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Department of Linguistics and Phonetics

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the various modes of figurative language in 43 Najdi proverbs derived from al-Juhaymān’s seminal work *al-Amṭālu aš-Ša‘biyyatu fi Qalbi Jazīrati al-Ćarab* ‘Popular Proverbs from the Heart of the Arab Peninsula’. In essence, this research work aims to answer the following research questions: 1. What is the proportion of human body-part proverbs among the different figures of speech used in Najdi Arabic?; 2. What is the most frequent figure of speech with regard to the physical body parts and limbs?; 3. What are the respective frequencies of different figurative meanings for each human body-part proverb?; and 4. What is the most frequent figurative meaning of each body part? Chapter 1 provides an introduction that incorporates the following core issues: sources of data; theoretical objectives for choosing to investigate proverbs involving the head, face, nose, tongue, hand, and leg; a list of proverbs chosen for this study; an elucidation of the prevailing research gap; the analytical goals of the study; the key research questions being assessed; an explication of the reasons for choosing *bayān* (tropes) and conceptual metaphors for the study; general definitions of proverbs; a brief background of the Arabic language; a concise presentation of the history and cultural features of the Najdi region; and lastly, there will be an examination of the role of proverbs in Najdi culture. Chapter 2 addresses the conceptual contours of culture, societal values, as well as a brief introduction to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical demarcations of proverbs, namely by covering their historical origins and aspects; formal and structural-semantic features; the main differences between proverbs and other similar tropes; the categories and characteristics of proverbs; communicative and social functions of such maxims; the understanding of culture through proverbs, and finally the classification of proverbs in relation to figuration.

Chapter 4 explores the place of figurative language in Arabic rhetoric compared to its status in Western approaches, especially from the perspective
of cognitive linguistics; it also examines *bayān* motifs and the dynamics of Conceptual Metaphor Theory; lastly, some examples of the figurative meanings of the six body parts – which are the theoretical focus of this section – are evaluated.

Chapter 5 explains the methodology of this study with reference to its philosophy, strategy, and design. Chapter 6 is the core of the thesis, analysing the body-part itself as well as the overall meaning of each of the selected proverbs. This is conducted using *bayān* tropes and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Chapter 7 presents a discussion of the analyses conducted in Chapter 6, as well as providing a conclusion to the results emerging from this study. Chapter 7 intensively explores the results of analysing the data in Chapter 6 through the theme of *bayān* and the conceptual prism of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Finally, chapter 8 provides answers to the research questions.
Standard Transcription System for Arabic

1. Consonants: Arabic Symbol and production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Letter</th>
<th>Standard Arabic Symbol</th>
<th>Sound Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أ</td>
<td>ء [or] ā</td>
<td>Voiceless glottal plosive</td>
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<tr>
<td>ب</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>و</td>
<td>﯋</td>
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<tr>
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<td>﯋</td>
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2. Vowels

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<tr>
<td>﯌</td>
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<td>u</td>
<td>﯌</td>
<td>ū</td>
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<tr>
<td>﯌</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>﯌</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The definite article ﱪ is written al- in all cases, regardless of whether it assimilates to the following consonant, or whether the initial ‘a’ disappears if it is directly preceded by a vowel. Hyphens are used at the end of conjunctions
and particles, such as *wa-* transcribing وَ ‘and’; *fa-* transcribing فَ ‘so’, *bi-* transcribing بِ ‘with’, and before suffixed non-subject pronouns. A šaddah results in a geminate (consonant written twice). A تَاءً marbūṭah (i) is transcribed in the end of an applicable word as -h or -t. An ‘alif maqṣūra (ṣ) appears as ā, rendering it indistinguishable from alif. The nisbah suffix appears as -iyy-, while nuna tion is ignored in transliteration, except in cases where it would unavoidably be pronounced in speech.

Where transliterations are made by other authors, these are kept in the forms given by these other authors. Where Arabic words have a standard, or fairly standard, English transliteration-type form, this form has been retained, e.g. Qur’an, Hadith. Proper Arabic names which have standard English equivalents are also kept in their original forms. These are: Prophet Muhammad, Abboud, Abdelkafi, Al-Adel, Al-Dokhayel, Al-Jahdali, Al-Mahmood, Al-Musallam, Al-Qahtani, Al-Sharafi, Alshargi, Al-Sudais, Al-Wer, Barakat, Frayha, Issa, Khojah, Maalej, Madani, Muflahi, Samiuddin, Shakir.
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<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Classical Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CollA</td>
<td>Colloquial Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESM</td>
<td>Event Structure Metaphor</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>Modern Standard Arabic</td>
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<td>SA</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>Najdi Arabic</td>
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1.1 Introduction

As social beings, humans are primarily concerned with their interactions with the outside world. Through our bodies and situational awareness, we can cognitively measure and describe the various objects and things that surround us. According to the Greek philosopher Protagoras, ‘Man is the measure of all things’ (Wang, 2002:88). Bodily-related metaphors are common constructs used in the process of human thinking, as they help us to understand how we interact with the world around us. Thus, human body parts are used figuratively to understand the concepts of other domains. According to one analytical study of the use of figurative language throughout the centuries, the human body is consistently the most frequent source of metaphors (Smith et al., 1981). Hence, our bodies play an important role in understanding the world around us and assume a pivotal function in the construction of symbols and figurative speech. Thus, it becomes analytically imperative to examine how metaphor is used as a tool to represent key aspects with which to observe ourselves and the surrounding world. This thesis focuses on colloquial proverbs used in the Saudi cities of Riyadh, Qassim, and Hail, all of which are situated in the Najd region. I have chosen to look at six parts of the human body, namely the head, face, nose, tongue, hand, and leg. I analyse the data rhetorically using al-Jurjānī’s theory of bayān (tropes), while also exploring the general figurative uses of these body parts in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

According to al-Sudais (1976), many Najdi proverbs are associated with inhabitants residing in urban environments. Many of these individuals had relatively skilled occupations, being carpenters, blacksmiths, cobbler, butchers, retailers, and traders. At the same time, the nomadic environment also served as the origin of some proverbs. Some typically forgotten stories and tales of the past also gave rise to several proverbs, which are used until
the present day. While referring to such proverbs, village elders sometimes recall those pivotal ancient stories as well.

1.2 Structure of this Chapter

This chapter constitutes a general introduction to the thesis. Section 1.3 provides the primary and secondary sources of data utilised for the study. Section 1.4 shares the rationale for choosing to investigate proverbs involving the head, face, nose, tongue, hand, and leg. Section 1.5 provides a list of proverbs chosen for this study. Section 1.6 provides an elucidation of the present research gap. Section 1.7 presents the aims of the study. The research questions are presented in Section 1.8. Section 1.9 explains the factors which caused the researcher to choose the notions of bayān (tropes) and conceptual metaphor for the analysis. Section 1.10 presents a number of definitions provided for proverbs. Section 1.11 gives a brief background to the Arabic language, which is then followed by a presentation of the Najdi region in Section 1.12. Section 1.13 considers proverbs in Najdi culture. An overview of the thesis’ organisation and its overall structure is presented in Section 1.14.

1.3 Sources of Data

The two sources of Najdi proverbs in this research are: (1) Al-Amṭālu al-ţāmmiyyatu fī Najd (Colloquial Proverbs in Najd) by al-ʕubūdī (1959), which contains 3,000 Najdi proverbs, and (2) the العربية Al-Amṭālu aš-Šačbiyyatu fī Qalbi Jazīrat al-ʕarab (Popular Proverbs in the Heart of the Arabian Peninsula) by al-Juhaymān (1980), which contains around 10,000 Najdi proverbs. Both books include explanations in Arabic about what each proverb means and how and when they may be used. I have chosen these two books for several reasons: 1. They are written by native Najdi speakers, which renders their data choices authentic and traditional; 2. They provide a significant amount of background information, drawing on poems, stories, and works that relate old proverbs, poetry, and prose; and 3. They provide similar proverbs from classical Arabic sources and other Arab regions such as the Levant and Egypt.
I consider *al-Juhaymān* as the main source for this thesis for three reasons: 1. His work is recognised as being the most complete collection of Najdi proverbs. As one authoritative source states: ‘His famous encyclopedia suffices as a proof, for none of the classes in the faculties of arts in our universities and their specialised professors could produce such a work’ (*al-Kuwaylīt*, 1978:2); 2. It was published after *al-ʕubūdī*’s book and contains more proverbs; and 3. Although both books are used as sources for different studies like *Muxtārāt min al-ʾAmṭāl al-Najdiyyah al-Hadīṭah* (*A Critical and Comparative Study of Modern Najdi Arabic Proverbs*) by al-Sudais (1976), *al-Juhaymān* is more widely used, being a source for works such as *Al-ʾAmṭāl al-Bağdādiyyah al-Muqāranah* (*A Comparative Study of Baghdadi Proverbs*) by *al-Tikritī* (1967) and *Al-ʾAmṭāl al-Kuwaytiyyah al-Muqāranah* (*A Comparative Study of Kuwaiti Proverbs*) by *al-Rūmī* (1978). Since *al-Juhaymān* and *al-ʕubūdī* are authoritative sources for Najdi proverbs, they ensure the reliability and authenticity of the data, and thereby reduce the risk of quoting the proverbs incorrectly.

There are other books about proverbs written by Najdis, one important one being *Amtālun ʾ Şaʾbīyyatun mina al-Jazīrat al-ʿArabiyyat Muqtabasatun min Nuṣūsin ʾShaʾrīyyah* (*Popular Proverbs from the Arabian Gulf Derived from the Qurʾan and Sunnah*) by *al-Sadḥān* (2008). This book was not appropriate the main source for my data research, since the aim of the writer is to address proverbs that are only derived from the Qurʾan and Sunnah. *Fihrisu al-ʾAmṭālī fī al- Luğatī al-Injilīziyyah* (*A Glossary of Proverbs in the English Language*) by *al-Ḍukayr* (1979) was another secondary source for my thesis to help in translating my proverbs as well as for identifying English equivalents of my proverbs. However, since this book is about English proverbs and their parallels in Arabic, it was not suitable as a main data source.

There are some other data sources that might have been of benefit for my thesis. These include Najdi materials on the internet from which I might have been able to identify Najdi proverbs. Another potential source would have
been recordings of individuals conversing in Najdi Arabic, with the aim being to identify all occurrences of Najdi proverbs in their conversations. However, these two potential data sources would have been too time-consuming for the time-constraints of a PhD thesis – particularly given that I would have had to collect a substantial array of material to obtain sufficient proverbs for my study.

As previously mentioned, al-ʕubūdī’s book contains 3,000 Najdi proverbs. 292 proverbs, i.e. 9.96%, involve body parts; there are 29 head proverbs, constituting 9.93% of all body-part proverbs, 28 face proverbs, constituting 9.58% of all body-part proverbs, 9 nose proverbs, constituting 3.08% of all body-part proverbs, 13 tongue proverbs, constituting 4.45% of all body-part proverbs, 43 hand proverbs, constituting 14.72% of all body-part proverbs, and 17 leg proverbs, constituting 5.82% of all body-part proverbs.

Al-Juhaymān’s book contains 10,000 Najdi proverbs. 796 proverbs – which constituting 7.86% of all his proverbs – involve body parts. There are 78 head proverbs, constituting 9.79% of all body-part proverbs, 28 face proverbs, constituting 3.05% of all body-part proverbs, 12 nose proverbs constituting 1.05% of all body-part proverbs, 34 tongue proverbs, constituting 4.27% of all body-part proverbs, 94 hand proverbs, constituting 11.08% of all body-part proverbs, and 27 leg proverbs constituting 3.39% of all body-part proverbs.

1.4 Motives for Choosing to Investigate Proverbs Involving the Head, Face, Nose, Tongue, Hand, and Leg

I chose these body parts for many reasons. First, they are used profusely in Najdi proverbs on a day-to-day basis. Secondly, due to time and space constraints in this PhD thesis, I could not cover other parts of the face like the ears and eyes, let alone other body parts. I decided to look at the main parts of the face and body, for the reasons outlined in the following paragraphs.
1.4.1 Reasons for Choosing to Investigate Proverbs involving the Head (Raʾs)

Representing a vital part of the human body, the importance of the head lies in the fact that it includes the brain, the seat of the mind. Moreover, it possesses the bodily components that facilitate a range of sensory functions: the eyes (sight), the ears (hearing), the nose (smell), and the mouth (taste). Primarily, I will explore the conventional knowledge processes that conceptually enhance the meaning of Najdi proverbs involving the body-part ‘head’. For it is the main psychological component that associates the physical (or ‘source’) area of our insight about the head with the abstract (or ‘target’) area of information that emerges when the word ‘head’ is utilised in idiomatic phrases or other figurative modes of language (such as proverbs). More specific discussion of the reasons for choosing the head (raʾs) is given in section 4.7.1.

1.4.2 Reasons for Choosing to Investigate Proverbs Involving the Face (Wajh)

Upon meeting someone for the first time, the face is the first part of the body that one observes, and causes one to develop one’s preliminary impressions of a person; as such, it is said to be like an open book. From my own subjective point of view, the face can be used to make a number of aesthetic and social judgements. Without the presence of facial markers, it can be quite difficult to discern the attitude, state of mind, or disposition of people. In fact, communication can be initiated or thwarted through different facial expressions. For example, our social approach towards our friends in a given setting will vary depending on their facial expressions, such as whether they are laughing or frowning. As such, communication between people is greatly influenced by the precise setting of the face. The integration between facial expressions and emotions plays a decisive role in activating the metonymic process known as ‘face for emotions’ (Yu, 2002; Kraska-Szlenk, 2014). More specific discussion of the reasons for choosing the face (wajh) is given in section 4.7.2.
1.4.3 Reasons for Choosing to Investigate Proverbs Involving the Nose (Xašm)

I chose the nose, as it is linked to the central notion of dignity in Arabic culture. Our general understanding of the human nose informs us that it has a relatively lower rank than the human hand or head. However, upon further examination, unique observations regarding the Najdi’s perception of the nose can be discerned. Evidently, individuals from various cultures around the globe hold many perceptions in common regarding the shape and function of the nose, such as its size, its position, as well as insights of its movements and deviations in colour (i.e., when there is a change in temperature). Özkan and Şadiyeva (2003:140) demonstrate that in the Turkish culture, egoism, pride, vanity, and conceit are symbolised metaphorically through the nose. The same cultural perception is found in many Arab lands as well. The position of the nose is closely associated with the position and movement of the head. If the nose and head are elevated above their normal position, this indicates a shift from the normal status quo whereby the emoter is granted superiority (Vainik, 2011:61). More specific discussion of the reasons for choosing the nose (xašm) is given in section 4.7.3.

1.4.4 Reasons for Choosing to Investigate Proverbs Involving the Tongue (Lisān)

The tongue is the organ that is responsible for producing words; it is this expressive quality which distinguishes us from other living creatures like animals which use sounds to communicate. The human tongue has been constructed in a unique way which allows humans to produce a wide variety of sounds. In contrast, the tongues of animals have a limited range in expressing thoughts and demands. Several Najdi proverbs contain the word لسان lisān ‘tongue’, which is used figuratively in relation to its length, function, and shape. More specific discussion of the reasons for choosing the nose (lisān) is given in section 4.7.4.
1.4.5 Reasons for Choosing to Investigate Proverbs Involving the Hand (Yad) and/or Leg (Rijl)

I selected the hands and legs as examples of non-facial body parts, since both sets of limbs are essential for undertaking human actions (picking up or carrying objects and walking respectively) and are, accordingly, expected to bear important figurative meanings. For example, the position of the hand being on the upper part of the body and the leg being on the lower part of the body could affect their discursive meanings in proverbs.

1.4.5.1 Hand (Yad)

The Arabic language associates the word *yad* with diverse notions such as hand, terminal segment, upper limb, pointer, performance, physical helper, partaker, expert, power, force, possession, ownership, observance, control, authority, concern, participation, influence, effect, capacity, ability, movement, occupation, work, accessibility, touching, giving, passing, holding, evidence, craftsmanship, artistic skill, agreement, commitment, and so forth (Bilkova, 2000). Metonymically, in the Arabic language the word *yad* ‘hand’ is used for fingers. Cognitive schemas are constructed through the daily experiences that are felt by the body and help express complex and abstract notions such as emotions and sentiments. The hand is an essential component of both verbal and nonverbal modes of communication. It can be employed for guidance, insults, greetings, warnings, and so forth. As such, it is no surprise to find that in Arabic proverbs emotions are effectively expressed by making references to the hands. More specific discussion of the reasons for choosing the hand (*yad*) is given in section 4.7.5.

1.4.5.2 Leg (Rijl)

The leg is the body part that enables us to walk and stand. Najdi proverbs demonstrate that there is an association between the leg and the foot, and different figurative meanings are expressed through them. In Arabic, the foot generally has negative value judgements associated with it. Aksan (2011) states that the foot is located towards the bottom of the body, and hence in Arabic culture has a low status. Insignificance and negativity are indicated
when ‘foot’ is used as a linguistic expression in some cultures (Aksan, 2011:246). More specific discussion of the reasons for choosing the leg (rijl) is given in section 4.7.6.

1.5 Proverbs Selected for this Study

I chose to examine in detail the following linguistic expressions: 11 head proverbs, 6 face proverbs, 5 nose proverbs, 7 tongue proverbs, 14 hand proverbs, and 4 leg proverbs. These proverbs were selected since they are well known to the researcher due to their Najdi roots, not to mention the fact that they are commonly used by speakers of the region. In addition, the results of a Google search and an informal survey will be provided to show how familiar native Najdi speakers are with these selected proverbs (cf. section 5.5).

In my informal survey, I asked 10 Najdi speakers from my family and friends how common the selected Najdi proverbs are. More specifically, they were asked to identify whether they thought each proverb was: i. rare, ii. not very common, iii. common, or iv. very common. In sum, 9% of these proverbs were considered rare, 14% not very common, 28% common, and 49% very common (for more details, see section 5.5). Below is a table presenting the proverbs chosen for this study.

Table 1.1 Proverbs chosen for study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic proverb</th>
<th>Arabic transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Arabic proverb</th>
<th>Arabic transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. رأسه</td>
<td>rasah w rās Šṭe’lah</td>
<td>His head and Šṭe’lah’s</td>
<td>11. رأس →</td>
<td>i-ḫlūs tiqlīb-ir-rūs</td>
<td>Money turns heads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. رأس عليه تحفة ما يجي فنزاه</td>
<td>rāsin tiqtā’ah mā yjīk fazzāf</td>
<td>The head you cut off will never return.</td>
<td>12. وجهه يحمي قفاه</td>
<td>wajhah yhama qūfā</td>
<td>His face protects his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال لساني</td>
<td>qāl wiš qāṭṭik yā rāsī qā ṭānī</td>
<td>The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”.</td>
<td>13. وجه يبك ويرك</td>
<td>ukrub wajhik w-urx yiddēk</td>
<td>Make your face serious and loosen your hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. قط راس يموت خبر</td>
<td>qatt rās ymnūt xabar</td>
<td>Cut off a head, news will die.</td>
<td>14. وجه ابن均价</td>
<td>wajh ibn Fihrah</td>
<td>Ibn Fihrah’s face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. رأسه على صائدي عراص بلبل</td>
<td>rasah ṭalā șakkāt bāgṭā șilb</td>
<td>His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities.</td>
<td>15. الإنسانمنذ</td>
<td>Wajhi-l-insān țītir</td>
<td>A person’s face is a țītir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. رأسه ناخر</td>
<td>rasah naxīr</td>
<td>His head is worm-eaten/necrotic.</td>
<td>16. وجه المتغدي بين</td>
<td>wajhi-l-mtaġaddi bayyīn</td>
<td>The face of the well-fed man is obvious.</td>
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<td>الرُقم</td>
<td>الجملة</td>
<td>المعنى</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>نسيم في رأس غريب مثل شوق في دجار</td>
<td>مغسل يلقي</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>وجهة</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>يعمال الحلاقة برس一带一路</td>
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<td>أبي راي حنوم بكيوم</td>
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<td>في رأسه</td>
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<td>حبي ما طحن</td>
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<td>أذانه</td>
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<td>يرث كلامي لحبا بصري</td>
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<td>في رأسه والبه فرخ电阻</td>
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<td>يد ضيعت</td>
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**Notes:**
- **Darbīn fi-rās gērī mitil saqqīn fi-jdār**: A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall.
- **Wajhī mahāṣasūl b-maraq**: His face is covered with broth.
- **Yāṣīm ūmmār fi-n-nār**: Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose.
- **Yāṣīm ūmmār fi-n-nār**: Hamīm’s nose is in the fire.
- **Yāṣīm ūmmār fi-n-nār**: Xamīl’s nose is the Devil’s house.
1.6 Statement of the Research Gap

Being human, we are very aware of our body parts and their functions, and hence using these parts in discourses enables us to develop a metaphorical comprehension of nonfigurative concepts. As per Kövecses (2002:16), human body parts facilitate the comprehension of metaphorical concepts. This is a phenomenon found in all cultures and languages across the world.

Cultures may have identical or parallel conceptions of the same body part. For example, *hati*, ‘liver’ is seen as the seat of both emotional and mental processes in both the Malay and Indonesian languages. For example, Malay has the proverb *ikut hati mati, ikut rasa binasa*, ‘Pursue your liver and you will die’, i.e. follow the way of your passions and you will be doomed (Sharifan, et al., 2008). The liver here refers to the base passions. The liver is also used to express feelings in Arabic proverbs and expressions, such as *أطفالنا فذات أكبادنا* (SA) ‘Our sons are parts of our livers’. This is read to mean that our sons are – at an emotional level – essential to us. Another example is *مرارتني طافت* (NA) ‘My bitterness has passed’. The basis of this expression is an ancient Babylonian belief – which is still in circulation until now – that the liver represents the centre of human emotions (*Hammād, 2022*).

However, other cultures may have rather different conceptualisations of the same body part. For example, in Kaytetye, most emotions can be expressed by reference to one’s *aleme* ‘stomach’, and some sentimental terms only occur in combination with either *artepe* ‘back’ or *ahentye* ‘throat’. (Turpin, 2002:271). Examples of where such terms are employed include *artepe-we-nyerre alpe-nh-awe ahe-penhe*, ‘Shamefully he caused a fight and left’ (literally: back-DAT-shame-NOM return-PST-EMPH fight-SEQ), and *ahentye ante-yane ayenge eytenyarre-nhe*, ‘I fell in love’ (literally: throat.NOM sit-PRS:CONT 1SG.NOM fall.in.love-PST) (Turpin, 2002:295-297).

The same is likewise, of course, true for other physical features, such as colours. Thus, the colour red is associated with danger in both English-speaking and Arab cultures. However, colours may also function rather differently in their metaphorical connotations depending on the culture or language. According to *al-Adel* (2014), the phrase blue-blooded means...
'aristocratic' in English, but 'ازرق' azraq ‘blue’ in Arabic means ‘evil’ and ‘dangerous’. Moreover, in the English language the colour ‘green’ might be suggestive of envy, as in ‘green with envy’. However, in Arabic, ‘أخضر’ axḍar, ‘green’ typically has positive meanings, such as ‘good luck’ and ‘growth’.

To illustrate the importance of cognitive denotations and their relation to cultural markers, we can cite the study by Ho-Abdullah (2011) of Malay proverbs that are derived from dogs. Ho-Abdullah employed a cognitive semantic approach to study such Malay proverbs. He revealed that dogs were used to express weakness, wickedness, or a lack of qualification in people. This is unlike the case of English proverbs, where the dog is used as a symbol of loyalty, faithfulness, and obedience. Ho-Abdullah concluded that proverbs in different languages are the result of dissimilar cognitive models that are developed from within different cultures and nations based on their diverse experiences with animals, such as dogs.

In his study of some wildlife species cited in proverbs and conventionalised in the Arabic and English languages, Sameer (2016: 133) bridges the gulf between words and their intended meanings. As his research reveals, the proverbs that invoke the names of various animals are relatively clear in import, and provide a myriad of insights concerning the cultural makeup and orientation of a given culture (Sameer, 2016: 133). On a similar note, Alghamdi undertakes a synchronic study based on language ecology to decipher the nexus between animal proverbs and their intended import for human interactions. To achieve this goal, he carefully examines a corpus of metaphors, legendary narratives, and discursive images used in the Saudi city of Al Bahah. Alghamdi also analyses the pragmatically informed linguistic phenomena found in the region’s animal literary symbols (Alghamdi, 2019: 275).

Mansyur and Said (2019) investigated various body-part proverbs found in the Wolio language of Indonesia. They offered insights into the formation of proverbs through cognitive mechanisms and discussed how limbs are used in proverbs in the Wolio language to express positivity, negativity, and neutrality. In sum, they found that the human body is used in Wolio proverbs to express both specific and general meanings; specific meanings tend to reflect the
cultural experience of a particular nationality or culture, while general meanings reflect broad-spectrum metaphorical features of proverbs across various cultures and nationalities.

There are several cognitive-linguistic studies that have investigated the differences between conceptual metaphors in Arabic and English (Maalej, 2004; Berrada, 2006; Shukr, 2006; al-Jum'ah, 2007; Berrada, 2007; al-Dokhayel, 2008).

Of relevance to both the geographical scope and the theoretical approach of this thesis is al-Jaḥdalī (2009), which explored idioms in the Hijazi dialect of the Arabic language. The expressions explored in this study were associated with six different human body parts (eye, head, mind, hand, tongue, and nose). Al-Jaḥdalī employed the conceptual tool of cognitive semantics to analyse these idioms. She adopted the hypothesis that idioms are operationalised depending on how native speakers of Arabic conceive their meanings through the mechanisms of conceptual metonymies, abstract metaphors, as well as the conventional understanding of the language by native speakers.

In relation to the comparative paremiology (study of proverbs) of Arabic dialects, al-Sudais (1976) conducted a critical and comparative study of modern Najdi Arabic proverbs in relation to proverbs from Makkah, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt. Al-Sudais’s main goal was practical in nature, namely that of saving this facet of the folk wisdom of Najd from oblivion. Moreover, the comparison aimed to investigate which current Najdi proverbs are part of a larger set of proverbs utilised in the surrounding regions. It also considered to what degree such contemporary proverbs are directly derived from earlier proverbs found in classical and post-classical compilations of Arab authors. If it turned out that they were not derived from such earlier proverbs, then the research work shifted to determining when they came into existence.

There are thus previous studies of Najdi proverbs, as well as academic assessments of proverbs using a cognitive-linguistic approach. However, there are no previous studies of Najdi proverbs using a cognitive-linguistic approach. Moreover, the widespread use of human body-parts in Najdi
proverbs makes them useful for the application of the cognitive-linguistic framework.

Hence, this study will contribute to the enrichment of research on the Najdi Arabic dialect and provide innovative research findings in the areas of human body-part proverbs and cognitive linguistics. It will also hopefully encourage further linguistic research pertaining to human body parts in other Saudi Arabian dialects, such as the Southern dialect.

It is also hoped that this study will provide insights that are valuable to Arabic language education programmes, that is, in terms of shedding light on the intricacies involved in understanding body-part proverbs in the Najdi dialect, and, by extension, other Arabic vernaculars. Finally, language speakers and learners face difficulties when dealing with proverbs, as they often carry concealed meanings and are laden with culturally specific imports.

1.7 Aims of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to analyse the human body-part proverbs used in Najd on the basis of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which entails comprehending one conceptual domain or notion in terms of a different conceptual domain or concept. The analysis will also refer to rhetorical figures of speech traditionally recognised in bayān (tropes) which are found in Najdi human body-part proverbs. These linguistic markers include kināyah, majāz mursal, istiʕārah, and tašbīh.

In relation to human body-part proverbs in Najdi Arabic, this study primarily investigates the theoretical perspective of cognitive semantics and tests the cognitive-linguistic hypothesis. This argues that the language we speak influences the way we conceptualise reality and further asserts that proverbs are inspired by conceptual metaphors. Secondly, the study uses the traditional Arabic models for figures of speech, namely kināyah, istiʕārah, majāz mursal, and tašbīh to analyse the selected Najdi body-part proverbs.
1.8 Research Questions

The study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the frequencies of the different Arabic figures of speech found in human body-part proverbs in Najdi Arabic?
2. What is the most frequent figure of speech in all body parts?
3. What are the frequencies of different figurative meanings for each human body-part proverb?
4. What is the most frequent figurative meaning of each body part?

The first question aims to determine the frequencies of the different Arabic figures of speech in all the examined human body-part proverbs after analysing and explaining them rhetorically. Through this analytical exercise, I wish to see whether these figures of speech are consistent with or deviate from proverbs in general.

The second question aims to shed light on the main figure of speech for each body part. This leads me to examine if there is a theoretical link between specific body parts and particular figures of speech.

The third question is intended to explore the different figurative meanings of each body part in relation to the proverb itself. For example, the term ‘hand’ may mean generosity in some proverbs and parsimony in others, with the relevant base stories being used to mirror cultural aspects of the language. The answer to this question will be provided after undertaking a full explanation of the proverb. I will provide a cognitive-linguistic account relating each body part to its figurative meaning.

The fourth question aims to explore the underlying factors that affect the figurative meaning of the body part and confer it reiterated figurative meanings that are shared by a cluster of proverbs. For example, ‘nose’ is mostly associated with dignity, even though it has other figurative implications, with each assigned meaning bearing a link to the Najdi people’s common knowledge.
1.9 Reasons for Choosing *Bayān* (Tropes) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Najdi proverbs reflect the culture of the region; therefore, they are influenced by Saudi values, and more specifically, the intersubjective norms of the Najdi people. Thus, it is appropriate to use mechanisms that have been specifically developed to account for the figures of speech of the Arabic language to gain a coherent picture of the symbols involved in these proverbs. However, in light of their atomistic approach whereby each example is analysed separately, traditional figurative analyses can only take us so far. To provide a more integrated account of how figures of speech in Arabic proverbs function, we need a model which allows us to see the discrete units as elements of a wider whole, involving patterns of figures which re-occur across multiple proverbs. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as previously applied in studies (such as Bilkova, 2000), allows us to do this.

Bringing together traditional Arabic analyses of figures of speech and Conceptual Metaphor Theory illuminates how certain figurative meanings, created through our conceptual system, are deployed specifically in proverbs. This analytical process also sheds light on the relationship between the mind and body, and the concrete day-to-day experiences of the native community being studied.

1.10 Definition of ‘Proverb’

This section provides a basic introduction to the definition of proverbs. According to *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, a proverb is a well-known phrase or sentence that confers sageful advice or expresses a noble truth. Thus, proverbs make an observation, offer guidance, or provide instruction in a concise and notable manner. Proverbs are used frequently in daily discourse and are *prima facie* more commonly used in Arabic than in English. Examples of English proverbs include ‘Beauty is in the eye of the beholder’, which is used to convey the idea that not everyone agrees on what constitutes aesthetic beauty, ‘Absence makes the heart grow fonder’, which means that when the people we love and adore are temporarily absent, we cherish them
much more, and ‘Do not bite the hand that feeds you’, which implies that one must not behave harshly toward the person that has helped them. To do so demonstrates ingratitude and a blatant lack of appreciation.

An example of an Arabic proverb is أبعد ما يشوف خشمه (Ab‘ad mā yšūf xašmah) ‘The farthest he can see is his nose’ (cf. the English proverb, ‘He cannot see further than his nose’). This proverb is used to describe a shallow-thinking person, as the farthest thing they can see is their nose, which is located right under their eyes.

Proverbs are described by Meider (1985:119) as being succinct; they are commonly identified popular sayings that neatly incorporate insight, truth, ethics, and traditional opinions. These insights are expressed in a figurative, fixed, and memorisable way, and are carefully passed down from generation to generation. Some proverbs that present the definition of such proverbs themselves are also mentioned by Meider, such as ‘Proverbs are true words’, ‘Proverbs are the children of experience’, and ‘Proverbs are the wisdom of the streets’.

Proverbs obviously contain a great deal of common sense, prior experience, insight, and truth and as such they signify ready-made conventional approaches in oral debate performances and writings from high literature to the mass media (Meider, 1985:3-4).

According to Kindstrand (1978) and Russo (1983), scholarly attempts to define proverbs have yielded much disappointment for researchers from the various disciplines over the years. These attempts were made as early as Aristotle and have continued to the current day, be they from a philosophical perspective or cut-and-dried lexicographical definitions (Meider, 2004:1). A proverb is described by Norrick (1985:78) as a ‘traditional, conversational, moral genre with a general meaning and a potential free conversational turn’.

Due to their timeless nature, proverbs are passed on from generation to generation. Offering a different perspective, Mollanazar (2001:53) defines a proverb as ‘a unit of meaning in a specific context through which the speaker and hearer arrives at the same meaning’.
A proverb can also be defined as ‘a saying, usually short, that expresses a general truth about life. Proverbs give advice, make an observation, or present a teaching in a succinct and memorable way’ (Manser, 2007:4). Proverbs play an important role in cultures, as they are a common linguistic feature, and are predominantly used in informal speech. For further discussion of the definition and uses of proverbs, see chapter 3.

1.11 The Arabic Language

The Arab world encompasses 22 countries with a population of approximately 250 million people, the great majority of whom speak the Arabic language. Arabic enjoys the status of an official language throughout the Arab world, which extends from Iraq in the east to Mauritania in the west (Watson, 2011:1). Besides these Arab-majority regions, people in other parts of the world such as Iran (particularly Khuzestan and Khorasan), Turkey, some villages in Cyprus, certain parts of sub-Saharan Africa, and Uzbekistan also speak Arabic. Some Arabs residing in the United States, Europe, and Australia also communicate through the language. Arabic is one of the Semitic languages, and constitutes a major segment of the Hamito-Semitic cluster of vernaculars (Ryding, 2005:1). Arabic has an extensive consonantal system, but like most Semitic languages, its vocalic system is quite limited.

Classical Arabic (CA), Standard Arabic (SA), and Colloquial Arabic (CollA) represent different varieties of the language. Before the advent of Islam, CA was widely used in poetry, and became associated with the Qur’an after the advent of Islam. SA can be regarded as the ‘modern’ and systematic version of CA. It shares the same grammar rules in almost all respects but has acquired phrases and terminology of the modern world, which renders it stylistically different from CA. SA serves educational and official purposes, and is widely used in education, newspapers, and the media (al-Wer, 1997: 254). The dialects of CollA are widely used on a daily basis throughout the Arab world for informal speech and personal modes of communication, while SA serves as the official and formal variety, and is used in education, religious discussions, and news transmissions. Various dialects of CollA are spoken informally and at home in the aforementioned Arabic-speaking regions.
Hence, in light of the fact that CA and SA constitute essentially one category, Arabs use two different varieties (CA/SA and CollA) in two distinctive discursive contexts, a unique linguistic state known as diglossia (Ferguson, 1959). According to Eisele (2002:3), Arabic diglossia is associated with the notion of prestige, with CA/SA being the high-status category. In addition, even within CollA, it is possible to distinguish between superior (prestigious) and inferior (stigmatised) dialects. In Egypt, for instance, Cairene Arabic is prestigious, while the dialect of the south of the country (ṣaṭīd), known as ṣaṭīdī, is stigmatised.

1.12 Background Information about the Najd Region

Saudi Arabian culture generally revolves around the religion of Islam. Muslims believe that Allah created the whole universe, sent the Prophet Muhammed as His last messenger, and the Holy Qur’an is the Word of Allah. According to Horrie and Chippindale (2003), Islam is a complete way of life that encompasses dress codes, money-related transactions, business ethics, rates of duty evaluation, values and mannerisms, weights and measures, administrative issues, war and peace, marriage and inheritance, family and neighbourhood life, the care of animals and domestic creatures, sexual relations inside marriage, sustenance, cuisine, social roles, and standards of benevolence.

According to al-ʕubūdī (2015), Najd was arguably one of the last areas in the world to open up to the dictates of modernity after sweeping waves of development and the later reach of globalisation engulfed the rest of the globe. Up to the end of World War II, life in Najd remained very much as it had been for centuries.

Najd’s unique location and topographical elements have affected the lives and culture of its inhabitants, which has led to the adoption of unique lifestyle patterns. Najd is notorious for its harsh environment and vast sand seas that were extremely hard to cross before the advent of motorised transport methods. The isolated geography, and topography of Najd contributed to the area’s near-inaccessibility. These same elements assisted Najd in attaining self-sufficiency and developing a distinct culture that was challenging to
comprehend, particularly for people from other cultures and settings. As a result, the culture of Najd was overlooked and unappreciated by historians and scholars. Furthermore, its richness was not reflected in the writings of Western explorers who were dispatched to the region from the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century.

Throughout history, Arabia has served as a link between Asia, Africa, and Europe, as its seaports on the Arabian Gulf, Arabian Sea, and Red Sea are critical for international trade and political stability. Several localities, such as Tayma and al-Juf, were major components of old international trade routes, thereby conferring on the northern part of Arabia a preeminent status. In stark contrast, Najd – which comprised the heart of Arabia – was the region that the West knew the least about.

Because the Arabian Peninsula includes parts of Yemen, Tehama, and the Hejaz, al-‘ubūdī decided to eschew the term ‘Arabian Peninsula’ in his title. He instead opted to use the term ‘Najd’, which is the Peninsula’s largest and most conservative region due to its isolation from external influences. Najd is bordered in its Southern plane by Yemen and Hadhramaut, Tehama by the west, the Arabian Gulf by the east, and the Arabian desert found in Iraq and Sham (historical Syria) at the north.

Thus Najd represents the epicentre of the Arabian Peninsula. This is the area in which Islam was revealed, and it was not greatly affected by external stimuli, whether in terms of trade, like some other regions of the Peninsula, or military invasions, such as how Egypt was occupied by France from 1798 to 1801 (Daly, 2008:1798) and Britain from 1882 to 1922 (Whipple Library, 2022). Nor is Najd affected by religions other than Islam, unlike Lebanon, for instance, where traditionally the majority of the population was Christian, or India, which is around 80% Hindu. Numerous cultures have been influenced by Islam, and more specifically human body metaphors in their proverbs might be Islamically influenced. In Najd, however, Islam does not simply represent one influence on the region’s culture and proverbs; rather, it is the central defining element of all of them.
1.13 Proverbs in Najdi Culture

In Saudi society, using proverbs suggests that the speaker or writer is eloquent and capable of presenting their viewpoints in an articulate way. According to Barakat (1980:7), ‘Being capable of using proverbs is highly valued by Arabs and they really admire those who can use proverbs properly’. Dickson (1951:366) claims that ‘Arabs are always seen using proverbs or quotes given by different poets or writers and it appears that they enjoy using them as much as they enjoy storytelling’. Abdelkafi (1968) asserts that Arabs quote proverbs more than other cultures and nations. There are many factors that have facilitated the extensive use and spread of Arabic proverbs in the Najdi social community. For example, one may consider how the Najdi populace stresses attaining traditional knowledge from non-institutional sources. However, the primary reason is that the Qur’an and Ḥadīṯ texts motivate Muslims to value religious traditions.

Saudi citizens perceive proverbs as a major aspects of their customs, although not all proverbs enjoy the same value and popularity. Illiterate elderly people in Najd are often heard mingling Najdi sayings with Prophetic reports. Such a fusion demonstrates that the Najdi people greatly value proverbs.

In his work, al-ʕubūdī (1959:8) states that he addresses the idioms he is personally familiar with. As is well known, proverbs, poetry, and other forms of artistic language cannot be restricted to a specific geographical location or be confined by a fictitious metaphorical wall that was erected at one point in time and then dismantled again in a later historical period.

According to al-ʕubūdī (1959:8), the majority of the Arabian Peninsula’s inhabitants shares similar linguistic features, circumstances, and lifestyles. This is a major reason why proverbs throughout the Peninsula are similar, whether during the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods. On the other hand, a number of the localities in the Arabian Peninsula have diverse lifestyles, which has led to the development of different proverbs.
1.14 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 has provided a general introduction to the thesis. Chapter 2 discusses the relationship between culture and language and provides a comparison between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic. Chapter 3 presents the Arabic rhetorical sub-area of bayān (tropes), which includes four mechanisms: *kināyah*, *isti‘ārah*, *majāz*, and *tašbīh*. These mechanisms will be the tools employed for analysing the research data. Chapter 4 presents various theories of proverbs presented by different scholars. It discusses how proverbs are influenced by cultural and conventional knowledge patterns. It also explains the features of proverbs and how they are different from multi-word units. Chapter 5 presents the methodological framework of the thesis. Chapter 6 analyses the data in terms of bayān (tropes) and Cognitive Linguistic Theory. Chapter 7 presents the results of the analysis. Finally, Chapter 8 provides a conclusion to the thesis.
Chapter 2
Culture and Society

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a theoretical definition of culture in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 will explore culture and societal values in a concrete manner. Saudi societal values will be discussed in Section 2.3.1. Finally, Section 2.4 will provide a brief introduction to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

2.2 Definition of Culture

‘Culture’ was introduced as a specialised term by Edward B. Tylor, the British pioneer of the study of the concept. In the opening words of *Primitive Culture* (1871, cited in White and Dillingham, 1973:21) he depicts culture as a complex totality that incorporates information, convictions, workmanship, laws, ethics, customs and other capacities and propensities pertaining to man as an individual living in a society.

In the humanities, the term ‘culture’ implies in a specific sense the lifeway of a certain group of people, and more generally implies the aggregate of the lifeways of all factions living in a polity. The most basic feature of culture in both of these settings is that it refers to a produced, shared, and designed mode of conduct that establishes a coordinated framework.

Triandis (1994:16) demonstrates that in spite of the fact that there are numerous senses given to the term culture, most analysts concur that the concept possesses four fundamental qualities: (1) culture results from adaptive collaborations; (2) as people associate with each other they achieve mutual bonds, create dialects, and establish principles; (3) they create symbols; (4) they also fashion rules of conduct, logical and ethical values, knowledge, religion, and social forms. Culture is thus learned behaviour. It contains all the patterned activities, norms, concepts, and values we uphold, execute, or adopt as individuals from an organised society, group or family (Shapiro, 1957:19).
Edward Sapir (1932, cited in White and Dillingham, 1973:30) mentions that culture cannot be reasonably detached from the people who embody it. Man and culture constitute an inseparable pair. By definition, there is no culture without man, and there is no man without culture. Culture is to society what memory is to people. It accordingly incorporates conventions that tell us ‘what has worked’ effectively in previous generations. Moreover, culture incorporates the way individuals have figured out how to look at their condition and themselves, and their implicit presumptions about the way the world is ordered and how individuals should act (Triandis, 1994:1). Bohannan (1995:16) states that culture can be conceived as being a cluster of implicit suppositions and methods for regulating society that have been disguised to the point that individuals cannot resist or oppose them. Culture is transmitted over eras and ages, with its social mechanisms being diffused to a range of individuals, which include future generations, associates, partners, relatives, and an extensive variety of populaces (Bohannan, 1995:19). A culture that cannot change is a dead culture, since development is a key element of social progression. The rate of cultural change might be so slow as to be unnoticeable. It might accelerate with population growth or diminish with changes in the environment, including the social milieu (Bohannan, 1995:61). Since no culture is ever static, any description of a culture as though it were stagnant is delusive; such a depiction overlooks cultural processes and consequently makes it difficult to assign cause and effect within these mechanisms. The start- or end-points of cultural or social change are only significant in light of such specific issues (Bohannan, 1995:93).

2.3 Culture and Societal Values

Closely related to culture is the notion of societal values, which refers to the standards that a particular society considers important, significant, or worthy of preservation. Where do such values originate from? Kuczmarski and Kuczmarski (1995) argue that these social standards stem from four components: (1) family and youth encounters, (2) conflictual events that inspire self-revelation, (3) noteworthy life changes and experiential learning, and (4) individual relationships with people who encourage critical thinking.
Every person has a diverse bundle of values that are formed by these four components. The blend and progression of these different components, joined with our own particular learning patterns and processes of self-revelation, are what enhance and reshape our qualities over time (Kuczmarski and Kuczmarski, 1995:43). Consequently, as values originate from self-learning and self-disclosure and are then simultaneously fused with a blend of these quality-moulding factors, they can profoundly affect the advancement of our own values (Kuczmarski and Kuczmarski, 1995: 45).

2.3.1 Saudi Arabian Societal Values

Since the early 1970s, Saudi Arabia has undergone one of the most stunning examples of rapid social modernisation in the world. This has resulted from a fast, oil revenue-driven model of development that has fostered the rapid modification of already existing built environments, particularly residential ones, and the development of whole new building complexes and urban communities (al-Sulaymān, 1991). Environmental change can be seen in a variety of ways, including the use of new materials and technologies, the emergence of complex freeway networks, high-rise office buildings, shopping malls, university campuses, sports facilities, booming cities, and other signs of modernisation. The classic, modest, walled, plain, adobe-housed, and tranquil model of the past rural town heavily contrasts with the urban developments of the present. New consumer lifestyle patterns, increased education, the independence of the single family, the emergence of new social classes, increased exposure to the outside world, and an influx of foreign labour serving both inside and outside the family unit are just a few examples of how social change manifests itself (al-Sulaymān, 1991). One of the most conservative cultures in the world has developed new social values and conventions as a result of these developments. In the following sections, the religious values of the traditional period and their effect on the norms and practices within the Saudi milieu will be discussed. The reason why the values of the traditional period are the focus of this study is that even though not all proverbs can be traced back to a specific historical origin, almost all the
proverbs being assessed in this thesis emerged centuries ago. Thus, the traditional period is closely reflected in proverbs (al-Sulaymān, 1991).

2.3.1.1 Religious Values during the Traditional Period

Islam does not simply represent a creedal system for Muslims; it is an all-encompassing way of life that governs and controls every aspect of religious conduct, civic behaviour, and social etiquette (Long, 1976:12; Lipsky, 1959). When seen in this light, we ascertain that religious values and social, economic, and educational standards can be very much interchanged with one another. Although religious principles are still upheld and defended in contemporary Saudi Arabia, they are now more laxly observed by its citizens than they were in the past. Due to sudden riches, Western media influence, and modernisation, new values have been introduced and to some extent accepted by the once conservative populace.

2.3.1.1.2 Religion and Social Reality

In this section, I will consider the family and the existing environment as two leading illustrative examples of the relationship between religion and social reality in Saudi Arabia. Islam, like Arabian society before the religion’s advent, is predicated on the preservation of the family unit and society at large. According to Islamic teachings, the presence of two or three generations in the home requires that there be sex segregation as well as visual barriers outside the home (Fadan, 1983:76). This has given rise to buildings with inner courtyards for the provision of light and air while also ensuring minimal exposure to the streets (Baleela, 1975:48).

The Qur’an quite evidently opposes extravagance. It thus prohibits erecting monumental structures meant for self-indulgence and making purchases that go beyond one’s needs and necessities (Ali, 1975: Ch. XXVI, V. 128-129). Economic life in Saudi Arabia before modern times was subsistence-oriented, replete with insecurities, and dependent on mutual family and tribal ties (Othman, 1988:351). The straightforward desire to provide basic shelter was reflected in how people treated their environment. The structures of the homes and habitations that existed in this period were modest. Waste and trash had
to be recycled, while other resources had to be used sparingly. As a result, urban modes of living were cleaner, simpler, and more compact than present living patterns in major cities. The exterior and interior dimensions of people’s homes were a clear reflection of their relative socioeconomic homogeneity, which contributed to their sense of comfort (psychosocial well-being), territoriality, security, and community identification (Al-Nowaiser, 1987:195).

2.4 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: A Brief Introduction

Within the Arabian Peninsula, the largest nation is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Since Makkah and Madinah are situated in Saudi Arabia, it is considered the focal point for Muslims throughout the world. These two cities are considered to be the holiest sites for all Muslims, and are visited annually by millions. In 1932, King Abdulaziz Al Saud officially founded the kingdom, which almost immediately earned international recognition. Riyadh is the capital of the country, which is divided into five regions. The capital is located in the region of Najd (see Figure 2.1).
As David (2013) explains, Najd is an enormous plateau, which includes the sandy and rocky areas that are occasionally interrupted by valley systems and isolated mountains. Geographically, it is located in the centre of Saudi Arabia and thereby assigned a significant degree of cultural and political importance. Cities, towns, and villages are found within its agricultural oases. The rangelands of the area are home to nomadic pastoral activity, and as such the Bedouin communities consider it their homeland. Hijaz and Asir regions along the Red Sea border Najd in the west. Tihama, a narrow coastal plain found in

**Figure 2.1** Key Saudi Arabian regions (Source: Wikivoyage, 2018)
the south, also runs through the area up to a mountain chain with a steep Western cliff.

Hijaz, the second region, maintains early and strong urban traditions. Makkah and Madinah are located in this district. There are various other Hijazi urban areas as well, such as the commercial centre and seaport of Jeddah, which also served as the diplomatic capital in earlier phases of history. Other cities include the summer capital, Taif, and the long-time port and recently developed industrial city of Yanbu. Agricultural oases are found in the Hijaz, along with a tribally organised nomadic pastoral society.

The third region is Asir. Although it has various cities and some nomadic tribes, it largely consists of a settled rural society. Clan and tribal identities are associated with the farmers who are settled in these organised communities. The Asir and Hijaz sea-port population is very much maritime-oriented, since they maintain their livelihood through fishing and trade. Their activities are very similar to those of the Eastern Province population.

Natural resource wealth, which primarily consists of oil, is obtained from the Eastern Province. This is the fourth region, and it is considered to be the main source of oil. It has refineries, oil and gas wells, and the national oil industry headquarters, which is accompanied by several processing and distribution plants. Since the 1960s, Dammam, al-Khobar, and Dhahran have been the dominant areas for urban complexes and trade networks. More recently, Jubail has gained prominence as an industrial city.

The lifestyles and cultures of all these four geographical regions are different. Every one of them, however, shares the traditional desert lifestyle inherited from a long history that incorporates the development of the contemporary state and its way of life over the past three centuries (David, 2013:23-24).

Finally, the Northern region is located in the uppermost portions of Saudi Arabia, and lies adjacent to Jordan and Iraq. Half of the Northern region is sandy desert; as such, it the least populated area of all regions. The capital city of the Northern region is Arar (Northern Borders, Saudi Arabia, 2021).
2.5 Summary

This chapter explored the definitions of culture and then evaluated the theoretical significance of societal values generally and within the specific Saudi setting. Finally, it provided a brief introduction to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the following chapter, I will consider the concept of proverbs, which will then be followed – in subsequent sections – by a more detailed consideration of Najdi proverbs in relation to the region’s culture.
Chapter 3
Proverbs

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive explication of proverbs in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 discusses the historical origins and aspects of proverbs, while sections 3.4 and 3.5 present the formal features of proverbs and their structural-semantic features respectively. Section 3.6 considers the differences between proverbs and other similar tropes, Section 3.7 presents the categories of proverbs, while Section 3.8 assesses the linguistic characteristics of proverbs. The communicative and social functions of proverbs are presented in Section 3.9, with Section 3.10 presenting the ways that a region’s culture can be understood and appreciated through its proverbs. Section 3.13 provides a composite definition of the proverb, while the classification of proverbs in relation to figuration is presented in Section 3.11.

3.2 General Definitions

A number of common definitions of proverbs are given in this section, building on the preliminary discussion found in Chapter 1. Both this subsection and subsequent segments in this chapter draw partly on the work of Issa (2014). This section also summarises the different techniques used by various writers to identify proverbs and to provide definitions of the various characteristics of such proverbs.

A proverb is described by Baldick (2008: 274) as a sort of common truth or a sound proposition explained through a well-known saying rendered by an anonymous author (e.g. ‘Too many cooks spoil the broth’). Many cultures make use of proverbs and several of them are quite ancient. A Book of Proverbs is found in the Hebrew Scriptures. Proverbs are used by numerous poets such as Chaucer in his works, with others imitating them through the use of pithy expressions. The proverbs produced by a recognised author, such as the Proverbs of Hell by William Blake in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (1793), are more accurately described as being aphorisms.
Archer Taylor characterises a proverb in the following way: ‘As a proverb is generated by various people it has a lot of wisdom; it presents form and idea creatively; and a person created it initially and used it in a certain circumstance’ (1931, cited in Mieder and Dundas, 1994: 3). Lord John Russell’s characterisation of a proverb is ‘One man’s wit and all men’s wisdom’ (1878, cited in Mieder and Dundes, 1994: 3).

In their joint work entitled as المؤلف والمسولف في الثقافة الشعبية اللبنانية al-Mu’allaf wa al-Musawlaf fi al-Ṭaqāfah al-Ša’biyyah al-Lubnāniyyah, Kamāl Xālīl Nāxlah and Sawqī Anīs ʿammār (1988:1, 16) provide the following definition of a proverb:

المثل هو: "تاريخ حياة الناس مع الناس بكل تفاصيلها الكبيرة و الصغيرة، بما في ذلك آدابهم عيشهم وحالاتهم الإنسانية: الفرح، القلق، الوجع، الفطنة، الطرائف، الأخلاق، الخ"


A proverb is: the people’s past with other people containing all small and big details, as well as their way of living and their human conditions: pain, joy, wit, anxiety, jokes, ethics, etc.\(^1\)

James Howell (1969) considers the proverb ‘a slippery thing [which] soon slides out of memory’ (1659, cited in Mieder and Dundes, 1994:175). Nevertheless, according to Finnegar (2012:408) a wide range of contexts can be addressed by proverbs:

Proverbs gain their significance from the situation in which they are used. If some of the proverbs appear to have contradictory senses, this is merely because there are many possible situations and different angles from which one can look at a problem.

According to William Camden, ‘Proverbs are short, amusing and intellectual speeches formed on the basis of experience having good caveats mainly and hence enjoyable and profitable’ (cited in Adééko, 1998:30). Topilkayyar states that the proverb ‘is an ancient saying having deep meanings, clarity, simplicity

\(^1\) All translations here are provided by Huwaida Issa (2014: 8), unless otherwise indicated.
and brevity as its main features and it appears as a quote in a certain

According to Lawrence Boadi, proverbs add elegance to speech
predominantly and are not merely seeds of knowledge (cited in Adééko, 1998:31). Others simply propose that ‘wisdom’ is by definition appropriate for
describing a proverb, as the phrase has passed the test of time (Adééko,
1998:31). Norrick supports the perspectives of Trench regarding the
communal aspect of proverbs. According to the former, when a user employs
a proverb in their speech, ‘[s]he quotes the entire linguistic community and not
only an author individually’ (cited in Adééko, 1998:31). Proverbs are
associated with traditional content by the Nigerian novelist, Chinua Achebe,
The African writer and folklorist Hampate Ba also highlights customs as being
an important element of proverbs, in particular the African oral tradition
(Pettersson, 2006: 255): ‘He appears to be a traditionalist owing to his
[Hampate Ba’s] implementation of traditional sayings.’ Frayha (1953:ix), a
Lebanese writer, argues that ‘the Arabic word for “proverb”, مَثَل matal, comes
from a Semitic root meaning a simile or comparison’. According to the latter
(1953: ix), a proverb is usually a short informative statement, signifying a set
of actions, mentioning a fact, or producing a judgement. It could be based on
experience or the bitter realities of life. A disdainful nature is shown by some
proverbs, whereas some are trite quotes that address the baser side of
humanity (Frayha, 1953).

According to Chi Che (2011:222), in the compound Latin word *proverbium*,
*pro-* means ‘made for, that accompanies, meant for, that goes with’, while
*verbium* means ‘speech’ or ‘discourse’. Hence, upon looking at its root origins,
a ‘proverb’ refers to ‘a linguistic object that works as a stylistic and semantic
auxiliary of speech’ (Mbu, 1981:27). Proverbs are viewed differently by various
African groups, depending on the nationality or ethnicity in question. Somalis
assert that ‘Proverbs spice up the speech’ (Yankah, 2012:30). On the other
hand, in the eyes of the Yoruba people, the proverb is considered to be “The
horse of conversation; the proverb lifts the conversation when it sinks”
(Yankah, 2012:30).
3.3 Historical Origins and Aspects of Proverbs

According to Mieder (2004:xii), the third millennium BC marked the beginning of the proverb collection process. The earliest proverbs were written on Sumerian cuneiform tablets and constituted the general ethics and behaviour prescribed upon the community (Mieder, 2004). The invocation and use of proverbs also dates back to very early times: ‘Proverb-like statements also appear in a Babylonian source of about 1,440 BC’ (Gorden, 1959; Beardslee, 1970, cited in Honeck 1997:4). Subsequent use of proverbs is apparent and popular in the Hebrew and Christian Bibles (Honeck, 1997:4).

Šuqayr (1995:19, cited in Issa, 2014:14) adopts the following view with regard to the historical origin of proverbs:

وأول من جمع الأمثال فيما نعلم سليمان الحكيم بن داود كتبها بالعبرانية في القرن العاشر قبل الميلاد وضمت إلى أسفار التوراة.

According to our knowledge, proverbs were first collected by Solomon [Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm bin Dāwūd]. In the tenth century BC, he inscribed them in Hebrew and they were included in the books of the Bible [Torah].

It is argued by Perdue (2008:111) that ‘South Syria was the place where proverbs were first generated’. He adds that a ‘set of authentic Aramaic wisdom quotes are reflected in the so-called “proverbs” of Ahikar which were commonly used by the Aramaeans of South Syria in the 8th century B.C.E’ (Pedrue, 2008:111). He asserts that the ancient copies of the Babylonian period that were studied by Miguel Civil and Jacob Klein involved a set of female insults. In this context, it can be said that proverbs or proverbial phrases were collected to reflect apt rhetorical phrases that could be used in certain conditions, and were traditionally often entertaining dialogues in which much laughter was produced through indecent accusations; naturally, such expressions had little or nothing to do with ‘wisdom’. A quotation from a woman begins the collection, thus indicating indirectly that the verbal
controversies between two women dates back to the Fara period in the form of literary prose (Perdue, 2008: 55-56).

The history of proverbs is also referred to by Clifford (1999: 8). He states that the beginnings of father-son instructions go back to the third millennium in Mesopotamia, as well as Egypt, with the proverbs in question appearing to be almost universal. More than twenty-eight collections of both Sumerian and Akkadian proverbs in Mesopotamia are associated with the third and second millennia.

The history of proverbs is also analysed by Wolfgang Mieder (2008:121) in his work *Proverbs Speak Louder than Words*. Mieder argues that the observation and experience of humankind generates the wisdom and insights that are instilled in proverbs, and hence they can be considered as the daily and common-sense philosophy of the people, that is, the so-called ‘monumenta humana’. The Sumerian cuneiform tablets, which are the earliest surviving proverb collections, indicate that this was the state of affairs millennia ago. Proverbs like ‘Big fish eat little fish’ date back to the earliest written records.

According to Mieder, ‘many proverbs originated in ancient Greek and Roman times, and in the Bible. They can be recognised by similar wording and through loan translations they became known in many languages’ (Mieder, 2008: 122). Arising from the leisurely and sententious east, the roots of proverbs were found in the widespread colonies of Greece, Phoenicia, and Rome in Hulme’s view (Hulme, 2010; Hwang et al., 1996: 76). According to Trench (1854: 2), the first collector of proverbs is said to have been Aristotle.

Mieder shares a thought-provoking example of a proverb that is still alive despite its ancient roots. He notes that:

\[
\text{the classical proverb ‘Where there’s smoke, there’s fire’ has survived until today and is found in many languages, usually with similar wording and straight-forward meaning, this being founded on a natural occurrence (Mieder, 2008: 122).}
\]

The force that triggered the creation of proverbs is discussed by Davis (2000) in relation to the Biblical Hebrews. He argues that as a result of the second crisis of the collapse of the Jewish monarchy, books of proverbs were
developed, while the earliest proverb collection was the result of the crisis of the rise of kingship rule in Israel (Davis, 2000: 16). It is also stated by Mieder (2004: xi) that some proverbs have vanished over time: ‘The popular proverb of the sixteenth-century “Let the cobbler stick to his last” is almost forgotten today as this profession of cobbler is declining.’

In *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*, John Huizinga (2008:58) argues that the *Adagia* of Erasmus increased from hundreds to thousands, allowing Latin as well as Greek words of wisdom to be heard. Max Weber identified the phrase ‘Time is money’ as an expression that succinctly defines the essence of capitalism (Weber, 1905, cited in Shigehisa, 2002:219).

### 3.4 Formal Features of Proverbs

According to the model developed – originally for translation analysis – by Dickins et al. (2017: 79), the formal features of a text can be classified into five levels: the phonic/graphic level, the prosodic level, the grammatical level, the sentential level, and the discourse level.

At the bottom of the hierarchy, we consider the phonic/graphic level, above it is the prosodic level, the grammatical level, the sentential level, the discourse level, and the intertextual level is at the peak. A formal matrix is a combination of these features.

Figure 3.1 (from Dickins, manuscript: 45; reproduced with permission) illustrates these different levels, and shows how they fit into what Dickins et al. (2017) term the ‘system of textual matrices’.

**Figure 3.1** System of textual matrices (Source: Dickins, manuscript: 45)
Model of textual matrices in *Thinking translation methodology*

**CULTURAL MATRIX** (Chapter 13)
features presenting a choice between
- exotism
- calque
- cultural borrowing
- communicative translation
- cultural transplantation

**VARIETAL MATRIX** (Chapter 6)

**SEMANTIC MATRIX**
- **DENOTATIVE MEANING** (Chapter 5)
  - attitudinal meaning (Section 5.2.1)
  - affective meaning (Section 5.2.2)
  - associative meaning (Section 5.2.3)
  - allusive meaning (Section 5.2.4)
  - reflected meaning (Section 5.2.5)
  - collocative meaning (Section 5.2.6)

- **CONNOTATIVE MEANING**
  - metaphorical meaning (Chapter 13)

**REGISTER**
- social register
- tonal register
- dialect
- sociolnet

**LECT**
- dialect
- sociolnet

**GENRE MATRIX** (Chapter 7)
- literary
- religious
- philosophical
- empirical
- persuasive
- hybrid

**FORMAL MATRIX**

**INTERTEXTUAL LEVEL** (Chapter 7)
- genre membership
- allusion
- quotation

**DISCOURSE LEVEL** (Chapter 12)
- cohesion
- coherence

**SENTENTIAL LEVEL**
- illocutionary particles
- sequential focus
- grounding
- intonation
- punctuation
- typography
- writing

**SYNTAX**
- sentence
- phrase

**MORPHOLOGY**
- lexical item/word (lexis)
- morpheme

**PROSODIC LEVEL** (Section 8.2)
- loudness
- pitch
- temporality
- punctuation
- typography
- writing

**PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL** (Section 8.1)
- ‘foot’ group
- graphic word
- word
- syllable
- grapheme
- phoneme
- writing

**PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL**
- ‘foot’ group
- graphic word
- word
- syllable
- grapheme
- phoneme
- writing

**Key to lines between features in figure**
- Relation of implication. The feature from which the arrow points implies the feature to which the arrow points.
- Relation of mutual implication. The two features to which the double-headed arrow points imply one another.
- Rank relationship (also known as constituency relationship); e.g. between phoneme and syllable, syllable and foot.
- Superimposition: the prosodic level is superimposed on the phonemic/graphic level, and the sentential level is superimposed on the grammatical level.

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3.4.1 Phonic Features

According to Dickins et al. (2017: 111), language is formed from the sounds of speech that are heard or the letters on the pages that are read: each text involves a phonic/graphic configuration. They explain how spoken language is formed of ‘phonemes [which are] speech sounds’ (Dickins, manuscript: 37). Phonemes could be either similar in two individual languages, like the ‘English “d” and Arabic د’ (Dickins, manuscript: 37), or they could be very distinct and absent in another language, like the Arabic ض (ḍ), to which there is no corresponding phoneme in English. A syllable consists of several phonemes with the presence of a vowel in between (Dickins, manuscript: 37), and a combination of various syllables forms a foot (as a technical linguistic term, although it was originally used in the description of poetry) (Dickins, manuscript: 37). Dickins states that a close correspondence is found between graphemes (i.e. written letters present on the page) and phonemes in Arabic, such that ‘the grapheme د (d) and the phoneme “d” correspond to each other’.

3.4.1.1 Alliteration and Assonance

According to Dickins et al. (2017: 112), alliteration, as a feature of the phonic level, involves ‘the recurrence of the same sound or sound-cluster at the beginning of words, as in “two tired toad” or “all awful ornithologists”’. On the other hand, an assonance is defined as the following: [T]he recurrence, within words, of the same sound or sound-cluster, as in “a great day’s painting”, or “a swift lift afterwards”. Alliteration and assonance both constitute essential elements of many proverbs, such as ‘Frost and fraud both end in foul’ and ‘Who swims in sin, shall sink in sorrow’ (Trench, 1854: 21). Assonance is also one of the characteristics of proverbs that have been examined by Arora (1984), as in اللَّيْلَيْلِ فَات مَات (lit. ‘That which is past is dead’), which is roughly equivalent to the English proverb, ‘Forgive and forget’.

3.4.1.2 Rhyme

Rhyme in English, which is also a defining feature of the phonic level, is defined by Dickins et al. (2017: 112) as a situation in which ‘the last stressed vowel, and all the sounds that follow it, are identical and occur in the same
order, as in “bream/seem”, “Warwick/euphoric”, “incidentally/mentally”.
Many proverbs involve rhyme, such as, ‘Truth may be blamed, but cannot be shamed’ and ‘Who goes a borrowing, goes a sorrowing’ (Trench, 1854: 20).
Arora (1984) also examined rhyme as one of the stylistic characteristics of proverbs, such as the saying كَبْر التمرة وأَحْر مِن الجَمْرَة kubr it-tamrah w-aḥarr min il-jamrah (lit. ‘The size of a date and hotter than an amber’), which describes something that is small but complicated at the same time.

3.4.1.3 Poeticity
Commonly, proverbs are ‘poetic’: ‘Words are not wasted in a proverb. Poetry is used to write proverbs and poetry is a condensed language generally’ (Longman, 2002:38). Mary Cowden Clarke (2004: 43) observes that proverbs ‘might be intricately poetic in nature as in the Indian proverb “The sandal tree perfumes the axe that fells it’’. Arabic has a similar proverb:

\[
\text{Kun ka-šajari aš-šandali tuʿaṭṭiru al-fa’sa al-latī taqtaṭuka.}
\]

(‘Be like the sandal tree; perfume the axe which cuts you’. )

(Issa, 2014:15)

Weeks (2007: 67-68) asserts that ‘poetry is generally distinguished as a form of language that makes use of intensified figurative devices present in other kinds of discourse, these devices being vital in, for instance, Proverbs 1-9’ (an old type of Jewish wisdom literature and an important component of Jewish scripture).

3.4.1.4 Archaicness of Language
According to Palacios (1996:78):

Proverbs are traditional not only in their frequent use of archaic forms of expressions, but also in their intense bond with elements of traditional rural life: animal, plants, hunting and fishing, elements of nature and domestic life, etc.
The concept of ancientness being a main characteristic of the proverb is also found in Erasmus (Wesseeling, 2002: 85), who argues that their proverbial value increases owing to their remote and archaic origin, as age makes them more charming. The use of antiquated words and grammatical structures points to this archaicness of origin.

3.5 Structural-Semantic Features of Proverbs

Proverbs derive their legitimacy and practical strength from tradition. They have been described by a number of paremiologists (scholars of proverbs) like Milner (1969), Dundes (1975), and Norrick (1985) in terms of their particular syntactic constructions. The sections below will focus on the various recurring structural-semantic features of proverbs.

3.5.1 Equational Structure

According to Milner (1969), proverbs rely on proportioned structures, which denote features of the grammatical level in Dickins et al.’s textual matrix model in term of type and material. According to the theory of Milner, there are four parts or quarters of proverbs. A positive or negative value can be assigned to every quarter on the basis of whether it is good or bad, safe or harmful, friendly or hostile, and useful or useless. We can divide the four quarters into two halves. When the quarters are both positive and both negative (+ and +, or – and –), these halves are taken as positive. On the other hand, the halves are taken as negative if the quarters are opposite and negative (+ and –). As an example, one may consider the following proverb: 

احفظ لسانك، ما يدرّك عن مكانك ḥafaḏ lisānīk mā yidrā ʕan makanīk (NA) ‘Hold your tongue and no one knows where you are’. This proverb advises a person to restrain their words and not speak much, as doing so often leads to trouble. As per Milner (1969), this proverb is positive, as a positive message is presented by both of its halves, whereas 

إذا كان ما في القلب واعظ، ما تنفعه المواعظ īdā kān mā fi-l-qalb wāṣiğ, mā tīnfaṣah il-mawāṣiğ (NA) ‘If there is no preacher in the heart, no sermons will help’. This proverb – which describes a person you advise many times but they do not accept your advice – is negative. This is the case since its second half is negative, which in sum means that it conveys a negative message. The
method proposed by Milner (1969) is valuable for the present study regarding Najdi proverbs, as it can provide an approach to identifying the use and connotation carried by a given body part.

According to Dundes, proverbs belong to distinct structural categories. The first is ‘the equational proverb’, which has ‘No contrastive or oppositional features’ (Mieder and Dundes, 1994: 53). Dundes claims that any one of the following equational proverbs are of the following sub-types: ‘A=A’, ‘A=B’, ‘He who is A is B’, or ‘Where there’s an A, there’s a B’ (Mieder and Dundes, 1994:53). These can be illustrated, respectively, as follows: ‘Enough is enough’, ‘Time is money’, ‘He who laughs last laughs best’, and ‘Where there’s a will, there’s a way’ (Mieder and Dundes, 1994: 53).

According to Abrahams (1972: 121), proverbs may manifest ‘four structural types’:

1. Positive equivalence, an example being لسانك حصانك Līsānuk ḥiṣānuk, ‘Your tongue is your horse.’ This proverb shows that what a person utters can either preserve human dignity, or it can destroy everything.

2. Negative equivalence, which is manifested through the phrase, ‘Money is not everything.’

3. Positive causational, such as the following: من جد وجد، و من زرع حصاد Man jadda wajada, wa man zaraʕa ḥaṣad, (SA) ‘He who is serious finds, he who sows reaps’. This means that anyone who strives will gain the result of his hard work, and whoever sows will reap the fruits of his sowing.

4. Negative causational, which can be illustrated through the following example: ‘Two wrongs do not make a right.’ This means that it is not appropriate to do anything malicious to someone simply because they have wronged you in the past.

3.5.2 Topic-Comment Structure

All proverbs, according to Dundes (1975), consist of a topic and a comment (features of the grammatical level in Dickins et al.’s textual matrix model, but also with semantic, and particularly denotative, concomitants). The topic is the
seeming referent, which is the subject or item purportedly explained, while the comment is a claim regarding the subject; the latter is generally concerned with the kind, function, feature, or achievement of the topic. Therefore, the simplest kind of proverbs are those like *il-insān galb w lsān* (NA) ‘Man is heart and tongue’. This means that a human’s intrinsic nature is not only based on their body or their good looks, but their heart and their tongue. For the latter reveals what is in the heart. Within this structure قلب ونسان *qalb w lsān* ‘heart and tongue’ is considered the comment, while الإنسان, *il-insān* ‘man’ is considered the topic or subject. At a similar level, topic-comment structures are found in proverbs such as السيف في يد الجبان خشبة *is-sēf fi yadi-l-jabān xšibah* (NA) ‘The sword in the coward's hand is a piece of wood’, which expresses the fact that the same tool may have different effects, depending on the skills of its user.

Proverbs are regarded by Dundes (1975) as eloquent statements that involve a minimum of one topic and one comment. It is not possible, even hypothetically, to have a proverb consisting of just one word. The analytical procedure of Dundes can assist in recognising the topic or target person in the chosen Najdi proverbs (e.g. male, female, children, adult, and so on) and how comments are made on these different subjects or people, particularly within the context of the present study.

### 3.5.3 Antithesis

The concept of antithesis (a feature of the semantic matrix found in Dickins et al.'s textual matrix model) in proverbs is examined in Westermarck (1931:3) through the following statement: ‘To rank one thing above another is a typical form of [antithetical] valuation.’ For example, the concept of comparison and contrast is represented by the proverbs below:

- Your friend who is near is better than your brother who is far away.
- The supposition of the wise man is better than the certainty of the ignorant.
- The wound caused by words is worse than the wound of the bodies.
The frequent usage of proverbs by various African tribes is pointed out by Ruth Finnegan (2012: 391) in her book *Oral Literature in Africa*, particularly in an essay named “Proverbs in Africa”:

For example, usually Yoruba proverbs are a couplet with two lines separated by an antithesis, noun addressing noun and verb verb: ‘Ordinary people are as common as grass, / But good people are dearer than the eye’.

(Cited in Mieder and Dundes, 1994:22)

An Arabic example of antithesis is found in the following proverb, which states: غَيْن صَامِت خَير مِن غَيْن نَاطِقَ ‘A silent person is better than a talking person’.

### 3.5.4 Valuation

Another kind of proverb discussed by Westermarck (1931:3) involves valuation: ‘It is required that a valuation should be done of the many proverbs which talk about the outcomes of specific events: “Obedience to women makes one enter hell”’. Another example is الصبر مفتاح الفرج Al-ṣabr miftāḥ al- faraj, ‘Patience is the key of well-being’. The event and the consequences are not as evident in the second example as in the first one; however, the latter example clearly explicates the relationship between patience and well-being, for it affirms that if you stay patient, you will be well.

### 3.5.5 Cause and Effect

Longman (2002: 82) claims that ‘Many proverbs contain the paradigm of “cause and effect” or “deed-consequence nexus”, which contends in support of adhering to the moral values of the social order’. In the context of the Bible, ‘The cause will be mentioned by the Biblical writers first and the outcome of the cause will be mentioned later, usually’ (Duval and Hays, 2005: 33). Duval and Hays (2005: 33) go on to support this view with the following example: ‘A gentle answer turns away wrath, but a harsh word stirs up anger.’ An example
of this feature is found in the proverb, من جدّ وجد و من زرع حصد Man jadda wajada wa man zarâa ḥâṣad (SA), ‘He who is serious finds, he who sows reaps’.

### 3.5.6 Repetition

Finengan (2012: 391) talks about the recurrence associated with African proverbs: ‘The effective recurrence appears in the form “Quick loving a woman means quick not loving a woman”’.

### 3.6 Differentiating Proverbs from Other Similar Tropes

The differences found between the concepts of metaphor, synecdoche, and metonymy were discussed in the previous sections. In the following sections, I will identify the differences that exist between proverbs, aphorisms, adages, maxims, idioms, and sayings.

#### 3.6.1 Proverbs vs. Aphorisms

It can be said that aphorisms are a special kind of proverb. Below is the definition of aphorism given by Baldick (2008:20):

A statement of some general principle, expressed memorably by condensing much wisdom into few words: ‘Give a man a mask and he will tell you the truth’ (Wilde); ‘The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom’ (Blake). Aphorisms often take the form of a definition: ‘Hypocrisy is a homage paid by vice to virtue’ (La Rochefocaud).

According to Samiuddin (2007:68), ‘A brief quote incorporating a common fact is an aphorism, like ‘Art is long, and life is short”’. Likewise, the following has been observed by Dundes: ‘Literal proverbs are termed by some scholars differently, such as aphorism’ (Mieder and Dundes, 1994:53). Thus, aphorisms are more straightforward than proverbs. For example, the message found in تغدﻯ و تمدﻯ T̲g̲add̲ā w̲ t̲m̲odd̲ā (NA), ‘Have lunch and lie down’, which advises someone to have a nap after they have their lunch, is more direct than the message couched in كل إناءٍ بما فيه ينضح kullu inā ’in bi-mā fīhī yanḍaḥ (SA), ‘Every container leaks its contents’, which refers to anything that becomes
similar to its origin. It can be recognised from what has been previously mentioned that proverbs tend to be metaphorical, while aphorisms are literal in nature.

### 3.6.2 Proverbs vs. Adages

Proverbs and adages are quite similar. They are both well-known. An adage can be a proverb or a maxim according to Baldick (2008:3). A very precise definition of an adage is given by Erasmus (2001, cited in Calder, 2001:32), whereby the adage is a compressed frame of speech comprising of precise meaning while also containing a figure of speech. An example of such a literary phrase would be, 'A penny saved is a penny earned.'

### 3.6.3 Proverbs vs. Maxims

Regarding the point of differentiation between the two concepts, Samiuddin (2007: 68) states: ‘A short statement relating to a common and practical fact is called a maxim, specifically one that addresses a code of conduct or precept: “It is wise to risk no more than one can afford to lose”’. There is a minor difference between a proverb and a maxim: 'Wilson differentiates them on the grounds that a proverb originates in folk culture while a maxim is linked to a specific sage’ (Kirk, 1998: 91).

Aphorisms and maxims are distinguished by Morales (2003: xxvi) as follows: ‘Where the aphorism states a fact of human nature, a maxim advises a certain course of action. The aphorism is written in the indicative, the maxim is in imperative mood.’ It has also been claimed by Clarke (2004:57) that aphorisms and maxims can be distinguished insofar that the former ‘is associated more with hypothetical principles rather than practical issues,’ whereas the latter ‘suggests a lesson more specifically and straight-forwardly’.

### 3.6.4 Proverbs vs. Idioms

In the following sections, I will consider the distinction between proverbs and idioms.
3.6.4.1 What is an Idiom?

An idiom, as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (no date), is ‘a peculiarity of phraseology approved by the usage of the language and often having a signification other than its grammatical or logical one’. From this, it can be deduced that it is difficult or even impossible to understand an idiom if one merely considers the meanings carried by its elements in a disjointed or isolated manner. After evaluating posited examples of the figure of speech, it becomes apparent that the task of determining the essential features of an idiom from a theoretical viewpoint is arduous. In this research work, it is crucial to arrive at an exact determination of the features of expressions that can be regarded as idioms so that they may be neatly differentiated from proverbs, which constitute the core of this research. Accordingly, in this research work, an idiom is considered to be a compound of two or more words: it must be well-established and conventionally fixed, and its meaning is normally figurative.

Culture plays a significant role in the comprehension of idioms. The reader is conventionally capable of understanding the implied meaning of an idiom only if they have a good knowledge of the culture of the target language. In this respect, it is necessary to increase cross-cultural consciousness as well as developing an open-minded understanding of the culture of the second language from several angles. Thus, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the social and religious aspects of culture are regarded as challenging factors in understanding idioms.

Idioms are deemed to be a category of multiword units. The latter are lexical units that are larger than a word and could have either compositional or colloquial meanings. ‘Multiword unit’ (or ‘multiword expression’) is a term used as a pre-theoretical label that encompasses the entire range of phenomena from collocations to fixed expressions (Masini, 2005: 145). An idiom is considered to be a multiword unit having a syntactic function in a clause. It typically has a figurative implication involving the entire lexical unit, that is, a unitary meaning obtainable from the meanings of its individual words (Howarth, 1996).
3.6.4.2 Characteristics of Idioms

In his book *Idiom Structure in English*, Adam Makkai (1972) maintains that the following criteria are wholly considered in the characterisation of idioms:

1. The idiom in question can be considered a unit if it has a minimum of two words.
2. An idiom’s meaning cannot be predicted through its component parts, which are devoid of their usual senses after being integrated as a segment of the linguistic structure.
3. Idioms usually have a high potential for disinformation, insofar that their segments are polysemous. This is to the extent that the listener could actually misunderstand the idiom’s meaning.
4. Idioms are institutionalised and conventionalised expressions, with the formalisation process occurring through *ad hoc* developments in the initial stages of the idiom’s development.

The word ‘opaque’ is used for non-literal meanings; this is a fundamental feature of idioms, which mutually constitute a single semantic unit. In other words, the opacity is not essentially ingrained in nature, since the figurative sense and literal meaning may coincide in certain idioms. Pure idioms are different from Cowie’s (1983) figurative idioms, since the latter type possesses metaphorical meanings (with respect to the entire arrangement in each case). However, in any case a somewhat precise explanation is maintained by this scenario. Cowie (1983) further argues that these expressions and their exact meanings do not customarily co-exist together with their figurative ones. The scales regarding the opacity of idiomatic expressions are distinguished by Cruse (1986: 39) in terms of the degree to which opaque expressions and their allied elements are ‘full’ semantic indicators, besides having the general sense of the ‘idiom’ and ‘the inconsistency between the shared inputs of the indicators’. Moreover, a spectrum of opaqueness can be reasonably conceived by utilising these conditions, such that ‘blackbird’ is found to be less obscure than ‘ladybird’ (which is consecutively less opaque than ‘red herring’), yet more latent than a permanent binomial such as ‘fish and chips’.

A distinction between sememic and lexemic idioms is drawn by Makkai (1972:443J4). The first category is clausal in nature while the latter is said to
be the ‘one which is syntactically recognizable as a class or a part of speech’. Furthermore, an intermediate category labelled as the expanded verbal idiom (e.g. ‘kick the bucket’) is introduced by Makkai (1972), which he identifies as a *tournure*. The last type is taken into account to differentiate between word-idioms and phrase-idioms, with graphological concerns being the referred element in many cases. For instance, ‘black sheep’ (phrase idiom) may be compared with ‘blackmail’ (compound, i.e. word idiom).

### 3.6.4.3 Typology of Idioms

Idioms can be reduced to their basic formative features whereby we can study the semantic status of every element. The word ‘element’ is rather vague, although it can be considered a grammatical phrase, like a noun phrase or verb phrase, or something even smaller than this, such as a word.

In idioms, the import of certain elements may not be understood without them being accompanied by other elements. In other words, occasionally we cannot examine an element autonomously. Rather, other elements present in the idiom are required in order to make sense of the base phrase being studied. On the other hand, some elements can be examined autonomously, that is, without needing other elements in the idiom to support them. An element may have an autonomous meaning only in the context of this idiom, in a limited amount of other settings, or in several circumstances.

Idioms with elements having no autonomous meaning must logically include at least two components: a deeper meaning will be created by these two elements. Therefore, an independent sense is conveyed by the idiom ‘kick the bucket’ (i.e. ‘die’), although none of the elements found within this phrase carries an independent meaning. Idioms comprising of elements with no autonomous meaning cannot be altered. Therefore, we cannot say that ‘the bucket was kicked’ or ‘they both kicked buckets’.

Consider another example of an idiomatic element having no autonomous meaning. In the expression ‘red herring’ (which means anything that distracts from a subject), the words ‘red’ or ‘herring’ alone do not have any independent import in relation to the idiom. ‘Red herring’ is considered an intriguing
example due to the fact that although it is usually perceived as an idiom, it can also be considered a compound.

Another kind of idiomatic element also has an independent import, yet this sense is only found in the context of this idiom. Consider ‘grasp’ in the idiom ‘grasp the nettle’, where ‘grasp’ means ‘tackle’, ‘deal with’, and so forth. However, ‘grasp’ does not have the same meaning in other settings. Likewise, in this context the term ‘nettle’ in ‘grasp the nettle’ means a ‘complex problem’, yet the word does not have the same meaning in other settings. ‘Grasp’ and ‘nettle’ have independent senses because it is possible to restructure them grammatically and to alter them. For instance, one can say ‘that’s a nettle which you will be required to grasp’ or ‘ultimately the nettle of Irish peace was grasped by the British government’ (cf. Dickins, 1998: 241-243, 324, 435).

Another type of idiomatic element exists featuring an independent sense that can be found in more than one context, which ultimately makes it distinct from the second kind of idiomic element. But this is the case only in a limited amount of settings. Consider the example of ‘kick up’, which means ‘to cause distress, disruption, and so forth’ (Collins English Dictionary, no date). The expression appears to have this sense with just a limited number of words like ‘fuss’ and ‘stink’ (with both meaning ‘row’, ‘fuss’, and ‘furore’). On the other hand, other words cannot be used in conjunction with ‘kick up’ in this sense, like ‘disturbance’, ‘problem’, or ‘complaint’. The element ‘fuss’ is considered to have an independent meaning, as it can be restructured grammatically and even be altered. One can thus say that ‘The fuss you have been kicking up over the issue has caused huge loss at the organisation’s end’ (cf. Dickins, 1998: 242-243).

The last kind of idiomatic element conveys an independent meaning and can be found in various contexts. Consider the element ‘fuss’ in the idiom ‘kick up a fuss’ (which means ‘anxious or excited behaviour with no valuable purpose’; Collins English Dictionary, no date), which can be seen in numerous contexts with various collocations. It can also be noted that ‘a’ in ‘kick up a fuss’ conveys indefiniteness, as it does in ordinary circumstances. This can be clarified through the fact that we may replace ‘a’ with the definite article ‘the’ in suitable contexts. An example would be the following sentence: ‘The fuss
that you have been kicking over the issue has caused great damage at the organisation’s end’. The same applies to ‘the’ in ‘grasp the nettle’. For example, we can say, ‘That’s one nettle which you will be required to grasp’.

3.6.4.4 Syntactic Structure of Idioms

As far as syntax is concerned, Arabic idioms are like any other idioms insofar as they can involve a number of grammatical structures, which include the following: adjectival noun phrases, nominal sentences, verbal sentences, and adjectival prepositional phrases. Examples of verbal clauses include idioms such as *Daraba bi-yadin min ḥadīd* (SA), ‘He struck with a hand of iron’. This is an allusion to using an iron fist, which shows someone has brutal power and does not hesitate to impose their will; the idiom thus serves as a *kināyah* for strength and determination. These phrases are initiated by a verb, and hence are known as verb-initial clauses. In such cases, the idiom is represented by the whole clause and not a specific portion. Let us now consider the idioms ایده خفيفة *īdah xafīfah* (NA), ‘His hand is light’, and ایده طويلة *īdah ṭuwilāh* (NA), ‘His hand is long’, both indicating someone who is ‘light-fingered’ and prone to stealing things. These two idioms are nominal clauses, consisting of a predicand (*mubtada‘* ) and a predicate (*xabar*). In both examples ایده *īdah*, ‘his hand’ serves as the predicand (*mubtada‘* ); خفيفة *xafīfah*, ‘light’ is the *xabar* (predicate) in the first example, while طويله *ṭuwilāh*, ‘long’ is the predicate in the second example.

Similarly, one may consider the idiom العين بصيرة واليد قصيرة *il-ʕīn biṣīrah wi-l-yad qṣīrah* (NA), ‘The eye is seeing but the hand is short’, which is interpreted as ‘one cannot always get what they want’, and يد واحدة ما تصفق *yad waḥdah mā tṣaffiq* (NA), ‘A single hand does not clap’, which is interpreted as ‘someone else is needed to help’. Both involve nominal clauses (with the first example involving two nominal clauses). Proverbs and idioms may be similarly structured and are equally significant in literature according to Harnish (1993:270). Nevertheless, it is observed that idioms (unlike the examples just discussed) rarely form a complete sentence.
3.6.5 Proverbs vs. Sayings

It has been claimed by Harnish (1993:271) that sayings ‘are sentential, have quite a similar form and are usually re-iterated, however, their literary worth is very low. Other forms are not sentential, in particular – otherwise they are highly irregular’.

The following section draws partly on the work of Mammad (2014: 43-46). In terms of clarity, easiness, and spontaneity, folklore is a great source of cultural traditions. Proverbs and sayings are considered to be major elements of folklore. They can provide copious meanings in a few words. In terms of their form and meanings, proverbs are close to sayings but vary with regard to their particular characteristics. Because of their dramatic quality and semantic features, they are considered ‘frozen’ impressions. These are found in almost all languages, mostly in rhetorical usage as pre-fabricated elements. Due to their particular features, they are different from standard sentences. Sayings are mainly used in belles-lettres, while proverbs are strongly attached to folklore.

Sayings are sentential, while idioms and phrases consist of nominal or verbal combinations. Moreover, the former expressions are informal, and they are used every day by speakers. Because of this, sayings are referred to as ‘familiar quotations’. For example, ‘London’s streets are paved with gold’ is said by those who left their native land in search of a livelihood. However, the differences between proverbs and sayings are sometimes unclear, which is why it is not always easy to differentiate between them.

3.7 Categories of Proverbs

We have already considered the structural-semantic features of proverbs, such as antithesis (Section 3.5.3), valuation (Section 3.5.4), cause and effect (Section 3.5.5), and Repetition (Section 3.5.6). Beyond these, a number of theorists have noted that there are several other general uses, aspects, and patterns of proverbs. Proverbs are classified into three categories by Speake (2008). The first category comprises proverbs in the form of an abstract statement through which an overall truth is presented, such as the Najdi Arabic proverb “il-ğiyāb yizīd il-galb lō’ah” (NA) (cf. the English...
proverb, ‘Absence makes the heart grow fonder’), which means that when the person we love is not with us, we love them even more.

The second category involves more colourful examples, including day-to-day experiences that indicate a basic point. For instance, one may cite the Arabic proverb مَد رجليك على قد لحافك midd rijēk ʕala qad lḥāfik (NA), ‘Stretch your legs according to the size of your quilt', which is roughly equivalent to the English proverb ‘Cut your coat according to your cloth'. This proverb exhorts people to avoid spending more than what they earn, and to adjust their spending patterns according to their existing financial condition.

The third category comprises sayings from particular aspects of traditional wisdom and folklore, such as the Arabic proverb يَا بخت من جمّع راسين بالحلال yā baxt min jammaʕ rāsēn bi-l-ḥalāl (NA), ‘Lucky is he who gathered two heads in a legal way' (i.e. in marriage).

### 3.8 Characteristics of Proverbs

Different scholars in the field of paremiology have suggested that proverbs have various characteristics, allowing us to differentiate them from other similar phenomena. The perspectives of two leading scholars will be presented here. The following criteria have been suggested by Norrick (1985: 32-34) after assessing different characteristics proposed by various scholars. Seiler (1922, cited in Norrick, 1985: 4) posits that proverbs should be self-contained, which requires that no essential grammatical unit of the proverb be replaced. Proverbs are considered grammatical sentences: according to Taylor (1934), a complete sentence should be used in a proverb (even if oblique in form). Writers like Honeck et al. (1968) additionally acknowledge that a complete sentence is one of the properties of the proverb. Moreover, proverbs are traditional: the traditional nature of proverbs is closely related to their position as objects of folklore. Trench (1853:17-18) also presents some fundamental features of proverbs. According to his criteria, a proverb is formed by three elements, namely brevity, sense, and ‘salt', as described below:

1. Shortness (Brevity): Trench (1853) claims that ‘a proverb must have shortness, succinct and utterable in a breath'. According to him, ‘it is,
indeed, quite certain that a good proverb will be short-as is compatible with full and forcible conveying of that which it intends. Brevity, “the soul of wit”, will be eminently the soul of a proverb’s wit. Oftentimes it will consist of two, three, or four, and these sometimes monosyllabic words’. Brevity, which represents ‘the soul of intelligence’, will be considered here as the soul of a proverb’s acumen. Proverbs sometimes contain two, three, or four words and even brief or uncommunicative words. This feature is clear in proverbs like ‘extremes meet’, ‘forewarned is forearmed’, and xabz yiday (NA), ‘The baking of my hands’, which is interpreted as ‘I know him very well’, and many more. Trench (1853) also claims that brevity is just a relative term, so it would probably be better to say that a proverb must be concise and trimmed whereby it is abridged, demonstrative of exemplary intelligence, and involves the least possible words. If it meets the standard of possessing the shortest acceptable form, it is then not necessary for it to be extremely brief, as can be proved by a number of examples.

2. Sense: Trench (1853) asserts that sense is often sacrificed in favour of assonance.

3. Salt: According to Trench (1853), ‘a proverb must have salt, that is, besides its good sense it must in its manner and outward form being pointed and pungent, having a sting in it, a barb which shall not suffer it to drop lightly from the memory’.

3.9 Communicative and Social Functions of Proverbs

Researchers studying proverbs have not just revealed their fascinating linguistic structures, but they have also emphasised their communicative and social aspects. Proverbs contribute to the life of both speakers and listeners. People want to support their point of view, express generalisations, affect or control others, justify personal limitations, question particular behavioural configurations, satirise social evils, and mock absurd circumstances by using proverbs in their discourses (Mieder, 1993: 11). Proverbs, according to Seitel (1976: 125), can be understood as the strategic social use of metaphorical
images in order to fulfil particular objectives. According to Seitel (1976: 127), these brief and conventional statements are used in order to promote some social cause; this implies that in a communication setting, proverbs are used as oratorical devices. The significance of these different functions of proverbs – as mentioned in the research – can be approximately divided into four main parts, which are presented below:

1. Proverbs intend to encourage social incorporation by authorising traditions, while also mitigating customs and institutions to those who carry out and perceive them (Bascom, 1965: 290). A prudent proverb can be used by people for representing disappointment with some given facets of life.

2. Proverbs perform the significant but often ignored role of preserving the conventionality of known patterns of behaviour, which constitute a key source of implementing social pressure and practising social control (Bascom, 1965: 295). Proverbs are perceived as tools that form and construct particular social values and behaviour (Grzybek, 1987; Yankah, 2001; Akbarian, 2012). According to Dupree (1979: 51), folk stories are likely to maintain – and not negate – the prevailing order. This role resembles the functions of previously mentioned devices, although it differs in that some proverbs and folk stories are sources for implementing social pressure on people in a community to make them defer to social values, as well as providing words of instruction for children and mitigating social institutions. In other words, there are some proverbs that are used to counter those who try to move away from the social customs of their native setting (Bascom, 1965:295).

3. A person’s frustration and attempts at distracting themselves from the tyrannical forces of society can also be represented by proverbs (Bascom, 1965: 290). Proverbs can elucidate concepts in a manner that people cannot explain in their real lives. Individuals can hide their feelings and views, yet latently express stances that they would never have the courage to articulate directly by citing brief proverbs. This yields a fascinating paradox: while proverbs contribute to the
transmission and preservation of social values and make people adapt to them, they also offer socially sanctioned channels for the suppressions enforced by these same institutions on people. In other words, some proverbs and folk tales might represent the actual outlooks of the repressed group, similar to voices from below (Hamilton, 1987: 74).

4. Proverbs are oratorical devices that are perceived as weapons in natural communication (Arewa and Dundes, 1964; Lieber, 1994: 101; Yankha, 2001) and make discourses more analytically rich and meaningful (Akbarian, 2012). In different daily interactional contexts, proverbs are often utilised for practical and rational reasons. Individuals can justify their opinions, show uncertainties, cast blame, defend, or ridicule someone through the use of a proverb (Krikmann, 1985: 58). Many researchers consider the rhetorical and educational role of proverbs as having primary significance. Along with other scholars, Abrahams (1972), Seitel (1976), Krikmann (1985), Norrick (1985), and Yankah (2001) have deemed the educational role of proverbs to be the most significant. A proverb offers a direct or indirect clue to the listener, persuading them to alter their attitude in accordance with the desired setting.

Almost every culture has proverbs, which are utilised as oratorically efficient means of conveying gathered knowledge and customs. Proverbs are considered to be speech entities that can be used in different varieties of discourse environments. They are cited in daily life settings in all cultures to discuss different scenarios. According to Mieder (2004: 108-109), ‘[P]roverbs exist in different regions of the world, although some regions appear to have richer stores of proverbs than other regions (like West Africa), whereas other regions have barely any (like North and South America)’. Honeck (1997:26-29) elaborately presents the various roles and functions of proverbs, which are discussed below.
3.9.1 Function of Proverbs

Proverbs can be found in a number of discursive devices, such as poetry, song, and prose. The exact purpose for their usage differs depending on the category in question. A specific rhythmic structure is followed in poetry and melody; therefore, the poetic and balanced syntactic arrangement of some proverbs can be engaging. Furthermore, proverbs present copious pieces of information in a brief sentence; this is a significant fact, as song writers as well as poets frequently have verbal economy as an objective. The objectives might vary for prose and poetry writers with a shift in focus to the rhetorical – and at times indirect – way that characterises proverbs. Possibly, the primary cause of proverbs being used in literary sources is that they hold an emotional and artistic force. This impact can be perceived not simply in their frequent utilisation of poetic strategies, but in their general omni-temporal (timeless) nature and their stimulation of affect-laden global concepts concerning human issues. Proverbs are used in the works of a number of prominent writers, such as Emily Dickinson, Bernard Shaw, and Shakespeare. Honeck (1997: 27) neatly encapsulates the powerful discursive value of proverbs by stating:

One can ask whether there is anything unique about the proverbs genre that makes for its use in literature. One hypothesis is that proverbs are detachable from their original context of use, but nevertheless can remind a reader of the social norms they embody that is, the proverbs [sic] can retain its general significance in spite of its [sic] being resituated in some text.

3.9.2 Practical Function of Proverbs

The use of proverbs in practical settings is another function presented by Honeck (1997). Proverbs are relatively brief, generally concrete, poetic in style, and used as indirect comments. Proverbs have distinguishing properties, which enable them to be used in daily life situations. They represent the power and intellect of many people and have classificatory and logical roles. These properties demonstrate that proverbs can be employed to facilitate retention, teach, and motivate. Obviously, these properties constitute
the core reasons for the development of proverbs in the first place. Concerning the realism of proverbs, Honeck (1997:27) claims that:

[S]ocio-psychological issues like substance abuse can be treated through the use of proverbs. Furthermore, proverbs can also be used in psychotherapy and tests of psychological conditions as a means of training children to reason more logically, as an imaginary reminder by the elderly, as a means of evaluating workers' behaviours towards work and life, and even as tests of a respondent's ability to stand trial.

According to Moosavi (2000: 8-10), proverbs can be used for any of the following functions:

1. Proverbs can be used as a book name or title of a literary work. For instance, one may consider the Kuwaiti play titled من سبق لبق min sibaq libaq (NA), ‘He who comes first, gets his due’.

2. In the press, a proverb can be used in the heading or text of the topic in order to deliver a new and thought-provoking element. For example, in the Moroccan newspaper Al-Alam, the following proverb was used as the title of an editorial: من يزرع الريح، يحصد العاصفة man yazraʿ ar-rīḥ, yaḥṣid al-ʕaṣifah (SA), ‘He who sows the wind, reaps the storm’ (cf. the Biblical phrase, ‘For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind’, Hosea, 8:7). This means that if a person commits a wrongful act, they themselves may end up suffering a fate which is even worse. The topic of the editorial was the chaos that prevailed in the world due to what has become known as the ‘New World Order’ (Al-Alam, 1992).

3. Proverbs are used by statesmen and government authorities in their discourses relating to political events.

4. The interest of clients and customers may be enhanced if proverbs are employed in advertisements. For example, a tweet written by Domino's Pizza states: العجينة السابعة وصلت! العجينة الأصلية المحشية باللبن. لازم تجربها. #عجائن Domino's Pizza, ‘The seventh dough has arrived! The original cheese stuffed dough.
You have to try it.’ This was made in reference to Domino’s Pizza special dough for its food products. Maestro Pizza replied to this tweet with the proverb سبع صناعات و البخت ضائع (sabiʕ sanāyiʕ wil-baxat dāyiʕ) (NA), ‘Seven jobs, and still no luck’.

3.9.3 Educational Function of Proverbs

Like folk tales, proverbs function as educational tools (Bascom, 1965:2 90), educational speech (Granbom-Herranen, 2010: 96), and as a means of instilling ethics and principles in children (Lawal et al., 1997; Yankah, 2001; Akbarian, 2012). Due to their educational and moral principles, proverbs are mostly connected with adults (Granbom-Herranen, 2010: 96; Yankah, 2001). Dupree (1979: 51) stresses the educational role of folk tales, specifically in the socialisation of children and having them become active members of the community. He highlights that the majority of children need to learn their history, value systems, and codes of conduct via verbal means.

It has also been stated in some sources that the learner can retain proverbs for their whole life if they have been internalised at an early age:

Even as late as the nineteenth century, the sophisticated essayist and art critic John Ruskin would say that the four chapters of proverbs his mother had him memorize as a small child were ‘the one essential part of all my education’ (Davis, 2000:11).

The importance of learning proverbs in some countries is noted by Davis (2000: 13): ‘Proverb-telling sessions were held at wakes by West Indians’. The following is also argued by Penfield and Duru (1988: 125): ‘In child rearing, proverbs are usually used correctly as indirect comments on behavior with the intent to correct or alter the child’s behavior.’ According to the Akan and Yoruba African tribes, the one who is proficient in ‘proverbial language’ is deemed to be among the blessed descendants (cited in Yankah, 1989: 334).
From another perspective, proverbs aim to educate as they contain words of wisdom derived from human experience. They play an important role in the upbringing of new generations and developing the morals and the teachings of people in an appropriate manner. Quite possibly, the influence of the proverb on the self may be greater than a hundred lectures on morals and high principles.

3.9.4 Political Function of Proverbs

The religious vocabulary of the Bible impacted Barack Obama, who repeatedly based his arguments on the Biblical proverb: ‘A house divided against itself cannot stand’ (Mieder, 2009: 14). Mieder (2009: 3) explained this phenomenon further stating:

Obama most often used folk speeches [that] were in proverbial forms with no entitlement to wisdom or truth. Such metaphorical phrases were used by him to include colour, expressiveness, imagery, emotion and colloquialism in his writings and speeches.

In the first chapter of the work The Politics of Proverbs, which is entitled ‘As If I Were the Master of the Situation: Proverbial Manipulation in Adolf Hitler’s Mein Kampf’, Mieder (1997: 32) endorses the view that politicians exercise authority and supremacy by employing proverbs:

The proverbs used by Hitler aimed to convince the readers of Mein Kampf and most importantly his listeners while addressing the absolute and final wisdom regarding National Socialism. It’s quite obvious that they were used for propaganda.
Moreover, Mieder (1997: 14-15) states:

The influence of *Mein Kampf* cannot be ignored. It became an inspiration for its readers, just as somehow Hitler was able to attract crowds to listen to his speeches. Hitler was able to attain eventual power through this book along with his oral rhetoric, a substantial part being played by his manipulative and shrewd (mis)use of folk speech with its proverbs and proverbial expressions.

In the second chapter titled as ‘Make Hell While the Sun Shines: Proverbial Rhetoric in Winston Churchill’s Second World War’, Mieder states (1997: 43): ‘George B. Bryan and I have shown that Churchill employed 3,300 proverbial utterances in his entire published corpus of 36,917 pages.’ Moreover, he demonstrates that Churchill used proverbs because he was familiar with the irresistible power of the style of verbal discourse ‘to keep Stalin from siding with Hitler’ (Mieder, 1997: 64). He also notes the following: ‘During tense United Nations debates, the former Soviet Union delegate, Andre Vishinsky, supported many arguments with proverbs’ (Raymond, 1956: 154).

### 3.10 Understanding Culture through Proverbs

Samover et al. (2009: 29) assert that in almost all cultures, proverbs are communicated in a vibrant, rich language through the use of a limited number of words, whereby a significant set of norms and beliefs for people of a given culture are presented. The insights, partialities, and even superstitions of a culture are signified by its proverbs. Different names can be used for proverbs and proverb-like utterances, such as ‘truisms’, ‘sayings’, ‘maxims’, and so forth.

These devices are all projected to deliver the truths and assembled knowledge about a culture. Proverbs are considered significant to the learning procedure. Somewhat ironically, a proverb even exists to demonstrate this fact: ‘A country can be judged by the quality of its proverbs.’ Proverbs are repeated with excessive regularity and are easy to learn. These figures of speech persist so that the next generation can know what is considered vital in a culture. However, Samovar et al. (2009: 30) claim that since all societies share mutual experiences irrespective of their cultures, many proverbs *prima facie* seem
universal. In almost all cultures, for instance, frugality and hard work are to some extent emphasised. Therefore, in German there is a proverb that says, ‘One who does not honour the penny is not worthy of the dollar’, while in the United States, a proverb says, ‘A penny saved is a penny earned.’ As silence is appreciated in the Far East, a Japanese proverb claims, ‘The quacking duck is the first to get shot’. Apart from these cases of global proverbs, thousands of proverbs exist that are used by every culture in order to deliver lessons that are distinctive to a specific nation. A useful summary has been presented by Roy (cited in Samover et al., 2009: 30), which explains why the knowledge of cultural proverbs is considered a significant tool for intercultural communication learners:

He says that the investigation of these verbally transmitted norms provides a good opportunity to learn about culture, since often repeated proverbs combine the past, present, and future. These proverbs direct our attention to universally acknowledged cultural concepts.

However, all cultures possess distinctive proverbs. In fact, there is a proverb which states: ‘If you want to know a people, know their proverbs’. Morals are referred to in a famous Japanese saying that reads: ‘An evil deed remains with the evildoer.’ Discretion is also reflected in Japanese proverbs, such as the following: ‘The tongue is like a sharp knife: it kills without drawing blood’. According to Zona (1994, cited in Schuster, 1998: 18-23), proverbs from various Native North American tribes frequently demonstrate their sacred conceptions of the land. For instance, one of their notable proverbs states: ‘Take only what you need and leave the land as you found it’. Another emphasises the significance of spirituality: ‘Wisdom comes only when you stop looking for it and start living the life the Creator intended for you’.

3.11 Classification of Proverbs in Relation to Figuration

Several scholars have presented different typologies of proverbs. One key classification model orders proverbs according to the kind of figuration that they use. Norrick (2011: 130-135) differentiates five categories of figurative proverbs: metaphoric, synecdoche, hyperbolic, metonymic, and paradoxical.
Norrick’s figurative proverbs have allegorical meanings, which are different from their literal connotation. Only the first three of these categories will be considered in this research work, as I am strictly concerned with bayān (tropes), that is, the ‘branch of Arabic rhetoric dealing with metaphorical language, connecting idea and verbal expression or writing, and interpreting knowledge’ (Oxford Islamic Studies Online, no date). Norrick’s typology consists of the following categories:

1. Synecdoche proverbs. These are ‘proverbs in which the literal reading and standard proverbial meaning or SPI stand in a relation of macrocosm to microcosm’ (Norrick, 2011: 108). Literal and figurative meanings are quite diverse in synecdoche proverbs.

2. Metaphoric proverbs, or what I will call ‘metaphorical proverbs’. These are based on a relationship of resemblance between the literal meaning of the proverb and its abstract emblematic meaning.

3. Metonymic proverbs. These proverbs are based on an association (other than that of macrocosm-microcosm or similarity) between the figurative meaning of the metonymic proverb and its literal meaning.

4. Hyperbolic proverbs. Norrick (2011: 131) claims that ‘hyperbole has conventionally been perceived as an oratorical figure with, if not having the same significance as, synecdoche, metaphor and metonymy’. In other words, a hyperbole is considered an augmentation or embellishment of a proposition or rule. The proverb ‘A faint heart never won a fair lady’ is, for instance, a hyperbolic proverb because of the use of the absolute negation of ‘never’.

5. Paradoxical proverbs. These are proverbs in which there is a conflict or whose understanding involves a logical quandary. ‘Fair is not fair, but that which pleases’ is a paradoxical proverb. A logical conflict is evident in the first part of the proverb. Another example of a paradoxical proverb is: ‘A man’s house is a heaven and hell as well’. Paradoxical proverbs often include – as a general rule – a ‘second interpretation’.

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3.12 Summary

In this chapter, I assessed scholarly definitions of proverbs, covering their historical origins and aspects. Then I moved on to the formal and structural-semantic features of proverbs. Thereafter, I presented the substantial differences found between proverbs and other similar tropes, followed by the categories and characteristics of proverbs. In the sections that followed, I discussed the significance of proverbs, and also uncovered their communicative and social functions. Finally, I considered the ways that cultures could be understood through their respective proverbs, followed by the various typological models of proverbs.
Chapter 4  
Bayān (Tropes) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory

4.1 Introduction

In the following sections, I will explore the various views of classical Arab and Western rhetoricians on the role of figurative language (Section 4.2). I will then consider the views of these scholarly camps in relation to the concepts of bayān (tropes) (Section 4.3), metaphor in Western speech and istikārah in Arabic rhetoric (Section 4.3.1), simile in Western rhetoric and tašbīh in Arabic rhetoric (Section 4.3.2), majāz mursal in Arabic rhetoric (Section 4.3.3), synecdoche in Western rhetoric (Section 4.3.4), and kināyah in the Arabic rhetorical tradition (Section 4.3.5) and metonymy in Western rhetoric (Section 4.3.6). Section 4.4 will give an introduction to body language, followed by an evaluation of Arabic proverbs in Section 4.5. Conceptual Metaphor Theory will be presented in Section 4.6. Finally, examples of figurative meaning of the six chosen body parts will be presented in Section 4.7.

These elements are all traditionally regarded as figures of speech. Baldick (2008:130) defines a figure of speech as follows:

An expression that departs from the accepted literal sense or from the normal order of words, or in which an emphasis is produced by patterns of sound. Such figurative language is an especially important resource of poetry, although not every poem will use it; it is also constantly present in all other kinds of speech and writing.

4.2 Views of Classical Arab and Western Rhetoricians on Figurative Language

The basic definition of figurative language is generally accepted by both Arab and Western scholars. This is:

[F]igurative language creates a figurative expression by transmitting the figurative meaning of one verbal element to another element. The linked word enables the reader/listener to understand the expression in terms of its figurative meaning, not in its literal sense (Khojah, 1999:1).
Figurative expressions have fascinated Arab scholars for centuries. Because they are linked to obliqueness and stylistic deviation, they are considered to be more effective than explicit literal phrases. On the other hand, literal and figurative expressions are perceived by several Western scholars as two poles on a scale, rather than two entirely distinct categories. For instance, according to Cantor (1982:72), ‘as all linguistic expressions involve some accustomed as well as some new elements in it, every language is a combination of literal and figurative expressions’.

Western scholars identify numerous figures of speech, such as metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, and simile, while others also add conceit, personification, proverb, cliché, oxymoron, idioms, indirect requests, and so forth (Katz et al., 1998; Glucksberg, 2001).

4.3 Bayān (Tropes)

This section builds on the ideas of Barihi (2012: 23) and explicates the concept of bayān, which in linguistic terms can be rendered as ‘lucidity and distinctiveness’. Conceptually, it refers to the art of expressing and clarifying thought in writing and speech. The various ‘figures of speech’ and ‘tropes’ which fall under the remit of bayān will be discussed in the following sections.

Arabic rhetoric comprises three main branches: bayān, mafānī, and badi‘. Abū Bakr (1980, cited in Barihi, 2012: 23) refers to bayān as a frame of knowledge that enables the user to express their mind through different structures, which naturally vary depending on the level of clarity found in expressing the intended meaning.

In the Quran, Allah says:

الرحمن، علّم القرآن، خلق الإنسان، علمه البيان (الرحمن: 1-3)


(‘(Allah) Most Gracious! It is He Who has taught the Qur’an, He has created man, He has taught him speech (and intelligence)’)²

² All Quranic verses in this study are derived from the official King Saud University Translation, <http://quran.ksu.edu.sa/>.
And We have sent down to thee the Book explaining all things, a Guide, a Mercy, and Glad Tidings to Muslims (al-Naḥl, 89)

Arab scholars such as al-Daynūrī (2014) and al-Sakkākī (1987: 329) identify four main rhetorical figures of speech: استعارة (normally translated as ‘metaphor’), التشبيه (often rendered as ‘simile’), كنایه (somewhat similar to metonymy), and مجاز مرسل (normally translated as ‘synecdoche’). All these linguistic elements fall under the umbrella of علم البيان (tropes).

![Figure 4.1 Bayān (tropes) and its sub-types](image)

4.3.1 *Istīfārah* (Metaphor)

The Arabic term that best corresponds to the English term ‘metaphor’ is استعارة (Istīfārah). The word استعارة (Istīfārah) literally is rendered as ‘borrowing’, but in the Arabic language it is a highly regarded linguistic marker (Abdul-Raof, 2006: 218). The relationship between the literal and figurative meaning in the case of استعارة (Istīfārah) depends on there being some resemblance between them.
According to ʕatīq, the classical rhetorician al-Jāḥid (1968: 158) claims that istiʕārah can be defined as تسمية الشيء باسم غيره إذا قام مقامه tasmiyat al-šay’ bi-ismi ɣayrih idā qāma maqāmah ‘the process of replacing something with another which has similar features’. Accordingly, CA scholars classify istiʕārah in a parallel fashion to how classical Western scholars grade the metaphor. The Arab scholarly class’s perception of istiʕārah is outlined by ʕatīq (1985) as follows: istiʕārah is a linguistic figurative scheme which is predicated on the similarity found between its elements. Istiʕārah, in its ‘deep structure’, is considered a simile where one of the elements – namely the ‘particle’ expressing similarity – is removed.

The function of istiʕārah rests on three components: مستعار له (‘topic’), مستعار منه, (‘vehicle’), and وجه الشبه (‘indicator’ or ‘aspect of resemblance’ respectively). Finally, the relationship in any metaphor, which is known in English as the grounds, can be expressed or understood through the given expression (ʕatīq, 1985: 369).

The following example illustrates how the Classical Arab rhetoricians analysed cases of istiʕārah. Consider the expression رأس القبيلة (NA), ‘The head of the tribe’. Here the topic قبيلة (NA) ‘a tribe’, has a head just like a human body. Therefore, the topic and the vehicle both have a mutual characteristic of showing the highest rank. The major aspect of resemblance وجه الشبه (the grounds) between these two elements is that in a human body, the head is considered to be the most significant and highest part, and as such the significance of a person in his tribe is indicated in this way.

Istiʕārah is divided into two categories: استعارة ضمنية istiʕārah ḍimniyyah (‘implicit metaphor’) and استعارة تصريحية istiʕārah taṣrīḥiyah (‘explicit metaphor’). The first type is istiʕārah insofar as the characteristic being compared between the two objects is not stated, and it is left up to the reader to deduce the meaning from the context of the sentence. Istiʕārah is explicit, however, if the characteristic being compared is clearly specified by the speaker (ʕatīq, 1985: 176).
4.3.1.1 *Istifārah* (Metaphor): the Body and Culture

To better understand human cognition, the vital role of the body and its link to culture is examined by cognitive linguistics. For as one authoritative source states, ‘The examination of metaphors involves knowing the unknown features of one’s mind and culture’ (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 214). We examine culture with reference to our past experiences and then compare this with the physical and social characteristics of the outside world. Cognitive linguists argue that metaphor creates schematic images in the language user’s mind, a process that then structures their modes of thought. Lakoff (1987: 113-114) labels these conventional images ‘image schemas’. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), all the image schemas that a person possesses regarding their worldview are formed by their particular culture. Consequently, these images belong only to the person situated within the context of their own social framework; therefore, an image that one person has regarding their worldview will differ from those of someone else belonging to a different culture. For instance, the expression ‘time is money’ can only be understood as ‘you are wasting my time’ in highly industrialised cultures (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 8-9). This expression is used to emphasise the fact that someone should not waste another person’s time because this could affect their work productivity and earnings. Different norms and ethics prevail
in non-industrialised cultures that will ultimately generate divergent understandings of shared experiences. According to Kövecses (1995: 192), it is not possible to correctly describe expressions of anger on the basis of culture alone; instead, ‘embodiment’ (i.e. relating one’s terms to the human body) is also required to explain them. Kövecses (1995) states that embodiment appears to restrict the types of metaphors that can be used as feasible conceptualisations of anger. This research finding is supported by Kövescses and Maalej (2004), who argue that when studying human body-part proverbs, factors like experience, embodiment, and culture must be taken into account, as they enable us to develop a better understanding of human conceptualisations.

4.3.2 Tašbīh (Simile)
The word شبيه tašbīh is a verbal noun مصدر maṣdar derived from the verb شبه shabbaha, which means to compare one thing with another (ʕumar, 2008: 1162). According to Abubakre (1989), its root verb is shabiha. ʕumar provides the following definition of التشبيه tašbīh (2008: 1162):

التشبيه هو إلحاق أمر بأخر لصفة مشتركة بينهما

At-Tašbīh huwa ilḥāq amrin bi-ʾāxar li-ṣifatin muštarakatin baynahumā.

Tašbīh is used to relate a feature of similarity shared by two objects or notions with the intent to focus on this common feature to the exclusion of other considerations.

According to al-Ḥāšimi (1999:219), tašbīh comprises the following four elements: (1) المشبه المعرّف al-mušabbah ('the primary object being compared'), (2) المشبه المعرّف bih al-mušabbah bih ('the secondary object to which the comparison is being made'), (3) وجه الشبيه wajhu aš-šabah ('the aspect of resemblance'), and (4) أداء التشبّه adātu at-tašbīh ('the particle of comparison'). These fundamental feature of tašbīh are similar to those of the simile, as understood in Western rhetoric.
4.3.2.1 Types of Tašbīḥ According to the Feature of Comparison (Particle of Similarity)

There are a number of different types of tašbīḥ according to the feature of comparison (particle of similarity). These are as follows:

تشبيه تمثيلي Tašbīḥ Tamṭīlī ('Homeric Simile')

This is a kind of simile whereby the aspect of resemblance is an image of a visible object (al-Hāšimī, 1999: 234). An example of this is the proverb ضربة في رأس غيبي مثل شق في جدار darbitin fi rās ḡāyri mīṭīl šaqqīn fi- jdār (NA), ‘A hit in someone else’s head is like a crack in the wall’. This refers to a person who is nonchalant about the problems and sufferings of others. In English, a Homeric simile is also known as an ‘epic simile’. It refers to a ‘detailed comparison in the form of a simile that is many lines in length’. The word ‘Homeric’ traces its origins to the Greek author Homer, who composed two famous Greek epics, namely The Iliad and The Odyssey. An example of a Homeric simile is ‘she brushed it away from his skin as lightly as when a mother brushes a fly away from her child who is lying in sweet sleep’ (Wikipedia, 2021).

تشبيه غير تمثيلي Tašbīḥ Ġayr Tamṭīlī ('Non-Epic Simile')

This is a kind of simile where the aspect of resemblance is not a visible picture. An example of this type of simile is وجهه كالبدر wajhu ka-l-badr (SA), ‘His face is like a moon’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999:234).

تشبيه مفصل Tašbīḥ Mufaṣṣal ('Detailed Simile')

This is a kind of simile where the aspect of resemblance (wajhu aš-šabah) is mentioned. An example of this is ألفاظه كالعسل حلاوة Alfāḏuḥu ka-l-ṯasali ḥalāwatan (SA), ‘His words are sweet like honey’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999:235).
تشبيه مجمل Tašbīh Muğmal (‘Synoptic Simile’)

The aspect of resemblance in this category is not mentioned, as in the saying, النحو في الكلام كالملح في الطعام An-nahwu fi-l-kalām ka-l-milḥi fi-t-ṭaʿām (SA), ‘Grammar in speech is like salt in food’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999: 235).

تشبيه قريب مبتذل Tašbīh Qarīb Mubtaḍal (‘Common Simile’)

In this kind of simile, the aspect of resemblance is evident and straightforward, such as when one compares the cheek to a rose in its colour (al-Hāšimī, 1999: 235).

تشبيه بعيد وغريب Tašbīh Baṭīd wa Ġarīb (‘Infrequent Simile’)

The aspect of resemblance in this kind of simile is difficult to ascertain, as in the case of the phrase والشمس كالمرآة في كفّ al-ṣamsu ka-l-mir āṭī fi kaffi al-ašall (SA) ‘And the Sun is like a mirror in the hand of a paralysed person’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999:235).

4.3.2.2 Types of Tašbīh According to the Particle of Tašbīh

There are several types of tašbīh according to the semantic unit, a number being listed below:

تشبيه مرسل – tašbīh mursal (‘free simile’). In this type of simile, the particle of tašbīh is mentioned, as in the following: ānta ka-l-mā’ fi-ṣ-ṣafā’ (SA), ‘You are like water in its original state of purity’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999:237).

تشبيه مؤكد – tašbīh mu’akkad (‘emphatic simile’). In this type of simile, the particle of comparison is omitted, as in the following: yimši mašy il-ḥamām (NA), ‘He walks the walk of pigeons’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999:237).

تشبيه بليغ – tašbīh baliq (‘rhetorical simile’). The particle of comparison and the aspect of resemblance are omitted in this type of simile, as can be observed in the following:

عزماتهم قضب و فيض أكفّهم سحب و بيض وجوههم أقمار
‘Their determination is strong, their palms are clouds, and their faces are moons’ (al-Hāšimī, 1999:237)

4.3.2.3 A Comparison between Simile and Metaphor in Western Rhetoric

The quest to find differences between simile and metaphor beyond the obvious disparities in their form is a centuries old endeavour in the field of rhetorical theories. In some respects, there is only a very slight difference between the two figures of speech. In fact, some philosophers such as Aristotle in his Rhetoric have said that ‘the simile also is a metaphor…the difference is but slight’ (Aristotle, 1954: 4). A simile can be conceived as an extended version of a metaphor. In one respected opinion, which originates from Quintilian and is then adopted by Miller (1979), a metaphor is considered an indirect and compact version of a simile. The metaphor is the primary form when compared to the simile; with the latter comprising a clear and detailed
version of the metaphorical pathway (e.g. Aristotle, 1954; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Glucksberg and Keysar, 1990). At a general level, these theorists hold largely dissimilar opinions, yet they converge on the subject of metaphor and simile by arguing that the two are similar in meaning but different in their expressive quality.

The basic question that has guided the research trajectory of this research domain for decades is the nature of the two phenomena. Glucksberg (2001: 29) raises one of the main questions in this regard by exploring which of the two concepts is anterior: “[W]hich comes first, the metaphorical egg or the chicken of similitude?” Concrete evidence suggests that the correlation between metaphor and simile is not like the famous question of the egg and the chicken; instead, it mirrors the relation between apples and oranges. However, one of the figures, namely that of metaphor, deploys the theoretical mechanism known as the basic source of the whole argument. The simile, on the other hand, proverbially employs the target and provides a meticulous elucidation of the concept being studied. Apples and oranges consist of different types; while they may diverge in terms of shape and size, they can nevertheless be compared with one another. In the case of the metaphor and simile, the two figures can compared through the intermediation of a third phenomenon known as literal comparison (which will be discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). In addition, a comparative assessment of the two concepts will be undertaken in Section 4.3.2.3.

It has been asserted by some scholars that a metaphor is the compact form (Miller, 1993). However, according to the dictates of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 1997), this is a peculiar notion. A plethora of metaphors do not display an impartial resemblance of the source and the target, but instead bear a relation with one another according to everyday life associations. For instance, let us consider the metaphors ‘Happiness is up’ and ‘Difficulty is heaviness’. In both cases, not only does the existing comparison lie between the source and target, but the metaphors also develop a general theoretical analogy between the source and the target. Metaphors rigorously develop the similarities between them rather than simply underlining them. By contrast, similes display comparisons at a rudimentary
level. They separate the source from the target, and then analyse similarities between them by drawing juxtapositional points. The comparison they invoke is essentially figurative in nature, which makes them different from literal appraisals.

4.3.2.4 Simile as a Form of Comparison

Most scholars share common views concerning the analytical nature and structure of similes. However, with regard to metaphors, there are still major methodical disagreements. The major reason for the general theoretical agreement regarding the simile is that with its incorporation of an explicit ‘particle of comparison’ is a well-defined and discernible condition. This is contrary to the case of metaphors, where no explicit indicator that the word or phrase is figurative can be located. According to the American Heritage College Dictionary (1997:1270), a simile is ‘a figure of speech in which two essentially unlike things are explicitly compared, usually by means of like or as’. This basic definition is commonly expressed in a number of authoritative dictionaries and encyclopaedias, with all of them stressing the existence of three fundamental features in similes. These three elements comprise of 1) the involvement of a comparison, 2) a detailed and extensive theoretical link drawn between the two concepts, and 3) most importantly, the comparison concerns non-essential features of the entity in accordance with the dictates of the ‘particle of comparison’. The latter requires that the linking features not be important aspects of that entity, a reflection of the fact that the invoked comparison is figurative in nature, not literal. The basic condition that renders a comparison figurative is that when the specific features are compared, they should seem unalike and dissimilar, such that they cannot be compared literally (cf. Miller, 1993: 373). Basing himself on Shen’s analysis (1992: 269), Dickins (1998) illustrates the difference between literal and figurative comparison by comparing the literal comparison, ‘Cigarettes are like pipes’, with the simile, ‘Cigarettes are like pacifiers’ (a pacifier that is known in British English as a ‘[baby’s] dummy’). Dickins (1998: 292) states:

In the first case, we are dealing with a simple literal comparison, of a type which might be used to explain to someone who didn’t know what
cigarette was; in the second, we are dealing with a dramatic and superficially implausible figurative comparison. Even leaving aside a more precise definition of the terms ‘literal’ and ‘figurative’ here and elsewhere, there is one obvious problem with this; namely the impossibility of drawing a sharp division between a ‘literal’ and a ‘non-literal’ comparison. We may all agree that ‘Cigarettes are like pipes’ is a literal comparison, and ‘Cigarettes are like pacifiers’ is a non-literal comparison.

However, an important question arises from this: what are the criteria used to label some objects as similar or dissimilar? In the natural world, most objects share common properties yet are not comparable in basic terms. For example, humans and plants have many similarities on the cellular level, but should we be asked to compare a person to an orchid, it would be extremely difficult to list significant parallel properties between the two entities. As Shen (1992: 569) argues, there is no straightforward linguistic criterion that would enable one to categorise ‘cigarettes are like pipes’ as a literal comparison, and ‘cigarettes are like pacifiers’ as a simile. All this is fundamentally a matter of perception, namely how we perceive things and what properties are deemed necessary and essential. Accordingly, the basic question that arises from this quandary is: what is the basis of the perception of difference and resemblance?

Cognitive grammar describes concepts and meanings with respect to cognitive domains (Langacker, 1987). More specifically, concepts are linked and described according to the domain matrixes of these ideal constructions. A cognitive domain is any kind of conception or mental experience, while a domain matrix is an open-ended set of domains. One may consider here the example of a flower. It is not just a mere blossom, but it also serves the basic function of reproducing the plant, while also delivering food for insects, and producing a pleasant smell. Flowers are also used for various ornamental purposes at weddings, dinner parties, farewell functions, and funerals. Different domains may be more or less related to a concept; this is commensurate to how well the occasion contributes to the concept’s activation. The purview of weddings, for example, is relatively peripheral in the
domain matrix of the flower. The basic concept of the flowers nevertheless remains the same in the whole domain matrix. We may say that in general terms, when two domain matrices meet, they are considered the same insofar as they represent equivalent cognitive domains. According to this view, a literal comparison occurs when two objects that belong to the same cognitive domain are compared, while a similitive study occurs when two entities that do not belong to the same cognitive domain are subject to comparative analysis.

4.3.3 Definition of Majāz Mursal

المجاز المرسل Majāz mursal in Arabic refers to a figure of speech that falls under the domain of bayān (tropes), and applies to any word or phrase that is used in a non-literal sense due to a connection other than resemblance (al-Jařīm and Amīn, n.d.:110; al-Hāšimi, 1999:252; Qāsim and Dīb, 2003:215). The basic literal meaning of the word عين ʕayn (‘eye’), for example, is a human body part (Qibshāwī, 2010:39). But in the example أرسلت العيون لتطّلع على أحوال العدو Arsaltu al-ʕuyūna li-taṭṭaliʕa ʕalā ʔawāli ʕadu (SA), ‘I sent the eyes in order to stay updated on the enemy’s activity’, one notes that the use of the plural form العيون al-ʕuyūn (‘eyes’) here has a different meaning than its literal one, namely ‘spy’ (Nasīf et al., 2004). This example suggests that there exists a connection between the basic (literal) meaning of ‘eye’ and its new meaning of ‘spy’. The point of relation is that the ‘eye’ is a part of the spy, and it signifies the observer as whole. Thus, majāz mursal makes use of a segment in order to signify the whole (al-Jařīm and Amīn, n.d.: 109). Furthermore, one can appreciate clearly that the connection between the two meanings of عين ʕayn and ‘eye’ is not due to resemblance. Had the connection between the two meanings been one of resemblance, this would have resulted in another figure of speech: استعارة istaniʕara (‘metaphor’) (Qāsim and Dīb, 2003: 215). It can be seen in the example عين ʕayn ‘eye’/‘spy’ that majāz mursal involves the substitution of a word through another word (Allen, 2000). Additionally, it has been indicated that transmission of meaning is also involved in majāz mursal; expressions transform from one meaning into another, whereby they move
from their literal (basic) sense to a figurative one (Qāsim and Dīb, 2003: 216; Qibshāwī, 2010: 39).

In cases of majāz mursal, there is always a ‘pointer’, namely a contextual indicator, قرينة qarīnah. The latter intimates that the speaker does not refer to the basic meaning of the term (al-Hāšimī, 1999:252). In the example cited earlier, the contextual indicator opposes the actual meaning of this example. Put another way, the contextual indicator here is that it is not possible to send the eye itself as a separate entity for reconnaissance missions, and therefore the activity of the enemy was examined by sending a spy (Nasīf et al., 2004: 133).

4.3.3.1 Types of Majāz Mursal

In this section, I will examine the various categories of majāz mursal. Every type signifies a connection between the literal and figurative meaning of the word or phrase. Although many of these categories (e.g. ‘the part stands for the whole’) are typically applied to majāz mursal, they can also be applied to kināyah. As such, I will use them in relation to kināyah, rather than majāz mursal, in the specific-element analyses found in Chapter 6.

4.3.3.1.1 Majāz Mursal: Where the Part stands for the Whole

This type of majāz mursal positions something within something else (al-Hāšimī, 1999: 253). Thus, a part stands for the whole in this category (Maṭlūb and al-Bašīr, n.d.:323). This verse may be cited as an example:

و من قتل مؤمنًا خطأً فتحرير رقبة مؤمنة (النساء: 92)

Wa man qatala muʾminan xaṭaʾan fa-tahrīru raqabatīn muʾminah.

(‘And whoever takes the life of a Muslim mistakenly, he has to set a Muslim slave free’)

(an-Nisāʾ, 92)

In this Quranic verse, Majāz mursal is present in the word رقبة raqabah (‘neck’). This word has been used by Allah to signify the whole slave. Freeing the ‘neck’
thus means freeing a slave, not just the upper portion of his body (*Maṭlūb* and *al-Bashīr*, n.d.). This form of majāz mursal – where the part stands for the whole – typically makes use of the most significant or vital part. As per *al-Ḥarbī* (2011:65) رقَبة (‘neck’), for example, is used to signify the whole person as it is considered to be the most important part of the human body. This is because it carries the head and face, where the main human features are present. Furthermore, رقَبة (‘neck’) is used to signify the slave, as the neck is the place where the chains would be placed (ʿatīq, 1985: 159).

### 4.3.3.1.2 Majāz Mursal: Where the Whole Stands for the Part

This category is found when the whole is used to signify the part (*al-Ḥarbī*, 2011:64). Such a form of majāz mursal is found in the following Quranic verse:

> يقُولُونَ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ (آل عمران 167)
> 
> *Yaqūlūna bi-afwāhihim mā laysa fī qulūbihim*
> 
> (‘They utter with their mouths, that which is not in their hearts’)
> 
> (Āl-ʾImrān, 167)

The word أَفْوَاهِهِمْ (‘their mouths’) refers to the whole unit, but it signifies أَلسَنَتِهِمْ (‘their tongues’), which stands for the part. Humans do not speak with their mouths, but with their tongues (ʿatīq, 1985:160; *Qāsim* and *Dīb*, 2003: 224).

### 4.3.3.1.3 Majāz Mursal: Where the Cause Stands for the Effect

In this type, the term literally meaning the cause is used to signify the effect of that cause (*Qāsim* and *Dīb*, 2003: 218), as observed in the Quranic verse:

> مَا كَانُوا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ السَّمَعِ (هود: 20)
> 
> *Mā kānū yastaṭṭiṭiʿūna as-samʿ*
> 
> (‘They could not tolerate to hear’)
> 
> (Hūd, 20)
Majāz mursal is found in the word السَّمَع as-samʿ (‘hearing’) in this Quranic verse, which is the cause, as it refers to accepting and obeying the Holy Qur’ān. This is the case since acceptance and submission to the Qur’ān only takes place due to hearing it.

4.3.3.1.4 Majāz Mursal: Where the Effect Stands for the Cause

Majāz mursal, where the effect stands for the cause is found in the Quranic verse:

 إن الذين يأكلون أموال اليتامى ظلمًا إنما يأكلون في بطونهم نارا

‘As for those who consume the orphans’ possessions unfairly, certainly they only ingest fire into their bellies’)

(an-Nisāʾ: 10)

Here, the effect refers to the cause. The word نارا (‘fire’) has a majāz mursal import, as it is the punishment for unjustly consuming the property of orphans. In this example, the fire is the effect, although it entails the ransacked property of the orphan, which is the cause (Qāsim and Dīb, 2003: 220).

4.3.3.1.5 Majāz Mursal: Where an Entity is Referred by its Previous Status

In this case, a word is used to explain an entity or being in light of its previous status (al-Hāšimī, 1999:254; al-Subkī, 2003:138). An example of this is the statement, من الناس من يأكل القمح ومنهم من يأكل الحنطة والشعير, ‘There are some people who eat wheat while others eat breadstuff and barley’ (al-Jařīm and Amīn, n.d.: 112). The words قمح ‘wheat’, حنطة ‘breadstuff’, and شعير ‘barley’ are majāz mursal in this example, as they refer to various types of bread. The previous status of bread is breadstuff, barley, or wheat (al-Jařīm and Amīn, n.d.: 67).
4.3.3.1.6 Majāz Mursal: Where an Entity is Referred by its Future Status

*Majāz mursal* in this case involves a word that signifies the future status of something (*Qāsim* and *Dīb*, 2003: 229). In this regard, one may cite the following Quranic verse as an example:

إني أراني أعصر خمرا (يوسف: 36)

*Innī arānī aʿṣiru xamrā.*

(‘I saw myself squeezing wine’)

(Yūsuf, 36)

In this example, the word خمرا (*wine*) is used to explain something in consideration of its future status. The intended meaning is أعصر عنبا (lit. ‘I am squeezing grapes’). Logically, wine cannot be pressed or squeezed, since it is a liquid. What is pressed are grapes, which can then be turned into wine through the fermentation process (*ʕatīq*, 1985:161). This example clearly demonstrates how a word can be used by referring to its future status.

4.3.3.1.7 Majāz Mursal: Where a Location Refers to an Entity

In this case, a location is used in order to signify the entity or status in question (*Maṭlūb* and *al-Bašīr*, n.d.; *Qāsim* and *Dīb*, 2003:226). An example of this occurs in a verse of poetry recited by *Ibn al-Zayyāt* (cited in *al-Ja‘īm* and *Amīn*, n.d.:111):

آلا من رأى الطفل المفارق أمه بعيد الكرى عيناه تنسكبان

*Alā man raʾā aṭ-ṭiʃla al-mufāriqa ummahu…baṣīda al-karā ʕaynāhu tansakibān*

(‘He who sees a child leaving his mother is sleepless and his eyes are flowing’)

*Majāz mursal* occurs in this example through the word عيناه ʕaynāhu (‘his eyes’), which refers to his tears. The poet invokes the eyes in order to signify
the tears themselves, as the eye is the body part from which the tears emerge (al-Jarīm and Amīn, n. d.:66).

4.3.3.1.8 Majāz Mursal: Where an Entity or Status Refers to a Place

In this scenario, an entity’s name is invoked in order to signify the location where that unit or status exists (Maṭlūb and al-Bašīr, n.d.: 324). An example of this is found in the following Quranic verse:

و آما الذين ابيضت وجوههم ففي رحمة الله هم فيها خالدون (آل عمران: 107)

('And as to those whose faces become white, they will achieve Allah’s pity; in it they shall abide')

(Āl-ʕimrān, 107)

In this verse, majāz mursal occurs in the word رحمة raḥmah (‘pity’), which refers to Heaven. For this represents the domain in which mercy and bliss are found (Maṭlūb and al-Bašīr, n.d.: 324; ḋatīq, 1985:163).

4.3.3.1.9 Majāz mursal: Where an Instrument Refers to its Trace

In this usage, an instrument signifies its act or the purpose of its usage (al-Qazwīnī, 2003:210; al-Subkī, 2003:139). One may consider these two verses as examples:

و ما أرسلنا من رسول إلا بلسان قومه (إبراهيم: 4)

Wa mā arsalnā min rasūlin illā bi-lisānī qawmih

('We did not send any messenger but with the same language [lit. ‘tongue’] as his people')

(Ibrāhīm: 4)

و اجعل لي لسان صدق في الآخرين (الشعراء: 84)

Waʃal fī lisāna ṣidqīn fī al-āxirīn
(‘And command for me a considerable mention [lit. ‘Tongue’] among future generations’)
(aš-Šuʿarāʾ, 84)

In the two examples, the word لسان lisān ‘tongue’ fundamentally refers to the organ of speech. However, as observed in these two verses, there are two different synecdochical meanings. In the first verse, it signifies the use to which the tongue is put, namely uttering a conventional language. The expression بلسان قومه bi-lisānī qawmih signifies بلغة قﻮمه bi-luḡati qawmih ‘in the language of his folk’ (Qāsim and Dib, 2003:221; al-Suyūṭī, 2007: 364). The second verse, which is the دعاء (supplicatory prayer) of the Prophet یبراہیم as per al-Suyūṭī (2007:365), uses the word لسان lisān ‘tongue’ in order to signify admiration. The Prophet یبراہیم asks Allah for good repute among his future generations (Shabr, 1999: 370-371; al-Qazwīnī, 2003: 210; al-Suyūṭī, 2007:364).

4.3.3.1.10 Majāz Mursal: Where One Construction is Used as a Substitute for Another

As per al-Suyūṭī (2007:365), this is a category where a construction is used in place of another construction. Consider the following example:

إن الإنسان لفي خسر (الإنسان 97)

Inna al-insāna lafī xusr

(‘Most surely man is in loss’)
(al-Insān, 97)

The majāz mursal in this example signifies a plural meaning, as it denotes human beings. In this type of majāz mursal, a plural sometimes stands for a singular (al-Suyūṭī, 2007); for instance, as already noted, sometimes Allah in the Holy Qurʾan represents Himself by employing the royal ‘We’. This does not mean that Allah is plural or more than one, since He is singular and undivided.
4.3.3.2 Functions of Majāz Mursal in Arabic

*Majāz mursal* has a number of functions in Arabic, as follows:

– **Conciseness**

*Majāz mursal* is always short and concise, and this is an important function of it in the Arabic language (*al-Ḥarbī*, 2011: 65). This is illustrated by the following verse:

و اسأل القرية التي كنا فيها ( يوسف: 82)

*Wasʿali al-qaryata al-latī kunnā fihā* (*‘And ask the city in which we were’*)

(*Yūsuf*, 82)

Here, instead of saying أهل القرية *ahl al-qaryati* ‘The people who live in this village’, the word أهل *ahl* ‘people’ is unmentioned. However, the latter meaning is understood through the use of the word قريَة *qaryah* ‘village’ only.

– **Exaggeration**

Exaggeration is another important function of *majāz mursal* (*Qāsim* and *Dīb*, 2003: 231; *al-Ḥarbī*, 2011: 65). This function operates where *majāz mursal* utilises the whole unit for representing a segment only (*Qāsim* and *Dīb*, 2003: 231). Consider the following example:

يجعلون أصابعهم في أذانهم من الصواعق حذر الموت (البقرة: 19)

*Yaj’alūna aṣābiṣahum fī aḏānihim mina aṣ-ṣawāqiqi ḥaḍara al-mawt* (*‘They place their fingers into their ears due to the thunder peal, out of the terror of death’*)

(*al-Baqarah*: 19)

*Majāz mursal* is found in the word أصابعهم *aṣābiṣahum* ‘their fingers’. أصابع *aṣābiṣ* ‘fingers’ is utilised in this verse to signify the part (i.e. the finger-tips). But we know that the whole finger cannot be placed in the ear. Such an exaggerated statement is used for the nonbelievers, since this strongly
signifies the horrors that they experience with the prospect of death (al-Šagîr, 1999: 68; al-Subki, 2003:134; Nasîf et al., 2004:134).

– Plural for Singular

Using the plural in order to represent the singular is another function of majâz mursal. In some cases, plural forms are not used in Arabic to signify multiplicity, but instead to denote praise and present magnificence. Allah, for instance, who is ‘One’, uses the plural form while referring to Himself, which conveys His greatness and signifies the divine’s praise for Himself (Lynch, 2004: 63; al-Zarkašî, 2006: 148). Allah has used the plural words نحن (‘We’) and its associated verb suffix نا in the verb قسمنا (‘We distributed’) in the following Quranic verse:


\[
\text{ناّحئنا قسمنا بينهم معيشتهم في الحياة الدنيا (الزخرف 32)}
\]

\[
\text{ناّحئنا qasamnā baynahum maʕīšaṁhum fī-1-ḥayāt ad-dunyā ('We give them their source of revenue in the worldly life)}
\]

(az-Zuxruf: 32)

The use of the plural in place of the singular may also be done to show respect. In case an English person, for instance, visits an Arab state and reads an official letter delivered to someone from a person in high authority like a president or a king, they will find that instead of saying أنا سلمان بن عبد العزيز (‘I, Salmān ibn ‘abd al-azīz’), the form used is نحن سلمان بن عبد العزيز (‘We, Salmān ibn ‘abd al-azīz’). When one uses a plural word in this manner, it demonstrates that they intend to display respect (Abboud and McCarus, 1983: 70).

Qâsim and Dîb (2003: 230) have noted some other functions of majâz mursal as well. Majâz mursal, for instance, evokes the interest of readers and listeners, which ensures a discussion does not become boringly straightforward. The reader or listener is forced to rely on their own mind and imagination, and profoundly consider the majâz mursal phrase being invoked before them. Following this interest, the reader or listener will feel the thrill of finding the connection between the literal and majâz mursal meaning (Qâsim and Dîb, 2003), just like in the case of uncovering the connection between the
4.3.4 Definition of Synecdoche

In the following sections I will consider synecdoche.

4.3.4.1 Synecdoche in Western Rhetoric

A synecdoche is a trope ‘in which a more inclusive term is used for a less inclusive one or vice versa, as a whole for a part or a part for a whole’ (Oxford English Dictionary Online, n.d.). Etymologically, the term ‘synecdoche’ comes from the Greek synekdoche συνεκδοχή, which literally translates as ‘simultaneous understanding’ (Baldick, 2001: 254). A synecdoche, like other figures of speech, represents much more than the word’s literal meaning and brings forward insights, life, and colour to the daily language routine (Garrity, 2000: 90). An example of a synecdoche is ‘The bald head wants to pay his bill’, which is read to mean, ‘The man with a bald head wants to pay his bill’.

As with other figures of speech, in a synecdoche, a word has a meaning that is dissimilar to its literal sense. Within the present research, analyses will be made regarding similarities and differences between synecdoches in the English and Arabic languages. However, the key theoretical point is that just like metaphor and metonymy, synecdoche is a universal concept that can be applied in Arabic just like any other language, such as English.

In a synecdoche, there is an implicit figurative meaning and an explicit literal import, with the figure of speech indicating an association between the two (Montgomery et al., 2007:120; Cockroft and Cockroft, 2014: 221). Synecdoche involves the understanding of a key facet of a given entity through another quality of the same object, whereby the two maintain a relationship in a particular context (Kallendorf, 1999: 21). However, if there is no contextual indicator, there may be some confusion regarding what the writer or the speaker is stating (McGuigan, 2007:175). For example, consider
the simple expression, ‘Terence’s parents bought him new wheels’. There is no context available here. Thus, it is not possible to know if ‘wheels’ is a synecdoche related to a new car, or whether it is simply an allusion to bicycle wheels, pottery tools, or artificial legs (McGuigan, 2007). Garrity (2000: 90) provides a similar example, but in this case the word ‘wheels’ is specified with a set contextual meaning: ‘My brother drove his new set of wheels for the first time last time’. In this case, the synecdochical word ‘wheels’ must refer to a new car, as it occurs in the context of the verb ‘drove’.

4.3.4.2 Types of Synecdoche

In this section, I will analyse the various types of synecdoches. There are two principal categories that may be mentioned in this regard: generalising synecdoches and particularising synecdoches.

4.3.4.2.1 Generalising Synecdoches

In the case of a generalising synecdoche, a substitute for a word or general idea is used to give a more specific impression for the target concept (Whitsitt, 2013:64). This idea includes an association, whereby a semantically broader term is used for a narrower meaning in mind (Bussmann, 1996:1163; Mey, 2009:888). The following sections describe the major categories of generalising synecdoches.

4.3.4.2.1.1 Generalising Synecdoche: Where the Whole Stands for a Part

According to Auger (2010: 303) and Clifton (1983: 173), this kind of synecdoche is for the most part quite rare. It occurs when a total unit is used for a fragment (Abrams, 2005: 120). In the case of team sports, a part-for-whole synecdoche is commonly used (Eble, 1996: 50). It is quite possible for the commentator to state that a gold medal was won by ‘Australia’. But when saying ‘Australia’, the speaker is referring to any playing team that represents the country (Eble, 1996).
4.3.4.2.1.2 Generalising Synecdoche: Where the Genus Stands for the Species

In this kind of generalising synecdoche, a class is employed to refer to a particular member of that class (Chandler, 2007: 133). Sloane (2001: 763) presents an example of where the genus ‘water’ is used for the ‘ocean’ class: ‘He was lost in the waters.’ The broad and all-encompassing term ‘waters’ here may be a reference to the ocean. In a similar manner, one may refer to a car using the word ‘vehicle’ and a computer using the word ‘device’ (Chandler, 2007: 1333).

4.3.4.2.1.3 Generalising Synecdoche: Where a Plural Stands for a Singular

According to Arthur (1994:84), a synecdoche can occur where a plural is used for the singular. For instance, in the Qur’an, there are myriad plural forms used by God to refer to Himself, but this does not mean that there is more than one God. An example of this is the following:

و لقد خلقنا الإنسان و نعلم ما توسوس به نفسه و نحن أقرب إليه من حبل الوريد (ق: 16)

*Wa laqad xalaqnā al-insāna wa naʔlamu mā tuwaswisu bihi nafsuḥ wa naḥnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥablī al-warīd.*

(‘And We have already created man and know what his soul whispers to him, and We are closer to him than his jugular vein’)

(Qāf, 16)

As mentioned above, plural nouns like ‘us’, ‘we’, ‘our’, and ‘ours’ are used by God to strictly refer to Himself. Another example of this usage is when a king says ‘We’ in referring to himself. The first person plural is often used by leaders who maintain an authoritative position, like the president of a nation or a monarch (Singla, n.d.:50; Mey, 2009: 888). This synecdochical use of the plural to indicate the singular is referred to as the ‘royal plural’ or ‘the majestic plural’ (Muflahi, 2014: 603). This ‘royal plural’ involves a conventional, formal, and rare meaning (George, 1993: 461; Muflahi, 2014: 603).
4.3.4.2.1.4 Generalising Synecdoche: Where the Material Stands for the Object

Occasionally, the actual object is replaced through the synecdoche by referencing the substance that creates the object. The entire object is represented by using the matter that was used earlier. For instance, if a ‘sword’ is referred to as ‘steel’, it is considered a synecdoche. ‘Silver’, ‘plastic’, and ‘lead’ are other examples that are substituted for ‘money’, ‘credit card’, and ‘bullets’ respectively (Hebron, 2004: 149; Cushman et al., 2012: 1400).

4.3.4.2.2 Particularising Synecdoche

If substitution is made using a specific word or idea for a broad covering term or notion, this is referred to as a particularising synecdoche (Whitsitt, 2013: 64). In a particularising synecdoche, a semantically broad term is replaced by a narrow one (Bussmann, 1996:1163; Mey, 2009: 888). The main categories of this concept are mentioned below.

4.3.4.2.2.1 Particularising Synecdoche: Where the Part Stands for the Whole

In this kind of particularising synecdoche, a portion of an entity or being is cited as a reference for the whole. For instance, ‘the eyes and ears’ of a nation refer to its spies, and the ‘roof’ over an individual’s head is considered a home (Deedari and Mansouri, 2006: 290). According to Doran (2013: 63), the part-whole particularising synecdoche articulates the essence of something; for instance, in the Arabic saying كلٰي آذان صاغية kullī aḍānun ṣāgiyyah (SA), ‘All of me is a listening ear’, the individual stresses that they will carefully listen to and observe what will be said before them.

In a part-whole synecdoche, it is necessary that the part being observed as a whole is directly correlated with the mentioned topic. Hence, an infantry battalion which is on a campaign can be spoken of as ‘feet’, since the latter constitute the crucial limbs for walking. By contrast, the word ‘hands’ is used to refer to manual labour, not ‘feet’, since the former comprise the necessary limbs for manual labour (Curzan and Emmons, 2004: 118).
4.3.4.2.2 Particularising Synecdoche: Where the Species stands for the Genus

In this kind of particularising synecdoche, a unit is used to state the class as a whole (Chandler, 2007: 133). For instance, ‘bread’ is a species that is used to state a kind of food that is usually a genus (Brown, 2007: 462). In this regard, one may consider the expression, ‘He gets his bread by his labour’. Another example is من لم يمت بالسيف مات بغيره، تعددت الأسباب و الموت واحد Man lam yamut bi-s-sayfi māta biḥayrihi...ta’addadati-l-āsba’u wal-mawtu wāḥidu (SA), ‘He who does not die by the sword, dies by something else…the reasons are multiple, but death is one’, where the species ‘weapon’ is alluded to by using the class member ‘sword’. Another example is using ‘Kleenex’ (the class member) instead of ‘facial tissue’ (the class).

4.3.4.2.2.3 Particularising Synecdoche: Where the Singular Stands for the Plural

The particularising synecdoche includes another category where a singular phrase – and not the plural – is used to refer to an assortment of units (Fahnestock, 2011: 101). An example of this is the statement, ‘The match was won by England’, where ‘England’ stands for the various players in the England football team. The individual players may be praised with this assessment, but more importantly the entire team is being congratulated for its victory.

4.3.4.3 Functions of Synecdoche

Synecdoche is not limited to being ‘ornamental’ (Richardson, 1990: 70). It can be used in writing or speech to achieve many functions. These include the following:
– **To please or surprise the listener/reader**

Readers/listeners can be surprised or pleased through a notion that is expressed in an attractive and novel manner (McGuigan, 2007: 176).

– **Brevity**

In this case, the speaker articulates one or two words for the delivery of more than a solitary thought (Garces, 1996: 9; Enos, 2013: 712). This function has been commended by Enos (2013: 712), where a headline writer or newscaster makes use of a synecdoche; for example, America is ‘buckling’ or ‘collapsing’. The headlines suggest that the damaged parts are substitutes for collapsing bridges and buckling highways (Enos, 2013).

– **Compression**

In a similar manner, compression can be achieved by synecdoche. Compare the sentence, ‘A vast majority of the members of parliament voted to set up an independent inquiry into the matter’ with the compressed rendition, ‘Parliament voted to set up an independent inquiry into the matter’ (Jarvie, 2007:169). In the latter case, ‘Parliament’ is used as a synecdoche. Similarly, medical practitioners may make use of *pars pro toto* synecdoches to attain compression (Enos, 2013:712). An example of this is the sentence, ‘Room 4 has had a heart attack’, where the room of the patient is being used instead of their name. In this manner, the doctor receives significant information by the nurse via an effective method of communication (Holcomb and Killingsworth, 2010: 94). This construction is quite brief when compared to the saying, ‘The person in room 4 is having a heart attack’.

– **Symbolism**

It is possible to relay symbolism through synecdoches, since such constructions resist literality and make use of symbols. An object that attains a literal meaning as well as a figurative one is referred to as a symbol (Kelly, 2005: 1222; Juschka, 2014: 30). An example of this is where a person is struggling to carry a heavy box and tells their friend, ‘Give me a hand’. In this construction, ‘hand’ indicates another object, where the entire person is
requesting help from another. In other contexts, ‘hand’ may also be used to symbolise help to do work (Eble, 1996: 47).

– Emphasis

Emphasis is another function of synecdoche. In part-for-whole synecdoches, it is possible to emphasise the function of the cited segment. The poem ‘My Last Duchess’ by Robert Browning makes effective use of synecdoches, where the poet yields a moving portrait of his deceased wife. In the line ‘Fra Pandolf’s hands/Worked busily a day, and there she stands’, Browning refers to Fra Pandolf as a worker who was imperative due to his hands, and not as a person (Metz, 2014:1). A similar theme can be found in the following Quranic verse:

إنا نحن نزّلنا الذكر و إنا له لحافظون (الحجر:5)

_Innā naḥnu nazzalnā aḍ-ḍikra wa innā lahu la-ḥāfiqūn_ ('We have, without doubt, sent down the Message; and we will assuredly guard it')

_(al-Ḥijr: 5)_

In this example, the One God refers to Himself using the plural pronoun _naḥnu_ ('We'). A generalising synecdoche has been applied by God to place emphasis upon His divine greatness and transcendence. Here, the plural is used to underscore the greatness of the singular. In the context of God, this does not denote plurality, but the majesty of office (McQuick, 2005: 50).

– Vividness of Presentation

A synecdoche can also be used to enrich one’s presentation. If an individual states that a building is empty by invoking the name of the building part, it is possible to establish an image that is not only powerful but also vivid (Waicukauski et al., 2001: 136; Joseph, 2005: 32). To generate such an effect, one might state, ‘There were silent and dark corridors’ (Waicukauski et al., 2001:136).
4.3.4.4 Comparison between Synecdoche and Majāz Mursal

In this section, I will compare the concepts of synecdoche and majāz mursal by examining the similarities and differences between them.

1. While in the English and Arabic different explanations are given for synecdoche and majāz mursal, the same underlying notions are present in both traditions. The two forms encompass a semantic shift, where the phrase changes from one meaning to another, whereby it changes from its literal form to a synecdochical or majāzi import. In order to develop an understanding of synecdoche and majāz mursal in both English and Arabic, one is required to understand the connection between the basic (literal) and synecdochical/majāzi meanings.

2. Synecdoche and majāz mursal are used as a substitute for another related meaning. The main defining property is the type of connection that exists between the literal (basic) and figurative meanings of the used word or phrase. In English, synecdoche involves the following associations: (1) quantitative relations, which may be part-whole, whole-part, singular-plural, or plural-singular; (2) class relations involving genus-species and species-genus; and (3) material relations involving a material-object relationship. In Arabic, the following connections are found: (1) quantitative relations, which correspond to the forms present in English synecdoche; (2) relations displaying causality, as seen in cause-for-effect, effect-for-cause, and synecdoche, where an instrument stands for an effect; (3) temporal relations, where a unit is presented through its previous or future status; and (4) spatial relations, where a domain represents the entity present in it, or vice versa.
Table 4.1 A chart defining the comparisons of synecdoche and majāz mursal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synecdoche</th>
<th>Majāz Mursal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quantitative relations</td>
<td>quantitative relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class relations</td>
<td>relations showing causality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>material relations</td>
<td>temporal relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>spatial relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Synecdoche involves two concepts that are signified by their basic (literal) and figurative meanings making up a holistic unit. Consider the example of ‘hand’, which is used in order to refer to the whole person. Together, the hand and the person create a group or physical totality. Majāz mursal involves relations of association as well as relations of correlation and correspondence. The relations of correspondence and correlation occur when two entities or concepts are brought together and every one of the pairing creates a completely independent whole. This is the fundamental rationale behind dividing majāz mursal in accordance with different relationships, which include effect-for-cause, entity-for-place, and instrument-for-trace. Consider the example of a dead person who rises from the grave. Taken together, these objects (i.e. the dead person, who is taken as an entity, and the grave, taken as a place) create a completely holistic unit.

4. Majāz mursal, as defined in Arabic, involves a few associative links that are not traditionally identified in its English synecdoche counterpart. These include effect-for-cause, cause-for-effect, and majāz mursal, where an item is signified through its prospect, position, or place. These are markers that Western linguistics and rhetoricians have not traditionally identified. There are also two kinds of synecdoche that are conventional in English but not included in the Arabic categories of majāz mursal: species-for-genus and genus-for-species synecdoche.
5. There are some varieties of synecdoche and *majāz mursal* that are shared in both the Western and Arabic rhetorical traditions: whole-for-part, part-for-whole, plural-for-singular, and singular-for-plural.

6. Synecdoche and *majāz mursal* may involve reducing the whole to stand for a fragment. In both the Western and Arabic traditions, where the totality is perceived in terms of a part, the latter must constitute a significant portion of that totality. Furthermore, the part that refers to the whole should unambiguously relate to the topic in question. The spy, for example, uses his eyes in order to observe the activities of others. Since the eyes are considered the most significant part of the spy, one can cite them to signify the whole spy.

7. A synecdoche may occur when a material connection exists between the basic (literal) and non-literal meanings of the term used. It may occur when the physical material stands for the object that is made of it. Such a synecdoche is also traditionally identified in Arabic, although in a more comprehensive manner; for in Arabic it occurs when anything is signified by its previous position, which does not necessarily need to be material. The connection between literal and figurative meanings in such a synecdoche is temporal.

8. The types of synecdoche may be differentiated in terms of their degree of generalisation, such that a general term is used in place of a more specific one. There is also the case of particularisation, where a specific expression is used in place of a more general one. The first type represents substitution of the whole for a part, genus for a species, plural for the singular, and the material for the object made of it. The next type is the replacement of a part for a whole, species for a genus, and a singular for a plural. The forms of *majāz mursal* — like generalisation or particularisation in Arabic — are contingent on specific semantic relationships, such as part-for-whole and singular-for-plural, through the notion of signified generalizing. Whole-for-part and plural-for-singular are the categories through which particularising is presented in the case of the two forms.

9. There are particular functions of synecdoche and *majāz mursal* that are identical in English and Arabic. In both languages, for example, they are used as a type of verbal shorthand, as they convey the intended message in a
succinct and economic manner. Moreover, plural synecdochial forms in both English and Arabic are used to express magnificence and greatness.

10. There are some functions that are traditionally said to exist in English but not in Arabic, and vice versa. However, this does not mean that English or Arabic are bereft of these features. After all, there are other functions found in the edifice of these languages which scholars have failed to mention. Arab rhetoricians and linguists, for example, do not identify representation, stress, or vivid presentation as functions of majāz mursal. Similarly, Western rhetoricians and linguists do not not identify exaggeration and respect as functions of synecdoche.

11. Arab and English rhetoricians have emphasised different features of synecdoche and majāz mursal. Western rhetoricians focus greatly on the functions of the synecdoche. Arab rhetoricians, by contrast, emphasise the connection between the literal and non-literal meanings of the words employed. There are some Arab rhetoricians who have even named the kinds of majāz mursal with regard to the connections embedded within them.

4.3.4.5 Summary of Relationship between Synecdoche and Majāz Mursal

Since they both entail a replacement of one thing with another as per the Western and Arab rhetoricians, it can be concluded that synecdoche and majāz mursal are fundamentally similar. Both Arab and Western linguists agree that this replacement cannot occur without there being a connection among the two meanings that are used in place of one another. In English, the connection between the two meanings involved in the replacement process of synecdoche and majāz mursal involves a real relation. In Arabic, it may involve a genuine relation or a less intensive association or nexus. In English, synecdoche occurs through quantitative, temporal, spatial, or causal relations. Therefore, in their demonstrate of these connections in Arabic and English, synecdoche and majāz mursal may be of various types and intensities. In both languages, synecdoche and majāz mursal are used for evoking distinctive discursive effects. Through them, the speaker or writer does not just limit himself or herself to the base literal import of the word. Instead, the language is enhanced as the special markers add life to the
language by producing expressive images; this increases the interest of readers and listeners with the message being delivered. Furthermore, in both English and Arabic, synecdoche and majāz mursal are used for achieving particular tasks, such as achieving succinctness in one’s mode of expression and illustrating grandeur and magnificence. However synecdoche, in contrast to majāz mursal, is traditionally said to be used for additional purposes like symbolism, emphasis, and vivid presentation. These are elements that Arab linguists and rhetoricians have not mentioned.

4.3.5 Kināyah

The word كنایه kina'ah is derived from the form II verb كنَى kannā, which means ‘to cover’. As a rhetorical term, kināyah is technically defined to mean the following: تعبير أريد به غير معناه الذي وَضَعَ له، مع جواز إرادة المعنى الأصلي لعدم وجود قرينة مانعة من إرادته taʃbīr urīda bihi ġayru maʃnāхи-l-bagai wudīka lahu maʃa jawāzi irādatī-l-maʃnā-ašlī li-šàdam wujūdī qarānatin māniʃah min irādatih, ‘An expression used to give a figurative meaning where a literal meaning is also possible due to the absence of a semantic link, which will prevent the conferral of the literal meaning’ (rumar, 2008: 1965).

This section largely relies on the analysis of al-Sharafi (2004: 22-28). The very first reference to kināyah is found in the book Majāz al-Qurān written by Abū ʃubaydah (1962). Abū ʃubaydah regarded kināyah as a linguistic phenomenon and thereby adopted a grammatical conception of it. In his opinion, kināyah refers to the substitution of a noun by a pronoun that has the same referent. Kināyah is thus perceived by Abū ʃubaydah to encompass ‘implicitness’ in its linguistic content, whereby only a pronoun is used without any nominal precursor coming before it, or any resolvable reference succeeding it. To back up his position, Abū ʃubaydah cites the following Quranic verses as examples:

Kullu man alayhā fān.

(‘All that is on it will expire’)

(al-Raĥmān, 26)
Hattā tawārat bi-l-ḥijāb.

('Until it was concealed in the veil of night')

Ṣād, 32)

Falawlä ʾidā balaghati-l-ḥulqūm.

('Yea when it reaches to the collar-bone')

(al-Wāqīʿah, 83)

Abū ʿUbaydah then demonstrates that the pronoun mentioned in verse 1 refers to the Earth, in 2 it refers to the Sun, while in verse 3 it refers to the soul. These linguistic phenomena are a manifestation of what is now termed ‘exophoric reference’. This occurs when no co-referential noun is found in the text; instead, a pronoun – whose referent is outside the text – is used. The referent might be directly interpreted in light of its context or it might be a significant characteristic of the world of communication. The most fascinating feature of Abū ʿUbaydah’s analysis is that he deems kināyah to be an example of obliqueness or the ‘covering’ of a linguistic term. This analysis constitutes the first attempt in Arabic linguistic thought to analyse this phenomenon by providing it with a rhetorical explanation.

In his book دلائل الإعجاز Dalāʾ il al-Iʿjāz (Indicators of Quranic Inimitability), al-Jurjānī (1946:52) defines kināyah in the following manner:

An yurīda-l-mutakallimu ʾṭbāt maʿnān mina-l-maʿānī fa-lā yaḏkuruhu bi-l-latīl-l-mawḍūʿ lahu fil-luḥāti wa lākin yajīʿu ilā maʿnān huwa tālīhū wa tālīhū bil-wujūd i fa-yūmiʿu bi-hi wa yaʿjāluhun dalīlan ʿalayh.

(Kināyah is a condition where the speaker wishes to deliver something which he does not convey through the conventional word used in the language. Instead he chooses a word which very close to that which he
wishes to deliver; thus, he illustrates the conventional meaning through this.)

Al-Jurjānī (1946:211) cites the following examples to justify his definition:

1. طويل النجاد
   Ṭawīlu-n-najād
   ‘Having a long sword’ (lit. ‘long of sword’)

2. نؤوم الضحى
   Naʾūmu-ḍ-duḥā
   ‘A forenoon sleeper’

3. كثير رماد القدر
   Kaṭīru ramādi-l-qidri
   ‘Having much ash under his cauldron’

The phrase طويل النجاد Ṭawīlu-n-najād ‘long of sword’ used in example 1 suggests that the man is tall. This is because if the sword is long, it logically suggests that the person holding the sword is of a high stature. A cause-effect metonymic relation has been exploited in this example, for the fact that the man carries a long sword rests on the reality that he himself is tall. The example of نؤوم الضحى Naʾūmu-ḍ-duḥā ‘A forenoon sleeper’, which relates to a woman who sleeps in the forenoon. This suggests that the woman is of luxurious status. This is due to the fact that if a woman sleeps at this time it is a kināyah for the woman being treated as having high social status. In the third example, كثير رماد القدر Kaṭīru ramādi-l-qidri ‘Having much ash under his cauldron’, one infers that the amount of residue that is found under one’s pot is positively correlated with generosity. A greater amount of ashes suggests the greater generosity of the host insofar as they feed many guests. Therefore,
كثير الرماد, ‘He has a lot of ash’ is a symbol that is linked to generosity.

Al-Jurjānī’s examples all share a unique feature found in the kināyah structure, which is the strong association between the word being substituted and the new term employed in its place. The definitions mentioned above suggest that a primary characteristic of kināyah is the meaning associations, where one meaning calls for other relevant meanings either from the immediate context of the setting, as represented in example 1, or from the wider context of the situation, as demonstrated in examples 2 and 3.

The phrase طويل النجاد ṭawīlu-n-najād ‘long of sword’, is a form of kināyah involving a logical inference from the literal meaning ‘long of sword’, namely that people who carry long swords must be tall. The phrase is used metonymically, as the literal meaning is not intended here. Rather, we intend to mention a relevant concept for tallness. However, one of course could also imply the literal import of ‘long of sword’ instead of the metonymical ‘tall’. According to al-Qazwīnī (2003), this is the primary difference between kināyah and istīʿārah structures. Only the figurative meaning is intended through the mechanism of metaphor, such that when someone states محمد أسد Muhammad un asad ‘Muhammad is a lion’, they do not mean that Muhammad is an animal, but are instead using the descriptor ‘lion’ to illustrate bravery. By contrast, one can also mean the literal meaning of the word in the case of kināyah. Therefore, one can use the phrase هذا هو صاحب السيف الطويل hāḍā huwa šāhibu-s-sayfī-ṭ-ṭawīl, ‘He is the man with a long sword’, in order to signify that he has a long sword and nothing else.

4.3.5.1 Categories of Kināyah

According to al-Hāšimī (1999:288-289), kināyah is divided into three categories depending on the meaning it confers:

كناية عن صفة 1. kināyah Ḱan ṣifah:

تعزز كتابية الصفة بذكر الموصوف - ملفوظاً أو ملحوظاً - من سياق الكلام.
An example of this is the following:  

هو ربيب أبي الهول  

*Huwa rabību Abī-l-Hawl (SA)*  

('He is Sphinx’s sepson’). This is a *kināyah* for how well the person concerned is able keep secrets.

2. *Kināyah ʕan mawṣūf:*  

تَعْرَفَ بِذِكْرِ الصَّفَةِ مِبَالِبَةٍ  

*Tuṣrāf bi-ḍikir-i-ṣifati mubašarah.*  

('This is defined as where the adjective is mentioned directly’)

An example of this is the following:  

أبناء النيل  

*Abnāʾ u-n-Nīl*  

('Sons of the Nile’)

This is a *kināyah* often used to refer to Egyptians.

3. *Kināyah ʕan nisbah:*  

الكدَّانَةُ الَّتِي يُرَادَ بِهَا نَسْبَةُ أَمْرٍ لَّآخَرٍ-إِثْبَاثًا أَوْ نُفيًا-فَيَكُونُ المَكْتِبُ عَنْهُ نَسْبَةٌ أَسْبَدَتُ إِلَى مَا لَهُ اِتِّصَالَ بِهِ  

One may cite the following example for this sub-category:

إن السماحة و المروءة و الندی...في قبة ضربت على ابن الحشرج

Inna-s-samāḥata wa-l-murūʿata wa-n-nadā...fi qubbatin ḍuribat ʿala lbn-Ị-Ḥašrajī

(‘Magnanimity and liberality are in a dome above Ibn al-Ḥašrajī’). In this citation, these three attributes are ascribed to Ibn al-Ḥašrajī.

4.3.6 Definition of Metonymy

In the following sections, I will consider metonymy.

4.3.6.1 Metonymy in Western Rhetoric and Kināyah in Arabic Rhetoric

As a Western rhetorical notion, metonymy does not have a direct parallel in Arabic rhetorical scholarship. It is defined as ‘a figure of speech that consists in using the name of one thing for that of something else with which it is associated’ (Merriam-Webster, 2021). This definition thus claims that metonymy operates on the designation of entities, and involves the substitution of the title of one being for that of another, whereby it assumes that the two things are somehow associated (Radden and Kovencses, 1999). According to al-Sharafi (2004), kināyah in its general sense is defined as the substitution of names in light of a link existing between them. For instance, one may consider the euphemistic Quranic expression: وَإِذَا لَامْسَتِ النَّسَاءُ وَإِذَا لَامْسَتِ النَّسَاءُ وَإِذَا لَامْسَتِ النَّسَاءُ (43) wa iḍā lāmastum an-nisāʾa ‘If you touch women’ (an-Nisāʾ, 43;), which signifies more than just touching, and alludes to sexual intercourse.

4.3.6.2 Similarities and Differences between Metonymy and Synecdoche

Metonymy/kināyah and synecdoche/majāz mursal have one major purpose, which is achieving brevity in communication. For example, ‘table three’ is
shorter than ‘the person sitting at table three’. The second and less prominent purpose of metonymy and synecdoche is attaining variation in one’s vocabulary patterns. For example, one may say, ‘The White House has refused to respond’ instead of ‘The American President has refused to respond’ (Dickins, 2018: 227).

As figures of speech, metonymy and synecdoche perform parallel functions, with some scholars even going as far as regarding the latter as a particular sub-category of the former. When a part is utilised to refer to the whole, this is referred to as synecdoche, as in the example ‘There are a lot of good heads in the university’ provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:36). In this context, ‘good heads’ is a reference to ‘intelligent people’. Similarly, in the saying ‘There are hungry mouths to feed’, ‘mouths’ refers to people. However, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2021), an episode of metonymy occurs when a concept is used to represent a quality related to it.

4.4 Introduction to Body Language

God created humans as social beings by nature, and provided them with the ability to correspond to ensure the extension of life. This communication is based on two axes: verbal communication (language) and non-verbal indicators (body language). Researchers have recently become particularly interested in body language, with some arguing that it is clearer, more applicable, and more expressive in displaying one’s thoughts and feelings than verbal markers.

ويعتبر الجاحظ أن الإشارة أبلغ من الصوت، فيقول "و مبلغ الإمارة أبعد من مبلغ الصوت، فإذا أيضًا باب تنقدي فيه الإمارة على الصوت." ويقول "رب كدانية تربي على إفصاح."

Al-Jāḥiṣ (1948:78-79) considers gestures more eloquent than sounds, stating that the range of gestures goes beyond the extent of sounds: ‘The result of the signal is beyond the result of the sound’ and ‘kināyah is more eloquent than clarity [literal language]."
Ibn Jinnī (1957:274) asserts that ‘A sign is more meaningful than a phrase’, with body language playing an effective role in revealing the intended import. Thus, there is a clear link between body language and verbal language.

### 4.5 Body Language and Arabic Proverbs

Arabic proverbs reflect the mental, social, and environmental features of the Arab milieu. Body parts have always been a major theme in Arab proverbs, whether in terms of body language or citing certain body parts to spur symbolic images. Proverbs refer to facial expressions and movements according to their different motives and meanings, while also diagnosing different aspects of the eyes, hands, and other body parts. Despite the small size of the nails, they have also earned their place in some proverbs.

Since Arabs are eloquent and expressive people, not only do they use motions or gestures, they also may supplement their expressions with clicking and clapping sounds to communicate the desired message. For example, the proverb فلان يطقّ اصبع (NA), ‘Somebody is clicking their finger’ indicates that they are very happy. Another example can be traced to the first Islamic generation, specifically during the fateful Pledge of Riḍwān. When ʿUthmān was in Makkah and rumours spread that he had been killed, the Prophet slapped his right hand on top of his left and said, ‘This is ʿUthmān’s hand’ (Bayyārī, 2019:25). He meant by this to honour him and preserve his regard for those who had made his blessed pledge, as well as to evoke passion and affect in the audience’s mind.

### 4.6 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their groundbreaking work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). According to CMT, metaphors are by nature conceptual markers, not linguistic structures. This means that metaphorical statements recognised in any language reflect metaphors that exist conceptually. This theory also states that the perceptions, thoughts and actions of people are stored in their conceptual system along with daily language processes, which *ipso facto*
involves metaphorical expressions that are used to portray the conceptual system.

A customary definition of a conceptual metaphor is ‘understanding one domain of experience (that is typically abstract) in terms of another (that is typically concrete)’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This definition encompasses conceptual metaphors as both a process and a product. The cognitive process of comprehending a domain is the process-based segment of the metaphor, while the conceptual pattern that follows is the product part (Kovecses, 2004).

It is observed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that our normal conceptual system is replete with metaphors. This is due to the fact that many significant concepts are abstract or not concretely depicted in our experience, which explains why we must employ other concepts to comprehend them. Hence, Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphors belong to the class of natural phenomena, since they are mainly expressed through thought and action and not limited to language. Moreover, there is substantial data provided by research studies in the cognitive linguistic context which support the view that manifestation (i.e. an event, action, or thing that is a sign that something exists or is happening; Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, n.d.) is the foundation for language and metaphorical thought (Gibbs, Costa Lima, & Francozo, 2004).

This means that the ordinary and physical experiences of people’s bodies generate rhetorical effects, which function as the source domain in conceptual metaphors (e.g., ‘I hunger for your sleek laugh’; Gibbs Jr. et al., 2004). Manifesting the need to hear the laugh of a special someone creates the feeling of desperation to perceive their sense of enjoyment. Under the cognitive approach, the basic bodily (sensor-motor) experiences of human beings are the foundations of contemplative thought as well as metaphorical language, as they are the major tool for arranging human thought (Kövecses, 2002, preface). Over several years, empirical evidence has been provided for the presence of conceptual metaphors. Research in this area has given better insights into the functioning of metaphor structures in relation to thought when compared to traditional approaches.
4.6.2 Main Concepts and Developments in Conceptual Metaphor Theory

In this section, I will outline the key characteristics of CMT. I will also attempt to identify those features that the overwhelming majority of CMT practitioners highlight and agree upon.

4.6.2.1 Metaphors are Prevalent

In their 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphors are widespread not only in specific artistic genres (such as literature), but even in the most neutral, i.e., non-intentionally utilised forms of language (Kovecses, 2004). In the early stages of their study on conceptual metaphors, CMT researchers collected linguistic metaphors from a variety of sources, including television and radio airings, dictionaries, newspapers and magazines, dialogues, and their own linguistic repertoires. They discovered an abundance of basic metaphorical notions, as illustrated by the examples of ‘defending an argument’, ‘exploding with anger’, ‘building a theory’, ‘fire in someone’s eyes’, ‘a foundering relationship’, ‘a cold personality’, ‘a step-by-step process’, ‘digesting an idea’, ‘wandering aimlessly through life’, as well as thousands of others. Most, if not all, of these linguistic analogies are part of the mental vocabulary of native speakers. They arise from the central meanings of words and are indicative of a high degree of polysemy and idiomaticity in the mental lexicon’s structure. It was assumed that the number of instances of polysemy and idiomaticity in the lexicon demonstrated the pervasiveness of metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson presented what came to be known as ‘conceptual metaphors’ in light of such examples. However, CMT does not actually assert that every metaphor we encounter in language relates to a specific conceptual image.

4.6.2.2 A Transition from the Physical Dimension to the Intangible Realm

Section 4.6 established that CMT discriminates between source domains and target domains, the former involving the physical plane, and the latter intangible concepts. In the case of the figurative expression ‘life is a journey’, for example, the domain of ‘journey’ is clearly more tangible than that of ‘life’
(which is relatively intangible) (Kövecses, 2017). Consequently, ‘journey’ is the domain source in this context and ‘life’ the target domain. Conventionally, CMT posits that tangible notions are more appropriate source realms than abstract concepts. These findings are deduced from the myriad of notional metaphors identified and assessed in scholarly works thus far, which include metaphors belonging to the categories ‘Theories are structures’, ‘Life is a journey’, and ‘Anger is a fire’ (Kövecses, 2017). The hypothesis that notional metaphors will predominantly incorporate physical planes as sources and intangible notions as targets appeals to one’s basic perceptions. By way of example, in relation to ‘Life is a journey’, ‘Anger is a fire’, and ‘Theories are structures’, life is a multifaceted and indiscernible concept, anger is an enclosed disposition, and theories are complex abstract endeavours. In these cases, it is appropriate to operationalize relatively abstract and intuition-appealing target notions, which would thereby render them superior sources (Kövecses, 2017).

In order to develop accurate images of the world, abstract notions are often expressed via concrete ones, as they are far more appealing to our basic intuitions. Doing the opposite, by contrast, would prove to be an unproductive endeavour. For instance, if one were to say ‘journeys are like life’, ‘fire is anger’, or ‘structures are theories’, the reader would be left unimpressed. This is because the information provided in these formulations confers no beneficial knowledge regarding the respective subjects of journeys, fire, and structures, since they are already concepts which are well established through the vicissitudes of life. Such a finding should not be read to imply that all episodes of inversion will yield unsatisfactory results. In fact, one can identify a noticeable minority of such cases which are satisfactory, but in every such scenario, a specific literary, artistic, or thematic goal can be identified. The conventional sequence, however, is to symbolise abstract concepts through existing realities found in the physical world (Kövecses, 2017).

4.6.2.3 Metaphors Are Mainly Mental Processes

CMT postulates that the discursive role of symbols is not just found in speech, but it also permeates the sphere of perception as well. In other words, figures
of speech and symbols are not simply employed to assess concrete realities found in the physical universe, but they are also invoked to aid in the process of contemplation. Through such symbolic expressions, humans are able to regulate their conduct, construct goals for their life journeys in an efficient manner, and prepare to modify their life goals should different circumstances arise. While setting such goals and responses, a person is effectively acting upon the metaphorical proposition of ‘Life is a journey’. By assessing life through the conceptual prism of a journey, a person can develop meaningful routines and patterns that regulate their speech, sentiments, and decision-making routines. The conceptualisation of one realm through another corresponding one is a rigorous process that is predicated on a number of steps. In one respect, an individual’s perception of a given realm (e.g. life) can be determined by a specific notional figure (cf. the discussion in Section 4.6.2.2 of ‘life is a journey’). As a specific example, a person can operationalise the byproducts of a certain concept they are assessing (e.g. journey) and have it rationally transferred to another realm (e.g. life).

An important theoretical determination that can be made in this context is that symbolic figures play a major role in shaping the constitution of our lifestyle choices; after all, we often are attuned to conceiving our personas and life trajectories through the aura of symbolism. Consequently, we generate a symbolic plane of the world after perceiving abstract or latent entities through definite and palpable parameters. For instance, upon perceiving life through the prism of a journey, we conceive it through a new and nuanced prism that is unlike its basic organic properties. Ultimately, these two different paradigms yield contrasting conceptions and experiential upshots with regard to the nature of life.

Equally importantly, should it be deemed that symbolic figures constitute an essential element of the mental plane, then it logically follows that they will be present in all expressive facets of a given region’s cultural framework. A number of academic works confirm that symbolic figures are present in physical indicators and routines, media content for adults and children, and even aesthetic objects and drawings. Such a conclusion does not necessarily entail that the discursive images yielded from these sources equate the
symbols observed in languages and normal discursive cycles, but nevertheless some parallels can be observed between the two sides in some contexts (Forceville, 2008; Cienki and Müller, 2008).

A myriad of research works have established that the operational repertoires of these discursive images incorporate some of the symbolic elements found in speech and customs, but they do in many contexts exceed the basic contours observed in traditional figurative expressions (Lakoff, 1987; Kovecses, 1986). In their study, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the accounts provided for a certain milieu or background are directly linked and predicated on one’s past knowledge and frameworks. Moreover, Langacker asserts that the very ability to appreciate a new context or setting depends on the knowledge that is accrued through past experiences. In other words, a person’s ability to understand novel data is directly correlated with the symbolic elements that he or she has already internalised from their past experiences. In a parallel fashion, the process of accurately comprehending symbolic images is based on the source plane, which provides the necessary baseline level of knowledge to perceive the contextual framework and target realm.

The aforementioned paragraphs established that previously internalised notions may shape a person’s comprehension of a given context. As such, symbolic images are not simply figures of speech, but they are also trajectory-shaping conceptions that determine the lifestyle repertoires, habits, and introspective processes of people (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). In fact, some discursive images can bring forth secondary patterns of indoctrination (Marshall, 1990; Schon, 1993). Taking this latter definition into mind, symbolic images can be deemed to represent a ‘mnemonic vestige of prior experiences’ which in literary terms can be described to be a ‘figure of experience’ instead of a figure of speech per se (Perrin, 1987: 255).

4.6.2.4 Methodical Linkages between Notional Planes

Building on the discussion of the previous paragraphs, a discursive symbolic image may be technically defined as a sequence of methodical linkages between two observational planes, whereby one realm is understood through
the prism of another. The term ‘mapping’ is often employed in scholarly works to refer to this nexus, since after all a myriad of ideational elements from one plane (called the ‘source’) is transferred to the other realm (called the ‘target’) (Kövecses, 2004). As such, CMT asserts a bifurcated model in its typology of symbolic images, which are known as the target and source (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

In essence, symbolic images employ ‘cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system’ (Lakoff, 1993: 203). More specifically, any such discursive figure is known as ‘a structural mapping from [the] source domain of a particular matter to the target domain’ (Lakoff, 1993: 294). A wide array of intersectional mapping elements – such as those addressing the themes of temporality, transformation, and causality – affect the functionality of symbolic markers. There is a near-consensus among scholars that the constituent elements of language rely on these intersectional dimensions for their operation. For instance, one could consider the symbolic image ‘Anger is fire’. However, prior to dissecting the various mapping instruments that inform this discursive concept, it is worthwhile to present some linguistic symbolic markers that cause the conceptual metaphor to be activated in English prose:

- This event *kindled* my rage.
- The comments he made were *inflammatory*.
- A person would not be lying if they said that *smoke was exiting from* his ears.
- They were *burning* with fury.
- It was as if they were *breathing fire*.
- The event *set* the attendees *ablaZe* with fury.

Upon observing the aforementioned propositions, the following cluster of mapping linkages may be entertained:

- The thing which caused the fire is what sparked their rage.
- Developing the fire is similar to developing anger.
- The entity on fire is an allusion to a raging individual.
- The fire symbolises fury.
- The severity of the fire represents the extremity of anger.

Through these aforementioned linkages, the meaning and function of these
symbolic images can be appropriately elucidated. The mapping process provides clarity on why the terms ‘kindled’ and ‘inflammatory’ denote rage, as well as why ‘burning’, ‘breathing fire’, and ‘ablaze’ connote the extremity – with some cases being more intense than others – of anger in the case of the person involved. The linkages developed through these mappings are methodical insofar as they present a meaningful parallel on how fire and anger come into existence. With regard to fire, for instance, one initially observes a location or setting that is free of any complications. However, an episode occurs which leads to the formation of a fire, which then affects the area. The level of damage caused is commensurate to the size of the fire. A similar description can be made in the case of anger. Initially, there is an individual who is of a normal and moderate temperament, but then an episode occurs which enrages them, whereby they can be appropriately described as being angry. The level and severity of their rage will vary, depending on the number of causative and mitigating factors involved.

4.6.2.5 Provenance of Source Domains

Given that the body and brain are universal and common to all human beings, metaphorical structures that are derived from them will likewise be collective in nature. This explains why numerous conceptual metaphors, such as ‘knowing is seeing’, are present in an extensive variety of genetically distinct languages. This does not, however, imply that all conceptual metaphors based on basic metaphors will be the same across all languages and cultures. It was recognised early on in CMT research that the culture in which a metaphor arises is just as instrumental as the universal bodily sensations themselves towards molding the form of conceptual metaphors (Taylor and MacLaury, 1995; Yu, 1998, 2002; Musolff, 2004). Moreover, a number of scholars noted that there are discrepancies in metaphor types within the same language and culture. More recently, scholars have noted that social frameworks other than culture play a crucial role in molding emerging metaphors. Increasing numbers of researchers in this field have considered the close relationship between metaphorical aspects of our cognitive activities.
and the diverse set of contextual factors that shape their emergence (Cameron, 2003; Semino, 2008; Goatly, 2007; Kovecses, 2010b).

Developments in CMT have demonstrated that metaphor is fundamental for our evaluative judgements and the process of evolution. The ability to engage in 'abstract' reasoning, scientific and mathematical thought, and philosophical observation, as well as general cultural interactions develop from metaphors that rely on source domains of human experience and neural connections to our incorporated sensations, actions, and emotions (Fauconnier, 2006: 5).

### 4.6.3 Body Parts as Source Domain

All around the world, body parts are employed metaphorically to communicate figurative meanings and messages (Barcelona, 2003; Kovecses, 2004; Musolff, 2008; Polzenhagen, 2007; Sharifan et al., 2008).

The names of natural features, such as body parts, provide essential linguistic data for research. For these labels give vital information that assists language users in communicating their sentiments and beliefs in a variety of social contexts. This is consistent with the fact that metaphor represents the symbolic expression of meaning through the use of other objects, whereby one item is described in terms of another (Jilala, 2012; Vierke, 2012). Škara (2004) believes that verbal accounts of the human body reveal an enormous subsystem of body metaphors, which are employed to express an extensive expanse of our physical, mental, and inner world experiences. Moreover, it is apparent that the human body and its structure have a direct impact on how physical entities and beings can shape our intersubjective experiences. The body appears to be one of the most essential objects of knowledge, and through our physical experiences we generate discursive images of the world around us. We could say that we do not see the world as it is, but as we are (Škara, 2004).

Metaphorical expressions play a significant role in the process of communication and reflect the linguistic richness of a specific language. This study aims to determine how Najdi speakers convey meanings and messages through the metaphorical use of body part designations. These metaphorical
usages of body names in Najdi proverbs demonstrate the importance of preserving traditions and cultural markers for the benefit of future generations.

As stated earlier, in the current academic setting a major area of interest for cognitive linguists has been the study of metaphor, which is regarded as essential for developing a theory of knowledge (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1997). Viewed from a cognitive linguistic standpoint, our intersubjective conceptions are defined by our personification with the physical and cultural world (Johnson, 1987). Yu (2004: 663) emphasises that the main research question is determining the role played by the body and how it interacts with culture, human sense, and general modes of comprehension. Various languages use a broad-spectrum technique of metaphorising body parts to express abstract concepts that cannot be articulated in literal terms.

It is imperative to study the metaphorisation of lexical items related to body parts in different languages to comprehend the manner in which various cultures contemplate in abstract terms. Body parts are used in many metaphors to represent a wide array of concepts such as nations, groups, and cities, whereby these sections are taken as the source domains (e.g., ‘Britain cannot be at the heart of Europe if it is detached from its arteries’; cf. Musolff, 2004). There is a plethora of research within the cognitive linguistic framework on metaphors and their symbolic role in the interactional front. Psychological research is also abundant, showing the effect of metaphors in learning, memory, gesture, decision-making, problem-solving, categorisation, and scientific reasoning (e.g., Fernandez-Duque and Johnson, 2002).

These empirical studies confirm that retention, problem-solving, erudition, and decision-making are influenced by how people construct ideas or situations metaphorically. Gibbs (2003) argues that the major method which people employ to build and comprehend metaphorical meaning is the implementation of their embodied knowledge, which is none other than the personal experiences of their bodies in action. In conclusion, embodiment is the causal mechanism through which abstract concepts are expressed through particular concrete words and phrases. Scholars who champion Conceptual Metaphor Theory confirm that metaphors shape a myriad of thought processes, and are not confined to language. Thus, it could be projected that specific metaphors
are common in various languages. At the same time, it can also be expected that various metaphorical expressions have a cross-linguistic feature for various phonological and cultural reasons.

Different research works within the cognitive linguistics framework have concluded that in metaphorising physical experiences, the domain of body parts is crucial (Goosens, 1990; Sweetser, 1990; Deignan and Potter, 2004). Heine (1997: 40) stressed that the human body is one of the significant models used for expressing analytically-rich impressions. Many non-human concepts can be expressed and understood through human categories. According to a time-space study carried out by Nunez and Freeman (1999: 58), bodily expressions and real-time bodily actions are ‘pivotal to the cognitive mechanisms that pave the way for the concept of time flow’. They concluded that cognition and the mind need to be considered as wholly embodied phenomena.

Human beings thus utilise body-part metaphors to convey values in everyday conversations (Kovecses, 2004; Vierke, 2012). This study analyses the richness of body part metaphors in the everyday language of metaphors. It identifies the names for particular body parts in Najdi Arabic and analyses their metaphorical use in proverbs invoked in the region.

4.7 Figurative Meanings of the Six Human Body Parts

4.7.1 Head (Raʾs)

This section further develops the discussion found in Section 1.4.1. Ibn Fāris (1994: 471) mentions that the head is a part of the human body and that rʾ-s is a linguistic root that means gathering and height. One may say to a person, ‘You are the head’, which implies a recognition that they are the leader. The word raʾs can also mean ‘front’, since the head of a thing is its front. Besides, it can mean ‘pride’, as in رفع رأسنا rafaʿa raʾ sanā (SA), ‘He made our heads high’, which means pride and satisfaction with one’s conduct.

In the Qurʾan, the head assumes a prominent discursive position. It is the symbol of worship and surrender to Allah Almighty, which is demonstrated when pilgrims shave their hair after the end of Hajj and Umrah. This is a
signification that one offers their head to Allah and submits to Him alone. The Hajj prayer لبيك الله لبيك labbayka Allahumma labbayk, ‘Here I come, O God, here I come’ renews their association with their Lord, removing from them all malice. Such meanings are established by the use of ‘shaving the head’ and not ‘shaving the hair’ in the following verse:

وأتموا الحج والعمرة لله فإن أ حص رتم فما استيسر من الهدي ولا تحلقوا رؤوسكم حتى يبلغ الهدي محله (البقرة: 196)

Wa atimmu-l-ḥajja wa-l-ʿumrata li-llāhi fa-ʾin uḥṣirtum fa-ma-staysara mina-l-hadyi wa-lā tahliqū ruʿūsakum ḥattā yablūqa-l-hadyu maḥillah

(And complete the Hajj and Umrah for Allah. But if you are prevented, then [offer] what can be obtained with ease of sacrificial animals. And do not shave your heads until the sacrificial animal has reached its place of slaughter’) (al-Baqarah, 196)

(Bayyārī: 2019: 482)

The head appears in several places of the Qur'an and assumes different figurative meanings. Allah has said: وأخذ برأس أخيه يجره إليه wa axaḍa bi-raʾsi axīh yajurruruḥu ilayh, ‘And he took hold of his brother’s head, dragging him towards himself’ (al-ʾAqrāf, 150; King Saud University translation). Moses injured his brother Aaron in front of the people and mentioned his head, which is the symbol of honour and leadership, to demonstrate who was to blame. Aaron was touched by his brother’s harsh treatment and said: يا ابن أم لا تأخذ بلحيتي ولا برأسي (طه: 94) ya-bna ummi lā taʾxuḍ bi-ilhyatī wa-lā biraʾsī, ‘O son of my mother, do not seize me by my beard or my head’ (Ṭāḥā, 94). He began by mentioning the symbol of masculinity, namely the beard, and then followed it by mentioning the head (Bayyārī, 2019: 483). Similarly, the proverb رميتي منك في الرأس rumītu minka fi-r-raʾs (SA), ‘I was thrown from you by the head’, can be interpreted as meaning: ‘Your opinion was wrong, such that you could not look at me’ (Ibn Manṣūr, 1997:93).

When the head is described as being upturned in the story of Abraham and the idols, it is a symbol of a reversal of right:

ثم نكسوا على رؤوسهم لقد علموا ما هؤلاء ينطقون. (الأبياء:65)
Then they reversed themselves, [saying], We have already known that these do not speak!

(al-Anbiyā’, 65)

It is said of the stubborn man: ركب رأسه rakiba ra’sah (SA) ‘He rode his head’. This is a sign that the head is the container of the mind and the abode of thinking that leads people into unjust ways (Čumar, 2008: 836).

The head is the site where even our minutest movements are controlled by the mind, and it is the location where all the senses are based. These aforementioned facts explain the saying، أصغى إليه برأسه asğā ilayhi bi-ra’sih (SA), ‘He listened to him with his head’ (Čumar, 2008: 836). It is from the head that we recieve nourishment (via the mouth), and where the primary organs of speech are found. As such, our whole presence is controlled by organs that are found in or on the human head. Besides the head being the most important part of the human body, it appears in numerous proverbs which allude to its size, such as رأس الشخص ra’isa-š-šaxšu, ġaḍuma ra’suh (SA), ‘The person headed’, ‘His head was great’, which can be interpreted as meaning، يابس الرأس: عنيد yābisu-ra’si, which translates as ‘stubborn’; رفع رأسنا: افتخرا به rafa’ra sanā: iftaxarnā bih, (SA) ‘He raised our head’, which means, ‘We were proud of him’ (Čumar, 2008: 836).

Therefore, the head is considered to be a reflection of attitudes, actions, and bearing in life. It is a symbol of freedom, choice, and human desire, and accordingly it expresses people’s statuses, such as the enslavement of the disbeliever. Allah has said:

فسينغ ضون إليك رؤوسهم (الإسراء: 51)

Fa-sayan ġi’dūna ilayka ru’ūsahum

(‘Then they will nod their heads at you’)

(al-İsrā’: 51)

They will then ask in denial:

متى هو (الإسراء: 51)
Matā hū.

(‘When is that?’)

(al-Isrā`: 51)

The oppressors refused to repent to Allah, saying:

Lōwā rūsūhim wā rāʾaytum yasūddūn ṭīn mustakbirūn (al-Munāfiqūn: 5)

Lawwaw rūʾūsahum wā raʾaytahum yasuddūna wahum mustakbirūn

(‘They turn their heads aside and you see them evading while they are arrogant’)

This was their state in life, while in the Hereafter, the oppressors will be seen:

muqniʔī rūʾūsīhim ‘[with] their heads raised up’ (Ibrāhīm: 43). That is to say that they will pretend to raise up their heads to Allah and people that represent their disillusionment and bad behaviours. Criminals that day are nākisū rūʾūsīhim ‘bowing their heads’ (as-Sajdah, 12) because of their feeling of shame before Allah. Thus, the head is considered a companion of the mind and emotions.

Najdi proverbs containing the word ‘head’ are fascinating, as they vividly display how individuals conceptualise this part of the body. Conceptual metaphors can help a lot in this regard as they provide a clearer understanding of how ‘head’ metaphors function.

4.7.2 Face (Wajh)

This section further develops the introductory discussion found in Section 1.4.2. The face – which contains the eyes, mouth, and the nose – is the part of the head that typically confronts an interlocutor directly (Fumar, 2008:2408). The root w-j-h means the front of a thing (Ibn Fāris, 1994: 88). It is thus not a surprise to find that the word wajh (lit. ‘face’) occurs in many sayings to refer to the front or beginning of something, such as, wajhu-n-nahār (SA), ‘The day’s face’, and bayyāda Allāhu wajhah (SA), ‘May Allah brighten his ways’ (Fumar, 2008:2408).
According to Bayyārī (2019:485), Al-wajāhatu fī āslihā mustamaddatun min qadri mā yastamiddhu n-nāsu min ātārin ḥamīdin fī wajhi ǧālika-l-wajīh, ‘Nobility in its essence refers to how good an effect people derive from the face of the noble person’. This implies that the face is a carrier of emotions, since it is the avenue through which non-verbal messages can be profoundly conveyed. It is also a symbol of greater communication due to its immediate presence, while the head is a symbol of belief and thought (Bayyārī, 2019:486). A relaxed face towards people is seen as beautiful, even if the features are unappealing.

It has been said: اطلبوا الخير من حسان الوجوه (al-Saʿwī, 1985: 121), utlubu-l-xayra min ḥisāni-l-wujūh, ‘Seek good from the beautiful faces’. A sour face has been described as repugnant, grimy, frowning, stubborn, dark, and even acidic. It has been said: حامض الوجه و كأنما وجهه بالخل منضوح (al-Jāḥid, 1119: 3), ḥāmiḍu-l-wajhī wa kaʾ annamā wajuh bi-l-xallī maṇḏūḥ, ‘A “sour face” is as if one’s face is mixed with vinegar’.

Thus, the face is considered a reflection of people’s feelings. The Arabs say, نظروا إليّ بأوجه سوء ورجع إلينا بغير الوجه الذي فارقنا به (al-Zamakhsharī, 2004: 321), naḍārū ilayya biʾ-awjuhi sūʾ wa rajīʾa ilaynā bi-ṣayri-l-wajhī-1-laqī fāraqanā bih, ‘He looked at me with a bad face and he returned to us with a different face’. The complete picture can be understood through its psychologically revealing details, such as grimacing and displaying reverence. Allah said:

َثَم عَبَس وَبَسَر (المدثر: 22)

Ţumma ţabasa wa basar

(‘Then he frowned and scowled’) (al-Muddaṭṭir, 22)

عبس وتوالي (عبس: 1)

ţabasa wa tawallā

(‘He frowned and turned away’) (ţbasā, 1; King Saud University translation)

وجوه يومئذ خاشعة (الغاشية: 2)

Wujūhun yawma iǧīn xāšīfah,
4.7.3 Nose (Anf and Xašm)

This section further develops the introductory discussion found in Section 1.4.3. Grammatically, anf (nose) is a singular noun. Ibn Fāris (1994) notes that the head is a part of the human body, and the root -ntf – from which it is derived – has two meanings. The first meaning is to perform an act all over from its beginning; for example, the sentence ista’naftu kaḏ: raja’ʕtu ilā awwalih (SA), can be translated as, ‘I started all over again’ (Ibn Fāris, 1994:146). The second meaning, which is the one related to my research, is the body part أنف anf, which means the nose (Ibn Fāris, 1994:146).

The anf or xašim (nose) is the organ for breathing and smelling. It includes both the nostrils and the trachea. Sentences which reflect this meaning of the word include: Anf or xašim (nose) is the organ for breathing and smelling. It includes both the nostrils and the trachea. Sentences which reflect this meaning of the word include:

- Anf or xašim (nose) is the organ for breathing and smelling. It includes both the nostrils and the trachea. Sentences which reflect this meaning of the word include:
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- Anf or xašim (nose) is the organ for breathing and smelling. It includes both the nostrils and the trachea. Sentences which reflect this meaning of the word include:
šamaxa bi-anfiḥ (SA), ‘He made his nose high’, which is interpreted as, ‘He was arrogant’ (Cumar, 2008:131).

4.7.4 Tongue (Lisān)

This section further develops the introductory discussion found in Section 1.4.4. According to Ibn Fāris (1994:246), the root l-s-n signifies طول لطيف غير بائن في عضو أو غيره tulun latifun gayru bainin fi ċudwin aw ġayrih, ‘the optimised length of a body part that is not shown’. In SA, phrases which contain the word include أطلق لسانه, ‘to let their tongue loose’, which means to speak after silence; أطلق لسانه في فلان, ‘he mentioned someone’s defects’; أمسك لسانه, interpreted as ‘to hold their tongue or to stop talking’; ذو اللسانين, أبو لسانين (NA), ‘a person with two tongues’, which refers to ‘someone who is dishonest and two faced’; طويل اللسان, interpreted as, ‘he is foulmouthed’; طويل اللسان, translated as ‘eloquent’; and قطع لسانه, qatafa lisānah (SA), ‘To cut someone’s tongue’, translated as ‘to silence them’ (Cumar, 2008).

4.7.5 Hand (Yad)

This section further develops the introductory discussion in Section 1.4.5.1. According to Cumar (2008), yad is a singular noun. It can be used to signify the body part from the shoulder to the finger-tips. غسل يديه من المسؤولية gasala yadayhi mina-l-masʿūliyyah, ‘He washed his hand of responsibility’, is interpreted to mean, ‘He is not responsible anymore’. يدك منك و إن كانت شلاء yaduka minka wa in kānat šallā’, ‘Your hand is a part of you even if it is paralysed’ is a Najdi proverb that implies, ‘The important things in your life are a part of you no matter what their defects are’ (Cumar, 2008: 2509). This proverb is similar to the proverb خشمك منك لو كان أفنس xašmik mink law kān a芬s, which reads as, ‘Your nose is a part of you even if it is snub’. The English proverb ‘Many hands make light work’ has a parallel meaning to the Arabic proverbs يد الله مع الجماعة yadu-l-lāḥi maʿa-l-jamāʿah, (SA) ‘Allah’s hand is with the people’ and أعطى يده فلان aṭṭā yadahu li-fulān, (SA) ‘He gave a hand to
someone’, which is construed as, ‘He helped them’. Other proverbs which include the word yad include al-yadu-s-sulfā, ‘The lower hand’, interpreted as, ‘The taking hand’; al-yadu-l-ṣulṭā (SA), ‘the upper hand’, interpreted as, ‘The hand giving with favour’; basīṭu al-yadayn (SA), ‘Open-handed’, interpreted as, ‘generous’; bayna yadayh (SA), bēn yidēh (NA), ‘In his hands’, interpreted as ‘under his control’; xafīfu-l-yad (SA), ‘Light-handed’, which means, ‘He is skilled or a skilled thief’; عضن على يده 蓑da ẓalā yadih (SA), ‘He bit his hand’, which means ‘He regretted something’; ʿṣiftu-l-yadayn (SA), ‘He is zero-handed’, which in practical terms means, ‘He does not have anything’; ʿtalaba yadahā (SA), ‘He asked for her hand’, interpreted as, ‘He proposed to her’; and عضن اليد التي أطعمته 蓑da al-yadda al-latī aṭṭamath (SA), ‘He bit the hand that fed him’, which is interpreted to mean, ‘He offended someone’ (Qumar, 2008: 2509).

4.7.6 Leg (Rijl)

This section further develops the introductory discussion found in Section 1.4.5.2. According to Qumar (2008:885) ar-rijl ʿṣawwun fi-l-jism min ašli al-faxīf, ‘The rijl is a body part that starts from the hip and goes down to the foot’. Therefore, the ʿadīl ʿṣawwah (‘foot’) is part of the rijl (‘leg’). According to Ibn Fāris (1994:65) wa qadamu al-insānī maṣrūfah, wa laʿlālahā summiyat bi-dālik li ʿannāhā ālatun li-l-taqaddumī wa-l-sabq, ‘The human foot is well known, and perhaps it derives its name due to the fact that it is the instrument of procession and antecedence.’

Other Arabic proverbs including this key word are آكلون من فوقهم ومن تحتهم أرجلهم: جاءهم الخبر من كل مكان ṣakālū min fawqihim wa min tawḥīti arjulihim: jāʿahum al-xayru min kulli makān, ‘They ate from that which was above them and under their feet: the good came to them from everywhere’; رجل في الدنيا ورجل في الآخرة: rījlun fi-d-dunyā wā rījlun fi-l-āxirah, ‘One foot is in the worldly life and the other one is in the afterlife’, which is a ʿkināyah for old age; قائم على رجل: مشغول بامر، مهموم به qaʿīmun ḥāl rījl: maṣgūlun bi-amr bi-mumūn bih ‘He is standing on one
foot, busy with something and concerned about it;’

لا يعرف يد الشيء من رجله: جاهل
بالأمور

‘He does not know the hand of something from its leg: he is ignorant of things’; and

هدأت الرجل والعين: نام الناس وسكنت حركتهم

‘The foot and the eye calmed down: people slept and their movement stopped (Qumar, 2008:865).

The Holy Qur’an uses the word أقدام aqdām ‘feet’ to refer to the progression of human beings throughout the various stages of life, as the foot is considered to be the physical organ for walking. أقدام ‘feet’ also refer to stability in relation to rights, as Allah Almighty says:

ربنا أفرغ علينا صبرًا و ثبّت أقدامنا (البقرة 250)

rabbanā afriģ ʿalaynāṣabran wa ṭabbit aqdāmanā, ‘Our Lord, pour down patience on us, and strengthen our foothold’ (al-Baqarah, 250) (Bayyārī, 2019: 550).

An example of this is the following:

و قال الذين كفروا ربنا أرنا اللذ ين أضلاّنا من الجن والإنس نجعلهما تحت أقدامنا ليكونا من الأسفلين (فصلت: 29)

Wa qālā-l-laḏīna kaftarū rabbanā arina-l-laḏaynī adḍallānā mina-l-jinnī wa-l-insī najḏalhumā taḥta aqdāmināli-yakūnā mina-l-asfālīn

(‘Those who disbelieved will say, “Our Lord, show us those who led us astray – among jinn and humans – and we will trample them under our feet, so they become of the lowest’”)

(Fuṣṣilat: 29)

This verse expresses the fact that the people who were misled will wish to take revenge on their misleaders by trampling them underfoot. In this context, the feet are the symbol of human progress in life, as well as exertion and impact. This expression associates feet with invectives, and when someone puts his or her feet on something, it means deterrence and repression (Bayyārī, 2019: 550).

These figurative meanings indicate the punishment that will be allotted to the disobedient people and criminals on the Day of Judgement. This will occur by differentiating them from others such that they will be taken by their forelocks
and feet; the former is an indication of the head, the locus of thought, with the latter being the body part that directs individuals to that corrupt mode of thinking. This is represented in Allah’s saying:

يُعرف المجرمون بسيماهم فيؤخذ بالنواصي والأقدام (الرحمن: 41)

Yuṣrafu-l-mujrimūna bi-sīmāhum fa-yuʿxaḍu bi-n-nawāṣī wa-l-aqdām

(‘The guilty will be recognised by their marks; they will be taken by the forelocks and the feet’) (Bayyārī, 2019: 551)

 ara-Raḥmān: 41)

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, I have explored the status of figurative language in Arabic rhetoric compared to its place in Western approaches, especially from the perspective of cognitive linguistics outlined in Section 4.2. In Section 4.3, I discussed bayān tropes, assessing istiḵārah and metaphor, tašbīh and simile, kināyah and metonymy, and majāz mursal and synecdoche. In Section 4.4 I provided an overview of body language followed by an exploration of Arabic proverbs in Section 4.5. In Section 4.6 I presented the major features of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Finally I presented some examples of the figurative meanings of the selected six body parts – which are the focus of this study – in Section 4.7.
Chapter 5
Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the design and methodology of the data analysis. It introduces the methodological approaches used in this study, and the justification for choosing these methods. The aim of the study is to examine the data concerning human body-part proverbs as the main part of this research project and to scrutinise them by employing the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002). In addition, the Arabic figurative approach informed by al-Jurjānī’s bayān theory will be adopted to investigate the figurative meanings of the body parts and the recurrent Arabic rhetorical figures identified in the study. These two integral analytical methods will provide answers to my research questions.

As discussed in Section 1.3, the two sources of Najdi proverbs used in this research are: (1) Al-Amṭālu al-ʕāmmiyyatu fī Najd (Colloquial Proverbs in Najd) by al-ʕubūdī (1959), which contains 3,000 Najdi proverbs, and (2) Al-Amṭālu aš-ʕaṣbiyyatu fī Qalbi Jazīrati al-ʕarab (Popular Proverbs in the Heart of the Arabian Peninsula) by al-Juhaymān (1980), which contains around 10,000 Najdi proverbs.

5.2 Methods of Data Collection

This research adopts qualitative and quantitative approaches (i.e. a ‘mixed method approach’) for its data analysis. According to Punch (2005, cited in Bell, 2010: 28), ‘Qualitative research not only uses non-numerical and unstructured data but also, typically, has research questions and methods which are more general at the start, and become more focused as the study progresses’. This approach will be applied to my data to help in answering two of my research questions, namely in analysing the chosen proverbs.
rhetorically and reaching the figurative meanings of the body parts involved in these proverbs.

In contrast, the quantitative method – which is the other standard method used in this research – probes data that can be classified numerically (Borg and Gall, 1989: 380). This approach will be used to help answer two of my research questions, which involve determining the frequency of use of different body parts in Najdi proverbs and the most common figures of speech.

Hennink et al. (2020: 10) describe ‘qualitative research’ as a broad umbrella term that covers a wide range of techniques and philosophies, a fact which makes it difficult to define. In broad terms, qualitative research is an approach that allows the investigator to examine people’s experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus-group discussions, observation, visual methods, chronicles or biographies, and content analysis. Notes on paper, video-camera recordings, and so forth can be utilised to record these activities (Creswell, 1994: 63). Collecting data and then explaining the gathered observations is considered a bottom-up approach. A standard qualitative method is to use descriptive language for explaining the collected data, instead of measuring it in another way. On this basis, a rhetorical analysis has been identified and applied to the collected data, as well as the conceptual theory of metaphor and metonymy in order to deliver the most reliable results.

Hammersley (2000: 393-405), Shaw (2003: 57-77), and Green and Thorogood (2004: 5) summarise some of the main advantages of qualitative research. The first is that many phenomena that can be examined by qualitative methods cannot be assessed by quantitative ones (Green and Thorogood, 2004), particularly in inquiries assessing links between processes and outcomes (Shaw, 2003). Qualitative methods can be used in any type of research, as they help the investigator identify and analyse features of social life because they generally involve words – rather than numbers – for data analysis. Having said that, the use of a qualitative method in data analysis may help the researcher generate strategies that can be tested by quantitative approaches. For example, if the researchers had no awareness of what kind of factors were acting as barriers to analysing human body-part proverbs, it
would be difficult to conduct an investigation to unearth the main factors. However, once these issues have been identified, such as the figurative meanings of body parts, a qualitative method can be used to determine the extent to which these body-part proverbs are similar or different across a range of proverbs. In addition, the research framework can be quickly revised as new information arises. Data in qualitative research are usually collected from a few instances or individuals; therefore, the findings cannot be simply generalised to a larger population.

5.3 Research Procedure

This section discusses the approaches used in collecting the data, as well as the figurative meanings of the body-part proverbs. As noted, Human body-part proverbs – which comprise the data of this study – were collected from the two books *Popular Proverbs in the Heart of the Arabian Peninsula* (al-Juhaymān, 1980), and *Colloquial Proverbs in Najd* (al-ʕubbūdī, 1959). As discussed in Section 1.3, I selected these books because they provide a comprehensive set of Najdi proverbs, for which the authors also identified indigenous cultural features in respect of their explanation. These cultural features assist with conceptualising Najdi culture and the identification of the figurative meanings embedded within these proverbs.

The explanation of each body part proverb by al-Juhaymān and al-ʕubbūdī is the main reason why there was no significant need for a questionnaire or interview procedure (though I did use an informal survey to ascertain how common the proverbs can be regarded; cf. Section 5.5). From *al-Juhaymān’s* book, I identified those proverbs that refer to a human body part or body parts, categorising them according to which body part(s) they signify. I chose a specific number of proverbs (47 proverbs) because they are the most prominent proverbs known by the Najdi people. In addition, adding more proverbs would not change the meaning derived from them. Moreover, due to time limitations, I could not include all the body parts referred to in these proverbs such as the ears, eyes, mouth, and so forth. Rather, I identified those parts of the body that have the richest figurative meanings, and concentrated
on these only. These body parts are the head, face, nose, tongue, hand, and leg.

5.4 Figurative and Literal Translation of Human Body-Part Proverbs

For the rendition process of these Nadji proverbs, it must be borne in mind that Arabic and English are quite different at both the linguistic and cultural levels. This makes it necessary to translate the proverbs as well as their meanings into English. Literal translation is necessary in order to understand the linguistic and other features of the Arabic proverb, while figurative translation displays the actual meaning in context of the proverb. Because English is considered a *lingua franca*, it is vital to translate Najdi human body-part proverbs into English in order to make it easier for non-Arabic readers to be able to understand these Nadji proverbs. There are some words in the Arabic language that cannot be easily translated by a single word because they do not have any equivalent in the English language. One such word is مغراب *miğrâb*, ‘dirty mud’. Therefore, another method was adopted that involved the explanation of this word rather than undertaking a simple one-word translation. In addition to referring to the physical environment, Najdi proverbs also refer to ‘cultural scripts’, that is, ‘representations of cultural norms that are widely held in a given society and that are reflected in a language (in culture-specific ‘keywords’, phrases, conversational routines, and so on)’ (Wierzbicka, 2002:401). My aim is to provide translations that are easily understandable and also reflect the basic linguistic structure and lexicon of both Arabic and English.

5.5 Procedures used for Analysing the Proverbs

In the data analysis in the following chapter (Sections 6.2-6.7), I will make use of the following categories of procedures for each example:

- *Commonness of the Proverb*
- *Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic dialects*
- *Origin of the Proverb*
iv. **Overview**

v. **General Analytical Issues**

vi. **Intended Overall Sense**

vii.i **Specific-Element Analysis: General**

vii.ii **Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

viii.i **Global Analysis: General**

viii.ii **Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

ix. **Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis**

– **Overall Theme of Proverb**

I will now consider each of these elements in more detail.

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

I will first assess how common the given proverb is in Najdi Arabic. I have done this in the following ways. Firstly, I have found instances of each proverb on the internet, using a Google search. I have used the internet as a so-called monitor corpus (Sinclair, 1982), rather than a specific corpus of Najdi Arabic (e.g. Taizi et al., 2019). This is because there are no corpora of Najdi Arabic which are large enough to produce results which can provide reliable guides to the commonness of particular proverbs. Secondly, I have made an informal survey with my friends and family to determine how common each proverb is – very common, common, not very common, or rare.

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

In order to assess the degree to which Najdi proverbs are specific to the region, and the degree to which they are shared with proverbs from other Arab regions and dialects, I will compare Najdi proverbs to non-Najdi Arabic axioms. Non-Najdi proverbs similar in meaning to proverbs in the present collection are divided into four groups, following al-Sudais (1976:xi):

(a) A proverb which is identical to the Najdi proverb. Such proverbs are referred to as ‘Ident.’.

(b) A proverb which differs only a little in wording from the corresponding Najdi proverb and has the same meaning. Such proverbs are referred to as ‘NS’ (nearly the same). For example, the Najdi proverb found in al-
Juhaymān رأس تقطعه ما يجيك فزاع, ‘The head you cut off will never return’, is similar to another Najdi proverb رأس تقطعه ما يجيك فزاعى ‘The head which is cut off does not come back to you’. This second proverb is an example of NS, as it only differs slightly in wording from the original proverb and conveys exactly the same meaning.

(c) A proverb whose wording bears a general similarity to the corresponding Najdi proverb and has the same meaning of the corresponding Najdi proverb. Such proverbs are referred to as ‘Sim.WM’ (similar in wording and meaning). For example, the Najdi proverb وجهه مغسل بمرق wajhah mġasūl b-maraq ‘His face is covered with broth’ is like the Iraqi proverb غاسل وجهه ببوله ‘He washed his face with his urine’. Both proverbs convey the same meaning, namely that the person has no modesty. While the wording of the proverbs is different, it is still similar enough to qualify as Sim.WM.

(d) A proverb which expresses the same meaning as that of the Najdi proverb but with completely different wording. Such proverbs are referred to as ‘DWSM’ (different wording but with same meaning) (al-Sudais, 1976:xi). For example, the Najdi proverb قال وش قاطعك يا راسي؟ قال لسانى qāl wiš qāṭʕik yā rāsī qāl lisānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off my head?” It answered, “My tongue”’ is similar to the Egyptian proverb لولاك يا لسانى ما انسكبت يا قفايا ‘If it was not for you my tongue, my back would not have been harmed’. Both proverbs have the same meaning, which is the tongue being the reason for why the person was harmed, while the wording is completely different. This is an example of DWSM.

These categories can summarised in the table below:
Table 5.1 Categories of relation between Najdi and non-Najdi proverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Wording</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Ident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar</td>
<td>(i) – see below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Clearly) Different</td>
<td>(ii) – see below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that not all the logically possible categories are covered in Table 5.1. This is partly because not all categories are found in the data. Thus, it would – in theory – be possible to have: (i) a non-Najdi proverb which was the same in wording but only similar in meaning to a Najdi proverb, (ii) a non-Najdi proverb which was the same in wording but (clearly) different in meaning from a Najdi proverb, or (iii) a non-Najdi proverb which was similar in wording but evidently different in meaning from a Najdi proverb. These categories are not, however, found in my data.

Category (iv) refers to a non-Najdi proverb which is clearly different in wording but similar in meaning to a Najdi proverb; such a case is possible, but falls outside the scope of my data. I only consider non-Najdi proverbs where there is only a general similarity in wording to a Najdi proverb except where the meaning is the same. This is because there are an enormous number of proverbs in different dialects which have some similarity in their wording to proverbs in other dialects (including Najdi) but where the wording is clearly different. Category (v), where the wording and the meaning are both (clearly) different, is also excluded, because this category yields no insights into my data. There are a myriad of proverbs which are clearly different in wording and meaning in different Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb

In order to assess the way in which these Najdi proverbs came into being, I will identify whether each proverb has a specific origin in a past event and if it does so, state what this is.
iv. **Overview**
I will then provide a general overview of the proverb, considering background features of the proverb which go beyond its origin (iii. above).

v. **General Analytical Issues**
I will consider any general analytical issues which need to be taken into account in relation to the more specific analyses in vi. to ix. (discussed below).

vi. **Intended Overall Sense**
Here, I will identify the intended overall sense, i.e. what the proverb means to Najdi speakers and hearers of it.

vii.i **Specific-Element Analysis: General**
Here, I will identify which elements (words, and, in some cases, phrases), if any, making up the proverb can be assigned individual figurative (metaphorical or *kināyah*) meanings.

vii.ii **Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**
Here, I will analyse whether any of the elements (words or phrases) making up the proverb can be assigned individual figurative (metaphorical or *kināyah*) meanings in terms of their topic, vehicle, and grounds. I will adopt a two-stage analysis of proverbs proposed by James Dickins (personal communication), with this being the first stage (the second stage, the ‘global analysis’, is discussed in vii.i and vii.ii below). The first stage of the analysis can be illustrated with reference to English proverbs, since the two-stage analysis applies equally well to English as to Arabic proverbs. Some proverbs, in fact, are not figurative at all, and can be interpreted purely literally. An example from English is ‘Fools seldom differ’. (There are, in fact, no examples of purely literal proverbs in my Arabic data.) Some proverbs contain only one figurative element, with the rest of the proverb being interpretable literally. An example is ‘Great minds think alike’ (sometimes used as part of a compound proverb with ‘Fools seldom differ’, as in ‘Great minds think alike, but fools seldom differ’). In ‘Great minds think alike’, the only figurative element (word) is
‘minds’; all the other words, namely ‘great’, ‘think’, and ‘alike’, are literal. ‘Great’ in ‘Great minds think alike’ has the sense (topic) of ‘thinkers’. The topic, vehicle, and grounds terms are analysed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Great minds think alike</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>thinkers (what the word ‘minds’ refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘mind’ (the notion which ‘thinkers’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] minds are the instruments used to think (i.e. used by thinkers) (Section 4.3.3.1.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While ‘minds’ in ‘Great minds think alike’ is a synecdoche in traditional Western terms, when using the traditional Arabic categorisation it is a kināyah.

In some cases, a proverb may consist largely, or wholly, of specific elements (words or phrases) which can be analysed figuratively. An example from English is ‘The early bird catches the worm’. Here, ‘early’ can be analysed as a synecdoche/kināyah meaning ‘doing promptly’, and ‘bird’ can be analysed as a synecdoche/kināyah meaning ‘person’. It might be possible to similarly analyse each of ‘catches’ and ‘worm’ separately, but this seems a rather implausible thing to attempt. What, in particular, would ‘worm’ mean in this context? It seems more plausible to say that ‘catches the worm’ as a whole phrase means as a synecdoche/kināyah ‘succeeds in the task at hand’. The three elements of ‘early’, ‘bird’, and ‘catches the worm’ can be analysed as follows (the full proverb is given in each case with the relevant element underlined).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>The early bird catches the worm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>doing promptly (what the word ‘early’ refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘early’ (the notion which ‘early’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] [being] early [to do something] is a particular type of doing promptly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>The early bird catches the worm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>person (what the word ‘bird’ refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘bird’ (the notion which ‘person’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] people and birds belong to the same category of animals (and, more specifically, mammals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>The early bird catches the worm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>succeeds in the task at hand (what the phrase ‘catches the worm’ refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘catches [/catching] the worm’ (the notion which ‘succeeds [/succeeding] in the task hand’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] catching the worm is, for a bird, an example of succeeding in the task at hand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**viii.i Global Analysis: General**

Sometimes, it is clear that a proverb is figurative, but that the individual elements (whether words or phrases) which make it up cannot be analysed separately as specific elements. An example from English might be ‘Rome wasn’t built in a day’, which means ‘valuable projects take time’ (Oxford
Dictionary of English, n.d.). Here, only a global analysis of the entire proverb is possible. I will illustrate this for ‘Rome wasn’t built in a day’ immediately below.

**viii.ii Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

‘Rome wasn’t built in a day’ can be considered globally (i.e. taken as a complete proverb) a synecdoche/kināyah for ‘valuable projects take time’. With the grounds being, perhaps, that ‘Rome wasn’t [/not being] built in a day’ is an example of ‘Valuable projects take [/taking] time’, as illustrated in the following diagram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Rome wasn’t built in a day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Topic | Valuable projects take [/taking] time’  
(what the phrase ‘Rome wasn’t built in a day’ refers to) |
| Vehicle | [associated with] ‘Rome wasn’t [/not being] built in a day’  
(the notion which ‘valuable projects take [/taking] time’ is being associated with) |
| Grounds | [in that] ‘Rome wasn’t [/not being] built in a day’ is an example of ‘Valuable projects take [/taking] time’ |

While ‘Rome wasn’t built in a day’ can only be figuratively analysed globally (i.e. there are no specific elements within it which can be analysed figuratively), there is also a further more complicated case, in which a proverb can be analysed figuratively both in terms of the individual elements which make it (or at least some of these elements), and in global terms. Neither I nor my supervisor have been able to find an example of this from English, so I will illustrate it with one of the examples from my data in Chapter 6, Section 6.6.2: رأس تقطعه مايجيك فزاع َ Rasīn tiqṭaʕah mā yjīk fazzāʕ ‘A head you cut off will never return’. The specific element rās ‘head’ in this proverb can be analysed as having the kināyah sense of ‘life’. The specific element tiqṭaʕ ‘you cut off’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense of ‘you kill/destroy’. yjī ‘comes’, together with fazzāʕ ‘returning/back’, can be analysed as having the existential metaphorical sense of ‘is restored to life’. Accordingly, we can take
the proverb *rāsin tiqatəh mā yīk fazzāf* to mean in terms of its specific figurative elements ‘A life which you kill/destroy will not be restored’.

However, this is not the intended overall meaning of the proverb, which is, rather, ‘An enemy who you defeat conclusively will not be able to take revenge against you’. Accordingly, in addition to the analysis of the specific elements which make up this proverb (its ‘specific-element’ analysis), we need to further relate the meaning as determined by this specific-element analysis, to its intended overall – i.e. global – meaning. This can be done by treating the relationship between the overall intended meaning to be in a figurative relationship with the key meaning as determined by the specific-element analysis. For details of how this is done in practice, see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.2 (and other similar examples in Chapter 6).

We accordingly have a number of categories of proverbs which involve figurative language:

(i) proverbs whose intended overall meaning is determined entirely by the analysis of the specific elements which make them up (at least some of which may be literal, and therefore not requiring figurative analysis);

(ii) proverbs whose intended overall meaning is determined entirely by global analysis (and not requiring specific-element analysis, since there are no specific figurative elements – words or phrases – within the proverb);

(iii) proverbs whose intended overall meaning is determined by a combination of both specific-element analysis and global analysis.
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

Finally, under the analysis of each proverb, I look at the body-part element(s) of the proverb concerned in terms of the conceptual categories involved. I do this in two ways, as follows:

– Specific-Element Analysis

Where the body part in question has previously been analysed as a specific element (specific-element analysis; vii.i and vii.ii above), I mention this analysis again here. Where the body part in question has not previously been analysed as a specific element (specific-element analysis; vii.i and vii.ii above) since it is not amenable to specific-element analysis, I write ‘NONE’.

– Overall Theme of Proverb

Here, I extend the notion of conceptual metaphor to some extent by considering the body part which appears in the proverb in question. However, it is not assessed as a specific element, but in relation to what I identify as the overall theme of the proverb. Thus, the overall theme of example 6.2.7 ضربة في رأس غيري مثل شق في جدار ḍarbīṭīn fi-rās ǧērī miṯīl ʂaqqīn fi-jdār, ‘A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall’, is read in light of its intended overall sense ‘What happens to other people is of no concern to me’ is ‘selfishness’.

5.6 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 Najdi proverbs and their figurative meanings. The tool used for linguistic analysis was presented in order to orient the reader in terms of the analysis to be conducted in Chapter 6.
Chapter 6
Data Analysis

6.1 Introduction

Several abstract domains employ the human body as their source domain. Kövecses (2002:20) defines these abstract domains as ‘abstract, diffuse, and lack[ing] clear delineation; as a result, they “cry out” for metaphorical conceptualization’. In this chapter, Arabic rhetorical mechanisms will be utilised in analysing proverbs related to human body parts. Rather than being random, conventional body-part proverbs will be demonstrated to present a rhetorical image system that is associated with the bodily features.

Within the current chapter, the objective is to provide a cognitive–linguistic analysis of Najdi human body-part proverbs making use of Arabic figurative devices – namely that of metaphor, *kināyah*, simile, and *majāz mursal* – as well as conceptual metaphor.

As previously mentioned, the Najdi human body-part proverbs that comprise the data of this study were collected from the book *الأمثال الشعبية في قلب جزيرة العرب* (al-Juhaymān, 1980). These body parts are the head, face, nose, tongue, hand, and leg.

The Najdi proverbs involving body parts will be examined in the following order: proverbs involving the head (Section 6.2); the face (Section 6.3); the nose (Section 6.4); the tongue (Section 6.5); the hand (Section 6.6); and the leg (Section 6.7). Each section will commence with figurative body-part meanings drawn from Arabic dictionaries. Subsequently, the Najdi proverb will be presented, followed by its translation and transcription. Following that, the metaphorical elements of the proverbs will be analysed. The analyses are divided into the following main stages: (1) specific element figurative sense, which will discuss the figurative meaning of the body part in the proverb; (2) specific element conceptual *kināyah* and metaphor, which will analyse if the proverb is a *kināyah* or metaphor using *bayān* tropes; (3)
evaluating the nature of these *kināyah* and metaphor structures, which will consider if the proverbs are conceptual *kināyahs* or conceptual metaphors. This analysis will be conducted by considering the frequency of the proverb, as well as determining whether there is a clear fundamental conceptual relationship between the literal (basic) sense of the word and its figurative sense, and lexicalised secondary senses of the word which are the same as, or similar to, the metaphorical/*kināyah* sense of the word as used in the proverb; (4) the overall theme of the proverb which gives us the meaning intended by the proverb; (5) global analysis, which will determine if the body part is a conceptual metaphor or not through the frequent use of the proverb, a clear fundamental conceptual relationship between the literal (basic) sense of the word and its figurative sense, and lexicalised secondary senses of the word which are the same as, or similar to, the metaphorical/*kināyah* sense of the word as used in the proverb. For some proverbs, further essential contextual information is provided, such as the narrative behind the proverb.

6.2. Head (*Rās*)

6.2.1 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense of ‘Life’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Selfishness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2547</td>
<td>rāsah w rās Šʕēlah</td>
<td>His head and Šʕēlah’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 7 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as not very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.
iii. **Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

iv. **Overview**

‘Šāēlah’ is a name of someone’s riding animal, which means that he is responsible only for looking after himself and his animal. The proverb may refer to loneliness and solitude (al-Juhaymān, 1982:150). There is a comparison between someone’s concern for only their own life and the life of their animal (as expressed in the elliptical expression راسه و راس شعيلة ‘his head and that of Šāēlah’, the full form being something which means ‘he is only concerned for his head and that of Šāēlah’) and loneliness and solitude.

v. **General Analytical Issues**

This proverb is elliptical for راسه و راس شعيلة ‘He is only concerned about his head and the head of Šāēlah’.

vi. **Intended Overall Sense**

He is only concerned about himself.

vii.i **Specific-Element Analysis: General**

The specific element رأس ‘head’, which occurs twice, can be analysed as having the kināyah sense of ‘life’. The sense of رأس as ‘life’ here is most plausibly regarded as a kināyah, on the basis that the head is the part of the body most closely associated with life; the head, as the seat of the brain, and therefore, mind, is the part of the body in which life is most evident. An alternative analysis might be to regard رأس in the sense of ‘life’ as a metaphor, i.e. to regard life as, in some sense, like a head. It is difficult, however, to see what this sense (i.e. grounds) would be.
vii.ii Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds (Section 4.3.1), the topic is rās in the *kināyah* sense ‘life’, the vehicle is rās in its basic physical sense ‘head’, and the grounds (the associative relationship between ‘head’ and ‘life’) is that the head is arguably the location of life (Section 4.3.3.1.7). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>دراسة وراس شعيلة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>life (what the word رأس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] head (the notion which life is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>‘[in that] the head is arguably the location of life’ (Section 4.3.3.1.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i Global Analysis: General

Having interpreted this proverb as elliptical and having interpreted the word rās (literally ‘head’) to be a *kināyah* for ‘life’ in it (specific-element analysis), we can paraphrase the entire proverb *rāsah w rās Šʕēlah* as ‘[He is only concerned about] his life and the life of Šʕēlah’. If we interpret the proverb to mean overall ‘He is only concerned about himself’, the sense ‘[He is only concerned about] his life and the life of Šʕēlah’ can itself be regarded as a *kināyah* for this.

viii.ii Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

Taking *rāsah w rās Šʕēlah* as a *kināyah* to mean ‘He is only concerned about himself’, we have the following global analysis in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds. The vehicle is the meaning ‘He is only concerned about his life and the life of Šʕēlah’; the topic is ‘He is only concerned about himself’, and the grounds (the relationship between these two statements) is that the former is a part of which the latter is the whole (Section 4.3.3.1.1).
Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>‘he is only concerned about himself’ (what the phrase رأسه ورأس شعيلة refers to)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicle</th>
<th>[associated with] ‘he is only concerned about his life and that of Šʕēlah’ (the notion which ‘he is only concerned about himself’ is being associated with)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounds</th>
<th>[in that] ‘He is only concerned about his life and the life of Šʕēlah’ is part of ‘He is only concerned about himself’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense of ‘life’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Selfishness’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘selfishness’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘selfishness’ here.

6.2.2 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense ‘life’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Removal of Threat’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2551</td>
<td>رأس تقطعه مايجيك فزاع</td>
<td>A head you cut off will never return.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāsin tiqṭaʕah mā yjīk fazzāʕ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 23/09/2022 showed no results for this proverb. However, when I did a Google search for the related form رأس تقطعه ما يجيك فازع, I got 4 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
NS: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no. 875: ‘A head cut off will not come for you’.
NS: Palestine: Zayādneh, no. 239: ‘The one whose head you cut off, will not come for you’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
The data sources do not suggest any origin for this proverb.

iv. Overview
This proverb encourages a person to kill their enemy when they can, because the head that someone cuts off will never return. It also encourages a person to finish off the enemy if the circumstances permit such an end, and not to waste time in victory (al-Juhaymān, 1982:152; al-ʕubūdī, 1959:560). There is a comparison between the head that one cuts off – and never returning to fight them – and dealing with someone in a decisive and conclusive manner. Criminals guilty of a serious offence were traditionally beheaded with a sword in Saudi Arabia in accordance with the Islamic rules mentioned in the Qur’an. However, this proverb is figurative and encourages one to identify evil and eliminate it comprehensively. Here, the head represents a human being, since if the head is severed, the person will die.

v. General Analytical Issues
A distinction needs to be drawn between the purpose of this proverb and its meaning. While the purpose of the proverb is to encourage a person to deal ruthlessly with their enemies, making it impossible for these enemies to take
revenge on them, its meaning is: ‘An enemy who you defeat conclusively will not be able to take revenge on you’.

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

‘An enemy who you defeat conclusively will not be able to take revenge on you’.

**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General**

The specific element َرَذَّ ‘head’ can be analysed as having the *kināyah* sense ‘life’ (see Section 6.2.1 above). The specific element ُتَقْطُع ‘you cut off’ can be analysed as having the *kināyah* sense ‘you kill/destroy’. َنَجَّ ‘comes’, together with ُفَازْ ‘returning/back’, can be analysed as having the existential metaphorical sense of ‘is restored to life’.

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

For the specific-element analysis of َرَذَّ ‘head’, see Section 6.2.1. ُتَقْطُع, the topic is ُتَقْطُع in the metaphorical sense ‘you kill/destroy’, the vehicle is ُتَقْطُع in its basic physical sense ‘you cut’, and the grounds (the relationship between ‘[you] cut’ and ‘[you] destroy’) cutting (particularly of the head) is the cause of the destruction of life (Section 4.3.3.1.3). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>رأس تقطعه ماييجيك فرع</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>you kill/destroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word تقطع refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘you cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘you kill/destroy’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] cutting (particularly of the head) is the cause of the destruction of life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yjī ‘comes’ and fazzāʕ ‘returning/back’ which are best taken together, since they function as a single figurative unit, this being a metaphor. Here, the topic is ‘is restored to life’, the vehicle is yjī...fazzāʕ ‘comes back’ in its basic physical (movement) sense, and the grounds (the relationship between ‘comes back’ and ‘is restored to life’) is that being restored to life is like coming back to somewhere (this ‘somewhere’ being existence).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>بجي...فزااع</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>is restored to life (what the phrase بجي...فزااع refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] coming back (the notion which ‘is restored to life’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] being restored to life is like coming back to somewhere (this ‘somewhere’ being existence).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

As discussed, we can take the proverb rāsin tiqṭaʕah mā yjīk fazzāʕ to mean in terms of its specific figurative elements, ‘A life which you kill/destroy will not be restored’ and for this to mean in global figurative terms ‘An enemy who you defeat conclusively will not be able to take revenge on you’. There is a likeness (metaphorical) relationship in the literal and the figurative sense: a head being cut off – and never returning – is like an enemy who is conclusively defeated, as they are unable to take revenge.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In terms of the global analysis of the proverb, the topic is, ‘An enemy who you defeat conclusively will not be able to take revenge on you’ (i.e. the metaphorical sense). The vehicle is, ‘A life which you kill/destroy will not be restored’ in its literal sense, and the grounds (i.e. the respect in which an enemy who you defeat conclusively will not take be able to take revenge on you is like a life which you kill/destroy not being able to be restored) is that in
both cases an action has taken which is irreversible. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’**

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘life’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Removal of Threat’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘removal of threat’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘removal of threat’ here.
6.2.3 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense ‘Life’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال لساني | qāl wiš qāṭčik yā ṭāsī qāl lsānī | The head was asked, ‘Who cut you off?’ It answered, ‘My tongue’.

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form قال وش قاطعك يا راس قال لساني showed 4 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
NS: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no. 1500: قال وش قاطعك يا راس قال لساني: The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue.”
DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 2560: لوولاك يا لساني ما انسكبت يا قفايا: ‘If it was not for you my tongue, my back would not have been harmed’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to al-ʕubūdī (1959:946, 947), the origin of the proverb is that a man found a severed head lying on the ground, and asked without waiting for an answer: ‘What cut you off, O head, and separated you from your body?’ The head replied in a clear Arabic tongue: ‘It was my tongue.’ The man was astonished by the utterance of the head lying on the ground alone, but he repeated the question to him, and the head repeated to him the answer. The man hurriedly went to the governor of the country to tell him of this miracle, but the governor was unjust and arrogant, so he rebuked him and said: ‘You
have come to mock me, and laugh at me’, and he ordered the man to be punished. But the man pleaded with him and insisted that he was serious, so the ruler said to him: ‘If this is not true, what should I do?’ The man replied: ‘Cut off my head!’

The ruler went with his men to the severed head, and they asked it: ‘What made you cut off, head?’ It did not answer, and so they repeated the question, but it did not reply. The man was stunned and moved forward from the head, directing his words to the ruler: ‘Perhaps it wants me to ask it the the question.’ Then he asked the head: ‘What cut you off, O head? What cut you off, O head? I say: What cut you off, O head?’ But the head did not answer. So he started begging it to answer the ruler, even once, as it had done when it was alone. But the head did not say a word, and the anger of the ruler intensified, and he said: ‘Did I not say from the beginning that you came to laugh at me? He was not satisfied with that, but took me and my men to this place. If we have mercy on you, we will carry out your judgment on yourself. O swordsman, cut off his head.’ And when his head fell to the ground, the ruler turned to his men, saying: ‘Now ask this head and tell him, “What cut you off?” And his tongue will answer you: “It is his tongue”’ (al-ʕubūdī, 1959:946, 947).

iv. Overview

‘What cut you off’ means: what was the cause of the severing of your head? This refers to the consequences of people’s words. Those who do not keep secrets and make hurtful utterances deserve to suffer serious consequences that may cause them to lose their lives or experience another negative impact. Therefore, when the Prophet Muhammad was asked: ‘O Prophet of Allah! Will we be taken to account for what we say?’, he replied: ‘The people are tossed into the Fire upon their faces, or upon their noses, due to that which their tongues have wrought’ (al-Juhaymān, 1982: 261; al-ʕubūdī, 1959: 946). Occasionally, a punishment will be given for inappropriate words. As previously mentioned, people were on occasion decapitated for their wrongdoings, as per our knowledge of the tradition that follows Islam. The citation of ‘tongue’ in this proverb will be discussed below in Section 6.5.2.
v. General Analytical Issues
There is a global comparison between the negative effects on oneself through improper language and the cutting off of one’s own head.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘Hurtful words have bad/negative consequences’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
As in the proverb rāsin tiqṭaʕah mà yjīk fazzāʕ (Section 6.2.2), the specific element rās ‘head’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense ‘life’ (see Section 6.2.1 above). The specific element tiqṭaʕ ‘you cut off’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense ‘you kill/destroy’ (Section 6.2.2). The element lsān ‘tongue’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense ‘words/things one says’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
For the specific-element analysis of rās ‘head’, see Section 6.2.1. For the specific-element analysis of tiqṭaʕah, see Section 6.2.2.

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
Taking the entire proverb, qāl wiš qāʕik yā rāsī qāl lsānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’, to mean ‘Hurtful words have bad/negative consequences’, we can analyse this proverb as a kināyah.

The topic is the kināyah sense ‘Hurtful words have bad/negative consequences’. The vehicle is qāl wiš qāʕik yā rāsī qāl lsānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?”’ in the sense ‘He asked, “What brought your life to an end?”’ He said/replied “My words/things I said”’ (i.e. taking into account the specific-element analysis above).

The grounds is best analysed as one construction being used as a substitute for another (Section 4.3.3.1.10), with there being no more obvious
connection in terms of the categories following Section 4.3.3.1 than this. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>قال وش قاطعك ياراسي قال لساني</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>Hurtful words have bad/negative consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the phrase قال وش قاطعك ياراسي قال لساني refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] 'He asked, “What brought your life to an end?” He said/replied “My words/things I said”'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘Hurtful words have bad/negative consequences’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the second construction is used as a substitute for the first</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’**

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘life’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘hurtful words’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘hurtful words’ here.
6.2.4 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense ‘Life’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Removal of Threat’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4751 قط رأس يموت خبر</td>
<td>qīṭṭ rās ymūt xabar</td>
<td>Cut off a head, news will die.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form أقطع رأس يموت خبر showed 39 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which accords with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

NS: Najd: *al-ʕubūdī*, no.150: أقطع رأس و يموت خبر ‘Cut off a head and news will die’.


**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to *al-ʕubūdī* (1959:123), this proverb may be traced back to the old and popular Andalusian proverb: اقتل عدوك لست تلقاه ‘uqtul ʕaduwwuka lasta talqāhu, which means, ‘Kill your enemy so that you will not meet him’.

**iv. Overview**

If you sever your enemy’s head, you will not hear any news, such as whether he is going to plot against you, decide to attack you, or help your enemies. This proverb refers to eliminating evil at its root. In such matters, half measures are not effective. As long as there is evil, you will not be able to
rest, and will remain in constant fear and foreboding (al-Juhaymān, 1982: 297; al-‘ubūdī, 1959:123). There is a comparison between eliminating evil and cutting off a head so that news is no longer reported. The head represents a human being, since if the head is severed, the person will die.

v. General Analytical Issues
There is a general comparison between the cutting off of a head eliminating news and dealing with the root source of evil, meaning that evil will no longer cause harm.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘Deal with the root source of evil and it will not cause you harm’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
As in the proverb ṭāsin tiqṭah mā ya‘īk fazzāf (Section 6.2.2), the specific element ṭās ‘head’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense ‘life’ (see Section 6.2.1 above). The specific element qiṭṭ ‘cut off’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense ‘kill/destroy’ (Section 6.2.2). The ymūt ‘will die’ can be analysed as having the kināyah sense ‘will cease to exist’. We may also note that there is an implied metaphor in ymūt xabar, where the word xabar (‘news’) is compared to a living thing, although the living thing is not mentioned in the proverb.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
For the specific-element analysis of ṭās ‘head’, see Section 6.2.1. For the specific-element analysis of qiṭṭ ‘cut off’, see the analysis of tiqṭah (Section 6.2.2). For ymūt, the vehicle is ‘will die’ in the basic sense or ‘will cease to live’, the topic in the kināyah sense is ‘will cease to exist’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where dying is a particular type of ceasing to exist (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>قط رأس يموت خبر</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘will cease to exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what the word يموت refers to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘will die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the notion which ‘will die’ is being associated with)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] dying is a type of ceasing to exist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

Taking the entire proverb, *qiṭṭ rās ymūt xabar* ‘Cut off a head, news will die’, to mean ‘Deal with the root source of evil and it will not cause you harm’, we can analyse this proverb as a *kināyah*.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

The topic in the *kināyah* sense is ‘Deal with the root source of evil and it will not cause you harm’. The vehicle is *qiṭṭ rās ymūt xabar* ‘Cut off a head, news will die’ in the sense of, ‘Kill a life, and news (information) will cease to exist’ (i.e. taking into account the specific-element analysis above). The grounds is best analysed as one construction being used as a substitute for another (Section 4.3.3.1.10), with there being no more obvious connection in terms of the categories following Section 4.3.3.1 than this. This can be diagrammed as follows:
Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Deal with the root source of evil and it will not cause you harm (what the phrase refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘Deal with the root source of evil and it will not cause you harm’ (the notion which ‘Deal with the root source of evil and it will not cause you harm’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the second construction is a substitute for the first</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘life’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Removal of Threat’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘removal of threat’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘removal of threat’ here.

6.2.5 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense ‘The Person Involved’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Patience’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2554 رأسه على صكات يعع صليبي</td>
<td>rāsah ʕalā ṣakkāt bagʕā šilīb</td>
<td>His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did for on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the partial element صكت بقع showed 14,700 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to the data resources, this proverb cannot be traced back to a specific origin.

iv. Overview
‘His head is strong in the face of accidents/calamities’ refers to life’s problems that everyone encounters, especially if one is a leader who has responsibilities towards his community or family. This proverb is applicable to those who are patient and able to face conflict and adversity (al-Juhaymān, 1982:153). There is a comparison between the head being strong enough to withstand the blows of life and being able to withstand the vicissitudes of life. Since the head is central to the intellectual and physical functions of a human being, this proverb presents a scenario whereby an individual addresses the full outcomes of an issue, taking absolute responsibility via the head.

v. General Analytical Issues
From a cognitive metaphor perspective (ix. below, this section), رأس ‘head’ in this proverb can be linked to the notion of patience. From a specific-element
analysis, رأس 'head' is better understood simply as a kināyah for the person involved, i.e. 'he' (vii.i and vii.ii below).

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

'He is patient (tough) in the face of adversities'.

**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General**

As noted in i. above, رأس 'head' can be understood as the person involved ('he'). The word صليب 'durable' suggests a comparison with iron (metaphorical).

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the case of رأس 'head', the topic is the kināyah sense 'he' (i.e. the person concerned), while the vehicle is 'head' in the literal sense. The grounds in which 'head' is related to 'he' (the person concerned) is part-whole, whereby the head is a part of the whole person (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>رأسه على صكات بقعا صليب</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>he (i.e. the person concerned) (what the word رأسه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'he' (i.e. the person concerned) (the notion which 'his head' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the head is a part of the whole person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

صليب 'durable' is best analysed as a metaphor. Here, the topic is the entity (person) being referred to, i.e. 'he' (the person concerned), the vehicle is 'durable' in the basic literal sense, and the grounds is that 'he' (the person concerned) is like iron in terms of durability. This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>راسه على صكات بقعا صليب</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>he (i.e. the person concerned)  &lt;br&gt; (what the word صليب refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[like] durable/durable[-like]  &lt;br&gt; (the notion which ‘he’ (i.e. the person concerned) is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] he (the person concerned) is like iron (in terms of durability)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

In the case of "راسح قلأ شاكث باغق سليب" there is no further need for a global analysis beyond the analysis of the specific elements "رأس" ‘head’ and "صليب’ ‘durable’ (iii.ii immediately above) to arrive at the intended overall sense of the proverb ‘he is patient (tough) in the face of adversities’. Accordingly, there is no need for a global analysis in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’**

As a specific element, "رأس" (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘the person involved’ (‘he’) (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Patience’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘patience’, giving "رأس" (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘patience’ here.
6.2.6 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense ‘The Person Involved’ (‘He’); Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Stubbornness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2546</td>
<td>rāsah naxir</td>
<td>His head is worm-eaten/necrotic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1,560 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which accords with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to the data resources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

**iv. Overview**

The proverb means that the person’s head was eaten by weevils and wireworms. This proverb was first uttered when a man from al-Ḥōṭah of the Banī Tamīm (an Arabian tribe) had a fight with another man and broke his head with a blow from a huge stick. When people came to remonstrate with him, he said, ‘This man’s head has been eaten away’. This proverb refers to strength that is sometimes misdirected *(al-Juhaymān, 1982:150)*. There is a comparison between an individual who is stubborn and is not prepared to change his mind by listening to the advice of others and his head being worm-eaten.
v. General Analytical Issues

From a cognitive metaphor perspective (vi. below, this section), 'head' in this proverb can be linked to the notion of stubbornness. From a specific-element analysis 'head' is better understood simply as a *kināyah* for the person involved, i.e. 'he' (vii.i and vii.ii below; cf. Section 6.2.5 above).

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He is stubborn’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

As noted in i. above, 'head' can be understood as the person involved ('he'). *Naxir* 'worm-eaten' means 'stubborn'.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

As in Section 6.2.5 above, in the case of 'head', the topic is the *kināyah* sense 'he' (i.e. the person concerned), and the vehicle is 'head' in the literal sense. The grounds in which 'head' is related to 'he' (the person concerned) is part-whole, whereby the head is a part of the whole person (Section 4.3.3.1.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>رأسه نخر</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or <em>kināyah</em>?</td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>he (the person concerned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word رأسه نخر refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[compared to] [a] worm-eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[thing]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which 'he' (the person concerned) is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] like a worm-eaten thing he stubbornly resists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Naxir* ‘worm-eaten’ is best analysed as a metaphor. Here, the topic is the entity (person) being referred to, the vehicle is ‘worm-eaten’ in the basic
literal sense, and the grounds is that like a worm-eaten thing the person stubbornly resists. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>رأسه نخر</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>he (the person concerned) (what the word نخر refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[compared to] [a] worm-eaten [thing] (the notion which ‘he’ (the person concerned) is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] like a worm-eaten thing he stubbornly resists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

In the case of rāsah naxir there is no further need for a global analysis beyond the analysis of the specific elements رأس ‘head’ and نخر ‘worm-eaten’ (vii.ii immediately above) to arrive at the intended overall sense of the proverb ‘he is stubborn’. Accordingly, there is no need for a global analysis in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

Considered as a specific element, رأس ‘head’, as noted, has the sense of ‘he’ (person concerned). In more general conceptual-metaphor terms, however, رأس ‘head’ in the context of this proverb can be associated with the notion of stubbornness.

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’**

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘the person involved’ (‘he’) (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Stubbornness’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘stubbornness’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘stubbornness’ here.
6.2.7 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Selfishness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3301 ضربة في رأس غيري مثل شق في جدار</td>
<td>ڈاربٹین ہی-راؤں چھڑی میٹل ہساؤن می-جدار</td>
<td>A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 5 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

### ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
NS: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no. 1456: فلقة في راس غيري مثل صدع في الجدار ‘A fracture in someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall’.

DWSM: Iraq: al-Ḥanafi, no. 1116: ضربة البغيرك مثل شل البالتّبن ‘A blow to someone else is like a fork in a hay’.

### iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to the data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

### iv. Overview
This refers to the one who does not care about other people’s problems and sufferings. Such an attitude goes against the injunctions of Islam, which call for sympathy. For the Prophet Muhammad said, ‘None of you believes until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself.’ There is also another Ḥadīth which states, ‘The believers in their mutual kindness, compassion, and
sympathy are just like one body. When one of the limbs suffers, the whole body responds to it with wakefulness and fever' (al-Juhaymān, 1982:189; al-ʿubūdī, 1959:915).

There is a comparison between ‘the lack of concern for other people’ and ‘a blow to someone else’s head being like a crack in a wall’. The function of this proverb is describing a egotistical person who cares for no-one but their own self. This proverb refers to a problem coming to a head, which links to our awareness that shock and pain will result from something (i.e. a problem) impacting our head, thus leading the person to take evasive action to avoid the impact.

v. General Analytical Issues
This proverb can be analysed first as a Homeric simile, in terms of its specific elements, and then these elements taken together can be further analysed globally as a kināyah.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘What happens to other people is of no concern to me’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
‘A blow on someone else’s head’ needs to be taken primarily as literal here. Miṭl šaqqīn fi-ждār ‘Like a crack in a wall’ can be analysed as a simile, and as a specific phrasal element.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
Here the topic is ضربة في رأس غيري ‘a blow on someone else’s head’, the vehicle is شق في جدار ṣaqqīn fi-ждār ‘a crack in a wall’ in its basic literal sense, and the grounds is that neither are of significant concern. This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th><strong>شق في جدار</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Simile (taken to be metaphor-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘a blow on someone else’s head’ (what the phrase <strong>شق في جدار</strong> refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[like] a crack in a wall (the notion which ‘a blow on someone’s head’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] neither are of significant concern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

Beyond the specific simile (metaphor-like) analysis of *mithil ṣaqqin fi-jdār* ‘like a crack in a wall’, we can consider the entire proverb to mean, ‘What happens to other people is of no concern to me’. In this case, the entire proverb can be considered a *kināyah*.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

The topic of *darbtin fi-rās ġērī mithil ṣaqqin fi-jdār* (literally: ‘A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall’) is the intended sense ‘What happens to other people is of no concern to me’. The vehicle is the literal sense of *darbatin fi-rās ġērī mithil ṣaqqin fi-jdār* i.e. ‘A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall’. The grounds is that a blow to someone else’s head being like a crack in the wall is an example (or a type) of what happens to someone else being of no concern to me. This can be thought of as an extension of the part-whole relationship (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>ضربة في رأس غيري مثل شق في جدار</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kināyah</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>What happens to other people is of no concern to me (what the phrase ضربة في رأس غيري مثل شق في جدار refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘A blow on someone else’s head is [being] like a crack in a wall’ (the notion which ‘What happens to other people is [being] of no concern to me’ is being compared to/associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] a blow to someone else’s head being like a crack in the wall is an example (type) of what happens to someone else being of no concern to me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’**

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here does not have a figurative sense (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Selfishness’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘selfishness’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘selfishness’ here.
6.2.8 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Harming Others’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8172</td>
<td>يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى</td>
<td>He learns to shave on the heads of orphans.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 43 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

Ident.: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no. 2795: ‘He learns to shave on the heads of the orphans’.

SM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 54: ‘He learnt cupping on the heads of the orphans’.


**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to al-ʕubūdī (1959:1680), this proverb can be traced back to the popular Andalusian proverb, يتعلم الحجام، في أعناق اليتامى, which means ‘He learns cupping on the necks of orphans’.

**iv. Overview**

When someone attempts to learn how to shave by using the heads of orphans who have no one to defend them, then mistakes will occur. This proverb refers to those who harm people around them in order to benefit without being punished (al-Juhaymān, 1982:205; al-ʕubūdī, 1959:1680).
There is a comparison between someone who harms people around themselves in order to acquire a benefit without being punished and someone who learns to shave on the heads of orphans. This refers to anyone who harms others for his own benefit with no fear of suffering repercussions for his actions. The ‘head’ is mentioned here because it is one of the main body parts, and if damaged, the entire body will be affected, potentially resulting in death.

This proverb’s inclusion of the head is due to its vital nature in human functioning and the fact that the majority of the senses are contained within this body part. It is understood that the head is the centre of all thought and mobility. Thus, any harm caused to the head can result in serious injury or death.

v. General Analytical Issues
Analytically, this entire proverb is best thought of as a single unit, since all the elements contribute to a coherent figurative whole.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘He harms people around him in order to benefit without being punished’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
As noted above, all the elements of this proverb contribute to an overall figurative whole. There is therefore no reason to attempt an analysis of specific elements within the proverb.

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
As noted, the proverb can be globally taken to mean ‘he harms people around him in order to benefit without being punished’.

The topic here is what is being referred to, i.e. ‘He harms people around him in order to benefit without being punished’ (or, to use the nominalisation, which may make this easier to understand, ‘the fact that he harms people
around him in order to benefit without being punished’). The vehicle is the entire phrase *yitḥallam il-ḥlāqah b-rūs il-yitāmā* ‘he learns to shave on the heads of orphans’, in its literal sense. One may alternatively use the nominalisation, which alludes to ‘the fact that he learns to shave on the heads of orphans’. The grounds is ‘[the fact that] he learns to shave on the heads of orphans’, which is an example (or a type) of ‘[the fact that] he harms people (or ‘him harming people’) around him in order to benefit without being punished’. This can be thought of as an extension of the part-whole relationship (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

| Example | يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى |
| Metaphor or kināyah? | Kināyah |
| Topic | [the fact that] he harms people around him in order to benefit without being punished (what the phrase يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى refers to) |
| Vehicle | [associated with] ‘he learns [him learning] to shave on the heads of orphans’ (the notion which ‘[the fact that] he harms people around him in order to benefit without being punished’ is being associated with) |
| Grounds | [in that] he harms people around him in order to benefit without being punished. |

*ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis*

– *Specific-Element Analysis: NONE*

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here does not have a figurative sense (vii.i and vii.ii, above).
– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Harming Others’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘harming others’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘harming others’ here.

### 6.2.9 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Mind’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Health’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>۶٧</td>
<td>abī rās Ḥammūm w kabd ʕakkūm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the partial element ابي راس حموم showed 8 results and a Google search which I did for the partial element ابي كبد عكوم showed 112 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as not very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

Ḥammūm was a man who was free of worries, and as such he fell into a deep sleep as soon as he laid his head on the pillow, without being interrupted by disturbing dreams or dark thoughts. ʕakkūm was a man with a strong, healthy liver who ate whatever he found without difficulty, regardless of how digestible it was (al-Juhaymān, 1982:45).
iv. Overview

This proverb refers to the longing of human beings for what they do not have, or to the different virtues and characteristics that different people have, with no one individual possessing all of these qualities and features (al-Juhaymān, 1982:45). There is a comparison between wanting Ḥammūm’s head and Ḥakkūm’s liver and the desire more generally of human beings for what they do not have. The mind is represented by the head in this proverb, enabling the description of someone who is relaxed and unconcerned about life.

v. General Analytical Issues

In this proverb, the element أبأ ‘I want’ can be taken literally. There are two separate elements which are to be regarded as figurative: رأس حموم ‘Ḥammūm’s head’ and كبد عكوم ‘Ḥakkūm’s liver’.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘I want the mind of a stress-free person and the body of a healthy person’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

رأس حموم ‘Ḥammūm’s head’ can be taken as a metaphor for ‘a stress-free mind’. Within رأس حموم ‘Ḥammūm’s head’, رأس ‘head’ can be taken as a kināyah for ‘mind’, while حموم ‘Ḥammūm’ can be taken as a kināyah for a stress-free person. كبد عكوم ‘Ḥakkūm’s liver’ can be taken as a metaphor for a healthy body. Within كبد عكوم ‘Ḥakkūm’s liver’, كبد ‘liver’ can be taken as a kināyah for ‘body’, while عكوم ‘Ḥakkūm’ can be taken as a kināyah for a healthy person.

vii.ii Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

Taking رأس ‘head’ in رأس حموم ‘Ḥammūm’s head’ first, the topic is ‘mind’, the vehicle is رأس ‘head’ in its literal sense, and the grounds is that the head is the location of the mind (Section 4.3.3.1.7). This can be diagrammed as follows:
### Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what the word رأس حموم refers to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] 'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the notion which the mind is being associated with)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the head is the location of the mind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking حموم ‘Hammūm’ in رأس حموم ‘Hammūm’s head’ to mean a person who lives without stress (a stress-free person), the topic is ‘a stress-free person’, the vehicle is حموم ‘Hammūm’, and the grounds can be understood as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to an example-type (member-set/class) relationship), where Hammūm is a particular example of a stress-free person (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

### Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>a stress-free person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what the word حموم refers to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] Hammūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the notion which ‘a stress-free person’ is being associated with)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] Hammūm is a particular example of a stress-free person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complete phrase رأس حموم ‘Hammūm’s head’ does not need to be separately analysed figuratively, as it is fully explained by the two individual elements already analysed here. Taking كبد عكوم ‘کبد عکوم’s liver’, the topic is ‘body’, the vehicle is كبد ‘liver’ in its literal sense, and the grounds is that the liver can be thought of as the source (or ultimate location) of good health (Section 4.3.3.1.7). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>العربية</th>
<th>Beispiel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>good health</td>
<td>(what the word كبد refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘liver’</td>
<td>(the notion which good health is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the liver is the source (or ultimate location) of good health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking عكوم ‘مَعَوْم’ in كبد عكوم’s liver’ to mean a person who enjoys good health, the topic is ‘a person who enjoys good health’, the vehicle is كبد عكوم ‘مَعَوْم’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to an example-type (member-set/class) relationship), where عكوم is a particular example of a person who enjoys good health (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>العربية</th>
<th>Beispiel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>a person who enjoys good health</td>
<td>(what the word عكوم refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] عكوم</td>
<td>(the notion which ‘a person who enjoys good health’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] عكوم is a particular example of a person who enjoys good health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the complete phrase رأس حموم ‘مَحمَوم’s head’, the complete phrase كبد عكوم ‘مَعَوْم’s liver’ does not need to be separately analysed figuratively, as it is fully explained by the two individual elements already analysed here.
viii.i. **Global Analysis: General**
There is no need for a further global analysis of the figurative features of أبى راس حموم وكبد عكوم abi rās Ḥammūm w kabd ʕakkūm ‘I want Ḥammūm’s head and ʕakkūm’s liver’, since all these figurative features are covered by the specific-element analyses above.

ix. **Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**
– **Specific-Element Analysis:** ‘Life’
As a specific element, رأس ras (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘mind’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb:** ‘Health’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘health’, giving رأس ras (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘health’ here.

6.2.10 Head – **Specific-Element Figurative Sense:** ‘Coffee-Grinder’;
**Overall Theme of Proverb:** ‘Stubbornness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4538</td>
<td>fī rāsah ḥabbin mā ṭihin</td>
<td>His head contains beans that have not been ground.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. **Commonness of the Proverb**
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 305 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. **Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**
Ident.: Najd: al-ṣubūdī, no. 1468: في رأسه حب ما طحن ‘His head contains beans that have not been ground’.
iii. Origin of the Proverb

Ṣābrah was a persevering lady, working day and night, for the sake of a rightly-earned feast, or a taste of milk with which to quench the hunger of ʕalī and ʕaṯrah. If she returns to the house, with her husband awake, and lamenting, she raises her voice in singing, ‘Your mother says, “O ʕalī, change the tensioner.”’ She is tired on every journey, O Našmī.’ Abū ʕalī comments, ‘The tar comes out for the tar, and God knows the thorn and it blackens its head.’ Abū ʕalī was noticing his mother’s alienation from his father without being able to explain the matter. One day, in the mill room, she found the opportunity to spread her worries on Uncle Jārallāh, who works there. She complained about an unemployed, void husband who does not benefit from him, neither inside nor outside the house. Abū ʕalī knew that his wife opened up to Jārallāh, so he was arrogant in himself. They fought and he told his wife Ṣābrah that his head contains beans that have not been ground and this means he will keep on acting the same. She replied that his head is shallow (al-Ribāṭī, 2022)

iii. Overview

This proverb refers to someone who likes to be evil and argumentative, because he has not encountered anyone who scorns his pride or challenges his vanity (al-Juhaymān, 1982:216). There is a comparison between someone liking being evil and argumentative because he has not come across anyone who scorns his pride and someone who has ground beans in his head.

v. General Analytical Issues

In this proverb, the head is compared to a coffee-grinder, and the unground beans represent a failure to overcome stubbornness and achieve a flexible outlook.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He is stubborn/inflexible’.
vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, rās is most obviously a kināyah for ‘mind’, while ḥabbin mā ṭihin can be taken together as a composite specific element meaning something like ‘ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’. However, rās can also be secondarily taken as a metaphor for a ‘coffee-grinder’; the head is like a grinder in which beans have not been properly ground.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

Taking رأس in the kināyah sense of ‘mind’, the topic is ‘mind’, the vehicle is رأس ‘head’ in its literal sense, and the grounds is that the head is the location of the mind (Section 4.3.3.1.7) – i.e. the same analysis as for رأس ‘head’ in رأس حموم ‘Hammūm’s head’ (Section 6.2.9).

Taking رأس in the metaphorical sense of ‘coffee-grinder’, i.e. its interpretation if حب ما طحن حب ما طحن ‘beans that have not been ground’ were to be understood literally, the topic is ‘coffee-grinder’, the vehicle is ‘head’, and grounds could be analysed as a coffee-grinder being like a head, in that it has the same general shape as a head. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>فی رأسه حب ما طحن</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>‘coffee-grinder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word رأس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which رأس is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] a head is the same general shape as a coffee-grinder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted above, we can take حب ما طحن ḥabbin mā ṭihin ‘beans which have not been ground’ as a single unit, because the two elements حب and طحن ṭihin are very closely syntactically and semantically related (ما طحن mā ṭihin is a relative clause defining حب ḥabbin). It would also be possible to
analyse حب حبbin and طحن tihin (or طحن ما طحن) separately, but this would not add anything of substance to the analysis.

Taking حب ما طحن habbin mā tihin ‘beans which have not been ground’ as a single element, we can accordingly analyse the phrase as a metaphor. The topic is ‘ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’, the vehicle is ‘beans which have not been ground’, and the grounds are that ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility and beans which have not been ground are ‘rough’ (the ‘roughness’ being intellectual in the first case and physical in the second). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>مثارة حب ما طحن</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>metaphor</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’ (what the phrase حب ما طحن refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[compared to] ‘beans which have not been ground’ (the notion which ‘ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] both ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility and beans which have not been ground are ‘rough’ (the ‘roughness’ being intellectual in the first case and physical in the second)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General

The specific-element analysis in vii.ii above gives a figurative interpretation, namely, ‘In his mind are ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’. This is fairly close, to the ultimate intended sense of the proverb ‘He is stubborn/inflexible’. It is possible, however, to regard the fact that in (i.e. the specific person’s) mind are ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility as being the cause of the fact that ‘he’ (the person concerned) is inflexible. In this case, there is a kināyah relationship between the results of the specific-element analysis, and the global analysis.


Taking the specific-element meaning to be ‘in his mind are ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’ and the global intended sense to be ‘He is stubborn/inflexible’, the specific-element meaning can be seen as the cause of the global element sense. This kināyah relationship can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>في رأسه حب ما طحن</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Topic | ‘He is stubborn/inflexible’  
(what the phrase في رأسه حب ما طحن refers to) |
| Vehicle | [associated with] ‘in his mind are ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’  
(the notion which ‘in his mind are ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility’ is being associated with) |
| Grounds | [in that] [the fact that] in his mind are ideas which have not been developed to the point of flexibility leads him to be stubborn/inflexible. |
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Life’

As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here has the sense ‘coffee-grinder’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Stubbornness’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘stubbornness’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘stubbornness’ here.

6.2.11 Head – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Influence of Wealth’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4508</td>
<td>il-flūs tiqlib-i-r-rūs</td>
<td>Money turns heads.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1 result for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.
iv. Overview

Money here might also mean gold, silver, or similar forms of material value that could change someone’s mind. This proverb refers to the significant impact of money on people’s opinions and perceptions in different areas such as honour, religious beliefs, and social settings (al-Juhaymān, 1982:204-205). There is a comparison between money changing people’s minds and beliefs and money turning heads. This refers to the impact of money on people’s thoughts and opinions, especially in the religious and social contexts. The head here stands for the mind.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no additional general analytical issues in this case.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘Wealth (and particularly the fact or prospect of acquiring wealth) significantly influences people.’

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

الفلوس here does not simply mean money, but refers to wealth in general. The phrase تقلب الروس is best treated as a single specific element (unit), because of the syntactic and semantic integration of the elements as a subject-object structure. It would also be rather difficult, and artificial, to coherently attach separate senses to the individual words تقلب الروس. The phrase تقلب الروس means something like ‘significantly influences people’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

الفلوس is a kināyah of the part-whole type (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where money is a particular type of wealth (Section 4.3.3.1.1). In this paradigm of the الفلوس، the topic is ‘wealth’, the vehicle is ‘money’, and the relationship is that money is a type of wealth. This can be diagrammed as follows:
The phrase تقلب الروس, which is rendered as ‘significantly influences people’, can also be regarded as a *kināyah*, in which the effect (or at least one possible effect) stands for the cause (Section 4.3.3.1.4); one effect of influencing people (psychologically) is to make them physically turn their heads to the thing which is influencing them. Here, ‘significantly influences people’ is the topic, تقلب الروس ‘turns the heads’ is the vehicle, and the fact that something which influences people can cause them to turn their heads towards it is the grounds. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اللفظ تقليب الروس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘wealth’ (what the word تقلب الروس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘money’ (the notion which ‘wealth’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] money is a type of wealth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اللفظ تقليب الروس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>Kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘significantly influences people’ (what the phrase تقلب الروس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘turning heads’ (the notion which ‘significantly influences people’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] something which influences people can cause them to turn their heads towards it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General
The overall intended sense of the proverb ‘Wealth (and particularly the fact or prospect of acquiring wealth) significantly influences people’ is fully accounted for by the specific-element analyses of تقلب الروس ‘money’ and تقلب الروس ‘turns the heads’; there is no need for an additional global analysis, and therefore no need to consider the proverb globally in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-element analysis: NONE
As a specific element, رأس (literally: ‘head’) here does not have a separate figurative sense (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Influence of Wealth’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘influence of wealth’, giving رأس (literally: ‘head’) a general association with ‘influence of wealth’ here.

6.3 Face (Wajh)

6.3.1 Face – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Honourable Things’;
Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Honour’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7659 وجهه يحمى قفاه</td>
<td>wajhah yḥama qufāh</td>
<td>His face protects his back.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 7 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed
that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

Egypt: DWSM: Taymūr, no. 241: الله يخليك يا قفايا اللي ما حدّ سكك ‘Thank you my back, for not being harmed’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

**iv. Overview**

This is an example of the honourable and beloved man whom people praise, both in his presence as one can see his face when they approach him, and in his departure as they can see his back when he leaves (al-Juhaymān, 1982). There is a comparison between the positive qualities of someone and their face and their defects and the back. The face can offer moral insights, since by analysing facial expressions it is possible to determine the sincerity of the speaker.

**v. General Analytical Issues**

Taken literally, the proverb presents a nice parallelism between the face (as the most perceptually prominent front part of a person), and the back (as the most perceptually prominent back part of a person).

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

‘The honourable things which he says/does when he is present protect him when he is absent’.
vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, we can understand ‘face’ to mean the honourable things which a person says and does when they are present. This also echoes the idiomatic Arabic phrase ماء الوجه meaning ‘honour, decency, modesty, self-respect’ (Wehr, 1979:1094). The connection between the ‘face’ and ‘the honourable things which a person says/does when he/she is present’ is not one of likeness (i.e. this is not a metaphor). Rather, we can regard the face as the location in which one’s honourable (or non-honourable) behaviour is most clearly manifest (e.g. through facial expressions) (Section 4.3.3.1.7).

Qufā (literally ‘his back’) can be understood as meaning ‘[the times] when he is absent’. The verb يحمى ‘protects’ can be understood literally, on the basis that protecting need not be physical but can also be more abstract. However, protection may be more or less concrete, as can be seen from the increasing degrees of abstraction in the following: ‘His sword protected him’, ‘His family protected him’, ‘His elite connections protected him’, and ‘His social status protected him’; the more abstract ‘protecting agents’ in this sequence can be seen as increasingly metaphor-like (quasi-metaphorical). We can similarly analyse as quasi-metaphorical يحمى ‘protects’ in وجهه يحمى قفاه ‘his face [i.e. the honourable things which he says/does when he is present] protects him.’ Here, the word يحمى ‘protects’ suggests in the most non-abstract (least metaphor-like) context protection by a sword (since this is the most basic means of protecting oneself traditionally in combat).

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of وجه ‘face’, we can analyse the topic as ‘the honourable things which a person says/does when he/she is present’, the vehicle as the literal sense of وجه ‘face’, and the grounds as representing the fact that the face is the part of the body in which a person’s honourable behaviour is most clearly manifest (Section 4.3.3.1.7). This can be diagrammed as follows:
The word يحمي ‘protects’, as noted in ii.i above, is not strictly speaking a metaphor. However, it can be regarded as a quasi-metaphor. In this case, the topic can be analysed as ‘protects in an abstract way/sense’, the vehicle as ‘protects in a concrete way/sense’, and the grounds are that both concrete and abstract protection involve protection (as considered in more general terms). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجهه يحمى ُفتحاه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>the honourable things which a person says/does when he/she is present (what the word وجه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘face’ (the notion which ‘the honourable things which a person says/does when he/she is present’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the face is the part of the body in which a person’s honourable behaviour is most clearly manifest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجهه يحمى ُفتحاه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>protects in an abstract way/sense (what the word يحمى refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] ‘protects [/protecting] in a concrete sense’ (the notion which ‘protects [/protecting] in an abstract way/sense’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In relation to *qufāh*, the topic is ‘[the times] when he is absent’, the vehicle is ‘his back’ understood literally, and the grounds is that the back is like the times when one is absent, in that both cannot be seen. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounds</th>
<th>[in that] both concrete and abstract protection involve protection (as considered in more general terms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

## Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>وجوهه يحمى قفاد</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>[the times] when one is absent (what the word وجهه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘his back’ (the notion which ‘his back’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] both cannot be seen/neither can be seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### viii.i. Global Analysis: General
All the aspects of figuration in this proverb are covered by the specific-element analyses above. There is thus no further need for a global analysis.

### ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Honourable Things’**
As a specific element, وجه (literally: ‘face’) here has the sense ‘honourable things’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Honour’**
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘honour’, giving وجه (literally: ‘face’) a general association with ‘honour’ here.
6.3.2 Face – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Firmness and Flexibility’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>587</td>
<td>ukrub wajhik w-urx yidēk</td>
<td>Tighten your face and loosen your hands.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 36 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as not very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 2978: ‘Sway with the stick of dominance but do not hit with it’.
NS: Iraq: al-Tikrītī, no. 867: ‘Redden your eye and loosen your hands’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

iv. Overview
This encourages people to strike a balance between firmness and looseness, as strength may turn against the strong, bringing them misery. It also encourages people to be firm in planning but flexible when implementing their strategies. If they are forced to use strength, they have to try to remain as calm as possible. The best choice is the middle way (al-Juhaymān, 1982:222).

There is a comparison in balancing between firmness and looseness and someone making their face serious and loosening their hand. This proverb
encourages people to adopt a moderate position between flexibility and rigidity, with such advice being given to caution against allowing cruelty to evolve into despair. This proverb could alternatively imply that while one should have firm plans, one should also be flexible in executing them.

Ṣalī ibn Abī Ṭālib said:

لا تكون لينًا فتعصر ولا قاسيًا فتكسرا

'Lā takun layyinan fa-tuṣarā wa-lā qāsiyan fa-tuksarā

('Do not be so flexible that you get squeezed, nor so rigid that you become broken') (i.e. one needs to be flexible yet resolute).

Allah says:

و لا تجعل يدك مغلولة إلى عنقك و لا تبسطها كل البسط

Wa lā tajal yadaka maḡlūlatan 'ilā ğunuqik wa-lā tabsuṭhā kulla al-basṭ

('And do not chain your hand to your neck or extend it completely and thereby become blamed and insolvent')

(al-İsrā', 29)

This verse shows that Allah appreciates balance and advises His creation to practise this to ensure a contented life.

The face is the most clearly apparent part of the body and it is not favoured to form an expression that counters the impact of the intended message. Such expressions include frivolity or mirth, while a pleasant or smiling face can be serious yet convincing. Hence, the proverb suggests that one should find a middle ground between seriousness and frivolity when interacting with people. The 'hand' in this proverb will be discussed below in Section 6.6.1.

This proverb is used when someone’s circumstances demand that they use physical force, whereby they must remain calm in doing so. The ideal approach is to be neither completely malleable nor rigid, but rather to inhabit some place between these two extremes.
v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘Be firm in planning and be flexible in execution’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
The subject-object element ukrub wajhik ‘tighten your face’ is best treated as a single analytical unit (element) due to the semantic and syntactic closeness of the constituent elements ukrub ‘tighten’ and wajhik ‘face’. The subject-object element urx idēk ‘loosen your hands’ is also best treated as a single analytical unit (element) due to the semantic and syntactic closeness of the constituent elements urx ‘loosen’ and idēk ‘your hands’. The antonymic relationship between ukrub ‘tighten’ and urx ‘loosen’ combined with the key body parts wajh ‘face’ and id ‘hands’, plus the pronoun suffix ik ‘your’ on both of these nouns gives the two elements ukrub wajhik and urx idēk a strong parallelism (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins, 2017:146-158).

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
Ukrub wajhik ‘tighten your face’ can be regarded as a kināyah. The topic is ‘be firm in planning’, the vehicle is ‘tighten your face’, and the grounds is that ‘being firm (in planning) gives rise to tightening of one’s face’ (one’s facial expression being a typical physical reflection of one’s mental state) (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اکرب وجهك</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>be firm in planning (what the phrase اکرب وجهك refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] ‘tighten [/tightening] your face’ (the notion which ‘be [/being] firm in planning’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grounds | [in that] being firm (in planning) gives rise to tightening of one’s face

Urx yidēk ‘loosen your hands’ can also be regarded as a kināyah. The topic is ‘be flexible in execution’, the vehicle is ‘loosen your hands’, and the grounds is that loosening your hand is a likely physiological effect of flexibility in planning (and flexible behaviour more generally) (Section 4.3.3.14). This can be diagrammed as follows:

| Example | ارخ يديك
| Metaphor or kināyah? | Kināyah
| Topic | be flexible in execution (what the phrase ارخ يديك refers to)
| Vehicle | [associated with] ‘loosen[ing] your hands’ (the notion which ‘be[ing] flexible in execution’ is being associated with)
| Grounds | [in that] loosening your hand is a likely physiological effect of flexibility in planning (and flexible behaviour more generally)

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
The specific-element analysis of ukrub wajhik ‘tighten your face’ and urx idēk ‘loosen your hands’ above fully addresses the analytical issues involved in this proverb. There is thus no further need for a global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE
As a specific element, وجه (literally: ‘face’) does not have a separate figurative sense here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).
– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Firmness and Flexibility’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘firmness and flexibility’, giving وجه (literally: ‘face’) a general association with ‘firmness and flexibility’ here.

6.3.3 Face – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Attitude’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Shamelessness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7647</td>
<td>wajh ibn Fihrah</td>
<td>Ibn Fihrah’s face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وجه ابن فهره</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 7,920 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects


DWSM: Palestine: Zayādneh, no. 2514: ‘It does not conceal the face’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb

Ibn Fihrah was the sort of person who made mistakes but never felt guilty and instead always justified his faults (al-Juhaymān, 1982:17).

iv. Overview

The proverb refers to those who never learn from their mistakes and always offer excuses (al-Juhaymān, 1982:17; al-ʕubūdī, 1959:1545). There is a comparison between someone persisting in making mistakes without feeling
guilty and ‘the face of Ibn Fihrah’. This proverb refers to the face since this is the first body part that is noticed, and it is the part through which the person’s manners can be determined. In this proverb, the face conveys poor manners, as Ibn Fihrah feels neither shame nor guilt.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘[He/she] is shameless’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
Here it seems possible to analyse ‘face’ as a kināyah for ‘attitude’, and Ibn Fihrah as a kināyah for ‘a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
The topic of ‘face’ is ‘attitude’, the vehicle is ‘face’ in the literal sense, and the grounds is that the attitude one has typically causes one’s face to take on certain features (one’s facial demeanour reflects ones’ attitude (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجه ابن فهره</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>‘attitude’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word وجه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘attitude’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the attitude one has typically causes one’s face to take on certain features</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The topic of ابن فهره is ‘a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’, the vehicle is the person ابن فهره, and the grounds can be thought
of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to an example-type (member-set/class) relationship), where Ibn Fihrah is a particular example of a person who is shameless about their numerous mistakes (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مثال</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes (what the phrase ابن فهر refere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[associated with] Ibn Fihrah (the notion which ‘being not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[in that] Ibn Fihrah is a particular example of a person who is shameless about their numerous mistakes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

It might be that the entire proverb can be analysed as encapsulating ‘the attitude of someone who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’. In this case, the specific-element analysis would fully account for the meaning of the proverb, and there would be no need for a further global analysis. If, however, as suggested above (under vi.), the intended sense of the proverb is better understood as ‘[He/she, etc is] shameless’, there is a need for a further analysis to bridge the gap between the specific-element meaning and the global meaning, i.e. the difference in meaning between ‘the attitude of a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’ and ‘[He/she, etc.] is shameless’.

To bridge the gap between the specific-element meaning of ‘the attitude of a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’ and the global meaning ‘[He/she, etc. is] shameless’, we can analyse the topic as meaning ‘[He/she, etc. is] shameless’, and the vehicle as ‘the attitude of a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’. In terms of the categories established in Chapter 4, this is best analysed as one construction being used as a substitute for another (Section 4.3.3.1.10), with there being no other specific category which seems appropriate here. This analysis can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجه ابن فهره</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>‘[He/she, etc. is] shameless’ (what the phrase وجه ابن فهره refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘the attitude of a person who is not ashamed of their numerous mistakes’ (the notion which ‘[He/she, etc. is] shameless’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the first construction being used as a substitute for the second</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Attitude’

As a specific element, وجه (literally: ‘face’) here has the sense ‘attitude’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Shamelessness’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘shamelessness’, giving وجه (literally: ‘face’) a general association with ‘shamelessness’ here.
6.3.4 Face – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: \textit{NONE}; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Defects’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7648 وجه الإنسان قتر</td>
<td>\textit{Wajhi-l-insān fitir}</td>
<td>A person’s face is a \textit{fitir}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{i. Commonness of the Proverb}

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 2 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends correspondingly showed that they tend to regard this proverb as rare (a result which accords with Google search result).

\textit{ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects}

NS: Najdi: \textit{al-ʕubūdī}, no. 2580: ‘The face is a \textit{fitir}’.

DWSM: Palestine: \textit{Zayādneh}, no. 1323: ‘Like the grace prinia’s face’.

\textit{iii. Origin of the Proverb}

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

\textit{iv. Overview}

A \textit{fitir} is the distance between the thumb and the index finger. The proverb encourages people to avoid actions that they may later regret (\textit{al-Juhaymān}, 1982:18; \textit{al-ʕubūdī}, 1959:1547, 1548). There is a comparison between a face that is too narrow to bear the owner’s defects and a \textit{fitir}. The face is chosen specifically in this proverb because of its position at the top of the body. It is described as too small to show faulty things. By contrast, when a
person makes mistakes and they feel shameless, we say  يا وسع وجهك ya wis‘ wajhik ‘Your face is very broad’.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘People do not make their defects evident’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
Here, وجه الإنسان ‘the face of a man’ can be taken to be a kināyah for ‘what people reveal about themselves’, while فتر ‘distance between the thumb and the index finger’ can be taken to be a metaphor for ‘restricted’. This gives the overall sense of the proverb, as deduced from these two specific elements, ‘What people reveal about themselves is restricted’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
In the case of وجه الإنسان ‘the face of a man’, the topic is ‘what people reveal about themselves’, the vehicle is ‘the face of a man’, and the grounds is that the attitude one typically has causes their face to take on certain features. In sum, one’s facial demeanour reflects one’s attitude (Section 4.3.3.1.4). In the case of fitir, the topic is ‘[the] face’, the vehicle is ‘the space between the thumb and the index finger’, and the grounds is that like the space between the thumb and the index finger, the face is restricted (in what it reveals about a person).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجه الإنسان فتر</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>‘what people reveal about themselves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>‘the face of a man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the attitude one has typically causes one’s face to take</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
on certain features (one’s facial demeanour reflects one’s attitude).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجه الإنسان فتیر</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>‘[the] face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>‘[the] space between the thumb and the index finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] like the space between the thumb and the index finger, the face is restricted (in what it reveals about a person).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

We can take this proverb to not just mean ‘what people reveal about themselves is restricted’, as would be the case if it were just analysed in terms of its specific elements, but it could mean more precisely ‘people do not make their defects evident’. Thus, to understand this proverb fully, we need to consider the semantic relationship between the specific elements and the global sense. This is a *kināyah* involving a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where people not making their defects known is a particular type of what people reveal about themselves being restricted (Section 4.3.3.1.1).

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

The relationship between the *kināyah* sense of this proverb as derived from the specific-element analysis (‘what people reveal about themselves is restricted’) and its global sense (‘people do not make their defects evident’) can be analysed as follows. The topic here is ‘people do not make their defects evident’, the vehicle is ‘what people reveal about themselves is restricted’, and the grounds are that ‘people not making their defects evident’ is a type of what people reveal about themselves being restricted. This can be diagrammed as follows:
Example

 وجه الإنسان فتر

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>people do not make their defects evident (what the phrase وجه الإنسان فتر refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] what people reveal about themselves is [being] restricted (the notion which ‘people do not make [people not making] their defects evident’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] ‘people not making their defects evident’ is a type of what people reveal about themselves being restricted.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE
As a specific element, وجه (literally: ‘face’) does not have a separate sense here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Defects’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘defects’, giving وجه (literally: ‘face’) a general association with ‘defects’ here.
6.3.5 Face – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Psychological State’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Pretence’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7655</td>
<td>wajhi-l-mtağaddi bayyin</td>
<td>The face of the well-fed man is obvious.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the partial element وجه المتغدي showed 668 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

**iv. Overview**

Anyone can easily know somebody who is well fed through the signs of energy which are apparent on their face, as opposed to the hungry person who is lacking in energy. This refers to those who feign to be what they are not (al-Juhaymān, 1982:20). There is a comparison between someone achieving their goals and feeling full after eating lunch. It is broadly accepted that attitude and state of mind are largely revealed by people’s facial expressions. This assumption is supported by the verse:

(سيماهم في وجوهم) (الفتح: 29)
Sīmāhum fī wujūhihim.

(‘Their mark is on their faces’)

(al-Fath, 29)

In this proverb, the face receives specific mention, as it conveys the degree of ease of the person.

v. General Analytical Issues

Although the overall intended sense of this proverb is clear (see ii. below), there is a challenge in breaking the proverb up into specific elements. One way to do this is to analyse وجه (literally ‘face’) as meaning ‘psychological state’, المتغدي (literally ‘the person who has had lunch’) as meaning ‘who has satisfied themselves’, and treating بَيْن ‘obvious’ as a literal (non-figurative) element.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He/she is pretending to be what he/she is not’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

As noted above, in terms of specific-element analysis, we can analyse وجه (literally ‘face’) as meaning ‘psychological state’, and المتغدي (literally ‘the person who has had lunch’) as meaning ‘the person who has satisfied themselves’. These are both kināyahs.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of the kināyah وجه (‘face’) here, the topic is ‘psychological state’, the vehicle is ‘face’, and the grounds is that the psychological state one is in typically causes one’s face to take on certain features (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:
In the case of the *kināyah* المتعدي here, the topic is ‘the person who has satisfied themselves’, the vehicle is ‘the person who has had lunch’, and the grounds are that having lunch is one example (type) of satisfying oneself (a part-whole relationship, extended to an example-type relationship) (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجه المتغدي بين</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>psychological state (what the phrase وجه المتغدي بين refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘face’ (the notion which ‘psychological state’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the psychological state one is in typically causes one’s face to take on certain features</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General
There is a difference between the sense of the proverb as analysed in terms of its specific elements, namely ‘The psychological state of the person who has satisfied themselves is obvious’, and its intended overall meaning, ‘He/she is pretending to be what he/she is not’. This can be regarded as a further kināyah in addition to the kināyahs already analysed in the specific-element analyses.

The topic here is the intended overall sense of the proverb, i.e. ‘He/she is pretending to be what he/she is not’, while the vehicle is ‘the psychological state of the person who has satisfied themselves is obvious’. The nature of the kināyah relationship is not obvious here, and it is probably best thought of as one construction being used as a substitute for another (Section 4.3.3.1.10). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجه المتغدي بينين</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>he/she (etc.) is pretending to be what he/she (etc.) is not (what the phrase وجه المتغدي بينين refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'the psychological state of the person who has satisfied themselves is obvious' (the notion which ‘he/she (etc.) is pretending to be what he/she (etc.) is not’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the second construction is a substitute for the first</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Psychological State’
As a specific element, وجه (literally: ‘face’) here has the sense ‘psychological state’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Pretence’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘pretence’, giving وجه (literally: ‘face’) a general association with ‘pretence’ here.

6.3.6 Face – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Honour’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Shamelessness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7658 وجهه مغسول بمرق</td>
<td>wajah mğasûl b-maraq</td>
<td>His face is covered [literally: ‘washed’] with broth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 2,620 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with the Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
Sim. WM: Iraq: al-Ḥanafī, no. 1341: غاسل وجهه ببوله:1341 ‘He washed his face with his urine’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to al-Sudais (1976:197), this proverb perhaps originated from the post-classical Arabic proverb كَانَ وجهه مغسول بمرقة الذئب, ka’anna wajhahu mağṣūlun bi-maraqati-ḏ-ḏi’b ‘It is as if his face is covered with the wolf’s broth’.
iv. Overview

If someone’s face is covered by broth, this means it is covered by dirt as he does not care about his appearance. This refers to people who never feel ashamed of or regret their actions (al-Juhaymān, 1982:21). There is a comparison between someone who has many defects and something covered by grease and broth. The Arabs used to say, يحفظ ماء وجهه, ‘to keep someone’s water of his/her face’ and يريق ماء وجهه, ‘to spill someone’s water of his/her face’, which means to save or to lose face, respectively. The water of the face in this proverb is compared to broth, which historically was a very cheap dish commonly eaten by the poor, whereas the water of the face is considered to be of great value.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He does not feel ashamed of his actions’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, وجه ‘face’ can be taken as a kināyah for ‘honour’. مغسل ‘washed’ can be taken as a metaphor for ‘overwhelmed/dominated’, while مرق ‘broth’ can be taken as a kināyah for ‘shameful deeds’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of وجه (literally: ‘face’), the topic is ‘honour’, the vehicle is ‘face’, and the grounds is that the face is the part of the body in which one’s sense of honour is, through one’s facial expressions, most obviously apparent. This can be diagrammed as follows:
In the case of مغسول (literally: ‘washed’), the topic is ‘overwhelmed/dominated’ and the grounds is that just as washing something completely covers it in water (thereby ‘dominating’ it), likewise overwhelming something involves completely dominating it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجهه مغسول بمرق</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>honour (what the word وجه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘face’ (the notion which ‘face’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the face is the part of the body in which one’s sense of honour is, through one’s facial expressions, most obviously apparent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>وجهه مغسول بمرق</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>overwhelmed/dominated (what the word مغسول refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘washed’ (the notion which ‘overwhelmed/dominated’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] just as washing something completely covers it in water (thereby ‘dominating’ it), overwhelming something involves completely dominating it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the case of مرق (literally: ‘broth’), the topic is ‘shameful deeds’, the vehicle is ‘broth’, and the grounds is that broth, like shameless deeds, is valueless. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وجهه مغسول بمرق</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>‘shameful deeds’ (what the word مرق refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[compared] ‘broth’ (the notion which ‘shameful deeds’ are being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] broth, like shameless deeds, is valueless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The specific-element analysis for وجهه مغسول بمرق (literally: ‘his face is washed with broth’) gives the sense ‘his honour is overwhelmed by shameful deeds’ (iii.ii above), while the intended overall sense of the proverb (vi. above) is ‘He does not feel ashamed of his actions’. The relationship between the sense derived from the specific-element analysis and the intended overall sense is one of kināyah.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

The global topic of وجهه مغسول بمرق is ‘He does not feel ashamed of his actions’, while the global vehicle is, ‘His honour is overwhelmed by shameful deeds’. The kināyah relationship between the two can be thought of as causality (Section 4.3.3.1.3), such that the fact that his honour is overwhelmed by shameful deeds leads him to not feel ashamed of his actions. This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th>وجهه مغسول بمرق</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>He does not feel [/Him not feeling] ashamed of his actions (what the phrase وجهه مغسول بمرق refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘his honour is overwhelmed [being overwhelmed] by shameful deeds’ (the notion which ‘He does not feel [/Him not feeling] ashamed of his actions’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the fact that his honour is overwhelmed by shameful deeds leads him to not feel ashamed of his actions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Honour’**

As a specific element, وجه (literally: ‘face’) here has the sense of ‘honour’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Honour’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘shamelessness’, giving وجه (literally: ‘face’) a general association with ‘shamelessness’ here.
6.4 Nose (Xaším)

6.4.1 Nose – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Relative’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Defects’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2226 خشمك منك لو كان أفنس</td>
<td>xašmik mink law kān afnas</td>
<td>Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 2 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

NS: Najdi: al-ʕubūdī, no. 2031: ‘You only have your nose even if it is twisted’.
NS: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 680: ‘Your nose is part of you even if it is short and your finger is yours even if it is cut’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to al-ʕubūdī (1959:1241), this proverb comes from the old Arabic proverb منك أنفك و إن كان أجدع, Minka anfuka wa in kāna ajdaʕ, ‘Your nose is part of you even if it is mutilated’.

**iv. Overview**

This means that your relative is still your relative regardless of the defects he has. You have to correct them as far as you can and then cover up the remainder as much as you can. Do not try to disown your defects. This will not elevate you, but on the contrary it will reduce you. You have to accept
your true situation and try insofar as possible to improve it (al-Juhaymān, 1982:32).

The ancient Arabs said in this sense:

\[\text{Antuk mink law kān ādān}\]

‘Your nose is part of you, even if it is runny’.

There is a comparison between your relative still being your relative regardless of the defects they have and your nose being part of you even if it is a snub nose. The Arabs are known for their straight noses, which are frequently compared to swords. For example, according to al-Muhayrī (2016), the following is a common proverb:

\[\text{Wa al-xašim sallat sēf fī īd ḥirrās.}\]

‘And the nose is a blade of a sword in the guards’ hands.’

The expression is widely known in Najd as خشم سلة سيف, ‘His nose is like the blade of a sword’. According to this view, a flat nose does not show purity of origin. In this proverb, the flat nose is presented as defective, whereby a person with a flat nose is believed to have some kind of facial defect.

\textbf{v. General Analytical Issues}

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

\textbf{vi. Intended Overall Sense}

‘Your relative is [still] your relative regardless of their defects’.

\textbf{vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General}

Here, the word خشم (literally: ‘nose’) can be regarded as metaphorical for ‘relative’, while أفنس (literally: ‘snubby’, i.e. ‘snub-nosed’) can be regarded as a \textit{kināyah} for ‘defective’. There is a comparison between your relative still
being your relative regardless of the defects they have and your nose being part of you even if it is a snub nose.

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In relation to خشم (literally: 'nose'), the topic is 'relative', the vehicle is 'nose', and the grounds can be said to be that just as a nose is very close to one's self (i.e. the brain, and located 'within' it is the mind, which is the seat of the self), a relative is likewise close in genetic (and normally emotional) terms. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>خشم منك لو كان أفنس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>just as a nose is very close to one's self (taking the brain, and located 'within' it is the mind to be the seat of the self), a relative is close in genetic (and normally emotional) terms to one's self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to أفنس (literally: 'snubby', i.e. 'snub-nosed'), the topic is 'defective', the vehicle is 'snubby' ('snub-nosed'), and the grounds is a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where a snub-nose is a particular type of defect (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>defective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word أنفس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'snub-nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which 'defective' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] a snub-nose is a particular type of defect.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i. Global Analysis: General

In the case of this proverb, the specific-element analyses fully account for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is therefore no need for an additional global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Relative’
As a specific element, انف (literally: ‘nose’) here has the sense ‘relative’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Defects’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘defects’, giving انف (literally: ‘nose’) a general association with ‘defects’ here.
6.4.2 Nose – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Sense of Honour’;
Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Humiliation’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2227 خشم عمار في النار</td>
<td>xašim ʕammār fi-n-nār</td>
<td>ʕammār’s nose is in the fire.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form خشم عمار في النار showed 10 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as rare (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to alslateen.com (2021), the background to this proverb is that ʕammār was a brave knight who had a valiant slave. Since he had to leave his family, he asked his slave to take care of them and his camels until he returned. After three days, the slave thought about marrying ʕammār’s sister. He asked her, ‘Will you marry me?’ To this she replied, ‘Do you think ʕammār will accept?’, in an attempt to remind him that this was a bad idea. Taking out his sword, the slave replied, ‘You will accept and ʕammār’s nose is in the fire.’ To this she responded, ‘You cannot.’ Then, the slave killed the boys and the parents, married ʕammār’s sister, and ran away to a distant place so that ʕammār could not reach him. When ʕammār returned, he understood that his slave had betrayed him.

Nine years later, ʕammār found his sister and took her and her three boys with him. The slave saw ʕammār and said, ‘Wait, ʕammār. Ask first.’ ʕammār did not wait and hewed him in half. He then killed his children apart from the
youngest, who his sister asked him to spare. The boy said to his uncle, ‘I am hungry and my father would not let us have food or drink.’ ʕammār milked the camel for the little boy and allowed him to satiate his thirst. He put the young boy on the camel with no hair, despite his fear, but the camel threw the boy off and he died. ʕammār had thus disposed of the slave and his children.

iv. Overview

ʕammār apparently was hated by the people around him. Therefore, everyone wanted his nose to be in the fire. If his nose was burned, his face would be burned, and if his face was burned, his whole body would be burned. This refers to those whom you wish to have a bad fate, those who challenge and provoke you into a quarrel because you are sure that you will win, or when you humiliate someone if he remains silent in the face of this insult (al-Juhaymān, 1982:33). There is a comparison between those who one wishes to have a bad fate and one’s nose being burned. This proverb’s use of the nose is due to its prominent centrality in the face.

v. General Analytical Issues

A key feature of this proverb is that it relates to a specific story. This might be considered to make the specific-element analysis (below) rather artificial, since it would be possible simply to relate the reference to the story to the intended overall sense, without considering each of the specific elements separately. I will, however, also attempt a specific-element analysis, because many of the people who use, or hear, this proverb, are unlikely to know what the story is behind it.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He deserves to be humiliated’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, خشم ‘nose’ can be taken as a kināyah to mean ‘sense of honour’ (or ‘pride’). ʕammār can be taken as a kināyah to be an example of a person who is dishonourable, and في النار ‘in the fire’ can be taken as a kināyah to mean ‘destroyed’.
vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In relation to خشم (literally: ‘nose’), the topic is ‘sense of honour’, the vehicle is ‘nose’, and the grounds is that the nose is an indicator of one’s sense of honour, i.e. one’s sense of honour typically causes one to hold one’s face (and therefore nose) in a certain position: up for when one feels honourable, and down for when one feels dishonourable (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>خشم عمار في النار</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘sense of honour’ (what the word خشم refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘nose’ (the notion which ‘sense of honour’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] one’s sense of honour typically causes one to hold one’s face (and therefore nose) in a certain position: up for when one feels honourable, and down for when one feels dishonourable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of عمار ʕammār, the topic is ‘dishonourable’, the vehicle is the person عمار ʕammār, whereby the person who is the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to an example-type (member-set/class) relationship), where عمار ʕammār is a particular example of a person who is dishonourable (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
### Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>dishonourable [person] (what the word عمار refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘امام’ (the notion which ‘dishonourable [person]’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] عمار is a particular example of a person who is dishonourable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of في النار (literally: ‘in the fire’), the topic is ‘destroyed’, the vehicle is ‘in the fire’, and the grounds is that just as fire destroys (on the physical plane), so ّامام’s honour has been destroyed (on the ethical plane). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### viii.i. Global Analysis: General

The specific-element analysis for this proverb yields the sense, ‘The honour of the dishonourable person has been destroyed’. This contrasts with its overall intended sense of ‘he deserves to be humiliated’. The relationship between these two senses can be regarded as a kind of kināyah.
Relating the specific-element sense (‘the honour of the dishonourable person has been destroyed’) to the intended overall sense (‘he deserves to be humiliated’), the topic is ‘he deserves to be humiliated’, the vehicle is ‘the honour of the dishonourable person has been destroyed’, and the grounds is that the effect stands for the cause (Section 4.3.3.1.4); in other words, the fact that the person deserves to be humiliated may cause him in fact to be destroyed. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>خشم عمارة في النار</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘he (etc.) deserves to be humiliated’ (what the phrase خشم عمارة في النار refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘the honour of the dishonourable person has been destroyed’ (the notion which [the fact that] ‘he (etc.) deserves to be humiliated’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the fact that the person deserves to be humiliated may cause him in fact to be destroyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Sense of Honour’
As a specific element, خشم (literally: ‘nose’) here has the sense of ‘honour’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Humiliation’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘humiliation’, giving خشم (literally: ‘nose’) a general association with ‘humiliation’ here.
6.4.3 Nose – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Personality’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Sedition’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2228</td>
<td>xašim Xamīs sāknah</td>
<td>Xamīs’s nose is the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iblīs</td>
<td>Devil’s house.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1 result for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as rare (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
It appears that Xamīs was an evil, aggressive, and trouble-making slave whose nose was large. The reason for this was that the Devil lived in his nose, and the Devil is always the cause of evil and sedition, inciting dark emotions (al-Juhaymān, 1982:33).

iv. Overview
This proverb is used to refer to some of the signs of evil, sedition, and discomfort. There is a comparison between someone who is evil and the one who has a nose as a house occupied by the Devil. Xamīs is a well-known name among sub-Saharan Africans who have become Saudi citizens. The fact that Xamīs’s nose is large reflects the observation that sub-Saharan Africans typically have large flat noses.
v. General Analytical Issues

A literal translation of this proverb is: ‘The nose of Xamīṣ inhabits [or ‘inhabiting’] it [is] the Devil’.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He/she is the cause of sedition’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here خشم as a kināyah means ‘personality’. When a person is angry, their nose is enlarged metaphorically. Xamīṣ can more simply be analysed as a kināyah for a seditious person, sāknah (‘inhabiting/inhabits it’) could be analysed as a kināyah for ‘is dominated by’, and Iblīṣ ‘the Devil’ could be analysed as a kināyah for ‘sedition’. The elements of this specific-element analysis taken together would therefore yield the sense, ‘The personality of a seditious person is dominated by sedition’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of خشم (literally: ‘nose’), the topic is ‘personality’, the vehicle is ‘nose’, and the grounds can be seen as ‘a sign of sedition’. This kind be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>خشم خميس ساكنه إبلس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>personality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word خشم refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘personality’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the enlargement of the nose is a sign of sedition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Xamīṣ is more straightforward to analyse in specific-element terms. Here, the topic is ‘seditionous person’, the vehicle is Xamīṣ, and the grounds of the kināyah can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact,
to an example-type (member-set/class) relationship, where \( Xamīs \) is a particular example of a seditious person (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>مضافتة خشم خميس ساكنه إبليس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>seditious person (what the word خميس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘Xamīs’ (the notion which ‘seditious person’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] ( Xamīs ) is a particular example of a seditious person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( Sāknah \) (literally: ‘inhabiting/inhabits it’) can be analysed as a kināyah here. The topic is ‘is dominated by’, the vehicle is ‘inhabits/inhabiting’, and the grounds might be that the people who inhabit an area dominate it. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>مضافتة خشم خميس ساكنه إبليس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>dominated by (what the word ساكنه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘inhabits/inhabiting’ (the notion which ‘dominated by’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the people who inhabit an area dominate it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of إبليس ‘the devil’, we can analyse the topic as ‘sedition’, the vehicle as ‘the Devil’, and the grounds as being that the Devil is the cause of sedition (Section 4.3.3.14). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>كَشَّمَ خَمْسَ سَاَكَنَهُ إِبْلِيسَ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Topic | sedition  
(what the word/phrase إبليس refers to) |
| Vehicle | [associated with] ‘the Devil’  
(the notion which sedition is being associated with) |
| Grounds | [in that] the Devil is the cause of sedition |

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The relationship between the overall intended meaning of this proverb ‘He/she is the cause of sedition’, and the meaning established by analysing the specific elements of ‘The personality of a seditious person is dominated by sedition’ can be thought of as one of kināyah, though it is difficult to precisely categorise the grounds of this kināyah relationship.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

Here, the topic (the overall intended meaning) is ‘He/she is the cause of sedition’, the vehicle (the specific-element-derived meaning) is ‘The personality of a seditious person is dominated by sedition’, while the grounds is ‘The seditious person has done many seditious actions to the point where it has dominated his personality and taken over him’. This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>خشم خميس ساكنه إبليس</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>He/she is the cause of sedition (what the phrase خشم خميس ساكنه إبليس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'The personality of a seditious person is dominated by sedition' (the notion which 'He/she is the cause of sedition' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[In that] the seditious person has done many seditious actions to the point where it has dominated his personality and taken over him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

- **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Personality’**

As a specific element, خشم (literally: ‘nose’) here has the sense ‘personality’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

- **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Sedition’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘sedition’, giving خشم (literally: ‘mouth’) a general association with ‘sedition’ here.
6.4.4 Nose – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Pretence’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3467 طواف وبخشمه رعاف</td>
<td>ṯawwāf wi-b-xašmah rʕāf</td>
<td>A ṯawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone.³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends correspondingly showed that they tend to regard this proverb as not very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

Sim. WM: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no.1237: ‘طواف و بيده لعبة’ A beggar and in his hand is a toy’. DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 1338: ‘زبال و في ايده وردة’ A garbage man and in his hand is a flower’.

DWSM: Iraq: al-Ḥanafi, no. 607: ‘حافي و محني رجليه’ A bare-footed man who has henna on his feet’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to a specific origin.

---

1. The mineral aggregate heliotrope (from Greek ἥλιος, hēlios ‘sun’, τρέπειν, trépein ‘to turn’), also known as bloodstone, is a cryptocrystalline mixture of quartz that occurs primarily as jasper (opaque) or sometimes as chalcedony (translucent). The ‘classic’ bloodstone is opaque green jasper with red inclusions of hematite. The red inclusions are supposed to resemble spots of blood, and hence the name ‘bloodstone’. The name ‘heliotrope’ derives from various ancient notions regarding the manner in which the mineral reflects light (Wikipedia, 2023).
iv. Overview

A țawwāf (lit. ‘someone who goes around’) is someone in poverty who asks others for charity. Rʕāf (‘small red beads’) are attached to his nose as a sign of beauty and adornment. This refers to the poor man who clings to the outward signs of wealth while asking other people for help (al-Juhaymān, 1982:258). There is a comparison between clinging to the outward signs of wealth and wearing beads as a sign of beauty. The choice of the nose in this proverb is due to the fact that since the nose protrudes from the face it is thus more apparent to others than other features.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He is poor but clings to the outward signs of wealth’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here طواف (literally: ‘beggar’) can be regarded as a kināyah for ‘poor/a poor person’. بخشمهم رعاف (literally: ‘in his nose is a bloodstone’) is probably best treated as a single unit, in which case it is a kināyah for ‘clinging to the outward signs of wealth’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of طواف (literally: ‘beggar’), the topic is ‘poor/a poor person’, the vehicle is ‘beggar’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where a beggar is a particular type of poor person (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>poor/poor person (what the word طواف رعاف refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'beggar' (the notion which 'poor/poor person' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] a beggar is a particular type of poor person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of بخشمه رعاف (literally: ‘in his nose is a bloodstone’), the vehicle is ‘clings to the outward signs of wealth’, the topic is ‘in his nose is a bloodstone’, and the grounds are that having a bloodstone in the nose is a particular type (or way) of showing off of apparent wealth. This can be diagrammed as follows:

Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>clings to the outward signs of wealth (what the phrase بخشمه رعاف refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'in his nose is a bloodstone '[there being a bloodstone in his nose]' (the notion which 'he clings to [/clinging to] the outward signs of wealth' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] having a bloodstone in the nose is a particular type (or way) of showing off of apparent wealth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General
Since the specific-element analysis of this proverb yields the intended overall meaning, there is no need for a separate global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE
As a specific element, خشم (literally: ‘nose’) does not have a separate sense (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Pretence’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘pretence’, giving خشم (literally: ‘nose’) a general association with ‘pretence’ here.

6.4.5 Nose – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Sense of Honour’;
Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Humiliation’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5453 لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشومها</td>
<td>lá tilkab ʕala-r-jāl b-lamsi xšūmhā</td>
<td>Do not joke with men by touching their noses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 3 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.
iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

iv. Overview

This proverb plainly recommends avoiding the teasing of men by touching their noses, with the implication that this will cause them to get angry, and no one can predict their reaction (al-Juhaymān, 1982:209). There is a comparison between teasing others and touching their noses. The nose symbolises dignity and pride in Arab culture. The nose is chosen in this proverb as it protrudes from the face and is thus more apparent to other people than other facial features.

The element لا تلعب على ('do not play with') can be analysed as having the same literal sense found in other contexts. The word الرجال ('men') can also be deemed as having the same literal sense that it has in other contexts, unless the proverb is considered to be applicable to those other than men (e.g. women), in which case الرجال ('men') has a broader gender-blind sense when compared to other contexts. In the phrase لمس خشومها ('touching their noses'), the word لمس can be analysed as having the sense of ‘affront’.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘Do not annoy (play with) people by insulting them’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

The element لا تلعب على ('do not play with') can be analysed as having the same literal sense as seen in other contexts. The word الرجال ('men') could be deemed to have the same literal sense that it has in other contexts. However, the proverb is better considered to be applicable to those other than men (e.g. women). In this case, الرجال ('men') has a broader non-gender kināyah sense than that found in other contexts. In the phrase لمس خشومها ('touching their
noses’), the word لمس ‘touching’ can be analysed as a *kināyah* having the sense of ‘affronting’, while خشوم ‘noses’ can be analysed as a *kināyah* having the meaning of ‘sense of honour’.

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the case of الرجال (literally: ‘men’), the topic is ‘people’ (i.e. men, women, etc.), the vehicle is ‘men’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where men are a particular type of people (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th>لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشومها</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>people (what the word الرجال refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘men’ (the notion which ‘people’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] men are a particular type of people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of لمس (literally: ‘touching’), the topic is ‘affronting’, the vehicle is ‘touching’, and the grounds is one of cause-effect; touching people can affront them (i.e. cause them to be disrespected) (Section 4.3.3.1.3). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>لا تلعب على الرجال يمس خشومها</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>affronting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word لمس refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'touching'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which 'affronting' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] touching people can affront them (cause them to be affronted)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the analysis of خشوم (literally: 'noses') meaning 'sense of honour', see Section 6.4.2.

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
The analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb account fully for its intended overall sense. Accordingly, there is no need here for a separate global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Sense of Honour’
As a specific element, خشوم (literally: 'noses') here has the sense 'sense of honour' (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Humiliation’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as 'humiliation', giving خشوم (literally: 'noses') a general association with 'humiliation' here.
6.5 Tongue (*Lsān*)

6.5.1 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words/Things One Says’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2771 زلة بقدمك ولا زلة بفمك</td>
<td><em>zallitin bi-qdimik wa-lā zallitin b-fimik</em></td>
<td>Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form زلة بقدمك ولا تزل بفمك showed 5 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search results).

### ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects

NS: Najd: *al-ʕubūdī*, no. 971: ‘Slip with your foot, but do not slip with your tongue’.

NS: Iraq: *al-Ḥanafi*, no. 2777: ‘He who slips of his foot stands up [again], but he who slips of his tongue does not’; no. 2823: ‘He who falls because of his foot stands up [again], but he who falls because of his tongue does not’.

### iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to a specific origin.

### iv. Overview

The pain caused by words is more painful than that caused by the slipping of a foot. The wound caused by the slipping of the foot will heal in time, but
the wound of the tongue will not. This is used for the seriousness of lapses of the tongue: How many words have told their teller, ‘Leave me’ (al-Juhaymān, 1982:229-230).

There is a comparison between the seriousness of lapses in what one says and a slip of the foot. This Najdi proverb shows that it is better for one to literally slip and have a physical fall than to talk inappropriately and ‘slip with your mouth’. The word ‘mouth’ (fam) is mentioned here instead of the word ‘tongue’ (lisān) for the purposes of rhyme, with the mouth being the ‘container’ of the tongue, and the tongue a kināyah for inappropriate language. There is a metaphor here in ‘slip’, which is employed for the mouth and points towards the mistakes that we make in our everyday conversation. It is intended to imply a parallel between the dangers of speech and physical falls. The proverb stresses that the harm caused by words can be greater than that caused by a foot slipping or losing one’s balance. The physical pain caused by an injury is likely to vanish in due course, but the emotional pain that words often cause may last a lifetime. This proverb suggests that one must avoid such slips of speech due to the enduring damage that can arise as a result.

The ‘foot’ in this proverb will not be discussed later, as it is not utilised figuratively. As previously mentioned, the inclusion of the mouth in this proverb is because it rhymes with ‘foot’ in Arabic: qdimik and fimik. Further, the tongue is contained within the mouth.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘Physical pain is less of a harm than emotional pain’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
In terms of specific-element analysis, the initial word of the proverb زلة ‘a slip’ and its successor بقدمك ‘with your foot’ are best analysed literally. The second occurrence of زلة, however, is best analysed as a kināyah, in the sense of ‘inadvertency’, while the following فم (literally: ‘mouth’) is to be analysed as
the *kināyah* meaning of ‘words/things one says’ (cf. the analysis of *lsān* ‘tongue’; Section 6.2.3).

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the second case of *زلة* (literally: ‘slip’), the topic is ‘inadvertency’, the vehicle is ‘slip’ (in the literal, physical sense), and the grounds is an effect-cause relationship, such that slipping of the foot is an effect caused by inadvertency (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th><em>زلة بقدمك ولا زلة بقدمك</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or <em>kināyah</em>?</td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>inadvertency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘slip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] slipping of the foot is an effect caused by inadvertency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of *فم* (literally: ‘mouth’), the topic is ‘words/things one says’, the vehicle is ‘mouth’, and the grounds are that the mouth is the cause (or at least the producer) of the words/things one says (Section 4.3.3.1.3). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th><em>زلة بقدمك ولا زلة بقدمك</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or <em>kināyah</em>?</td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>words/things one says</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the mouth is the cause (or at least the producer) of the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General

The specific-element analysis of the proverb 
(-literally: ‘better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth’) confers the sense of ‘A slip with your foot rather than an inadvertency in what you say’. This is different from the overall intended meaning of this proverb (ii. above), ‘Physical pain is less of a harm than emotional pain’. The kināyah relationship between these two meanings can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where a slip with one’s foot being better than (less bad than) an inadvertency in what one says is a particular type (instance) of the general fact that physical pain is less bad than emotional pain (Section 4.3.3.1.1).


Here, the topic is ‘physical pain is less of a harm than emotional pain’, the vehicle is ‘a slip with your foot rather than an inadvertency in what you say’, and the grounds is that an inadvertency in what one says is a particular type (instance) of the general fact that physical pain is less bad than emotional pain. This can be diagrammed as follows:

| Example | 
|---|---|
| Metaphor or kināyah? | kināyah |
| Topic | physical pain is less of a harm than emotional pain |
| | (what the phrase زلة بقدمك ولا زلة بفمك refers to) |
| Vehicle | [associated with] ‘a slip with your foot rather than an inadvertency in what you say’ |
| | (the notion which ‘physical pain is less of a harm than emotional pain’ is being associated with) |
Grounds

[in that] an inadvertency in what one says is a particular type (instance) of the general fact that physical pain is less bad than emotional pain

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’
As a specific element, فم (literally: ‘mouth’) here has the sense of ‘words/things one says’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Error’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘error’, giving فم (literally: ‘mouth’) a general association with ‘error’ here.

6.5.2 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4654 قال وش قاطعك ياراسي قال لسانى | qāl wiš qāṭṭik ya rāsī qāl lsānī | The head was asked, 'Who cut you off?' It answered, 'My tongue'.

Aspects i. to viii.ii of this proverb have already been analysed in Section 6.2.3. The only point to add here is that while the element لسان ‘tongue’ is analysed in this proverb as having the kināyah sense ‘words/things one says’, it is more generally associated in the proverb with hurtful words.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’
As a specific element, لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) here has the sense ‘words/things one says’ (Section 6.2.3). With regard to لسان ‘tongue’, the topic is لسان in the kināyah sense ‘words/things one says’, the vehicle is
‘tongue’ in the basic physical sense, and the grounds is that the tongue is the cause (or at least the producer) of the words/things one says (Section 4.3.3.1.3). This can be diagrammed as follows:

**Example**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>قال وش قاطعك ياراسي قال لساني</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>words/things one says (what the word لساني refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] tongue (the notion which ‘words/things one says’ are being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the tongue is the cause (or at least the producer) of the words/things one says</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘hurtful words’, giving لساني (literally: ‘tongue’) a general association with ‘hurtful words’ here (Section 6.2.3).

---

**6.5.3 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words/Things One Says’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4335</td>
<td>فلان لسانه مغراب</td>
<td>Someone’s tongue is sludge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).
ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

iv. Overview

The tongue (i.e. what one says) is a sign of what is hidden in the heart, whether good or evil (al-Juhaymān, 1982:276-277). There is a comparison between the tongue telling what is hidden in the heart and the ladle bringing up what is inside the pot. The following Quranic verse highlights that the tongue is utilised to express what the heart contains:

(ولو نشاء لأريناكهم فلعرفتهم بسيماهم و لتعرفنهم في لحن القول وله يعلم أعمالكم) (محمد: 30)

(Wa law našāʾu la-araynākahum falaṣaraftahum bi-sīmāhum wa la taʾțarifannahum fi laḥni-l-qawli wa Allahu yaʾxalamu aṣmālakum)

(‘And if We willed, We could show them to you, and you would know them by their mark; but you will surely know them by the tone of [their] speech. And Allah knows your deeds.’)

(Muhammad, 30)

v. General Analytical Issues

Although this proverb is listed in the sources as فلانان لسانه مغراب ‘Someone’s tongue is sludge’, it is better thought of as essentially being لسانه مغراب ‘His tongue is sludge’; and this is how it will be analysed here.
vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘His words are/what he says is disgusting’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
The element یسَن ‘tongue’ can be analysed as having the کینَی Yemeni sense ‘words/things one says’, as discussed in Section 6.2.3. The element مغراب ‘sludge’ can be analysed as having the کینَی sense ‘disgusting’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
For the analysis of یسَن ‘tongue’, see Section 6.2.3. In relation to مغراب (literally: ‘sludge’), the topic is ‘disgusting’, the vehicle is ‘sludge’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where sludge is a particular type of disgusting thing (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مغراب لسانه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
Since the specific-element analysis provides a full account of the intended overall meaning of this proverb, there is no need for an additional global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
- Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’
As a specific element، لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) here has the sense ‘words/things one says’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).
– *Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’*

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘hurtful words’, giving لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) a general association with ‘hurtful words’ here.

6.5.4 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words/Things One Says’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4435 فلان ناسف لسانه على كتفه</td>
<td><em>flān nāsfin lsānah ʕala katfah</em></td>
<td>He has spread his tongue on his shoulder.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*i. Commonness of the Proverb*

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form شايل لسانه على كتفه showed 1 result. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with the Google search results).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

SM: Najd: *al-ʕubūdī*, no.1835 ‘لسانه على كتفه’ ‘His tongue is on his shoulder’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.
iv. Overview

This proverb refers to a person who speaks a lot to and about people in an unfavourable manner. When someone disagrees with him, he starts to talk about them using injurious words, since these are all that he knows. He does not differentiate between people, whether his family or others from the same society (al-Juhaymān, 1982:178-179).

There is a comparison between someone’s tongue being on their shoulder – similar to a šmāġ (‘cotton scarf’) – and someone not caring about what they say. A šmāġ is typically found with a red and white chequered pattern and is normally worn as a headdress by Arab men. It is said that the current style of the šmāġ was introduced to the Arabs by Glubb Pasha, who founded the modern Jordanian army. After the British factories that were producing this headgear suffered a financial crisis due to the lack of demand in the post-Second World War period, Pasha began wearing it, and its popularity spread within the Jordanian army. Subsequently, the wearing of the šmāģ became popular in the Arabian Peninsula (Darwiş, 2010).

v. General Analytical Issues

Although this proverb is cited in the sources as فلان ناسفُ لسانه على كتفه ‘Somebody has spread on his shoulder’, it is better thought of as essentially being ناسفُ لسانه على كتفه ‘He has spread his tongue on his shoulder’; this is how it will be analysed here.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He gossips maliciously’.

2. Arguably, the word šmāģ is derived from Šmāx, a town in Southern Jordan that traditionally manufactured headdresses. The šmāģ was known in the Kingdom of Edom (modern Jordan and Israel/Palestine), where it was made from the silk or cotton that grew in the ġarabah valley and ġaur āṣṣāfī (an area in the Jordan Valley), and pure wool. The ancient Kingdom of Edom exported the šmāģ made in the Šmāx valley to the wider world. The word šmāģ was part of the language of the Sumerians, who imported these garments from Edom, and is found in the form yešmāģ or yeśmāx. It subsequently became analysed in two elements, namely iš and māġ in Sumerian, which mean ‘head covering’ (3400-2400 B.C.) (al-Ćubūdi, 2016). The letter x in šmāx (symbolising ‘pride’ as the Jordanians cherish wearing it as a symbol of honour) was replaced by ġ to create šmāģ.
vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

There is a comparison between someone’s tongue being on their shoulder similar to a شماغ šmāġ (‘cotton scarf’) and someone not caring about what they say. A شماغ šmāġ is typically found with a red and white chequered pattern and is normally worn as a headdress by Arab men. It is said that the current style of šmāġ was introduced to the Arabs by Glubb Pasha, who founded the modern Jordanian army. After the British factories that were producing this headgear suffered a financial crisis due to the lack of demand in the post-Second World War period, Pasha began wearing it, and its popularity spread within the Jordanian army. Subsequently, the wearing of the šmāġ became popular in the Arabian Peninsula (Darwīş, 2010). It is reasonable to split up this proverb into two specific analytical elements. The first is the kināyah لسان ‘tongue’, meaning ‘words/things one says’. The second is ناسف..على كتفه ‘he has spread/is spreading…on his shoulder’. This can be analysed as a metaphor meaning, ‘He speaks without inhibitions’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

لسان ‘tongue’, meaning ‘words/things one says’, has already been analysed in Section 6.2.3. ‘On his shoulder’ can be analysed as follows. The topic is ‘he speaks without restraint’. The grounds is that like a person who spreads their shawl over his shoulder, he spreads his words about. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>ناسف..على كتفه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>he speaks without inhibitions (what the phrase ناسف..على كتفه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] [someone] spreading their words on their shoulder (the notion which ‘speaking without inhibitions’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General

The meaning yielded by the specific-element analysis ‘he speaks without inhibitions’ is different from the intended overall meaning of ‘he gossips maliciously’. The relationship between these two meanings can be analysed as one of *kināyah*.


With regard to the relationship between the specific-element analysis ‘he speaks without inhibitions’ and ‘he gossips maliciously’, the topic is ‘he gossips maliciously’, the vehicle is ‘he speaks without inhibitions’, and the grounds can be analysed as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where ‘he gossips maliciously [/gossiping maliciously]’ is a particular type of ‘he speaks without inhibitions [/speaking without inhibitions]’ (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>ناسف لسانه على كتفه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or <em>kināyah</em>?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>he gossips maliciously [/gossiping maliciously]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the phrase ناسف لسانه على كتفه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] he speaks without inhibitions [/speaking without inhibitions]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘he gossips maliciously [/gossiping maliciously]’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grounds | [in that] ‘he gossips maliciously
[/gossiping maliciously]’ is a particular type of ‘he speaks without inhibitions [/speaking without inhibitions]’

---

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’**

As a specific element, لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) here has the sense of ‘words/things one says’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘hurtful words’, giving لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) a general association with ‘hurtful words’ here.

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**6.5.5 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words/Things One Says’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Expression of Emotion’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5623</td>
<td>ِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مغراف القلب</td>
<td>il-Isān miğrāfī-l-qalb</td>
<td>The tongue is the ladle of the heart.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*i. Commonness of the Proverb*

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 416 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends correspondingly showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

*ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects*

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.
iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

iv. Overview

The tongue (i.e. what one says) is a sign of what is hidden in the heart, whether good or evil (al-Juhaymān, 1982:276-277). There is a comparison between the tongue telling what is hidden in the heart and the ladle revealing what is inside the pot. The following Quranic verse highlights that the tongue is utilised to express what the heart contains.

(ولو نشاء لأريناكهم فلعرفتهم بسيماهم و لتعرفنهم في لحن القول والله يعلم أعمالكم)
(Muhammad, 30)

Wa law našā’u la-araynākahum f-alāqāraftahum bi-sīmāhum wa la-taʕrifannahum fi laḥni-l-qawli wa-llahu yaʕlamu aʕmālakum

(‘And if we willed, we could show them to you, and you would know them by their mark; but you will surely know them by the tone of [their] speech. And Allah knows your deeds.’)

(Muhammad, 30)

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘One’s words/what one says are/is an expression of one’s emotions.’

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, لسان ‘tongue’ is a kināyah meaning ‘words/what one says’ (Section 4.3.3.1.3.1.3. ‘ladle’ is a metaphor for ‘expression [of]’, and قلب ‘heart’ is a kināyah for ‘emotions’.
vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

‘tongue’ as a kināyah for ‘words/what one says’ has already been discussed in Section 4.3.3.1.3. In the case of مغراف ‘ladle’, the topic is ‘an expression [of]’, the vehicle is ‘ladle’, and the grounds are that just as a ladle brings up liquid from inside the pot, so words bring out emotions from inside one’s self. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اللمان مغراف القلب</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>an expression [of]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word مغراف refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] ‘a ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘an expression [of]’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] just as a ladle brings up liquid from inside the pot, so words bring out emotions from inside one’s self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of قلب ‘heart’, the vehicle is ‘emotions’, the topic is ‘heart’, and the grounds are that the heart can be regarded as the seat (ultimate location in the body) of one’s emotions, i.e. this is a kināyah in which a location refers to an entity (Section 4.3.3.1.7). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اللمان مغراف القلب</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>emotions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word قلب refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘emotions’ are being associated with)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General
In the case of ‘the tongue is the ladle of the heart’, the analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for a further global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’
As a specific element, لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) here has the sense ‘words/things one says’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘(expression of) emotion’, giving لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) a general association with ‘(expression of) emotion’ here.

6.5.6 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words/Things One Says’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5618 لسانه مبرد</td>
<td>Isānah mibrad</td>
<td>His tongue is a file.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 800 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as not very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).
ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

iv. Overview
A file is a sharp tool used to hone the surfaces of pieces of iron. This means that a person’s words are harsh if others insult him. This person usually has strong evidence and talks inappropriately (al-Juhaymān, 1982:274-275). There is a comparison between a sharp-tongued person and a file. This proverb is employed to refer to someone who shows aggression in their utterances.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘His words are unkind’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
Here، لسان ‘tongue’ is a kināyah meaning ‘words/what one says’ (Section 4.3.3.1.3). مبرد ‘file’ is a metaphor for ‘unkind’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
لسان ‘tongue’ as a kināyah for ‘words/what one says’ has already been discussed in Section 4.3.3.1.3. In the case of مبرد (literally: ‘file’), the topic is ‘unkind’, the vehicle is ‘file’, and the grounds are that just as a file wears away at (gradually destroys) a physical surface (of wood, etc.), so unkind words
wear away at (gradually destroy) the emotions of the person they are directed at. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>لسانه مبرد</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>unkind (what the word/phrase refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] ‘a file’ (the notion which ‘unkind’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] just as a file wears away at (gradually destroys) a physical surface (of wood, etc.), so unkind words wear away at (gradually destroy) the emotions of the person they are directed at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
In the case of لسانه مبرد ‘His tongue is a file’, the analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for a further global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’
As a specific element, لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) here has the sense ‘words/things one says’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Hurtful Words’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘hurtful words’, giving لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) a general association with ‘hurtful words’ here.
6.5.7 Tongue – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Words/Things One Says’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Garrulousness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi proverb</th>
<th>Arabic transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>لسانه يلوط آذانه 5619</td>
<td>lsānah ylūṭ aḏānah</td>
<td>His tongue reaches his ears.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 319 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with the Google search results).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

iv. Overview
This refers to someone who is loquacious, finding innumerable ways merely to talk (al-Juhaymān, 1982:275). There is a global comparison between too much talking and the tongue being long. In this proverb, the word لسانه lisānah (‘his tongue’) rhymes with آذانه aḏānah (‘his ears’). The tongue here is a kināyah for great length and the word يلوط ylūṭ, which means ‘.touches’, signifies that the tongue is so long that it reaches the ears.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.
vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘He is garrulous’ (‘What he says is excessive’).

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

As observed in previous examples, لسان ‘tongue’ here can be understood as a kināyah meaning ‘words/what one says’ (Section 4.3.3.1.3). Given this، يلوط أذانه ‘reaches his ear’ is best analysed as a single specific metaphorical element, meaning ‘[is/are] excessive’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

لسان ‘tongue’ as a kināyah for ‘words/what one says’ has already been discussed in Section 4.3.3.1.3. In the case of أذانه (literally: ‘reaches his ear’), the topic is ‘excessive’, the vehicle is ‘reaches his ear’, and the grounds are that just as a tongue needs to be excessively long to reach one’s ears، so this person’s words are excessive. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يلوط أذانه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>excessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the phrase يلوط أذانه refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[like] ‘reaches [reaching] his ears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘his tongue’ (i.e. his words) is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] just as a tongue needs to be excessively long to reach one’s ears, so this person’s words are excessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i. Global Analysis: General

In the case of لسانه يلوط أذانه ‘His tongue reaches his ears’, the analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the saying. There is thus no need for a further global analysis.
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Words/Things One Says’
As a specific element, لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) here has the sense ‘words/things one says’ (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Garrulousness’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘garrulousness’, giving لسان (literally: ‘tongue’) a general association with ‘garrulousness’ here.

6.6 Hand (Yad)

6.6.1 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Competence’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2942 السيف في يد الجبان خشبة</td>
<td>is-šēf fi yadi-l-jabān xšibah</td>
<td>The sword in a coward’s hand is a piece of wood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1 result for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, by contrast, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 2133: ‘فین عزمک يا فشار آدي السيف و آدي صاحب التار: Oh liar, where is your determination? This is the sword and this is the person who you seek revenge on’.
iii. Origin of the Proverb

It was narrated that ġantarah ibn Abī Ṣaddād al-ġabsī had been asked to sell his sword, with which he had fought knights and killed brave men, at a high price. The buyer went into battle but the sword did not do much. He thought that if this sword was brought down onto anything, it would have it cut into two. The buyer went back to ġantarah and said, ‘Your sword is not sharp, and when it was in my hands it was not like it was in yours.’ ġantarah replied, ‘I sold you ġantarah’s sword, not his hand’ (al-Juhaymān, 1982:289-290).

iv. Overview

The coward is a scared man who loves himself and life very much, and hates death more. A weapon in the coward’s hands has no power. This proverb shows that the same tool may have different effects, depending on who is using it (al-Juhaymān, 1982:289-290). There is a comparison between the sword in a coward’s hand being a piece of wood and the same tool having different effects depending on who is using it. To be able to carry out a task effectively in a particular manner, we should have a certain set of skills. Conventional knowledge in this regard plays an integral role, since we know that we have to practise certain hand movements in order to carry out the task, and then remember them in a particular order to become competent. Thus, in this proverb, professionalism and bravery are essential for a swordsman. However, such skill is more properly associated with the brain, as this is the fundamental factor in a battle.

v. General Analytical Issues

This proverb is thought-provoking because it goes back to a specific story.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘An effective implement used by an incompetent person is useless’.
vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

This proverb can be broken up into four specific elements, each of which can be analysed separately: سيف ‘sword’, في يد ‘in the hand’, جبان ‘coward’, and خشبة ‘piece of wood’. سيف ‘Sword’ can be analysed as a kināyah for ‘effective implement’, في يد ‘in the hand’ as a kināyah for ‘used by’, جبان ‘coward’ as a kināyah for ‘incompetent person’, and خشبة ‘piece of wood’ as a metaphor for ‘useless person’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of سيف ‘sword’ as a kināyah for ‘effective implement’, the topic is ‘effective implement’, the vehicle is ‘sword’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where a sword is a particular type of effective implement (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>السيف في يد الجبان خشبة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>effective implement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word سيف refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘sword’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘effective implement’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] a sword is a type of effective implement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of في يد ‘in the hand’ as a kināyah for ‘used by’, the topic is ‘used by’, the vehicle is ‘sword’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where manipulation by means of the hand is a particular type of using (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
In the case of 'coward' as a *kināyah* for 'incompetent person', the topic is 'incompetent person', the vehicle is 'coward', and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where a coward (who is useless in conflict) is a particular type of incompetent person (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>السيف في يد الجبان خشببة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>used by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the phrase في يد refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] 'in the hand [of]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘used by’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] manipulation by means of the hand is a particular type of using</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of 'piece of wood' as a *kināyah* for 'useless', the topic is 'useless', the vehicle is 'piece of wood', and the grounds is that just as a sword is useless when used by an incompetent person, so an effective tool is useless when used by an incompetent person. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>السيف في يد الجبان خشببة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>Kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>incompetent person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the phrase جبان refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] 'coward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘incompetent person’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] manipulation by means of the hand is a particular type of using</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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### viii.i. Global Analysis: General

In the case of 'The sword in a coward’s hand is a piece of wood', the analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for global analysis.

### ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

- **Specific-Element Analysis: NONE**

  As a specific element, يد (literally: 'hand') here does not have a separate figurative sense (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

- **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Competence’**

  The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘competence’, giving يد (literally: 'hand') a general association with ‘competence’ here.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th>السيف في يد الجبان خشبة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>useless (what the phrase خشبة refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] 'piece of wood' (the notion which 'incompetent person' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] just as a sword is useless when used by an incompetent person, so an effective tool is useless when used by an incompetent person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.6.2 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Respect and Disrespect’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2355 دخلته بيدي فاطهني برجله</td>
<td>daxxaltah b-yidi fa-ḏhami b-rijlah</td>
<td>I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for "دخلته بيدي وطلعني برجله" produced 1 result. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with the Google search results).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

NS: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no. 791: دخلته بيدي وطلعني برجله, ‘I took him with my hand, and then he kicked me out [with his feet].’

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

**iv. Overview**

This refers to those who you have honoured, but then they deal with you in the opposite way, and even in a filthy manner. Another Arabic proverb having this sense is, ukrimuka wa trawwiṭuni, ‘I honoured you and you make me dirty’ (al-Juhaymān, 1982:80; al-ʕubūdī, 1959:505, 506). There is a comparison between someone taking someone else with his
hand and the other person kicking the first person with his foot and someone showing respect and the other person showing disrespect.

Since the hand is an active fragment of the giving gesture, the Najdi proverb represents a person who is willing to offer emotional and financial support at any time. The hand, therefore, represents generosity. Respect is considered to be the other figurative meaning because of the second clause فاظهري برجله, ‘and he kicked me out [with his foot]’. This is due to our conventional knowledge, which is influenced by Islam, where respect is shown by shaking hands. The ‘foot’ in this proverb will be discussed below under the ‘leg’ section (see Section 6.7.1).

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘I showed respect to him/her and he/she treated me badly’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
Here، دخلته بيدي، ‘I took him with my hand’ can be analysed as a specific kināyah element meaning ‘I showed him respect’, and اظهري برجله، ‘he kicked me out [with his foot]’ can be analysed as another specific kināyah element that means ‘he treated me badly’. It does not seem possible to further analyse the element دخلته بيدي، ‘I took him with my hand’ into the specific elements دخلته ‘I took him’ and بيدي ‘with my hand’, since it seems impossible to ascribe each of these elements a separate meaning. Similarly, it does not seem possible to further analyse the element اظهري برجله， ‘he kicked me out [with his foot]’ into the specific elements اظهري ‘he kicked me out’ and برجله ‘with his foot’, since it seems impossible to ascribe each of these elements a separate meaning.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
In the case of the kināyah دخلته بيدي، the topic is ‘I showed him respect’, and the vehicle is ‘I took him with my hand’. The grounds are that taking someone
with their hand is a means, or instrument, of showing respect (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>دخلته بيدی فاظهرتی برجله</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>I showed [/me showing] him respect (what the phrase دخلته بيدی refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘I took [/me taking] him with my hand’ (the notion which ‘I showed [/me showing] him respect’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] taking someone with their hand is a means, or instrument, of showing respect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The sense of this proverb as derived from the specific-element analysis is, ‘I showed him respect and he treated me badly’. It would appear that the intended overall sense of the proverb, however, is wider than this, covering not only male actors (‘he’), but also female ones (‘she’). In this case, the sense of the proverb as derived from its specific elements can be regarded as a *kināyah* for the intended overall sense of the proverb.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

Here, the topic is ‘I showed [/me showing] respect to him/her and he/she treated [/treating] me badly’, the vehicle is ‘he kicked [/him kicking] me out [with his foot]’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship, where ‘he’ doing something is a particular instance of ‘I showed [/me showing] him respect and he treated [/him treating] me badly’, namely a particular type (case) of ‘I showed [/me showing] respect to him/her and he/she (etc.) treated [/treating] me badly’ (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th>دخلته بيدي فاظهري برجله</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>Kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>‘I showed [/me showing] respect to him/her and he/she treated [/treatings] me badly’. (what the phrase دخلته بيدي فاظهري برجله refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘I showed [/me showing] respect to him and he treated [/treatings] me’ (the notion which ‘he treated [/him treating] me badly’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] ‘I showed [/me showing] him respect and he treated [/him treating] me badly’ is a particular type (case) of ‘I showed [/me showing] respect to him/her (etc.) and he/she (etc.) treated [/treatings] me badly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: NONE**

As a specific element, دَيدَ (literally: ‘hand’) here does not have a separate figurative sense (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Respect and Disrespect’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘respect and disrespect’, giving دَيدَ (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘respect and disrespect’ here.
6.6.3 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Person’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Prodigality’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8248</td>
<td>yadin dayyaʕati-l-qirš mā tiḏūgi-l-ʕaša</td>
<td>A hand that has lost piastre will never taste supper.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 694: ‘The useless hand is dirty’.

DWSM: Iraq: al-Ḥanaṭī, no. 145: ‘Men’s food depends on their actions’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

**iv. Overview**

A person will be deprived because he spent money carelessly (al-Juhaymān, 1982:231). There is a comparison between a hand [person] losing money and then not tasting supper and a person being deprived because he spent money carelessly.

This Najdi proverb discourages spending money without consideration for real necessities, describing a case in which a person does not give any importance to the situation and involving the hand as a source of control.
Loss is represented in this proverb by the use of the verb َدَيْعَةٍ َعَتّ, ‘to lose’, in terms of money or ultimately the control of an object, thus reducing the person to a lower status. The figurative meaning of this proverb is that someone has to spend their money wisely to achieve their goals, which can be also derived from its literal meaning.

**v. General Analytical Issues**

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

‘A person who wastes their money will not prosper financially’.

**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General**

This proverb can be split up into four specific elements, each of which can be analysed separately: i. َيدّ ‘hand’, ii. ضييعت ‘lost’, iii. قرش ‘coins’, and iv. تذوق العشاء ‘will…taste supper’. َيدّ ‘hand’ is a kināyah for the whole person, ضييعت ‘lost’ is a kināyah for ‘wasted’, قرش ‘piastre’ is a kināyah for money; and تذوق العشاء ‘will…taste supper’ is a kināyah for ‘prosper financially’.

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the case of َيدّ (literally ‘hand’), the topic is ‘person’, the vehicle is ‘hand’, and the grounds is that the hand is a part of the person (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>َيدّ ضييعت القرش ما تذوق العشاء</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word َيدّ refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘person’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the hand is a part of a person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the case of ضيعت (literally: 'lost'), the topic is 'wasted', the vehicle is 'lost', and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where losing is a particular type of wasting (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th><strong>مثلاً</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><strong>كيناية</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>wasted [/wasting] (what the word ضيعت refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] lost [/losing] (the notion which ‘wasted [/wasting]’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] ‘lost' (losing) is a type of ‘wasted’ (wasthing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of قرش (literally: ‘piastre’), the topic is 'money', the vehicle is ‘piastre’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where a piastre is a particular type of money (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th><strong>مثلاً</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><strong>كيناية</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>piastre (what the word قرش refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] money (the notion which ‘piastre’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] a piastre is a type of money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of تذوق العشاء (literally ‘[will] taste supper’), the topic is ‘[will] prosper financially’, the vehicle is ‘[will] taste supper’, and the grounds is that tasting (i.e. eating) supper is an effect of prospering financially (i.e. the person who
does not prosper financially is too poor to taste/eat supper). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يد ضيعت القرش ما تذوق العشاء</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>[will] prosper [/prospering] financially (what the phrase تذوق العشاء refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] will taste [/tasting] supper (the notion which ‘[will] prosper [/prospering] financially’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] tasting supper is an effect of prospering financially</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

In the case of ‘يد ضيعت القرش ما تذوق العشاء’ ‘The hand which has lost the piastre will not taste supper’, the analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for a further global analysis.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**
– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Person’**

As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the sense ‘person’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Prodigality’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘prodigality’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘prodigality’ here.
6.6.4 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: *NONE*; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Taking Precautions’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8251</td>
<td>yadin fi-ṣ-ṣōḥ w yadin fi- r-raša</td>
<td>One hand on the well-edge, and one hand on the bucket-rope.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1 result for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as not very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

NS: Najd: *al-fubūdi*, no. 2863: ‘He swims and his hand is on the bucket-rope’.

DWSM: Iraq: *al-Ḥanafi*, 2, p. 255 (no number provided): ‘Your hand is on the horseshoe and the anvil’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one single origin.

**iv. Overview**

The ṣōḥ is the well’s edge and the rašā is a coarse rope that is used to bring water out of the well. This proverb illustrates the importance of taking all necessary precautions to remain safe (*al-Juhaymān*, 1982:231). There is a comparison between one hand being on the edge of the well and the other on the bucket rope and the fact that one has to take precautions when carrying out an activity.
In this proverb, the hands emphasise the significance of taking all necessary precautions when carrying out an action, since the hand is used as the means or medium for many actions. Our conventional knowledge regarding holding something (or someone) in the hand to keep it safe is supported by Islam, such as in the Quranic verse:

فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله، فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى

(البقرة: 256)

Fa-man yakfur bi-ṭāġūt wa yuʾmin bi-l-Ilāhi faqad istamsaka
bi-l-ʿurwati-l-wutqā

(‘So whoever disbelieves in ṭāġūt and believes in Allah has grasped the most trustworthy handhold with no break in it.’)

(al-Baqarah: 256)

We understand that the word ‘تمسّك’ tamassaka (‘hold’) carries the meaning of ‘safety’.

v. General Analytical Issues

In terms of its general structure, which can be summarised as ‘X in the Y, and X in the Z’, the proverb ‘يد في الصوح ويد في الرشا’ can be compared to ‘رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب’ (Section 6.7.4), and the two proverbs can be analysed analogously in terms of the figurative elements.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘One must take all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, it seems impossible to assign a separate meaning to any of the elements (whether individual words or longer phrases) which make up this proverb. Accordingly, the proverb can only be analysed in global terms.
viii.i. Global Analysis: General

As noted in vii.i above, the intended overall meaning of this proverb is ‘one must take all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger’. This is a kināyah.


The topic of ید في الصروح ويد في الرشا (literally: ‘one hand on the well-edge, and the other on the bucket-rope’) is ‘one must take all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger’. The vehicle is ‘one hand on the well-edge, and one hand on the bucket-rope’, the grounds is that ‘one hand [being] on the well-edge, and the other [being] on the bucket-rope’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where one hand [being] on the well-edge, and the other [being] on the bucket-rope is a type (example) of taking all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>ید في الصروح ويد في الرشا</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>one must [/having to] take all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger (what the phrase ید في الصروح ويد في الرشا refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘one hand [being] on the well-edge, and the other [being] on the bucket-rope’ (the notion which ‘one must [/having to] take all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] one hand [being] on the well-edge, and the other [being] on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the bucket-ropes is a type (example) of taking all necessary precautions in this/a situation of potential danger

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE
As a specific element, يد (literally: 'hand') does not have a separate figurative sense here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Taking Precautions’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘taking precautions’, giving يد (literally: 'hand') a general association with ‘taking precautions’ here.

6.6.5 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Restoration of Property’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8143 يا يدي أتعبت رجلي</td>
<td>yā yidi atʕabti rijli</td>
<td>My hand, you have made my legs tired.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 2865: ‘He whose intellect is low, his legs are tired’.

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 2865: ‘He whose intellect is low, his legs are tired’. 
iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

iv. Overview

What a hand gives without any contemplation will cause one’s feet to become tired in retrieving it, and when a person lends money, he has to make repeated efforts to get it back. The proverb is used to show the difficulty to be expected in regaining one’s rights. The whole proverb shows the hard work needed to recover what someone has taken (al-Juhaymān, 1982:195). There is a comparison between ‘one’s hand making one’s leg tired’ and ‘lending and the repeated effort needed to get what is lent back’. The ‘leg’ in this proverb will be discussed below in Section 6.7.3.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘It is difficult to recover this thing (i.e. the thing which is under discussion) which someone else has taken’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, it seems impossible to assign a separate meaning to any of the elements (whether individual words or longer phrases) which make up this proverb. Accordingly, the proverb can only be analysed in global terms.

viii.i. Global Analysis: General

يا يدي أتعبت رجلي (literally: ‘my hand, you have made my legs tired’) is a kināyah.

The topic of يا يدي أتعبت رجلي (literally: ‘my hand, you have made my legs tired’) is ‘It is difficult to recover this thing (i.e. the thing which is under discussion) which someone else has taken’. The vehicle is ‘my hand, you have made my legs tired’, and the grounds is one construction being used as a substitute for another (Section 4.3.3.1.10), with there being no more obvious connection in terms of the categories following Section 4.3.3.1 than this. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يا يدي أتعبت رجلي</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>It is difficult to recover this thing (i.e. the thing which is under discussion) which someone else has taken (what the phrase يا يدي أتعبت رجلي refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘my hand, you have made my legs tired’ (the notion which ‘It is difficult to recover this thing [i.e. the thing which is under discussion] which someone else has taken’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] one construction is used as a substitute for the other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE

As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) does not have a figurative sense here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).
Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Restoration of Property’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘restoration of property’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘restoration of property’ here.

6.6.6 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Person’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Helpfulness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8234</td>
<td>il-yad illī tiʕṭī axyar min il-yad illī tāxiḍ</td>
<td>A hand that gives is better than a hand that takes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

ii. Comparable proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic dialects

Sim. WM: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no. 2832: ‘A hand that receives does not give’; no. 2833: ‘A hand that takes does not give’.

DWSM: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 700: ‘The hand that takes, does not give’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.
iv. Overview

This proverb is reminiscent of the Ḥadīṯ of the Prophet Muhammad:

اليد العليا خير من اليد السفلى وابدأ بمن تعول.

Al-yadu-l-ʕulyā xayrun mina-l-yadi-s-suflā wa-bda’ bi-man taʕul.

‘The upper hand is better than the lower one [i.e. the spending hand is better than the receiving hand]; and begin [charity] with those who are under your care’ (al-Juhaymān, 1982:226).5

This proverb is used to show the moral superiority of the benefitter over the beneficiary, and the superiority of the hand that gives over the hand that takes. There is a comparison between a hand that gives being better than a hand that takes and a person who is helpful being better than a person who is unhelpful. This Najdi proverb refers to a person whose intrinsic nature is to help others in times of need. The act of giving has been wisely linked with the verb تعطي ‘to give’, since the person decides when to provide help and support, be this in a physical or moral capacity.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘The person who is helpful is better than the person who is unhelpful’.

5 The following are the lessons that we learn from the Ḥadīṯ:

1. Charity is encouraged by referring to the upper hand as the giving hand and the lower hand as that of the beggar. It is well known that taking/begging is frowned upon.
2. The ideal form of charity is for oneself or for those under one’s care.
3. Charity begins at home for a Muslim. Thus, he should commence by attending to the needs of his wife, his children, and immediate relatives, after which he may spend on whatever purpose he deems necessary.
4. Blood relatives are prioritised, followed by other Shariah matters.

A person is permitted to seek an income in order to provide for himself and those that depend on him. Once these obligations are fulfilled, other channels of charity may also be considered in order to become one of the giving hands.
vii.i. **Specific-Element Analysis: General**

In both places where it occurs, the word يد ‘hand’ is a kināyah for ‘person’. This has already been analysed in Section 6.3.3. ‘gives’ can be analysed as a kināyah for ‘is helpful’ and تاخذ ‘takes’ can be analysed as a kināyah for ‘is unhelpful’.

vii.ii. **Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the case of تعطي (literally: ‘gives’), the topic is ‘is helpful’, the vehicle is ‘gives’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where giving is a particular type of being helpful (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اليد التي تعطي اخبار من اليد الى تأخذ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>gives [/giving]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word تعطي refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘is [/being] helpful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘gives [/giving]’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] giving is a particular type of being helpful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of تأخذ (literally: ‘takes’), the topic is ‘is unhelpful’, the vehicle is ‘takes’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where taking is a particular type of being unhelpful (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:
**Example**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>takes [/taking] (what the word تاخذ refers to)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[associated with] ‘is [/being] unhelpful’ (the notion which ‘gives [/taking]’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[in that] taking is a particular type of being unhelpful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for a further global analysis.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Person’**

As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the figurative sense ‘person’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Helpfulness’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘helpfulness’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘helpfulness’ here.
6.6.7 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Power’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Acceptance of Power’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8236</td>
<td>il-yadi-l-lī mā tiqdar tiqṭašha būshā</td>
<td>A hand that you cannot cut off, kiss it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form 
اليد اللي ما تقدر تقطعها بوسها showed 4 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

NS: Egypt: *Taymūr*, no. 702: ‘A hand that you cannot cut off, kiss it’.

NS: Palestine: *Zayādneh*, no. 479: ‘A hand that you cannot bite, kiss it’.

NS: Iraq: *al-Hanafī*, no. 295: ‘Kiss the hand that is stronger than your hand and pray for it to break’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one single origin.

**iv. Overview**

This encourages people to avoid clashing with or resisting others who are stronger than them and to show them love, even if they are hated (*al-Juhaymān*, 1982:227). There is a comparison between obeying the strong
man who you cannot overcome and kissing the hand that you cannot cut off. In this Najdi proverb, a situation is presented where one person has complete control over another, whether by virtue of position or authority, whereby the controlled person has no other choice than to do what the controlling person dictates. The person under control is clearly not content in such circumstances. When someone has no agency over a situation, the key to acceptance is endurance and faith, since this helps them to prevail. We have to embrace the situation when we cannot control it. In the proverb, ‘kiss it’ implies acceptance and pragmatism, because ultimately, we reap what we sow.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘A power which you cannot destroy, embrace it (i.e. accept it willingly)’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
Here, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the kināyah sense of ‘power’ (i.e. ‘powerful person/people’). تقطع (literally: ‘[you] cut’ has the kināyah sense ‘[you] destroy’. This has already been analysed in Section 6.2.2. بوس (literally: ‘kiss’) has the kināyah sense ‘embrace’ (i.e. ‘accept willingly’).

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds
In the case of يد (literally: ‘hand’), the topic is ‘power’, the vehicle is ‘hand’, and the grounds is that the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength) (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:
In the case of بوس (literally: ‘kiss’), the topic is ‘embrace’ (i.e. accept willingly), the vehicle is ‘kiss’, and the grounds is that a kiss is a reflection (effect) of embracing (accepting willingly) (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>اليد التي ما تقدر تقطعها بوسها</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word يد refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] 'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘power’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the hand is an instrument of a person’s physical power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(strength)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for global analysis.
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Power’
As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the figurative sense of ‘power’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Power’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘power’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘power’ here.

6.6.8 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Person’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Moral Autonomy’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8243 يد الحر ميزان</td>
<td>Yādi-l-ḥurr mīzān</td>
<td>A free man’s hand is a scale.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1,750 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which accords with the Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
NS: Najdi: al-Ṣubūdī, no.1400: ‘A free man’s eye is a scale’.
NS: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 2018: ‘A free man’s eye is his scale’.
Ident. Iraq: al-Ḥanafī, no. 296: ‘A free man’s hand is a scale’.
NS: Palestine: Zayādneh, no. 1933: ‘A free man’s eye is a scale’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.
iv. Overview

This refers to the person who weighs things with his hands, employing his senses accurately (al-Juhaymān, 1982:229; al-ʕubūdī, 1959). There is a comparison between the free man being [like] a scale and the person who is not controlled by others being just. This Najdi proverb describes the true standards of justice. When a person is free and not under any control, they provide the true measure of justice without undue pressure. On the other hand, slaves or those under pressure can be affected by external influences, and in their case the scales of justice can be easily manipulated.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘The free person is just’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, يد (literally: ‘hand’) refers to a person. يد in this sense has already been analysed in Section 6.6.3. ميزان (literally ‘scale’) is a kināyah for ‘just’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of ميزان (literally ‘scale’), the topic is ‘just’, the vehicle is ‘scale’, and the grounds are that a scale is an instrument for determining what is just (fair) in commercial transactions (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يد الحر ميزان</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word ميزان refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘scale’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘just’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] a scale is (scales are) an instrument for determining what is just (fair) in commercial transactions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i. Global Analysis: General
The analysis of the specific elements making up this proverb fully accounts for the overall intended meaning of the proverb. There is thus no need for further global analysis.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Person’
As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the figurative sense of ‘person’ here (vii. i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Moral Autonomy’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘moral autonomy’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘moral autonomy’ here.
6.6.9 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Person’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Humiliation’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8258 يد ما تدسم شاربها ترى الذل مصاحبها</td>
<td>yadin mā tdassim šāribha tara-ḏ-ḏilli mšāḥibhā</td>
<td>A hand that does not grease its moustache (i.e. does not feed itself), humiliation accompanies [is accompanying] him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, a Google search which I did for the related form من ما غبر شاربها ما دسمه showed 7 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which is at variance with the Google search results).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**
DWSM: Palestine: Zayādneh, no. 371: ‘He who does not eat with his hand, will not be full’.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**
According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

**iv. Overview**
Food will never be obtained without effort and work. This encourages people to work hard to get whatever they need without humiliation (*al-Juhaymān*, 1982:234). There is a comparison between someone who does not work hard to have a good standard of life and the hand that does not feed its possessor the best kind of food. In Arabic, people who work hard are known as أيد عاملة, which literally means ‘working hands’. This is used metaphorically
in the plural form – namely ‘working hands’ – to denote ‘manpower’ or ‘labour force’, because hands enable work to be carried out. This Najdi proverb asserts that without hard work nothing can be achieved, and that there is no shame or embarrassment in working hard. The Arabic word تَدْسَمَ ‘fatten’ in English indicates the use of fats and oils. Solid fats are obtained from animals and together with liquid oils, known as lipids, they comprise essential nutrients. Meat is an expensive commodity, which can be difficult to access on a daily basis. Accordingly, it is used as a symbol for food, for which men need to work hard. In earlier times, the home and children were the sole focal point for Saudi women, who would be reliant on the provisions furnished by their husbands. The duty of the husband was to generate income. The word شَارِبُ ‘moustache’ is employed, as it was the responsibility of men to work hard and provide the necessities for their family, since they are the physically stronger sex. A man who fails to fulfil this responsibility is not only an embarrassment to himself, but also brings shame on his family.

v. General Analytical Issues
There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense
‘A person who does not (cannot) feed his own family will have humiliation accompany him’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General
يد ‘hand’ here has the kināyah sense of ‘person’. This has already been analysed in Section 6.3.3. It would, in principle, be possible to analyse تَدْسَمَ ‘grease(s) its moustache’ as two separate specific elements: تَدْسَمَ ‘grease(s)’, having the kināyah sense ‘feeds’ and شَارِبُ [ها] ‘[its] moustache’, having the kināyah sense ‘[his] family’. It does not seem possible, however, to find plausible kināyah grounds relating تَدْسَمَ ‘grease(s)’ and ‘feeds’, or relating شَارِبُ [ها] ‘[its] moustache’, and [‘his] family’. It therefore seems better to regard the entire phrase تَدْسَمُ شَارِبُها ‘grease(s) its moustache’ as a kināyah
for ‘feed(s) [his] family’. ‘accompanied’ is a metaphor. The other elements of the proverb can be understood literally.

**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the case of ‘grease(s) its moustache’, the topic is ‘feed(s) [his] family’, the vehicle is ‘grease(s) its moustache’, and the grounds can be understood as a cause-effect one: the effect (or at least one possible effect) of feeding one’s family is that some of them at least put grease onto their moustache as they feed themselves (Section 4.3.3.1.4). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>تدسم شاربها يد ما تدسم شاربها ترى الذل مصاحبها</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>feeds his family&lt;br&gt;(what the phrase تدسم شاربها refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘greases’, [greasing] his moustache&lt;br&gt;(the notion which ‘feeds his family’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] the effect (or at least one possible effect) of feeding one’s family is that some of them put grease onto their moustache as they feed themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of ‘accompanies [(is) accompanying]’, the topic is ‘accompanies [(is) accompanying]’ in a metaphorical existential sense, the vehicle is ‘accompanies [(is) accompanying]’ in its basic physical sense, and the grounds is that existential accompaniment (through time) is like going with someone through space.
Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Topic               | 'accompanies [(is) accompanying]'  
in a metaphorical existential sense |
| Vehicle             | 'accompanies [(is) accompanying]'  
in its basic physical sense |
| Grounds             | [in that] existential accompaniment  
(though time) is like going with  
someone through space |

viii.i. Global Analysis: General

The overall intended sense of the proverb ‘يد ما تدسم شاربها ترى الذل مصاحبها’ ‘A person who does not (cannot) feed his own family, humiliation will accompany him’ is fully accounted for by the analyses of the specific figurative elements which make it up, as observed above; there is no need for an additional global analysis, and therefore no need to consider the proverb globally in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the figurative sense of ‘person’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Humiliation’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘humiliation’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘humiliation’ here.
6.6.10 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Behaviour’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Miserliness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6299</td>
<td>mā yidrik marāmah min kaffah šīḥīḥah</td>
<td>One will not obtain one’s desires from a stingy hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. However, when I searched for the proverb (with the spelling كفه), I got 1 result. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects
There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

iii. Origin of the Proverb
According to my sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

iv. Overview
This proverb is cited to indicate the disadvantages of miserliness, which is the opposite of generosity. It means that a miser will never get what they dream of (al-Juhaymān, 1982:204-205). The only part of this proverb which seems to be figurative is the use of the word kaffah ‘his hand’. All the rest can be taken as non-figurative. Muslims believe that charity helps lead to the achievement of ambitions, because it ultimately brings prosperity. Through this Najdi proverb, we may draw the lesson that people have many ambitions in life. Some may have career goals, dream of purchasing a home, aspire to
attain a degree, and so forth. Hence, to achieve anything in this world, one must first give and invest. Stinginess is therefore nothing but an impediment to achieving one’s goals.

**v. General Analytical Issues**

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

‘One will not obtain one’s desires from stingy behaviour’.

**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General**

As noted, the only element which is figurative in this proverb is the *kināyah* كفة ‘hand’.

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

The topic of كفة ‘hand’ is ‘behaviour’. The vehicle is ‘hand’, and the grounds are that the hand is the major bodily instrument for carrying out personal and physical behaviour patterns. This is thus a *kināyah* in which an instrument refers to its trace (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>مایندرک مرامه من کفة شحیحة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Topic** | behaviour  
(what the word كفة refers to) |
| **Vehicle** | [associated with] ‘hand’  
(the notion which ‘behaviour’ is being associated with) |
| **Grounds** | [in that] the hand is the major bodily instrument of carrying out personal, physical behaviour |
**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The overall intended sense of the proverb 'One will not obtain one’s desires from a stingy hand' is fully accounted for by the analyses of the specific figurative elements which make it up, as noted above; there is no need for additional global analysis, and therefore no need to consider the proverb globally in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Behaviour’**

As a specific element, كفة (literally: ‘hand’) has the figurative sense of ‘behaviour’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Miserliness’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘miserliness’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘miserliness’ here.

6.6.11 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: **NONE**; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Firmness and Flexibility’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>587 اكرب وجهك وارح يديك</td>
<td>ukrub wajhik w-urx yidēk</td>
<td>Make your face serious and loosen your hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This proverb has been analysed in Section 6.3.2, under categories i-vii.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: NONE**

As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) does not have a separate figurative sense here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).
– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Firmness and Flexibility’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘firmness and flexibility’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘firmness and flexibility’ here.

### 6.6.12 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Possession’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Generosity/Prodigality’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>868</td>
<td>ٍٍٍٍلي في يده ما هوب له</td>
<td>What is in his hand, he does not own.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed no results for this proverb. But when I searched for ٍٍٍَلي في يده ما هوب له (اللي في يده ما هوب له) I got 2 results. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as common (a result which does not accord with the Google search results).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.
**iv. Overview**

This proverb is used to show either generosity or wastefulness, and it describes those who cannot limit their expenditure or refuse those who ask for financial aid (*al-Juḥaymān*, 1982:311). There is a comparison between being wasteful and having what one does not own. People who are unable to save money or cannot turn away the needy may also be intended. Allah instructs human beings as follows:

![Arabic text here]

*Wa kulū wa-šrabū wa-lā tusrifū*

('And eat and drink, but be not excessive')

(*al-Aʿrāf*: 31)

The Prophet Muhammad also said in a tradition:

![Arabic text here]

*Iḏā aḥṭā Allahu aḥḍukum xayran, fa-l-yabdaʾ bi-nafsih wa ahlī baytih.*

('If God brings anyone of you bounty, let him begin with himself and his household')

(*al-Durar al-Saniyyah*, 2021)

This means one needs to initially focus on oneself and avoid extravagance. If a person cannot retain their own possessions, this implies wastefulness on their part.

**v. General Analytical Issues**

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

‘What he possesses, he freely gives away’.
**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General**

Here, في ‘in’ is a basic abstract possession for concrete conceptual metaphor. يد ‘hand’ is a kināyah for ‘possession’. له lah ‘possession’ (and more generally the phrase mā hūb lah ‘he does not own’) is a metaphor for ‘he freely gives away’.

**vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

In the case of في ‘in’, the topic can be characterised as ‘abstract possession’ (though it seems impossible to find a word which simply substitutes for في ‘in’ here), and the vehicle is a concrete (physical) form of ‘in’. The grounds are perhaps best expressed by saying that ‘abstract possession’ is in a basic conceptual sense analogous to ‘concrete containment’. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>الي في يده ما هوب له</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>in (abstract possession)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word في refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[like] ‘physical containment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘[being] (physically) in’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] ‘abstract possession’ is in a basic conceptual sense analogous to ‘concrete containment’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of يد ‘hand’, the topic is ‘possession’, the vehicle is ‘hand’, and the grounds are that the hand is the basic bodily instrument (organ) through which one physically possesses a thing (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:
In the case of 'possession' – and more generally the phrase ‘he does not own’ – the topic is ‘he freely gives away’, the vehicle is ‘he does not own’, and the grounds are that freely giving something away is like not owning it (in the first place). This can be diagrammed as follows:

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The overall intended sense of the proverb 'What is in his hand he does not own' is fully accounted for by the analyses of the specific figurative elements which make it up, as noted above; there is no need for
an additional global analysis, and therefore no need to consider the proverb globally in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis
– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Possession’

As a specific element, يد (literally: ‘hand’) has the figurative sense ‘possession’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Generosity/Prodigality’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘generosity/prodigality’, thereby giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) a general association with ‘generosity/prodigality’ here.

6.6.13 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘power’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Power’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8268 يد وفوقها يدين</td>
<td>yad w fōgha ydēn</td>
<td>One hand, and on top of it two hands.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 97 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with Google search result).

ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.
iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to my data sources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one single origin.

iv. Overview

This means that someone is able to work by themselves, but there are others who can prevent them from doing so because of their power. For example, there may be a manager who is controlled by other managers, so he takes some actions, but on a very limited scale, and has to follow the rules laid down by these other (more senior) managers (al-Juhaymān, 1982:237). There is a comparison between a manager having superiors and a hand having two more on top of it.

This proverb brings to mind the Quranic verse:

اَنْقَحَلْنَا الْيَدَ الَّتِيْنِ

Yadu Allāhi fawqa aydīhim.

(‘The Hand of Allah is above their hands’)

(al-Fath, 10)

This means that Allah’s power is greater than that assigned to the Prophet Muhammad in the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah.6

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘His/her power is less than the power of other people (who have control over him/her)’.

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6 The Treaty of Hudaybiyyah (Arabic: صلح الخديبية, romanised: Sulh al-Hudaybiyyah) was an event that took place during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. It was a pivotal treaty between Muhammad, representing the state of Madinah, and the Qurayshi tribe of Makkah in January 628 (corresponding to Dhū al-Qa‘dah, AH 6). The treaty helped to decrease tensions between the two cities, affirmed peace for a period of 9 years, 9 months and 9 days, and authorised Muhammad’s followers to return the following year in a peaceful pilgrimage, later known as The First Pilgrimage (Wikipedia, 2023).
vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Diese (literally: ‘hand’) here can be understood as a *kināyah* meaning ‘a certain amount of power’. فوق (literally: ‘above’) is a *kināyah* meaning ‘dominating’, and يدين (literally: ‘two hands’) here can be understood as a *kināyah* meaning ‘greater power’ than that expressed earlier in the proverb by the word يد ‘hand’.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of يد (literally: ‘hand’), the topic is ‘a certain amount of power’, the vehicle is ‘hand’, and the grounds are that the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength). This is almost the same analysis as that in Section 6.6.7. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يد ووفوقها يدين</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or <em>kināyah</em>?</td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>a certain amount of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word يد refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘power’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(strength)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of فوق (literally: ‘above’), the topic is ‘dominating’, the vehicle is ‘above’, and the grounds are that that which is above one physically also dominates (has power over one) whether physically or psychologically. This can be diagrammed as follows:
Metaphor or kināyah?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>مَثَلَ وَفَوْقَهَا يَدٍ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>dominating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(what the word فوق refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the notion which ‘dominating’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] which is above one physically also dominates (has power over one) whether physically or psychologically</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of يدَ وفَوْقَهَا يَدٍ (literally: ‘two hands’), the topic is ‘greater power’ than that expressed earlier in the proverb by the word ‘hand’, the vehicle is ‘two hands’, and the grounds are that the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength), with two hands being more powerful than one. This can be diagrammed as follows:

Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>메타포 또는 kin아야?</th>
<th>이다 와 فوقها يدين</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kin아야?</td>
<td>kin아야</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>greater power than that expressed earlier in the proverb by the word يد ‘hand’ (what the word يدين refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘two hands’ (the notion which ‘greater power’ than that expressed earlier in the proverb by the word يد ‘hand’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength), with two hands being more powerful than one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii.i. Global Analysis: General
The specific-element analysis gives the sense ‘a certain amount of power’, dominating it greater power than that expressed earlier in the proverb by the word ‘hand’. This is somewhat different from the intended overall sense, ‘his/her power is less than the power of other people (who have control over him/her)’, and can be regarded as a kināyah for it.

Here, the topic is ‘his/her power is less than the power of other people (who have control over him/her)’, and the vehicle is ‘a certain amount of power, dominating it greater power than that expressed earlier in the proverb by the word ‘hand’ (i.e. ‘a certain amount of power is dominated by greater power than that expressed by the word ‘hand’’). The grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where ‘a certain amount of power is [being] dominated by greater power than that expressed by the word ‘hand’” is a type (example) of his/her power is [being] less than the power of other people (who have control over him/her)’ (Section 4.3.3.1.1). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>بيد وفوقها يدين</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>his/her power is [being] less than the power of other people (who have control over him/her (what the phrase بيد وفوقها يدين refers to))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘a certain amount of power is [being] dominated by greater power than that expressed by the word ‘hand” (the notion which ‘يدين‘ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Power’

As specific elements, يد (literally: ‘hand’) and يدين (‘two hands’) have the core figurative sense ‘power’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Power’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘power’, giving يد (literally: ‘hand’) and يدين (‘two hands’) a general association with ‘power’ here.

6.6.14 Hand – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Source of Strength’;
Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Cooperation’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8462</td>
<td>ييمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة</td>
<td>A right hand without a left hand is powerless.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Commonness of the Proverb

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 11,900 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with Google search result).
ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects


DWSM: Palestine: Zayādneh, no. 477: ‘A hand on a hand is mercy’.

iii. Origin of the Proverb

In his book, صحيف الأخبار عما في بلاد العرب من الآثار, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Axbār ḍammā fī bilād al-ṣrāb min al-Āṯār, Ibn Blēhid (1997) mentions a poem that is attributed to Ibn Sajwān:

و اللي مع الأجانب كنه على نار وليليا انكسر حدا الجناحين ما طار
والطير بالجنحان ما أحسن رفيفه وميمني بلا يسرى نراها ضعيفة
و ورجل بلا ربع على الغبن صبار

O Duḥaym, lands filled with your friends are gardens,

And he who is with strangers is like one is on fire.

And a bird with its two wings how wonderfully it flaps,

And if one of these wings breaks, it will not fly.

And a right hand without the left is seen as weak,

And a man with no close ones is patient about

frustration.
iv. Overview

Cooperation is extremely important; weak parts can strengthen each other so that they become stronger together (al-Juhaymān, 1982:301). There is a comparison between a strong person needing others to be stronger and a right hand without a left hand being powerless. It is broadly accepted that two hands working together are better and stronger than one hand on its own. The abstract conceptualisation of this unification of the hands is the notion of cooperation in order to enable the achievement of a goal. In Arabic, the left hand is called يسرى yusrā, because it is located on the left side of the body (the آيسر 'left' side), and the right hand is called يمنى yumnā, because it is located on the right side of the body (the أيمن 'right' side). The right hand is the one responsible for actions such as eating, writing, greeting others, giving, and taking. However, none of this is meaningful without the left hand, as it has a supporting role.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘Cooperation is essential for success’.

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

Here, يمنى 'right hand' is a kināyah for '[one] source of strength'; this is close to the example in Section 6.6.7, where يد ‘hand’ is a kināyah for ‘power’. يسرى 'left hand' is a kināyah for '[another] source of strength', that is, a source of strength which is distinct from that denoted by يمنى 'right hand'.

vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of يمنى (literally: 'right hand'), the topic is '[one] source of strength', the vehicle is 'right hand', and the grounds are that the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength) (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:
In the case of يسرى (literally: ‘left hand’), the topic is ‘[another] source of strength’, the vehicle is ‘left hand’, and the grounds are that the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength) (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>[another] source of strength (what the word يسرى refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] ‘left hand’ (the notion which ‘[another] source of strength’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the hand is an instrument for a person’s physical power (strength)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii.i. Global Analysis: General

The specific-element analysis yields the sense ‘one source of strength without another source of strength is weak’. This is different from the intended overall sense ‘cooperation is essential for success’, and can be regarded as a kināyah for it.
### viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In terms of global analysis, the topic of يمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة is ‘cooperation is [being] essential for success’, and the vehicle (i.e. the meaning as derived from the specific-element analysis) is ‘one source of strength without another source of strength is [being] weak’. The grounds can be understood as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where ‘one source of strength without another source of strength is [being] weak’ is a particular type (example) of ‘cooperation is [being] essential for success’. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>يمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Topic** | cooperation is [being] essential for success  
(what the phrase يمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة refers to) |
| **Vehicle** | [associated with] 'one source of strength without another source of strength is [being] weak'  
(the notion which ‘cooperation is [being] essential for success’ is being associated with) |
| **Grounds** | [in that] ‘one source of strength without another source of strength is [being] weak’ is a particular type (example) of ‘cooperation is [being] essential for success’ |
ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Power’

As specific elements, يمنى (literally: ‘right hand’) and يسرى (literally: ‘left hand’) have the core figurative sense of ‘power’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Power’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘power’, giving يمنى (literally: ‘right hand’) and يسرى (literally: ‘left hand’) a general association with ‘power’ here.

6.7 Leg (Rijil)

6.7.1 Leg – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Respect and Disrespect’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2355 دخلته بيدي فاظهرني برجله</td>
<td>daxxaltah b-yidi fa-ḏ̟harnī b-rijlah</td>
<td>I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This proverb has been analysed in Section 6.6.2, under categories i-vii.


In the case of the kināyah اظهرني برجله ‘he kicked me out [with his foot]’, the topic is ‘he treated me badly’, the vehicle is ‘he kicked me out [with his foot]’, and the grounds are that kicking someone out [with one’s foot] is a means, or instrument, of treating someone badly (Section 4.3.3.1.9). This can be diagrammed as follows:
Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor or kināyah?</th>
<th>Kināyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>he treated [/him treating] me badly (what the phrase اظهريني برجله refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[associated with] 'he kicked [/him kicking] me out [with his foot]' (the notion which 'he treated [/him treating] me badly' is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] kicking someone out [with one’s foot] is a means (instrument) of treating them badly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE

As a specific element، رجل (literally: ‘foot’) here does not have a separate figurative sense (vii.i and vii.ii in Section 6.6.2).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Respect and Disrespect’

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘respect and disrespect’، giving رجل (literally: ‘foot’) a general association with ‘respect and disrespect’ here.
6.7.2 Leg – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: ‘Money’; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘(Financial) Prudence’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3792 علي قدر لحافك مد رجلك</td>
<td>ʕala qadr ḫāfik midd rijlik</td>
<td>Stretch your legs according to the size of your coverlet. (According to the size of your coverlet, stretch your leg.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**
A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 11,200 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends showed that they tend to regard this proverb as very common (a result which accords with the Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

NS: Najd: al-ʕubūdī, no.1345: ‘Stretch your legs according to your coverlet’.

NS: Egypt: Taymūr, no. 1931: ‘Stretch your legs according to your lap’; no. 1935: ‘Stretch your leg according to your coverlet’; Sim. WM: Egypt, Taymūr, no. 1933: ‘Stretch your legs according to your money’.

NS: Iraq: al-Ḥanafī, no. 2069: ‘Stretch your legs according to your coverlet’; NS: Iraq, al-Takrītī, no. 2128: ‘Stretch your legs according to your coverlet’.

NS: Palestine: Zayādneh, no. 1868: ‘Stretch your legs according to your coverlet’.
iii. Origin of the Proverb

According to al-ʕubūdī, Andalusians used this proverb in the sixth century AH, in the form: ʕalā qīs ksēk tmid rijēk. He notes that ksēk is equivalent in meaning to kisāʾak, with both denoting ‘your clothes’. The proverb thus translates as, ‘Stretch your legs according to your clothes.’

iv. Overview

This proverb advises people to behave and spend their money in a manner that suits their situation and not to try and imitate others, as this will make life more difficult (al-Juhaymān, 1982:390; al-ʕubūdī, 1959:850, 851). There is a comparison between someone behaving and spending their money in a manner that suits their situation and stretching their legs according to their quilt. This proverb advises adjusting one’s spending according to their present financial circumstances, namely to not spend more than one earns. The image is of a person attempting to adjust to a very small bed. This helps one to learn adaptability. A person’s lower limbs will be uncovered if they lie at full length, and thus to keep their legs warm, they have to bend them. Prudence can also be learnt from this. One’s feet will become cold if they stretch their legs beyond the length of their quilt. It is therefore important to adapt to one’s situation at all times and to try to live life within one’s means.

v. General Analytical Issues

There are no further general analytical issues in the case of this proverb.

vi. Intended Overall Sense

‘Spend your money according to the extent of your circumstances’

(‘According to the extent of your circumstances, spend your money’).

vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General

‘extent’ here can be regarded as a metaphor in which an abstract sense substitutes for the basic physical sense. لحاف ‘coverlet’ is a metaphor for
‘(good financial) circumstances’. مد ‘extend’ can be regarded as a metaphor for ‘spend’, and رجل ‘leg’ as a *kināyah* or metaphor for ‘money’.

### vii.ii. Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

In the case of قدر (literally: ‘extent’), the vehicle is ‘abstract extent’, the topic is ‘physical extent’, and the grounds is the existence of a basic conceptual analogy between the two. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>على قدر لحافك مد رجلك</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>abstract extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what the word قدر refers to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] ‘physical extent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the notion which ‘abstract extent’ is being compared to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] there is a basic conceptual analogy between physical extent and abstract extent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of لحاف (literally: ‘coverlet’), the topic is ‘(good financial) circumstances’, and the vehicle is ‘coverlet’. The grounds might be construed as being that just as a coverlet provides protection from adverse conditions (i.e. cold temperature), so good financial circumstances can provide protection from adverse conditions. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>على قدر لحافك مد رجلك</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>(good financial) circumstances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what the word لحاف refers to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] 'coverlet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the notion which ‘abstract extent’ is being compared to)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the case of مد (literally: ‘extend’), the topic is ‘spend’, the vehicle is ‘extend’, and the grounds is that the most basic way of giving out (spending) money is extending one’s hand with the money in it. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounds</th>
<th>[in that] a coverlet provides protection from adverse conditions (cold), so good financial circumstances can provide protection from adverse conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the case of رجل (literally: ‘leg’), the topic is ‘money’, and the vehicle is ‘leg’. It is rather difficult to find a plausible grounds, regardless of whether we regard رجل as a kināyah or a metaphor for ‘money’. I will, therefore, not attempt to propose a grounds in this case. This can be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>على قدر تحالف مد رجلك</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor or kināyah?</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>spend [/spending] (what the word مد refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle</td>
<td>[like] ‘extend’ (the notion which ‘spend [/spending]’ is being compared to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounds</td>
<td>[in that] the most basic way of giving out (spending) money is extending one’s hand with the money in it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>على قدر لحافك مد رجلك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td>metaphor/kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>money (what the word رجل refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[like/associated with] 'leg' (the notion which 'money' is being compared to/associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] no obvious grounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

The overall intended sense of the proverb ‘spend your money according to the extent of your circumstances’ is fully accounted for by the analyses of the specific figurative elements which make it up, as explored above. There is no need for an additional global analysis, and therefore no need to consider the proverb globally in terms of topic, vehicle, and grounds.

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

– **Specific-Element Analysis: ‘Money’**

As specific elements, رجل (literally: ‘foot’) has the figurative sense of ‘money’ here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

– **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘(Financial) Prudence’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘(financial) prudence’, giving رجل (literally: ‘foot’) a general association with ‘(financial) prudence’ here.
6.7.3 Leg – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Restoration of Property’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8143</td>
<td>yā yidī aṯ̣abtī rijaḥi</td>
<td>My hand, you have made my legs tired.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This proverb has been analysed in Section 6.6.5, specifically under categories i-vii.

ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis

– Specific-Element Analysis: NONE
As a specific element, رجل (literally: ‘foot’) does not have a figurative sense here (vii.i and vii.ii in Section 6.6.5).

– Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Restoration of Property’
The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘restoration of property’, giving رجل (literally: ‘leg’) a general association with ‘restoration of property’ here.
6.7.4 Leg – Specific-Element Figurative Sense: NONE; Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Disorganisation’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Najdi Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2633</td>
<td>rijlin bi-š-šarq w-rijlin bi- l-ğarb</td>
<td>One foot in the east and one foot in the west.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i. Commonness of the Proverb**

A Google search which I did on 27/2/2023 showed 1,030 results for this proverb. An informal survey which I made with family and friends, however, showed that they tend to regard this proverb as rare (a result which does not accord with the Google search result).

**ii. Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects**

There are no comparable proverbs in my data in Najdi or other Arabic dialects.

**iii. Origin of the Proverb**

According to my data resources, this proverb cannot be traced back to one specific origin.

**iv. Overview**

This refers to people who find their life challenging and cannot get themselves organised (al-Juhaymān, 1982:180). There is a comparison between someone finding their life challenging and being unable to organise themselves and one foot being in the east and the other in the west.

**v. General Analytical Issues**

In terms of its general structure, which can be summarised as ‘X in the Y, and X in the Z’, the proverb ‘One foot in the east and one foot in the west’ can be compared to the proverb ‘Yid fi al-shumayyin wa-yid fi al-rashā’.
‘One hand on the well-edge’ (Section 6.6.4). Additionally, the two proverbs can be analysed analogously in terms of their figurative elements.

**vi. Intended Overall Sense**

‘He/she finds their life challenging and cannot get themselves organised’.

**vii.i. Specific-Element Analysis: General**

Here, it seems impossible to assign a separate meaning to any of the elements (whether individual words or longer phrases) which make up this proverb. Accordingly, the proverb can only be analysed in global terms. It should, however, be noted that the notions of feet being in the east and the West can be regarded as examples of hyperbole, a figure of speech which falls outside the analyses conducted in this thesis.

**viii.i. Global Analysis: General**

As noted in vi. above, the intended overall meaning of this proverb is ‘He/she finds their life challenging and cannot get themselves organised’. This is a *kināyah*.

**viii.ii. Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds**

The topic of رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب (literally: ‘one foot in the east and one foot in the West’) is ‘He/she finds their life challenging and cannot get themselves organised’. The vehicle is ‘one foot in the east and one foot in the west’, and the grounds can be thought of as a part-whole relationship (extended, in fact, to a type-whole relationship), where one foot in the east and one foot in the west is a type (example) of finding life challenging and being unable to get oneself organised. This can be diagrammed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metaphor or kināyah?</strong></td>
<td><em>kināyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>he/she finds [/finding] their life challenging and cannot [/being unable to] get themselves organised (what the phrase رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب refers to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong></td>
<td>[associated with] ‘one foot in the east and one foot in the west’ (the notion which ‘he/she finds [/finding] their life challenging and cannot [/being unable to] get themselves organised’ is being associated with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grounds</strong></td>
<td>[in that] one foot [being] in the east and one foot [being] in the west is an example of finding life challenging and being unable to get oneself organised.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ix. Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor Analysis**

- **Specific-Element Analysis: NONE**

As a specific element, رجل (literally: ‘foot’) does not have a separate figurative meaning here (vii.i and vii.ii, above).

- **Overall Theme of Proverb: ‘Disorganisation’**

The overall theme of the proverb can be analysed as ‘disorganisation’, giving رجل (literally: ‘foot’) a general association with ‘disorganisation’ here.
6.8 Summary

This chapter has presented the analyses of Najdi human body-part proverbs, beginning with analysing the body-part itself move through to analysing the overall meaning of the proverb. This was done through the use of bayān tropes and Conceptual Metaphor Theory, both proving to be the primary cognitive motivators linking the literal and figurative meanings in these proverbs. Chapter 7 will present the discussion of the analysis conducted in this chapter, as well as providing a conclusion to the results emerging from this study.
Chapter 7
Results Analysis

7.1 Introduction
In the following sections, I will provide an analysis of the results for Chapter 6. This chapter is divided into the following major sections: 7.2 Commonness of the Proverb; 7.3 Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects; 7.4 Origins of the Proverbs, 7.5 Specific Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds, 7.6 Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds; and 7.7 Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor/Kīnāyah Analysis.

Under Section 7.7, there are the following sub-sections: 7.7.1 Specific-Element Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor/Kīnāyah Analysis; 7.7.1.1 In Which Proverbs does each Body Part have a Specific-Element Analysis, and is this Body Part a Metaphor or a Kīnāyah?; 7.7.1.2 Which Specific Element Body-Part Metaphors/Kīnāyahs in the 43 Selected Proverbs (47 examples) are Conceptual Metaphors/Kīnāyahs, and Which Are Not?; 7.7.1.3 Why is this Body-Part Metaphor/Kīnāyah to be Regarded as Either (a) a Conceptual Metaphor/Kīnāyah, or (b) not a Conceptual Metaphor/Kīnāyah?; 7.7.2 Overall Theme of Proverb: Body-Part Figurative-Type Analysis; 7.7.2.1 Which Global Figurative-Type Relationships in the 43 Selected Proverbs (47 Examples) are Conceptual, and Which Are Not?; and 7.7.2.2 Why is this Figurative-Type Relationship to be Regarded as Either (a) Conceptual, or (b) Not Conceptual?

7.2 Commonness of the Proverb
In total I have examined 43 Najdi proverbs. Of these, 4 are analysed twice, as they contain 2 relevant body parts (see Section 7.3, below). Of the 43 proverbs and related forms or partial elements of these proverbs, Google searches indicated:
0 results for 5 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.4.4</td>
<td>تثواعف وبخشمه رعاف</td>
<td>ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rāf</td>
<td>A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.3</td>
<td>فلان لناسه معراب</td>
<td>flān lsānah miğrāb</td>
<td>Someone’s tongue is dirty mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.3</td>
<td>يد صحيحة ما تدوق الاشهاء</td>
<td>yadin dayya‘ati-l-qirā ṭāqī l-ţāša</td>
<td>A hand that has lost coins will never taste supper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.5</td>
<td>يا يدي أتعبت رجلي</td>
<td>yā yidi atabbī rijli</td>
<td>My hand, you have made my legs tired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.6</td>
<td>اليد التي تعطي أخير من اليد التي تأخذ</td>
<td>il-yadi-l-lī tāxi l-yadi-l-lī ṭāqīd</td>
<td>A hand that gives is better than a hand that takes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 result for 7 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.11</td>
<td>القوس تقلب الروس</td>
<td>il-flūs tiqlib-i-rūs</td>
<td>Money turns heads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3</td>
<td>خشم خميس ساكنه ابليس</td>
<td>xašm Xamīs sāknah Iblīs</td>
<td>Xamīs’s nose is the Devil’s house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.4</td>
<td>فلان ناسف لسانه على كتفه</td>
<td>flān nāsfin lsānah ʕala katfah</td>
<td>His tongue is on his shoulder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.1</td>
<td>السيف في يد الجبان خشبة</td>
<td>is-sēf fi yadī-l-jabān xšibah</td>
<td>The sword in a coward’s hand is a piece of wood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>دخالتاه بيدا فتوله برجله</td>
<td>daxxaltah b-yidī fa-ghtamī b-rijli</td>
<td>I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.4</td>
<td>يد في الصوح ويد في الرشا</td>
<td>yadin fi-ṣ-ṣōḥ w yadin fi-r-riṣa</td>
<td>One hand on the well-edge, and the other on the bucket-rope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.10</td>
<td>ما يدرك مرامه من كفة شحيحة</td>
<td>mā yidrik marāmah min kaffah šiḥīḥah</td>
<td>One will not obtain his desires while his hand is stingy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 results for 3 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.3.4</td>
<td>وجه الإنسان رضر</td>
<td>Wajhi-l-insān ṭarr</td>
<td>A person’s face is a ṭarr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1</td>
<td>خشمك منك لو كان أفنس</td>
<td>xašmik mink lāw kān afnas</td>
<td>Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.12</td>
<td>التي في يده ماها له</td>
<td>līlī fi yidāḥ mā ḫub lāḥ</td>
<td>What he has, he does not own.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Proverbs

### 3-9 results for 9 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in the Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>رأس ورأس شعيلة</td>
<td>rāsah w rās Šēlāh's</td>
<td>His head and Šēlāh's.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>رأس تقطعه ما يجيك فراع</td>
<td>rāsin tiqāʾah mā yijik fazzāʾ</td>
<td>The head you cut off will never return.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3</td>
<td>قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال لساني</td>
<td>qāl wiš qāṭiʿik yā rāsī qāl ġārī</td>
<td>The head was asked, 'Who cut you off?' It answered, 'My tongue.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.7</td>
<td>ضربة في راس غيري مثل شق في جدار</td>
<td>ḍarbītān fi-rās ġērī mi ṣaqqin ti-yādār</td>
<td>A blow on someone else's head is like a crack in a wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>وجهه يحمى قفاه</td>
<td>wajhah yḥāmā qufāh</td>
<td>His face protects his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1</td>
<td>لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشومها</td>
<td>lā tilʿāb ġāl-ᵣᵣḥāmā ḥašūma</td>
<td>Do not joke with men by touching their noses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.1</td>
<td>رئة بفكك ولا زلة يفكك</td>
<td>ṭallētin b-ḥāmā kāla ṭallētin b-fīmāk</td>
<td>Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.7</td>
<td>يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى</td>
<td>yitḥālāk b-ruṣi l-ḥlāqah</td>
<td>He learns to shave on the heads of orphans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.9</td>
<td>يدين ما تدسم شاربها ترى الذل</td>
<td>yādin mā ṭaddīsam šārībha tārī ṣīl mīṣāʿibīhā</td>
<td>A hand that does not grease its moustache [i.e. does not feed itself], will be humiliated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10-19 results for 1 proverb. This proverb is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2</td>
<td>حشمم عمان في النار</td>
<td>xašim ʿammār fī-ᵣₙᵣₙār</td>
<td>ġammār's nose is in the fire.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 20-99 results for 4 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4</td>
<td>قف رأس يموت خبر</td>
<td>qaṭṭ rās ymūṭ xabar</td>
<td>Cut off a head, news will die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.8</td>
<td>يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى</td>
<td>yiṭḥali l-ḥlāqah b-rūṣi l-ḥdāmā</td>
<td>He learns to shave on the heads of orphans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>أكرم وجهك وارح ديك</td>
<td>ukrūb wajhik w-yūḍik</td>
<td>Make your face serious and loosen your hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.13</td>
<td>يد وفوقها بيدين</td>
<td>yād w fōgha yīdān</td>
<td>One hand, on top of which are two hands.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
100-999 results for 6 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in the Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.9</td>
<td>abī rās Hammūm wa kabd ʕakkūm</td>
<td>I want Hammūm's head and ʕakkūm's liver.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.10</td>
<td>fi rāsah ṭāb bin mā ʕṭīb</td>
<td>His head contains beans that have not been ground.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.5</td>
<td>wajhi l-ˌmīgaft ʔ-l-qalb</td>
<td>The face of the well-fed man is obvious.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.6</td>
<td>Isānah  mībrad</td>
<td>His tongue is a file.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.8</td>
<td>yad il-ḥurr ṭīfān</td>
<td>A free man's hand is a scale.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.14</td>
<td>yimnā bā l-yāsra tā ṭāhā dīlīfāh</td>
<td>A right hand without a left hand is powerless.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7.2</td>
<td>ʕalī qadr ṭāhaf mid ṭīlīk</td>
<td>Stretch your legs according to the coverlet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7.4</td>
<td>ṭīlīn bī-šahr w-ʔṭīlīn bī- l-garb</td>
<td>One foot in the east and one in the west.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1,000 or more results for 8 proverbs. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.5</td>
<td>rāsah ʕalā ṣakkāt bāfī ʕalā ṣalīb</td>
<td>His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.6</td>
<td>rāsah naxir</td>
<td>His head is worm-eaten/nectrotic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3</td>
<td>wajh ibn Fihrah</td>
<td>Ibn Fihra’s face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.6</td>
<td>wajh  māsūl b-maraq</td>
<td>His face is covered with broth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.8</td>
<td>yad il-ḥurr ṭīfān</td>
<td>A free man's hand is a scale.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.14</td>
<td>yimnā bā l-yāsra tā ṭāhā dīlīfāh</td>
<td>A right hand without a left hand is powerless.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7.2</td>
<td>ʕalī qadr ṭāhaf mid ṭīlīk</td>
<td>Stretch your legs according to the coverlet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7.4</td>
<td>ṭīlīn bī-šahr w-ʔṭīlīn bī- l-garb</td>
<td>One foot in the east and one in the west.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My informal survey of family and friends showed that they considered 4 proverbs to be rare. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in the Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.3.4</td>
<td>wajhi l-ˌmīgāft ʔ-l-qalb</td>
<td>A person’s face is a fitir.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2</td>
<td>xašām ʕammār fi-n-nār</td>
<td>ʕammār’s nose is in the fire.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My family and friends considered 6 proverbs to not be very common. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in the Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>rāsah w rās Šṭēlah</td>
<td>His head and Šṭēlah's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.9</td>
<td>abī rās Hammām wa kabd ʕakkūm</td>
<td>I want Hammām's head and ʕakkūm's liver.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>ukrub wajhik w-urx yidēk</td>
<td>Make your face serious and loosen your hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.4</td>
<td>tawwāf w-i-b-xašmah r'āf</td>
<td>A tawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.6</td>
<td>lsānah mibrad</td>
<td>His tongue is a file.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.4</td>
<td>yadin fi-ṣ-sōh w-yadin fi-r-raša</td>
<td>One hand on the well-edge, and one hand on the bucket-rope.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My family and friends considered 12 proverbs to be common. These proverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section in the Thesis</th>
<th>Arabic Proverb</th>
<th>Arabic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4</td>
<td>qīfṭ rās ymūt xabar</td>
<td>Cut off a head, news will die.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.6</td>
<td>rāsah naxir</td>
<td>His head is worm-eaten/necrotic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.5</td>
<td>wajhi-l-mtaġaddi bayyin</td>
<td>The face of the well-fed man is obvious.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.3</td>
<td>flān Isānah miṯrāb.</td>
<td>Someone's tongue is dirty mud.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5.4</td>
<td>flān nāṣīf Isānah ʕala kafṭah</td>
<td>His tongue is on his shoulder.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.1</td>
<td>is-sēf fi yad-d-jabān xšibah</td>
<td>The sword in a coward's hand is a piece of wood.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>daxaxaltah b-yīlī fa-qṭharni b-rījah</td>
<td>I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out with his foot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section in the Thesis</td>
<td>Arabic Proverb</td>
<td>Arabic Transcription</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>رأسٍ تقطعه ما يجيك فزاع</td>
<td>rāsin tiqṭā'ah mā yjīk fazzāʾ</td>
<td>The head you cut off will never return.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3</td>
<td>قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال لساني</td>
<td>qāl wiš qāṭṭūk yā rāsī qāl līsānī</td>
<td>The head was asked, ‘Who cut you off?’ It answered, ‘My tongue.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.5</td>
<td>رأسه على صكات بقعا صليب</td>
<td>rāsah ḍha'il šākkāt bagʿā šīlīb</td>
<td>His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.7</td>
<td>ضربةٍ في رأس غيري مثل شقٍ في جدار</td>
<td>ḍarbīṭ bin fi-rās gērī miṭṭīš šaqqīn fi-jdār</td>
<td>A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.8</td>
<td>يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى</td>
<td>yitlūm al-ḥlāqa b-rūs-līyātāmā</td>
<td>He learns to shave on the heads of orphans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.9</td>
<td>فى راسه حبٍّ ما طَحِن</td>
<td>fi rāsah ḍabbin māṭīḥān</td>
<td>His head contains beans that have not been ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.10</td>
<td>الفلوس تقلب الرؤوس</td>
<td>il-ḥlūs tiqṭūb-ir-rūs</td>
<td>Money turns heads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>وجهه يحمى قفاه</td>
<td>wajhah yḥama qufāh</td>
<td>His face protects his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3</td>
<td>وجه ابن فهره</td>
<td>wajh ibn Fihrah</td>
<td>Ibn Fihrah’s face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.6</td>
<td>وجهه معسول بمرق</td>
<td>wajhah mughāl b-maraq</td>
<td>His face is covered with broth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My family and friends considered 21 proverbs to be very common. These proverbs are:
6.4.1 خشمك منك لو كان أفنس
Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose.

6.4.5 لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشومها
Do not joke with men by touching their noses.

6.5.1 زلتين بقدمك ولا زلتين بمك
Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth.

6.5.5 اللسان مغراف القلب
The tongue is the ladle of the heart.

6.6.1 يد وفوقها يدين
One hand, on top of which are two hands.

6.6.5 يد وفوقها يدين
A right hand without a left hand is powerless.

6.7.2 على قد لحافك مد رجلك
Stretch your legs according to the coverlet.

In general, though not in all cases, the Google results and the survey results were in accord with one another. In chapter 6, I have pointed out under the discussion of the results where this was not the case. Although some proverbs are clearly rare (as seen from both the Google search and the survey results), all proverbs were known by the people surveyed.

7.3 Comparable Proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic Dialects

Of the 43 proverbs considered in this thesis, 4 are analysed twice, as they contain 2 relevant body parts. These are: i. قال وش قاطعك ياري اسي قال لسان (analysed in Section 6.2.3 for رأس, also analysed in Section 6.5.2 for لسان); ii. يميت لا يرسى تراها ضعيفة (analysed in Section 6.3.2 for رأس, also analysed in Section 6.6.11 for يد); iii. دخلته بيدي فاطهني برجل (analysed in Section 6.6.2 for يد, also analysed in Section 6.7.1 for رجل); and v. يا بدي أتعبت رجلي (analysed in Section 6.6.5 for يد, also analysed in Section 6.7.3 for رجل). While there are 43 Najdi proverbs, there are thus in total 47 analyses. The analysis of comparable proverbs in the Najdi vernacular and other dialects showed that:
i. 23 (53%) of the 43 Najdi proverbs have comparable proverbs in other dialects, while 20 (47%) do not have comparable proverbs in other dialects.

ii. The 23 Najdi proverbs which have comparable proverbs have 36 comparable proverbs. In addition, there are 17 other comparable proverbs for these Najdi proverbs given in al-ʕubūdī (1959:123, 505, 506, 560, 616, 732, 780, 781, 850, 851, 882, 920, 946, 947, 948, 949, 1134, 1135, 1241, 1242, 1545, 1547, 1548, 1680, 1681).

iii. 1 of the comparable proverbs from the other dialects falls under the category of ‘Ident.’ (i.e. identical). For comparison, al-ʕubūdī (1959) lists 3 proverbs which are identical to those examined in this thesis.

iv. 14 of the comparable proverbs from the other dialects fall under the category of ‘NS’ (i.e. nearly the same). By contrast, al-ʕubūdī (1959) lists 12 proverbs which are nearly the same as those examined in this thesis.

v. 1 of the comparable proverbs from the other dialects falls under the category of ‘Sim.WM’ (i.e. similar). By contrast, al-ʕubūdī (1959) lists 3 proverbs which are similar to those examined in this thesis.

vi. 18 of the comparable proverbs from the other dialects are categorised as ‘DWSM’ (i.e. different wording but same meaning). By contrast, al-ʕubūdī (1959) lists 3 proverbs which have different wording but the same meaning as those examined in this thesis.

The above figures indicate that despite the relative geographical and social isolation of Najd, most of the Najdi proverbs examined have at least some similarities to Arabic proverbs from other regions. The great majority of proverbs in other dialects which are similar are either nearly the same, or have the same meaning but different wording.

7.4 Origins of the Proverbs

Out of the 43 Najdi proverbs examined in this thesis, 13 (30%) have identifiable origins. 30 (70%) of the 43 Najdi proverbs examined have no identifiable source.
7.5 Specific-Element Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

i. Out of the 43 Najdi proverbs examined in this thesis (see Section 7.2), 39 (91%) involve a specific-element mode of analysis. 4 (9%) of the analyses do not have a specific-element analysis.

ii. Overall, there are 108 specific elements in the 47 analyses.

iii. 81 (77%) of all specific elements are *kināyahs*, and 22 (23%) are metaphors. This shows that the great majority of the proverbs analysed can be broken down into specific figurative elements which are smaller than the overall proverb. These specific figurative elements are typically *kināyahs* rather than metaphors.

7.6 Global Analysis: Topic, Vehicle, Grounds

i. Out of the 47 proverb analyses in this thesis, 25 (53%) involve a global analysis, while 22 (47%) do not.

ii. 19 of these analyses (40%) involve a global analysis as well as a specific-element analysis. On the other hand, 28 (60%) of these analyses do not involve a global and a specific-element analysis.

iii. 5 analyses (11%) involve a global analysis without a specific-element analysis. On the other hand, 42 analyses (89%) do not involve a global analysis without a specific-element analysis. In other words, 89% of analyses either involve only a specific-element analysis, or they involve a specific-element analysis in addition to a global analysis. This shows that most of the analysed proverbs are to be subjected to a global analysis as well as a specific-element figurative analysis.

7.7 Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor/*Kināyah* Analysis

In the subsequent sections, I will answer the following questions:

1. In which proverbs does each body part have a specific-element analysis, and is this body part a metaphor or a *kināyah*?

2. Which specific element body-part metaphors/*kināyahs* in my sample of proverbs (47 examples) are conceptual metaphors/*kināyahs*, and which are not?
3. Why is this body-part metaphor/kināyah to be regarded as either (a) a conceptual metaphor/kināyah, or (b) not a conceptual metaphor/kināyah?

The key factors which I will focus on for regarding a particular body part metaphor/kināyah as a conceptual metaphor are:

i. Frequent use in this sense. ‘Head’ in the sense of ‘life’ is a good example. This occurs 4 times, out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’ in my data, as follows: 6.2.1 رأسه ورأس شعيلة rāsah w rās Šēelah ‘his head and Šēelah’s’; 6.2.2 راس تقطعه ماجيك فزاع rāsin tiqta‘ah mā yīk fazzā‘ ‘The head you cut off will never return’; 6.2.3 قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال لساني qāl wiš qāṭ‘ik yā rāsī qāl lsānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”; and 6.2.4 قط راس يموت خبر qīṭ rās ymūt xabar ‘Cut off a head, news will die’.

ii. A clear fundamental conceptual relationship between the literal (basic) sense of the word and its figurative sense can be observed. For example, in the case of ‘head’ in the sense of ‘life’, ‘The head is the part of the body most closely associated with life – the head, as the seat of the brain, and therefore, mind – is the part of the body in which life is most evident/present’ (Section 6.2.1).

iii. Lexicalised secondary senses of the word, or a related word or phrase, which are the same as, or similar to, the metaphorical/kināyah sense of the word used in the proverb. For instance, يد in Sections 6.6.7, 6.6.13, and 6.6.14 has the sense of ‘power’. This is a secondary sense which can also be found in Arabic lexicons. According to the authoritative dictionary لسان العرب Lisan al-قارب, ‘And the hand is power’ (1997:422).

A good example where a conceptual metaphor/kināyah is not present is found in the use of ‘head’ in the sense of ‘coffee-grinder’ (Section 6.2.10). This is the case for the following reasons:

i. There is not a frequent use of ‘head’ in this sense. Thus, ‘head’ in the sense of ‘coffee-grinder’ occurs only once out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’ in my data.

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ii. There is no clear fundamental conceptual relationship between the literal (basic) sense of ‘head’ and its figurative sense ‘coffee-grinder’.

iii. There are no lexicalised secondary senses of the word, or a related word or phrase which are the same as, or similar to, the metaphorical/kināyah sense of the word رأس in Section 6.2.10 ‘coffee-grinder’.

In Section 7.7.2, I will do a corresponding analysis of the figurative-type relationship between body-part word and overall theme of the proverb.

7.7.1 Specific-Element Body-Part Conceptual Metaphor/Kināyah Analysis

In the following sections, I will answer the questions posed in Section 7.6.

7.7.1.1 In Which Proverbs does each Body Part have a Specific-Element Analysis, and is this Body Part a Metaphor or a Kināyah?

Metaphors

Specific-element body-part metaphors are relatively uncommon:

- Out of 11 proverbs in which ‘head’ occurs, there is 1 example (9%) of specific-element analyses of ‘head’ having a metaphorical sense. This is found in 6.2.10: فی راسه حب ما طحن ‘His head contains beans that have not been ground’.

- Out of 6 proverbs in which ‘face’ occurs, there are no examples (0%) of specific-element analyses of ‘face’ having a metaphorical sense.

- Out of 5 proverbs in which ‘nose’ occurs, there is 1 example (20%) of specific-element analyses of ‘nose’ having a metaphorical sense. This is found in 6.4.1: خشمك منك لو كان أفنس ‘Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose’.

- Out of the 4 proverbs in which ‘leg’ occurs, there is 1 example (25%) of a specific-element analysis of ‘leg’ having a metaphorical sense. This is found in 6.7.2: على قدر لحافك مد رجلك ‘Stretch your legs according to the coverlet’.
Kināyahs

Specific-element body-part kinayāhs are relatively common:

- Out of 11 proverbs in which ‘head’ occurs, there are 7 examples (63%) of specific-element analyses of ‘head’ having a kinayāh sense. These are 6.2.1 rāsah w rās Šēlāh ‘His head and Šēlāh’s’; 6.2.2 rāsin tiqṭa’ah mā yīlīk fazzāf ‘The head you cut off will never return’; 6.2.3 qāl wīš qāṭṭīk yā rāsī qāl Isānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’; 6.2.4 ṭaṭṭ rāsī ‘Cut off a head, news will die’; 6.2.5 rāsah alā ṣakkāt bāgīl šīlīb ‘His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities’; and 6.2.9 abī rās Ḥammūm w kābī ṣakkūm ‘I want Ḥammūm’s head and ṣakkūm’s liver’.

- Out of 6 proverbs in which ‘face’ occurs, there are 4 examples (66%) of specific-element analyses of ‘face’ having a kinayāh sense. These are 6.3.1 wajhah yhama qufāh ‘His face protects his back’; 6.3.3 wajh ibn Fihrah ‘Ibn Fihrah’s face’; 6.3.5 wajhi-l-mtaqaddātī bayyīn ‘The face of the well-fed man is obvious’; and 6.3.6 wajhah mģasūl b-marāq ‘His face is covered with broth’.

- Out of 5 proverbs in which ‘nose’ occurs, there are 3 examples (60%) of specific-element analyses of ‘nose’ having a kinayāh sense. These are 6.4.2 xāsim ẓammār fi-n-nār ‘Ẓammār’s nose is in the fire’; 6.4.3 xašim Xāmīs sāknah Iblīs ‘Xāmīs’s nose is the Devil’s house’; and 6.4.5 lā tilfiṣab ẓala-r-rjāl b-lamsī xšūmhā ‘Do not joke with men by touching their noses’.

- Out of 7 proverbs in which ‘tongue’ occurs, there are 7 examples (100%) of specific-element analyses of ‘tongue’ having a kinayāh sense. These are 6.5.1 zallitīn bi-qdimik wa-lā zallitīn b-fimik ‘Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth’; 6.5.2 qāl wīš qāṭṭīk yā rāsī qāl ṣānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’; 6.5.3 Ṣflān lsānah miɣrāb ‘Someone’s tongue is dirty mud’; 6.5.4 qāl wīš qāṭṭīk yā rāsī qāl ṣānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’.
His tongue is on his shoulder; 6.5.5
The tongue is the ladle of the heart; 6.5.6
His tongue is a file; 6.5.7
His tongue reaches around his ears.

Out of 14 proverbs in which ‘hand’ occurs, there are 9 examples (64%) of specific-element analyses of ‘hand’ having a kinayāh sense. These are 6.6.3 ‘A hand that has lost coins will never taste supper’; 6.6.6.1 ‘A hand that gives is better than a hand that takes’; 6.6.6.8 ‘A free man’s hand is a scale’; 6.6.9 ‘A hand that does not grease its moustache [i.e. does not feed itself], will be humiliated’; 6.6.10 ‘One will not obtain his desires while his hand is stingy’;

Out of the 4 proverbs in which ‘leg’ occurs, there is 1 example (25%) of a specific-element analysis of ‘leg’ having a kinayāh sense. This is 6.7.2 ‘One hand without a left hand is powerless’.

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### Table 7.1 Specific Element Body-Part Conceptual Metaphors/Kināyahs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF PROVERB (AS IT APPEARS IN CHAPTER 6)</th>
<th>SECTION IN THESIS</th>
<th>WHERE ELSE ANALYSED, IN THE CASE OF PROVERBS CONTAINING TWO BODY-PART WORDS</th>
<th>COMPLETE PROVERB</th>
<th>ENGLISH WORD</th>
<th>ARABIC WORD</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ELEMENT: FIGURATIVE SENSE</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ELEMENT: METAPHOR/KINĀYAH?</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ELEMENT: KINĀYAH/METAPHOR?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>head رأس head</td>
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<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>6.6.3</td>
<td>6.7.1</td>
<td>يد صبيت القرش يا مصطفى</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.6.4</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يد في الصوح ويد على الرشا</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>6.6.5</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يا يد من رجل رحلا يد</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>6.6.6</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يد التي تنطلي الحرا من يد التي تبخل</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.6.7</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يد التي إذا غدرت وضعها تلهمها بوسه</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>6.6.8</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يد الحجار مياسا</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>6.6.9</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يد ما تمس شارها ترى الآله مصاحباها</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.6.10</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>يد مدرك على مروة من كله شجاعة</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>6.6.11</td>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>يا يدي ووجه وسارخ يدي</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>person (dual of يد)</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>6.6.12</td>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>لي في يد ما هوب له</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>possessio n</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.6.13</td>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>يد وفوفها يدين ونين</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>power</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 7.1 shows, out of the 43 selected proverbs (47 examples), 29 are conceptual metaphors/kināyahs and 4 are not, while in the case of 14 examples, the analysis is not applicable because the body-part word in question is not a specific element in itself, but part of a larger specific element.

7.7.1.3 Why is this Body-Part Metaphor/Kināyah to be Regarded as Either (a) a Conceptual Metaphor/Kināyah, or (b) not a Conceptual Metaphor/Kināyah?

The three criteria which I have used to make this decision (cf. Section 7.7) are:

i. Frequent use in this sense.

ii. A clear fundamental conceptual relationship between the literal (basic) sense of the word and its figurative sense.

iii. Lexicalised secondary senses of the word, or a related word or phrase, which are the same as, or similar to the metaphorical/kināyah sense of the word as used in the proverb.

Not all these criteria may be fulfilled in every case. However, if at least two of these three criteria are fulfilled, I will regard the example in question as a conceptual metaphor/kināyah. In judging frequency, I have taken ‘frequent’ to mean occurring more than once in my data (I have ignored all examples which are identified as ‘not applicable’ in Table 7.1 above). The following are the results:

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.6.14</td>
<td>يمين بلا يسرى</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>power</td>
<td>kināyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>6.7.1</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>يملي يداه ضعيفة</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>6.7.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>تعليه بدين</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>6.7.3</td>
<td>6.6.5</td>
<td>رجلي بودته</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>6.7.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. ‘Head’ in the Sense of ‘Life’
I have assessed this as a conceptual *kināyah* because it fulfills all three
criteria, as follows:

*i. Frequent Use in this Sense*
‘Head’ in the sense of ‘life’ occurs 4 times, out of 11 proverbs including
the term. These include example 1 (Section 6.2.1) راسه وراس شعيلة رَاْسَهُ و
رَاْس ِشِعِیلة ‘His head and Š‘ēlah’s’; example 2 (Section 6.2.2) في مائجة فزاع
رَاسٍ تقطعه فَزَاعْ ‘A head you cut off will never return’; example 3 (Section 6.2.3)
قال وش قاطعك ياراسي قال لساني قال وش قاطعك ياراسي قال لساني ‘The head was
asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’; and example 4 (Section 6.2.4)
قط راس يموت خبر قَطْ رَأْس يمُوتُ خَبَر ‘Cut off a head, news will die’.

*ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal
(Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense*
The head is the part of the body most closely associated with life. As the
seat of the brain, and therefore, mind, it is the part of the body in which
life is most evident/present (Section 6.2.1).

*iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or
Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/kināyah Sense of the Word*
Compare the following: خطبة الحجاج في الكوفة: إني أرى رؤوسًا قد أينعت
فحان قطافها خطبة الحجاج في الكوفة: إني أرى رؤوسًا قد أينعت فحان قطافها: ‘In a
sermon delivered in Kufah, al-Ḥajjāj said, “I have seen some ripe
heads that need to be harvested.”’ This quote shows that al-Ḥajjāj
intended to end the lives of the people referred to by cutting their heads
off. Here رُؤُوسا has the sense of ‘life’.

2. ‘Head’ in the Sense of ‘Person Involved’
I have assessed this as a conceptual *kināyah* because it fulfills all three
criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in this Sense

‘Head’ in the sense of ‘the person involved’ occurs 2 times out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’. These are: example 1 (Section 6.2.5) رأسه على (5) صكات بنعا صليب rāsah ʕala șakkāt bağʕa șīlib ‘His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities’; example 2 (Section 6.2.6) رأسه نخر (6) rāsah naxir ‘His head is worm-eaten/necrotic.’

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

The head is the part of the body most closely associated with the person involved; it is used here to describe the trait of the person involved in the situation.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the same as, or similar to the Metaphorical/kināyah Sense of the Word as used in the Proverb

Compare the following: In a sermon delivered in Kufah, al-Ḥajjāj said: “I have seen some ripe heads that need to be harvested.” This citation indicates that al-Ḥajjāj sought to end the lives of the intended people. Here, ‘heads’ is used figuratively to mean ‘lives’.

3. ‘Head’ in the sense of ‘Mind’

I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense

This condition was not fulfilled, as only two occurrences can be found in my data, which are Section 6.2.10: في رأسه حبّ ما طحن fī rāsah ḥabbin mā ṭīḥin ‘His head and Šīlah’s’; Section 6.2.2: رأس تقطعه مايجيك فزاع rāsin tiqṭaʕah mā yjīk fazzāʕ ‘His head contains beans that have not been ground’.
ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense.
The head is the part of the body most closely associated with the mind, as it is the seat of the brain, and therefore, mind. It is the part of the body in which thinking is most evident/present.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are Identical or Similar to the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb
￠umar (2008:836) defines the idiom دار في رأسه ‘It turned in his head’ as meaning فكر فيه ‘he thought about it’. The head here is used as the centre of thoughts and ideas.

4. ‘Face’ in the Sense of Coffee-Grinder
I have not assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense
No.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense
No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb
No.

5. ‘Face’ in the Sense of ‘Honour’/‘Honorable Thing’
I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in this Sense

‘Face’ in the sense of ‘honour’ occurs 2 times out of 6 proverbs involving ‘face’. These include the following: example 1 (Section 6.3.1) 

\[\text{wajhah yhama qufāh} \] ‘His face protects his back’; and example 2 (Section 6.3.6) \[\text{wajhah m̄gasūl b-maraq} \] ‘His face is covered [literally: ‘washed’] with broth’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

The face is the part of the body most closely associated with honour, as it represents the person. Therefore, when a face is treated disrespectfully, it is a blow to someone’s honour.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

According to one authoritative dictionary, the verb \[\text{wajjaha aš-šaxṣ} \] ‘he faced the person’ means ‘he honoured him’ (fumār, 2008:2406). The face is used in Arabic as a verb of honouring someone.

6. ‘Face’ in the Sense of ‘Attitude’

I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in the following (Section 6.3.3) \[\text{wajh ibn Fihrah} \] ‘Ibn Fihrah’s face’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

The face is the part of the body most closely associated with attitude, as many signs of a person having an attitude are found in the face.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

The phrase سوّد الله وجهه sawwada Allahu wajhah ‘Allah blacken his face’ is used if someone does an unlawful or reprehensible act (ʕumar, 2008:2408). Therefore, the face here represents the attitude someone is being treated with. ‘Blackened his face’ shows that someone is treating the face with a bad attitude.

7. ‘Face’ in the Sense of ‘Psychological State’

I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is the following (Section 6.3.5):
وجه المتغدي بين wajhi-l-mtağaḍdi bayyin ‘The face of the well-fed man is obvious’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

The face is a part of the body closely associated with a person's psychological state, as their appearance changes depending upon his or her emotions.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

The expression طلق الوجه talq al-wajh is equivalent in meaning to متهلل و مشرق mutahallil wa mushriq, which means ‘bright faced: radiant’ (ʕumar, 2008:2408). The face here represents the psychological state of someone. ‘Bright faced’ shows that a person is at inner peace within himself.
8. ‘Face’ in the Sense of ‘Honour’
I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense
‘Face’ in the sense of ‘honour’ occurs 2 times out of 6 proverbs involving ‘face’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense
The face is the part of the body most closely associated with honour, as it represents the person. Therefore, when a face is treated disrespectfully, it is a blow to someone’s honour.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb
The verb وجّه الشخص wajjaha aš-šaxṣ is equivalent in meaning to شرفه sharrafahu ‘he honoured him’ (うこと, 2008:2406). The root وجه is used in Arabic as a type II verb meaning ‘honour’.

9. ‘Nose’ in the Sense of ‘Honour’
I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense
‘Nose’ in the sense of ‘honour’ occurs 2 times out of 4 proverbs involving ‘nose’. These are found in: 6.4.2 خشم عمار في النار xašim ʕammār fi-n-nār ‘ʕammār’s nose is in the fire’; and 6.4.5 لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشومها lā tilʕab ʕala-r-rajāl b-lamsi xšūmhā ‘Do not joke with men by touching their noses’.
**ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense**

The nose is the part of the body most closely associated with honour. It is well known in Arab culture that the nose is a symbol of honour, as found in the following Prophetic tradition: 

 قال عليه الصلاة والسلام: رغم أنف ثم رغم أنف ثم رغم أنف من أدرك أبويه عند الكبر، أحدهما أو كليهما، فلم يدخل الجنة

qāla ʕalayhi a-l-salām: raġima anfu ṭumma raġima anfu ṭumma raġima anfu man adraka abawayhi ʕinda al-kibari, aḥhadhumā aw kilayhimā, falam yadxuli al- jannah ʿThe Prophet peace be upon him said, “Let him be humbled into dust! Let him be humbled into dust! Let him be humbled into dust whose parents, one or both, attain old age during his lifetime, and he does not enter Jannah (by rendering being dutiful to them)” (Sunnah.com, 2023). Therefore, the touching of someone else’s nose is humiliation.

**iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb**

The expression كسر خشمه kāsara xašmahu ʿhe broke his nose’ is an idiom which means ‘he broke his pride, humiliated him, and caused him to be embarrassed’ (ʕumar, 2008:646). The breaking of the nose is a form of humiliation. It is well known in Islamic culture that the nose is a symbol of honour, as in the previously mentioned prophetic report.

**10. ‘Nose’ in the Sense of ‘Relative’**

I have assessed this as not a conceptual metaphor because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

**i. Frequent Use in this Sense**

No.

**ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense**

No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

11. ‘Nose’ in the Sense of ‘Personality’

I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent use in this Sense

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in Section 6.4.3: خشم: خشم ساكنه إبليس

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

The nose is a part of the body closely associated with personality. A large nose, for example, usually describes that the person is evil, as many characters – such as villains or witches – are always portrayed with large noses.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

The expression حميألفه hamiya anfuhu ‘his nose is fired up’ is used to denote, ‘He is very angry’ (Fummar, 2008:131). The heating up of the nose symbolises anger. Here, the sense of anger relates to the sense of personality, as it shows that the person whose nose heats up has anger issues in his personality.
12. ‘Tongue’ in the Sense of ‘Words/Things One Says’

I have assessed this as a conceptual *kināyah* because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

**i. Frequent Use in this Sense**

‘Tongue’ in the sense of ‘words/things one says’ occurs 7 times, out of 7 proverbs involving ‘tongue’. These include example 1 (Section 6.5.1) زلة بنقتك ولا زلة بفمك *zallitin bi-qdimik wa-lā zallitin b-fimik* ‘Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth’; example 2 (Section 6.5.2) قال وكش قاطملك يا راسي قال لساني *qāl waš qāṭṭik ya rāsī qāl Isānī* ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’; example 3 (Section 6.5.3) فلان سانه مغراب *flān lsānah miğrāb* ‘Someone’s tongue is sludge’; example 4 (Section 6.5.4) فلان ناسف لسانه على كتفه *flān nāsfin lsānah ḡala katfah* ‘He has spread his tongue on his shoulder’; example 5 (Section 6.5.5) اللسان مغراف *il-lsān miğrāfi* ‘The tongue is the ladle of the heart’; example 6 (Section 6.5.6) لسانه مبرد *lsānah mibrad* ‘His tongue is a file’; example 7 (Section 6.5.7) لسانه يلوط أذانه *lsānah yiłūṭ aḏānah* ‘His tongue reaches his ears’.

**ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense**

The tongue is the organ most centrally involved in producing speech sounds, and therefore words. The things that one says are a category of words.

**iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb**

The expression أطلق لسانه *aṭlaqa lisānah* ‘he released his tongue’ is used to imply, ‘He spoke’ (ʕumar, 2008:2009). The tongue here is represented as a tool for speech, as it is in charge of talking and communicating.
13. ‘Hand’ in the Sense of ‘Person’

I have assessed this as a conceptual *kināyah* because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

**i. Frequent Use in this Sense**

‘Hand’ in the sense of ‘person’ occurs 4 times, out of 14 proverbs involving ‘hand’. These are example 1 (Section 6.6.3) 

اليد التي تعطي أخير من اليد

_id al-yad al-tamālah:_ 

اليد التي تعطي أخير من اليد

‘A hand that has lost piastres will never taste supper’; example 2 (Section 6.6.6)

يد الحر ميزان

_yad al-hurr mīzān_ ‘A free man’s hand is a scale’; example 3 (Section 6.6.8)

يد ما تدسم

_yadin mā taddism šāribha tara’ā ḏīlī mšāḥibhā_ ‘A hand that does not grease its moustache [i.e. does not feed itself], humiliation accompanies [/is] accompanying] him’.

**ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense**

The hand is a part of the body which can represent the person involved, as it is the organ which typically does the intended physical actions of the person.

**iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb**

In this regard, one may cite the term

اليد العاملة: العمال المشتغلون بأجسادهم لا بعقولهم

_al-yad al-tamālah: al-ṣummāl al-muṣtaḍīlūn biʾajāsāmīhim lā biʾuqūlīhim_ ‘Working hand: workers who work with their bodies, not with their minds’ (Ṣumar, 2008:2509). The hand here is used to represent the person, as it does the intended work of the agent.
14. ‘Hand’ in the Sense of ‘Power’

I have assessed this as a conceptual *kināyah* because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

*i. Frequent Use in this Sense*

‘Hand’ in the sense of ‘power’ occurs 3 times, out of 14 proverbs involving ‘hand’. These are: example 1 (Section 6.6.7) *il-yadi-lī mā tiqdar tiqta’ha būshā* ‘A hand that you cannot cut off, kiss it’; example 2 (Section 6.6.13) *yad w fōgha ydēn* ‘One hand, and on top of it two hands’; example 3 (Section 6.6.14) *yimna blā yisrā trāhā ḍīfah* ‘A right hand without a left hand is powerless’.

*ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense*

The hand is the part of the body which represents the position of having power or being in control in a particular situation.

*iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb*

*Hand* has the sense of ‘power’. This is a secondary sense which can also be found in the dictionary. For instance, the expression *yadu Allāh maċa-l-jamāḥah* means ‘Allah’s Hand is with the congregation’ (Ṣumār, 2008:2509). The hand here represents power, as it shows that the strength and aid of the Powerful One sides with the people.

15. ‘Hand’ in the Sense of ‘Behaviour’

I have not assessed this as a conceptual *kināyah* because it does not fulfill any of the three criteria, as follows:

*i. Frequent Use in this Sense*

No.
ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

No.

16. ‘Hand’ in the Sense of ‘Possession’

I have assessed this as a conceptual kināyah because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in Section 6.6.12: الفي يده ما هوب له III fī yidah mā hūb lah ‘What is in his hand, he does not own’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense

The hand is the part of the body which represents the possession of something, as it is used for grabbing (taking) what one wants to have (and, by extension, possess).

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb

The expression في يدي fī yadī ‘in my hand’ is used to indicate something that one owns or has control over (ṣumar, 2008:2510). The hand here represents possession, as what is in the grip of someone is theirs.
17. ‘Hand’ in the Sense of ‘Money’
I have not assessed this as a conceptual metaphor/kināyah because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in this Sense
No.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and its Figurative Sense
No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb
No.

7.7.2 Overall Theme of Proverb: Body-Part Figurative-Type Analysis
In considering the relationship between the body-part word in a proverb and the overall theme of the proverb, it is rather artificial to make a distinction between metaphor and kināyah (or any other figurative relationship), since the association between the body part word and the overall theme of the proverb is not, properly speaking, figurative at all. Consequently, in this section I will simply refer to a ‘figurative-type’ relationship. These figurative-type relationships are analysed as follows:

Head

Out of 11 proverbs containing the word ‘head’, there are:

- 2 examples (18%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘selfishness’. These are found in 6.2.1: rāsah w rās Šēlah ‘His head and Šēlah’s’; and 6.2.7: darbitīn fi-rās gērī miṯil ṣaqqīn fi-jdār ‘A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall’.

- 2 examples (18%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘removal of threat’. These are traced in the sites of 6.2.2: rāsin
tiqāţafah mā yjīk fazzāţ ‘The head you cut off will never return’; and 6.2.4: qīţ rās ymūt xabar ‘Cut off a head, news will die’.

- 2 examples (18%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘stubbornness’. These are found in 6.2.10: fi rāsah ḥabbīn mā ṣḥīn ‘His head contains beans that have not been ground’; and 6.2.6: rāsah naxir ‘His head is worm-eaten/necrotic’.

- 1 example (9%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. This is found in 6.5.2: qāl wiṣ qāṣīk ya rāsī ṣāl līsānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’.

- 1 example (9%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘patience’. This is found in 6.2.5: rāsah ṣalā ṣakkāt bagṣā šīlīb ‘His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities’.

- 1 example (9%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘harming others’. This is the case in 6.2.8: yif‘allamī-l-ḥlāqah b-rūsī- l-yītāmā ‘He learns to shave on the heads of orphans’.

- 1 example (9%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘health’. This is found in 6.2.9: abī rās Ḥammūm w kabd ṣaḳkūm ‘I want Ḥammūm’s head and ṣaḳkūm’s liver’.

- 1 example (9%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘influence of wealth’. This is the case in 6.2.11: il-ḥlūs tiqīlibī-r-rūs ‘Money turns heads’.

**Face**

Out of 6 proverbs containing the word ‘face’, there are:

- 2 examples (33.3%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘shamelessness’. These include 6.3.3: wajh ibn Fihrah ‘Ibn Fihrah’s face’, and 6.3.6: wajhā mṣūl b-maraq ‘His face is covered with broth’.

- 1 example (16.6%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘honour’. This is found in 6.3.1: wajhah yhamā yqufāh ‘His face protects his back’.
1 example (16.6%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘defects’. This is the case in 6.3.4: 

\[ \text{wajhi-l-insān fitīr} \] ‘A person’s face is a fitīr.

1 example (16.6%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘pretence’. This is so in 6.3.5: 

\[ \text{wajhi-l-mtaḡaddī bayyīn} \] ‘The face of the well-fed man is obvious’.

1 example (16.6%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘firmness and flexibility’. This is found in 6.3.2: 

\[ \text{akrub wajhīk w-urx yīdēk} \] ‘Make your face serious and loosen your hand’.

### Nose

Out of 5 proverbs containing the word ‘nose’, there are:

- 2 examples (40%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘humiliation’. This is found in 6.4.2: 

\[ \text{xaşim ġammār fi-n-nār} \] ‘Gīmmār’s nose is in the fire’; and 6.4.5: 

\[ \text{lā tilʕab ġala-r-jāl b-lamsi xšūmhā} \] ‘Do not joke with men by touching their noses’.

- 1 example (20%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘defects’. This is so in 6.4.1: 

\[ \text{xaşim mink law kān afnas} \] ‘Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose’.

- 1 example (20%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘sedition’. This is the case in 6.4.3: 

\[ \text{xaşim Xamīs sāknah Iblīs} \] ‘Xamīs’s nose is the Devil’s house’.

- 1 example (20%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘pretence’. This is such in 6.4.4: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

### Tongue

Out of 7 proverbs containing the word ‘tongue’, there are:

- 5 examples (71%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. These include 6.5.1: 

\[ \text{zallitin bi-qdimik wa-lā zallitin b-fimik} \] ‘Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth’; 6.5.2: 

\[ \text{qāl wiš qāṭīk ya rāsī qāl Isānī} \] ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’; 6.5.3: 

\[ \text{flan lṣāntī mughrāb} \] ‘Flan’s tongue is a snare’.

- 2 examples (29%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘humility’. This is so in 6.5.3: 

\[ \text{zallitin b-mašīrūn} \] ‘Better a slip of your foot than a slip of your mouth’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘pretence’. This is such in 6.5.4: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. This is such in 6.5.5: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. This is such in 6.5.6: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘sedition’. This is the case in 6.5.7: 

\[ \text{xaşim Xamīs sāknah Iblīs} \] ‘Xamīs’s nose is the Devil’s house’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘pretence’. This is such in 6.5.8: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. This is such in 6.5.9: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘sedition’. This is the case in 6.5.10: 

\[ \text{xaşim Xamīs sāknah Iblīs} \] ‘Xamīs’s nose is the Devil’s house’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘pretence’. This is such in 6.5.11: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. This is such in 6.5.12: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘sedition’. This is the case in 6.5.13: 

\[ \text{xaşim Xamīs sāknah Iblīs} \] ‘Xamīs’s nose is the Devil’s house’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘pretence’. This is such in 6.5.14: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

- 1 example (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘hurtful words’. This is such in 6.5.15: 

\[ \text{ṭawwāf wi-b-xašmah rẓāf} \] ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.
flān Isānah miğrāb ‘Someone’s tongue is dirty mud’; 6.5.4: لسانه على:
flān nāsfin Isānah ʕala kattah ‘His tongue is on his shoulder’; and 6.5.6: لسانه مبرد: Isānah mibrad ‘His tongue is a file’.

- 1 example (14.5%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘expression of emotion’. This is the case in 6.5.5: اللسان مغراف القلب: Il-Isān miğrāf-i-l-qalb ‘The tongue is the ladle of the heart’.
- 1 example (14.5%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘garrulousness’. This is found in 6.5.7: لسانه يلوط أذانه: Isānah yilūṭ aḏānah ‘His tongue reaches around his ears’.

**Hand**

Out of 14 proverbs containing the word ‘hand’, there are:

- 2 examples (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘prodiagality’. These are found in 6.6.3: يد ضيعت القرش ما تذوق العشاء: Yadin dayyaṯati-l-qirš mā tiḏūq-l-ʕaša ‘A hand that has lost coins will never taste supper’; and 6.6.12: الي في يده ما هوب له: Illī fī yidah mā hub lah ‘What he has, he does not own’.
- 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘competence’. This is the case in 6.6.1: السيف في يد الجبان خشبة: Is-sēf fi l-jabān xšibah ‘The sword in a coward’s hand is a piece of wood’.
- 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘respect and disrespect’. This is the case in 6.6.2: دخلته بيدي فاظهرني برجله: Daxxaltah b-yidi fa-ḏ̟harni b-rijah ‘I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot]’.
- 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘taking precautions’. This is the case in 6.6.4: يد في الصوح ويد في الرش: Yadin fi-ṣ-ṣōh w-yadin fi-r-raša ‘One hand on well-edge, and the other on the bucket-rope’.
- 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘restoration of property (lending)’. This is found in 6.6.5: يا يدي أنعتي رجلي: Ya yidi atʕabti ri[jli ‘My hand, you have made my legs tired’.

119 example (14.5%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘expression of emotion’. This is the case in 6.5.5: للسان مغراف القلب: Il-Isān miğrāf-i-l-qalb ‘The tongue is the ladle of the heart’.

1 example (14.5%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘garrulousness’. This is found in 6.5.7: لسانه يلوط أذانه: Isānah yilūṭ aḏānah ‘His tongue reaches around his ears’.

Hand

Out of 14 proverbs containing the word ‘hand’, there are:

- 2 examples (14%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘prodiagality’. These are found in 6.6.3: يد ضيعت القرش ما تذوق العشاء: Yadin dayyaṯati-l-qirš mā tiḏūq-l-ʕaša ‘A hand that has lost coins will never taste supper’; and 6.6.12: الي في يده ما هوب له: Illī fī yidah mā hub lah ‘What he has, he does not own’.
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- 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘restoration of property (lending)’. This is found in 6.6.5: يا يدي أنعتي رجلي: Ya yidi atʕabti ri[jli ‘My hand, you have made my legs tired’.

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• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘helpfulness’. This is the case in 6.6.6: 

اليد الي تعطي أخير من اليد الي تأخذ: al-yad illī tiṣṭī ayyar min il-yad illī tāxisd ‘A hand that gives is better than a hand that takes’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘acceptance of power’. This is found in 6.6.7: 

اليد الي ما تقدر تقطعها بوسها: il-yadi-l-lī mà tiqdar tiqtašha būshā ‘A hand that you cannot cut off, kiss it’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘moral autonomy’. This is established in 6.6.8: 

يد الحفر ميزان: yadi-l-ḥurr mīzān ‘A free man’s hand is a scale’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘humiliation’. This is the case in 6.6.9: 

يد ما تدسم شاربها تری الذل مصاحبها: yadin mā tdassim šāribha tara-d-gilli mṣāhibhā ‘A hand that does not grease its moustache [i.e. does not feed itself], will be humiliated’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘miserliness’. This is observed in 6.6.10: 

مايدرك مرامه من كفه شحيحه: mā yidrik marāmah min kaffah šiḥīhah ‘One will not obtain his desires while his hand is stingy’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘firmness and flexibility’. This is found in 6.6.11: 

اكرب وجهك وارخ يديك: Ukrub wajhik w-urx yidek ‘Make your face serious and loosen your hand’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘generosity’. This is so in 6.6.12: 

الي في يده ما هوب له: Illī fī yidah mā hub lah ‘What he has, he does not own’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘power’. This is found in 6.6.13: 

ياد وفوقها يدين: yad w fōgha ydēn ‘One hand, on top of which are two hands’.

• 1 example (7%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘cooperation’. This is established in 6.6.14: 

يمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة: Yimna blā yisrā trāhā diṭīfah ‘A right hand without a left hand is powerless’.

Leg

Out of 4 proverbs containing the word ‘leg’, there is:

• 1 example (25%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘disorganisation’. This is so in 6.7.4: 

رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب: Rijlin bi-š-šarq w-rijin bi-l-ğarb ‘One foot in the east and one in the west’.
• 1 example (25%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘financial prudence’. This is found in 6.7.2: ًَٰلا qadr َّقاف mid rijlik ‘Stretch your legs according to the coverlet’.

• 1 example (25%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘respect and disrespect’. This is observed in 6.7.1 دخْلَته بَيْدِ فَظِهُرْنِي بَرْجُنَّ َٰداَخْالَتَه فلا-َّقَفَنَتَي بَرْجُنَّ ‘I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot]’.

• 1 example (25%) where the proverb has the overall theme of ‘restoration of property’. This is found in 6.7.3: َّأَي َّدْيِي أَتْعَبَت رَجْلُي َٰيَا يَدِي أَتْعَبَت رَجْلُي ‘My hand, you have made my legs tired’.

I will now consider which of these examples are conceptual, and which are not.

7.7.2.1 Which Global Figurative-Type Relationships in the 43 Selected Proverbs (47 examples) are Conceptual, and Which Are Not?

The answers to this question are provided in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 Global Body-Part Figurative-Type Relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF PROVERB (AS IT APPEARS IN CHAPTER 6)</th>
<th>SECTION IN THIS (WHERE ELSE ANALYZED, IN THE CASE OF PROVERBS CONTAINING TWO BODY-PART WORDS)</th>
<th>COMPLETE PROVERB</th>
<th>ENGLISH WORD</th>
<th>ARABIC WORD</th>
<th>OVERALL THEME OF PROVERB</th>
<th>GLOBAL ANALYSIS: CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>selfishness</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>removal of threat</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.2.3 6.5.2</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>hurtful words</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.2.4</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>removal of threat</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.2.5</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>patience</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.2.6</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>stubbornness</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.2.7</td>
<td>head راس</td>
<td>selfishness</td>
<td>راس</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Part of Speech</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Tag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>harming others</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>رأس روس وهو</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>health</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>رأسه من يرخصه ما طفح</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>stubbornness</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>الفسق تلقي الروس</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>wealth (influence of wealth)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>وجهه يحمى قفاه</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>honour</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>يكرب وجهك وأرخ يديك</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>firmness and flexibility</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>وجه لا يعنى بالرجل مخالفة</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>shamelessness</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>وجهه مغول بصرف</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>shamelessness</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>خشمك منك لو كان أفنس</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>defects</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>خشم عمار في النار</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>humiliation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>خشم خميس ساكنه إبليس</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>sedition</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>طواف وبخشمه رعاف</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>pretence</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشومها</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>humiliation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>زلة بقدمك ولا زلة بفمك</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>hurtful words</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>hurtful words</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>فلان لسانه مغراب</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>hurtful words</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>فلان ناسف لسانه على كتفه</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>hurtful words</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>اللسان مغراف القلب</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>emotion (expression of emotion)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>لسانه مبرد</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>hurtful words</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>لسانه يلوط أذانه</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>garrulousness</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>اليد الي تعطي أخير من اليد الي تأخذ</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>competence</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>اليد الي ما تقدر تقطعها بوسها</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>humiliation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>اليد الي مهمة من اليد الي تاخذ</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>helpfulness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>يد الحر ميزان</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>moral autonomy</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>يد النافذة في يده ما هوب له</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>generosity/prodigality</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>يد وفوقها يدين</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>power (acceptance of power)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>يد في الصوح ويد في الرشا</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>taking precautions</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>يد في الصحو ويد في الرشا</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>respect and disrespect</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>البشاور في يده والغراد في يده</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>restoration of property</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>يد في الصوح ويد في الرشا</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>restitution</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>يد في الصوح ويد في الرشا</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>cooperation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 7.2 shows, out of the 43 selected proverbs (47 examples), 22 involve global figurative-type relationships between the body-part in question and the overall theme of the proverb, and 25 do not.
7.7.2.2 Why is this Figurative-Type Relationship to be Regarded as Either (a) Conceptual, or (b) Not Conceptual?
As with the specific-element analysis (Section 7.7.1.2), the three criteria which I have used to make this decision are:

i. Frequent use in the sense of the overall theme of the proverb.
ii. A clear fundamental conceptual relationship between the literal (basic) sense of the word and the overall theme of the proverb.
iii. Lexicalised secondary senses of the word, or a related word or phrase, which are the same as, or similar to, the overall theme of the proverb.

As with the specific-element analysis (Section 7.7.1.2), not all these criteria may be fulfilled in all cases. However, if at least two of these three criteria are fulfilled, I will regard the example in question as a conceptual figurative-type relationship. In judging frequency, I have taken 'frequent' to mean occurring more than once in my data. The following are the results:

1. ‘Head’ in relation to ‘Selfishness’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfils only one of the three criteria, as follows:

   i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
‘Head’ in relation to ‘selfishness’ as the overall theme of the proverb occurs 2 times, out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’. These are found in 6.2.1: رأسه : rāsah w rās Šcēlah ‘His head and Šcēlah’s’; and 6.2.7: ضربة في رأس غيري مثل شق في جدار : ḏarbitin fi-rās ġērī miṯil ᵡaqqin fi-jdār ‘A blow on someone else’s head is like a crack in a wall’.

   ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, Which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

2. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Removal of Threat’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
‘Head’ in relation to ‘removal of threat’ as the overall theme of the proverb occurs 2 times, out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’. These are found in 6.2.2: 

\[ \text{راس تقطعه ما يجيك فزع} \]  

‘A head you cut off will never return’; and 6.2.4:

\[ \text{قط راس يموت خبر} \]  

‘Cut off a head, news will die’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
The head is the seat of the brain. Thus, when there is no head no harm can be done.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Metaphorical/Kināyah Sense of the Word as Used in the Proverb
No.

3. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Hurtful Words’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills only one of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
‘Head’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘hurtful words’ occurs 1 time, out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’. This is found in 6.2.3:

\[ \text{قال وش} \]
قاطعك يا راسي قال لسانى َ 'The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

4. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Patience’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.2.5: رأسه على سكاك َ بقعا صليب rāsah َ fālā َ šakkāt bagā َ šilīb ‘His head is durable in the face of accidents/calamities’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The head is the container of ideas. Therefore, a person in challenging situations must not surrender to his current thoughts but be patient and defy them.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.
5. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Stubbornness’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

   i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
   ‘Head’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘stubbornness’ occurs 2 times, out of 11 proverbs involving ‘head’. These are found in 6.2.6: رأسه نخر rāsah naxir ‘His head is worm-eaten/necrotic’; and 6.2.10: في رأسه حب ما في رأسه طحن fī rāsah ḥabbin ẓāhūn ‘His head contains beans that have not been ground’.

   ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
   The head is the organ responsible for receiving ideas, which a stubborn person will refuse to comply with.

   iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
   The expression ركبة رأسه rakaba raʾsahu ‘he rode his head’ is used as an idiom to mean ‘he was stubborn, obstinate, and persisted upon his view without any deliberation’ (Fumar, 2008:836).

6. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Harming Others’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfill any of the three criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.2.8: يتعلم الحلاقة بروس اليتامى yitallami-l-ḥlāqah b-rūsi- l-yitāmā ‘He learns to shave on the heads of orphans’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The brain is alluded through the following idiomatic phrase: ضربه على أم رأسه ḍarabahu ʕalā ummi raʾsih ‘He hit him on the mother of his head’ (Ụmar, 2008:836). The head represents harming others since when it is struck it can result in severe health complications.

7. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Health’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have not assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfils only one of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.2.9: أبى راس حموم و كبد عكوم abī rās Ḥammūm w kabd ẓakkūm ‘I want Ḥammūm’s head and ẓakkūm’s liver’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

8. ‘Head’ in Relation to ‘Wealth (Influence of Wealth)’

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.2.11: 
الفئوس تقلب: الالعيش tiqlib-ir-rūs ‘Money turns heads’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

9. ‘Face’ in Relation to ‘Honour’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfils only one of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data).
ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The face is the part of the body most closely associated with honour, as it represents the person. Therefore, when a face is treated disrespectfully, it is a blow to someone’s honour.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The idiomatic phrase وَجْهُ الشَّخْصِ wajjaha aš-šaxṣ is used to denote شَرْفَهُ sharrafahu ‘he honoured him’ (Qumar, 2008:2406). The root وَجْهَ w-j-h, from which وَجْهُ ‘face’ is derived, is used to also form a pattern II verb, which means ‘to honour’.

10. ‘Face’ in Relation to ‘Firmness and Rigidity’ as Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have not assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.3.2: إِكْرَبْ وَجْهَكَ وَارْخَ يِدِيكَ ukrub wajhik w-urx yidēk ‘Tighten your face and loosen your hands’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.
11. ‘Face’ in Relation to ‘Shamelessness’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

‘Face’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘shamelessness’ occurs 2 times, out of 6 proverbs involving ‘face’. These include 6.3.3: وجه ابن فهرة wajh ibn Fihrah ‘Ibn Fihra’s face’; and 6.3.6 وجهه مغسول بمرق wajjah mġasūl b-maraq ‘His face is covered [literally: ‘washed’] with broth’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The face is the body part responsible for showing facial expressions, which reveal how a person reacts to a situation. Therefore, when a person does not react to certain sensitive situations, they can be considered shameless.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The idiomatic expression أراق ماء وجهه arāq māʾa wajhihi ‘He poured the water of his face’ is used to mean ‘he humiliated himself and wasted his modesty and dignity’ (‘umar, 2008:2408). When a person disrespects his own face it is a humiliation of his self. Therefore, it is invoked as a representation of shamelessness.

12. ‘Face’ in Relation to ‘Defects’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is: 6.3.4. wajhi-l-insān fitir ‘A person’s face is a fitir’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

13. ‘Face’ in Relation to ‘Pretence’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.3.5: wajhi-l-mtaḡaddī bayyin ‘The face of the well-fed man is obvious’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

14. ‘Nose’ in Relation to ‘Defects’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is the case in 6.4.1: خشمك لو كان أفنس xašmik mink law kān afnas ‘Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

15. ‘Nose’ in Relation to ‘Humiliation’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

‘Nose’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘humiliation’ occurs 2 times, out of 5 proverbs involving ‘nose’. These are found in 6.4.2: خشم عمار xašim ʕammār fi-n-nār ‘ʕammār’s nose is in the fire’; and 6.4.5: لا تلعب على الرجال بلمس خشم lā tilʕab ʕala-r-rjāl b-lamsi xšūmhā ‘Do not joke with men by touching their noses’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The nose is the part of the body most closely associated with honour. It is well known in Arab culture that the nose is a symbol of honour. قال عليه الصلاة والسلام: رغم أنف ثم رغم أنف ثم رغم أنف من أدرك أبوه عند الكبر، أحدهما أو كليهما، فلم يدخل الجنة qāla ʕalayhi assalām: rağima anfu ʕumma rağima anfu ʕumma rağima anfu man adraka abawayihī ʕinda al-kibari, aḥaduhumā aw kilayhimā, falam
yadxuli al-jannah ‘The Prophet peace be upon him said, “Let him be humbled into dust; let him be humbled into dust; let him be humbled into dust, namely the one whose parents, one or both, attain old age during his life time, and he does not enter Jannah (by being dutiful to them)”’ (Sunnah.com, 2023). Therefore, the touching of someone else’s nose is a form of humiliation.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

رَعِيَتْ أَنفُهُ ‘Let him be humbled into dust: humiliation’ is a key proverb that may be cited here (ʕumar, 2008:131). The lowering of the nose into the dust is a form of humiliation. It is well known in Islamic culture that the nose is a symbol of honour, as found in the previously mentioned Prophetic tradition.

16. ‘Nose’ in Relation to ‘Pretence’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.4.4: الطَّوَافِ وَبِخَشْمِهِ ‘A ṭawwāf in whose nose is a bloodstone’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.
17. ‘Nose’ in Relation to ‘Defects’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.4.1: خشمك منك لو كان: xašmik mink law kān afnas ‘Your nose is still yours even if it is a snub nose’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

18. ‘Tongue’ in Relation to ‘Hurtful Words’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

‘Tongue’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘hurtful words’ occurs 5 times, out of 7 proverbs involving ‘tongue’. These are 6.5.1: زلة قال وش قاطعك يا راسي قال لساني: qāl wiš qāṭṭik yā rasī qāl lsānī ‘The head was asked, “Who cut you off?” It answered, “My tongue”’; 6.5.2: فلان لسانه مغراب: flān lsānah miğrāb ‘Someone’s tongue is sludge’; 6.5.3: فلان ناسف لسانه على كتفه: flān nāsfin lsānah ʕala katfah ‘He has spread his tongue on his shoulder’; and 6.5.4: لسانه مبرد: lsānah mibrad ‘His tongue is a file’.
ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The tongue is the organ most centrally involved in producing speech sounds, and therefore words; hurtful words are a type of words.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

قال معاذ بن جبل رضي الله عنه: يا رسول الله و إنّا لمؤاخذون بما نتكلم به؟ قال: تكلتك أمك! وهل يكتب الناس في النار على وجوههم إلا حصائد ألسنتهم؟ qāla Muʿāḍ bin Jabal raḍiya Allahu ʿanhu: yā rasūla Allāh wa innā la-muʿāxaqūna bi-mā natakallamu bih? Qāl: ṭakalatka ummuk! Wa hal yukabbu an-nāsu fi-n-nāri ʿalā wujūhihim ʾillā ḥaṣāʿa ʾida alṣinatihim? ‘Muṣād bin Jabal (may Allah be pleased with him) reported: “O Messenger of Allah! Shall we really be accounted for what we talk about?” He replied, “May your mother lose you! People will be thrown on their faces into Hell on account of their tongues”’ (Sunnah.com, 2023).

19. ‘Tongue’ in Relation to ‘Emotion (Expression of Emotion)’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

اللسان مغراف القلب: 5.5: il-Isān miḡrāfī-l-qalb ‘The tongue is the ladle of the heart’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

20. ‘Tongue’ in Relation to ‘Garrulousness’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills all three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.5.7: لسانه يلوط آذانه: ‘His tongue reaches his ears’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The tongue is the organ most centrally involved in producing speech sounds, and therefore words.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The following Arabic idiom can be mentioned in this regard: قد افترش لسانه: إذا تكلم بماء شاء ‘He spread his tongue’ [is a phrase used] when a person says whatever he wants’ (‘umar, 2008:2009). The tongue here is represented as a tool of speech, as it is centrally involved in talking and communicating.

21. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Competence’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.5.1: السيف في يد الجبان : is-sēf fi yadi-l-jabān xšibah ‘The sword in a coward’s hand is a piece of wood’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The hand is the body part responsible for performing technical actions or operations.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The following Arabic idiom can be mentioned in this regard: مهارتها في العمل xiffa-tul-yad: mahāratuhā fī al-ʕamal ‘Sleight of hand: skilfulness in doing things’ (Qūmar, 2008:2510). The hand is responsible for performing actions. Therefore, when someone is skilled, the hand is portrayed as having the sense of competence.

22. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Respect and Disrespect’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.2: دخلته يدي فأظهرني برجله daxxaltah b-yidī fa-ḏhamnī b-rijlah ‘I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot]’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

23. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Prodigality’ (and ‘Generosity/Prodigality’) as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

‘Hand’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘prodigality’ occurs 2 times, out of 14 proverbs involving ‘hand’. These are found in 6.6.3: يَد ضَيُّعت الْقَرْشَ مَا تَذْوِقِ اللَّيْلَةِ ‘A hand that has lost piastre will never taste supper’; and 6.6.12: يَدِهَا مَا هُوَب لَهُ ‘What is in his hand, he does not own’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The hand is the body part responsible for giving and receiving, and prodigality is an uncontrolled form of giving.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The idiomatic phrase طَلِق الْيِدَينُ talqū-l-yadayn ‘open-handed’ confers the meaning of benevolent, kind, and easy-going (Contur, 2008:2509-2510). The hand here gives a sense of generosity.

24. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Taking Precautions’ as the Overall Theme of this Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfill any of the three criteria, as follows:
i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.4: 

\[
\text{yadin fi-ṣ-ṣōḥ w-yadin fi-r-raša} \quad \text{‘One hand on the well-edge, and one hand on the bucket-rope’}. 
\]

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

25. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Restoration of Property’ as Overall Theme of this Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.5: 

\[
\text{yā yidi atʕabti rijli} \quad \text{‘My hand, you have made my legs tired’}. 
\]

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

26. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Helpfulness’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.6: لاميد الي تعطي أخير il-yad illī tiʿţī axyar min il-yad illī tāxīd ‘A hand that gives is better than a hand that takes’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
The hand is the part of the body which is used most to perform the most essential of tasks, and therefore aids people in their physical needs.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
In this context, the following idiom can be mentioned: أعطي يده لفلان: ساعدك أثاث ياداهу ليفلان: ساعدك ‘He gave his hand to someone, he helped him’ (Qumar, 2008:2509). The hand is responsible for performing actions that involve other people. Therefore, it represents helpfulness as it is the instrument used for aiding others.
27. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Power (Acceptance of Power)’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
‘Hand’ in relation to the overall theme of the proverb ‘power (acceptance of power)’ occurs 2 times, out of 14 proverbs involving ‘hand’. These are: 6.6.7: il-yaḍi-l-ʾiyādāt tīqdar tīqṣatāḥā būshā ‘A hand that you cannot cut off, kiss it’; and 6.6.13: yaḍ w fōgha ydēn ‘One hand, and on top of it two hands’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
The hand is the part of the body which gives people the greatest physical control over their immediate surroundings; it therefore represents the position of having power or being in control in a particular situation.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

28. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Moral Autonomy’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfill any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.8: yaḍi-l-ḥurr mīzān ‘A free man’s hand is a scale’.
ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

29. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Humiliation’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.9: 

يد ما تدسم شاربها: يد ما تدسم شاربها tara-ḍ-gilli mṣāḥibā ‘A hand that does not grease its moustache [i.e. does not feed itself], humiliation accompanies [/is accompanying] him’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The hand is the body part most centrally responsible for performing physical activities. Therefore, when a hand does not put in enough effort, it is seen as a form of humiliation to the worker.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

In this context, the following idiom can be mentioned: 

غلط يداه: عجز عن التصرف: ُحِلَّت يدَاهُ: تَعَافَت يَدَانِ التِّارِضُ ‘His hands were tied: he was unable to act’ (Gumār, 2008:2510). When a person has his hands tied, it means that he is immobilised and unable to retaliate.
29. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Miserliness’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

\textit{i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb}

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.10: ما يدرك مرامه من يده شحيحة mā yidrik marāmah min kaffah šīḥīḥah ‘One will not obtain one’s desires from a stingy hand’.

\textit{ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb}

The hand is the body part responsible for giving and receiving. Therefore, when a hand hoards away what it gains from its efforts, the person is being miserly.

\textit{iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb}

In this context, the following idiom can be mentioned: قبض يده عن كذا: امتنع عن فعل الخير, بخل qabaḍa yadahu ẓan kaḍā: intinaṣa ẓan fiṣl al-ṣayr, baxila ‘He retained his hand from such-and-such: he refrained from doing good; he was miserly’ (Ṣumar, 2008:2510). The hand is a means of giving and keeping. The open hand gives to others, whereas the clasped hand does not. Therefore, when the hand does not give, it is a sign of miserliness.
30. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Firmness and Flexibility’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have not assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.11: اكرب وجهك وارح يديك ukrub wajhik w-urx yidēk ‘Make your face serious and loosen your hand’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No.

31. ‘Hand’ in Relation to ‘Cooperation’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it fulfills two of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.6.14: يمنى بلا يسرى تراها ضعيفة yimnä blā yisrā trāhā dīfīfa ‘A right hand without a left hand is powerless’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb
The hand is the body part most involved in physically linking up with other people (e.g. by holding hands). It is by figurative extension crucial for making alliances to accomplish a shared goal.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

The following idiom can be mentioned under this heading: وضع يده في يده: wadaqa yadahu fi yadihi: taqawana ma‘hu ‘He [i.e. the first person] put his hand in his [i.e. the second person’s] hand: he cooperated with him’ (Tumar, 2008:2510). This shows that two hands join to perform an action, which is a representation of cooperation.

32. ‘Leg’ in Relation to ‘Respect and Disrespect’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb

I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.7.1: دخلته بيدهي فأظهرني: daxxaltah b-yidī fa-q̣āmī b-rijlah ‘I took him with my hand, then he kicked me out [with his foot’.

ii. A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.
33. ‘Leg’ in Relation to ‘Financial Prudence’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. *Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb*
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.7.2: على قدر لحافك مد رجلك ّala qadr lḥāfik midd rjlik ‘According to the size of your coverlet, stretch your leg’.

ii. *A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb*
No.

iii. *Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb*
No.

34. ‘Leg’ in Relation to ‘Disorganisation’ as the Overall Theme of the Proverb
I have assessed this as not a conceptual figurative-type relationship because it does not fulfil any of the three criteria, as follows:

i. *Frequent Use in Relation to the Overall Theme of the Proverb*
No (only one occurrence in my data). This is found in 6.7.4: رجل بالشرق ورجل بالغرب rjlin bi-š-šarq w-rjlin bi-l-ğarb ‘One foot in the east and one foot in the west’.

ii. *A Clear Fundamental Conceptual Relationship Between the Literal (Basic) Sense of the Word and the Overall Theme of the Proverb*
No.
iii. Lexicalised Secondary Senses of the Word, or a Related Word or Phrase, which are the Same as, or Similar to, the Overall Theme of the Proverb

No.

7.8 Summary

This chapter has analysed in detail the results of the data in Chapter 6 through the use of bayān (tropes) and conceptual metaphor analysis of selected Najdi human body-part proverbs. I considered the following aspects for each proverb: commonness of the proverb, using Google search results and an informal survey (Section 7.2); comparable proverbs in Najdi and other Arabic dialects (Section 7.3); the origin of the proverb (Section 7.4); specific-element analysis in terms of bayān (tropes) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Section 7.5); global analysis (Section 7.6); and body-part conceptual metaphor/kināyah analysis (Section 7.7). All of this enabled me to provide answers to the research questions, which will be presented in the following chapter.
Chapter 8
Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the thesis. Section 8.2 presents a discussion of the main findings in terms of the research questions established in Section 1.11. Section 8.3 provides the conclusions of the study in the context of the contributions to knowledge, Section 8.4 considers the study limitations, and Section 8.5 draws the thesis to a close with recommendations for future research.

8.2 Discussion

The research questions presented in Chapter 1 will be re-examined in this section to ensure that the key study findings are clarified.

8.2.1 Research Question 1: What are the Frequencies of the Different Arabic Figures of Speech found in Human Body-Part Proverbs in Najdi Arabic?

These figures were arrived at from the specific-element traditional Arabic figurative analysis (Section 7.7.1). The results show that:

– Kinayāḥ is the most common trope in human-head proverbs, being found a total of seven times.
– Kināyah is the most common trope in human-face proverbs, being found a total of four times.
– Kināyah is the most common trope in the human-nose proverbs, being found a total of three times.
– Kināyah is the most common trope in human-tongue proverbs, being found a total of seven times.
– Kināyah is the most common trope in human-hand proverbs, being found a total of nine times.
– ‘Not applicable’ is the most common result in human-leg proverbs, being found a total of three times.
– Metaphor is present in human-head proverbs, being found once.
– Metaphor is not present in human-face proverbs.
– Metaphor is present in human-nose proverbs, being found once.
– Metaphor is not present in human-tongue proverbs.
– Metaphor is not present in human-hand proverbs.
– Metaphor is present in human-leg proverbs, being found once.

These results are diagrammed in Figures 8.1-8.6 below.

**Figure 0.1** Arabic tropes in human-head proverbs
Figure 8.2 Arabic tropes in human-face proverbs

Figure 0.3 Arabic tropes in human-nose proverbs
Figure 8.4 Arabic tropes in human-tongue proverbs

Figure 8.5 Arabic tropes in human-hand proverbs
8.2.2 Research Question 2: What is the Most Frequent Figure of Speech in all Body Parts?

The answer to this question was arrived at after analysing the figures of speech in the specific-element analysis (Chapter 6, which was summarised in Section 7.7.1) and determining which figure of speech was most frequent. *Kināyah* is the most common Arabic trope in the analysed Najdi human body-part proverbs. As previously mentioned, one of the goals of *kināyah* is brevity (*al-Ṭa‘ālibī, 2016:357*), and it appears that *kināyah* is found in traditional folklore to a greater extent than in CA due to the tendency of the colloquial to reflect the day-to-day requirements of life. According to *al-Šammarî* (2015), popular proverbs have a solid relationship with rhetorical style, and it is not far from right to see that popular proverbs came out of the coat of *kināyah*. Just as proverbs were directly associated with wisdom and philosophy, they were closely associated with *kināyah*. In contrast, the requirements of CA call for deliberation in the selection of terms and accuracy regarding linguistic rules. It can thus be concluded that the Najdi human body-part proverbs examined in Chapter 6 have a close relationship with the concept of *kināyah*. 
8.2.3 Research Question 3: What are the Frequencies of Different Figurative Meanings for Each Human Body-Part Proverb?

The answer to this question was arrived at after looking at the specific element in body-part conceptual metaphor analysis in Chapter 6, which has been summarised in Section 7.7.1.3. The following figures show the figurative meanings of each body part examined in my data.

Figure 0.7 The figurative meaning of ‘head’ in the Najdi proverbs
Figure 8.8 The figurative meaning of ‘face’ in the Najdi proverbs

Figure 0.9 The figurative meaning of ‘nose’ in the Najdi proverbs
Figure 0.10 The figurative meaning of ‘tongue’ in the Najdi proverbs

Figure 8.11 The figurative meaning of ‘hand’ in the Najdi proverbs
8.2.4 Research Question 4: What is the Most Frequent Figurative Meaning of Each Body Part?

The answer to this question was arrived at on the basis of the specific element conceptual metaphor analysis conducted in Chapter 6, which has been summarised in Section 7.7.1.3:

- ‘Life’ is the most common figurative meaning in the human-head proverbs, being found a total of four times.
- ‘Honour’ is the most common figurative meaning in the human-face proverbs, being found a total of two times.
- ‘Honour’ is the most common figurative meaning in the human-nose proverbs, being found a total of two times.
- ‘Words / things one says’ is the most common figurative meaning in the human-tongue proverbs, being found a total of seven times.
- ‘Person’ is the most common figurative meaning in the human-hand proverbs, being found a total of four times.
- ‘Money’ is the most common figurative meaning in the human-leg proverbs, being found a total of one time.
8.3 Contributions of the Study

This is the first analytical study that explores Najdi human body-part proverbs from two theoretical frameworks, namely Conceptual Metaphor Theory and bayān (tropes). Besides offering supplementary support for the generalisation of conceptual metaphors for body parts, the findings of this study also simplify and streamline our understanding of Najdi human body-part proverbs. To express the implication of abstract concepts, parts of the body are employed in Najdi human proverbs as a real conceptual domain, a process which also occurs in many other languages.

Further studies of human body-part proverbs across other regions of Saudi Arabia such as the Hijaz and Southern provinces could also benefit from this study. In the context of Najdi human body-part proverbs and in the absence of dictionaries for Najdi Arabic proverbs, the most appropriate sources to collect these proverbs were al-Juhaymān (1980) and al-ʕubūdī (1959). Therefore, not only were the proverbs and their figurative meanings that feature in this thesis successfully collected using these sources, but the research has also shed light on many possible future approaches to these proverbs, which fall outside the scope of the present work.

8.4 Limitations of the Study

Only Najdi proverbs involving six parts of the body were explored; this was done to ensure that each body part could be explored in sufficient depth. Therefore, the results and conclusions are limited to this set of proverbs. The study analysis could be extended through the inclusion of other human body-part proverbs.

8.5 Recommendations of the Study

This study recommends the collection of proverbs from other regions of Saudi Arabia – achievable through the practical framework that has been developed here – to examine the proverbs using bayān (tropes). A number of future studies will be significantly facilitated by this framework, such as the assessment of additional body-part proverbs from Najd, another Saudi region or province, or Arabic human body-part proverbs in general.
This study has demonstrated that the Islamic culture is firmly embedded within the structure of Najdi human body-part proverbs, and further analysis could explore the influence of religion on the proverbs used in other regions or countries.

8.6 Concluding Remarks

The analysis of Najdi human body-part proverbs using Conceptual Metaphor Theory and bayān (tropes) demonstrates that human understanding often involves the figurative use of words that refer to the human body and its interactions at the local and global levels. Conventional knowledge as well as bayān (tropes) provide insights into Najdi human body-part proverbs. To gain insight into the abstract domains (e.g. activities, emotions, behaviour, people, and so forth), the parts of the body have been employed as source domains. Najdi Arabic speakers rely on personification and culture to understand human body-part proverbs and their figurative meanings. Valid evidence of the interconnected nature of the relationship between cognition, language, culture, and the body is therefore provided by this research. At a baseline level, various human communities around the world invoke and employ a similar range of symbols and metaphors in their daily speech and intersubjective interactions (Almirabi, 2015:208). This finding lends support to the thesis that human perception cognises symbols and images in a relatively uniform manner, regardless of the presence of intervening temporo-spatial factors. This strong degree of congruency in perceiving conceptual figures and symbols has been linked to some potential causal mechanisms, such as parity in human cognition, the adoption of foreign phrases as loan words, or a mere twist of fate (Almirabi, 2015:208). It is interesting to find that a myriad of vernaculars adopt identical clusters of body-part proverbs which impart similar meanings. However, what is even more fascinating is the fact that despite the sharp disparities in linguistic markers, cultural norms, and proverbs, many proverbs have the same functions and meanings. While it is true that every metaphor or figurative symbol has some of its implied elements determined by its sociocultural context, the fact remains that metaphors usually impart the same meaning, regardless of the context (Sameer, 2016: 142). This thesis has exhaustively
demonstrated the significance of metaphor body parts in Najdi proverbs. However, because the study is restricted to the use of a limited set of proverbs in a particular region, it goes beyond its analytical remit to determine whether the corresponding body-part symbols for alternative dialects yield different shades of meaning – despite imparting the same core meaning – and exert a similar level of influence in other parts of the Arab world. These latter topics remain outstanding research questions which would warrant examination in future studies.
References


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