Metonymy of Human Body Organs in Indonesian

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ABSTRACT

This paper will try to describe the human body parts used to express metonymy, and associative patterns which hold between the target domains and the meanings intended by the expressions. By using data collected from Indonesian Big Dictionary added metalinguistic ones whose grammaticality and acceptability have been tested empirically to other Indonesian natives. The research found that there are many human body parts which can be used metonymically, and they can perform various patterns of associative relations, such as part-whole, part-whole, container-contained, instrument-function, symbol-symbolized, and iconic association. Several body parts can be used more than one association, and metaphor and metonymy problems still cannot be clearly cut.

Keywords: Metonymy, Metaphor, Association

INTRODUCTION

Polysemy is the most essential way of any language to develop itself. By polysemi, the meaning of lexemic or basic units are developed in order to avoid the large number of language vocabularies. By this limitation, language speakers do not burden their memory because they do not have to memorize a lot number of words in order to express different words for different concept they come across. The new concepts can be expressed by words they have already recognized or mastered based on their similarities and associations between the source domains and the target domains. The similarity-based concepts are called metaphors, while associative based concepts are called metonymy (Cruse, 2004, 209-2012). In metaphors, the similarities can be related with shape or forms, characteristics, place, etc. such as the daun telinga <ear leaf> ‘ear lobe’, batang hidung <nose trunk> ‘nose’, biji mata <eye seed> ‘pupil’, bola mata <ball eye> ‘pupil’, akar lidah <tongue root> ‘tongue root’, gigi susu <milk tooth> ‘milk tooth’, tulang rawan <risky bone> ‘cartililage’, pangkal tenggorak <throat base> ‘pharynx’, etc. The metaphorical expressions of Daun telinga, batang hidung, biji mata, and bola mata are made possible because of the similarity existence between the shape of ear lobe, nose, and pupil, and the plant leaf, trunk, and seed. The metaphors of gigi susu and tulang rawan are made possible because of similar characteristics shared by susu ‘milk’ and rawan ‘risky’ and the human body organs. Meanwhile, that similarity of place shared by parts of the plant akar and pangkal made possible the existence of Indonesian metaphorical expressions akar lidah dan batang tenggorak. In spite of similarity basis, polysemy can also be developed through many kinds of associations that hold between the source domains and the target domains of polysemic expressions. This phenomenon is commonly called metonymy. The association can be related functional neighboring, such as the use of kepala ‘head’, telinga ‘ear’, and mata ‘eye’ in (1) to (3) below, part-whole relation like (4) and iconic relation in (5) below:

(1) Persoalan ini harus diselesaikan dengan kepala dingin.
Problem this must be finished with head cold
‘This problem must be resolved with cool headed manner’

(2) Dipanggil tidak menyangut, dasar nggak punya telinga.
Being called did not answer, really do not have ear
‘I have called you but you did not respond, you really can not hear anything’

[1 - 8]
Sudah dipinggir ditarak, matamu di mana?
Already in the edge, being hit, your eye where

I am already at the edge, why did you hit me, why can not you see me?

Perkepala harus membayar barapa?
Every head must pay how much?

'How much must every person pay?'

Siapa pun yang berkuasa tanganku ke dahi juga.
Who ever that rules hand I to forehead also

'Who ever rules, I must respect'

In (1) the word head is used to represent everything associated with thinking. Cold headed thinking should be used to overcome the problem, instead of hot headed one. In (2) the use of body organ telinga 'ear' is intended to represent its function to hear or listen everything. As such, someone who can not hear or listen is labeled as someone who does not have ear. In (4) kepala is used metonymically to represent the target domain, every person that obliges to pay the contribution. The association holding between them are part-whole relation, the head and the individual. Finally the relation between respecting and hand raising to the forehead is iconic in character in which raising hand to the forehead is semiotically representing the act of saluting or respecting. As sugessted by the title, this paper will attempt to describe the human body parts used as source domains of methonymical expressions in Indonesian, and types of association possibly hold between the source domains and their target domains.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

The discussions of methonym are usually carried out in occasion of consideration metaphors because many experts treated metonymy as part of metaphor, such as done by Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 35-40) eventhough they differentiate them principally. According to Lakoff and Johnson, metonymy is the use of one entity to refer to another that is related to it. Metaphors and metonymy are different kinds of processes. Metaphors is a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. On the other hand, metonymy has primarily a referential functions that allows the language speakers to use one entity to stand for another eventhough metonymy can also function as understanding device. In case of part-whole relation, not all entities can be used to represent or stand for the whole. Not all parts of human body can be used to represent 'intelligent people'. For this purpose, the speakers must pick out a particular characteristics of the people, and finally they will say the following (6) to mean that matter because intelligence is commonly related with the head, brain, etc. Meanwhile, for referring all the individuals, English speakers can use face, such as seen in (7) and (8) below:

(6) We need some good head on the project.
(7) We need some new faces around here.
(8) She is just a pretty face.

Furthermore, there are various possible associations possibly holds between the source domains and target domains of metonymic expressions, such as the part for the whole (9), producer for product (10), object used for user (11), controller for controlled (12), institution for people resposible (13), the place for institution (14), the place for event (15):

(9) We don't hire long hairs.
(10) He's got Picasso in his dent.
(11) We need a better glove at third base.
(12) Napoleon lost at Waterloo.
(13) Exxon has raised its price again.
(14) Washington is insensitive to the need of the people.
(15) Pearl Harbour still has an effect on our foreign policy

In line with Lakoff and Johnson, Riemer (2010, 249) states that the understanding is made possible by the existence of contiguous relation between the source domains and their neighboring target domains either conceptually or referentially. There are many types of associations, such as cause and effect, possesor and possesed, and plenty possible of others. Consider (16) to (20) below:

(16) Moscow has rejected the demands.
(17) The kettle is boiling.
(18) The cinema complex has seven screens.
(19) I saw the doctor today.
(20) My bag was destroyed by customs.

In (16) Moscow, as the capital city and center of governance, is used to represent the Russian government. In (17) it is not the kettle is boiling, but the water inside it. In (18) the screens are used to replace the number of auditoriums the cinema has. In (19) the speaker means that (s)he has consulted the doctor instead of just seeing him. In (20), the speakers intend to tell the interlocutor(s) that what really the customs had destroyed was the content of the bag instead of the bag itself. In metonymy there is part-whole or physical contiguity relations between the symbols and the intended meanings (Foley, 2001, 364-365). An interesting discussion on several body organs in metonymical expressions in English can be found in Kovecses (2006, 94-95). As far as Indonesian is concerned, even though many text books about semantics have been written (Subroto, 2011; Chaer, 1995; Wijana, 2010), many or nearly all of them do not pay any attention to metonymic issues. They regard anything issue related to them is not central in linguistic considerations. Accordingly, this paper will try to describe metonymy in the use of Indonesian with focus of attention on one that uses human body organs as the source domains due to the various associations possibly holds by this type of semantic relations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Metonymy is essentially one way used by any language to extend word meaning. According to Cruse (2004, 211) metonymic expressions is a kind of indirect strategy of speaking. This strategy in many cases is preferred to its more direct mode. For this matter he uses the following examples:

(21) Where are you parked?
(22) The kettle is boiling.
(23) Room 44 wants a bottle of champagne.
(24) Why is John not in Who's Who?
(25) John stroked the dog.

In Cruse’s view the preference to use (21) to (25) is due to their naturalness. Metonymic expressions is considered more economic because it shorter than their complete equivalents, so less effort needed to express compared to the full versions (26) to (30) below:

(26) Where is your car parked?
(27) The water in the kettle is boiling.
(28) The person in room 44 wants a bottle of champagne.
(29) Why is John’s name not in Who’s Who?
(30) John’s hand stroked the dog.

This preference consequently causes a lot kinds of association to enable the language speakers expressed their various intentions metonymically. Not far different from Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Cruse (2004) lists 6 types of possible associations. Those are container for contained (31), Possessor for possessed/attribute (32), represented for representative (33), whole for part (34), part for whole (35), and place for institution (36):

(31) The car in front decided to turn right.
(32) A: John Smith
    B: That is me
(33) England won the World Cup 1966.
(34) Do you need to use the bath room?
(35) There are too many mouths to feed.
(36) The White House denies all allegations.

No matter how accurate the experts trying to differentiate metaphor and metonymy, there still exist some difficulties to make these two types of semantic relation to be clear cut. Compare (35) with (38) below:

(38) My mouth is sealed.

It is clear that to feed in (35) usually refers to its literal sense, so the mouth can refer metonymically to the whole part ‘person’. However, mouth in (38) which is associatively refer to ‘not allowed to speak’
can be still show relation to its metaphorical sense because the word sealed can also be used metaphorically to mean 'to be shut up', and no literal sealed appear in that situation. Goossens (1990) called this phenomena as metaphtonymy for their inseperation.

**METHOD**

This research is conducted through several stages. Firstly, all lexical items referring human body parts found in Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Big Indonesian Dictionary) (Sugono et als., 2014) are listed, and observe all of their possible polysemic senses. Further, the data are reduced by only including or selecting human body part lexemes that can be used to produce metonomical expressions. The others that can not be used to do so, are eliminated. Finally, the research is directed to the identification of association types that hold between the human body parts, as the source domains and the meaning of those expressions the speakers intended to refer to. For this purpose, the writer as an Indonesian native speaker creates metalinguistic data containing human body parts metonyms whose grammaticality and acceptability have been tested empirically with other native speakers.

**RESEARCH FINDINGS**

After having observed the data collection profoundly, it is proved that not all human body parts can be used to express metonymy. Those which are common to use for fulfilling this purpose are bibir 'lip', dada 'chest', dahai 'forehead', darah 'blood', gigi 'tooth', hati 'heart', hidung 'nose', kepala 'head', otak 'brain', otot 'muscle', kaki 'foot', leher 'neck', lidah 'tongue', mata 'eye', mulut 'mouth', muka 'face', nyali 'bile', perut 'stomach', tangan 'hand', telinga 'ear', and wajah 'face'. The use of them can be seen in (36) to (56) below:

(36) Janjinya hanya di bibir saja
promise the only in lips just
'The promise just in the lips'

(37) Semuanya diterima dengan lapang dada.
All are accepted with wide chest
'He accepts everything happily'

(38) Pekerjaan itu membutuhkan kerutan dahi.
Work the need a lot of sprinkle forehead
'The work needs a lot of thinking'

(39) Dia masih darah dan dagingku.
He still blood and flesh I
'He is still my decendants'

(40) Dia sudah tidak memiliki gigi
He already does not have tooth
'He does not have power anymore'

(41) Dia memang tinggi hati.
He really high heart
'He is really arrogant'

(42) Dia tidak tampak batang hidungnya.
He not appear branch nose he
'He does not appear'

(43) Perkepala harus membayar iuran Rp. 50.000.
Each head must pay contribution Rp. 50.000
'Each person must contribute Rp. 50.000'

(44) Orang tua kamu lawan, otakmu di mana?
Persom old you fight, brain you where?
'You fight with old person, why can not you think'

(45) Ia senangnya ngotot, tidak mau mengubah pikirannya
He like dispute do not want change think he
'He like to dispute do not want to change his mind'

(46) Ia banyak memiliki kaki tangan
He many has foot and hand
'He has many collaborators'

(47) Mereka beradu urat leher
They fight muscle neck
‘They are disputing seriously’

(48) Peliharalah lidahmu
Look after tongue you
‘Be carefull of what you say’

(49) Matamu kau taruh di mana?
Eye you you put where
‘Why can not you see?’

(50) Jaga mulutmu baik-baik
take care mouth you good
‘Take care of what you say’

(52) Dia petinju yang punya nyali
He boxer that has bile
‘He is a brave boxer’

(53) Sebenarnya ini urusan perut.
Actually this business stomach
‘Actually, this is food problem’

(54) ia jadi tangan kanannya presiden
He become hand right the president
‘He become the president’s right hand man’

(55) Kamu nggak punya telinga, ya?
You do not have ears, do you
‘Yo can not hear, can’t you’

(56) Ada banyak wajah baru di perusahaan itu
There are many face new in company that
‘there are many new staff in that company’

Further, with regard to the associations possibly hold, the metonymic patterns can be classified into several types, i.e part-whole, container and contained, instrument-functional relation, symbolic, and iconic relations. All of these associative patterns will be described consecutively in the following sections.

Part-Whole Relation
Several human body parts are chosen by the language speakers to represent the individual owned them. For example, kepala ‘head’, face ‘muka’, (batang) hidung ‘nose’, mulut ‘mouth’, and perut. See (57) s.d. (60) below:

(57) Aku tidak tahu setiap kepala harus bayar berapa?
I do not know every head must pay how much?
‘I do not know how much each person must pay?’

(58) Saya masih melihat muka-muka lama di tim itu.
I still saw faces old in team that
‘I still saw old players in taht team’

(59) Kok tidak kelihatan batang hidungnya.
Why is not visible branch nose he
‘Why I did not see him?’

(60) Kamu bayangkan 300 juta mulut yang harus diberi makan.
You imagine 300 million mouths that must be given food
‘You can imagine 300 million people that must be fed’

(61) Ada banyak perut yang harus diberi nasi.
There are many stomachs that must be given rice
‘There are many people that must be fed’

Container and Contained Relation
Container and contained relation concerns with the producer and produced relation in which the human body organs is functioned as instrument or producers, while the meaning intended to as the
product yielded by the instruments. For example, the use of *otak* ‘brain’ in (62) represents its product thinking, *hati* ‘heart’ in (63) represents many kinds of emotional feeling, in (64) *mulut* ‘mouth’ represents its products related with speech and talk, in (65) *dada* ‘chest’ also does with its products related with feelings and emotional states.

(62) *Otakmu kotor sekali.*
       Brain you dirty very
       ‘you have dirty thinking’

(63) *Semua harus berlapang hati menerima keputusan itu.*
       All must have wide heart to accept decision that
       ‘All must happily accept that decision’

(64) *Jangan percaya pada mulutnya.*
       Do not believe in mulut
       ‘Do not trust what he has told’

(65) *Kita harus berlapang dada dengan kejadian ini*
       ‘We must have a wide chest with event this’
       ‘We must happy with this accident’

**Instrument and Function Relation**

Nearly can not be differentiate with container, and contained relation, instrument and function relation concern with body organs that merely relate with their function, instead of their result or yield. For example, human eyes for seeing and human *ears* for hearing. Consider (66) and (67) below:

(66) *Wah, matanya di mana, orang menyeberang ditabrak.*
       Oh, eyes the where person crossing be hit
       ‘Oh, why can not you see, you hit a person crossing’

(67) *Pasang kupingmu baik-baik.*
       Put ear you well
       ‘Listen it carefully’

Several parts of human body used to represent container-contained relation, may also be possible to use for representing instrument-function association. For example, the relation of *mulut* ‘mouth’ and *lidah* ‘tongue’ for talking, see (68) and (69) below:

(68) *Dia membungkam mulutku.*
       He shut up mouth I
       ‘He forbade me to talk’

(69) *Dia harus menjaga lidahnya.*
       He must keep tongue he
       ‘He must talk carefully’

**Symbol and Symbolized relation**

Metonymically, there are human body organs that have symbolic associations with the meaning they are intended to represent. The word *darah* ‘blood’ and *nyali* ‘bile’ in Indonesian are use to represent ‘decency or talent’ and ‘bravery’. See (70), (71), and (72) below:

(70) *Darah seni mengalir dari ayahnya.*
       Blood art flows from father he
       ‘Art talent flows from his father’

(71) *Masih ada darah bangsawan pada orang itu*
       Still there blood noble in person that
       ‘There is still noble decency in that person’

(72) *Walaupun kecil, tapi nyalinya besar.*
       Although small, but bile he big
       ‘Although his body small, but he is very brave’

(73) *Tubuhnya besar, tapi nyalinya kecil.*
       Body he big, but bile he small
       ‘His body big, but very coward’
The blood symbolization is made possible by the facts that there is an Indonesian idiomatic expression *pertalian darah* 'blood ties' to refer to kinship relation. It seems that world languages use different body parts to express this symbolic association. In English, for expressing bravery, the word *gut* is used instead of *bile*. See (74) below:

(74) He does not have gut to do that action.
(75) *He does not have bile to do that action.

*Muka*, the informal Indonesian vocabulary to refer to ‘face’ is often to be used symbolically representing ‘self esteem’, such as seen in (76):

(76) Aku kehilangan muka dibuatnya.
I lost face be made he
'He made me lost my self esteem'

**Iconic relation**

Icon is any sign that shows similarities between the signifier and its signified (Sebeok, 1994, 28-31). In the use of language, with regard to human body organs, there are idiomatic expressions whose meaning or intentions can be expressed iconically by body movements related with those body organs. For instance, idiom *tanganku ke dahi* in (5) is an iconic symbol for ‘respecting’. The other example is *mengelus dada* ‘to rub chest’ is used to mean ‘to contain or hold anger or disappointment’, such as shown by (77) below:

(77) Mereka hanya bisa mengelus dada.
They only can rub chest
'They only be able to hold their anger'

The other example are *angkat kaki* ‘to go’, *angkat tangan* ‘surender’, *mengerutkan dahi* ‘thinking hard’, etc. Consider (78), (79), and (80) below:

(78) Ia langsung angkat kaki dari tempat itu.
He directly lift foot from place that
'He directly leaved that place'

(79) Lebih baik kita angkat tangan
More good we lift hand
'We'd better surender'

(80) Ia harus mengerutkan dahi untuk memecahkan masalah itu
He must sprinkle forhead for solving problem that
'He must think hard to solve that problem'

**Conclusions**

In order to limit the very large number of vocabulary, any language should extends the semantic capacity of their vocabulary items mainly through polysemy. As result, certain vocabulary items are possible to have various interrelated meanings. Their interrelatedness is tied by many kinds of relations, two of which are similarity and association. The similarity relation is called metaphors, while the associative relation is called metonymy. Eventhough it is not always easy to differentiate between them, as far as metonymy is concerned, there are many human body parts used for source domain or vehicle of metonymical expressions. Those body organs are *bibir* ‘lip’, *dada* ‘chest’, *dahi* ‘forhead’, *darah* ‘blood’, *gigi* ‘tooth’, *hati* ‘hearth’, *hidung* ‘nose’, *kepala* ‘head’, *otak* ‘brain’, *otot* ‘muscle’, *kaki* ‘foot’, *leher* ‘neck’, *lidah* ‘tongue’, *mata* ‘eye’, *mulut* ‘mouth’, *muka* ‘face’, *nyali* ‘bile’, *perut* ‘stomach’, *tangan* ‘hand’, *telinga* ‘ear’, and *wajah* ‘face’. These human body parts are possible to perform their roles through several possible associations. Those are part-whole, container-contained, instrument-function, symbol-symbolized, and iconic associations.

**References**