounded as a universal experience, body-part idioms express concepts differently in unrelated languages. These differences were highlighted by the time-

consuming process of providing suitable English translations for HDA body-part idioms.

5.5 Hypothesis 5: Culture is present in HDA body-part idioms

As this study focuses mainly on the conceptual motivation of parts of the body in HDA idiomatic expressions and their figurative meanings, it has been noticed in many cases that metaphor and metonymy interact in the association between body and culture. The body plays the role of a universal source domain for metonymies and metaphors expressing abstract concepts. Cultural forms build up specific perspectives from which these abstract concepts can be understood by the native speakers of a language (Yu 2004: 683).

A considerable proportion of the idioms studied were strongly conditioned by environmental conditions and cultural information. These idiomatic expressions are structured and comprehended through cultural knowledge available to HDA-speakers living in the Hijazi community. As stated previously (1.4.2), the Hijazi community is an Islamic community following the teachings of Islam. As a result, HDA idioms reflect cultural motivation relating to:

- **Islamic law** such as */ʔal9ein bil9ein/*, ‘The eye for the eye’, A proportionate and equivalent punishment [68].
- **Islamic teaching** such as */9einu wil gabur/*, ‘His eye and the grave’, His envy is deadly [44].

- **The Prophet's (peace be upon him) sayings** as in */9einu faaDiah/*, 'His eye is empty', He is never satisfied/ He is envious [81 a, b].
- **Wedding traditions** such as */9einaha 9aleina/*, 'Her eye on us', She likes us as a friend/suitor [32 b].
- **Gender relations**, such as */Talab yaddaha min ?ahlaha/*, 'He asked her hand from her parents', He asked her parents' permission to marry her [250].
- **Plants**, such as */lsaanaha 9algam/*, 'Her tongue is a colocynth', She is disrespectful [263].
- **Conventionalized gestures**, such as */?aHuTTak 9ala raaSi min foag/*, 'I put you on my head', I respect you highly [146].

Although we have the same human body, metaphors and metonymies are not universal, metaphors and metonymies which were not found in previous studies are the result of cultural variation and HDA-speakers' preferences in highlighting or hiding certain aspects to the human body. Yu (2004: 682) hypothesizes that metaphors and metonymies originating outside the universal embodiment of bodily experiences are culture-specific and may be more opaque, especially to speakers of other languages, because they reflect differences in cultural context, cognitive preferences, and social concerns. Yu's hypothesis is found to be strongly valid to this study. Also, many of the examples studied in this thesis were a manifestation of Wierzbicka and Goddard's cultural scripts.

5.6 The Cognitive Semantic Definition of Idioms and HDA Body-part Idioms

HDA body-part idioms fall in line with the cognitive semantic definition of idioms stated in Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 330): an idiom is not an expression that has meaning that is somehow special in language in relation to the meanings of its constituent parts, but it arises from our more general knowledge of the world (embodied in our conceptual system). HDA body-part idioms are therefore conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature. Their overall meanings are motivated by the cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and conventional/cultural knowledge, which relate a domain or domains of knowledge to the idiomatic meaning of an idiom.

Traditional Arabic approaches to metaphor and metonymy as literary devices are inadequate because they do not treat metaphors and metonymies as cognitive mechanisms. Cognitive linguistic and cognitive semantic approaches to Arabic semantics would encourage fruitful study of the Arabic language and its dialects.

5.7 Some Pedagogical Concerns

Idioms present particular difficulties for language learners (Andreou and Galantomos 2008: 3). They also present problems in translation because they often encapsulate cultural differences (Maalej 1999). Teachers contribute to the difficulties faced by second language learners if they treat idioms as linguistic expressions independent of any conceptual system and isolated from each other at a conceptual level.

Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 331) recommend providing L2 learners with cognitive motivations for idioms which will help them to learn faster and keep these idioms longer in their memory. Csábi's (2004b) two experiments tested whether students' awareness of the cognitive mechanisms in the target language helped them to learn and remember idioms in comparison with learners who memorized idioms without explicit reference to the cognitive mechanisms involved. Her data included polysemous words, such as *hold* and *keep*, and phrasal verbs and idioms including them, such as *hold your tongue* and *keep your fingers crossed*. Students provided with an understanding of cognitive mechanisms were able to learn faster and more effectively than students who relied on memorization. Her recommendation was that beside memorization, L2 learners should be aware of the way cognitive mechanisms structure the meanings of idioms to facilitate the process of learning. Charteris-Black (2003: 298) also recommended that explanations should be provided to learners of English when referring to idioms which are based on cultural preferences such as *tongue-in-cheek*.

Based on the results of this study, the cognitive semantic approach in relation to body-part idioms could be used as a beneficial tool in teaching, learning, and understanding L2 in general, as well as for translating between languages. After introducing the cognitive mechanisms to the student, a pedagogical program should address the culture of the target language. Understanding what a part of the body in an idiom means in relation to that culture will make learning idioms easier.

5.8 Contribution to Knowledge

This study is the first in the Arab world to address idioms from a cognitive semantic perspective. This thesis, therefore, makes an important contribution to knowledge about body-part idioms, the Arabic language, and cognitive semantics. Its results not only contribute to our understanding of HDA, but also offer additional evidence in relation to the universality of cognitive metaphors for body parts. As in many other languages, HDA body-part idioms use parts of the body as a concrete conceptual domain to convey the meaning of abstract concepts.

Being the first study on body-part idioms in the Arab world and on HDA in particular, this study also contributes to the study of MSA and Arabic dialects, by providing a detailed cognitive linguistic analysis of the structure and comprehension of body-part idioms. The cognitive linguistic framework has proved to be applicable to these idioms and accordingly it is a strong possibility that it would work for body-part idioms in other dialects of Arabic. This study may stimulate further studies of body-part idioms in the Arab world.

The methodological framework used for collecting HDA body-part idioms has proved also to be the most effective for collecting these idioms and their figurative meanings in the absence of dictionaries. This is important because there are no dictionaries for most modern Arabic dialects. This framework not only successfully collected these idioms and their figurative meanings, but it also uncovered many potential future approaches to these idioms (see 3.4.5), which were beyond the scope of this study.

Learning idioms is a complex and difficult process for L2 learners. This study has contributed a detailed cognitive linguistic analysis of HDA body-part idioms that would allow learners to acquire these idioms by a method other than rote learning.

5.9 Implications for Future Study

Due to limited space and time, this study has focused only on the idioms of six parts of the body, and accordingly its conclusions and results are confined to this set of idioms. Other HDA studies could extend its analysis by examining idioms involving other parts of the body.

This study has provided a methodological framework for studying idioms in non-standardized dialects worldwide. This framework has been a key for producing many controversial dimensions which deserve future study. These include examination of idioms related to gender differences that could be of benefit to fields such as sociolinguistics and cultural studies. There are, moreover, idioms which are specific to men or women in the Hijazi community. These would foreground the relationship between idiomatic structure and the cultural background.

Idioms used by young people were excluded from the study, but a future study could usefully explore whether younger HDA-speakers rely on the same cultural background as older speakers in forming their idioms, or whether they are more influenced by technology and Western media.

Within-culture variation in the conceptualization of abstract concepts was barely touched on in this study. HDA-speakers' answers revealed this kind of variation in "I don't know", "I haven't heard it before", and marginal answers. These types of responses could offer further information about within-culture variation with further research.

This study has referenced idioms in other Arabic dialects, but did not study similarities or differences in meaning or the reasons for these differences. A comparative study between Classical Arabic or any Arabic dialect and HDA could explore differences between idioms and their motivations in closely related cultures.

This study proved that the Islamic culture is strongly present in the structure of HDA body-part idioms. A further study would check whether the cultural influence of Islam is as strong in other Muslim countries.

The cultural influence of Islam could also be studied in a Western context. Do speakers of Arabic dialects in non-Islamic countries use the same cognitive mechanisms? What crossover is there between their native and second languages?

This study identified a large number of abstract concepts motivated through eye idioms in HDA. A comparative study could check whether eye idioms in different languages have the same or different results which would allow further exploration of the relationship between embodiment and culture.

This study, through the analysis of HDA body-part idioms, has found that the grammatical structure of idioms plays an important role in the motivation of the specific

meaning of an idiom. Examples include the adjectival element as in [9], [186], [255]; the nominal element as in [44], [75], [297]; the verbal element as in [101], [273], [277]; the prepositional element [35], [101], [293]; gemination in verbs as in [11], [19]; negative forms as in [8], [23], etc. The strong influence of grammar as a motivator in the structure of idioms deserves further research, but it was beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this subject in detail.

5.10 Conclusion

This cognitive semantic analysis of idioms involving six body parts in HDA has revealed that the human body and its interaction with the world and the environment has an essential role in human meaning and understanding. The examination of the present data has shown that the conceptual system of HDA-speakers is metaphorical and that metaphor is pervasive, productive and dynamic. HDA body-part idioms are motivated through four different cognitive mechanisms: metaphor, metonymy, and conventional and cultural knowledge. Parts of the body are used as source domains to understand abstract domains such as emotions, activities, people, behaviour, etc. HDA-speakers rely on seven sources of information to structure and comprehend HDA body-part idioms and their figurative meanings in which embodiment and culture were proved to be profoundly the main ingredients. Conventional knowledge is an important cognitive prerequisite in the structure and comprehension of all HDA body-part idioms. Cultural knowledge was classified into four types motivating a specific type of meaning according to the part of the body selected. These mechanisms provide the links between the literal meanings and the figurative meanings of HDA body-part idioms. HDA body-part idioms' figurative meanings are motivated by double and multiple mechanisms. Extra motivators of orientational, structural and ontological metaphors are also present

and in some cases influenced by culture. No single or unmotivated examples were found. HDA body-part idioms therefore provided a valid evidence of the interrelated relation between language, cognition, body, and culture.

Although using a framework of metaphors and metonymies identified in studies of other languages, similar metaphors and metonymies were attributed to universal shared bodily experiences while different metaphors and metonymies were explained in relation to the cultural context and HDA-speakers' preferences. This study brings compelling cross-linguistic evidence for the universality of the conceptual metaphor theory.

Appendices

Appendix 1: A Sample of One of the Students' Hand-written Papers Designed to Identify Body-part Idioms not yet Included in the Study

أي شديد لسواد	شعر صا زبي الليل
بصباحية	عيني شوية
عوزية	عيني حارة
فانتكزي من نفس	حانج في عيني مصونة مفع
واسعة	عيني زبي لغويانه
سودية	عيني مدورة
سودية	عيني خفيفة
خشمها راقف	خشمها زبي حدة لسيف
كناية أو مقنونة تدخل نفس في كناية شئ	خشمها طويل
خشمها مره كبير	خشمها يظن حوتيه مرية وفجره مقلية
دبة أو يعني مفرط	وجهها زبي لفظيرة
" " "	وجهها زبي بكافيرا
بجبهة	شكلي ٧٨٦
بشعة أو جبهة مفعنة	وجهها يقطع الحيرة من ليرة
شكليها يثوب	شكليها زبي ليونة
مقطبة هوا جبر	شكليها الال
شديدة الجبال	وجهها فلتة قمر
شديدة البيضاء	البت بصدر زبي لقسطة أو بيبة
شديدة البيضاء	شونك زبي للولول
فانقدر قسك زبي فخر	لسانك مسوب
لسانك بندي	لسانك فنبوي فخر
أما كلامك محسول أو بندي	لسانك ينقط (سم) أو (عسل)
تلفظ الكلام عند مائة بعيدة	أذانيك را دارات
ساعة للكلام	أذانيك مطرطرة
بندي	لسانك طويل

The Translated Version of the Sample of One of the Students' Hand-written Papers Designed to Identify Body-part Idioms not yet Included in the Study.

'Her hair is like the night': Her hair is very black.

'Her eye is long': She leers.

'Her eye is hot': She envies others.

'She has no pint of salt in her eye': She is impudent.

'Her eye is like a coffee cup': She has big beautiful eyes.

'Her eye is round': She envies others.

'Her eye is narrow': She envies others.

'Her nose is like the sharpness of the sword': Her nose is beautifully straight.

'Her nose is tall': She is a liar/ She is intrusive in others' issues.

'Her nose puts in two Arabian fish and brings them out fried':²¹² Her nose is ugly because of its big size.

'Her face is like a pie': Her face is too flat and ugly.

'Her face is like a kettle': Her face is too big and ugly.

'Her face is 6 x 7': She is very angry.

'Her face cuts the yeast from the beer':²¹³ She is very ugly.

'Her face is like an owl': She is very frighteningly ugly.

'Her face is 111': She is very angry.

'Her face is like the moon': She is very beautiful.

'The girl is like a cream or a cheese': Her skin is very white.

'Her teeth are like a pearl': Her teeth are very white.

'Her tongue is dragged': She spreads secrets.

'Her tongue is innocent of her [words]': She is disrespectful.

²¹² This is a proverbial reference to the nostrils.

²¹³ This is also proverbial.

‘Her tongue drips (poison) or (honey)’: Her speech is disrespectful/ Her speech is very kind.

‘Her ears are radars’: She can hear others' speech from long distances.

‘Her ears are laid’: She hears whatever is said to her.

‘Her tongue is long’: Her speech is disrespectful.

Appendix 2: A Sample of the Arabic Open Questionnaire (3)

المملكة العربية السعودية
وزارة التعليم العالي
جامعة الملك عبد العزيز
كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية- قسم اللغات الأوروبية- شعبة اللغويات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أخي الكريم /أختي الكريمة

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته،،،

يعد هذا النموذج وسيلة جمع البيانات الأساسية لبحث رسالة دكتوراه في اللغويات بعنوان **التعبيرات المجازية الخاصة بجسم الإنسان في اللهجة الحجازية: دراسة من وجهة نظر علم المعاني الإدراكي.**

نأمل ونتوقع منكم الدعم من خلال المشاركة في استكمال الاستبيان كاملا وإعادته للباحثة، علما ببن هذا النموذج مكون من:

* سؤال واحد فقط لعدة تعبيرات مجازية تليه مكونة من ثلاث صفحات.

*كتبت العبارات الاصطلاحية باللهجة الحجازية وذلك لان البحث مهتم بدراسة هذه اللهجة بالذات وليس إنقاصا من شأن اللغة العربية الفصحى.

* يعتبر عنصر الوقت بالغ الأهمية للباحثة، الرجاء إعادة الاستبيان خلال مدة أقصاها أسبوعان.

*مصادقية نتائج البحث تعتمد على دقة الإجابة على الأسئلة الواردة في الاستبيان، لذا الرجاء أخذ الوقت الكافي للتفكي قبل الإجابة والإجابة شخصيا عن الأسئلة دون الاستعانة بأشخاص آخرين.

*تتحمل الباحثة مسئولية الحفاظ على سرية المعلومات والبيانات التي يقدمها المشاركون والمشاركات.

* ان كانت لديك الرغبة في المشاركة في هذا الاستبيان، الرجاء التوقيع هنا قبل الشروع بالاجابة. وان لم ترغب في المشاركة فالرجاء اعادة هذا النموذج إلى مكانه.

التوقيع (في حالة الموافقة):-----

وتفضلوا بقبول وافر الشكر والتقدير..

الباحثة

معلومات عامة

الرجاء الإجابة على الاسئلة التالية باختيار (√) للإجابة المختارة:

الاسم: (اختياري)-----

الجنس: ذكر ----- أنثى-----

الرجاء اختيار الفئة العمرية التي تنتمي إليها:

25 وما قبل ----- 35-26 ----- 45-36 ----- 55-46 ----- 56 وما فوق -----

تحدث اللهجة الحجازية: البدوية:----- الحضرية:-----

المؤهل التعليمي:

درجة الدكتوراه ----- الماجستير ----- البكالوريوس ----- ثانوية عامة----- متوسطة-----
ابتدائي----- غير متعلم-----

النموذج (3)

فضلا اطلع على التعبيرات المجازية التالية والخاصة بـ (العين) و (العقل) و (اللسان) و (الراس) و (اليدين) و (الانف) و قم بكتابة ما تعنيه هذه التعبيرات:

*إذا لم تسمع او تستخدم أي من هذه التعبيرات الرجاء كتابة " لم أسمع بهذا للتعبير من قبل" أو "لا أعرف ما يعني":

1	خلي عينك مرخية
2	عيني ف عينك كده
3	ما يشوف احد ف عينو
4	طاح من عيني
5	عينها ما تشوف الغلط
6	عينو كلها شر
7	عينو متسمرة على التلفزيون
8	عينو طويلة
9	بعذ عينك
10	حلي ف عينها
11	غمض عينك عن اللي شفتو
12	عينو وقحة
13	عينها ولا دمعت
14	أبو أربع عيون
15	أكلني بعينونو
16	لؤ ما عيونني ما اصدق
17	ما قدرت ترفع عينها فيا
18	تشوف بعين السخط
19	فلان مشهور بالعين
21	قد ما عيني توصل

أطلع عينك وام عينك	22
أطلق عيني	23
صابتو عين	24
ما شالت عينها من عليا	25
وفين عينك لما طاح الولد؟	26
تتكلم بالعين والحاجب	27
تشرق وتغرب بعيونها	28
في يد امينة	29
من يد ليد	30
فلتت من يدي	31
ما لقت يد في الموضوع	32
الله يشل يدك	33
الموضوع خرج من يدي	34
لّين راسها بكلامو	35
يرفع الراس	36
عاش راسك	37
جات على راسي	38
يدفن راسو بالحيا	39
قاعدة تزن على راسي	40
ولا هزت شعرة من راسي	41
على راسي من فوق	42

43	صدع لي راسي
44	لعب بعقلي
45	عقلو مفوت
46	لا تحط عقلك من عقله
47	عقلها ناقص
48	مخها مسطل
49	مخها فاضي
50	لحس عقلها بكلامو
51	مخو نظيف
52	عقلو كبير
53	رأسو ف خشمو
54	غصب عن خشمك
55	صح لسانك.
56	لسانها طولو مترين
57	امسك لسانك
58	سيرتها على كل لسان
59	لسانها على جنبها
60	لساني عاجز عن شكرك

The Open Questionnaire (3) Translated into English

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
Ministry of Higher Education
King AbdulAziz University
Arts and Humanities College- European Languages Department- Linguistics Section

In the Name of God Most Merciful Most Gracious

Dear brother/sister

Peace be upon you and Allah's mercy and blessings

This questionnaire is designed for collecting essential information for a PhD thesis in linguistics, entitled **IDOMS OF BODY PARTS IN HIJAZI DIALECT OF ARABIC: A STUDY BASED ON COGNITIVE SEMANTICS**.

We anticipate and wish your support through taking part in completing this questionnaire fully and returning it back to the researcher. This questionnaire consists of the following:

1. A head question for a series of idioms listed in three successive pages.
2. These idioms were written in the Hijazi dialect of Arabic because the study is concerned with this dialect specifically. This is not intended to lessen the status of Arabic.
3. The time factor is essential to the researcher. Accordingly, kindly return this questionnaire within two weeks if at all possible.
4. The validity of the results of the study is based on the accuracy of answers to idioms in this questionnaire. As a result, kindly take sufficient time to think prior to answering. Please answer personally without others' help.
5. The researcher takes full responsibility for the confidentiality of the informants' personal information and for their responses in this questionnaire.
6. If you wish to participate in this questionnaire, **kindly sign prior to answering the questionnaire**. If not, kindly return this questionnaire.

Signature (in case of agreement):-----

Date: -----

Best Regards,

The researcher

General Information

Kindly answer the following questions by using (√):

Name (optional): -----

Gender: Male----- Female -----

Choose the age range that you belong to:

25 and before----- 26-35----- 36-45----- 46-55----- 56 and above-----

Variety of Hijazi dialect of Arabic you speak:

Rural----- Urban-----

Educational level:

PhD----- MA----- BA ----- High school----- Intermediate-----
----- Elementary----- Illiterate-----

Questionnaire (3)

Kindly look at these HDA body-part idioms which are concerned with (the eye), (the mind), (the head), (the tongue), (the hand), and (the nose) and then write what these idioms mean. If you did not hear any of these idioms, kindly write "I haven't heard this idiom before". If you do not know any of their meaning/s, kindly write "I don't know the meaning":

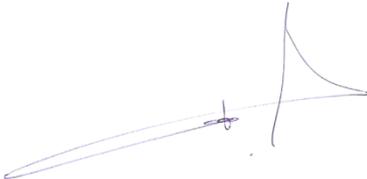
1. 'Let your eye down'.	
2. 'Put your eye in my eye and let us see'.	
3. 'He sees no one in his eye'.	
4. 'He fell from my eye'.	
5. 'Her eye does not see wrong'.	
6. 'His eye is full of viciousness'.	
7. 'His eye is nailed on TV'.	
8. 'His eye is long'.	
9. 'Far from your eye'.	
10. 'It/He became beautiful in her eye'.	
11. 'Shut your eye on what you saw'.	
12. 'His eye is unashamed'.	
13. 'Her eye did not even fill up with tears'.	
14. 'The father of four eyes'.	
15. 'He ate me with his eyes'.	
16. 'I wouldn't have believed it if I hadn't seen with my own eyes'.	
17. 'She could not raise her eye in me/ my face'.	
18. 'She sees with the eye of discontent'.	
19. 'X is famous for the eye'.	
20. 'An eye which can break the stone into two'.	
21. 'As far as my eye can reach'.	
22. 'I will take out your eye and the mother of your eye'.	
23. 'I let my eye go'.	
24. 'He was injured with an eye'.	
25. 'She did not take her eye off me'.	
26. 'Where was your eye when the boy fell'?	
27. 'She is talking with her eye and brow'.	
28. 'She goes east and west with her eyes'.	

29. 'In an honest hand'.	
30. 'From a hand to a hand'.	
31. 'He got out of my hand'.	
32. 'He has no hand in the matter'.	
33. 'May God paralyze your hand'.	
34. 'The matter has gone out of my hand'.	
35. 'He made her head malleable by his speech'.	
36. 'It makes the head high'.	
37. 'Your head lives'.	
38. 'It came on my head'.	
39. 'He is burying his head while living'.	
40. 'She is nagging on my head'.	
41. 'She did not even shake one hair from my head'.	
42. 'On the top of my head'.	
43. 'He caused me a headache'.	
44. 'He played with my mind'.	
45. 'His mind escapes'.	
46. 'Don't put your mind against his mind'.	
47. 'Her mind is incomplete'.	
48. 'Her mind is foolish'.	
49. 'Her mind is empty'.	
50. 'He licked her mind with his speech'.	
51. 'His mind is clean'.	
52. 'His mind is big'.	
53. 'His soul is in his nose'.	
54. 'In spite of your nose'.	
55. 'Your tongue is true'.	
56. 'Her tongue is two meters long'.	
57. 'Hold your tongue'.	
58. 'She (as a topic) is the talk of every tongue'.	
59. 'Her tongue is on her shoulder'.	
60. 'My tongue is unable to thank you'.	

Appendix 3: A Sample of an Illiterate Signature

A sample of an illiterate signature, consisting of several overlapping, scribbled lines in blue ink. The lines are horizontal and somewhat parallel, with some overlapping, creating a signature that is not recognizable as a specific name or set of initials.

Appendix 4: A Sample of Three Literate Signatures



Appendix 5: Demographic Description of HDA-speakers Participating in This Study.

Participant's code number	Gender	Age*	Level of education*	Variety spoken*
A (1)	M	Y	BA	R
A (2)	M	Y	BA	U
A (3)	M	Y	HS	U
A (4)	M	Y	HS	R/U
A (5)	F	Y	BA	R
A (6)	F	Y	BA	R
A (7)	F	Y	BA	R
A (8)	F	Y	BA	R
A (9)	M	Y	BA	R/U
A (10)	M	Y	BA	R
A (11)	M	Y	BA	U
A (12)	M	Y	HS	U
A (13)	F	Y	BA	R
A (14)	F	Y	BA	U
A (15)	F	Y	BA	U
A (16)	F	Y	BA	U
A (17)	M	Y	BA	U
A (18)	M	Y	BA	R
A (19)	M	Y	BA	U
A (20)	M	Y	MA	U
A (21)	F	Y	BA	U
A (22)	F	Y	BA	U
A (23)	F	Y	BA	R
A (24)	F	Y	BA	U

A (25)	M	Y	BA	R/U
A (26)	M	Y	BA	R
A (27)	M	Y	HS	U
A (28)	M	Y	BA	U
A (29)	F	Y	HS	U
A (30)	F	Y	BA	R
A (31)	F	Y	BA	U
A (32)	F	Y	BA	U
A (33)	M	Y	BA	U
A (34)	M	Y	BA	U
A (35)	M	Y	HS	U
A (36)	M	Y	BA	U/R
A (37)	F	Y	BA	U
A (38)	F	Y	BA	U
A (39)	F	Y	BA	U
A (40)	F	Y	MA	U
B (1)	M	MID	MA	U
B (2)	M	MID	PhD	R/U
B (3)	M	MID	PhD	R/U
B (4)	M	MID	MA	U
B (5)	F	MID	PhD	U
B (6)	F	MID	BA	U
B (7)	F	MID	BA	U
B (8)	F	MID	BA	U
B (9)	M	MID	BA	U
B (10)	M	MID	PhD	U
B (11)	M	MID	HS	R/U
B (12)	M	MID	BA	R/U
B (13)	F	MID	BA	U

B (14)	F	MID	BA	U
B (15)	F	MID	BA	R
B (16)	F	MID	MA	U
B (17)	M	MID	MA	R
B (18)	M	MID	BA	R/U
B (19)	M	MID	BA	R
B (20)	M	MID	PhD	R/U
B (21)	F	MID	MA	U
B (22)	F	MID	HS	R
B (23)	F	MID	BA	U
B (24)	F	MID	BA	R
B (25)	M	MID	MA	U
B (26)	M	MID	BA	R
B (27)	M	MID	BA	U
B (28)	M	MID	BA	U
B (29)	F	MID	BA	U
B (30)	F	MID	BA	R/U
B (31)	F	MID	PhD	R
B (32)	F	MID	IN	R
B (33)	M	MID	BA	U
B (34)	M	MID	HS	U
B (35)	M	MID	MA	U
B (36)	M	MID	BA	U
B (37)	F	MID	HS	U
B (38)	F	MID	BA	U
B (39)	F	MID	BA	U
B (40)	F	MID	BA	U
C (1)	M	O	BA	U
C (2)	M	O	I	U

C (3)	M	O	BA	U
C (4)	M	O	BA	U
C (5)	F	O	HS	U
C (6)	F	O	BA	R
C (7)	F	O	PhD	U
C (8)	F	O	BA	U
C (9)	M	O	BA	U
C (10)	M	O	BA	R/U
C (11)	M	O	BA	U
C (12)	M	O	PhD	R/U
C (13)	F	O	I	U
C (14)	F	O	HS	U
C (15)	F	O	HS	U
C (16)	F	O	PhD	U
C (17)	M	O	I	R
C (18)	M	O	MA	U
C (19)	M	O	HS	U
C (20)	M	O	IN	U
C (21)	F	O	BA	U
C (22)	F	O	I	R
C (23)	F	O	PhD	U
C (24)	F	O	BA	U
C (25)	M	O	BA	U
C (26)	M	O	BA	U
C (27)	M	O	HS	U
C (28)	M	O	HS	R
C (29)	F	O	I	R
C (30)	F	O	PhD	U
C (31)	F	O	BA	U

C (32)	F	O	BA	U
C (33)	M	O	BA	R
C (34)	M	O	PhD	U
C (35)	M	O	BA	R
C (36)	M	O	HS	U
C (37)	F	O	IN	U
C (38)	F	O	PhD	U
C (39)	F	O	PhD	U
C (40)	F	O	PhD	U

Age: Y (Young); MID (Middle); O (Older).²¹⁴

Level of education: PhD, MA (Master degree); BA (Bachelor degree); HS (completed High school); IN (completed Intermediate); E (completed Elementary); I (Illiterate).²¹⁵ **Variety spoken:** R (Rural); U (Urban); R/U (both varieties).²¹⁶

²¹⁴ See section 3.4.1

²¹⁵ See section 3.4.1

²¹⁶ See section 1.4.3

Appendix 6: A Two-sided Sample Page of the Diagram the Researcher Used for Collecting HDA-speakers' Figurative Meanings

Idiom's Code number: Q/ ()	
HDA Idiom:	
Literal Translation:	
Participants:	Meanings Collected:
<i>Group A:</i>	
Participant (A1)	
Participant (A2)	
Participant (A3)	
Participant (A4)	
Participant (A5)	
Participant (A6)	
Participant (A7)	
Participant (A8)	
<i>Group B:</i>	
Participant (B1)	
Participant (B2)	
Participant (B3)	
Participant (B4)	
Participant (B5)	
Participant (B6)	
Participant (B7)	
Participant (B8)	
<i>Group C:</i>	
Participant (C1)	

Participant (C2)	
Participant (C3)	
Participant (C4)	
Participant (C5)	
Participant (C6)	
Participant (C7)	
Participant (C8)	
Number of different meanings collected:	Meaning 1: (Translation) Meaning 2: (Translation) Meaning 3: (Translation)
The highest score meaning:	Meaning (): English Translation:

Appendix 7: HDA Body-part Idioms

List of HDA Eye Idioms

Extreme certainty

- [1] /shuft b9eini maHad gaalli/ 'I saw with my eye, nobody told me'.
saw I with eye my nobody told me I saw it for myself.
- [2] /lamma ?ashuuf b9eini ?aSaddig/ 'When I see with my own eye, I will believe'.
when I see with eye my I believe I will be sure when I see with my eyes.
- [3] /law ma 9uyuuni ma Saddig/ 'I wouldn't have believed it if I hadn't seen
with my own eyes'.
if not eyes my not I believe I am extremely sure.
- [4] /shiftu b?um 9uyuuni/²¹⁷ 'I saw him with the mother of my eyes'.
saw him I with mother my eyes I am extremely sure.
- [5] /shiftu b9eini illi Hayaakulha dduud/ 'I saw him with my eye that will be
eaten by worms'.
saw I him with eye my that will be eaten by the worms I am extremely sure.
- [6] /Saddig 9uyuunak/ 'Believe your eyes'.
believe you eyes your (m.) Believe it because you saw it with your own eyes.

Keeping a secret

- [7] /GammiD 9einak 9an illi shuftu/ 'Shut your eye on what you saw'.
shut you (m.) eye your(m.) on what saw you(m.) Keep what you saw a secret.

²¹⁷ Based on MSA idiom /ra?a bi?ummi 9ainihi/, 'He saw with the mother of his eye', He is extremely sure (?almunjid 2000: 1040).

Extreme astonishment

[8] /mani gaadir ?aSaddig 9uyuuni/ 'I couldn't believe my eyes'.
not I can I (m.) believe I (m.) eyes my I am in a state of astonishment.

Leering at women

[9] /9einu zaayGa/ 'His eye is astray'.
eye his astray He often leers at women.

[10] /9einu Tawiilah/ 'His eye is long'.
eye his long He often leers at women.

[11 a, b, c] /?akalni bi9yuunu/ 'He ate me with his eyes'.
ate he me with eyes his He leered at me/ He inspected everything/
He was furious at me.

Concentration

[12] /HuTTi hadafik guddaam 9einik/ 'Put your goal in front of your eye'.
put you (f.) goal your (f.) in front of eye your (f.) Concentrate to achieve your
goal.

Regaining a previous possession

[13] /Hili f 9einaha/ 'It/He became beautiful in her eye'.
became beautiful it/he (m.) in her eye She wants it/him back.

Choice

[14] /haadi illi 9aleiha l9ein/ 'This is the one on which/whom the eye is on'.
this/ she whose on her the eye She/It is the chosen bride-to be/chosen (object), etc.

[15] /HaaTiT 9eini 9aleiha min zamaan/ ‘I have put my eye on it since a long time’.
 put I have eye my on that (f.) from long time I have wanted that for a long time.

Vast spaces

[16] /9eini ma jaabat ?aaxirha/ ‘My eye did not reach the end of it’.
 eye my not reached its end It is so huge.

[17] /gad maa 9eini twaSSil / ‘As far as my eye can reach’.
 as far eye my reaches The farthest I can see.

[18] /?aTliq 9eini/ ‘I let my eye go’.
 I let go eye my The farthest I can see.

Impossibility of gaining/reaching a person/thing

[19] /bu9d 9einak/ ‘Far from your eye’.
 far eye your (m.) It is impossible for you to achieve/obtain.

Skill

[20] /magaadiiri bil9ein/ ‘My ingredients are with the eye’.
 Ingredients my with the eye I am skillful at cooking
 (i.e. I do not even use measuring equipments).

[21] /?aTarriz w 9eini mGammiDah/ ‘I can embroider with my eye shut’.
 embroider I and eye my shut I am very skillful at embroidery.

Knowing

[22] /*kalaamik fattaH 9uyuuni/*
your(f.) speech opened eyes my ‘Your speech opened my eyes’.
Your speech enlightened me.

Paying attention

[23] /*laa tirmish 9einak 9annu/*
not blink you(m.) eye your(m.) on him ‘Beware your eye blinks on him’.
Watch him carefully.

[24] /*w fein 9einik kaanat/*
and where eye your(f.) were ‘Where was your eye?’
Why weren't you paying attention?

[25] /*HuTTu taHt 9einak/*
put you (m.) him under eye your (m.) ‘Put him under your eye’.
Let him be the focus of your attention and watch him carefully.

[26] /*laa txalliha tGiib 9an 9einak/* ‘Don't let her be absent from your eye’.
not let her you (m.) absent she (f.) from eye your (m.) Let her be the focus of your attention and watch her carefully.

[27] /*xalliha naSb 9einak/*
let her (m.) focus eye your (m.) ‘Put her as the focus of your eye’.
Let her be the focus of your attention and watch her carefully.

[28] /*fattiH 9einak ma9aaya/*
open you (m.) eye your (m.) with me ‘Open your eye with me’.
Pay close attention.

[29] /*9eini wig9at 9aleih min awwal marrah/* ‘My eye fell on it from the first time’.
eye my fell on it (m.) from first time It caught my attention from the first time.

[30] /*9einu mitsammirah 9alal tilfizoan/*
eye his nailed on the TV ‘His eye is nailed on TV’.
The television distracts him from what is around him.

Observance

[31] /*haadi shuGlana yibGaalaha 9ein mfattiHa/* ‘This kind of job needs an open eye’.
this (f.) job needs eye open Be extremely observant and watchful
in this kind of job.

[32 a, b] /*9einaha 9aleina/*²¹⁸ ‘Her eye on us’.
eye her on us She is observing us/ She likes us as a friend/suitor.

[33 a, b] /*ma shaalat 9einaha min foagi/* ‘She did not take her eye off me’.
not take off she eye her from me She kept observing me/
She likes me very much.

[34 a, b] /*ma shaalat 9einaha min 9alayya/* ‘She did not take her eye off from
me’.
not take off she eye her from me She kept observing me/ She likes me
very much.

[35] /*9einu waraana/* ‘His eye is behind us’.
eye his behind us He is observing us.

[36 a, b, c] /*9einaha minnana/* ‘Her eye from us’.
eye her from us She kept observing us/
She chose one of us for engagement or marriage/
She is envying us.

[37 a, b, c] /*9eini 9aleiha 9asharah 9asharah/* ‘My eye on her ten ten’.
eye my on her ten ten I am observing her carefully/ I envy her/
I admire her.

[38 a, b] /*9uyuunaha ?arba9 ?arba9/* ‘Her eyes four four’.
eyes her four four She is observing carefully/ She is envious.

²¹⁸ In the Hijazi community, most social occasions such as weddings, parties, etc are segregated. It is a custom that the mother or sister meets potential brides at these occasions. Meetings between the potential bride and groom are arranged by mutual agreement.

Inspection

[39] /*tsharrig witGarrib bi9uyuunaha*/ 'She goes east and west with her eyes'.
go east she and go west she with her eyes She is inspecting everything.

[40] /*gallab 9einu foag w taHt*/ 'He turned his eye up and down'.
turned he eye his up and down He inspected everything.

THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS

Envy

[41] /*9ein tifligal Hajar*/ 'An eye which can divide the stone into two'.
an eye divides into two the stone An eye which envies badly.

[42] /*9ein tigsimal Hajar*/ 'An eye which can break the stone into two'.
an eye breaks into two the stone An eye which envies badly.

[43] /*9einu tisaggiT ?aTTeir mina ssama*/ 'His eye which makes a bird fall from the sky'.
his eye makes fall the bird from the sky An eye which envies badly.

[44] /*9einu wil gabur*/ 'His eye and the grave'.
eye his and the grave His envy is deadly.

[45] /*9einaha waHdah b waHdah*/ 'Her eye is one by one'.
eye her one by one She envies as soon as she looks.

[46] /*Saabatu 9ein*/ 'He was injured with an eye'.
injured he an eye He was affected by the envious eye.

- [47] /ʔinDarab 9ein/
was hit he an eye
‘He was hit by an eye’.
He was struck with the envious eye.
- [48] /Sakku 9ein/
struck he him an eye
‘He struck him by an eye’.
He was struck by the envious eye.
- [49] /fiuha 9ein/
in her an eye
‘She has an eye (inside her body) ’.
She feels the effects of the envious eye.
- [50] /9ein maa Sallat 9annabi/²¹⁹
an eye did not pray on the prophet
‘An eye did not pray on the prophet’.
A person who was affected by an envious eye.
- [51] /9einu Daiyyigah/
his eye narrow
‘His eye is narrow’.
He is envious.
- [52] /9einu Haarra/
his eye hot
‘His eye is hot’.
He is envious.
- [53] /9eini 9aleik baarda/
eye my on you (m.) cold
‘My eye is cold on you’.
I admire what you have without envy.
- [54 a, b] /9einu gawiyyah/
eye his strong
‘His eye is strong’.
He is envious/ He is impudent.
- [55] /fulaan mashhuur bil9ein/
X famous (m.) with the eye
‘X is famous for the eye’.
He is a person who is notoriously envious.
- [56 a, b] /9einaha Haadda/
eye her sharp
‘Her eye is sharp’.
She envies badly/ She is extremely observant.

²¹⁹ This idiom is based on a widely held misconception that reciting prayers to the Prophet (peace be upon him) casts out the envious eye. This idiom originated in Egypt and apparently spread into HDA through geographical proximity, intermarriage, media, etc. The correct recitation should be according to Prophet's (peace be upon him) *Hadeeth* that whenever one sees a thing/person appealing to him, he must directly express appreciation by saying */ma shaa?allah/*, ‘God has willed it’ so as to cast away unintended envy through the eye's gaze (Al-Hamdan 2007: 18).

[65 a, b] /9einaha ma tshuuf GalaT/ ‘Her eye does not see wrong’.
 eye her not see she the wrong She is blind to someone's faults/ She does not like wrong-doing.

[66 a, b] /tshuuf b9eina rriDa/ ‘She sees with an eye of content’.
 sees she with an eye the content. She is blind to others' faults/ She is content.

Prejudice

[67] /tshuuf b9eina SSuxT/ ‘She sees with the eye of discontent’.
 sees she with eye the discontent. Her reaction is distorted by her negative feelings.

Warning

[68] /?al9ein bil9ein/ ‘The eye for the eye’.
 the eye for the eye A proportionate and equivalent punishment.

[69] /?axarrij 9einak min maHallaha/ ‘I take his eye out of its place’.
 I take out eye your (m.) from its place I am warning you.

[70] /?aTalli9 9einak w ?um 9einak/ ‘I will take out your eye and the mother of your eye’.
 I will takeout your eye (m.) and mother eye your (m.) I am warning you.

[71] /?anadduru min 9einak ?arTaal/ ‘I will take it out from your eye in proportion’.
 I take it out from eye your (m.) pounds I will take terrible revenge for what you did to me.

[72] /Hissak 9einak ti9milha taani/ ‘Beware your eye does it again’!
 beware (m.) eye your (m.) does it again I am warning you not to do it again!

[73] /*?axrug lak 9uyuunak/* 'I pierce your eyes'.
 pierce I you(m.) eyes your (m.) I am warning you.

THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON

[74] /*huwwa b9einu*²²¹ 'He with his eye'.
 he with his eye He is exactly the one.

[75] /*laha 9uyuun f kul makaan/* 'She has eyes in everywhere'.
 has she eyes in every place She has spies everywhere.

[76 a, b] /*law Gaabat 9eini/* 'If my eye was absent'.
 if absent eye my If I die/ If I don't pay attention anymore.

[77] /*guddaam 9uyuuni*²²² 'In front of my eyes'.
 in front of eyes my In front of me.

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS

Dissatisfaction

[78] /*9einaha fi illi f yad Geiraha/* 'Her eye is on what is in the others' hand'.
 eye her in what in hand others She wants whatever other people have.

[79] /*9einu ma yimliiha illa turaab/* 'He deserves to have his eye filled with dust'.
 eye his never filled up but with the dust He is always dissatisfied.

[80 a, b] /*9einu ma tishba9/* 'His eye is never satisfied'.
 eye his never satisfied it He is never satisfied/ He is envious.

²²¹ Based on MSA idiom /*huwa 9ainahu*/, 'he himself', He is the one (?*almunjid* 2000:1040). HDA, however, attaches the preposition b- as a result of a morphological change. Both have the same meaning in MSA and HDA but the linguistic form is different.

²²² In HDA, there is another idiom parallel to /*guddaam 9uyuuni*/, 'in front of my eyes', which is /*guddaami*/, 'in front of me'. However, /*guddaam 9uyuuni*/, 'in front of my eyes', emphasizes the reliability of the report.

[81 a, b] /9einu faaDiah/
eye his empty

‘His eye is empty’.
He is never satisfied/ He is envious.

[82 a, b] /9einu faarGah/
eye his empty

‘His eye is empty’.
He is never satisfied/ He is arrogant.

Content

[83] /9einu shab9aanah/
eye his full

‘His eye is full’.
He is content.

[84] /9einu malyaanah/
eye his full

‘His eye is full’.
He is content.

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE

Extreme Love

[85] /ya gurrat 9eini/
oh pupil eye my

‘Oh, pupil of my eye’.
Oh, you are so dear to me.

[86] /ya nuur 9eini/
oh light eye my

‘Oh, light of my eye’.
Oh, you are as dear to me as the light by which I see.

[87] /9einein f raas/
two eyes in a head

‘Two eyes in a head’.
Both of you are equal in love.

Respect

[88] /?aHuTTak juwwa 9uyuuni/
put I you (m.) inside eyes my

‘I will place you inside my eyes’.
I respect you highly.

[89] /?in ma shaalatkal ?arD tshiilak 9uyuuni 'If the ground did not carry
you, my eyes will'.
if not carry you (m.) it the earth carry you (m.) eyes my I respect you highly.

Disrespect

[90] /TaaH min 9eini/ 'He fell from my eye'.
fell he from eye my I don't respect him anymore.

Dependence

[91] /hiyya 9uyuuni illi bashuuf biiha/ 'She is my eyes that I see with'.
she eyes my that I see with I depend on her in everything.

Impudence

[92] /xash f 9eini/ 'He entered in my eye'.
entered he in eye my He is extremely impudent.

THE EYE IS AN OBJECT

Unconditional help

[93] /?axdimu bi9uyuuni/ 'I serve him with my eyes'.
serve I him with eyes my I am very willing to help him because I respect him highly.

[94] /kaan min 9eini/ 'It was from my eye'.
was from eye my I cannot really help you in this.

[95] /*9ala 9eini w raasi min foag*/²²³ ‘On my eye and my head from above’.
on eye my and head my from above I am willing to help you because
I respect you.

[96] /*min 9uyuuni*/ ‘From my eyes’.
from eyes my I am willing to help you because I respect you.

[97] /*min 9eini di w 9eini di*/ ‘From this eye and this eye’.
from eye my this and eye my this I am willing to help.

Sympathy

[98 a, b] /*ya 9eini 9aleik*/ ‘Oh, my eye on you’.
oh eye my on you(m.) Oh, I sympathize with you/ Oh I admire what you did.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION

Non-concentration

[99] /*marrart 9eini 9aSSafHah*/ ‘I passed my eye over the page’.
passed over I eye my on the page I scanned the page without any
focused concentration.

²²³ Based on MSA idiom /*?anta 9ala 9aini*/, ‘You are on my eye’, I highly respect you (?*almunjid* 2000: 1040).

Degrading

[100 a, b, c] /shaalatni w HaTTaTtni b9yuunaha/ ‘She carried me and dropped
me with her eyes’.
carried she me and dropped she me with eyes her She degraded me/
She was arrogant/ She was extremely observant.

[101 a, b, c] /gallab 9einu yimiin wishmaal/ ‘He turned his eye right and left’.
turned he eye his right and left His looks were degrading/
He was uncertain / He was looking for something.

[102] /gaalat b9einaha kida/ ‘She said like this with her eye’.
said she with eye her like this Her looks were degrading.

[103 a, b] /yiTaali9 bnuS 9ein / ‘He is looking with half an eye’.
looks he with half an eye His looks degrade others/ He is arrogant.

[104 a, b, c] /yiTaali9 bTraf 9einu/ ‘He is looking with the corner of his
eye’.
looks he with the corner eye his His looks degrade others/
He looks secretly/He is arrogant.

Shame

[105 a, b, c] /ma gidrat tirfa9 9einaha fiyya/ ‘She could not raise her eye in me
/my face’.
not could she raise she eye her in me She was extremely
ashamed/humiliated/ shy.

[106 a, b, c] /9einu fil ?arD/ ‘His eye is in the ground’.
eye his in the ground He is extremely ashamed/humiliated/ shy.

- [114] /*9einu kaalHa*/ 'His eye unashamed'.
eye his unashamed He is impudent.
- [115 a, b, c] /*9einu tindab fiha raSaaSah*/ 'His eye should be shot with a bullet'.
eye his shot in it a bullet He is impudent/ He is envious/
He is extremely observant.
- [116 a, b] /*ma fi f 9einaha HaSwat malH*/ 'There is no pint of salt in her eye'.
no in in eye her pint salt She is impudent/ She is envious.
- [117 a, b, c] /*9einaha zayya rriyaal*
eye her like the riyal²²⁴ 'Her eye is like a Riyal coin'.
She is impudent/ She has beautiful eyes/
She is envious.

Boldness

- [118 a, b, c] /*titkallam b9ein gawwiyyah*/ 'She talks with a strong eye'.
talk she with an eye strong She is bold/ She is impudent/
She is self-confident.
- [119 a, b] /*titkallam bil9ein wilHaajib*/ 'She is talking with her eye and brow'.
talk she with the eye and the brow She is bold/ She is arrogant.

Absence of emotion

- [120] /*9einaha wala damma9at*/ 'Her eye did not even fill up with tears'.
eye her did not even filled up with tear She is emotionless.

²²⁴ Saudi currency.

Harshness

- [121 a, b] /zaGaratni _____ b9einaha/ ‘She gave me a bad look with her eye’.
give she a bad look with her eye She looked at me harshly/ She degraded me.

Verifying others' sincerity

- [122] /min 9uyuunaha baayin/ ‘From her eyes it is shown’.
from eyes her shown Her eyes revealed her inner feelings, thoughts, etc.

- [123] /9eini f 9einak kida/ ‘Put your eye in my eye and let us see’.
eye my in eye your let us see Tell me if you are lying or telling the truth.

Anticipating good/bad news

- [124] /9eini bitriff/ ‘My right/left eye is blinking through its lashes’.
my eye is blinking I am optimistic/ pessimistic.

Time

- [125] /f GamDat 9ein/ ‘In the blink of an eye’.
in blink an eye Very fast.

- [126] /GammiD 9einak w fattiHha tlaagiih _____ ja/ ‘close your eye and open it,
you will find him here’.
close you (m.) eye your (m.) and open you (m.) you (m.) find him came He'll
appear in the blink of an eye.

Extreme sorrow

[127] /*ʔuyuuuni nishfat min kutral buka/* ‘My eyes became dry with crying’.
eyes my dried from too much the crying I am in deep sorrow.

Relief from responsibilities

[128] /*duubni GammaDt ʔeini/* ‘I just shut my eye’.
just I shut I eye me I was just relieved.

Extreme fatigue

[129] /*ʔeini ma daagat Taʔmal noam/* ‘My eye did not taste the taste of sleep’.
eye my not tasted taste of the sleep I am extremely exhausted.

THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND

Judgment

[130] /*ʔinta f ʔeini wala shay/* ‘You are nothing in my eye’.
you (m.) in eye my nothing In my opinion, you are worth nothing.

[131] /*ma yshuuf ʔaHad f ʔeinu/* ‘He sees no one in his eye’.
not see he one in eye his In his opinion, no one is worthy.

Idioms Interpreted with Reference to the Physical Shape of the Eye

Beauty

[132 a, b, c] /9uyuunaha wsaa9/
eyes her wide

‘Her eyes are big’.
She has beautiful eyes /She has envious eyes/
She inspects everything.

Idioms Interpreted Mainly with Reference to their Literal Meaning and then Figuratively

Literal: {Being severely beaten}

[133 a, b] /9einu zarragat/
eye his darkened

‘His eye was darkened’.
{He was severely beaten}/ He is envying others.

Literal: {Wearing glasses}

[134 a, b, c] /?abu ?arba9a 9uyuun/
father four eyes

‘The father of four eyes’.
{He wears glasses}/ He likes to leer at women/
He is extremely observant.

Additional Meanings of HDA Eye Idioms

Idiom number	Concept 1	Concept 2	Concept 3
[11 a, b, c]	Leering at others	Inspecting	Furious
[32 a, b]	Observance	Liking others as friends or suitors	
(33 a, b)	Observance	Liking others as friends or suitors	
[34 a, b]	Observance	Liking others	
[36 a, b, c]	Observance	Choice	Envy
[37 a, b, c]	Observance	Envy	Admiration
[38 a, b, c]	Observance	Envy	
[54 a, b]	Envy	Impudence	
[56 a, b]	Envy	Observance	
[65 a, b]	Blind to someone's faults	Dislike of wrong-doing	
[66 a, b]	Blind to someone's faults	Content	
[76 a, b]	Death	Not paying attention	
[80 a, b]	Dissatisfaction	Envy	
[81 a, b]	Dissatisfaction	Envy	
[82 a, b]	Dissatisfaction	Arrogance	
[98 a, b]	Sympathy	Admiration	
[100 a, b, c]	Degrading	Arrogance	Observance
[101 a, b, c]	Degrading	Uncertainty	Looking for something
[103 a, b]	Degrading	Arrogance	
[104 a, b, c]	Degrading	Looking secretly	Arrogance
[105 a, b, c]	Shame	Humiliation	Shyness
[106 a, b, c]	Shame	Humiliation	Shyness
[107 a, b, c]	Shame	Humiliation	Shyness
[115 a, b, c]	Impudence	Envy	Observance
[116 a, b]	Impudence	Envy	
[117 a, b, c]	Impudence	Beauty	Envy
[118 a, b, c]	Boldness	Impudence	Self-confidence
[119 a, b]	Boldness	Arrogance	
[121 a, b]	Harshness	Degrading	
[132 a, b, c]	Beauty	Envy	Inspection
[133 a, b]	{Severely beaten}	Envy	
[134 a, b, c]	{Wearing glasses }	Leering at women	Observance

[140] /kul ?almaSaayib 9ala raaSi/ ‘All the problems are on my head’.
 all the problems on head my I am the one who became responsible for all
these problems even though they are not my fault.

Competition

[141 a, b] /la tHuT raaSak braaSuu/ ‘Don't put your head with his head’.
 not put you (m.) your head (m.) with head his Try to avoid him/
Don't challenge him.

Completeness

[142] /min saasi lraaSii/ ‘From my toe to head’.
 from toe my to head my Completely, all over.

Confusion

[143] /mani 9aarfah raaSi min rujuuli/ ‘I don't know my head from my feet’.
 not I know (f.) I head my from feet my I am extremely confused.

Helping out of respect

[144] /9ala raaSi/ ‘On my head’.
 on head my I am at your service gladly.

[145] /9ala raaSi min foag/ ‘On the top of my head’.
 on head my up I am willing to help unconditionally.

Respect

[146] /?aHuTTak 9ala raaSi min foag/ ‘I put you on my head’.
 put you (m.) I on head my from up I respect you highly.

[147] /taaj raaSi/
crown head my

‘The crown of my head’.
I highly respect you.

Long life

[148] /9aash raaSak/
lived head your (m.)

‘Your head lives’.
I am wishing you long life.

Warning

[149] /?akssirlak _____ raaSak/
break I you (m.) will head your (m.)

‘I will break your head’.
I am warning you not to do it again.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION

Pride

[150] /yirfa9arraS/
makes it high the head

‘It makes the head high’.
What he did is a great honour to us.

Shame

[151] /nakkas _____ raaSi/
lowered he head my

‘He lowered my head’.
Because of him, I cannot face others.

[152] /yidfin _____ raaSu bilHaya/
burying he head his in life

‘He is burying his head while living’.
He is in total shame and cannot face others.

- [153] /raaSu marxi/ 'His head is downwards'.
 head his downwards He is in total shame and cannot face others/
He is easily convinced.
- [154] /xalla raaSi filHaDiiD/ 'He made my head in the lowest
 level'.
 made he head my in the lowest level He caused me great shame.
- [155] /xalla raaSal 9eila fil?arD/ 'He made the head of the family
 in the ground'.
 made he head of the family in the ground He caused the whole family
great shame.

THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS

Temper

- [156] /rawwig raaSak/ 'Make your head calm'.
 calm make you (m.) your head (m.) Try to calm down.
- [157] /9agli Taar min raaSi/ 'My brain flew off my head'.
 brain my flew off head my I became extremely angry.
- [158] /la twajji9li raaSi/²²⁵ 'Don't make my head in pain'.
 not put in pain me you (m.) my head Be quite.
- [159] /Sadda9li raaSi/ 'He caused me a headache'.
 caused me headache he head my His chattering gave me a headache.

²²⁵ Both idioms [158 and 159] are based on MSA /ta9iba ra?sun/, 'A head is in pain', A head that cannot tolerate anymore (?almunjid 2000: 521).

Unintelligence

[167] /*mafraaSaha* _____ *shei*/
nothing in head her thing

‘She has nothing in her head’.
She is unintelligent.

[168 a, b] /*raaSaha* *faaDi*/
head her empty

‘Her head is empty’.
She is unintelligent/ She is trivial.

Wickedness

[169] /*raaSaha malyaan balaawi*/
head her full devious ideas

‘Her head is full of devious ideas’.
She is wicked.

[170] /*kul ?almaSaayib min taHt raaSaha*/²²⁷
all the disasters from down head her

‘All the disasters are as a result of her head’.
She was the brains behind this disaster.

Wisdom

[171] /*kabbir* _____ *raaSak*/
big make (m.) head your (m.)

‘Make your head big’.
Be wise and act sensibly.

Flattering

[172] /*kabbarlaha* *raaSaha*/
made her big head her

‘He made her head big’.
He flattered her.

²²⁷ Based on MSA /*kana ra?sa haadhihil mu?aamarati*/, ‘He was the head of this conspiracy’, He was the brains behind this disaster (?*almunjid* 2000: 521).

Thinking

[173 a, b] /*fi Haaja tduur fraaSaha*/ ‘There is something going around in her head’.

in something going around in head her

She is busy thinking/
She is thinking evilly.

[174] /*?agallibha fraaSi*/²²⁸
make it go round I in head my

‘I will make it go round in my head’.
I am trying to think about it seriously.

[175] /*rayyaHt raaSi minnu*/
relaxed I head my from him

‘I relaxed my head from him’.
I stopped thinking about him.

[176] /*shiilu min raaSak*/
take him you (m.) off your head (m.)

‘Take him off your head’.
Don't think about him.

Additional Meanings of HDA Head Idioms:

Idiom Number	Concept 1	Concept 2
[135 a, b]	A chief in a tribe	A chief of a conspiracy
[141 a, b]	Competition	Challenge
[164 a, b]	Stubbornness	Uneducated
[166 a, b]	Stubbornness	Old-fashioned thinking
[168 a, b]	Unintelligent	Trivial
[173 a, b]	Busy thinking	Thinking evilly

²²⁸ Based on MSA /*daarat fikratun fi ra?sihi*/, ‘An idea circled his head’, He is trying to comprehend the idea logically (?*almunjid* 2000: 521).

List of HDA Mind Idioms

THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING

Thinking

[177] /9agli mashGuul/ 'My mind is busy'.
mind my busy I cannot think properly because of worries and concerns.

[178] /muxxi m?ajiz/ 'My mind is in a vacation'.
mind my vacation I don't want to think about anything.

[179] /wfein 9aglak kaan/ 'Where was your mind? '
and where mind your (m.) was Why didn't you think at that moment?

THE MIND IS A MACHINE

Thinking

[180] /fyuzaat muxxaha Daarba/ 'The fuses of her mind are out of order'.
fuses mind her out of order She cannot think properly.

[181] /shaGGil muxxak ma9aya/ 'Let your mind work with me'.
you work on (m.) mind your (m.) with me Try to pay attention
and think with me.

[182] /muxxi mgaffil/
mind my closed

‘My mind is closed’.
I cannot think properly at the moment.

THE MIND IS AN OBJECT

Wisdom

[183] /muxxu mrakkab shmaal/
mind his positioned left

‘His mind is positioned to the left’.
He is unwise.

THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS

Thinking

[184 a, b] /muxxaha faaDi/
mind her empty

‘Her mind is empty’.
She cannot think properly/
She does not have any commitments to keep her busy.

[185] /muxxaha mhawwi/
brain her airy

‘Her brain is airy’.
She cannot think properly.

Filthy thoughts

[186] /muxxu wisix/
mind his dirty

‘His mind is dirty’.
His thinking is filthy.

Superficiality of thinking

[187] /9aglu SaGiir/
mind his small

‘His mind is small’.
His thinking is superficial.

Wisdom

[196] /*ma 9indaha mux/*
not has she a mind
‘She has no mind’.
Her thinking is irrational.

[197] /*9aglaha yuuzin balad/*
mind her weighs (equals) a country
‘Her mind weighs (equals) a country’.
She is wise.

[198] /*9aglaha raakiz/*
mind her stable
‘Her mind is stable’.
She is wise.

[199] /*9aglaha naagiS/*
mind her small
‘Her mind is incomplete’.
She is unwise.

Forgetting

[200 a, b] /*9aglu mfawwit/*
mind his escapable
‘His mind escapable’.
He forgets things/ He is unaware of what he is saying.

Stubbornness

[201] /*muxxaha Hajar/*
mind her stone
‘Her mind is a stone’.
She is stubborn.

[202 a, b] /*muxxaha mtannik/*
mind her rusty
‘Her mind is rusty’.
She is stubborn/ She does not comprehend.

[203] /*dmaaGaha jazmah gadiimah/*
mind her a shoe old
‘Her mind is an old shoe’.
She is stubborn.

Intelligence

[204] /muxxu naDiif/
mind his clean

‘His mind is clean’.
He is clever.

Comprehension

[205] /muxxaha taxiin/
mind her fat

‘Her mind is fat’.
She does not comprehend quickly.

[206] /muxxaha mSaTTil/
mind her foolish

‘Her mind is foolish’.
She does not comprehend properly.

Misinterpretation

[207] /muxxak la yruuH b9iid/
mind your (m.) not go it away

‘Don't let your mind go away’.
Try to understand what I mean.

THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON

[208] /muxxu mu ma9aana/
mind his not with us

‘His mind is not with us’.
He is not following our thoughts.

Competition

[209] /la tHuT 9aglak min 9aglu/ ‘Don't put your mind against his mind’.
not put you (m.) mind your (m.) from mind his Try to be calm and avoid him.

[210] /kabbir 9aglak/
make big you(m.) mind your (m.)

‘Make your mind big’.
Try to avoid him.

Anger

- [211] /*9agli Taar min raaSi/* ‘My mind flew off my head’.
mind my flew off head my I became angry.
- [212] /*shei yimaxwilal 9agil/* ‘Something that can let the mind go insane’.
something let insane the mind It drives me crazy.
- [213] /*shei yishattital mux/* ‘Something that can lead the mind to scatter’.
something let scattered the mind It drives me crazy.

Inability to solve a certain problem

- [214 a, b] /*muxxaha farga9/* ‘Her mind exploded in pieces’.
mind her exploded in pieces Her thinking was distracted by many worries/She got a severe headache.
- [215 a, b] /*muxxi Hayinfajir/* ‘My mind will explode’.
mind my will explode I have a lot of problems, but no solutions/ I have a terrible headache.

Additional Meanings of HDA Mind Idioms:

Idiom Number	Concept 1	Concept 2
[184 a, b]	Thinking	Not having any commitments
[200 a, b]	Forgetting	Unaware of what is being said
[202 a, b]	Stubbornness	Inability to comprehend
[214 a, b]	Inability to think because of worries	Having a severe headache
[215 a, b]	Inability to solve a certain problem	Having a severe headache

List of HDA Hand Idioms

THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY/ACTION

Activity

- [216] /lamma ?axalliS illi fyaddi/ 'When I finish what is in my hand'.
when finish off I that in hand my I am busy.
- [217] /?allaah yishill yaddak/ 'May God paralyze your hand'.
God paralyse hand your (m.) Stop what you are doing (i.e. bad deeds).
- [218] /shiil yaddak minal mawDuu9/²²⁹ 'Take out your hand from
the matter'.
take out you (m.) hand your (m.) from the matter. It is none of your business.
- [219] /malu yad filmawDuu9/ 'He has no hand in the matter'.
belong not (m.) a hand in the matter He has nothing to do with it.
- [220] /muu biyaddi/ 'Not in my hand'.
not in hand my I cannot do anything about it.
- [221] /ya reit byaddi/ 'I wish it was in my hand'.
wish I in hand my I wish that I could do something about it.
- [222] /?almawDuu9 xaraj min yaddi/ 'The matter has gone out of my hand'.
the matter gone out from hand my I am not able to do anything.
- [223] /mkattif yaddi/ 'He is tying my hand'.
he is tying hand my I cannot do anything.
- [224] /9ala HaTTaT yaddi/ 'Since I left it'.
on as was left hand my It is as is (nothing changed).

²²⁹ Based on MSA /kaanat lahu yadun filmawDuu9/, 'He has a hand in the matter', He has a part associated with the matter (?almunjid 2000: 1567).

Being ethical

[225] /*Gassalt* _____ *yaddi minnaha*/
washed I away hand my from her

‘I washed my hand of her’.
I have nothing to do with her.

Physical hurt

[226] /*yaddu 9amiya*/
hand his blind

‘His hand is blind’.
He hits indiscriminately.

Skill and expertise

[227 a, b] /*yaddu xafiifa*/
hand his quick

‘His hand is quick’.
He is a thief/ He is skilful.

[228 a, b] /*yaddu Tawiila*/²³⁰
hand his long

‘His hand is long’.
He is a thief/ He beats regularly.

[229] /*yaddaha baar9ah firrasim*/
hand her skilled in drawing

‘Her hand is skilful at drawing’.
She is a skilful artist.

Help

[230] /*gaddamat yadal musaa9ada*/
offered she hand the help

‘She offered the helping hand’.
She helped us.

[231 a, b] /*madd yaddu ma9aana*/
extended he hand his with us

‘He extended his hand with us’.
He helped us/ {He ate with us}.

²³⁰ Based on MSA /*Tawiilul yad*/, ‘His hand is tall’, He is a thief (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567).

[232] /*mshammir yaddu ma9aana*/ ‘He is folding (the sleeves of his thobe)²³¹ his hand with us’.
 folding he hand his with us He is helping us.

[233] /*fiaan f yaddi*/²³² ‘X is in my hand’.
 X in hand my He helps me without hesitation.

Generosity

[234] /*yaddaha fil xeir*/ ‘Her hand is in good deeds’.
 hand her in good deeds She is benevolent.

[235] /*yaddu beiDa ma9aaya*/ ‘His hand is white with me’.
 hand his white with me He is generous with me (either financially or emotionally).

[236 a, b] /*yaddu maxruuma*/ ‘His hand has a hole’.
 hand his hole He is too generous/ He is a money-waster.

[237] /*?illi f yaddu mulu*/ ‘He gives away whatever is in his hand’.
 that in hand his not his He is too generous.

Cooperation

[238] /*HuT yaddak f yaddi*/ ‘Put your hand in my hand’.
 put you (m.) hand your (m.) in hand my Let us cooperate.

Control

[239] /*maasikni min yaddi illi btuuja9ni*/ ‘He is grasping me from my hand that hurts’.
 grasping he me from hand my that hurts me He is in full control of me because he has proof against me.

²³¹ Men in the Hijazi community wear a garment called a *thobe*. Its sleeves are long and tended to be folded back for eating or other activities.

²³² Based on MSA /*huwa fi yadi*/, ‘He is in my hand’, He is in under my control (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567).

THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON

[248] /*min yad _____ lyad/* 'From a hand to a hand'.
 from a hand to a hand To pass something from one person to another.

[249] /*sallamha yad byad*²³⁴ 'He gave it hand in hand'.
 gave he it a hand in a hand. He gave it personally.

[250] /*Talab yaddaha min ?ahlaha*²³⁵ 'He asked her hand from her parents'.
 asked (m.) hand her from parents her He asked her parents' permission to marry her.

[251] /*f yad ?amiinah/* 'In an honest hand'.
 in a hand honest With an honest person.

[252] /*flan yaddul _____ yamiin/* 'X is his right hand'.
 X hand his the right He is his chief advisor.

Additional Meanings of HDA Hand Idioms:

Idiom Number	Concept 1	Concept 2
[227 a, b]	A thief	Skill
[228 a, b]	A thief	Beating regularly
[231 a, b]	Helping	{Eating}
[236 a, b]	Extreme generosity	Money-wasting
[240 a, b]	Being under control	Threatening others
[244 a, b]	Not being under control	{Fell down}

²³⁴ Based on MSA /*sallama shai?an yadan biyad/*, 'He gave it hand to hand', He gave it personally (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567).

²³⁵ Based on MSA /*Talab yada fataat/*, 'He asked for a girl's hand', He proposed (?*almunjid* 2000: 1567).

- [260] /lsaanaha yirmi kalaam zayyal Hjaara/ ‘Her tongue throws words like
the stones.
tongue her throws it words like the stones She is disrespectful to others.
- [261] /lsaanaha yiknus wi yurush/ ‘Her tongue brooms and splits water’.
tongue her brooms and splits water She is disrespectful to others.
- [262] /lsaanaha yilTush/ ‘Her tongue slaps’.
tongue her slaps She is disrespectful to others.
- [263] /lsaanaha 9algam/ ‘Her tongue is a colocynth’.
tongue her a colocynth She is disrespectful.
- [264] /lsaanaha mitbarri minnaha/ ‘Her tongue is innocent of her [words]’.
tongue her innocent from her She is disrespectful.
- [265 a, b] /lsaanaha Saliit/ ‘Her tongue is aggressive’.
tongue her aggressive She is disrespectful/ She is a negotiator.
- [266 a, b] /lsaanaha Haad/ ‘Her tongue is sharp’.
tongue her sharp She is disrespectful/ She is a negotiator.
- [267 a, b, c] /?um lsaanein/²³⁷ ‘She is the mother of two tongues’.
mother two tongues She is disrespectful/ She is a negotiator/
She is talkative.
- [268] /lsaanaha wisix/ ‘Her tongue is dirty’.
tongue her dirty She is disrespectful.
- [269] /lsaanaha zifir/ ‘Her tongue is greasy’.
tongue her greasy She is disrespectful.

²³⁷ Based on MSA */dhuu lisanain/*, ‘two tongued’. However, this idiom has only one meaning in MSA: He is a hypocrite (?*almunjid* 2000: 1283).

Keeping secrets

- [277] /ʔibla9 _____ lsaanak/
swallow you (m.) your tongue (m.) ‘Swallow your tongue’.
Don't spread the secret.

Rightfulness

- [278] /SaH _____ lsaanak/
true tongue your (m.) ‘Your tongue is true’.
You are right.

Fluency

- [279] /lsaanaha _____ faSiiH/
tongue her fluent ‘Her tongue is fluent’.
She is fluent.

Speaking a foreign language

- [280 a, b] /ʔit9awaj lsaanak lamma saafart/ ‘Your tongue has curved when you
traveled’.
has curved your tongue (m.) when you (m.) travelled You speak a foreign
language/ You are arrogant.

Control

- [281] /ʔimsak _____ lsaanak/
hold you (m.) your tongue (m.) ‘Hold your tongue’.
Respect yourself and shut up!

- [282] /Haasib _____ 9ala _____ lsaanak/
beware you (m.) on tongue your (m.) ‘Beware of your tongue’.
Watch your language.

Aggressiveness

[283] */lisaanaha zayyal mibrad/*
tongue her like the nail file

‘Her tongue is like a nail file’.
Her speech causes harm.

THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON

[284] */siiratha 9ala kul lsaan/*
she (as a topic) on every tongue

‘She (as a topic) is the talk of every tongue’.
Everyone is talking about her bad reputation.

Additional Meanings of HDA Tongue Idioms:

Idiom Number	Concept 1	Concept 2	Concept 3
[256 a, b]	Talking badly to others	Mocking at others	
[265 a, b]	Disrespect	Negotiation	
[266 a, b]	Disrespect	Negotiation	
[267 a, b, c]	Disrespect	Negotiation	Talkative
[280 a, b]	Speaking a foreign language	Arrogance	

List of HDA Nose Idioms

Arrogance

- [285] /*xashamaha fi ssama*/ ²³⁸
nose her in the sky 'Her nose in the sky'.
She is arrogant.
- [286] /*xashmaha foag*/
nose her up 'Her nose is high'.
She is arrogant.
- [287] /*raafi9 xashmu*/
raising he nose his 'He is raising his nose'.
He is arrogant.
- [288 a, b] /*nafsu f xashmu*/
soul his soul in nose his 'His soul is in his nose'.
He is arrogant/ He is easily irritated.

Intrusion:

- [289] /*tdaxxil xashmaha f kul shei*/
insert she nose her in everything 'She inserts her nose in everything'.
She is intrusive.

Warning

- [290] /*?aksir lak xashmak*/
break I you nose your 'I break your nose'.
I'll bring you down a peg or two.
- [291] /*HaT xashmu fitturaab*/
put he nose his in the sand 'He put his nose in the sand'.
He humiliated him.
- [292] /*GaSb 9an xashmak*/
in spite of nose your (m.) 'In spite of your nose'.
I will force you to do it.

²³⁸ All of the three examples [285, 286, and 287] are based on MSA /*shamaxa bi?anfih*/, 'He rose with his nose', He is snobbish (?*almunjid* 2000: 48).

Help out of respect

[293] /*9ala xashmi*/
on nose my

‘On my nose’.
I am willing to help you out of respect.

Fullness

[294] /*?al?akil naadir min xashmi*/
the food out from nose my

‘The food is out from my nose’.
I am extremely full.

Idioms interpreted with reference to the physical shape of the nose

Beauty

[295] /*xashmaha waagif*/
nose her straight

‘Her nose is straight’.
She has a beautiful nose.

[296] /*xashmaha zayal fustug*/
nose her like the pistachio

‘Her nose is like a pistachio’.
Her nose is small and beautiful.

[297 a, b] /*xashmaha seif*/
nose her sword

‘Her nose is a sword’.
She has a beautiful nose/ She is arrogant.

Additional Meanings of HDA Nose Idioms:

Idiom Number	Concept 1	Concept 2
[288 a, b]	Arrogance	Easily irritated
[297 a, b]	Beauty	Arrogance

Appendix 8: An Excerpt of a Recorded Interview with One of the Illiterate HDA-speakers

The researcher: OK, right now I am going to tell you the idiom Uncle Mubarak²³⁹ and you are going to tell me its meaning as we agreed earlier.

Uncle Mubarak: alright.

The researcher: It is OK if you did not know the meaning because some of the idioms might be very old, very new, or simply you did not hear them before, OK?

Uncle Mubarak: OK.

The researcher: OK let us begin with */9ein tifligal Hajar/* [41], what does it mean?

Uncle Mubarak: it means the eye.

The researcher: the eye means?

Uncle Mubarak: means envy... it is in our culture that the eye envies...mmm... not only stones but other things as you know.

The researcher: OK what about */shaalatni w HaTTaTni b9uyunaha/* [100 a, b, c]?

Uncle Mubarak: [laughs] */shaalatni w HaTTaTni fi 9uyunaha/*?

The researcher: No, no not */fi 9uyunaha/* but */b9uyunaha/*.

Uncle Mubarak: [silent for a minute] ... I don't know.

The researcher: OK. Alright what about */9einu tindab fiha raSaaSah/* [115 a, b, c]?

Uncle Mubarak: [laughs] this ... Allah Akbar, 'God is the greatest', ... [laughs again] the eye which deserves to be shot with a bullet is the eye of the enemy ... the enemy is who envies.

The researcher: [laughs with him]. Alright ... what about */ma timshi illa bil9ein lHamra/* [110]?

Uncle Mubarak: */biSSaamlah/*.

The researcher: [laughs] I did not understand */biSSaamlah/*.²⁴⁰

Uncle Mubarak: [laughs] It means strictness.

The researcher: OK I got it.

²³⁹ Uncle Mubarak is an illiterate eighty year old man who lives in Jeddah and speaks the rural variety of HDA. Uncle is a respectful title for older men and does not imply a family relationship.

²⁴⁰ It is a very old word for strictness used in rural HDA.

Appendix 9: List of all the Conceptual Metaphors and Metonymies Found in this Study

- ABSTRACT:** ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. [Csábi (2004a: 150)]
- ACT:** A HURT HAND IS INABLE TO ACT. ●
BEING INNOCENT IS NOT ASSOCIATING IN AN ACT. ●
FREEDOM TO ACT IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 342)]
PARALYSIS IS INABILITY TO ACT. ●
- ACTION:** ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS. [Kövecses (2002: 35)]
LEFT HAND STANDS FOR WRONG ACTIONS. ●
MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. [Csábi (2004a: 147)]
RIGHT HAND STANDS FOR RIGHT ACTIONS. ●
THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
- ACTIVITY:** AN ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
(NOT) PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS (NOT) HAVING A HAND IN A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. [Csábi (2004a: 147)]
THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
- AGGRESSIVE:** AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS Direspectful. ●
AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS SETTING A POINT OF VIEW. ●
- ANGER:** ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. [Maalej (2004: 63)]
ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE. [Kövecses (2000: 21)]
- ARABIC:** BIG EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
SMALL NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●

	STRAIGHT NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
ARROGANCE:	SPEAKING ANOTHER LANGUAGE STANDS FOR ARROGANCE. ● TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP. ●
ASHAMED:	LOWERING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR BEING ASHAMED. ●
ASSOCIATING:	BEING INNOCENT IS NOT ASSOCIATING IN AN ACT. ●
ASTRAY:	ASTRAY IS NOT LEGAL. ●
ATTENTION:	ATTENTION IS A FORCE. [Csábi (2004a: 157)] ATTENTION IS LOOKING. [Csábi (2004a: 154)] BIG EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. ● (NOT) PAYING ATTENTION IS (NOT) LOOKING. ● THE EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. [Bílková (2000: 58)]
AWAY:	BEING LOST IS GOING FAR AWAY. ●
BAD:	BAD TEMPERAMENT IS BITTER. ● DOWN IS BAD. ●
BEAUTY:	BIG EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ● SMALL NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ● STRAIGHT NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
BEHAVIOUR:	BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE. [Charteris-Black (2003: 302)]
BETTER:	BIGGER IS BETTER. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 23)]
BIG:	BIG EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ● BIG EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. ● BIG EYES STAND FOR ENVY. ● BIG IS BROAD. ●

	IMPORTANT IS BIG. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980)]
BIGGER:	BIGGER IS BETTER. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 23)]
BITTER:	BAD TEMPERAMENT IS BITTER. ● COLOCYNTH IS BITTER. ●
BLINDNESS:	BLINDNESS IS NOT DISTINGUISHING. ● BLINDNESS IS NOT SEEING. ●
BODY:	THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Kövecses (2002: 184)] THE BODY PART STANDS FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Csábi (2004a: 162)] THE FAMILY IS A BODY. [Mberi (2003:81)] THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980:38)]
BOOK:	THE MIND IS A BOOK. ●
BRILLIANCE:	CLEANNES IS BRILLIANCE. ●
BROAD:	BIG IS BROAD. ●
CAUSATION:	CAUSATION IS TRANSFER. [Kövecses (2002: 102)]
CAUSE:	CAUSE FOR EFFECT. [Kövecses (2002: 216)]
CAUSING:	CAUSING PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. ●
CLEAN:	CLEAN IS GOOD. ● MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 344)]
CLEANNES:	CLEANNES IS BRILLIANCE. ●
CLOSENESS:	INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Kövecses (2000: 92)] STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Csábi (2004a: 154)]

- COLDNESS:** LACK OF INTENSE EMOTIONS IS COLDNESS. [Csábi (2004a: 176)]
- COMMUNICATION:** COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. [Kövecses (2002: 74)]
- COMPETITION:** COMPETITION IS WAR. [(Metaphor List Home page)]
- CONTAINER:** AN ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
- ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. [Maalej (2004: 63)]
- COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. [Kövecses (2002: 74)]
- EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. [Kövecses (2000: 65)]
- (NOT) PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS (NOT) HAVING A HAND IN A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
- SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●
- THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Kövecses (2002: 184)]
- THE HAND IS A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 147)]
- THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●
- THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●
- THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. ●
- THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. ●
- THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR INFORMATION. ●
- VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●
- CONTAINERS:** THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Bílková (2000: 61)]
- THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE. ●
- SITUATIONS ARE CONTAINERS. [Csábi (2004a: 143)]
- STATES ARE CONTAINERS. [Csábi (2004a: 176)]
- CONTROL:** BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 15)]

	CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
	THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
	THE HEAD STANDS FOR CONTROL. ●
	THE MIND STANDS FOR CONTROL. [Csábi (2004a: 166)]
	OUT OF THE HAND IS OUT OF CONTROL. ●
CONVINCE:	TO CONVINCE OTHERS IS TO DIRECT ONE'S SPEECH TO THEIR HEADS. ●
COOPERATION:	UNITY/COOPERATION IS JOINING HANDS. [Yu (2003a: 354)]
DANGEROUS:	HOT IS DANGEROUS. ● SHARP IS DANGEROUS. ●
DEAR:	THE EYES ARE DEAR. ●
DESIRING:	LOOKING AT SOMETHING STANDS FOR DESIRING IT. ●
DESTINATIONS:	PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. [Lakoff (1987: 278)]
DESTRUCTIVE:	ENVY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE. ●
DISRESPECTING:	AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS DISRESPECTFUL. ● EXTENDING THE TONGUE IS DISRESPECTING OTHERS. ● SLAPPING OTHERS IS DISRESPECTING. ●
DISRESPECTFUL:	THROWING STONES AT PEOPLE IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●
DISTINGUISHING:	BLINDNESS IS NOT DISTINGUISHING. ●
DIRECT:	TO CONVINCE OTHERS IS TO DIRECT ONE'S SPEECH TO THEIR HEADS. ●
DIRTY:	DIRTY IS TERRIBLE. ●
DOWN:	BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. [Lakoff and

Johnson (1980: 15)]

DOWN IS BAD. ●

HEAD IS UP-TOE/FOOT IS DOWN. [Csábi (2004a: 165)]

LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHAME/HUMILIATION/SHYNESS. ●

LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR RESPECT. ●

DRY: DRY IS TIRING. ●

DUTY: DUTIES ARE OBJECTS. ●

VACATION IS OFF DUTY. ●

EATING: FOOLING OTHERS IS EATING THEIR MIND. ●

LUST IS HUNGER/EATING. [Kövecses (2002: 262)]

PERSUADING IS EATING. [Berrada (2007: 13)]

EFFECT: CAUSE FOR EFFECT. [Kövecses (2002: 216)]

STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Csábi (2004a: 154)]

EMOTION: EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. [Kövecses (2000: 65)]

INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HOT. ●

LACK OF INTENSE EMOTIONS IS COLDNESS. [Csábi (2004a: 176)]

THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Kövecses (2002: 184)]

THE BODY PART STANDS FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Csábi (2004a: 162)]

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Bílková (2000: 61)]

THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Csábi (2004a: 162)]

THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●

THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. [Kövecses (2000: 134)]

ENDLESS:	LONG IS ENDLESS. ●
ENTITIES:	ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. [Csábi (2004a: 150)]
ENVY:	BIG EYES STAND FOR ENVY. ● ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE. ● ENVY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE. ● THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY. ●
ETHICAL:	MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 344)]
EXPERIENCED:	OLD STANDS FOR SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. [Csábi (2004a: 142)] QUICK IS SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. ●
EXPLOSION:	ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION STANDS FOR SEVERITY. ●
EXPRESSIVE:	THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. [Kövecses (2000: 134)].
EXTENDING:	EXTENDING THE TONGUE IS DISRESPECTING OTHERS. ●
EYE:	BIG EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ● BIG EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. ● BIG EYES STAND FOR ENVY. ● LOOKING IN THE EYE STANDS FOR IMPUDENCE. ● THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Bílková (2000: 61)] THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE. ● THE EYES ARE DEAR. ● THE EYE IS AN OBJECT. [Csábi (2004a: 154)] THE EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. [Bílková (2000: 58)] THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Csábi (2004a: 162)] THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY. ● THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT. [Bílková (2000: 56)]

	THE EYES STAND FOR LIFE AND WARNING. [Bílková (2000: 59)]
	THE EYES STAND FOR OBSERVANCE. ●
	THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND. [Yu (2004: 669)]
	THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON. [Csábi (2004a: 154)]
	THE EYES STAND FOR THE SKILL. [Csábi (2004a: 159)]
EYESIGHT:	THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT. [Bílková (2000: 56)]
FAMILY:	THE FAMILY IS A BODY. [Mberi (2003: 81)]
FAR:	BEING LOST IS GOING FAR AWAY. ●
FLUID:	SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ● VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●
FOOLING:	FOOLING OTHERS IS EATING THEIR MIND. ● FOOLING OTHERS IS LAUGHING AT THEIR MIND. ● FOOLING OTHERS IS LICKING THEIR MIND. ●
FOOD:	IDEAS ARE FOOD. [Berrada (2007: 13)] SLEEP IS FOOD. ●
FOOT:	HEAD IS UP-TOE/FOOT IS DOWN. [Csábi (2004a: 165)]
FORCE:	ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE. [Kövecses (2000: 21)] ATTENTION IS A FORCE. [Csábi (2004a: 157)] BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 15)] ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE. ● ENVY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE. ●
FREE:	FREEDOM TO ACT IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 342)]
FREEDOM:	FREEDOM TO ACT IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 342)]

FUNCTION	(NO) PRESENCE IS (NO) FUNCTIONING. ●
GENEROSITY:	THE HAND STANDS FOR GENEROSITY. ●
GOAL:	SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. [Yu (2004: 666)]
GOD:	GOD IS PROTECTION. ●
GOOD:	CLEAN IS GOOD. ● GOOD IS UP. ●
GREASY:	GREASY IS TERRIBLE. ●
HAND:	A HURT HAND IS INABLE TO ACT. ● CAUSING PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. ● CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)] FREEDOM TO ACT IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 342)] (NOT) PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS (NOT) HAVING A HAND IN A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 146)] LEFT HAND STANDS FOR WRONG ACTIONS. ● OUT OF THE HAND IS OUT OF CONTROL. ● PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. [Csábi (2004a: 146)] POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)] RIGHT HAND STANDS FOR RIGHT ACTIONS. ● THE HAND IS A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 147)] THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)] THE HAND STANDS FOR GENEROSITY. ● THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)] THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON. [Yu (2003b: 339)] THE HAND STANDS FOR THE SKILL. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]

UNITY/COOPERATION IS JOINING HANDS. [Yu (2003b: 354)]

HARM: SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLICTING HARM. ●

HEAD: BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED. ●
HEAD IS UP- TOE/FOOT IS DOWN. [Csábi (2004a: 165)]
LOWERING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR BEING ASHAMED. ●
THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●
THE HEAD IS AN OBJECT. ●
THE HEAD STANDS FOR CONTROL. ●
THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE. [Bílková (2000: 37)]
THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER. [Bílková (2000: 39)]
THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND. [Csábi (2004a: 166)]
THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ●
THE HEAD STANDS FOR TEMPER. [Bílková (2000: 41)]
TO BE PROUD IS TO RAISE ONE'S HEAD UP. ●
TO CONVINCe OTHERS IS TO DIRECT ONE'S SPEECH TO THEIR HEADS. ●

HIGH: BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED. ●
TO HAVE THE SOUL IN ONE'S NOSE IS BEING HIGHLY IRRITATED. ●

HITTING: CAUSING PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. ●

HOLDING: CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]

HOT: HOT IS DANGEROUS. ●
INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HOT. ●

HUMILIATION: LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHAME/HUMILIATION/SHYNESS. ●

HUNGER: LUST IS HUNGER/EATING. [Kövecses (2000: 262)]

HURT:	A HURT HAND IS INABLE TO ACT. ●
IDEAS:	COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. [Kövecses (2002: 74)] IDEAS ARE FOOD. [Berrada (2007: 13)] IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. [Kövecses (2002: 74)]
IMPORTANT:	IMPORTANT IS BIG. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980)]
IMPUDENCE:	LOOKING IN THE EYE STANDS FOR IMPUDENCE. ●
INABLE:	A HURT HAND IS INABLE TO ACT. ● PARALYSIS IS INABILITY TO ACT. ●
INFLICTING:	SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLICTING HARM. ●
INFORMATION:	THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR INFORMATION. ●
INNOCENT:	BEING INNOCENT IS NOT ASSOCIATING IN AN ACT. ●
INSIDE:	ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. [Maalej (2004: 63)]
INTENSE:	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HOT. ● LACK OF INTENSE EMOTIONS IS COLDNESS. [Csábi (2004a: 176)]
INTERNAL:	ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. [Maalej (2004: 63)]
INTIMACY:	INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Kövecses (2000: 92)]
INTRUSIVE:	TO BE INTRUSIVE IS TO STICK THE NOSE INTO SOMETHING. [Bílková (2000: 68)]
IRRITATED:	TO HAVE THE SOUL IN ONE'S NOSE IS BEING HIGHLY IRRITATED. ●
JOINING:	UNITY/COOPERATION IS JOINING HANDS. [Yu (2003b: 354)]

KNOWING:	(NOT) KNOWING IS (NOT) SEEING. [Kövecses (2002: 158)] SMELLING IS KNOWING. ●
LACK:	LACK OF INTENSE EMOTIONS IS COLDNESS. [Csábi (2004a: 176)]
LANGUAGE:	THE TONGUE STANDS FOR LANGUAGE. (Charteris-Black (2003: 296)] SPEAKING ANOTHER LANGUAGE STANDS FOR ARROGANCE. ●
LAUGHING:	FOOLING OTHERS IS LAUGHING AT THEIR MIND. ●
LEFT:	LEFT HAND STANDS FOR WRONG ACTIONS. ● WRONG IS LEFT. ●
LEGAL:	ASTRAY IS NOT LEGAL. ●
LICKING:	FOOLING OTHERS IS LICKING THEIR MIND. ●
LIFE:	THE EYES STAND FOR LIFE AND WARNING. [Bílková (2000: 59)] THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE. [Bílková (2000: 37)]
LIKING:	(NOT) LIKING IS (NOT) SEEING. [Yu (2004: 677)]
LOCATIONS:	STATES ARE LOCATIONS. [Kövecses (2000: 52)]
LOOKING:	ATTENTION IS LOOKING. [Csábi (2004a: 154)] LOOKING AT SOMETHING STANDS FOR DESIRING IT. ● LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR RESPECT. ● LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHAME/HUMILIATION/SHYNESS. ● (NOT) PAYING ATTENTION IS (NOT) LOOKING. ●
LONG:	LONG IS ENDLESS. ●
LOST:	BEING LOST IS BEING FAR AWAY. ●
LOVEABLE:	SWEET IS LOVEABLE. ●
LOWERING:	LOWERING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR BEING ASHAMED. ●

LUST:	LUST IS HUNGER/EATING [Kövecses (2002: 262)]
MACHINE:	THE MIND IS A MACHINE. [Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 247)]
MANIPULATING:	PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
MANNER:	MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. [Csábi (2004a: 144)] MANNER IS TASTE. [Charteris-Black (2003: 303)]
MEANINGS:	MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS. [Kövecses (2000: 89)]
MIND:	COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. [Kövecses (2002: 74)] FOOLING OTHERS IS EATING THEIR MIND. ● FOOLING OTHERS IS LAUGHING AT THEIR MIND. ● FOOLING OTHERS IS LICKING THEIR MIND. ● THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND. [Yu (2004: 669)] THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND. [Csábi (2004a: 166)] THE MIND IS A BOOK. ● THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ● THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR INFORMATION. ● THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. ● THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. ● THE MIND IS A MACHINE. [Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 247)] THE MIND IS AN OBJECT. ● THE MIND STANDS FOR CONTROL. [Csábi (2004a: 166)] THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ● THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING. ●
MORAL:	MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 344)] MORAL PURITY IS WHITE.●
MOTION:	MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION. [Csábi (2004a: 144)]

- MOVING:** THINKING IS MOVING. [Yu (2003c: 148)]
- NARROW:** SMALL IS NARROW. ●
- NATURAL:** ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE. [Kövecses (2000: 21)]
- NOSE:** STRAIGHT NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
- TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP. ●
- TO BE INTRUSIVE IS TO STICK THE NOSE INTO SOMETHING.
[Bílková (2000: 68)]
- SMALL NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
- TO HAVE THE SOUL IN ONE'S NOSE IS BEING HIGHLY IRRITATED●
- THE NOSE STANDS FOR PRIDE. ●
- THE NOSE STANDS FOR SMELLING. ●
- THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. [Bílková (2000: 66)]
- OBJECT:** ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. [Csábi (2004a: 150)]
- ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS. [Kövecses (2002: 281)]
- DUTIES ARE OBJECTS. ●
- IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. [Kövecses (2002: 74)]
- MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS. [Kövecses (2000: 89)]
- PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS
WITH THE HAND. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
- PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS. ●
- PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. ●
- THE EYE IS AN OBJECT. [Csábi (2004a: 154)]
- THE HEAD IS AN OBJECT. ●
- THE MIND IS AN OBJECT. ●
- THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. ●
- THE TONGUE IS AN OBJECT. ●
- OFF:** VACATATION IS OFF DUTY. ●

OBSERVANCE:	THE EYES STAND FOR OBSERVANCE. ●
OLD:	OLD IS UNFASHIONABLE. ● OLD STANDS FOR SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. [Csábi (2004a: 142)]
ON:	BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED. ● ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION STANDS FOR SEVERITY. ●
ORDER:	THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER. [Bílková (2000: 39)]
OUT:	OUT OF THE HAND IS OUT OF CONTROL. ●
PAIN:	CAUSING PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. ●
PAINFUL:	SHARP IS PAINFUL. ●
PARALYSIS:	PARALYSIS IS INABILITY TO ACT. ●
PART:	THE BODY PART STANDS FOR THE EMOTIONS. [Csábi (2004a: 162)] THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980:38)]
PARTICIPATING:	(NOT) PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS (NOT) HAVING A HAND IN A CONTAINER. [Csábi (2004a: 146)] PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND. [Csábi (2004a: 146)]
PATH:	SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. [Yu (2004: 666)]
PAYING:	(NOT) PAYING ATTENTION IS (NOT) LOOKING. ●
PEOPLE:	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS. ● THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE. ● THROWING STONES AT PEOPLE IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●
PERSON:	THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON. [Csábi (2004a: 154)] THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON. [Yu (2003b: 339)] THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ● THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ● THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. [Bílková (2000: 66)]

	THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ●
PERSUADING	PERSUADING IS EATING. [Berrada (2007:13)]
PHYSICAL:	ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. [Csábi (2004a: 150)]
	CAUSING PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. ●
	INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Kövecses (2000: 92)]
	PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. ●
	STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Csábi (2004a: 154)]
PHYSIOLOGICAL:	THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. [Kövecses (2000: 134)]
PLAYING:	PLAYING IS TRICKING. ●
POINT:	AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS SETTING A POINT OF VIEW.
POSSESSING:	POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
PRESENCE	(NO) PRESENCE IS (NO) FUNCTIONING. ●
PRESSURE:	ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. [Maalej (2004: 63)]
PRIDE:	THE NOSE STANDS FOR PRIDE. ●
PROBLEMS:	PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. ●
PROTECTION:	GOD IS PROTECTION. ●
PROUD:	TO BE PROUD IS TO RAISE ONE'S HEAD UP. ●
PURITY	MORAL PURITY IS WHITE. ●
PURPOSES:	PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. [Lakoff (1987: 278)]
QUICK:	QUICK IS SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. ●

RAISE:	TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP. ● TO BE PROUD IS TO RAISE ONE'S HEAD UP. ●
REACHING:	SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLICTING HARM. ●
RESPECT:	LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR RESPECT. ●
RESPECTED:	BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED. ●
RESPONSES:	THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. [Kövecses (2002: 134)]
RIGHT:	RIGHT HAND STANDS FOR RIGHT ACTIONS. ●
SATISFACTION:	SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●
SEEING:	BEING SURE OF SOMETHING IS ACTUALLY SEEING SOMETHING. ● BLINDNESS IS NOT SEEING. ● (NOT) KNOWING IS (NOT) SEEING. [Kövecses (2002: 158)] (NOT) LIKING IS (NOT) SEEING. [Yu (2004: 677)] (NOT) SEEING IS (NOT) TOUCHING. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 50)] SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLICTING HARM. ●
SENDING:	COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. [Kövecses (2002: 74)]
SETTING:	AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS SETTING A POINT OF VIEW.
SEVERITY:	ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION STANDS FOR SEVERITY. ●
SHAME:	LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHAME/HUMILIATION/SHYNESS. ●
SHARP:	SHARP IS DANGEROUS. ● SHARP IS PAINFUL. ●
SHYNESS:	LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHAME/HUMILIATION/SHYNESS. ●
SITUATIONS:	SITUATIONS ARE CONTAINERS. [Csábi (2004a: 143)]

SIZE:	BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE. [Charteris-Black (2003: 302)]
SKILL:	THE EYES STAND FOR THE SKILL. [Csábi (2004a: 159)] THE HAND STANDS FOR THE SKILL. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)]
SKILLED:	OLD STANDS FOR SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. [Csábi (2004a: 142)] QUICK IS SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. ●
SMALL:	SMALL IS NARROW. ● SMALL NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
SMELLING:	SMELLING IS KNOWING. ● THE NOSE STANDS FOR SMELLING. ●
SLAPPING:	SLAPPING OTHERS IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●
SLEEP	SLEEP IS FOOD. ●
SOMETHING:	BEING SURE OF SOMETHING IS ACTUALLY SEEING SOMETHING. ● CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996:337)] LOOKING AT SOMETHING STANDS FOR DESIRING IT. ● POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. [Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 337)] TO BE INTRUSIVE IS TO STICK THE NOSE INTO SOMETHING. [Bílková (2000: 68)]
SOUL:	TO HAVE THE SOUL IN ONE'S NOSE IS BEING HIGHLY IRRITATED.●
SOURCE:	SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. [Yu (2004: 666)]
SPEAKING:	SPEAKING ANOTHER LANGUAGE STANDS FOR ARROGANCE. ● THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING. [Csábi (2004a:188)]
SPEECH:	TO CONVINCE OTHERS IS TO DIRECT ONE'S SPEECH TO THEIR HEADS. ● AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●

	AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS SETTING A POINT OF VIEW. ●
STATES:	STATES ARE CONTAINERS [Csábi (2004a: 176)] STATES ARE LOCATIONS. [Kövecses (2000:52)]
STICK:	TO BE INTRUSIVE IS TO STICK THE NOSE INTO SOMETHING. [Bílková (2000: 68)]
STONES:	THROWING STONES AT PEOPLE IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●
STRAIGHT:	STRAIGHT NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
STRENGTH:	STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. [Csábi (2004a: 154)]
SUBJECT:	BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 15)]
SUBSTANCE:	EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. [Kövecses (2000:65)]
SURE:	BEING SURE OF SOMETHING IS ACTUALLY SEEING SOMETHING. ●
SWEET:	SWEET IS LOVEABLE. ●
TASTE	MANNER IS TASTE. [Charteris-Black (2003: 303)]
TEMPER:	THE HEAD STANDS FOR TEMPER. [Bílková (2000: 41)]
TEMPERAMENT:	BAD TEMPERAMENT IS BITTER. ●
TERRIBLE:	DIRTY IS TERRIBLE. ● GREASY IS TERRIBLE. ●
THINKING:	THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING. ● THINKING IS MOVING. [Yu (2003c: 148)]
THOUGHTS:	THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. ●
THROWING:	THROWING STONES AT PEOPLE IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●

TIRING:	DRY IS TIRING. ●
TOE:	HEAD IS UP-TOE/FOOT IS DOWN. [Csábi (2004a: 165)]
TONGUE:	EXTENDING THE TONGUE IS DISRESPECTING OTHERS. ● THE TONGUE IS AN OBJECT. ● THE TONGUE STANDS FOR LANGUAGE. (Charteris-Black (2003: 296)) THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ● THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING. [Csábi (2004a: 188)]
TOUCHING:	(NOT) SEEING IS (NOT) TOUCHING. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 50)]
TRANSFER:	CAUSATION IS TRANSFER. [Kövecses (2002: 102)]
TRICKING:	PLAYING IS TRICKING. ●
UNFASHIONABLE:	OLD IS UNFASHIONABLE. ●
UNITY:	UNITY/COOPERATION IS JOINING HANDS. [Yu (2003b: 354)]
UP:	GOOD IS UP. ● HEAD IS UP- TOE/FOOT IS DOWN. [Csábi (2004a: 165)] TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP. ● TO BE PROUD IS TO RAISE ONE'S HEAD UP. ●
VACATION:	VACATION IS OFF DUTY. ●
VERGE:	ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION STANDS FOR SEVERITY. ●
VIEW:	AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS SETTING A POINT OF VIEW. ●
VICIOUSNESS:	VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●
WAR:	COMPETITION IS WAR. [(Metaphor List Home page)]
WARNING:	THE EYES STAND FOR LIFE AND WARNING. [Bílková (2000: 59)]

WHITE: MORAL PURITY IS WHITE. ●

WHOLE: THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE. [Lakoff and Johnson (1980:38)]

WIDE WIDE EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●

WRONG: LEFT HAND STANDS FOR WRONG ACTIONS. ●
WRONG IS LEFT. ●

Appendix 10: The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Eye Idioms

ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS.
ASTRAY IS NOT LEGAL.●
ATTENTION IS A FORCE.
ATTENTION IS LOOKING.
BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED. ●
BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN
BEING SURE OF SOMETHING IS ACTUALLY SEEING SOMETHING.●
BLINDNESS IS NOT SEEING. ●
ENVY IS A DEADLY FORCE.●
ENVY IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE.●
GOD IS PROTECTION.●
GOOD IS UP.●
HEAD IS UP-TOE/FOOT IS DOWN.
HIGH STATUS IS UP.
HOT IS DANGEROUS.●
INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HOT.
INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS.
LACK OF INTENSE EMOTIONS IS COLDNESS.
LONG IS ENDLESS.●
LUST IS HUNGER/EATING
MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION.
(NOT) KNOWING IS (NOT) SEEING.
(NOT) LIKING IS (NOT) SEEING.
(NOT) PAYING ATTENTION IS (NOT) LOOKING
(NOT) SEEING IS (NOT) TOUCHING.
PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND.
PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS.●
POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND.
PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS.
RIGHT IS RIGHT. ●
SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.●
SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND (NOT) INFLECTING HARM.●
SHARP IS DANGEROUS. ●
SLEEP IS FOOD. ●
SOURCE-PATH-GOAL.
STATES ARE LOCATIONS.
STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS.
THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS.
THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS.
THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR PEOPLE.●
THE EYES ARE DEAR. ●
THE EYE IS AN OBJECT.
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●
VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.●
WRONG IS LEFT. ●
VICIOUSNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●

Appendix 11: The Conceptual Metonymies in HDA Eye Idioms

BIG EYES STAND FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
BIG EYES STAND FOR ENVY. ●
BIG EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION. ●
CAUSE FOR EFFECT.
LOOKING AT SOMETHING STANDS FOR DESIRING IT. ●
LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR SHYNESS/HUMILIATION/SHAME.●
LOOKING DOWN STANDS FOR RESPECT. ●
LOOKING IN THE EYE STANDS FOR IMPUDENCE. ●
THE BODY PART STANDS FOR THE EMOTIONS.
THE EYES STAND FOR ATTENTION.
THE EYES STAND FOR THE EMOTIONS.
THE EYES STAND FOR ENVY.●
THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT.
THE EYES STAND FOR LIFE AND WARNING.
THE EYES STAND FOR OBSERVANCE.●
THE EYES STAND FOR THE MIND.
THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON.
THE EYES STAND FOR THE SKILL.
THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION.
THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE.

Appendix 12: The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Head Idioms

ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS.
ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER.
ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE.
BEHAVIOUR IS SIZE.
BEING ON THE HEAD IS BEING HIGHLY RESPECTED.●
BIGGER IS BETTER.
COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER.
COMPETITION IS WAR.
DOWN IS BAD.●
DRY IS TIRING.●
DUTIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS.●
GOOD IS UP.●
HEAD IS UP-TOE/FOOT IS DOWN.
IDEAS ARE OBJECTS.
IMPORTANT IS BIG.
MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION.
MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS.
OLD IS UNFASHIONABLE.●
PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND.
PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS. ●
PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS.●
THE FAMILY IS A BODY.
THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●
THE HEAD IS AN OBJECT.●
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR INFORMATION. ●
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. ●
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS.●
TO BE PROUD IS TO RAISE ONE'S HEAD UP.●
TO CONVINCE OTHERS IS TO DIRECT ONE'S SPEECH TO THEIR HEADS.●
UP-DOWN.
THINKING IS MOVING.

Appendix 13: The Conceptual Metonymies in HDA Head Idioms

LOWERING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR BEING ASHAMED.●
OLD STANDS FOR SKILLED/EXPERIENCED.
PRESENCE IS FUNCTIONING
THE HEAD STANDS FOR CONTROL.●
THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE.
THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE MIND.
THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER.
THE HEAD STANDS FOR TEMPER. ●
THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON.●
THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING.●
THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION.
THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE.

Appendix 14: The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Mind Idioms

ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS.
ANGER IS AN INTERNAL PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER.
ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE.
BEING LOST IS GOING FAR AWAY. ●
BIG IS BROAD. ●
BIGGER IS BETTER.
CLEANNESS IS BRILLIANCE.●
COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER.
COMPETITION IS WAR.
DIRTY IS TERRIBLE.●
FOOLING OTHERS IS EATING THEIR MIND.●
FOOLING OTHERS IS LAUGHING AT THEIR MIND.●
FOOLING OTHERS IS LICKING THEIR MIND.●
IDEAS ARE FOOD.
IDEAS ARE OBJECTS.
LEFT IS WRONG. ●
OLD IS UNFASHIONABLE. ●
PLAYING IS TRICKING.●
RIGHT IS RIGHT. ●
SMALL IS NARROW.●
THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. ●
THE HEAD STANDS FOR TEMPER.
THE MIND IS A BOOK.●
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR INFORMATION. ●
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR OBJECTS. ●
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. ●
THE MIND IS A MACHINE.
THE MIND IS AN OBJECT.●
PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND.
PERSUADING IS EATING.
(NO) PRESENCE IS (NO) FUNCTIONING. ●
VACATION IS OFF DUTY. ●

Appendix 15: The Conceptual Metonymies in HDA Mind Idioms

THE MIND STANDS FOR CONTROL.
THE MIND STANDS FOR THE PERSON.●
THE MIND STANDS FOR THINKING.●
ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION STANDS FOR SEVERITY.●

Appendix 16: The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Hand Idioms

ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS.
ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS.
A HURT HAND IS INABLE TO ACT. ●
AN ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER.
BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN.
BLINDNESS IS NOT DISTINGUISHING. ●
CAUSATION IS TRANSFER.
CAUSING PHYSICAL PAIN IS HITTING OTHERS BY HAND. ●
CLEAN IS GOOD. ●
COOPERATION IS JOINING HANDS.
CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND.
FREEDOM TO ACT IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE.
MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION.
MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN.
MORAL PURITY IS WHITE. ●
(NOT) PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS (NOT) HAVING A HAND IN A CONTAINER.
OUT OF THE HAND IS OUT OF CONTROL. ●
PARALYSIS IS INABILITY TO ACT. ●
PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS WITH THE HAND.
PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS. ●
POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND.
QUICK IS SKILLED/EXPERIENCED. ●
SATISFACTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. ●
THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS.
THE HAND IS A CONTAINER.

Appendix 17: The Conceptual Metonymies in HDA Hand Idioms

LEFT HAND STANDS FOR WRONG ACTIONS. ●
RIGHT HAND STANDS FOR RIGHT ACTIONS. ●
THE EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT.
THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON.
THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL.
THE HAND STANDS FOR GENEROSITY. ●
THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY/ACTION.
THE HAND STANDS FOR THE SKILL.

Appendix 18: The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Tongue Idioms

AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●
AGGRESSIVE SPEECH IS SETTING A POINT OF VIEW. ●
BAD TEMPERAMENT IS BITTER. ●
BEING INNOCENT IS NOT ASSOCIATING IN AN ACT. ●
COLOCYNTH IS BITTER.●
CONTROL IS HOLHING SOMETHING IN THE HAND.
DIRTY IS TERRIBLE.●
EXTENDING THE TONGUE IS DISRESPECTING OTHERS.●
GREASY IS TERRIBLE.●
LONG IS ENDLESS. ●
MANNER IS TASTE.
PARALYSIS IS INABILITY TO ACT. ●
PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS.●
SHARP IS PAINFUL.●
SLAPPING OTHERS IS DISRESPECTING. ●
SWEET IS LOVEABLE.●
THE TONGUE IS AN OBJECT. ●
THROWING STONES AT PEOPLE IS DISRESPECTFUL. ●

Appendix 19: The Conceptual Metonymies in HDA Tongue Idioms

SPEAKING ANOTHER LANGUAGE STANDS FOR ARROGANCE. ●
THE TONGUE STANDS FOR LANGUAGE.
THE TONGUE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ●
THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING.

Appendix 20: The Conceptual Metaphors in HDA Nose Idioms

BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN.
SITUATIONS ARE CONTAINERS.
SMELLING IS KNOWING. ●
STRENGTH OF THE EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS.
TO BE ARROGANT IS TO RAISE ONE'S NOSE UP. ●
TO BE INTRUSIVE IS TO STICK THE NOSE INTO SOMETHING.
TO HAVE THE SOUL IN ONE'S NOSE IS HIGHLY IRRITATED. ●

Appendix 21: The Conceptual Metonymies in HDA Nose Idioms

SMALL NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
STRAIGHT NOSE STANDS FOR ARABIC BEAUTY. ●
THE NOSE STANDS FOR PRIDE. ●
THE NOSE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. ●
THE NOSE STANDS FOR SMELLING. ●

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