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## **METONYMIC USES OF BODY PARTS: *HAND* IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND *RUKA* AND *ŠAKA* IN THE BOSNIAN LANGUAGE**

This paper explores metonymic uses of the body part “hand” in the English language and „ruka” and „šaka” in the Bosnian language. The aim of the paper is to establish similarities and differences between the languages in terms of conceptual metonymies exploiting these body parts. The paper also tries to determine to what extent conceptual metonymy interacts with or exploits other processes of cognitive thinking, namely chained metonymies and metaphor. The methodological framework of corpus analysis is in accordance with the taxonomies of metonymy types developed by Radden and Kövecses (1999) and Kövecses (2002) and patterns of conceptual interaction (Diez Velasco 2000, 2002). The study will show that body-part metonymies can form chained metonymies and that they often serve as a basis for metaphorical mapping.

**Keywords:** Cognitive linguistics; metonymy; metaphor; English; Bosnian; “hand” “ruka-šaka”

### **1. INTRODUCTION: A COGNITIVE VIEW ON METONYMY**

Metonymy, as a conceptual phenomenon, first drew the attention of cognitive linguists with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson’s most cited book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). In the book that deals mostly with metaphor, a single chapter is dedicated to the notion of metonymy. The authors assert that, like metaphor, metonymy is neither a poetic nor rhetorical device but conceptual in nature and grounded in our experience.

However, while the primary function of metaphor is understanding one concept in terms of another based on similarity, metonymy is an instance of using one entity to refer to or stand for another on the basis of contiguity or association (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 35).

Kövecses (2002: 145) suggests that metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM). Specifically, a metonymically related vehicle and target are close to each other in conceptual space. In the conceptual metonymy THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT, the producer is conceptually close to the product because he is the one who makes it. In a similar vein, in PLACE FOR INSTITUTION metonymy, the place of an institution is conceptually close to the institution itself because most institutions are located in particular physical places.

In Warren's (2002) opinion, metonymy is not necessarily referential but can take on a predicational role. Referential metonymies are modifier-head constructions bringing about superficial violations of truth conditions when picking out the intended referent. Predicational metonymies involve the connection between two propositions via an "if-then" relationship. The former is found with nouns and noun phrases linking one entity to another, while the latter tends to occur in other parts of speech, usually clauses, linking two propositions (Warren 2002: 115). Pragmatic aspects of metonymy are accounted for by the introduction of illocutionary metonymies in which one speech act can stand for another speech act, or a part of a speech act scenario can evoke an entire scenario (Panther and Thornburg 1998: 757).

Metonymy-producing relationships are said to fall into two major categories: WHOLE AND PART and PART AND PART (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 30). In WHOLE AND PART metonymies, we mentally access a part of the conceptual domain via its whole (PART FOR WHOLE) or use the whole domain to target one of its parts (WHOLE FOR PART). An example of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is the expression "America," which stands for the United States. When speakers use the word "England" to refer to Great Britain, they are exploiting the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 32). In PART FOR PART metonymies, a part of a conceptual domain provides access to its related part. Thus, in the sentence "the whole town showed up", the place where people live was used to refer to its inhabitants (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 41).

The phenomenon of chained metonymies drew the attention of several linguists (Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez Velasco 2002; Hilpert 2006; Hilpert 2007; Littlemore

2015). If metonymy involves one conceptual shift from the source to the target referent, metonymic chains imply two or more conceptual shifts from one metonymy to another metonymy triggered by the same linguistic expression. Chained metonymies are not to be confused with metonymic chains. Brdar-Szabo and Brdar (2011) and Brdar (2015) explore the latter by highlighting the existence of linguistic metonymic chains and conceptual metonymic chains. According to Brdar (2015), all metonymic vehicles form a metonymic textual macro-chain that can be subdivided into metonymical micro-chains, regardless of the fact whether they share the same metonymic sources and targets. The chains can be simple and complex, the latter being far more common in usage. Conceptual metonymic chains involve a sequence of metonymic sources connected by unified metonymic targets (Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2011).

In addition, Littlemore (2015: 26) observes that a metonymically used expression can reveal a number of underlying conceptual metonymies. Thus, in “I’ll have a *glass* to celebrate”, the MATERIAL FOR OBJECT metonymy (glass for a glass) is combined with the CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED metonymy to indicate the contents of the glass. Furthermore, CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY metonymy is also involved in the process of meaning construal through the semantic process of specialization or narrowing of the meaning. The expression “to have a glass of” no longer triggers the meaning of any drink but an alcoholic drink. It can be concluded that various conceptual metonymies can have a role in the metonymic shift in meaning within a single lexeme.

Considering that conceptual metaphor and metonymy are cognitive in nature, there have been many instances of their interaction in language. Goossens (2002) names the connection metaphonymy and observes that metaphor from metonymy and metonymy within metaphor predominate in the corpus study. Riemer (2002) proposes two new categories: post-metaphor and post-metonymy. The former encompasses originally metaphorical expressions whose metaphorical conceptualization is no longer applicable, while the latter refers to cases where there is a distinct metonymic semantic extension that got lost over time and became conventionalized. Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez Velasco (2002) explore metaphor-metonymy interaction by re-analyzing examples proposed by Goossens (2002). They use different kinds of visual schemas or patterns of conceptual interaction to show how metonymy can be built into either the source or the target of a metaphor. Further evidence in support of their claim was provided by Diez Velasco (2002) and Herrero Ruiz (2002), the latter adding sequencing of interaction operations as an additional interactional pattern. Image

schemas as skeletal but preconceptual dynamic patterns play an important role in metaphor-metonymy interactions since they often “make it possible for us to experience, understand, and reason about our world” (Lakoff 1987: 19).

Expressions involving body parts are often polysemous and can be used to refer to ideas that are not directly related to the human body. In recent years, a significant amount of research has been dedicated to the study of body part metonymies (Deignan and Potter 2004; Ahn & Kwon 2007; Radić-Bojanić and Silaški 2012; Stanojević; 2013; Zhang et al., 2015; Imamović and Mulahmetović Ibrišimović 2015; Kraska-Szlenk 2019). Taking into account that metonymy is grounded in our interaction with the world, cross-linguistic comparisons are an important area of study as they help us reveal to what extent languages share the same conceptual metonymies. Metonymy as a cognitive process is thought to be universal, while its variation can be ascribed to different cultural and social specifics reflected in its different linguistic realizations.

## **2. AIM OF THE PAPER**

The aim of the paper is a contrastive analysis of conceptual metonymies with body parts - „hand” in the English language and its counterparts “ruka” and „šaka” in the Bosnian language. According to Diez Velasco (2000), there are three different patterns of cross-linguistic metonymy comparison. In the first pattern, both the mapping and specific instantiations are found in both languages. In the second pattern, the mapping and its instantiations appear only in one language. Finally, in the third pattern, the mapping is present in both languages, but the instantiations are culture-specific (Diez Velasco 2000: 52).

It is believed that the study will demonstrate a great degree of similarity between the languages in terms of the use of conceptual metonymies and expressions that illustrate them. The paper is also expected to show that metaphor and metonymy frequently interact as cognitive processes, resulting in linguistic expressions where metonymy often forms a prominent basis of metaphorical mapping.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

The data for the study consisted of 41 metonymic expressions in the English language and 50 metonymic expressions in the Bosnian language. Since the methodology applied in this paper is primarily based on Radden and Kövecses’ (1999) and Kövecses’

(2002) taxonomies of metonymy types, all expressions were manually analyzed and subsumed under the conceptual metonymies they illustrated. The major source for the English language was the electronic database *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*. Bosnian examples were taken from online Bosnian newspapers and websites *Dnevni avaz*, *Oslobođenje*, *Klix.ba*, and *TIP.ba*, as well as a number of literary works of Bosnian authors.

Taking into consideration that a great number of identified examples displayed a considerable degree of complexity that could not be accounted for by the mentioned taxonomies, the analysis included other approaches to metonymy analysis, such as chained metonymies and metaphor-metonymy interaction (Diez Velasco 2000, 2002; Herrero Ruiz 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez Velasco 2002; Hilpert 2006; Hilpert 2007; Littlemore 2015). Additional clarification of expressions for the English language was sought in online dictionaries *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and *The Free Dictionary*. Metonymic patterns that were identified in the Bosnian examples were checked in *Rječnik bosanskog jezika*, a dictionary of the Bosnian language.

## 4. ANALYSIS

THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy, as one of the main metonymy subtypes, has been commonly illustrated in examples involving body parts. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36) mention that body parts can be used as salient reference points that provide mental access to the whole person. Our corpus analysis confirmed the presence of THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy realized as the HAND FOR PERSON metonymy.

### 4.1. HAND FOR PERSON metonymy

#### 4.1.1. HAND FOR MANUAL WORKER

- 1) *The women and the kids would like to join them, but many don't have enough money. That means fewer hands on the farm and a smaller harvest.*
- 2) *Authorities have frozen hiring due to government budget cuts, but freight railroads need hands.*

In the selected examples, the word “hand” is used as a metonymic vehicle providing access to the target “people”. Yet, the metonymic extension does not map onto

people in general but onto those providing physical work. The metonymic motivation can be said to have an experiential basis, as hands are an essential tool when performing an activity.

The search for the existence of HAND FOR PERSON metonymy in the Bosnian corpus via word „šaka” returned no results, despite the fact that the word „šaka” is a Bosnian equivalent to the word „hand”. However, the HAND FOR PERSON metonymy was identified once the word „šaka” was replaced by the word „ruka”. The finding can be accounted for by the nature of the relation between the terms *ruka* ‘arm’ and *šaka* ‘hand’. Even though „ruka” as a body part extends from the shoulder to the fingertips, the terms „ruka” and „šaka” are often interchangeable in the Bosnian language. Halilović et al. (2010: 1160) observe that *šaka* ‘hand’ is the second meaning of the word *ruka* ‘arm’. In this regard, it does not come as a surprise that *ruka* ‘arm’ and „hand” share striking similarities as metonymic short hands. Examples that illustrate the HAND FOR PERSON metonymy in the Bosnian language using the word *ruka* ‘arm’ as a metonymic vehicle are given below:

- 3) *Ne treba nam pesimizam, teorije i priče kako se ne može, trebaju nam vrijedne ruke, volja, odlučnost i poduzetan duh koji će nas pokrenuti da radimo, privređujemo i investiramo u resurse ove zemlje.*
- 4) *Zemlja hoće vrijedne ruke i đubre: I staro i mlado uzelo motiku.*
- 5) *Gdje će ruska ruka tokom glasanja o genocidu u Srebrenici ?*
- 6) *Mostaru treba ženska ruka i došlo je vrijeme za to.*
- 7) *Prilikom jedne posjete Sarajevu, nedavno, na fasadi u Pofalićima je vidio 10 metara velikog bika kojeg je nacrtao za Novo Nordisk pet godina ranije. Naravno, niko u gradu nije znao da je tu bila umiješana sarajevska ruka.*
- 8) *Kako idemo na odbjegle dječake, naoružaćemo se štapovima, opasačima, ularima, šibama, bičevima; za ovaj posao dobra je i neka podugačka ruka da malog odmetnika zgrabi za vrat.*
- 9) *Niko od tih ljudi nema rane na sebi, ni po jednome se ne bi moglo reći da je ubijen. A niko ne može dokazati da je bilo koga od njih ljudska ruka ubila.*

A subclass of the HAND FOR PERSON metonymy is the HAND FOR CONTROLLER metonymy exemplified in the phrase “a firm hand”. The metonymic shift, enhanced by the adjective “firm”, evokes a person possessing the skill of a strict way of dealing with things or the ability to control them. Thus, it seems sensible to suggest that the conceptual metonymy that underlies these expressions is HAND FOR CONTROLLER.

- 10) *Kids need a firm hand.*
- 11) *Our party chairman got livid. He decided a firm hand was needed here.*
- 12) *Then they returned to discover that the servants had quarreled in their absence and it required a firm hand and some understanding to restore peace and efficiency to the household.*
- 13) *That's why you need a firm hand to deal with them. Kind of like women that way.*
- 14) *My boys are high-spirited and unruly. I think they need a firm hand.*

The same metonymy was identified in Bosnian in the expression *čvrsta ruka* 'a firm hand'. However, its existence is manifested through a different linguistic realization, as the word *ruka* 'arm' corresponds to the word "hand":

- 15) *Mesić je rekao kako je cilj toga poručiti kako su "svi lopovi i razbojnici, svi su krali, treba čvrsta ruka i netko tko to može uspostaviti".*
- 16) *Najvećim potencijalom da se izdigne iz sivila Premijer lige BiH. Sarajevo je organizacijski daleko ispred svih drugih klubova u Bosni i Hercegovini i tu nema nikakve sumnje. Svjesni su toga i navijači i zato traže više, traže da klub krene evropskim tokovima. Za to je samo potrebna čvrsta ruka i uspostava hijerarhije.*
- 17) *Samo nas čvrsta ženska ruka može smiriti.*

#### **4.2. HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy**

This instance of metonymy has been examined by several authors. Radden and Kövecses (1999:31) and Hilpert (2006:8-9) mention the expression "(things) got out of hand" meaning "(things) got out of control." Kövecses (2002: 209) offers several expressions for which he thinks they illustrate the HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy:

1. gain the upper hand ('attain an advantage over another person')
2. rule with an iron hand ('keep strict discipline')
3. with a heavy hand ('in an oppressive fashion')
4. with an iron hand in a velvet glove ('with a hard attitude made to seem soft')
5. keep a strict hand upon a person ('keep under total control').



The corpus-based analysis has revealed a significant number of linguistic expressions with the word “hand” that can be subsumed under the HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy, i.e., “fall/wind up into/out of somebody’s hands”, “to be in somebody’s hands”, “get into somebody’s hands”, and “put/transfer/place something into somebody’s hands”. Kövecses (2002: 209) regards these examples as pure instances of the conceptual metaphor CONTROL IS HOLDING. This paper has adopted a stance that the examples are to be treated as metaphor-metonymy interaction CONTROL IS HOLDING + HAND FOR CONTROL. In a number of examples to follow, a verb and/or a preposition are viewed as metaphorically motivated, while a noun involves metonymic mapping that can be postulated as HAND FOR CONTROL.

- 18) *An activist based near Busra al-Harir, said the whole town fell into the hands of regime forces Wednesday night after army defectors withdrew.*
- 19) *(...) to protect the public by making sure the critical information doesn't get into the hands of those who might misuse it, “says Science editor-in-chief Bruce Alberts.*
- 20) *Judge James Daniel said the decision was “out of my hands”.*
- 21) *As the goal of developing a practice guideline is to put relevant information, into the hands of those providing treatment, an especially sizeable body of experts could undermine this primary goal by delaying or failing to complete the guideline.*
- 22) *Fraga's electoral loss suddenly transferred the costly CdC project into the hands of the opposition.*
- 23) *The possibility that nuclear weapons could wind up in the hands of terrorists is a serious risk.*
- 24) *Third, university faculty can help establish and sustain PLCs by placing the major decision-making in the hands of the teachers, enabling them to develop a feeling of autonomy.*
- 25) *In the end, the decision is in the hands of Americans.*

The complete understanding of the metaphor-metonymy interaction instantiated in the given examples requires the activation of one’s knowledge of the CONTAINER and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schemas. Grounded in our bodily experiences, Lakoff (1987: 271-272) observes that the CONTAINER image schema consists of an interior, exterior, and a boundary between them. Elements in the CONTAINER image schema are said to be “either inside the container or out of it”. The source of metaphor-



ical conceptualization of hands as containers is signaled by the use of prepositions “in/to” and “out of”. Furthermore, the motion of an object from the starting location to the endpoint suggested by the verbs of motion (“transfer, wind up, place”) follows the internal logic of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. Extensions and reductions of the schema are possible so some of the elements may be omitted, added or implied. Sometimes an image schema can superimpose itself on another image schema resulting in a combination of elements so that “*out of*” indicates that the exterior is the Goal location, and *into* indicates that the interior is the Goal” (Dodge and Lakoff 2005: 6). However, without the metonymic mapping triggered by the expression “hand/s”, the significance of the “control” aspect would have been left out, resulting in the misinterpretation of the phrases. Our encyclopedic knowledge of this body part includes the experience of holding an object and, consequently, controlling it. The metonymy HAND FOR CONTROL cues as central the metaphoric correspondence it applies to.

As for the Bosnian language, the only metonymic motivation of the lexeme „šaka” has been identified in the expression *dopasti šaka*. The expression has two meanings, “to fall under someone’s control” and “to get your hands on someone”. The contextual reference has provided a fair amount of evidence to conclude that the first meaning is the intended meaning.

- 26) *Ako je zabrinjavajuće za nas “domorodce”, kako li je tek onim drugima koji dopadnu šaka našim “organima reda”.*
- 27) *Bilo je monotono, ali napeto. “Da bar mogu ustrijeliti Ceausescua! Da mi padne šaka, što bih učinio?”*, rekao je jedan njegov prijatelj na Badnjak.
- 28) *Gradonačelnik Behmen, kojeg mnogi građani Sarajeva po forumima popularno zovu Alija Betmen i pozivaju ga na akciju zbog pogoršane sigurnosne situacije, danas je upozorio vandale da im je bolje da ne padnu njegovih šaka.*
- 29) – *Čekaj ti, stara, pašće on u naše šake!*
- 30) *Neće dopasti poganih ljudskih šaka, neće kititi ničije grudi ni ramena, ne!*

Moreover, a great number of Bosnian expressions containing the word *ruka* ‘arm’ can be subsumed under the meaning “to control”. Those identified in the corpus study are *dospjeti u ruke* ‘come into the right hands’, *pasti u ruke* ‘fall into somebody’s hands’, *doći u ruke* ‘get into somebody’s hands’, *dobiti u ruke*, *predati u ruke*, and *staviti u ruke* ‘put/transfer/place something into somebody’s hand’. They have been treated as part of the metaphor-metonymy continuum due to the fact they do not exclusively fall into the category of metaphor or metonymy.

- 31) *Hvala Bogu, dospjeli smo u ruke dobrih ljudi, koji se boje Boga.*
- 32) *(...) ukoliko bi oružje i pomoć sa flote upućene u zaljev Aden dospjeli u ruke pobunjenika (...).*
- 33) *“Zašto se više ne fokusirate na sprečavanje da oružje dođe u ruke islamskih terorista, a manje u ruke Amerikanaca koji poštuju zakon?”*
- 34) *Saveznici se zvanično plaše da oružje ili nešto od opreme koju šalju SSV-u ne dođe u ruke radikalnih frakcija, koje su povezane sa Al-Kaidom.*
- 35) *Režim u Siriji neće pasti u ruke vanjskih entiteta, već u ruke sirijskog naroda u zemlji.*
- 36) *Srebrenica je pala u ruke vojske Republike Srpske pod komandom Ratka Mladića u julu 1995.*
- 37) *Marc Wilmots je kao neiskusni trener 2012. godine dobio u ruke neizbrušeni dragulj - belgijsku reprezentaciju.*
- 38) *(...) optužuju da su članove njihovih porodica predali u ruke bosanskih Srba.*
- 39) *Reisu-l-ulema Kavazović naglasio da je upravo misija UN-a Bošnjake u Srebrenici predala u ruke krvnika.*
- 40) *(...) istu borbu - što znači da će demokratija političku moć staviti u ruke transjordanskih Jordanaca,*
- 41) *Mi stavljamo svoju budućnost u svoje ruke, kazao je on.*

The expression with the word „šaka” and expressions containing the word „ruka” exploit the CONTAINER and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schemas in the same manner as their English counterparts. The HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy has the function of emphasizing that part of its source domain is crucial for the understanding of the metaphorical correspondence on which it is based on.

#### **4.3. HAND FOR OWNERSHIP metonymy**

Since the CONTAINER and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schemas interact with the HAND FOR OWNERSHIP metonymy in the same manner as in HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy, the role of context as a linguistic factor restricts possible interpretations of the phrases “arrive/remain/be in the hands of”. The ensuing examples that contain the expression “to be in someone’s hands” cue the meaning of owning and, at the same time, downplay the idea of control. Consequently, metaphor interacting with

metonymy is no longer the CONTROL IS HOLDING conceptual metaphor, but the POSSESSION IS HOLDING conceptual metaphor.

- 42) *When it finally arrived in the hands of American Art, it was in shambles, requiring reconstruction of the queen's nose, hands and breast, while the asp in her hand (which Cleopatra famously used to commit suicide) had to be replaced before it was unveiled by the museum in 1996.*
- 43) *I believe these reviews should remain in the hands of the Attorney General and the U.S. Attorney, " he said.*
- 44) *These funds will not come, or will come unevenly, from state and local governments. There is plenty of money out there to pay for college costs, but most of it is in private hands.*
- 45) *(...) corruption, poverty, and unemployment; the overwhelming concentration of wealth in the hands of a small stratum of elite families intertwined with the authorities.*

Another pattern that was discovered in our data is "to change hands". In line with the expressions that were analyzed earlier, the phrase draws on a metonymic element that serves as the basis for metaphorical meaning. If something is "to change hands", it is to change its owner. In that respect, the term "hands" would stand for ownership in the following cases:

- 46) *Limit tax consequences by avoiding funds that typically trade most of the investments in their portfolio within a given year say, a fund with a turnover ratio higher than 50 percent, which means more than half of the holdings change hands.*
- 47) *By the end of the day, about 570 million shares had changed hands, a huge trading volume for any company.*
- 48) *He says the business changed hands three times after the riots.*
- 49) *There is a concept called the "velocity of money," which says the more often money changes hands, the more benefit for all who touch the money, which would include the state.*

The expressions *stići u ruke* 'arrive in the hands', *otići u ruke*, *dospjeti u ruke* 'come into the right hands', *preći u ruke* 'change hands', and *vratiti u ruke* are classified as instances of the HAND FOR OWNERSHIP metonymy in the Bosnian lan-

guage. Their presence indicates that both English and Bosnian follow the same pattern of metaphoric extension, the only difference being the replacement of the word *hand* 'šaka' with the word *ruka* 'arm'. The preposition *u* 'in' activates the CONTAINER schema, and the verbs of motion indicating the transfer of the ownership of an object bring into play the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. Expressions are cases of conceptual interaction between the metaphor POSSESSION IS HOLDING and the metonymy HAND FOR OWNERSHIP. The concept of hand has an essential role in the mental image of the action since the metonymic mapping licenses the metaphorical meaning of the expressions.

- 50) *GRACANICA: Zlatna plaketa KUD-u "Lukavica" stigla u prave ruke.*
- 51) *Haitija ostavio na cjedilu, jer su pronevjerili novac, a pomoć nije otišla u ruke onih koji su u potrebi.*
- 52) *Države izražavaju zebnju da bi formula mogla dospjeti u pogrešne ruke i ubiti desetine miliona ljudi.*
- 53) *Dodgersi, koji su najuspješnija ekipa u historiji bejzbola sa šest osvojenih titula, ali posljednjom još davne 1988. godine, preći će u ruke novih vlasnika do kraja aprila, jer transakciju mora odobriti sud, pošto je klub zvanično u stečaju.*
- 54) *Najveća poljoprivredna grupa u Australiji, Grain Corp, mogla bi uskoro promijeniti vlasnika i preći u ruke američkog rivala.*
- 55) *Poslije tri uzastopne titule jugoslavenskih košarkaša, trofej se 1979. godine vratio u ruke sovjetskih igrača.*
- 56) *Zlato u rukama Hasan-dede bilo je krpa, bilo je smetlje. Sad je ono tvoje!*

#### **4.4. HAND FOR INVOLVEMENT metonymy**

Even though the expression "to have a hand in" is idiomatic, the metonymic root is easily traceable. It stems from the common knowledge that hands are needed for performing an activity. The focus is primarily on involvement and motivates the HAND FOR INVOLVEMENT metonymy. The metonymy serves as the basis of the ACTIONS ARE CONTAINERS conceptual metaphor.

- 57) *The niches thus vacated are being filled by the economic operatives of the states that had a hand in the change of the ruling regime.*
- 58) *Deaf users of sign language also have a hand in this dispute.*
- 59) *Kids can have a hand in helping others.*

Another expression that can be said to be showcasing this particular metonymy is the phrase “at the hands of”. In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, the expression is defined as “caused or done by a particular person – used about something bad or unpleasant that someone does”. *The Free Dictionary* provides the meaning “because of someone’s actions”. In this regard, the term “hands” metonymically invokes a person’s involvement in certain actions that negatively affect others.

- 60) *In contrast, it is estimated that 51,319 people have died at the hands of Islamic terrorists in the past seven and a half years alone.*
- 61) *The projected costs and threats of environmental damage resulted in an overwhelming defeat at the hands of voters statewide.*
- 62) *If someone’s child is killed at the hands of some lunatic, is it enough for that psycho to offer an apology?*

The same metonymy has been identified in the Bosnian language. However, as in the previous cases, it is the word *ruka* ‘arm’ that evokes the metonymic mapping.

- 63) *Stradala su naša djeca od ruke djeteta. Ovo je opomena za sve nas.*
- 64) *U novinama Al Naba se slavi ubistvo Soleimanija od ruke njegovih “američkih saveznika”.*

#### **4.5. HAND FOR SKILL metonymy**

Even though only a single case has been extracted from the corpus, the HAND FOR SKILL metonymy has been recognized as such on the basis of the more general BODY PART FOR (MANNER OF) FUNCTION metonymy. Additional evidence in favor of the claim was found in Barcelona (2003: 244), who notes that in the “She caught the Minister’s ear and persuaded him to accept the plan”, the word “ear” represents the BODY PART FOR (MANNER OF) FUNCTION metonymy, i.e., EAR FOR ATTENTION. The example of the HAND FOR SKILL metonymy is given below.

- 65) *He’s a good hand with cattle, your boy.*

The analysis of the given example shows that body parts can be used to evoke their typical functions. In this case, “a good hand” gives rise to the HAND FOR SKILL conceptual metonymy, a subtype of the BODY PART FOR ITS TYPICAL FUNCTIONS AND ATTRIBUTES CONNECTED WITH THEM.

A single example was identified in the Bosnian corpus as well.

66) *Pomogli su vaučeri da kupimo materijal, ali smo ruke sami plaćali.*

In this example, *ruka* ‘hand’ is used as a substitute for „work done by the hands”, and thus is to be understood as metonymic. Moreover, this particular example is an instance of a chained metonymy, as the mapping takes place from the metonymic vehicle „ruke” onto „skill” and then onto „person performing the action”.

#### 4.6. “Hand” in EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy

Radden and Kövecses (1999: 38) provide the example „a slow road” standing for „slow traffic resulting from the poor state of the road,” as an illustration of the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy. In the English corpus, the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy was identified in the expression „a steady hand,” which can be interpreted as a result of a person being relaxed and quiet, not angry, nervous, or upset, and thus able to control one’s movements. Furthermore, the metonymic interpretation involves multiple-metonymy motivation since the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy interacts with the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy or INSTANCE FOR TYPE. The generic use of a singular countable indefinite noun phrase suggests that, although referential, it does not refer to an individual but is understood as a generalization.

67) *The most useful tools? A fine paintbrush and a steady hand. Daniele says.*

In a similar vein, *sigurna ruka* and *mirna ruka* ‘steady hand’ are regarded as displaying the same level of metonymic mapping since premodifiers „sigurna” and “mirna” are a result of a person’s emotional state. They have been detected in the following examples:

68) *Španija je bila u blagoj prednosti do sredine meča, stalno vodeći sa jednim golom prednosti, ali strpljenje i sigurna ruka donijeli su srpskim vaterpolistima zlato.*

69) *Budući da su određeni proizvodi vrlo sitni, za njihovu preciznost potrebna je mirna ruka i velika preciznost.*

## 5. CONCLUSION

The analysis shows that body part metonymies involving the words „hand”, and „šaka” and „ruka” exist both in the English and the Bosnian language. However, the

study has revealed that, despite the fact that there is a distinction between „šaka” and „ruka” in Bosnian, a large number of patterns use the lexeme „ruka” to denote expressions that are found with „hand” in English. Although there is no obstacle to using the term *šaka* ‘hand’ for the metonymic mapping, word *arm* ‘ruka’ seems to be given more prominence in Bosnian. The discrepancy is regarded as a result of differences in cultural perspective, confirming the hypothesis that metonymy as a cognitive phenomenon is universal, but its linguistic realization may be different due to cultural and linguistic reasons.

The paper also proves the hypothesis that metaphor and metonymy frequently interact in the mental conceptualization of the world around us, their interaction being reflected in language. Thus, expressions such as „to be in one’s hands” or „biti u rukama” illustrate the connection between the CONTROL IS HOLDING metaphor and the HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy. The particular meaning of an expression is context-sensitive since the context is an inherent component in arriving at the intended meaning. The absence of context would prevent the introduction of relevant situational elements in the interpretation of an expression, making it impossible to distinguish between its linguistic meaning and contextual meaning. In that case, we would fail to see that one expression, e.g., „to be in one’s hands” or „biti u rukama” can be motivated by both the CONTROL IS HOLDING + the HAND FOR CONTROL and POSSESSION IS HOLDING + HAND FOR OWNERSHIP combinations. The role of image schemas must not be disregarded as their activation regularly provides the crucial piece of information necessary for the understanding of metaphor-metonymy interaction.

The phenomenon of chained metonymies, although not so frequent in distribution, was also found in the corpus analysis. It was indicated by mappings from the metonymic vehicle „ruke” onto „skill” and then onto „person performing the action”. Moreover, it was established that a metonymically used expression can be motivated by a number of conceptual metonymies. A case in point are the expressions *sigurna ruka* and *mirna ruka* that exploit both the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy and the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy.

Although the paper presents preliminary research on body part metonymies, it proves that conceptual metonymies exploit body parts to manifest themselves in language. Further research focusing on a larger corpus might lead to the identification of other linguistic patterns underlying conceptual metonymies and their possible interplay with metaphor. The paper can serve as a starting point for exploring the metonymic productivity of other body parts in English and Bosnian.



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## **METONIMIJSKA UPOTREBA DIJELOVA TIJELA: HAND U ENGLESKOM JEZIKU I RUKA I ŠAKA U BOSANSKOM JEZIKU**

### **Sažetak**

Ovaj rad istražuje metonimijsku upotrebu dijelova tijela "hand" u engleskom jeziku i „ruka” i „šaka” u bosanskom jeziku. Cilj rada je utvrđivanje sličnosti i razlika između jezika po pitanju konceptualnih metonimija koje u sebi sadrže navedene dijelove tijela. Rad također nastoji utvrditi stepen interakcije i učesća metonimije u drugim kognitivnim procesima, tj. višeslojnim metonimijama te metafori. Metodološki okvir analize korpusa je u skladu sa metonimijskim taksonomijama koje su uspostavili Radden i Kövecses (1999) i Kövecses (2002) te obrascima konceptualne interakcije (Diez Velasco 2000, 2002). Analiza će pokazati da metonimije koje u sebi sadrže dijelove tijela mogu učestvovati u formiranju višeslojnih metonimija i da često služe kao osnova metaforičnog preslikavanja.

**Ključne riječi:** kognitivna lingvistika; metonimija; metafora; engleski, bosanski; 'hand' 'ruka-šaka'

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