

Conceptualisation of Hand Idioms and Proverbs in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) into English: A Cognitive Approach

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Abstract

The study tackles the cognitive mechanisms found in hand idioms in Egyptian dialect and some issues in rendering them into English. Hand idioms in Arabic, in general, and particularly in the Egyptian dialect refer to different conventional meanings in the conceptual domains. The study adopts Johnson and Lakoff's Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008). It examines 10 figurative expressions of hand idioms in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA). Most of the samples selected have similar equivalents or near-equivalents in the English language which support the universality of basic metaphors of hand idioms. Traditionally, it is argued that metaphorical idiomatic expressions have arbitrary senses. However, in cognitive linguistics, according to Lakoff, they are motivated rather than arbitrary and pronounced automatically in the conceptual system. The selected hand idioms are proposed to be derived from a set of conceptual mappings that is realised from a source and a target domain based on the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor developed by (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The study shows that the figurative meanings of the selected data are cognitively achieved by conceptual metonymy, conventional knowledge, and conceptual metaphor respectively. It also finds that conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge constitute the main tool in motivating and understanding the hand idioms in ECA. Additionally, the literal translation of hand idioms would not be a good option due to the culture-specific references embedded.

Keywords:

Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA), hand idioms, translation, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, conventional knowledge.

Introduction

Every language is *sui generis*, a new version of life, and a novel window to the world. Metaphors, metonymies and *imageable idioms* represent a significant part of each language's uniqueness and subtlety. Idioms are metaphoric, metonymic or figurative expressions whose meanings cannot be identified literally but figuratively since they are fossilised and only known through common sense and shared ideas or conventional knowledge. Metaphors are not just words or merely a universal linguistic phenomenon, but they are culture-specific and conventional language that enables people to establish their stances and reflect their experiences. Some metaphors are universal while others are cultural-specific. Similarly, some hand idioms in this study have their counterparts in English, but they may or may not refer to the same identical target representation in the conceptual system. On the other hand, metonymy is a conceptual cognitive process where a source message provides access to the target message across one cognitive domain (Panther and Thornburg, 2007).

According to Goddard (1996: 145), linguists should thoroughly study the “non-Western semantic systems” of metaphors because they might produce a different way of “social, technological, philosophical and environmental problems”. Therefore, the study tackles the cognitive mechanisms (i.e. conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge) of hand idioms in the ECA and some issues involved in translating them into English. The collected data of hand idioms in ECA are taken from El-Batal (2000) dictionary of idioms, several literary and media texts, online forums, and Facebook/Twitter posts. Among 116 hand idioms collected, only 10 instances have been selected and categorised to be considered in this paper due to the limitation of the study. The rest of the instances have been compiled in a table as a small glossary for further studies in the appendix section.

1. Literature review

Few scholarly pieces of research have been conducted on the metaphor of hand idioms in ECA as a form of figurative discourse, folklore, and culture-specific. The few studies done so far come mainly from Jordan, Yemen and Saudi Arabia, pointing out the meaning and translation equivalence of some Arabic hand idioms into English (e.g. Akhorsheda 2021, Dhafer 2020 and Al-Amoudi 2013). Various approaches have been consulted in analysing Arabic hand idioms, ranging from Cognitive Theory of Metaphor developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to the

idiomatic activation sets model by Langlotz (2006), and paraphrasing the collected idiomatic statements verbally or in written.

Benczes (2002) investigated the semantics of idioms including the body part head from a cognitive linguistic view. She highlighted what conceptual metaphors or metonymies underlie the idioms involving the body part head and what the conceptual vehicles might imply and/or entail about the conceptualisation of the head related idiomatic expressions. She aimed at putting the cognitive linguistic theory on idioms into practice. Additionally, the paper pointed out to Lakoff's (1987) and Kövecses & Szabó's (1996) literature on human hand idioms and discussed the traditional or non-compositional approach of arbitrariness versus the cognitive theory or compositionality of idioms. She highlighted how significant it is to understand idioms that were motivated by the cognitive mechanisms, i.e. metaphor, metonymy and conventional image. Motivation is the link or vehicle provided between the idiom and its meaning. Benczes found that the cognitive approach applied to the English head idioms in question gave a clear picture of how the head is conceptualised in English: "it is a container of ideas, it stands for our mental abilities, it is the seat of the emotion of conceit and also stands for control" (Benczes, 2002: 28).

One of the few scholarly works tackled the metaphor of Arabic hand idioms is that by Al-Amoudi (2013), where she identified 12 Arabic hand idioms motivated by a systematic conceptual meaning that derived from a set of conceptual mappings by Lakoff (1980). In analysing the selected data, she counted on two approaches: the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor by (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987; Gibbs & O'Brien, 1990; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Benczes, 2002), and Langlotz's (2006) idiomatic activation- sets model. The study showed that the meaning of most Arabic hand idioms was motivated by metaphor. The study also found how people conceptualised the "nonphysical" hand idioms in terms of the "physical" sets (Al-Amoudi 2013:39) and had proved the effectiveness of the two methods used, i.e., Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Langlotz's idiomatic activation-sets model.

In an experimental study, Ciprianova and Vrabelova (2015) also report on a study in which eighty-five Slovak students participated and tested their comprehension of nine English figurative idioms including body parts, e.g. "turn a blind eye to something", "change hands", "set one's heart on something" etc. Slovak students were asked to guess the meaning of such idioms including eye, hand, and heart. Idioms were given without any contextual references so students can only rely on "idiom-inherent features" (ibid:3). They classified the student's

responses as ‘known’ and ‘unknown’, however, the unknown category was their main search interest. The statistical test of Pearson Chi-Square was applied to evaluate how likely the dependence between the students’ responses and the idiom type is. The researchers found that most incorrect explanations were involved in these hand idioms: “show one’s hand, change hands, keep one’s hand in”. They also concluded that occurring the same conceptual metaphors and metonymies in both languages does not confirm better idiom understanding.

Okoye and Mmadike (2016) examined Igbo idioms including body parts (i.e. head, hand, eyes and teeth) to attest that idioms are not arbitrary expressions, but cognitive-based operations. Their data were collected from Igbo textbooks and analysed based on conceptualisation, meaning interpretation and the cognitive mechanisms (i.e. metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge). They concluded that the meaning of some Igbo idioms was based on a single mechanism such as conventional knowledge, for instance, “I pū eze elū (to develop teeth up- to indulge in a forbidden act)”. Other Igbo body-part idioms were motivated by two mechanisms such as conventional knowledge and metonymy as in “inyē aka āzu” (to give hand back-to give bribe). Also, there were idioms driven from three mechanisms namely metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge as in “itiḳō ṛisi ɔnu” (to put heads together- to deliberate on an issue). They found that the conventional knowledge is a vital mechanism in meaning interpretation of Igbo body-part idioms and their meanings are not arbitrary at all but can be employed in different cognitive tools.

In a succinct comparative study, Skenderi and Ejupi (2018) shed light on English hand idioms compared to Spanish and Albanian counterparts. They investigated the full equivalence, partial equivalence and non-equivalence meaning of hand idioms in English, Spanish and Albanian. Based on cultural translation, they question if those three languages have the same meaning of hand idioms. The study concludes that most of frequent and common hand idioms are to be the same in the three languages. However, only few of them seem to be different but still convey the same message. They have classified six hand idioms with complete equivalence meaning, three idiomatic expressions with partial equivalence meaning, and finally two idioms with no equivalence. They also find that hand idioms in those three languages are more culture specific rather than linguistic expressions.

Dhafer (2020) focuses on the conceptual metonymy of eye and hand idioms in English and Yemeni Arabic. The study claims that Yemeni Arabic and English cultures share similar knowledge of body parts idiomatic expressions that

supports the universality of the human conceptual system. He also argues that the figurative meaning of many idioms is predictable because their components can consistently lead to the overall figurative meaning of those expressions. The conceptual theory by Lakoff & Johnson, 1980 that includes the three cognitive mechanisms (i.e. conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor and conventional knowledge) has been followed as a methodological framework in this study. In his data analysis, Dhafer consults the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (1995) to define each English idiom in question. Five eye idioms and five hand idioms have been thoroughly investigated and analysed. For instance, the hand idiom “أعرفه مثل قاع يدي” “know something like the back of your hand”, yet ‘palm’ replaces ‘back’ in the Arabic Yemeni expression. This idiom is motivated by the “**part for the whole**” conceptual metonymy: “**the hand stand for the person** [that] seems to act as the linking vehicle which connects the literal meaning of this idiom to its idiomatic meaning, which is ‘to know him well’” (Dhafer:76). The study concludes that metaphor and metonymy of body part idioms are the most motivating figurative images to Yemeni people to understand themselves and the abstract outside world.

Akhorsheda (2021) demonstrated the translatability from Arabic into English of some body part idioms that include head, heart and hand. She focused on finding English equivalences to those Arabic idiomatic expressions. The methodology used included several statements collected verbally or via written texts in order to restate and paraphrase the source meaning of idioms in question., ten head idioms, six heart idioms and six hand idioms were discussed and analysed subjectively according to the researcher’s point of view. The study concluded that the body parts Arabic idioms used in this paper had no English equivalences and the paraphrased translation is the only option.

2. Methodology

2.1 Power of cognitive mechanisms

The traditional view posits that idioms are cultural expressions with arbitrary meanings and therefore cannot be predicted from their constituents. However, the cognitive theory rejects that claim and supports that idiomatic expressions can be understood by some cognitive operations. This study attempts to ascertain this cognitive approach pertaining to hand idioms in ECA. The figurative meanings embedded in the selected hand idioms in this study are generally motivated by conceptual metonymy conventional knowledge, and/or conceptual metaphor (i.e. the cognitive mechanisms). All languages make use of idioms that reflect

customs, social conventions, cultural notions and norms (Yagiz & Izadpanah, 2013). The cognitive approach argues that the meaning of idioms, rather than being arbitrary, provides insights into how thoughts are processed in the collective minds of peoples. It also highlights the significant role of metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge in bridging different domains to the meaning of idioms. Cognitive theories analyse the structures and components of the idiom in terms of the cognitive mechanisms to be conceptualised. It also focuses on the background knowledge as a fundamental component in meaning interpretation in native speakers' minds (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008; Kovecses, 2005, 2010; Langlotz, 2006). In the coming subsections, conceptual metaphor and metonymy are to be introduced as cognitive tools that can be utilised in the meaning interpretation of idiomatic figurative expressions. Additionally, conventional knowledge is discussed and highlighted as an essential tool in understanding figurative expressions.

2.1.1 Conceptual metaphor

"A metaphor is a word or expression that is used to talk about an entity or quality other than that referred to by its core, or most basic meaning" (Deignan, 2005: 34). A metaphor is a transition from one semantic domain into another (Mazid, 2007: 60). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kovecses (2002: 4), a metaphor consists of two conceptual domains (i.e. source or vehicle and target or tenor) in which one is recognised in terms of another such as when we talk about power in terms of hand in the idiom *إيده طايله* (literally, his hand is reachable) (he is very powerful) and beauty in terms of rose or white snow as in *بنت قمر* (literally, she is a moon) (she is gorgeous). Thus, a conceptual domain is about any coherent organisation of experience. Kovecses further confirms that "the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain" (Kovecses, 2002: 4). Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson (2008) find that conceptual metaphors lie in "inferences of sensory-motor domain...because we reason in terms of metaphor, the metaphors we use determine a great deal about how we live our lives." (245). They also claim that conceptual metaphors are figurative concepts that are cognitively constructed by mapping a concrete source domain into a more abstract target domain such as the concrete hand in terms of the abstract power or authority in the idiom *HAND IS POWER*, e.g. the proverb *الإيد اللي ما تقدر تقطعها بوسها* (literally, the hand you cannot cut off, kiss it) ("If you cannot beat them, join

them”) (El-Batal, 2000: 17). The concrete source entity (hand) is generally created to facilitate access to the abstract domain (power or control). Mazid (2007: 60) avers that the relationship between source and target elements involves “not only the transfer of semantic attributes but also of emotive and evaluative aspects”. This transfer may be based on a “false, deceptive analogy” (Musolff, 2004: 173). Some metaphors are imposed upon peoples by those in power — political leaders, religious leaders, business leaders, advertisers, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 157-160).

Moreover, they differentiate between primary and complex metaphors stating that primary metaphors pop up unexpectedly, develop naturally and are often universal across cultures, while the complex metaphors are pragmatic specific and differ considerably from one culture to another and from one community to another. For instance, the metaphor FREEDOM IS HAVING THE HAND FREE is a primary a universal one, however the metaphor DEVIL IS LEFT-HANDED is a complex pragmatic one that is associated with Islamic literature, so children are asked not to eat with their left hands.

Also, (Dobrovol’skij & Piirainen 2005) note that idioms based on the same conceptual metaphor often reveal semantic differences. To demonstrate, the ECA hand idiom إيدته خفيفة (his hand is light) could occur in two different contexts giving two different semantic meanings as in إيدته خفيفة سرق الشنطة (his hand is light; he stole the bag) and إيدته خفيفة في ضرب الحقن (his hand is light in giving a pain-free injection). The difference arises from the corresponding passive conceptual image where the former shows a thief with light hands while the latter evokes the positive image of a skilful nurse who can give free-pain injections.

Kovecses and Szabo (1996: 337-344) list a number of hand idiom metaphors: (1) the metaphor FREEDOM TO ACT IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE, e.g. *bind somebody hand and foot* meaning to completely confine a person’s freedom to act (مكتف إيدته ورجليه) (bind his hand and foot); (2) the metaphor CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND, e.g. *be in my hand* meaning be under my control (تحت إيدي); (3) the metaphor POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND, e.g. *lay one’s hand on something* meaning acquire something (وضع يد); (4) the metaphor ATTENTION IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND, e.g. *that matter at hand* meaning the matter receiving attention (الموضوع اللي في/بين إيدينا).

2.1.2 Conceptual metonymy

Metaphor is not the only trope that can be used to interpret the motivation behind hand idioms in general and in ECA in particular. Metonymy is another linguistic and figurative tool that is used for idiomatic meaning to represent a substitution of a name with its attribute for that of the thing meant. Johnson & Lakoff (2003) and Kovecses & Szabo (1996) argue that conceptual metonymy is one of the essential mechanisms of cognition. The concept of conceptual metonymy refers to the idea of a part standing for the whole object. Similarly, Kovecses (2010) calls metonymy a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, refers to mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, across the same domain. He also introduces three types of general metonymies: THE WHOLE FOR THE PART, THE PART FOR THE WHOLE and THE PART FOR THE PART. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), the-part-for-the-whole metonymy illustrates that several parts can represent the whole. However, it is typically determined by which part is selected to be emphasised. Considering this ECA example عايزين إيد نظيفة للشغلانة ديه (literally, we look for clean hands for this task) (we need a good hand for this position), it is a part for the whole metonymy that illustrates that an honest, trustworthy and reliable person is required for that job. In this case the conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON is at work. It is an instantiation of the more general metonymy THE PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE. It refers to the attribute of one's honesty and reliability.

Kovecses and Szabo (1996: 337-344) display a cognitive semantic view of the conceptual domain (human hand). They investigate many human hand idiomatic expressions through the cognitive mechanisms, i.e. conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge. They introduce the importance of one's human hand and identify it as a part of our everyday knowledge that it is too small to hold many things easily at the same time. They point out specific knowledge about the conventional gestures involving the hand. They claim that metonymy and metaphor are closely related and overlapping; accordingly, either metaphor or metonymy is used for the sake of simplicity. They tackle the following cognitive mechanisms about the human hand: (1) the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY, e.g. *be in good hands* meaning be will be cared for (في إيد أمينة); (2) the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, e.g. *from hand to hand* meaning from one person to another (من إيد لإيد); (3) the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE SKILL, e.g. *to have a hand in something* meaning to be gifted to do something (إيده تتلف في حريير)

(literally, he has a hand should be wrapped in silk); (4) the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL, e.g. *fall into the hands of someone* meaning accidentally come under the control of someone (وقع تحت إيدِه). Additionally, Kovecses & Szabo (1996: 344) state that not just one cognitive mechanism, but many can contribute to the motivation of human hand idioms. For instance, the idiom *tie one's hand* (يكتف إيدِه) is motivated by the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY, the metaphor FREEDOM IS HAVING THE HANDS FREE, and some conventional knowledge concerning the use of the hand such as hand, in ECA, is power and the reason to survive.

In the same vein, Langlotz (2006: 123) notes that 'kinetic idioms' that entail and underlie activity and/or emotional states refer to "conventionalised non-verbal behaviour" and highlight physical and concrete gestures or activities. To demonstrate, the kinetic idiom "hold someone's *hand* stands for SUPPORT" follow the metonymic model non-verbal behaviour for conventionally associated emotional cause". Similarly, in ECA the hand idiom إيدك معايا (give me a hand) is a metonymy of the HAND STANDS FOR PERSON (and THE SUPPORT). This kinetic idiom that conventionalised the activity of giving a hand to do something expresses the emotional states of seeking assistance.

2.1.3 Conventional knowledge

Unlike metaphor and metonymy, conventional knowledge is the folk and common people's understanding of shared knowledge in a certain linguistic domain that can motivate the flow of idioms. Conventional knowledge is a significant cognitive tool in interpreting the idiomatic expressions to understand their historical traditions and even the origin of its etymology. Kovecses (2010) claims that conventional knowledge indicates the shared information by community in a certain culture. This information covers hand idioms as well as all body parts images; their functions and properties that bind the whole community together. For instance, in ECA, it is known that hand is a symbol of generosity in giving money and food to the poor, as well as control and power in dominating the inferior. In the Islamic literature, one can find many examples representing the hand in Qur'an and prophetic Hadiths (traditions). According to Abd al-Baqi (1364:770-772), the Qur'an includes 120 verses that cover the root/lemma of hand (يد) such as, "يَدُ اللَّهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِمْ" Q. 48:10 (Allah's hand is placed upon theirs), and the prophetic Hadith "يَدُ اللَّهِ مَلَأَى لَا يُغِيضُهَا نَفَقَةٌ ، سَاءَ اللَّيْلُ وَالنَّهَارُ" (Allah's Hand is full, that is not affected by the continuous spending around the clock). This conventional knowledge that is derived from the Islamic background

is reflected in many hand idioms in ECA. For example, إيده فرطة (he is giving with an open hand/ generous), and إيده خضرا (he has a green hand/ productive), إيده فوق (he has the upper hand), and إيده بيضا (he is a white-handed/ munificent). The expressions إيده ناشفة, إيده ماسكة, إيده قصيرة (tight-fisted, stingy, hand-tight) indicate just the opposite of the above ones. Additionally, the ECA conventional knowledge extends to common gestures involving the hand. يلوى ذراعاه ورا ظهره (Tying one's hand behind his back) refers to preventing a person from acting as he sees. However, often these gestures are represented verbally to indicate the shared knowledge so you can find an advertisement of collective hands to imply that إيده واحدة (all hands on deck). Conventionally, in wedding ceremonies, the bride wears a ring in her hand and usually the bridegroom يأنججها/يؤنججها من إيدها/ يمسك إيدها (arm in arm) so when a bridegroom is proposing to marry a certain lady, he goes to her relatives, specifically her father if available, يطلب إيدها (to ask for her hand in marriage), i.e. to ask to marry her. Accordingly, Kovecses & Szabo (1996: 341) claim that this above idiom could have double motivation: one can be THE HAND FOR THE PERSON metonymy and the other is the shared knowledge people do or used to do with hands in a wedding ceremony. The idioms based on gestures are special because the motivation of the meaning arises from what people know about the gesture itself, and not from the shared knowledge of the language (ibid: 339).

2.2 Source of data

The data collected in this paper are taken from some dictionaries of idioms such as El-Batal's (2000) *Dictionary of Idioms*, several literary and media texts, online forums, Facebook/Twitter posts and out of personal experience (self-generated data). Hand idioms are associated with a many different semantic extensions and varieties of meanings such as help, assistance, reliability, strength, control, dominance, power, ownership, influence, ability, (in)capability, giving, holding, possession, upper, lower, understate, dominance, attention, violence, marriage, (in)gratitude, etc. However, in this paper, only hand idioms associated with power, control, dominance/incapability, ingratitude, violence, humility, contempt, authority and activity are thoroughly investigated. The reason for choosing these types of association and classification is to narrow down and highlight certain semantic extension in detail and not to repeat the same examples taken by other researchers from a different scope.

2.3 Procedure of data analysis

Selected ECA hand idioms were analysed in five stages: (1) The first step involved presenting the Arabic idiom along with its literal and communicative meanings. (2) The second step involved introducing the historical background of the idiom in ECA (if any). (3) In the third step, a detailed analysis of the selected idiom is undertaken and discussed through the cognitive theory. (4) In the fourth step, the cognitive mechanism(s) used for each selected idiom is presented to discuss how the hand idiom is being conceptualised and motivated in ECA. (5) In the fifth step, the similarities and differences of the cognitive mechanism(s) between English and Arabic are highlighted and commented on.

3. Statement of the problem

Conceptualising the hand idioms in ECA is an important aspect that has not thoroughly been investigated by Egyptian scholars. Attempts have been made to analyse the motivation of body parts idioms through the three cognitive mechanisms (i.e. conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge). Hand idioms in ECA are partly universal and partly pragmatic, but they often have specific culture, conventional and linguistic context. This results in a translational issue and presents a challenge for translators: how are hand idioms motivated by the cognitive mechanisms and rendered into English? In this paper, 10 hand idioms in ECA are presented, analysed and assessed according to the *Cognitive Theory of Metaphor* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and *Idioms: A view from cognitive semantics* by Kovecses & Szabco (1996). The idioms examined in this article are to be verified cognitively against the three cognitive mechanisms (conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge) to check their validity in ECA.

4. Research Objectives and questions

The objective of this paper is: (1) to investigate which mechanism is used to motivate each hand idiom in question; (2) to demonstrate how ECA hand is conceptualised in Arabic, in general, and in Egyptian dialect, in particular. (3) to explore and evaluate the translation strategies found in each idiomatic expressions and to examine the similarities and differences if a target equivalent is provided in the English TL text.

This paper seeks to address three lines of enquiry:

(1) Which cognitive mechanism is used to denote each hand idiom in question in ECA?

- (2) How is the hand conceptualised in ECA hand idioms?
 (3) What are the similarities and differences of cognitive mechanisms between English and ECA?

5. Data analysis and discussion

The semantic association of hand idioms in ECA vary and imply multiple and subtle meanings (see the appendix, section 9). However, for the limitation of the study, some semantic extensions that are associated with power, control, dominance, ingratitude, violence, humility, contempt, authority and activity have been selected to be investigated in detail. Among the 116 hand idioms collected in ECA, only 10 idiomatic expressions are highlighted to be analysed and discussed. In table (1), the semantic associations that represent the thematic classification of power, authority and control, violence, ingratitude, etc. are listed. For each idiomatic expression, a detailed explanation of the underlying conceptual motivation is introduced.

	Source Idiom in ECA	Literal meaning	Referential meaning	Semantic association
1	اللي يمد إيدته على سيده تقطع إيدته	If someone approaches to hit his master, his hands will be cut.	Threatening to annoy the elite.	Dominance/ power
2	إيدي مش كاتعة	I am not handicapped.	Take the law into your own hands.	Power
3	إيدك جنبك	Stand at attention/ hands aside.	Be polite and disciplined	Control
4	يعض الإيد اللي اتمدت له	Bite the hands that extends to him.	Ingratitude	Ingratitude
5	ماسكه من إيدته اللي بتوجهه	He pressures on his hurting hand.	Upper hand on someone	Authority
6	إيدته طرشة	His hands are blind.	He is violent.	Severity
7	إيدته تتلف في حريير	Have a hand in something.	Be gifted in doing something.	Skilful
8	أبوس إيدك	To kiss a hand/ to beg you.	Ask for a favour with much humility.	Humility
9	الكحكة في إيد اليتيم عجبة	The plain pie in the orphan's hand is amazing	Envy and contempt	Envy & contempt
10	الإيد البطالة نجسة	The devil makes work for idle hands./ Idle hands are filthy.	Idleness is a vice.	Activity

Table (1) Hand idioms and proverbs to be analysed

Hand for dominance and power

اللي يمد إيدته على سيده تقطع إيدته Literally, it means (whoever extends his hand on his master, his hand will be cut off). The literal meaning of that idiom denotes that if anyone of the populace once approaches to hit his master by hand, his hand will be cut off. Communicatively, however, it entails a severe threat to

any common layman not to annoy or harm anyone of the elite authorised people or those called ‘Pashas’ in Egypt. This idiom became into the limelight in 2012 when a key security officer appeared in a short video threatening the low-class people. He confirmed that if any layman exceeds his limits of decency or reverence towards the elite officials, he would be smashed, because the elite people attain an advantage over the populace.

The image of upper hand (i.e. dominating people) is cutting off the lower hand (i.e. dominated people) in case they exceed their limits of discipline in the source domain conceptualises the notion of dominance and ultimate power in the target domain. This experiential image maps THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL AND AUTHORITY metonymy. The concept of dominance and threatening in the target domain is metonymically motivated by the image of cutting off the breacher’s hand in the source domain. In this idiomatic expression, the concrete human body part, i.e. hand, symbolically represents those dominated, low and weak people who have nothing to do with those in power. The term *master* in this idiom would remind us of the slavery era when rich people were possessing, buying and selling slaves in the slaves’ market. This lexical choice of master shows how deep the gap is between classes in the ECA. Moreover, the semantic mapping between the source and target domain is built on threatening common man not to act freely with their masters/top officials. On the other hand, the domain of dominance and power in ECA includes: إيده طائلة (he has a strong power), إيده واصله (he is connected to authority), إيده فوق (he has the upper hand), ما باليد حيلة (it is out of hand), مش بإيدي حاجة (out of my hand), اقطع إيده (cut off his hand), إيد البطش (with a heavy/brutal hand), وضع يد (lay one’s hand on something), يرفع إيده عليه (raising his hand against him), امسك إيده (hold his hand), تحت إيده (under his control).

Hand for power

إيدي مش كاتعة (I am not handicapped). The word أكتع in Arabic refers to those handicapped people who are acting with only one hand. Communicatively, it means to take the law into one’s own hands because he cannot and will not be able to get his right through legal channels. This idiom is often heard among Cairo residents as a sign of being able to take the law or revenge by one’s own hands as if living in an animal jungle that is not ruled by firm law. This idiom in ECA is usually contextualised in a certain situation and cannot be understood out of context. For example, إيدي مش كاتعة عشان أخذ فلوسي (I am not handicapped to get my money back) which means that someone will urge and force his opponent to give

him his money back violently in case he could not get it peacefully or legally. Syntactically, the negated structure *مش* (not) in ECA proves that hand is used for power most of the time and when people want to express their ability against this notion, they opt to negate the original structural form of the idiom to prove their stance. The image of being handicapped in the source domain metaphorically symbolises the concept of weakness and incapability in the target domain. The conceptual metaphors *HAND IS RETRIBUTIVE POWER* and *HANDICAPPED IS WEAK* are at work here in this idiom which is built on the physical power of taking the law by oneself in the target domain. Moreover, the conventional knowledge of getting one's rights by one's hand is shared among many ECA speakers. The dichotomy notions of power and disability appear to be conceptualised in this idiomatic expression. This target dichotomic domain of power versus disability includes other idioms in ECA: *إيده متكتفة* (his hands are tied), *إيده ملوية* (his hand is twisted), *إيده مش عاجزة* (his hand is not disabled), *صوباعي* (my finger is under his grinder tooth), *كتف إيده ورجليه* (bind his hand and foot).

Hand for control

إيدك جنبك (stand at attention/ hands aside). Communicatively, it means be disciplined and well-mannered when addressing higher class people or anyone of power. It is usually said in a context where someone has or pretends to have the upper hand on someone else. For instance, if an ECA person goes to report an incident in a police station, he might hear such idiomatic expression *إيدك جنبك يالا/ ياض* (hands aside lowlife/tramp) from any police officer or any authority there. Originally, this term is a military command repeated between officers and their soldiers in the military camps as a sign of teaching them how to be disciplined, ordered, compliant and obedient when spending their compulsory military service. It is a normal practice in pharaonic Egypt to have a hierarchical system between people and their rulers in which upper hands have full authority and control on lower hands and inconsistently among the low-class people themselves. Usually, the imperative form is used in addressing lower-class people in terms of giving commands to them as shown above. In this idiomatic expression, the motivation for the meaning comes from two cognitive mechanisms (i.e. conventional knowledge and conceptual metonymy). For the former, Egyptians share knowledge about the gesture of keeping hands aside to refer to an implied meaning of whether to be polite or to be prisoned. The latter is the conceptual metonymy *THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL* in which hand

is conceptualised to mean threatening, compliance and obedience. The depiction of threatening to comply and obey in the target domain is built on the image of keeping one's hands aside in the source domain. In English, the idiom is known as 'hands down' while in ECA it is 'hands aside' which is motivated by the metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL and associated with some other idiomatic expressions in the imperative form: إيدك على بقلك (literally, put hand on mouth) (shut up), إيدك ورا ظهرك (hands back), متفتحش بقلك (keep silent), ربيع إيدك (arms crossed), نزل إيدك تحت (hands down), اوعى/شيل إيدك (throw up your hands), ارفع إيدك فوق (put hands up), بترفع إيدك عليه! (are you lifting your hand against him!), شغل/مشى إيدك (keep your hands in).

Biting hand for Ingratitude

يعض الإيد اللي اتمدت له (Bite the hands that feeds him). Conventionally, this idiom is associated with the attributes of ingratitude and denying favours received from those who presented good deeds to anyone. It is said when someone is unthankful and unappreciative towards the person who has supported and assisted him. Traditionally, people said that once there was a king who starved ten of his dogs so, if any of his ministers angers him or commits a fatal mistake, he throws him to the dogs to be eaten. One day, a minister who served that king for ten years put his opinion on a matter the king asked for, but the king did not like it, so he ordered to throw that minister to the starving dogs. The minister begged the king to delay this sentence just for ten days before executing him and the king approved. In these ten days, the accused minister then went to serve and take care of those dogs for just ten days. On the day of executing the sentence, the king ordered his retinue to throw him to the starving dog and looked at him, but he was amazed at what he saw where all dogs came barking under the minister's feet. The king wondered, what have you done to the dogs? The minister replied, I served them just for ten days, not ten years as I did with you, but dogs are loyal (E3arabi, 2020). In the same vein, figure (1) below has been recently posted by someone on Facebook showing and introducing his hand to his dog to be bitten, but the dog is firmly and consistently rejecting. The striking point is the comment written by the post publisher which says, 'I stayed an hour begging my dog to bite the hand that fed it, but it totally refuses' to show the difference and sign how loyal and grateful dogs are and how ungrateful human beings are.



Figure (1) A dog refuses to bite its owner's hand

From the above, one can see how loyalty, gratitude and gratefulness are paramount to a certain type of people who appreciate values and good practices. The conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR GIVING AND HELPING along with the conventional knowledge of unappreciative people hurting those who ever supporting them appear to be at work in this idiomatic expression. The image of a person physically and cognitively giving objects and doing great services openly to someone in the target domain is built on the exact contradictory image of biting the hand that fed and supported that person in the source domain to portray the image of ingratitude. This idiom does exist not only in ECA, but also in classical Arabic literature as well as different Arabic dialects and in the English culture too. Similarly, this domain in ECA includes many idioms about ingratitude but this one is only that includes hand: *أعمل حاجتي بإيدي ولا أقول للكلب يا سيدي* (do my stuff alone, but never call a dog my master).

Hand for incapability

ماسكه من إيده اللي بتوجعه (He pressures on his bleeding hand). Literally, it utters 'someone holds him from his hurting hand' but communicatively, it indicates that someone has an authority over someone else due to an old fault/slip he committed so he threatens him to reveal that issue. The cognitive relation between the hand and movement/holding is universally established. Thus, the theme of incapability in the target domain is metaphorically based on holding, pressuring and hindering one's hand from acting what he sees fit because of asking for a favour, a defect and/or fault committed earlier. The conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR (IN)ABILITY is at work in this idiomatic expression. Additionally, the conventional knowledge of pressuring upon one's hand to accept or refuse something is also considered in this idiomatic expression. Being unable to act, to move, to make a decision, etc. provide neither help nor support because of the incapability. The semantic mapping between the two domains is built on the rhetorical handcuffing that prevents someone to act as he sees suitable. This prevention to act freely could be physically, psychologically and/or cognitively. For instance, usually, employers in the private sector practice

such kind of pressure upon their employees as well as police officers upon accused people in police stations and common places to force them to confess. This domain also includes: إيدته منكتفه (his hands are tied), الإيد اللي ما تقدرش تقطعها بوسها (The hand you cannot cut, kiss it/ if you cannot beat them, join them), إيدته في زوروه (his hands are on his neck), ما باليد حيلة (out of hand), مش بايدي حاجة (I have nothing to do), امسك إيدته (hold his hand), يلوى إيدته ورا ظهره (tie his hands behind his back), له اليد العليا (he has the upper hand), تحت إيدته كل حاجة (he holds the power to do everything), تحت إيدي (under my control), العين بصيرة والإيد قصيرة (eyes see but hands broke).

Hand for severity

إيدته طرشة (his hands are blind). Communicatively, it refers to a reckless person who is violent, tough and can hit those who are dealing and handling his daily activities with. Literally, the ECA idiom utters as ‘his hand is deaf’ to metaphorically indicate that violence has neither ears to listen to the sound of wisdom nor eyes to see/consider the serious consequences of aggression. Generally, this ECA idiomatic expression is used among close friends and young mates however, if it is used among strangers, it could entail sever actions and aggression to occur. Many people, particularly among young generations, in ECA prefer to be attributed by such qualities for two reasons: either to show off how they are powerful or to simulate and echo new TV actors who represent the fake ugly face of some Egyptian folks. The motivation for this idiom comes from the conceptual metaphor THE HAND IS FORCE and the conventional knowledge that hand is used for power to return rights by force during the absence of official authorities. This metaphorical image in the target domain is conceptualised by the metaphorical adjective طرشة which means ‘deaf’ in the source domain. HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY is the metaphorical image that could be used to hit or strike someone via a powerful hand. It is also used to prevent such brutal and aggressive actions. Thus, the metaphorical mapping between the target and the source domain is conceptualised by the idea of force. This target domain of practicing one type or more of power and violence in ECA also includes: إيدته طائلة (his hand relates to authority), إيدته واصله (he has a powerful hand), إيدته ثقيلة (he has heavy/strong hands), إيدته والكف (his hands slap and shoot), إيدته مش كاتعة (he is not powerless/handicapped), إيدته على بقتك (shut up/hand on the mouth), إيدته جنبك (hands aside), إيدته ربيع (hands/arms crossed), إيد البطش (aggressive hand), شيل/اوعى إيدته (throw up your hands), إيدته في جيب غيره (his hand is in others’ pockets).

Hand for skill

إيده تتلف في حرير (he has a hand in his profession/craft). Literally, it can be translated as 'his hand should be wrapped in a silk' to show how valuable and talented his skill is! so it must be highly appreciated. Conventionally, it indicates that someone has been gifted to do something or professional craft in an amazing talent. Traditionally, this idiom is a conceptual metonymy that is repeated in ECA when a very skilful person is gifted a hand like a jewel that should be rewarded and praised. This idiom is also associated with the idiomatic expression إيده خفيفة (he has got light/skilful fingered) which carries both positive and negative connotations in ECA; the positive meaning when it describes, for example, how light a doctor/a nurse's hand is in injecting his patients with pain-free, while the negative sense lies in depicting how a thief has light fingers in stealing money/something from people unnoticeably. Culturally, silk is a valuable and very expensive material so when wrapping something in silk, it suggests how significant and invaluable it is. The image of wrapping a hand in silk in the source domain symbolises the notion of a skilful and gifted person in the target domain. The English counterpart idiomatic expression could be 'to have a hand in something'. The conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR A SKILL and the conventional knowledge that sophisticated handmade activities usually require good skill in the use of the hand performing seem to be at work. The metaphorical depiction that is built on skilful and gifted hands is gold/invaluable resource. Thus, the figurative image is motivated by silk in the source domain. This domain in ECA also covers: إيده ذهب (he got a gold hand), إيده متخرش الميه (he's got a gifted hand), تسلم إيدك (much appreciated/ good job), خرج من تحت إيده أجيال (many generations graduated at his hand), عملته بيدي الاتنين دول (I did it myself).

Kissing hand for humility

أبوس إيدك (I beg you /kiss your hand). Communicatively, this activity refers to begging or grovelling to someone to do something/a favour. Culturally and religiously in Christianity and Islam in Egypt, people kiss the hands of their priests, sheikhs, prominent figures, big scholars, teachers, old people or relatives, parents, etc. as a sign of respect and appreciation. Moreover, sometimes they kiss their hands and/or heads for analogous reasons such as love, sympathy, gratitude, etc. in different occasions. This kind of appreciation is practically carried out by kissing the person's hand and/or head directly without saying: can I kiss your hand? or I am going to kiss your head, etc. However, in some other contexts which refers to humiliation, degradation, ignominy, dehumanisation, etc., weak and poor

people seem to practise this activity and utter this idiomatic expression to those upper hands, employers, officers, etc. just to achieve their services and/or get their basic human rights. This phenomenon is more prominent among poor and weak women/men coming from villages or countryside to city centres or the capital in order to finish some services such as health care relating issues. The image of kissing one's hand in this idiom in the source domain is done with complete submission and humiliation in the target domain. The act of kissing one's hand in this figurative depiction implicates dehumanisation and degradation to symbolise an oppressive power in the target domain for the sake of finishing a very basic and simple service. The conceptual metonymy HAND STANDS FOR AUTHORITY is at work. The metonymy has been cognitively achieved through two different sets of mapping: humility and authority that link both the target and the source domains. The target domain also includes: إيدته في زوره (his hand is on his neck), ما باليد حيلة (out of hand), العين بصيرة والإيد قصيرة (totally broke), من إيدك ديه (I am totally at your disposal), إيدك على بقتك (keep silent), إيدك جنبك (hands aside), يلوو إيدته ورا ظهره (tie his hands behind his back), مكتف إيدته ورجليه (bind his hand and foot), أحب على يدك (to kiss your hand), رأسك أبوسها (to kiss your head), أبوس الأرض اللي تمشى عليها (to kiss your footsteps ground).

Hand for envy and contempt

الكحكة في إيد اليتيم عجة (The plain cookie in the orphan's hand is amazing). Conventionally, this idiom refers to those envious people who begrudge or set their hearts on something possessed by someone else, mainly a very poor person. Usually, orphans who lost their parents seem to be weak, poor and dominated by others and strikingly envious people show extreme hatred against them, albeit their miserable status. The idiom also includes a kind of food, plain cookie, consumed by the poor in the source domain to indicate how weak and needy people they are. The conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR POSSESSING/HOLDING SOMETHING and the conventional knowledge that orphans and plain cookie entail poverty are at work in this idiom. The image of an orphan and plain cookie in the source domain is illogically/astonishingly built on envy and contempt in the target domain. Since the poor always have nothing to feed themselves, the rich envy them for the simplest things they may have. The envy in the target domain is strikingly motivated by the simple plain cookie and the poor orphan in the source domain. The cognitive relation between poor hands/people and having little food to eat is globally established. However, the image of having a green-eyed monster on those needy people is metaphorically

based on and symbolised by the word 'عجبة' (weird). The lexical items and symbols of this idiom do not exist in English culture. What can be mutually understood in this respect is that in ECA, people describe the envious person by *عينه صفراء* (literally, yellow-eyed) (evil-eyed) which corresponds to green-eyed, blue-eyed and/or brown-eyed in English culture. The target domain in ECA also includes the idiomatic expression *ما تبصش للي في إيد غيرك* (do not look at what others possess). Like the English culture, most idiomatic expressions tackling envy and contempt include the 'eye', not the hand such as *ما تبصليش بعين رديّة بص للي اندفع فيا* (do not look at me with a green-eye, look at what I cost) and *سألنا ربنا عطانا و عيون* (we asked God and gave us but people's eyes won't leave us alone). Briefly, the notion of using eyes or hands in envying others does exist in Arabic and English cultures. However, envying the poor for what they may have is simply represented in ECA.

Hand for activity

الإيد البطالة نجسة (Idle hands are filthy/ The devil makes work for idle hands). Literally, it says 'the idle hands are defiled' to show how Egyptians describe those idle people or lazy people who have no work or craft to do as unclean. Impurity or defiling is a very shameful attribute when associated with any human activity because it is originally related to nonhuman activities or processes such as defiling dogs or pigs. In this idiom, the concept of idleness in the target domain is metaphorically conceptualised in the image of impurity or defiling in the source domain. The concrete entity, i.e. the hand, symbolically refers to those idle people who are reluctant to work. The semantic mapping between the source and target domains is motivated by and built on encouraging people to have work and not to be idle. The conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY/WORKING and the conventional knowledge idleness is shameful are at work in this idiom. The concept of impurity is very sensitive in the Arabic culture since it is associated with religious rituals. Accordingly, no metaphorical equivalent is available in the English culture due to the cultural gap of preventing purifying Muslims to approach unclean animals or surfaces in their cultures. The target domain in ECA includes many idiomatic expressions, but does not have the body part hand, this confirms this notion such as: *كلب داير ولا سبع نايم في الغاب* (literally, working dog is better than a sleeping lion in the jungle) (working hands are better than idle ones), *اعمل بقرش وحاسب البطال* (work to pay your bills), *إن مال* (depend on yourself in case people let you down), and *بيع واشترى ولا تنكرى* (do business, do not shame).

6. Conclusion

In this paper, 10 hand idioms in ECA are examined and demonstrated to show how they are motivated and conceptualised through one or more of the three cognitive mechanisms (conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor and conventional knowledge) which provide a cognitive bridge between the idiom and its meaning.

The paper has investigated how Egyptians conceptualise the metaphysical or intangible notions in terms of the tangible material (i.e. the human hand) in ECA. The data collected has shown a variety of semantic associations in the selected idiomatic expressions. These nonphysical concepts are motivated and conceptualised through one or more of the cognitive mechanisms (i.e. conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor, conventional knowledge). Conceptual metonymies, conventional knowledges and conceptual metaphors, respectively, are the frequent cognitive devices by which the selected corpus is conceptualised in ECA.

Hand idioms in ECA are conceptualised through the cognitive tools, mainly the conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge, which usually entail and are motivated by some abstract notions in the source domain. For instance, the idea of impurity in the idiom الإيد البطالة نجسة (The devil makes work for idle hands/ Idle hands are filthy) is derived from the Islamic literature, and the plain cookie in الكحكة في إيد اليتيم عجة (The plain pie in the orphan's hand is amazing) is culturally associated with the Egyptian people. *Kahk* (cookie) is associated with Eid cookie كحك العيد which most Egyptians enjoy on Eid. So it is normal to see it in the hands of people. However, when a simple small thing such as Eid cookie is held by an orphan then it is seen as something big and is envied. In some few examples, conceptual metaphor is likely at work as in the example of إيدي مش كاتعة (I am not handicapped) which indirectly refers to the absence of law and people's misconducts. Most of ECA hand idioms are motivated by the conventional images and conceptual metonymies that provide a link between the idiom and its meaning.

The lexical and cultural similarities between ECA and English hand idioms are minimum due to the different cultural backgrounds. Like the western culture, many of ECA hand idioms imply power, authority, dominance, severity, possession, hierarchy, etc. However, the English counterparts mainly imply activity, skill, holding something in the hand, and even sometimes control and power. Many of the ECA limited collected data have no English formal correspondents and accordingly opted to be translated communicatively to

transfer the intended meaning. Semantically, some ECA hand idioms have their corresponding equivalents in English such as, إيده فوق (with an open hand) that entails generosity in both cultures. In this respect, ECA words might carry different meanings and connotations from their English counterparts, and accordingly, a literal translation is not a good option in rendering such culturally specific subtle expressions. The analysis also shows that various hand idioms are closely related to each other and can be motivated by conceptual metonymy and/or conventional knowledge interchangeably that underlie the conceptualisation of the hand in ECA. Finally, it can be assumed that the conceptual metaphor theory has shown its creditability against the traditional view of arbitrariness in understanding hand idioms in ECA.

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مفهوم تعابير اليد الاصطلاحية في العامية المصرية: دراسة معرفية في الترجمة من
العربية إلى الإنجليزية

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المستخلص:

تتناول هذه الدراسة الأدوات المعرفية الخاصة بتعابير اليد الاصطلاحية في اللهجة المصرية وبعض مسالبا ترجمتها إلى اللغة الإنجليزية. وتشير تعابير اليد الاصطلاحية في اللغة العربية بشكل عام، وفي اللهجة المصرية بشكل خاص، إلى معاني اصطلاحية مختلفة في المجالات المعرفية، حيث تتبنى الدراسة نظرية الاستعارة المعرفية (لاكوف وجونسون 2008). وتقوم بتحليل عشر تعبيرات اصطلاحية مجازية لليد في اللهجة العامية المصرية (ECA). وتحتوي معظم عينات الدراسة المختارة على بدائل مماثلة أو شبيهة لها في اللغة الإنجليزية، والتي تؤكد الانتشار الواسع لاستعارات اليد في اللغتين. ويزعم بعض اللغويين أن التعبيرات الاصطلاحية المجازية تنسم بالعشوائية أثناء التحدث بها، إلا أن لاكوف يرى، في اللغويات المعرفية، أن الاستعارات تصدر تلقائياً أو معرفياً وليس بشكل عشوائي. وقد توصلت الدراسة إلى أن اشتقاق التعبيرات الاصطلاحية لليد ينبع من مجموعة من المفاهيم المعرفية لدى صاحب اللسان إيذاء المشبه والمشبه به أو الإسقاط اللغوي المستهدف بناءً على النظرية المعرفية للاستعارة التي طورها (لاكوف وجونسون 1980). وقد أوضحت الدراسة أن المعاني المجازية لتعابير اليد المختارة قد تجلت بوضوح وفق هذه النظرية المعرفية وذلك عن طريق الكناية المعرفية، والعرف المجتمعي، والاستعارة المعرفية على التوالي. كما وجد أن الكناية التصويرية والعرف المجتمعي تشكلان الأداة الرئيسة لفهم تعابير اليد الاصطلاحية واستيعابها جيداً في اللهجة المصرية، علاوة على أن الترجمة الحرفية لهذه التعبيرات الاصطلاحية ليس الحل الأمثل بسبب الاحالات ذات الخصوصية الثقافية المتضمنة فيها والتي يصعب فهمها لغير أصحاب اللغة واللهجة الواحدة.

الكلمات الدالة: اللهجة المصرية، تعابير اليد الاصطلاحية، الترجمة، الاستعارة المعرفية، الكناية المعرفية، العرف المجتمعي.

Appendix

The following table is the whole data collected from which only 10 hand idioms are selected to be the core of this article:

Literal meaning	Referential meaning	Source idiom in ECA	
A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.	Be content with what you have.	عصفور في اليد ولا عشرة على الشجرة	1
Ask for your daughter's hand in marriage.	To ask to marry.	أطلب إيد بنتك	2
A hand in water is not like a hand in fire.	Real experience	اللي إيدته في الميه مش زي اللي إيدته في النار	3
To strike a palm against a palm	Cooperation is a virtue	إيد لوحدها ما تسقفش	4
The devil makes work for idle hands/ Idle hands are filthy.	Having nothing to do is a vice.	الإيد البطالة نجسة	5
The hand you cannot cut, kiss it.	Be servile/obedient.	الإيد اللي ما تقدرش تقطعها بوسها	6
Do my stuff myself but never call a dog my master.	Depend on myself.	أعمل حاجتي بإيدي ولا أقول للكلب يا سيدي	7
The plain pie in the orphan's hand is amazing.	Envy and contempt.	الكحكة في إيد اليتيم عجة	8
Join hands with each other.	Cooperate with each other.	إيد على إيد تساعد	9
His hands are white.	Bounteous/openhanded	إيدته بيضا = صاحب فضل	10
His hands are tight fist.	Stingy	إيدته ماسكة = بخيل	11
His hands are open.	Generous	إيدته فرطة = كريم	12
His hands are green.	Productive	إيدته خضرا = يزرع وتثمر زريعته	13
Strengthen somebody's hand.	Powerful/ a person with additional authority.	إيدته طابلة = قادر يعمل كثير	14
His hand relates to authority.	Powerful	إيدته واصلة = واسطة قوية	15
His hands are long.	Hurtful or thief	إيدته طويلة = يؤذي من حوله	16
His hands are light.	Thief or clever	إيدته خفيفة = حرامي أو شاطر	17
His hand is leaky.	Wastrel/spendthrift	إيدته مخرومة = مسرف	18
His hand is on his heart.	Frightened	إيدته على قلبه = خواف	19
His hand is on his cheek.	Sad	إيدته على خده = حزين	20
My hand is on your shoulder.	Show me the way.	إيدي على كتفك	21
His hands slap and shoot.	Very nervous	إيدته والكف = عصبني مفيش تفاهم	22
His hands are on his neck.	He always pays for him.	إيدته في زوروه = خيريه عليه مغرقه	23
One hand is front, the other is back.	Empty handed	إيد ورا وإيد قدام = خايب ومفلس	24
Exactly as is, your hands print exist.	No change	على حطة إيدك = مفيش تغيير	25
He pressures on his bleeding hand.	Upper hand on someone	ماسكه من إيدته اللي بتوجعه	26
Tied hands/ Tie someone's hands	Prevent someone to act as he sees fit	إيدي متكفتة = عاجز	27
Water never drops from his hand.	Professional aptitude/ gifted hands	إيدته متخرش الميه = متقن	28
Put my hand in yours.	Believe me/ I swear.	إيدي في إيدك كده/ والعشرة دول	29

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The matter is at hand.	The matter is manageable.	الموضوع في إيدنا	30
The matter at hand	The matter receiving attention	الموضوع اللي في/بين إيدنا	31
I am not handicapped.	Take the law into your own hands.	إيدي مش كاتعة	32
If someone approaches to hit his master, his hands will be cut.	Threatening to annoy the elite.	اللي يمد إيدته على سيده تتقطع إيدته	33
His hands are blood-stained.	He is accused of murder.	إيدته ملوثة بالدم	34
My hand is twisted.	Out of hand	ما باليد حيلة	35
Many hands on deck are blessed.	Cooperation is a virtue.	البركة في كتر الأيادي	36
Put your hand on your eyes, it hurts you as it hurts others.	Do as you want to be done.	حط إيدك على عينك زي ما توجعك توجع غيرك	37
Give a hand.	Help me.	إيدك معايا = محتاجة مساعدة	38
Thanks for your hands.	You are handful/ clever.	تسلم إيدك	39
His hands are down to earth.	A dead loss/useless	إيدك منه والأرض = مفيش منه فائدة	40
Give me what we agreed on.	Give me the money.	إيدك على المعلوم = هات الفلوس	41
Eyes see but hands broke.	Broke	العين بصيرة والإيد قصيرة	42
His hands should be wrapped in silk.	Skilful	إيدته تتلف في حرير = شاطر	43
He came with nothing in hand.	Empty handed.	جاي وإيدته فاضية	44
Upper hand	With an open hand/ generous	إيدته فوق = صاحب عطاء (اليد العليا)	45
Hands down	Tight-fisted	إيدته تحت = شحات (اليد السفلى)	46
Many generations graduated at his hands.	Taught many generations.	خرج من تحت إيدته أجيال	47
I am totally at your hands.	I am at your disposal.	من إيدك ديه لإيدك ديه	48
Out of my hand.	Nothing to do.	مش بإيدي حاجة	49
I did it with my two hands.	I did it myself.	عمله بإيدي الاثنين دول	50
May his hands cut/broke.	Damn him.	تتقطع/تتكسر إيدته	51
Keep your hand on your mouth.	Keep silent/ Shut up!	إيدك على بفاك = اخرس	52
He got clean hands.	He is honest.	إيدته نظيفة	53
He got his hands dirty/unclean	He is a thief/dishonest	إيدته مش نظيفة = سارق	53
From hand to hand/ pass through many hands.	From one person to another/ change owners.	من إيد لإيد	54
Give me a hand.	Help me.	خد بإيدي	55
Bite the hands that fed him.	Ingratitude	عض الإيد اللي اتمدت له	56
Stand at attention/ hands down!	Be respect and disciplined.	إيدك جنبك = احترم نفسك = قف انتباه	57
Arms crossed.	Be respect and disciplined.	ربع إيدك = احترم نفسك	58
His hands are blind.	He is violent/ pack a punch.	إيدته طرشة/عامية = غشيم	59
Lay one's hand on something.	Take something by force.	وضع يد	60
Heavy hands.	Severity dealing/he is violent.	إيدته ثقيلة	61
With a heavy hand.	In an oppressive way	إيد البطش	62
First hand	Brand new	أول إيد	63
Second hand	Used/preowned	تاني إيد	64
Be in good hands.	Be well cared for.	في إيد أمينة	65
Have the matter in your hands.	The matter is yours, handle it.	الموضوع في إيدك	66
At hand	Near/applicable	في متناول اليد	67

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Raise his hand up.	Identify himself.	يرفع إيدته فوق	68
To beg you/kiss a hand.	Ask for a favour with much humility.	أبوس إيدك	69
Throw up your hands.	Disgust/ give up	او عى/ شيل إيدك	70
Raising your hands against him!	To threaten	بترفع إيدك عليه!	71
Hold one's hand.	Stop someone to do something.	امسك إيدته	72
Hands up (police)	Lift hands up.	ارفع إيدك فوق	73
Shake hands	Greeting	سلم بإيدك	74
Sit on his hands.	Following up on what he is doing.	قاعد على إيدته	75
Put one's hand in one's pocket.	Intentionally do nothing/idle	إيدته في جيب غيره	76
Turn one's hand to something.	Do some actions/work.	حرك إيدك شوية	77
To do it with my hand behind my back.	To do it very easily/ a piece of cake.	أعملها وأنا مربع إيدي/ رجل على رجل	78
Written by my hand.	Handwriting	بخط إيدي	79
Give him a big hand.	Applause to him.	صقفوا له بإيديكم جامد	80
Working hands	Workers	إيد عاملة	81
Factory hands	Factory workers	أيادي المصنع/ عمال المصنع	82
All hands on deck.	Everyone is ready for duty.	الكل إيد واحدة/ جاهز	83
To have arm in arm.	Intimacy in a marriage ceremony.	بمسك إيديها في إيدته / الأنجة	84
Keep your hands in.	Practice a skill.	شغل/ مشى إيدك	85
His hand is out.	He lost his skill.	إيدته تقلت	86
His hand is gold.	He is gifted.	إيدته ذهب	87
To give him a free hand.	To fully authorise a person to act as he sees.	كل حاجة في إيدته	88
Tie his hands behind his back.	Impossible for a person to act at all.	يلوى إيدته ورا ظهره	89
Bind somebody hand and foot.	To completely prevent someone to act freely.	مكتف إيدته ورجليه	90
He gained the upper hand.	Achieve an advantage over someone else.	له اليد العليا	91
Rule with an iron hand.	To keep hard-and-fast discipline.	يحكم بيد من حديد	92
Keep a strict hand upon someone.	Keep under total control.	تحت إيدي	93
Hold the power to do everything.	Have the authority to make crucial decisions.	تحت إيدته كل حاجة	94
Be in hand.	Be under control.	تحت السيطرة/ تحت إيدي	95
Be out of my hands.	Be out of my control.	خارج السيطرة/ مش تحت إيدي	96
Change hands.	Pass to another owner.	نقل الملكية/ نقل الإيد	97
He struck him on his hand.	Punitive power	ضربه على إيدته	98
The satiated hand is weak.	Weak determination	الإيد التعبانة شعبانة	99
Two hands are stronger.	Collaboration is a virtue	إيد على إيد تكيد	100
A hand with another throw further	Cooperation is power	إيد على إيد ترمى بعيد	101
The hand that takes never gives.	Beggars never give.	الإيد اللي تأخذ ما تديش	102

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The right hand poured to the left.	Generosity	إيد فرغت في أختها	103
The hand that stretches to hit but flinches should be cut off.	Hesitation is a vice.	الإيد اللي تتمد ولا تضربش تستاهل قطعها	104
It takes only one wash round.	Easy handling	ما ياخذش في إيد غلوة	105
Water never pours from his hand.	Very accurate	ما تخرش من إيد الميه	106
Keep a strict hand upon him.	Be sure	مالي إيدي منه	107
He smells upon his back hand.	Unknown	شم على ظهر إيد	108
He keeps his hand on cold water.	Indifference	حاطط إيد في الميه الباردة	109
Money runs on his hand.	Rich	الفرش يجرى في إيد	110
Out of his control.	Uncontrollable	خرج من إيد	111
He revoked his hand.	embarrassment	كسف إيد = كسر خاطره	112
Do not look at what others possess at hand.	Do not be envious.	ما تبصش للي في إيد غيرك	113
At your hand but taken by another.	It is not your stroke of luck.	تكون في إيدك وتقسم لغيرك	114
My hand itches me.	To hit someone.	إيدي بتاكلني	115
Got my hands full.	Busy	إيدي مشغولة	116

Table (2) Data collected for Hand idioms and proverbs