



## **Animal Metaphors in Malay with Semantic Derogation**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Zoosemy, or what is understood in the current semantic literature as the use of animal names to denote human qualities or animal metaphors, has been the subject of investigation in various languages and cultures such as English, Spanish, Hungarian and Chinese. Studies focusing on this topic have examined the role of conceptual dimension relating to APPEARANCE/PHYSICAL/CHARACTERISTIC in the process of zoosemic extension in different languages. This study examined the use of animal metaphors in Malay. Data on Malay animal metaphors were extracted from various databases, namely the electronic database on Malay *peribahasa* and Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malay corpus. The analysis of the data focused on how domesticated animals such as cow, goat and donkey are manifested in the respective figurative expressions, i.e., what information or aspects are encoded in the source domain in the conveyance of specific meanings in the target domain of the expressions, as well as whether they have positive or negative evaluations. Findings of the analysis revealed that the behavioural characteristics, as well as the appearance of the domesticated animals, are a common source domain of animal metaphors in Malay. The general conceptual dimension of BEHAVIOUR/APPEARANCE and other specific aspects related to the domesticated Malay animals motivate the intended meaning of the expressions. The findings also illustrate that the use of domesticated animals in the Malay figurative expressions is also often negative, in that they are often employed in a derogatory sense. These findings are in line with those found in the analysis of animal metaphors in other languages, which suggest cultural universality in the conceptual mechanism of zoosemy.

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## INTRODUCTION

Animal metaphors are ubiquitous in languages of the world. This is evident in the use of animals in conventional expressions of many languages worldwide such as in English ('black sheep') and in Malay *hati binatang* (liver animal). Kövecses (2002), for instance, asserts that a substantial part of human behaviour seems to be metaphorically understood in terms of animal behaviour, which leads to the conceptualisation of 'PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS' metaphors that underlie various daily expressions. In this light, it has been emphasised that the cultural meaning of animal words is triggered by the cognitive mechanism of human beings or what has been called the cognitive model, or sometimes referred to as the cultural model (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Through direct experience and frequent contact with animals, human beings have recognised the categorical attributes of animals. As a result, via cognitive mechanisms such as metaphor or metonymy, these attributes of the animal are mapped onto other abstract elements or concepts because of their relevance or similarity. The metaphorical meaning conveyed by the mapping is gradually established through frequent association and become conventionalized, conceptualized and lexicalized.

The use of animals in such expressions has intrigued scholars from various disciplines such as linguistics and anthropology as to why and how animal-related words have acquired the meaning

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<sup>1</sup>Small caps are used to indicate concepts and conceptual metaphors.

they have now, as well as the variation in meaning and connotation or evaluation in different languages and cultures. This has led to a culmination of research which focused on the examination of animal metaphors in different languages within the cognitive linguistic and semantic paradigms.

In relation to that, the use of animal metaphors is often associated with semantic derogation, understood as the use of a word to convey negative connotations and stereotypes. This is in line with the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) that assigns everything in the universe in the hierarchical order in which human beings are placed at a higher level than animals. Thus, when they are equated with animals, it implies that their value is somehow being degraded and the animal-related words are seen as conveying undesirable human characteristics (Talebinejad & Dastjerdi, 2005). For instance, pig is frequently used metaphorically to indicate human filthiness and greediness (Anaider Iza Erviti, 2012; Goatly, 2006).

In fact, Rodriguez (2009) puts forward that the notion of control becomes the fundamental of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. The attribute or quality that differentiates people from animals is the ability to control their behaviour in which individuals are said to have animal side within them and to live as civilised human beings, they must let their rationality surpasses those beast instincts. Therefore, when someone is described using animal terms, it is most likely to convey negative evaluation.

However, a close inspection on the use of animal metaphors revealed that this is not always the case. Even though most of the time the use connotes negative meanings, there are some that do portray positive meanings associated with desirable characteristics of people. To illustrate a few, animals such as lion and bull are associated with positive human values like courage and strength (Rodriguez, 2009). In relation to this, scholars (Basso, 1976; Gibbs, 1999; Emanation, 1999; Song, 2009, to name a few) often associate metaphors with the cultural aspect attached to that particular community. They assert that social and cultural environment influences the understanding of metaphors. Hence, the evaluation of one same animal may vary from one community to the other. Talebinejad and Dastjerdi (2005), in their comparative study of animal metaphors in English and Persian, found that the same animals are differently conceptualised in those two languages. For instance, the bee is often associated with being “very busy” in English, while it could be used to refer to a person with a sharp tongue in Persian. Other cross-cultural studies have also revealed that there are differences in the evaluation of the meaning attached to the same animal and it is closely related to the cultural and social values upheld by the people of that culture.

Despite the numerous studies that have been done on animal metaphors, studies on Malay animal metaphors are still under represented and hardly found in the literature. Thus, data on animal metaphors from the Malay language would

provide insights into how different animals are conceptualised in the Malay culture, for instance, whether in Malay, animals are conceived derogatively and how these are invoked in the source domains of the metaphorical expressions. The inadequacy calls for more studies to be conducted on Malay animal metaphors with more animal terms to be examined. Thus, this paper attempts to examine domesticated animal metaphors in Malay figurative expressions and to discuss the mappings and evaluation of the meanings attached to those animals.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This study employed the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (GCB) metaphor (Lakoff & Turner, 1989), which is a widely used cultural model in the studies of metaphors. In this model, all the things and beings, as well as their properties, are placed on a vertical scale and divided into “lower” and “higher” levels. Human beings occupy the highest level, followed by animals, plants and finally inanimate substances and things at the lowest level.

Further, within each scale of being, there is a scale of properties embodied by each level of being. For instance, at the lowest level, a rock is a mere substance and a chair has a part-whole functional structure. A tree, in contrast, will have both properties, i.e., substance and part-whole functional structure, as well as life. Another level of being such as an insect will have all these properties plus animal behaviour (instinct) and humans. In addition, these properties will have other refined properties such as abstract

reasoning, morality, communication, highly developed consciousness, etc. (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). These characterisations are not scientifically-based knowledge but common folk theories (Honeck, 1997).

In other words, higher level of beings will share some properties that other lower beings possess and in any level in the basic Great Chain, “the highest properties of beings at that level characterise those beings” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 168). What is apparent in the Great Chain model is there is a “generic-level” parameter of each level of being. For instance, although different individuals have different characteristics such as different mental abilities, emotion and desires, all human beings have some common general traits.

Thus, the Great Chain provides a generic-level characterisation of an implicit unconscious cultural model, in that, it does not distinguish among beings within the same level but distinguish the behaviours and attributes between beings from different levels. Together, the Great Chain and the nature of things offer knowledge about the order of things in the Great Chain and why they have certain attributes and this knowledge is seen as unconscious, automatic, commonplace, and culturally shared. In this light, metaphorical expressions such as proverbs, which concern people albeit on the surface, seem to portray other things such as animals and plants. For example, *Make hay while the sun shines* can be understood through the Great Chain of Being model. Since this model concerns kinds of beings and places them on a vertical

scale comprising a specific order of “higher” and “lower” beings with specific attributes, it “offers us ways of comprehending the complex faculties of human beings” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 166) in terms of the other things included in the proverbs. The Great Chain of Being allows us to understand people as animal, or plants, or objects, and so forth. Specifically, deriving from the Great Chain of Being and at a higher level of abstraction or generalisation, we have, for example, PEOPLE BEHAVIOUR ARE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, PEOPLE CHARACTERISTIC ARE ANIMAL CHARACTERISTIC metaphor, and so on.

Whilst some studies have examined the manifestation of the concept ANIMAL – in certain types of figurative expressions, i.e. focusing on the source domain of the metaphorical expressions, others have focused on various animals manifested in data extracted from a relatively large corpus of written discourse. Among the studies that have investigated the use of animal metaphors in different languages are those of De La Cruz Cabanillas and Martínez (2006), Fernández Fontecha and Jiménez Catalán (2003), Macarthur (2005), Talebinejad and Dastjerdi (2005), Kieltyka and Kleparski (2007), Sakalauskaite (2010), and Imran-Ho Abdullah (2010).

A study conducted by Esmail Faghih (2001) focused on the interpretation of animal metaphors in English and Persian. It examined whether and to what extent there are similarities in both languages and aimed to determine whether animal metaphors have positive connotations or not. Faghih

found that the same animals were used to suggest different figurative meanings in two different languages and cultures. Besides that, the findings of the study revealed that the source domain of the metaphors in Persian tended to emphasise more the aspects of physical appearance as compared to those in English.

Another study by Olátéjú (2005) focused on the stylistic aspect of the animal-related metaphors in Yorùbá from a literary perspective. The data consisted of domesticated and wild animal metaphors in Yorùbá language. Animal metaphors are stylistically used, especially in poetry, in paying tributes and compliments to animals and humans as well. When human beings are predicated of an animal, they are either intentionally or consciously used in <sup>2</sup>anthropomorphism to highly praise, pay compliments and tributes to human beings. When used in an uncomplimentary manner, they are usually intended to satirize, rebuke, condemn or describe negative aspects of his character.

Wei and Wong (2012), in their study of snake metaphors in Mandarin Chinese and British English, found that characteristics and appearance of a snake contributed to the construction of metaphorical expressions in both languages. Besides that, these two languages share the same metaphor of HUMAN BEINGS ARE SNAKES. In addition to this, their study also showed that the universality of snake metaphors exists

<sup>2</sup>This refers to the attribution of human characteristics, which is assumed to belong only to humans, animals, other non-living things, phenomena, and abstract concepts.

at the generic level, while the individuality of those metaphors appears at the basic level in which different specific conceptual metaphors are used in generalizing the man and woman in those two languages. As for the meaning evaluation, the snake metaphors in Chinese conveyed a much more derogative meaning for the man, while the opposite is found in English whereby the woman receives much more derogatory remarks.

Taking a slightly different angle, Haslam, Loughnan and Sun (2011) studied factors which contributed to offensiveness of animal metaphors by focusing on the content, as well as the context in metaphor use. They found that a feeling of strong dislike towards the animal, as well as a dehumanizing view of the target that it implied, made those metaphors offensive. Looking at the contexts in which the animal metaphors are used, factors like tone of the expression, gender and group status (in-group/out-group) influence the offensiveness of those metaphors. Animal metaphors are regarded to be more offensive when they are used in a hostile manner towards female targets and out-group members. However, when those metaphors are uttered towards in-group members, they are acceptable and the members would take it as a mere joke, unless it is expressed in a hostile tone.

In their study of semantic derogation in animal metaphor, Fontecha and Catalán (2003) analysed the use of metaphorical expressions of the word pairs, *fox/vixen* and *bull/cow* in English and their counterparts,

*zorro/zorra* and *toro/vaca* in Spanish. They sought to find out: 1) whether these animal metaphors are equally conceptualized in those two languages; 2) whether the use of those two paired examples in each language leads to semantic derogation; 3) whether semantic derogation applies equally to both gender terms; and 4) whether those examples in English and Spanish have the same degree and kind of semantic derogation. The findings revealed that those animal pairs are applied to people and semantic derogation does appear in both languages. As for the meanings, female terms connote worse qualities compared to those connoted by the male terms metaphors. Apart from that, there are some dissimilarity in the degree and type of semantic derogation that occurred in both languages.

Despite the continuing interest in metaphors of animals, such studies seem to have focused on specific animals. This study aimed at examining the use of domesticated animal metaphors in Malay. It focused on the mapping of the aspect and information used in the source domain in the conveyance of the respective related meanings of the figurative expressions in the target domain, as well as their connotations or evaluations.

**MATERIALS AND METHODS**

The data of the study comprised Malay figurative expressions that utilise domesticated animals, which in this study, is defined as vertebrate animals that are under the care of human beings so as to live and breed in a tame condition and depend on humankind for survival. They were

collected from various sources, namely, the electronic database on Malay proverbs and *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*, as well as various books on Malay proverbs and idioms. The data cover a range of Malay figurative expressions such as *simpulan bahasa*, *perumpamaan*, *bidalan*, and *pepatah*. In total, the data comprised 259 instances of Malay figurative expressions, which use domesticated animals, such as cow, goat, horse, chicken, dog, cat, buffalo, pig and duck. All the instances of figurative expressions which contain the identified domesticated animal names together with their respective given meanings were identified and selected as data for the study. The inclusion of the 9 animals as data was based on a minimum number of occurrences identified as a criterion for consideration and selection as the data of the study, that is, having at least 5 occurrences in the databases and books. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the number of figurative expressions included as data of the study.

TABLE 1  
Number of selected data according to animal

No.	Animals	Frequency
1.	Dog	52
2.	Chicken	49
3.	Buffalo	49
4.	Cat	31
5.	Goat	24
6.	Horse	21
7.	Duck	20
8.	Cow	8
9.	Pig	5
Total		259

As the nature of this study is mainly qualitative, it is not possible to provide a discussion of the analysis of all identified data. The discussion of the analysed data in this paper provides only representative examples of the 9 types of domesticated animals that were identified. For the different conceptual domains invoked in the data (appearance and behaviour), the discussion includes a schematic representation of the mapping of the salient source domains onto the respective meanings in the target domain.

As pointed out earlier, the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor (Lakoff & Turner 1989), other Idealised Cognitive Models (ICMs) such as the GENERIC-IS-SPECIFIC and resemblance metaphor (Grady, 1997), along with the principle of metaphorical highlighting and metaphorical utilisation (Kövecses 2002), are used as a framework in the analysis of different aspects of animal metaphors manifest in the language. The animal metaphors investigated in the Malay language are described and explained from the cognitive semantic perspective, particularly in the mapping of the aspect and information in the source domain to that of the target domain. The analysis focused on the mapping of ANIMALS ARE HUMANS underlying the Malay figurative expressions, which is derived from the GENERIC-IS-SPECIFIC metaphor. For example, the general metaphor that asserts HUMANS ARE ANIMALS involves ANIMALS as the source domain and HUMANS the

target domain. The analysis focuses on the information embedded in the source domain (i.e. ANIMALS) and how it is mapped onto the target domain (i.e. HUMANS) in Malay. As for the evaluation attached to the meaning of each animal metaphor in the identified Malay figurative expressions, the positive or negative evaluation of its meaning was determined based on the meaning conveyed.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *The Animal Metaphors in Malay*

Out of a total of 259 Malay figurative expressions, 224 (86.5%) were negative expressions, 20 (7.7%) were positive and the remaining 15 (5.8%) were neutral. The analysis revealed that the animal appearance and behaviour, as well as situations in which the animals are in, in the source domain, are particularly salient in conveying their respective meaning. Specifically, within the general domain of appearance, behaviour or characteristic of animals mapped onto those in the target domain, specific aspects of meaning related to human characteristic or condition are conveyed in the target domain. The interpretations of the different metaphorical expressions included in the study are done through the mapping of elements in the source domain onto their specific meanings in the target domain based on the G-I-S metaphor. The analysis of the examples of the expressions is given below, with specific schematic representations of the respective mappings.

*Appearance/Characteristics*

In Malay animal metaphors, in general, the appearance of the animals may refer to the appearance related to a condition or a particular characteristic of a person. In other words, in this expression, a certain APPEARANCE is mapped onto a certain characteristic of human beings, as discussed in the various examples that follow.

1. *Anak ayam kebasahan bulu*  
 Chick      wet      feather  
 (A disgusting person; to be in an uncomfortable state)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor <i>anak ayam</i> (chick)	→ a person
<i>kebasahan bulu</i> (wet feather)	→ be in a state of discomfort

Fig.1: Metaphorical schema of *anak ayam kebasahan bulu*

In this expression (1), the appearance of a wet chick, which is very unpleasant, is mapped onto the appearance of a human which is disgusting and in an unwarranted condition (a discomfort) through the G-I-S metaphor. Here, the image of a chick soaked with water is transferred to a negative image of a person to convey the negative meaning of ‘a disgusting’ person or one who is in an uncomfortable condition. Another example which uses appearance is in the following expression:

2. *Anjing kurap*  
 Dog scabies  
 (People who are being looked down upon because of their poverty)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor <i>anjing kurap</i> (dog scabies)	→ a person who is being looked down upon because of his poverty

Fig.2: Metaphorical schema of *anjing kurap*

Similarly, in 2, the Malay *simpulan bahasa* manifest the image of a dog that is infected with scabies is mapped onto the condition of a person who is being looked down upon because of his poverty. This mapping is motivated by the resemblance metaphor. In the Malay society, a dog that is infected with scabies is viewed as a very dirty and ugly animal and in general, will be frowned upon. Culturally in Malay, dog is not a highly regarded animal, unlike in the Western culture such as English, where dog is associated with ‘loyalty’ and ‘man’s best friend’. Based on this scenario, people associate the negative condition of *anjing kurap* with the condition or the characteristic of a person, which is not well regarded because of his poverty. The negative representation of dog in Malay contradicts Lakoff’s metaphorical schema about dogs (1989), i.e. dogs are loyal, dependable and dependent.

3. *Mutiara terkalung ke leher babi*  
 Pearl      on      a pig’s neck  
 (A person getting) something valuable but does not know its value)



SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor	
<i>mutiara</i> (pearl)	→ something valuable
<i>babi</i> (pig)	→ something that is lowly regarded

Fig.3: Metaphorical schema of *mutiara terkalung ke leher babi*

The above figurative expression (3) refers to a situation in which a pearl (something valuable) is put around a pig’s neck (something lowly regarded). Through the G-I-S metaphor, the pig’s situation is mapped onto the situation of a person who does not know the value of something valuable that he has. Metonymically, a body part of a pig (e.g. its neck) denotes something lowly regarded or of an insignificant value. The pearl, in contrast, is mapped onto something of a high value. However, when the pearl is put on a pig’s neck, its value is downgraded and no longer regarded as a precious item. This is in line with the Malay cultural and religious values, which regards pig as an animal that is strictly prohibited for contact and consumption. Thus, in Malay, any expression related to this animal would convey some negative meanings.

*Behaviour*

The behaviour of the animal is ascribed a certain characteristic before it is attributed to the person. In the Malay figurative expressions, animals are shown as the doer of human actions (protagonist) through their behaviours. Besides that, they are viewed as the object of human actions. The discussion that follows focuses on the description of some instances of animal metaphors in

Malay which convey negative meanings related to the ascribed animal traits.

**Cowardice**

Cowardice is a negative sense ascribed to the following examples of figurative expressions.

4. *Jiwa kambing*

Soul goat  
(A coward)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor	
<i>jiwa kambing</i> (soul goat)	→ a coward
[sensitive to and not liking water]	

Fig.4: Metaphorical schema of *jiwa kambing*

In 4, this Malay two-word idiom (*simpulan bahasa*) is used to describe a human characteristic, i.e. cowardice. Through the G-I-S, the sensitivity of goats to water and not liking it is mapped onto the characteristic of human beings, cowardice, which is a negative trait. Thus, when a person is said to have a goat’s soul, it means that he is a coward. The following expression takes on the same meaning and manifests a certain animal behaviour.

5. *Anak kambing takkan menjadi anak harimau*

Kid never become cub  
(A coward will remain a coward)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor	
<i>anak kambing</i> (kid)	→ a coward/weak person
<i>takkan menjadi</i> (never become)	→ remain
<i>anak harimau</i> (cub)	→ a brave person

Fig.5: Metaphorical schema of *anak kambing takkan menjadi anak harimau*

In expression 5, a kid is viewed as inferior compared to a cub. The image of cowardice found in the source domain (kid) is mapped onto the target domain (human) via the G-I-S. In this case, the general folk theory informs us that a tiger is superior to a goat in terms of its strength and characteristic. This is in line with the Great Chain hierarchical order of animals (Lakoff & Turner, 1989), in which a tiger is viewed as a very fierce animal that symbolises courage. This contrasts with the image of a kid which is viewed as helpless compared to a cub. Thus, the salient characteristic of a kid (negative) that is compared to a positive characteristic of a cub is mapped onto the weak trait of a person who by nature is a coward and will never be brave.

6. *Bagai kucing dibawakan lidi*  
Like cat (be) bring stick  
(Being very scared/frightened)

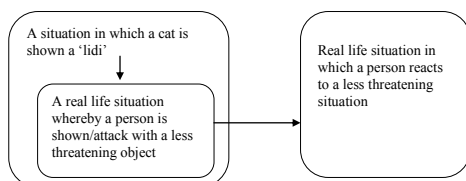


Fig.6: Metaphorical schema of *bagai kucing dibawakan lidi*

Expression 6 conveys the meaning related to a negative behaviour – cowardice via a situational animal metaphor. Through the G-I-S metaphor, the behavioural action of a cat, i.e., fleeing from a situation triggered by the presence of the *lidi* (soft middle vein of a coconut leaf) is mapped onto a situation of a person’s reaction towards some less threatening situation. The behavioural action of the cat in the given situation as well as the characteristic of the *lidi* is salient in conveying the negative meaning of the expression.

### Stupidity

Stupidity is another aspect mapped onto domesticated animal behaviour. Below are some examples of Malay figurative expressions which convey meanings related to stupidity.

7. *Keldai hendak dijadikan kuda*  
Donkey want become horse  
(A stupid person wants to be seen as a wise person)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor	
<i>keldai</i> (donkey)	→ a stupid person
<i>dijadikan</i> (become)	→ is seen
<i>kuda</i> (horse)	→ a wise person

Fig.7: Metaphorical schema of *keldai hendak dijadikan kuda*

In Fig.7, the characteristics of the animals, donkey and horse, are mapped onto stupidity and wisdom, respectively, via the G-I-S metaphor. Here, the donkey

is compared to a horse, whereby the horse is viewed as a superior animal, in terms of its intelligence compared to the donkey, which is slow and inefficient. Interestingly, in English a donkey is regarded as lazy, which differs from the meaning of stupidity ascribed in Malay.

8. *Kuda kayu*  
Horse wood  
(A stupid person)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor <i>kuda kayu</i> (horse wood)	→ a stupid person

Fig.8: Metaphorical schema of *kuda kayu*

In the above Malay *simpulan bahasa* (8), a wooden horse is mapped onto the meaning of stupidity via resemblance metaphor. This meaning associated with a horse contrasts with that of a horse conveyed in the previous expression. In this light, the meaning of horse in Malay can be negative as well as positive. What is interesting here is that the negative meaning is ascribed to a wooden horse and not a live horse, which perhaps can be related to a Malay expression with a negative meaning *Jangan jadi seperti tunggul* (don't be like a dead wood, i.e. stupid). Thus, when a horse is a wooden horse, it embodies the characteristic of stupidity.

9. *Seperti kerbau dicucuk hidung*  
Like buffalo (is) pierce nose  
(A stupid person who always follows other people's wants)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor <i>kerbau</i> (buffalo) <i>dicucuk hidung</i> (pierce nose)	a person is controlled by somebody/ follow obediently

Fig.9: Metaphorical schema of *seperti kerbau dicucuk hidung*

In the above expression (9), through the G-I-S metaphor, the behavioural condition of a buffalo, with its nostrils tied to a rope for control purposes, is mapped onto the attribute of stupidity, i.e. obediently following another person's order, which is a negative trait. The Malay society attributes stupidity to this kind of behaviour. Generally, the behaviour of such animal is mapped onto a similar human behaviour acting in the same manner as the buffalo.

**Stubbornness and laziness**

Other examples of Malay figurative expressions that denote the meaning of stubbornness and laziness based on domesticated animal behaviour are provided as follows.

10. *Itik dimandikan takkan basah*  
Duck (is) bathed never get wet  
(A stubborn person will never listen to advice or teachings)

SOURCE	TARGET
Metaphor <i>itik</i> (duck) <i>dimandikan</i> (bathed)	→ a stubborn person → is given advice
<i>basah</i> (wet)	→ accept/listen to advice

Fig.10: Metaphorical schema of *itik dimandikan takkan basah*

In figurative expression 10, through the G-I-S metaphor, the characteristic of a duck that will not get wet when covered with water in the source domain is mapped onto the meaning of a stubborn person not listening to any given advice or teaching in the target domain. Our conventional knowledge of animals informs us that duck is a farm animal that can swim and it is endowed with the feature which can help it to do so – a waterproof feather. Thus, no matter how long it stays in water, it will never get wet. This kind of resistance is viewed as stubbornness and it is then mapped onto the human behaviour which refers to a stubborn person who will never listen to advice or teachings.

11. *Bagai kambing dimandikan pagi*

Like goat (is) bathed in the morning  
(People who refuse to perform a task)

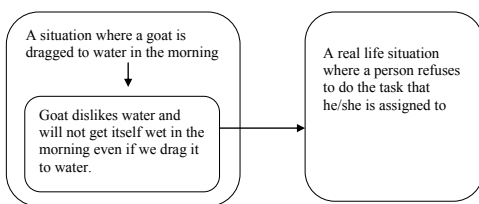


Fig.11: Metaphorical expression of *bagai kambing dimandikan pagi*

The above expression (11) manifests the negative behaviour of a goat, which is mapped onto an undesirable human characteristic. This is attained through the mapping of the elements in the source domain, i.e. the goat behaviour onto the target domain, the refusal of a person in performing a task. As mentioned earlier in the previous discussion, goat is an animal

that is known to be afraid of water or said to dislike water. Thus, it will surely refuse to follow along when it is dragged to water. The Malay society attributes laziness to this kind of behaviour. Therefore, if a person refuses to do a job, he is said to be like a goat refusing to be dragged to the water in the morning, a negative connotation.

12. *Lembu kenyang*

Full cow  
(A person who is stubborn, lazy and not bothered)

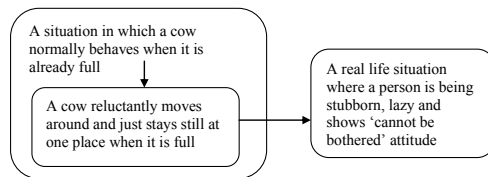


Fig.12: Metaphorical expression of *lembu kenyang*

Expression 12 conveys a negative meaning associated with human characteristic, i.e. laziness, stubbornness and uncaring. The negative characteristic related to the condition of a cow (a full stomach cow) in the source domain is mapped onto the human characteristic of laziness, uncaring in the target domain. The cow's behaviour, which contributes to the above expression is related to the behavioural condition when the cow, is full, i.e. reluctant to move around or have many movements and rather reluctant to follow the farmer's instruction after being fed. Based on this observation, the negative attribute is transferred to human characteristic or behaviour which denotes a person's stubbornness, laziness or uncaring attitude.

13. *Bagai itik pulang petang*  
 Like duck return evening  
 (Walking slowly)

SOURCE	TARGET
<i>itik pulang petang</i> (duck return evening) [the nature of a duck that walks slowly]	→ a person who walks slowly or performs task in a slow manner

Fig.13: Metaphorical schema of *bagai itik pulang petang*

In example 13, the behaviour of a walking duck is mapped onto a human behaviour, i.e. to describe the nature of walking, which is very slowly via the G-I-S metaphor. In this regard, humans ascribe a certain action to animals such as a duck walking slowly. Thus, a person who performs an action in a similar manner may take a very long time to accomplish a given task, which is undesirable. Thus, he or she can be described using the expression “like a duck returning in the evening”. In terms of evaluation assigned to its meaning, this can be said to be negative, a behaviour which is not encouraged.

**CONCLUSION**

This paper has provided some insights into the nature of human language through the working of metaphorical expressions utilising domesticated animals as the source domain in Malay and the mappings of certain aspects of APPEARANCE, BEHAVIOUR and CHARACTERISTIC. Due to the close contact between animal

and human, people naturally observe the appearance or condition of the animals and eventually transfer it to the appearance or condition or the characteristic of human beings, which not only shapes the way people think but also talk about their worlds. The analysis of the Malay data demonstrates that domesticated animals are commonly used in a derogatory sense, i.e. to convey negative meanings. This phenomenon is culturally and/or religiously related. The derogatory sense attached to the animals in the identified data reflects the essence of the basic Great Chain of Being metaphor, which purports an orderly hierarchical relationship, i.e., human beings occupied the highest level, followed by animals and so forth (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The findings of the study provide further evidence to the systematic mapping or correspondences between the source and target domains and that humans are understood as animals. These mappings are mainly motivated by three metaphorical bases, namely, resemblance metaphor, the G-I-S metaphor and the Great Chain of Being metaphor. From the data, it would appear that dog, chicken and buffalo are the preponderance in the corpus of animal metaphors. These could be the case that they are most commonly seen animals or considered more significant in the culture of the Malay.

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