

# The Meaning Extensions of Human Body Part Terms in Thai Idioms

Nuntana Wongthai<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Linguistics, Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok, Thailand

Correspondence: Nuntana Wongthai, Department of Linguistics, Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok, Thailand. E-mail: nuntana.w@gmail.com

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## Abstract

This paper presents the linguistics evidence from Thai idioms in support of the claim that our bodily experience plays a prominent role in the meaning construction. The data was collected from 29 Thai idiom books. The analysis is primarily based on metaphor, metonymy and chained metonymies in cognitive semantic approach. The data show that metaphor and metonymy are the motivating forces behind the semantic extension in the body part terms in Thai. However, most of the meaning extension of body part terms is found via metonymy. This fact supports the claim that metonymy is a more fundamental cognitive phenomena than metaphor. The most extended meaning found in the data is person. The body part term that its meaning is extended most is hand. This study also is a linguistic manifestation of Thai culture.

**Keywords:** body part terms, cognitive semantics, meaning extension, Thai idioms

## 1. Introduction

Humans always use the body part terms to refer to other things, for example, English has such expressions as the mouth of the river, the foot of the mountain or the hand of the clock. In Thai, the body part terms are also used in the extended meanings, for example, *คอขวด* *khoo khùat* (neck bottle) means the upper part of the bottle which is narrow. *ปากซอย* *pàak sooy* (mouth lane) means the entrance. This kind of usage is the comparison of the prominent attributes of the body parts and the part of the bottle and the lane. This makes the meanings of neck and mouth extend its meaning to mean a specific part of an entity. The body part terms are also found in idioms. In Thai, we are familiar with the idioms such as *ชุบมือเปิบ* *chúp mǎu pǎep* (soak hand eat), *ไถหน้า* *dây nâa* (lose face), *ปอกกล้วยเข้าปาก* *pòk klúay khâw pàak* (peel banana enter mouth). The meanings of these body part terms are not used in the conceptual meanings but extended to be used in the metaphorical meanings. This study is aimed to discover the meanings of human body part terms used in idioms and to analyze the processes of meaning extensions of human body part terms in Thai idioms. The findings of study will reveal the importance of body to meaning construction.

## 2. Objectives

1. To study the meanings of human body part terms in Thai idioms.
2. To analyze the processes of meaning extensions of human body part terms in Thai idioms.

## 3. Theoretical Framework

This paper uses the theoretical ground of metaphorical relationships (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Vyvyan, Melanie, 2006), metonymic relationships (Radden & Kövecses, 1999) and chained metonymies (Hilpert, 2007) from the perspective of cognitive semantics as a framework to analyze the meaning extension encountered in the data.

## 4. Methods

In the study, the human body part terms are divided into 3 parts: upper part (including head, hair, face, brow, eye, ear, nose, cheek, mouth, chin, neck), middle part (including arm, hand, finger, shoulder, elbow, breast, chest, waist, belly), and lower part (including leg, calf, shin, knee, buttock, foot). The data were collected from 29 Thai idiom books. The data show that some body parts which are head, hand, buttock, and foot in Thai are called differently to mean the same. Head can be called *hǎa* (normal), *sǎan*, and *klâaw* (royal). Hand can be called *mǎu* (normal), *kooon* (poetry or royal word). Buttock can be called *kôn* (normal), *tùut* (impolite). Foot can be called *táaw* (normal) and *tiin* (impolite).

The data of body part terms in this study is limited to the external parts. From the data, there are 12 terms of the upper part, which are head (hǔa), head (sǎn), head (klâaw), face, hair, chin, brow, nose, neck, ear, mouth, and eye; 13 terms of the middle part, which are back, hand (mǎu), hand (kǒn), elbow, waist, chest, breast, arm, fist, stomach, belly, shoulder, and finger; 8 terms of the lower part, which are leg, buttock (kôn), buttock (tùut), shin, foot (táaw), foot (tiin), knee, and calf. The total is 34 body part terms used in the study.

## 5. Results

The study shows that the meaning extensions of body part terms are varied. Table 1 presents the meaning extensions of body part terms.

Table 1. The meaning extensions of body part terms

body part terms	meaning extensions
upper part	
head (hǔa)	health, character, life, person, wisdom, taste, emotion, extremity
head (sǎn)	wisdom
head (klâaw)	wisdom
face	honor, capability, interaction, character, person, appearance, action, front
hair	important things, small issues, aging,
chin	speaking manner, illness
brow	action
nose	interference, honor, dependence, thought, smelling, quickly knowing
neck	important things, ignorance, speaking, drinking, person, action, sound,
ear	intensity, hearing, obedience, understanding, person
mouth	easiness, capability, speaking, eating
eye	behavior, obstacle, important things, trust, logic malfunction, time, person, action, thought
middle part	
back	originality, relationship, cooperation, cowardice, laziness, betrayal, seriousness, unseen action, support
hand (mǎu)	character, intention, quantity, possession, power, capability, fight, cooperation, time, person, action
hand (kǒn)	fight
elbow	speaking, person
waist	shape
chest	protection, space for feeling/thought
breast	burden
arm	welcome, person
fist	power, speaking
stomach	eating, excretion, pregnancy, action
belly	knowledge, happiness, memory, obesity
shoulder	capability
finger	Time, person, action
lower part	
leg	freedom, relationship, rules, person, walking, action
buttock (kôn)	person, sitting, action
buttock (tùut)	money, person, sitting, action
shin	person
foot (táaw)	person
foot (tiin)	action, lowest part
knee	energy, sadness, intimacy, power,
calf	walking, leg, buttock, shin, foot, foot

From Table 1 the meanings extended can be categorized into 3 domains: human (including the relationships among them), entities, and time.

The study found that the meaning extensions of human body part terms are motivated through metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor is the understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain whereas metonymy is the conceptual link between two entities in the same frame of reference. However, the

findings show that not only single mapping of metaphor or metonymy that explain the meaning extension phenomena in the body part terms, do the serial conceptual mappings which highlight the interaction between metaphor and metonymy as well as chained metonymies also involve.

### 5.1 The Metaphorical Mappings in Body Part Meaning Extension

The findings show that from 33 body part terms, there are 22 words that their extended meaning motivated by metaphor from the conceptual domain of body parts to another different conceptual domains such as health, honor, thought, trust, operation. There are 8 terms in upper part, 11 terms in middle part, and 3 terms in lower part that the meanings are extended metaphorically. Table 2 shows the meaning extensions of body part terms motivated by metaphor.

Table 2. The meaning extensions of body part terms motivated by metaphor

body part terms	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
upper part		
head (hũa)	health	<i>หัวแข็ง</i> hũa khểng (head-hard) 'to be healthy; rarely ill'
	character	<i>หัวอ่อน</i> hũa ỏõn (head-soft) 'to be tractable'
		<i>หัวรั้น</i> hũa rỏn (head-stubborn) 'to be bullheaded'
		<i>หัวแข็ง</i> (Note 1) hũa khểng (head-hard) 'to be stubborn'
life	<i>ถวายหัว</i> thawỏay hũa (offer-head) 'to be dedicated; to fight till death'	
face	honor	<i>ได้หน้า</i> dỏy nỏa (receive-face) 'to get the favor of; to get a fame'
		<i>ฉีกหน้า</i> chỏik nỏa (tear-face), <i>หักหน้า</i> hỏk nỏa (break-face) 'to humiliate'
		<i>กู้หน้า</i> kỏu nỏa (regain-face) 'to save one's honor'
		<i>ท่างามหน้า</i> tham nỏam nỏa (do-pretty-face) 'to be dishonorable'
	capability	<i>ประมาทหน้า</i> prỏmỏat nỏa (affront-face) 'to underestimate'
	interaction	<i>เกินหน้า</i> kỏỏn nỏa (surpass-face) 'to do excessively'
		<i>สู้หน้า</i> sỏu nỏa , <i>ประจันหน้า</i> prỏcan nỏa (fight-face) 'to confront'
		<i>หันหน้าเข้าหากัน</i> hỏn nỏa khỏw hỏỏ kan (turn-face-to-each other) 'to reconcile'
	character	<i>หน้าหนา</i> nỏa nỏỏ (face-thick) 'to be shameless'
		<i>สองหน้า</i> sỏỏng nỏa (two-face) 'to be deceitful'
<i>หน้าเลือด</i> nỏa lỏỏt (face-blood) 'to be greedy'		
	<i>คบคนให้ดูหน้า ซื้อผ้าให้ดูเนื้อ</i> khỏp khỏn hỏy du nỏa sỏỏ phỏa hỏy du nỏỏ (associate-people-give-look-face-buy-fabric-give-look-texture) 'to be careful when choosing friends'	
hair	important things	<i>รักเหียงกว่าผม</i> rỏk hỏw yỏng kwỏỏ phỏm (love-lice-more-than-hair) 'sweat the small stuff over the important one'
	small issues	<i>เส้นผมบังภูเขา</i> sỏn phỏm bỏn phuỏkhỏw (a strand of hair-hide-mountain) 'to be unable to see the solution of a problem because of a small issue'
nose	interference	<i>ยื่นจมูก</i> yỏn camỏuok (pop-nose) 'to be nosy'
	honor	<i>เหยียบจมูก</i> yỏỏp camỏuok (step on-nose) 'to insult'
	dependence	<i>ยืมจมูกคนอื่นหายใจ</i> yỏỏm camỏuok khỏn ỏỏn hỏỏy cỏy (borrow-nose-others-breathe) 'to depend on others'
thought	<i>จูงจมูก</i> cuỏng camỏuok (tow-nose) 'to be convinced by others'	
neck	important things	<i>คอขาดบาดตาย</i> khỏỏ khỏỏt bỏỏt tỏỏy (neck-torn-cut-die) 'a very important or serious matter'
	ignorance	<i>โง่แล้วอยากนอนเตียง คอเอียงแล้วอยากหนุนหมอน</i> ỏỏỏ lỏỏw yỏỏk nỏỏn tỏỏng khỏỏ ỏỏỏng lỏỏw yỏỏk nỏỏn mỏỏn (dumb-but-want-sleep-bed-neck-crooked-but-want-sleep on-pillow) 'to be ignorant'
ear	intensity	<i>หูฉี่</i> hỏu chỏỏ (ear-hot) 'excessively'
mouth	easiness	<i>ปอกกล้วยเข้าปาก</i> pỏỏk klỏỏy khỏw pỏỏk (peel-banana-into-mouth) 'an easy matter'
	capability	<i>ปากไม่สิ้นกลิ่นนํ้านม</i> pỏỏk mỏỏ sỏn kỏỏn nỏỏm (mouth-without-breath-milk) 'not capable to do things'
eye	behavior	<i>เข้าเมืองตาหลิ่วต้องหลิ่วตาตาม</i> khỏw mỏỏng tỏỏ lỏỏw tỏỏng lỏỏw tỏỏ tỏỏm (enter-city-eye-squint-must-squint-eye-follow) 'to behave suitably to time and place; When in Rome, do as the Romans do.'
	obstacle	<i>เรือล่มเมื่อจอดตาบอดเมื่อแก่</i>

		<p>ຮູ້າ ລົມ ມື້າ ຕົວ ທາ ບົວ ມື້າ ກື້ ກໍ (boat-sink-when moor-eye-blind-when-old) ‘to find the obstacle at the end’</p> <p>ອຢາວັກລູກຕາອອກແລ້ວເອາລູກມະກອກຍັດ</p> <p>yàa khwák lúuk taa ?òòk léew ?aw lúuk makòòk yát (don’t-scoop out-eyeball-and-shove in-olive) ‘to take care of one’s important things’</p> <p>ดวงตา duang taa (eyes) ‘the most beloved thing’</p> <p>ไว้ใจคนตาบอดข้างเดียว ไว้ใจว่าตาบอดสองข้าง</p> <p>wáy cay khon taa bòot khâang diaw wáy cay bàaw taa bòot sǒng khâang (trust-people-blind-one-side-trust-maids-blind-two-sides) ‘cannot fully trust anyone’</p> <p>เสน่ห์ตาบอด sanèhâa taa bòot (affection-blind) ‘love can make one blind; love is blind’</p> <p>ชั่วพริบตา chûa phríp taa (moment-wink) ‘in a short time’</p> <p>ทันตาเห็น than taa hèn (in time-eye-see) ‘in that time; instantly’</p>
middle part		
back	originality	ถอยหลังเข้าคลอง thǒy lǎng khâw khlòong (step-back-into-canal) ‘to retrograde’
	relationship	คืนหลังให้ phǐn lǎng hây หันหลังให้ hǎn lǎng hây (turn-back-give) ‘to end the relationship’
	cooperation	หันหลังชนกัน hǎn lǎng chon kan (turn-back-against-each other) ‘to cooperate’
	cowardice	ถอยหลังเหมือนกุ้ง thǒy lǎng mǎan kung (step-back-like-shrimp) ‘to be coward’
	laziness	หลังยาว lǎng yaaw (back-long), ชี้เกียจหลังยาว khǐikiat lǎng yaaw (lazy-back-long) ‘to be lazy’
	betrayal	หักหลัง hǎk lǎng (break-back) ‘to betray’
seriousness	เป็นบ้าเป็นหลัง pen bāa pen lǎng (be-crazy-be-back) ‘too much obsessed or serious in something’	
hand	character	ขุมมือเปิบ chúp mǎm pǎep (soak-hand-eat) ‘get advantages from others without any help; to reap what others have sown’
		มือสะอาด mǎm sa?àat (hand-clean) ‘to be honest’
		มือเติบ mǎm tǎep (hand-lavishly) ‘to lavish’
		มือกาว mǎm kaaw (hand-glue) ‘to be thievish’
	intention	หมายมั่นปั้นมือ mǎaymǎn pǎn mǎm (intend-mould-hand) ‘to be determined’
	quantity	หยิบมือเดียว yíp mǎm diaw (pick-hand-only) ‘a little amount’
	possession	เปลี่ยนมือ plian mǎm (change-hand) ‘to change the possessor’
	power	ลูกไก่ในกำมือ lúukkày nay kammǎm (chick-in-hand) ‘to be under control’
		ถือไพ่เหนือมือ thǎm phây nǎa mǎm (hold-card-upper-hand) ‘to be superior’
	capability	มือตก mǎm tòk (hand-fall) ‘to be on the decline’
	มือไม่ถึง mǎm mây thǎm (hand-not-reach) ‘to be incapable’	
	มืออาชีพ mǎm ?aachǐip (hand-profession) ‘to be professional’	
	มือหนึ่ง mǎm nǎm (hand-first) ‘to be excellent’	
fight	สู้รบปรบมือ súròp pròpmǎm (fight-clasp) รับมือ ráp mǎm (receive-hand) ‘to fight’	
cooperation	ร่วมมือ rúam mǎm (cooperate-hand) , จับมือ cap mǎm (hold-hand) ‘to help; to collaborate’	
time	สะบัดมือ sabàt mǎm (shake off-hand) ‘to leave’	
	ต้นมือ tôn mǎm (first-hand) ‘at the beginning’	
	ปลายมือ plaay mǎm (last-hand) ‘at the end’	
hand (koon)	fight	ต่อกร tǒw koon (join-hand) ‘to fight’
elbow	speaking	ศอกกลับ sòòk klàp (elbow-back) ‘to retort’
chest	protection	อ้อมอก ?òòm ?òk (chest) ‘protection’
		ซบอ ก sóp ?òk (lean-chest) ‘be under supervision; to turn to someone for protection’
	space for feeling /thought	ยกภูเขาออกจากอก yók phuukhǎw ?òòk càak ?òk (lift-mountain-out of-chest) ‘to be relieved from worries’
		รู้ยู่เต็มอก rúyú tem ?òk (know-full-chest) ‘to know thoroughly’
		เปิดอก pǎet ?òk (open-chest) ‘to reveal’
	หนักอก nǎk ?òk (heavy-chest) ‘to worry about something’	
	อกแตก ?òk tèek (chest-burst) ‘to blow up’	
breast	burden	นมย้านกลิ้งอก nom yaan klǐng ?òk (breast-sag-roll-breast) ‘a burden’
arm	welcome	อ้าแขนรับ ?àa khēen ráp (open-arm-receive) ‘to welcome someone to the group’

fist	power	<i>กำปั้นโต</i> kampân too (fist-big) ‘the big power’ <i>กำปั้นเล็ก</i> kampân lék (fist-small) ‘the little power’
	speaking	<i>กำปั้นทุบดิน</i> kampân thúp din (fist-pound-ground) ‘to answer perfunctorily’
belly	knowledge	<i>หมดพุง</i> mòt phuj (finish-belly) ‘no more knowledge to share or teach’
	happiness	<i>นอนตีพุง</i> nawn tii phuj (sleep-hit-belly) ‘to be happy’
	memory	<i>เข้าพุง</i> khâw phuj (enter-belly) ‘to learn by heart’ <i>รู้ไว้ใจว่าใส่บาแนบกหาม</i>
	capability	<i>rúu wáy chây wâa sây bâa bèek hǎa</i> (know-not-put-shoulder-carry) ‘gaining knowledge never hurt anybody.’ <i>ไม่เหลือบ่ากว่าแรง</i> mây hǎa bàa kwàa rɛɛŋ (not-over-shoulder-over-power) ‘It is not too hard to do’
finger	time	<i>ลัดนิ้วมือ</i> lát níw mɛɛ (cut across-finger) ‘a short time’
lower part		
leg	freedom	<i>ตรวนใส่ขา</i> truan sày khǎa (chain-put-leg) ‘to lack freedom’
	relationship	<i>ถูกขา</i> thùuk khǎa (right-leg) , <i>เข้าขา</i> khâw khǎa (get along-leg) ‘to get along well’
	rules	<i>สะดุดขาตัวเอง</i> sadùt khǎa tuaɽɛŋ (stumble on-leg-own) ‘break one’s own rules’
buttock (tùut)	money	<i>หมดตุต</i> mòt tùut (finish-buttock) ‘to lose all the money’
knee	energy	<i>เข่าอ่อน</i> khàw ɽòɔn (knee-weak) ‘to lack energy because of fear or walk for long distance’
	power	<i>หักด้ามพร้าด้วยเข่า</i> hǎk dǎam phráa dúay khàw (break-handle-machete-with-knee) ‘to exercise power over someone’
	sadness	<i>น้ำตาเช็ดหัวเข่า</i> námtaa chét hǎakhàw (tear-wipe-knee) ‘to be sad and disappointed’
	intimacy	<i>จับหัวเข่าพูด</i> càp hǎakhàw phúut (touch-knee-talk) ‘to talk intimately’

### 5.2 The Metonymic Mappings in Body Part Meaning Extension

The findings show that there are 26 words of which the extended meaning motivated by metonymy. The literal meanings of the body part terms and the extended meanings are related in a variety of relationships, such as PART FOR WHOLE, PART FOR PART, EFFECT FOR CAUSE, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, BODY PART FOR LOCATION. There are 12 terms in upper part, 7 terms in middle part, and 7 terms in lower part that the meanings are extended metonymically. Table 3 shows the meaning extensions of body part terms motivated by metonymy.

Table 3. The meaning extensions of body part terms motivated by metonymy

body part terms	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
<b>upper part</b>		
person		<i>ค่าหัว</i> khǎa hǎa (price-head) ‘a payment for killing people’
		<i>จิกหัวใช้</i> cìk hǎa cháy (pick-head-use) ‘to oppress someone’
		<i>หัวหงอกหัวดำ</i> hǎa ñòk hǎa dam (head-grey-head-black) ‘young people and old people’
		<i>หัวป่า</i> hǎa pàa (head-forest) ‘a chef’ <i>คบเด็กสร้างบ้าน คบหัวล้านสร้างเมือง</i> khóp dèk sǎaŋ bâan khóp hǎaláan sǎaŋ mɛɛŋ (associate-child-build-house-associate-bald head-build-city) ‘to hang out with good-for-nothing people’
head (hǎa)	wisdom	<i>สองหัวดีกว่าหัวเดียว</i> sǔwɔŋ hǎa dii kwàa hǎa diaw (two-head-better-than-one-head) ‘it’s better to have other’s opinion’
		<i>หัวหมอ</i> hǎa mǔw (head-doctor) ‘to be tricky’
		<i>หัวขี้เสียด</i> hǎa khǐilây (head-saw dust) ‘to be dumb’
		<i>หัวอ้ายเรือง</i> (Note 2) hǎa ɽǎay rɛaŋ (head-Rueng (name)) ‘to be able to solve the problems’
taste		<i>หัวเก่า</i> hǎa kàw (head-old) , <i>หัวโบราณ</i> hǎa boraan (head-ancient) ‘to be old-fashioned’
		<i>หัวใหม่</i> hǎa mày (head-new) ‘to be modern’
		<i>หัวนอก</i> hǎa nǔw (head-foreign) ‘to be a whitewash’
emotion		<i>หัวเสีย</i> hǎa sǎa (head-break down) ‘to be frustrated’
extremity		<i>เสียทองเท่าหัว</i> ไม่ยอมเสียหัวให้ใคร

		sĩa thooŋ thãw hũa mây yoom sĩa phũa hũy kh-ray (lose-gold-equal-head-not-let-lose-husband-to-anyone) ‘not exchange husband for treasure’
head (sĩan, klãaw)	wisdom	ปวดเศียรเวียนเกล้า pùat sĩan wian klãaw (ache-head-dizzy-head) ‘to be overwhelmed with problems’
	person	โดยถ้วนหน้า dooy thũan nãa (with-all-face) ‘everybody’ หน้าม้า nãa mãa (face-horse) ‘a skill’ เปลี่ยนหน้า plian nãa (change face) ‘not the same one’ หน้าอินทร์หน้าพรหม nãa in nãa phrom (face-Indra-face-Brahma) ‘powerful people’ เห็นแก่หน้า hẽn k`e nãa (see-for-face) ‘to discriminate’
face	appearance	หน้าขี้ไก่ nãa khĩi kãy (face-poop-chicken) ‘to be very ugly’ หน้ากลม nãa kl`oo (face-round) ‘a round face’ หน้าขาวเหมือนไข่ปอก nãa khãaw m`ean khày p`oek (face-white-like-egg-peel) ‘smooth and white face’ หน้าข้าวตัง nãa khãaw taŋ (face-rice crust) ‘a scarred face’
	action	หน้าตูมเป็นดอกบัว nãa tuum pen d`oekbua (face-bud-become-lotus), หน้าเป็นตริ๊ก nãa pen taw`ak (face-become-ladle), หน้างอเป็นม้าหมากรุก nãa ŋoo pen mãa mãakr`uk (face-bend-become-horse chess) ‘to frown’ หน้าบานเป็นกระดัง nãa baan pen krad`oŋ (face-bloom-become-threshing basket) ‘to be delighted’ หน้าบูด nãa b`uut (face-rotten) ‘to be pettish’ หน้าตึง nãa t`eŋ (face-stiff) ‘to show displeasure’
hair	aging	คนจะดีต้องดีแต่ผ้าอ้อมป้อง คนจะวอกผมหงอกก็ดีไม่ได้ khon ca dii t`oŋ dii t`eŋ phãa ?w`oom p`ooŋ khon ca w`oek ph`om ŋ`oek k`oo dii m`ay d`ay (person-good-must-good-from-diaper-person-bad-grey hair-still-bad) ‘a good person must be born good.’ ถอนหงอก th`ooŋ ŋ`oek (pull out-grey hair) ‘to disrespect an older person’ ผมหงอกรายหน้า ดันหากลับ ph`om ŋ`oek raay nãa tanhãa kl`ap (grey hair-around-face-lust-back) ‘become lustful when getting old’
chin	speaking manner	ยานคาง yaan khaaŋ (flabby-chin) ‘to speak slowly’
	illness	คางเหลือง (Note 3) khaaŋ l`eŋ (chin-yellow) ‘to be seriously ill’
brow	action	ผูกคิ้วหน้า ph`uok khĩw nĩw nãa (tie-brow-frown-face) ‘to show dissatisfaction on face’
nose	smelling	จมูกขึ้นจุมก chũn khũn cam`uok (tang-up-nose) ‘to have a tangy smell’ เตะจุมก t`e cam`uok (kick-nose) ‘to have a strong smell’
	speaking	คอเป็นเอ็น khoo pen ?en (neck-become-tendon) ‘to argue stubbornly’ ดักคอ d`ak khoo (trap-neck) ‘to speak before another; to impede’ ขัดคอ kh`at khoo (obstruct-neck) ‘to heckle’
	drinking (alocohol)	คอแข็ง khoo kh`eŋ (neck-hard) ‘to be able to drink much alcohol’ คออ่อน khoo ?w`oon (neck-soft) ‘not good at drinking alcohol’ คอทองแดง khoo thooŋ d`eŋ (neck-copper) ‘to be alcohol-tolerant’
neck	person	หาห่วงมาคล้องคอ hãa h`uaŋ maa kh`ooŋ khoo (find-loop-to-wear-neck) ‘the person who is about to get married’ ปลอกคอ pl`oek khoo (collar) ‘the person who supports or protects’ ก้างขวางคอ k`aaŋ khw`aaŋ khoo (fishbone-obstruct-neck) ‘the person who interferes other or plays gooseberry’
	action	ค้ำคอ khám khoo (support-neck) ‘to be in a position of unwilling act’ ชูคอ chuu khoo (lift-neck) ‘to be arrogant’ หักคอ hak khoo (break-neck) ‘to force someone to do something’
	sound	ลูกคอ l`uuk khoo (child-neck) ‘coloratura’
ear	hearing	เข้าหู khãw hũu (enter-ear) ‘to hear’ เข้าหูซ้ายทะลุหูขวา khãw hũu s`ay thal`u hũu khw`ãa (enter-ear-left-out-ear-right) ‘to listen but not retain any information’ ทำหูทวนลม tham hũu thuan lom (make-ear-upwind) ‘to pretend not to hear’ หนาหู nãa hũu (thick-ear) ‘heard immensely’
	person	คู่หู khũu hũu (pair-ear) ‘a buddy’
mouth	speaking	น้ำท่วมปาก nãam thũam p`aek (flood-mouth) ‘cannot tell the truth; to be

		tongue-tied' ปากเปียกปากแฉะ pàak pĭak pàak chĕe (mouth-wet-mouth-damp) 'to grumble' ปากสว่าง pàak sawàaŋ (mouth-bright) 'to disclose other's secret' ปากกรรไกร pàak kankray (mouth-scissors) 'to speak badly' ปากแข็ง pàak khĕeŋ (mouth-hard) 'to refuse to tell the truth'
	eating	ตามใจปากมากหนີ taam cay pàak mâak nĭi (spoil-mouth-full of- debt) 'to spend a lot on food' เปรี้ยวปาก pĕrĭaw pàak (sour-mouth) 'to crave for food' อดอยากปากแห้ง ?òt yàak pàak hĕeŋ (starve-mouth-dry) 'to be famished; nothing to eat' ถูกปาก thùuk pàak (right-mouth) 'to be delicious'
	person	ตาบอดคล้ายช้าง taa bòot khlam cháaŋ (blind-grope-elephant) 'the person who knows only one side of the story but he thinks he knows the whole story.' ตาบอดได้แว่น taa bòot dāay wĕeŋ (blind-get-eyeglasses) 'a person who gets something useless'
eye		ขวัญตา khwǎn taa (spirit-eye) 'a beloved woman' ตาล้อง taa klòwŋ (eye-camera) 'a photographer'
	action	ตาเป็นมัน taa pen man (eye-become-shiny) 'to stare with desire' ตาเล็กตาน้อย taa lék taa nòoy (eye-small-eye-little) 'to show affection' ตาแข็ง taa khĕeŋ (eye-hard) 'to be sleepless' เล่นตา lĕn taa (play-eye) 'to ogle' จับตา càp taa (catch-eye) 'to look at something attentively' ชายตา chaay taa (edge-eye) 'to glance'
<b>middle part</b>		
	person	จับมือใครดมไม่ได้ càp m̄ khray dom mây dāay (hold-hand-anyone-smell-unable) 'unable to find the guilty' มัดมือชก măt m̄ chók (bind-hand-punch) 'to force someone to do something' ดอกไม้ใกล้มือ dòk máay klây m̄ (flower-near-hand) 'a worthless woman' มือมืด m̄ m̄ (hand-dark) 'an unknown guilty' มือที่สาม m̄ thĭi sǎam (hand-third) 'a person who intervenes other's business'
hand		ตบมือข้างเดียวไม่ดัง tòp m̄ khāaŋ diaw mây daŋ (clap-one-hand-not-loud) 'doing something alone may not succeed; it takes two to tango.' มือเป็นระวีง m̄ pen rawiŋ (hand-become-reel) 'to work without rest' จับปลาสองมือ càp plaa sòwŋ m̄ (catch-fish-two-hand) 'to work or do many things at the same time may cause mistakes'
	action	มือไม่พายเอาเท้าราน้ำ m̄ mây phaay ?aw tháaw raa náam (hand-not-row-put-foot-drag-river) 'not help and interfere others' ขึ้นไม้ขึ้นมือ khĭn máay khĭn m̄ (up-wood-up hand) 'to point at someone's face when getting angry'
elbow	person	กินน้ำใต้ศอก kin náam tâay sòok (drink-water-under-elbow) 'to become a mistress'
waist	shape	เอวเท่ามดตะนอย ?ew thāw mót tanòoy (waist-same size as-wasp ant) เอวบาง ร้างน้อย ?ew baŋ rāaŋ nòoy (waist-thin-body-small) 'to be slim'
arm	person	แขนซ้ายแขนขวา khĕeŋ sáy khĕeŋ khwǎa (hand-left-hand-right) 'an important person' แขนหัก khĕeŋ hək (hand-break) 'to lose an important person'
	eating	ฝากท้อง fàak thòwŋ (deposit-stomach) 'to rely on someone else's food' รองท้อง rowŋ thòwŋ (support-stomach) 'to grab a bite' เอาน้ำลูบท้อง ?aw náam lúup thòwŋ (bring-water-grope-stomach) 'to relieve hunger with water'
	excretion	ท้องเดิน thòwŋ dĕon (stomach-walk) 'to have diarrhea'
stomach	pregnancy	แพ้ท้อง phĕe thòwŋ (defeat-stomach) 'to have morning sickness' สุดท้อง sùt thòwŋ (last-stomach) 'to be born as a youngest one'
	action	ท้องคืดท้องแข็ง thòwŋ khăt thòwŋ khĕeŋ (stomach-hard) 'to laugh until the stomach hurts' หายใจไม่ทั่วท้อง hǎay cay mây thūa thòwŋ (breathe-not-thorough-stomach) 'to be nervous' กินปูนร้อนท้อง kin puun rón thòwŋ (eat-lime-hot-stomach) 'to behave suspiciously'

belly	obesity	ลงพุง loŋ phuŋ (down-belly) ‘too much obese’
finger	person	นิ้วด้วนได้แหวน níw dũan dâay wǎen (finger-cut-get-ring) ‘a person who gets something useless’
		นิ้วไหนร้ายตัดนิ้วนั้น níw nǎy ráay tăt níw nán (finger-bad-cut-finger-that) ‘to get rid of a bad person in the group’
	นิ้วก้อยนิ้วหัวแม่มือ níw kôy níw hũamêem (pinky-thumb) ‘children and grown-ups’	
action	ชี้นิ้ว chíj níw (point-finger) ‘to act like a boss’	
	กระดิกนิ้ว kradik níw (twiddle-finger) ‘to command others to do things’	
	ยกนิ้ว yók níw (raise-finger) ‘to show admiration’	
		เกี่ยวก้อย kǎaw kôy (cross-pinky) ‘to show intimacy’
<b>lower part</b>		
leg	person	ขา khǎa (leg) ‘a person who is needed to complete a group activity’
		ขาจร khǎa cawŋ (leg-casual) ‘a irregular customer’
		ขาประจำ khǎa pracam (leg-regular) ‘a frequenter’
walking		ง่อยเปลี้ยเสียขา ñũwỳ plǎa sǎa khǎa (lame-lose-leg) ‘to be handicapped; unable to walk’
	action	พอก้าวช้าก็ลาโรง phow kǎaw khǎa kǎw laa roŋ (step-leg-in-end-of-show) ‘to arrive or do things very late’
buttock (kôn)	person	ขัดขา khăt khǎa (obstruct-leg) ‘to interrupt’
		ไฟลนกัน fay lon kôn (fire-under-buttock) ‘a person who does things at last minute’
	sitting	ก้นร้อน kôn rǎwŋ (buttock hot) ‘unable to sit long’
action		ก้นหนัก kôn nǎk (buttock heavy) ‘to be able to sit for a long time’
		สะบัดก้น sabăt kôn (shake off-buttock) ‘to leave immediately because of frustration’
Buttock (tùut)	person	ก้นกระดก kôn kradòk (buttock-raise) ‘to be haughty and snooty’
	sitting	ตูดไว tùut way (buttock-quick) ‘a credulous woman’
	action	ไฟจกตูด fay cùk tùut ‘fire-under-buttock’ ‘a person who does things at last minute’
shin	person	ตูดร้อน tùut rǎwŋ (buttock-hot) ‘unable to sit long’
		ตูดกระดก ครกกระเดื่อง tùut kradòk khrók kradhǎŋ (buttock-raise-mortar-shake) ‘to be haughty and snooty’
foot (tháaw)	person	พึ่งลำแข้ง phǎŋ lam khǎeŋ (depend on-shin) ‘to depend on oneself’
		หากินด้วยลำแข้ง hǎa kin dũay lam khǎeŋ (live on-shin) ‘to make a living by oneself’
foot (tiin)	person	วัดรอยเท้า wát rooy tháaw (measure-footprint) ‘to compete with someone higher. แกว่งเท้าหาเสี้ยน kwǎeŋ tháaw hǎa sǎan (swing-foot-find-thorn) ‘get oneself in trouble’
		ทุ่มหินใส่เท้า thũm hǎn sǎy tháaw (throw-stone-to-foot) ‘someone who causes trouble to others but ends up getting in trouble themselves’
	action	ผู้ดีตีนแดง phũu dii tiin deeŋ (snob-foot-red) ‘a snob wannabe’
calf	walking	ตีนเท่าฝาหอย tiin thǎw fǎa hǎwỳ (foot-same size as-shell) ‘a baby’
	leg	ตีนผี tiin phǎi (foot-ghost) a speed driver’
		คันตีน khan tiin (itch-foot) ‘to want to kick someone’
		เหยียบเต่าเต็มตีน yǎp tàw tem tiin (step on-turtle-full-feet) ‘to do something attentively’
		ทอดน่อง thǎw t nǎwŋ (let go-calf) ‘to walk slowly; to stroll’
		น่องทอง nǎwŋ thǎwŋ (calf-gold) ‘a smooth and beautiful leg’

### 5.3 The Interaction between Metaphor and Metonymy in Body Part Meaning Extension

The findings show that there are 6 words, 4 terms in upper part, 1 term in middle part, and 1 term in lower part that their extended meaning motivated by the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, which Goossens (1995) coined the term ‘metaphonymy’, an interplay of metonymies and metaphors in the construction of meaning. With respect to such series of mappings, the findings show that the metonymies based on metaphors are rare according to Taylor (2002), Goossens (2002), Hilpert (2007). The findings show that there are two words which are face and foot )tiin( that the metonymies based on metaphors. Table 4 – 9 show the meaning extensions of body part terms motivated by the interaction between metaphor and metonymy.



Table 4. The meaning extensions of face

body part terms	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
face	front	<i>คว่ำหน้า</i> khwâm nâ (overturn-face) ‘to floor the top part’

The conceptual metaphor is OBJECTS ARE HUMAN BEINGS. The conceptual metonymy is PART FOR REGION. The OBJECTS ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor is extended to a specific region of object via metonymy.

Table 5. The meaning extensions of nose

body part term	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
nose	quickly knowing	<i>จมูกไวเหมือนมด</i> camùuk way mǎan mót (nose-quick-like-ant) ‘to be fast in knowing something’

The conceptual metaphor is THE ORGAN FOR PERCEPTION FOR PERCEPTION. The conceptual metonymy is KNOWING IS SMELLING. The ORGAN FOR PERCEPTION FOR PERCEPTION metonymy is extended to abstract meaning ‘quickly knowing’ via metaphor.

Table 6. The meaning extensions of ear

body part term	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
		Upper part
ear	obedience	<i>เบ้าหู</i> pǎw hǔu (blow-ear) ‘to abet’ <i>ฟังหูไว้หู</i> faŋ hǔu wáy hǔu (listen-ear-keep-ear) ‘to listen and consider before believe’ <i>หูเบา</i> hǔu baw (ear-soft) ‘to be credulous’ <i>หูหนัก</i> hǔu nàk (ear-heavy) ‘to be hard to believe’
	understanding	<i>ก ข ไม่กระดิกหู</i> koo khǎw mây krađik hǔu (a b-not-wiggle-ear) ‘to be illiterate’ <i>กระดิกหู</i> (wiggle-ear) krađik hǔu ‘to understand clearly’

The conceptual metonymy is THE ORGAN FOR PERCEPTION FOR PERCEPTION. The conceptual metaphors are THE OBEDIENCE IS HEARING and THE UNDERSTANDING IS HEARING. The ORGAN FOR PERCEPTION FOR PERCEPTION metonymy is extended to abstract meaning ‘understanding’ via metaphor.

Table 7. The meaning extensions of eye

body part term	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
eye	thought	<i>มีตาหามีแววไม่</i> mii taa hǎa mii wǎew mây (have-eye-but-have-twinkle-not) ‘unable to distinguish good things from bad things’ <i>ตาต่ำ</i> taa tàam (eye-low) ‘unable to see the value of things’

The conceptual metonymy is THE ORGAN FOR PERCEPTION FOR PERCEPTION. The conceptual metaphor is THINKING IS SEEING. The ORGAN FOR PERCEPTION FOR PERCEPTION metonymy is extended to abstract meaning ‘thinking’ via metaphor.

Table 8. The meaning extensions of back

body part term	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
back	unseen action	<i>ปิดทองหลังพระ</i> pít thooŋ lǎŋ phrá (attach-gold-behind-Buddha statue) ‘to do a thankless job’

The conceptual metonymy is BACK PART FOR LOCATION. The conceptual metaphor is UNSEEN ACTION IS BACK LOCATION. The BACK PART FOR LOCATION metonymy is extended to abstract meaning ‘unseen action’ via metaphor.

Table 9. The meaning extensions of foot

body part term	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
foot )tiin(	lowest part	<i>ปลายเตียง</i> plaay tiin (end-foot) 'the lowest part of the bed'

The conceptual metaphor is OBJECTS ARE HUMAN BEINGS. The conceptual metonymy is PART FOR REGION. The OBJECTS ARE HUMAN BEINGS metaphor is extended to a specific region of object via metonymy.

The findings in this section support the MIND-as-BODY metaphor by Sweetser (1990), where the physical domain (perceptual domain) is mapped onto the mental domain.

#### 5.4 The Chained Metonymies in Body Part Meaning Extension

The extended meanings of body part terms are also constructed through chained metonymies, which are metonymies that involve multiple conceptual shifts (Hilpert, 2007). The example of chained metonymies is as follows.

You'll find better ideas than that in the library. (Reddy 1979: 309 in Hilpert, 2007)

Ideas → words → pages → books

The example above explains that ideas are expressed in words, printed on pages within books, which are found in libraries.

Table 10. The meaning extensions of neck

body part terms	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
neck	taste	<i>ผูกคอ</i> thùuk khoo (right-neck) 'to get along well with someone because of having the same taste' <i>คอสูง</i> khoo sŭng (neck-high) 'to love to eat and use expensive things' <i>แตกคอ</i> tèek khoo (break-neck) 'to be estranged because having different opinion or taste'

NECK FOR EATING; EATING FOR TASTE; Neck → eating → taste

We can see that the chained metonymies are different from metonymy because they involve more than one conceptual shift. In the above example, only single metonymic mapping from books (in the libraries) onto ideas are insufficient. However, Hilpert (2007) said that nothing in principle disallows a single metonymic mapping but the chained metonymies have advantage to break up complex conceptual mappings into simple, well-motivated mapping with a strong experiential basis.

The findings show that there are 2 words, which are neck and back, that their extended meaning motivated by the chained metonymy. Table 10 shows the meaning extensions of body part terms motivated by the chained metonymy.

Table 11. The meaning extensions of back

body part terms	meaning extensions	linguistic expressions
back	support	<i>เดินตามหลังผู้ใหญ่หมาไม่กัด</i> dɔɔn taam lăŋ phŭuyày mǎa mây kàt (walk-follow-adult-dog-not-bite) 'It's safe to follow adults' behaviors.' <i>หนุนหลัง</i> nŭn lăŋ (support back) 'to abet; to back up'

BACK PART FOR LOCATION; PLACE FOR ACTION (Hilpert, 2007: 10); Back → location → action

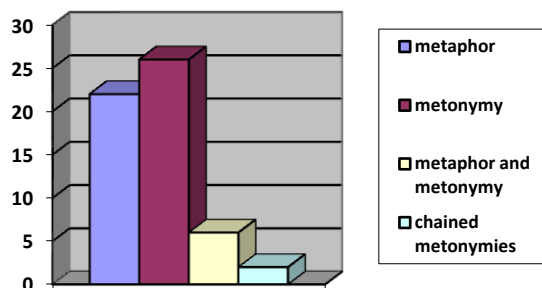


Figure 1. The processes of meaning extensions of human body part terms in Thai idioms

Figure 1 shows that the process of meaning extension found the most in human body part terms is metonymy. This fact supports the claim that metonymy is a more fundamental cognitive phenomena than metaphor (Panther & Radden, 1999).

## 6. Discussion

In this study, I explore the importance of body to the emergence of meaning. The data taken from Thai idioms that contain the body part terms reveal that meanings emerge from bodily experiences. The findings suggest that metaphor and metonymy are the important cognitive tools in the meaning extension process. Some examples in the study involve metaphor only, while others involve only metonymy. However, most of the meaning extension of body part terms is found via metonymy. This fact supports the claim that metonymy is a more fundamental cognitive phenomena than metaphor (Panther & Radden, 1999). There are 6 words that their extended meaning motivated by the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, which Goossens (1995) coined the term ‘metaphtonymy’, an interplay of metonymies and metaphors in the construction of meaning. With respect to such series of mappings, the findings show that the metonymies based on metaphors are rare according to Taylor (2002), Goossens (2002), Hilpert (2007). The findings show that there are two words which are face and foot that the metonymies based on metaphors.

The most extended meaning found in the data is person. This meaning is found in 14 body part terms which are head, face, neck, eye, hand, elbow, arm, finger, leg, buttock (kôn), buttock (tùut), shin, foot (táaw), foot (tiin). Those terms are in every part of human body. The body part term that its meaning is extended most is hand. The meanings of hand are extended to 11 semantic domains. It may be because people use their hands to do many kinds of activities in everyday life.

The finding reflects Thai culture in at least 4 aspects which are religious belief, play, martial art, and way of living. In religious belief, it reflects in the idiom หน้าอินทร์หน้าพรหม *nâa in nâa phrom* (face-Indra-face-Brahma) ‘powerful people’. Indra, the great diety of Hinduism; Brahma (four-faced god) which discloses that Thai religion is partial Brahmanism. Thai people partially believe in animism, which pre-dated the arrival of Buddhism, considered as the major religion in Thailand. The fact relates to the research results in the conceptual metaphors of death in Thai (Wongthai, 2012) which showed that Thai people believe that death is only the end of the body state but the spirit still exists for the cycle of rebirth. This kind of belief originates from Brahmanism.

In play, some idioms reflect the popular play in Thai culture, chess in หน้างอเป็นม้าหมากรุก *nâa ngoo pen máa màakrúk* (face-bend- become-horse chess) ‘to frown’ and cards in ถือไพ่เหนือมือ *thùt phây nâa mûu* (hold-card-upper-hand) ‘to be superior’. In martial art, it reveals that Thai boxing or Muay Thai which becomes widespread internationally and use the body part terms as the name of fighting techniques such as หมัด ‘fist’ ศอก ‘elbow’, เข่า ‘knee’, and the idiom that bring the body part term to reflect Thai boxing is มัดมือชก *mát mûu chók* (bind-hand-punch) ‘to force someone to do something’.

The idioms in Thai containing body part terms also reflect Thai way of living, for example, in the old time Thai people use the ladle made from coconut shell to scoop water in หน้างอเป็นตัก *nâa pen tawàk* (face-become-ladle) or use threshing basket and หน้าบานเป็นกระด้ง *nâa baan pen kradòŋ* (face-bloom-become-threshing basket) ‘to be delighted’. These things are rare in present especially in the city. Thai culture is rice culture. The idioms which reflect this fact are หน้าข้าวตาง *nâa khâaw taŋ* (face-rice crust) ‘a scarred face’ and ชุบน้ำมือ *chúp mûu pǎep* (soak-hand-eat) ‘get advantages from others without any help; to reap what others have sown’, which reveal the way of eating in the past time. People used their hands instead of using spoons.

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## Notes

Note 1. Notice that หัวแข็ง hũa khěeŋ has two meanings: to be healthy and to be stubborn.

Note 2. หัวร้ายเรื่อง hũa ?ây r๕๗ comes from a famous novel titled 'Daw Rueng' (Marigold) by Rosalalane (a famous writer in Thailand)

Note 3. คางเหลือง comes from fighting domain. In the past, when someone was punched at the end of the chin, they would be applied with wax mixed curmin as medicine. Therefore their chin would turn to yellow.

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