

Cross-linguistic Analysis of Metonymic Conceptualization of Personality in English and Vietnamese Idioms Containing "Head", "Face" and "Eyes"

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ABSTRACT

Research on idioms from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, in particular through conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy in cognitive semantics, has been steadily growing. While there have been quite a few investigations into the role of conceptual metaphors in meaning formation, conceptual metonymies are still left underexplored. This article examines the role of metonymic conceptualization of personality in English and Vietnamese idioms containing "head", "face" and "eyes" from the conceptual metonymy theory of cognitive linguistics. With analyzed examples from 713 English languages and 947 Vietnamese idioms of body parts collected, the article shows that metonymic conceptualization plays an essential part in the formation of meaning. There are many similarities in the way "head", "face" and "eyes" are conceptualized for personality in both English and Vietnamese cultures. However, why Vietnamese body part idioms use a lot of symbolic pairs, English idioms do not. The study suggests more attention to conceptual metonymy in teaching idioms in order to help students infer idiomatic meanings. Rather than asking students to learn by heart the composite meaning of idioms, teachers should encourage them to guess the idiomatic meaning. Besides, conceptual metonymy should be explained to students since it helps language learners infer idiomatic meaning and retain it longer.

1. Introduction

Conceptual metonymy frequently participates in language construction for grammar, lexicon, conceptual structure, and language expressions (Barcelona, 2012; Lai, 2008). Metonymies provide what we call natural inference schemes which direct many of our pragmatic reasoning in meaning-built, especially in defining explicit meaning and significance, i.e., general and specific dialog implications. Interests in metonymy research have a history that can be traced back over two thousand years, ranging from conventional rhetorical analysis to modern cognitive research (Kövecses, 2013; Panther, 2008; Pérez-Sobrino, 2014; Vu, 2008a). It was long held to be evident by rhetoricians and linguists that metonymy is a figurative language. Metonymy is claimed to work on associating object concepts. It involves substituting the name of one element for the name of the other on the basis that both are somehow related. In light of cognitive linguistics, the cognitive interpretation of metonymy varies significantly from traditional views (Bertelsen et al., 2007; Panther, 2008; Piñango et al., 2017; Vu, 2015a). Metonymy is thought to be a philosophical phenomenon, a comprehensive way of knowing the world and enriching the language. It is also an essential and commonly used tool to understand how people conceptualize the world around them. Therefore, the study of metonymy from a cognitive view provides an excellent opportunity to understand how meaning is formed in bodypart idioms. With comparative research method, this article also tries to find out cultural similarities and

differences in conceptualizing "head", "face" and "eyes" across the two cultures via the key research question: "How is personality metonymically conceptualized through body part idioms in English and Vietnamese?"

2. Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual domain

Taylor (1989, p. 83) defines a domain as the cognitive structure providing background context and helping us to understand the meaning of any word. However, there seem to be two different meanings of domain. In the first one, domain refers to completely different human experience such as space, color, emotion, and temperature. Space domain can be considered as the most basic domain among them. Cognitive linguists have hypothesized that structure of the space domain is projected onto various abstract domains such as the time domain. Lakoff (1987:281) explains that the cognitive domain is a metaphorical mapping from physical space to conceptual space. The result of this process is the "mental space" (Fauconnier, 2004) or a place for conceptualizing and thinking. Fauconnier also believes that the mental space is restructured by the Idealized Cognitive Models.

For the second meaning, "domain" is a foundation knowledge (sometimes called encyclopedic knowledge) that we get about a variety of topics from our experience. For example, when mentioning the education domain, we refer to the role of teachers and students, curriculum, examinations, and grades. In this sense, the domain can be certain experiences specified separately by each culture similar to a "scenario," "frame," or "script." (St. Clair et al., 2005; Vu, 2012; Whitney, 2001). The first interpretation of domain is universal, and the second is culturally specific. Although there are differences in interpretation, the concept of a domain plays an important role in understanding the combinations of polysemy and fixed terms. One word can have different meanings as projected onto many different categories. For example, the word "low" in the phrase "a low house", "low temperature," and "feeling low" has different meanings because these phrases are projected onto different domains, respectively space, temperature, and emotional domains.

Domain is one of the most common terms in cognitive linguistics (Carman & Carman, 2019; Hung, Vien, et al., 2018; Næss, 2018; Vu, 2015b). It is the basis to survey metaphor and metonymy. Therefore, understanding the meaning and role of domain is very important to clarify the concept of conceptual metaphor and metonymy.

2.2 Conceptual metonymy

In cognitive linguistics, metonymy and synecdoche are often believed to instantiate the same conceptual phenomenon (Dalpanagioti, 2018; Martin & Papadelos, 2017; Mittelberg, 2018; Nguyen, 2017). Lakoff & Johnson (1980) see metonymy as a predominantly referential shift phenomenon within one cognitive domain. Croft (1993) defines metonymy as a process of domain highlighting in which the meaning of an expression can often only be determined against the background of a set of overlapping domains that jointly serve as a base against which the meaning is profiled. In the same viewpoint, various scholars have claimed that metonymy is as pervasive a phenomenon in language and thought as metaphor (Babina & Proskurnich, 2019; Hung, Truong, et al., 2018; Vu, 2016a). It has been argued that the conceptual and linguistic significance of metonymy is comparable to that of metaphor. Some scholars have claimed that the borderline between metaphor and metonymy is blurred (Croft, 1993b; Guarddon-Anelo, 2011; Moore, 2006; Verspoor, 2016; Vu, 2016b). In the scope of this paper, the author believes that the use of the term metonymy should be limited to a small number of well-known and clear-cut cases. For example, the ham sandwich is a metaphor for a customer who is waiting for his check, and the sandwich is conceptualized as being within the target domain "the customer". To be short, conceptual metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same cognitive model.

2.3 The experiential grounding of metonymy

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) attribute an experiential basis to many metonymies and metaphors. For many other researchers, the controversy between the "metaphorists" and the "metonymists" is empirical in nature (Ahn & Kwon, 2007; Guarddon-Anelo, 2011; López, 2009; Moore, 2006; Vu, 2009). If warmth is interpreted as an indexical sign for affection, then it makes sense to regard the experiential correlation between warmth and affection as metonymic rather than metaphorical. The outcome of this discussion hinges on an empirically validated answer to the question of what the semiotic status of such experiential correlations is. Moore (2006) argues that many expressions that look metaphorical, because their respective source domains and target domains are clearly separate, originate as metonymies. The problem of whether metonymic or metaphorical processes lead to changes in meaning is especially acute in diachronic semantics (Law, 2019; Shao et al., 2019; Vu, 2015a). The conceptual metonymies that motivating body part idioms analyzed in this paper are assumed to be

originated from the experience of daily interaction between human body parts like "head", "face", "hands" etc. with the surrounding world.

2.4 Embodiment as the basis for metonymic conceptualization

In the cognitive view, the mind was not viewed as a collection of abstract data, or "black boxes" (Cesaratto, 2020; Rumelhart, 2017; Vu, 2008b). Instead, we become physically acquainted with a bodily sense of space in these situations and make sense of the world around by interacting with its physical objects: "It is like when dealing with a power outage, we are forced to walk around in the dark, we find ourselves finding slight shifts in the underfoot texture of the floor, cautiously reaching out in the stairwell for the next step. It's a very odd feeling, one that may well remind us of being young and just learning to walk down the stairs" (Rohrer, 2008). In embodied cognitive science, specific details of how the brain and body embody the mind do matter. A series of experiments by Parsons (1987) showed that when subjects were asked to perform mental rotations of line drawings of human hands instead of 2D/3D block diagrams on computers, subjects were quicker at identifying those rotations of the hand. Similarly, patients with chronic arm pain are much slower to perform the necessary mental rotations in those conditions where the bodily movements that would be required for the actual hand rotation involve large arm movements (Parsons, 1987). Not only does the body affect how our mind works, but the body in pain affects how the mind works. This leads to the conclusion that our minds work relies heavily on the bodily functions of our body parts and metonymic conceptualization results from this embodiment process.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection

This study builds a body part idiom dictionary-based database. Data are taken from several online and hard copy dictionaries of idioms that reveal the standard language use in English and Vietnamese. English body part idioms are mainly collected from 3 dictionaries: Oxford Idioms dictionary for learners of English (Oxford, 2004); Longman American Idioms (Urbom, 2000); A Dictionary of American Idioms (Makkai, Boatner và Gates, 2004). Similarly, Vietnamese body part idioms come from 3 popular dictionaries: Vietnamese idioms (Nguyen Luc et al, 1978); Dictionary of Vietnamese idioms and proverbs (Vu Dung et al, 2000); Dictionary of Vietnamese idioms, proverbs and folklores (Viet Chuong, 1998).

The database is compiled in three stages. Firstly, the dictionaries of idioms mentioned above are scanned. Then, body part words encountered in dictionaries are listed. Lastly, erroneous data like blood, marrow, bile, etc. are omitted from the list. The collected idioms have a wide range of syntactic roles, from membership in individual nouns, adverbs, adjectives, and predicates. If the idioms have more than one body part word, and the first word is considered to be the determining word for a specific body part category. In total, 713 English languages and 947 Vietnamese idioms of body parts have been collected. Due to the limited scope of this paper, only "head" and "face" are analyzed.

Table 1: Percentage of English and Vietnamese body part idioms in each category

| Body Parts | English idioms | | Vietnamese idioms | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | Count | Percentage | Count | Percentage |
| Arms | 12 | 1,68% | 5 | 0,53% |
| Back | 40 | 5,61% | 10 | 1,06% |
| Body | 6 | 0,84% | 30 | 3,17% |
| Bone | 19 | 2,66% | 10 | 1,06% |
| Brains | 15 | 2,10% | 0 | 0,00% |
| Cheek | 0 | 0,00% | 8 | 0,84% |
| Stomach | 0 | 0,00% | 47 | 4,96% |
| Ears | 32 | 4,49% | 31 | 3,27% |
| Eyes | 71 | 9,96% | 96 | 10,14% |
| Eye lashes | 0 | 0,00% | 15 | 1,58% |
| Face | 47 | 6,59% | 114 | 12,04% |
| Feet | 40 | 5,61% | 52 | 5,49% |
| Fingers | 21 | 2,95% | 7 | 0,74% |

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| Forehead | 0 | 0,00% | 9 | 0,95% |
| Hair | 14 | 1,96% | 22 | 2,32% |
| Hand | 85 | 11,92% | 91 | 9,61% |
| Head | 64 | 8,98% | 61 | 6,44% |
| Heart | 44 | 6,17% | 14 | 1,48% |
| Intestine | 0 | 0,00% | 68 | 7,18% |
| Knee | 8 | 1,12% | 4 | 0,42% |
| Liver | 0 | 0,00% | 26 | 2,75% |
| Lip | 0 | 0,00% | 11 | 1,16% |
| Leg | 26 | 3,65% | 3 | 0,32% |
| Mouth | 27 | 3,79% | 84 | 8,87% |
| Neck | 17 | 2,38% | 15 | 1,58% |
| Nose | 28 | 3,93% | 7 | 0,74% |
| Shoulder | 12 | 1,68% | 13 | 1,37% |
| Skin | 14 | 1,96% | 19 | 2,01% |
| Teeth | 20 | 2,81% | 15 | 1,58% |
| Throat | 8 | 1,12% | 4 | 0,42% |
| Toes | 6 | 0,84% | 0 | 0,00% |
| Tongue | 14 | 1,96% | 10 | 1,06% |
| Miscellaneous | 23 | 3,23% | 46 | 4,86% |
| SUM | 713 | 100,00% | 947 | 100,00% |

3.2 Data analysis

The current study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques. For quantitative analysis, frequencies and percentages of body part idioms containing "head" and "face" are calculated and compared. The conceptual rates and percentages of mappings were also determined to decide whether conceptual metonymy has a role in meaning formation. As for qualitative analysis, the research adopts the basic concepts of metaphoric cognitive theory and metonymy discussed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and notably by Kövecses (2010). Accordingly, it is assumed that people conceptualize abstract worlds in terms of those that are comparatively well understood in our everyday physical and cultural environment.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Metonymic conceptualization of personality in idioms containing "head"

Take the English idiom "not to have a roof over one's head" as an example, we can see that a body part is used to refer to the whole body with the metonymic representation "the head stands for the body". It is this metonymic representation that gives rise to the idiomatic meaning "there is nowhere for someone to stay". To put it another way, the domain body is highlighted in the head conceptual domains. When this body domain becomes the main focus, the meaning of the idiom can be understood. In English, we can find many other idioms that are motivated by the metonymic conceptualization of the personality domain as follows:

- a. Dan's such a big-head, always reminding us what fantastic results he got in his exams.
- b. You'll have to ask Alan, he's the head honcho in our department.
- c. Britain's crowned head is about to tour Africa.
- d. If he so much as harms a hair on her head, I won't be responsible for my actions.

Through idioms like "big head", "the head honcho" and "crowned head", one can see that the head is used as a representation of the whole human body. "Dan's such a big head" is interpreted as "Dan is such a boastful and arrogant person". Similarly, "He's the head honcho in our department" means that this person is very important and influential for the organization. With "crowned head", the domain of royal power is activated and this is based on our real-world knowledge and experience about the king or the queen. In the above example, "Britain's crowned head" is usually understood as the queen. To harm a hair on somebody's head is also interpreted as to injure that person physically or even mentally. From the

above analysis, it is clear that metonymic conceptualization and conventional knowledge play important roles in helping us interpret idiomatic meanings.

In Vietnamese, there are also many idioms related to the metonymic conceptualization of personality such as:

- bạc đầu hầu trắng răng [the white head serves the white tooth]
- đầu bò đầu bươu [head of the bull and the ox]
- đầu như cối chày máy [head like a nodding machine]
- đầu trơ trán bóng [bare and shiny head]
- đầu xanh tuổi trẻ [green head]
- đầu trâu mặt ngựa [head of buffalo and face of horse]

In these Vietnamese idioms, conceptual domain “head” is interpreted as human personality. “Đầu như cối chày máy” [head like a nodding machine] is used when referring to yes-man people who always agree with other people without one’s own opinions. “Đầu trơ trán bóng” [bare and shiny head] is commonly used to refer to people who often endure an embarrassing or difficult situation by behaving with apparent lack of shame. Likewise, “đầu bò đầu bươu” [head of the bull and the ox] are thugs or punks who always bully and spread fears to other people. “Đầu trâu mặt ngựa” [head of buffalo and face of horse] also suggest delinquents and insolents. “Đầu xanh tuổi trẻ” [green head] are for young, inexperienced people. Through these examples, we can see that there is clear correlation in metonymic conceptualization about the head between English and Vietnamese. While the percentage of English idioms containing “head” is a little higher than that of Vietnamese idioms as illustrated in figure 1, a lot of them refer to human personality.

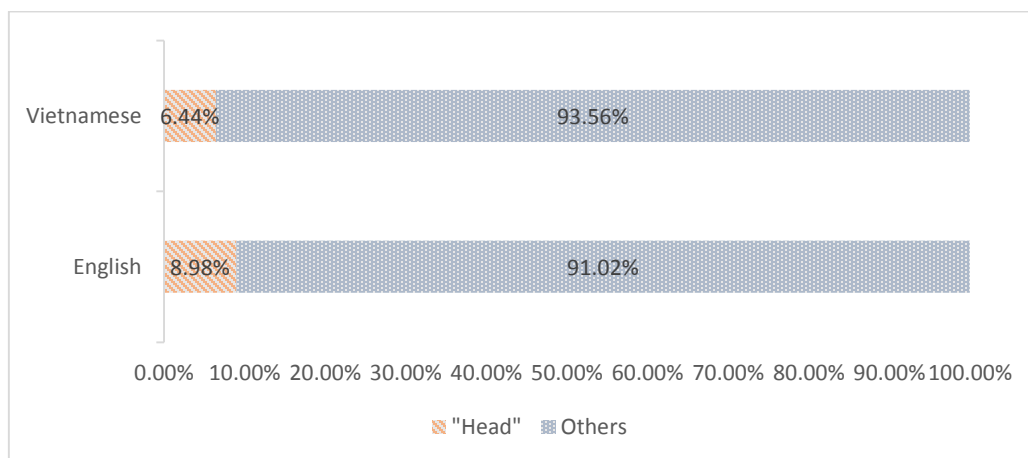


Figure 1. Percentage of English and Vietnamese idioms containing “Head”

Upon closer investigation, English people tend to conceptualize “head” as references to powerful, important people while Vietnamese conceptualization of “heads” is more diverse. Another interesting point is the use of symbolic pairs in Vietnamese that does not exist in English (Nguyễn Đức Dân, 1996). Take “đầu trâu mặt ngựa” [head of buffalo and face of horse] and “bạc đầu hầu trắng răng” [the white head serves the white tooth] as the examples, we have symbolic pairs like “đầu” [head] – “mặt” [face]; “trâu” [buffalo] – “ngựa” [horse]; “đầu” [head] – “răng” [tooth]. “đầu” [head] – “mặt” [face] represent the people and “trâu” [buffalo] – “ngựa” [horse] represent scoundrel, vagabond personalities.

4.2 Metonymic conceptualization of personality in idioms containing “face”

With the English idiom “to laugh in someone’s face”, the domain “face” is attributed to the whole human body. The illiteral meaning of this expression is to despise or look down nose on somebody. Conventional knowledge helps us know that when talking to somebody, one often looks at the face of that person although one is not actually talking to the face. This conventional knowledge together with the conceptual metonymy “the face represents the person” help us interpret the meaning of this idiom with ease. In the following examples, the “face” domain also becomes the highlighting domain in the domain matrix “human”:

- The government's attempts at reform have blown up in its face, with demonstrations taking place all over the country.

- b. I'd prefer to sort this problem out face to face rather than over the phone.
- c. We've been stuffing our faces with Susannah's delicious chocolate cake.
- d. I don't know how he dares show his face in this pub after how he behaved the other night!
- e. Everyone refers to him as 'Junior' but no one would dare call him that to his face.
- f. Her face was a picture when I told her the news.

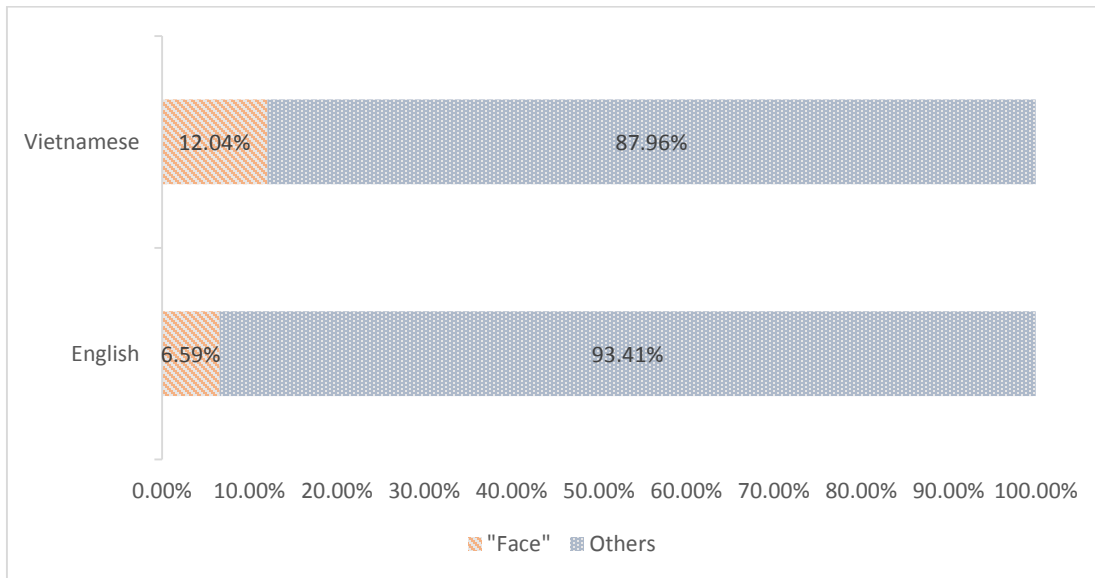


Figure 2. Percentage of English and Vietnamese idioms containing "Face"

From table 1, one can make an interesting cross-linguistic comparison. While "face" ranks top in the Vietnamese list of body part idioms with 114 cases, accounting for 12,04%, it only accounts for 47 cases and 6,59% respectively in the English counterpart as in figure 2. In English list of body part idioms, "face" rank lower than "hand", "eye", "head" and "shoulder". From this comparison, we can see that in Vietnamese conceptualization, "face" is a very important body part. As a result, in Vietnamese, we can find a lot of idioms relating to the metonymic conceptualization of personality such as:

- a. mặt măng miệng sữa [face of bamboo shoots, mouth of milk]
- b. mặt muội mày gio [face of charcoal, eyelash of embers]
- c. mặt nạc đóm dày [meaty face, thick wood]
- d. mặt người dạ thú [human face, animal guts]
- e. mặt sắt đen sì [coal iron face]
- f. mặt sứa gan lim [face of jellyfish, liver of iron wood]
- g. đầu trâu mặt ngựa [head of buffalo, face of horse]
- h. tai to mặt lớn [big ears, hefty face]
- i. ba mặt một lời [three faces, one word]
- j. mặt trơ trán bóng [bare face, bald forehead]
- k. mặt búng ra sữa [milky face]
- l. mặt dạn mày dày [solid face, thick eyelashes]
- m. trông mặt đặt tên [name sb by the face]
- n. xem mặt biết lòng [know sb' personality by the face]

In a lot of cultures, the domain "face" is conceptualized as a body part representing the whole human body, especially in terms of personality. Vietnamese culture is no exception. Therefore, we can find out a lot of body part idioms relating to "the face representing the person's personality as listed above. Experience from real world in the past tells us that charcoal and embers are constantly in contact with the working class of low social status when they work with steam engines and tend to furnaces. As a result, "mặt muội mày gio" [face of charcoal, eyelash of embers] indicates down-and-out people who are not able to have good achievements. Similarly, "mặt măng miệng sữa" [face of bamboo shoots, mouth of milk] implies

inexperienced, young and immature people. Jellyfish are soft, harmless and drifting around the seashore for food while ironwood is very hard and difficult to cut. From this common knowledge, one can interpret that “mặt sứa gan lim” [face of jellyfish, liver of iron wood] implies people who look amiable, cordial but deep inside, they are very tough, tenacious and ready for any challenges. Like the case with body part idioms containing “head”, we see a lot of symbolic pairs in Vietnamese idioms but none in English counterparts. In all English and Vietnamese idioms of body parts however, the domain matrix “human personality” plays a crucial role in making the idiomatic meaning.

4.3 Metonymic conceptualization of personality in idioms containing “eyes”

In the idioms “before/under someone’s eyes”, the eyes are used to symbolize human beings. It is common knowledge that when something happens in front of our eyes, we tend to direct the eyes to observe the event. Both English and Vietnamese people can infer the idiomatic meaning of similar idioms thanks to the conceptual metonymy “The eyes stand for human beings”. This conceptual metonymy leads to illiteral meaning inference from the literal sense. There are many other similar example idioms containing “eyes” in English:

- a. She began to talk about her son who had died and by the end of her speech there wasn't a dry eye in the house.
- b. If you murder someone you deserve to die. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.
- c. His youngest son was the apple of his eye.
- d. All eyes are on the Prime Minister to see how he will respond to the challenge to his leadership.

Through the above examples, the role of the conceptual metonymy “The eyes stand for human beings” in idiomatic meaning formation is quite clear. In the idiom “not a dry eye in the house”, “eyes” are used to refer to human beings. When a person is with “no dry eyes”, one can infer that he or she is probably crying. Therefore, “there wasn’t a dry eye in the house” can be easily interpreted as “everybody was crying”. Similarly, “an eye for an eye” literally means “a human life must be returned with a human life” as explained in the previous statement “If you murder someone, you deserve to die”. “The apple of somebody’ eye” is used to refer to people who are favored or loved. In “all eyes are on the Prime Minister”, “eyes” refer to the citizens of the mentioned country.

In Vietnamese, many cases of idioms motivated by the conceptual metonymy “The eyes stand for human beings and personalities” can be also be found, for example:

- a. mắt trắng, môi thâm [white eyes, blue lips]
- b. người trần, mắt thịt [mortal soul, naked eye]
- c. mắt xanh, môi đỏ [blue eyes, red lips]
- d. mắt dơi, mày chuột [eyes of bats, eyelashes of rats]
- e. mắt thánh, tai hiền [godly eyes, amiable ears]
- f. mắt lỗ áo [eyes of small holes]
- g. mắt bồ câu [pigeon eyes]
- h. mắt cú vọ [owl eyes]
- i. mắt điều hâu [hawk eyes]
- j. (mắt như) mắt lợn luộc [boiled pig eyes]
- k. (mắt như) mắt rắn ráo [snake eyes]
- l. mắt ốc nhồi, môi chuối mẩn [eyes of snails, lips of bananas]

In Vietnamese idioms, one can see a lot of symbolic pairs. In the first idiom, “eyes” and “lips” represent human beings while “white” and “blue” represent wickedness, depravity and evildoing. As a result, “mắt trắng, môi thâm” [white eyes, blue lips] refers to atrocious and immoral people who often do harms to others. “Người trần, mắt thịt” [mortal soul, naked eye] means down-to-earth humans made of bone and flesh. The idiom implies that as human beings, we are all alike with both strengths and weaknesses. With “mắt xanh, môi đỏ” [blue eyes, red lips], one has in mind the images of rude, saucy and voracious women who often bully other people and want to dominate. Sometimes, the idiom is used to refer to vagrant women. With similar analysis, conventional knowledge tells us that the bat eyes are small but they are very sharp in darkness and so are mice’ eyes. These two animals often move surreptitiously at night. Therefore, “mắt dơi, mày chuột” [eyes of bats, eyelashes of rats] implies cunning, tricky people who should be stayed away.

It is interesting to note that idioms containing “eyes” in Vietnamese often use animal images to describe human personality like “bat eyes”, “mouse eyes”, “snake eyes”, “pig eyes”, “frog eyes”, “owl eyes”, “pigeon eyes” etc. In English, there are hardly any idioms that use animal images like that although English have quite a large number of idioms containing eyes

(n=71). This difference can be explained by the fact that somatomancy has long been rooted in Vietnamese culture. In the elements of human form used for divination like skull, forehead, lips, cheeks, nose and eyes etc., "eyes" is one of the most important.

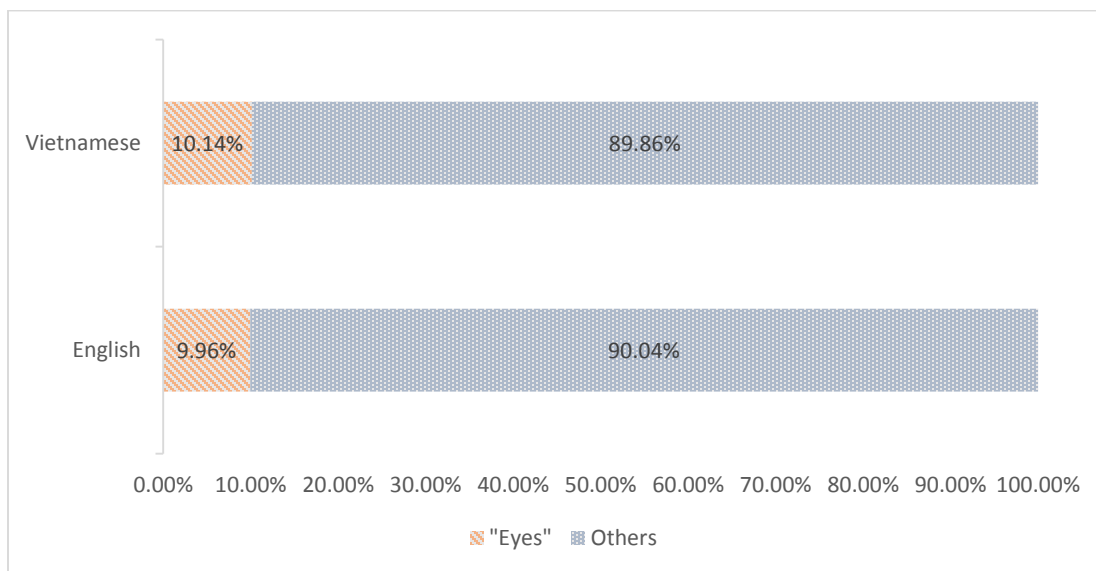


Figure 3. Percentage of English and Vietnamese idioms containing "Eyes"

As illustrated in Table 1 and Figure 3, idioms containing "eyes" take a significant portion in both English and Vietnamese repository of body part idioms. They both rank second in Table 1 with 71 units in English idioms (9,96%) and 96 units in Vietnamese idioms (10,14%). So, both English and Vietnamese people conceptualize "eyes" as a very important body part. This transfers to metonymic conceptualization of the idioms analyzed in this section. With explicit understanding of this conceptualization mechanism, language learners will find it easier to understand and remember the idiomatic meaning.

5. Conclusion

It is impossible for a language learner to master a foreign language without understanding cultural aspects that are implied in language itself. English and Vietnamese idioms of body parts play an important role of representing each country's culture, history, customs and social background. In understanding a target country's language, one should study not only the alphabet, pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar but also acquire cultural knowledge of the language. The analysis of metonymic conceptualization of body part idioms relating to the conceptual domains of human personalities in this article shows that conceptual metonymy obviously contributes significantly to the formation of implicit meanings of idioms. We also see that the meanings of idioms can be inferred once the conceptual metonymy and appropriate conventional understanding are determined. This is a notable point because it has long been supposed that idioms are sustainable combinations in terms of structure, stable in terms of semantics; and the meaning of an idiom is that of the whole combination. Due to limited study scope, this article only explores a few body part idioms in English and Vietnamese. Further studies can be conducted to explore the role of conceptual metonymy in idiom meaning formation of other body part idioms in other languages.

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