

Face in the Hijazi Idioms: What Does It Reveal?

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Abstract

This cognitive semantic corpus-based study attempts to outline the biological and social role/s regarding the face in the Hijazi Dialect of Arabic (HDA). The aim is to check the embodied conceptualization in relation to the kinds of emotions, character qualities, and cultural values (Maalej and Yu, 2011) that Hijazi face idioms represent in the conceptual system of HDA-speakers. This paper uses the theoretical framework of the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (CTMM) (Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002)) in analyzing the specific cognitive structures (i.e. conceptual metaphor/s, conceptual metonym/ies, image schema/s) that are thought to be implemented in the conceptual system of those speakers. It also agrees and incorporates Kövecses (2002), Maalej (2004), and Yu's (2009) views on the importance of experience, embodiment, and culture when analyzing idioms to dig beneath what appears on the surface in the form of idiomatic expressions referred by Yu (2002) as the "tip of the iceberg". Representing a rather conservative society, face is seen as a strong reflection of the culture and values embedded in the Hijaz.

Keywords: Conceptual theory of metaphor, Metonymy, Culture, Idioms, Bodily experience (embodiment), Cognition, Face, Hijazi dialect of Arabic

1. Introduction

Of all the body parts in the human body, the face is the most important and distinctive. Its distinctiveness is seen in its position and function. Located at the highest part of our body, the face is "the noblest part in the body where the senses are situated" (Al-Zubaidi (no date)). It is our interactive part with the world in many ways: we are recognized through our distinguished features on our faces, we interact with people through our senses with which we see, communicate, and hear. Moreover, our faces reveal our intentions and states of mind

where various facial expressions are displayed on our faces such as anger, happiness, anxiety, etc. It is because of its physical and social importance, Yu (2009: 153) states "our face is the most important identity mark of who we are, both physically and socially".

There have been numerous ongoing Western studies made on the human face. These include studies related to medicine (Cifuentes et al 2017), psychology (Ekman 1978), anthropology (Ketisikist 2003), neuroscience (Bruce & Young 1986), psychology (Tickle 2003), linguistics (Wierzbicka 1993 and 2000, Kidron & Kuzar 2002, Vainik 2011, Yu 2009, Marmaridou 2011), to name only a few. As for Arabic, classical studies include medicine, (Note 1) physiognomy (Note 2) and rhetoric as summarized in (Ateeq 1985). To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no studies have been made on any Arabic dialect in relation to face idioms from a cognitive semantic point of view. This study focuses on HAD (Note 3) and starts from scratch since there are no dictionaries written on it. It adds to the arrived-to-results in Al-Jahdali (2010) since her thesis tackled six different body parts in HDA. It is hoped that this study will be a new addition to the field of cognitive linguistics from a newly-researched dialect in regards to face idioms. A thorough cognitive semantic analysis will be conducted on metonymic and metaphoric extensions of these idioms in an attempt to unveil what face can signal in the Hijazi society. Since it is the first study in the Arab world, it is hoped to check whether these extensions are universal or culture-specific.

In HDA, the word *wajh* 'face' is the lexeme used in all the idioms collected. It is the same lexeme used in Modern Standard Arabic. The lexeme *wajh* is used to refer to the human face as in *wajhu mu Gariib 9alayya* 'His face is not strange to me', outer part of something as in *waajhat ?almaHal* 'The face of the shop', and to refer to abstract concepts such as *wajh ?alHagiigah* 'The face of the truth'. A verbal extension is based on the word *wajh* 'face', the verb *yuwaajih maSaa9ib yawmiyyah f 9amalu* 'He faces daily problems at his work', *tawajjah lwaziir ?ila lubnaan* 'The minister headed to Lebanon', *yuwaajihha bilHagiigah* 'He confronted her with the truth'.

To set the foundation of this study, it was proved in cognitive linguistics that we rely on our body parts as a source domain to map out abstract domains (Kovecses 2002: 16). Furthermore, embodiment theory stresses that our conceptual systems rely on the commonalities of our human bodies and the environment we are raised in (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 6). Having said that, it is assumed that we, as humans, have the same human body. Our face has apparent physical features and we all experience similar facial expressions when happy, sad, angry, etc. Ekman (1978) for example studying the physical appearance of certain emotions on different faces found that expressions such as happiness, anger, disgust, fear, and sadness are universal across various members of Western and Eastern cultures. Berrios (2002), however, argues that the human face is a cultural construct that cannot be studied without taking into account cultural values. This has been further proven through many linguistic studies of which I will list only few in relation to the human face. Cognitive linguistic studies made on different languages in relation to the face found that metonymic and metaphoric understanding of certain abstract concepts differ from one culture to another (Kovecses 2006; Maalej 1999; 2004; 2007). Vu et al (2020) examined English and Vietnamese idioms containing the body parts eyes, head, and face in relation to the role of

metonymic conceptualization of personality. They found out that metonymic conceptualization is an essential part in meaning in many shared meanings in relation to the two languages under investigation. However, idioms that were different were attributed to cultural differences such as *mặt muôi mày gio* 'face of charcoal, eyelash of embers' which indicates down-and-out people who are not able to have good achievements. Such differences raise difficulty for L2 learners. Yu (2009:153) in a comparative study between Chinese and English face idioms found that the face in Chinese is presented as a highlight of appearance and look, an indicator for emotion and character, as focus of interaction and relationship, and as locus for identity and prestige. He provided examples including “old face” to mean 'old member'; “face-swell-red-red” 'suddenly turn hostile' etc. Although there was a high degree of similarity between Chinese and English which he attributed to the shared human body, there arose differences as a result of the two different cultures. He proposed a triangle model where he connected an interrelated relation between body, language, cognition, and culture (Yu 2009: 183). Studying Turkish body part idioms, Baş (2015: 89) found that the face is associated with ten kinds of emotions: shame, hate, love, anger, distress, disappointment, happiness, longing, pride, and reproach of which abstract concepts have been associated with Turkish culture. Studying Estonian face idioms, Vainik (2011) found out that there are seven emotions associated: fear “to become white in the face”; concern “to be grey in the face”; disappointment “to draw a long face; shame “redness is rushing to the face”; happiness “the face is shining”; disgust “to make a wry face”; and anger “the face bursts into flame with anger”. Kidron and Kuzar (2002) studying Hebrew face expressions in relation to pragmatics found out that the face is the main body part that undergoes the emotional experience. Marmaridos (2011) studying face in Modern Greek found that human face embodies many concepts related to person as well as psychological and social aspects of the self. While Ukosakul (2003) studying Thai face idioms found that face culturally represents the ego and many other character traits and emotions such as anger, shame, hypocrisy, happiness, and sadness. It is apparent by now that culture seems to be the influencing factor for such differences to arise (Kovecses 2006; Maalej 1999; 2004; 2007). Cultural experience shapes all the abstract concepts, character traits, and cultural values particular to a society. When studying body-part idioms in different languages, culture can never be overlooked or ignored. That is why despite the similarities of biological facts, bilingual speakers for example tend to find difficulties in acquiring idioms from other language/s even if these idioms were related to body-part idioms (Andreou and Galantomos 2008). For the purposes of this study, footnotes related to Hijazi social traditions are presented whenever needed. This to clarify any cultural misunderstanding since the study is for various cosmopolitan readers.

2. Questions and Objectives

The most important questions this study aims to answer are:

1. What is the face in the Hijazi society used to stand for biologically and socially? What kind of emotions, character traits, and cultural values are expressed by these idioms?

2. Does the biological face in HDA idioms resemble the social face? In other words, are the abstract concepts expressed are a result of the biological side or do they relate to the cultural values of the Hijazi community?

3. Can emotions be culture-specific even though we are talking about the same human face with exact biological changes and expressions appearing on it?

The objective behind these questions is to shed the light on the cognitive aspect of human meaning and understanding underlying Hijazi face idioms. These answers will provide the processes of meaning in relation to mind, body, and Hijazi culture.

3. Methodology and Data Collection

The present study uses the theoretical framework of CTMM as developed by (Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002)), in analyzing the specific cognitive structures (i.e. conceptual metaphor/s, conceptual metonym/ies, image schema/s) that are implemented in the HDA-speakers' conceptual system. It also agrees and incorporates Kövecses (2002), Maalej (2004), and Yu's (2009) views on the importance of experience, embodiment, and culture. The study focuses on HDA face idioms as used in Jeddah city. Since this dialect has no dictionaries, there were two challenges: collecting the data and then their figurative meanings. The issue of validity has an important impact on the data and their meanings as used by HDA-speakers. The ultimate linguistic goal is accurate and reliable results (Fraenkel and Wallen 1996). The researcher followed the same data-collection method used by (Al-jahdali: 2010) since it was the most accurate method in the absence of HDA dictionaries. The collection is a first-hand observation done through two main procedures:

3.1 Collection of HDA Face Idioms

a.1 Oral-based collection: The researcher relied on herself as a HDA-native speaker. Also she heard these idioms through daily communication of HDA-speakers, internet, and media and kept a record of them. This first-hand process started from February 2019 since it is an observation method that takes time. This revealed 42 HDA face idioms.

a.2 Written-based collection: The researcher checked Hijazi internet websites and asked 85 HDA KAU students (Note 4) to write a list of face idioms they are familiar with. The reason is to identify idioms that were not collected in the oral-based collection. This step is extremely important for collection reliability (Gorman and Clayton 1997). Eight more idioms were added to the collection and three were excluded because they were related to HDA youth slang. The total number of idioms was 47 idioms.

3.2 Collection of HDA Face Idioms Meanings

Even though the researcher is a native speaker of HDA, she did not rely on herself for the meanings of these idioms. Sixty HDA-speakers were asked to write the meanings as they comprehend them by using the open-questionnaire method. The idioms were divided into two questionnaires.

Table 1. A Summary of HDA-speakers participating in the open questionnaire

Age Group	Number of participants	Gender	Education	Dialect
Group A: Young Participants	20	10 M 10 F	Intermediate to BA	Rural /Urban
Group B: Middle-Age Participants	20	10 M 10 F	Intermediate to PhD	Rural /Urban
Group C: Older Participants	20	10 M 10 F	PhD holders to illiterates	Rural /Urban

M: Male; F: Female; BA: Bachelor Degree; PhD: Doctor of Philosophy.

HDA-speakers' answers were investigated and revealed the following (Note 5):

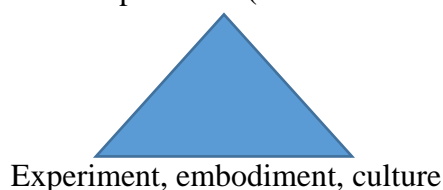
1. One single answer that was agreed on by all the participant despite of the different styles that were used that referred to the one same meaning. (♦) will be used in front of the idiom.
2. More than one answer where the participants had various different meanings to the one idiom. A footnote is used to show the number of participants and their different answers.
3. "I don't know the meaning" or "I haven't heard it before" answers were also collected. A footnote is used to signify the number of participants and the specified idiom.
4. Marginal answers which are associated with only one participant providing a one answer that did not occur in others' responses. A footnote is used to signify this marginal meaning and its specific idiom.

The responses were collected, classified, and then translated into English. (Note 6)

4. Data Analysis

In this section, I will present Hijazi face idioms from their very basic literal meaning (i.e. the conventional biological) to their extended social meanings (i.e. the abstract concepts). In other words, moving from the basic conventional/ literal meaning to the cognitive meaning. The purpose is to trace the embodied literal/cognitive knowledge that HDA-speakers have in their conceptual system in regards to their face and its function. I propose this pyramid where the language/dialect of a certain community appears on the surface in the form of idiomatic expressions but what makes these expressions in the form they appear by is important. It is argued that underneath these expressions are experience, embodiment, and culture that shape their linguistic structure (Kövescses 2002; Maalej 2004; and Yu 2009). These are responsible for the kind of thinking and understandings of these idioms.

Idiomatic expressions (HDA face idioms)



All HDA face idioms in this study will be analysed according to the following:

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| a. Conventional biological | → | metonymic |
| b. Metonymic | → | abstract concepts |
| c. Metonymic | → | metaphoric (abstract concepts) |
| d. Metaphoric | → | abstract concepts |

4.1 The Face Stands for the Person

All of the HDA face idioms analyzed in this section are based on the conceptual metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. No wonder, it is the metonymy that has the well-known biological basis about our face. The face of a person is the part that distinguishes them among others. We tend to hold specific features of the faces of people we meet for the first time. Their faces are captured in our memory and are recalled whenever their names are mentioned or if we meet them somewhere. Idioms (1 a and b) reveal the basis of this conventional biological knowledge about the face:

- (1) a. /wajhaha mu Gariib 9alayya/ 'Her face is not strange to me'.
 face her not strange on me She is familiar. ♦
- b. /wajhaha ma?aluuf/ 'Her face is familiar'.
 face her familiar She is familiar. ♦

As stated in Yu (2009:155), the FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON metonymy is extended to places and things via metaphor. We tend to rely on the conventional knowledge that if we did not see the 'face' of a person, this person cannot be identified among others properly. Personification is at work in idioms (2 a, b, and c). We tend to give "human qualities to nonhuman entities" (Kövecses 2002:35) (i.e. a face) in order to be distinguished:

- (2) a. /?iglibu 9ala wajhu/ 'Turn it on its face'.
 turn you it (m.) on its face Turn it to its front side. ♦
- b. /waajha Garbiyyah/ 'A Western front (of a building)'.
 a front Western A Western front (of a building). ♦
- c. /waajhat ?almaHal/ 'The shop front'.
 a front the shop The shop front. ♦

The face in idioms (3 a and b) stands for the physical presence of the speaker. Whenever we are not pleased with a person, we tend to ask them to leave the place at once. It is a metonymic relation that is used metaphorically to talk about extreme annoyance from the speaker's side. These idioms are rude in their tone and only apply to the aggressive social distance between the speaker and the hearer:

intention of this full or partial face covering has to do with prevention of men looking at them which is regarded as not proper. Jeddah is a far more relaxed and liberal city compared to other Saudi cities. This is because its population is mainly *HaDar* (i.e. Saudis of foreign backgrounds such as Egyptians, Lebanese, Indians, etc. and a minor number of Bedouins compared to the other Saudi cities). (Note 10) In Jeddah, it is normal to see brightly colorful *9abayas* with different styles and fabrics worn open to expose the clothing beneath. It is also normal to see women walking around the streets and malls with their faces exposed. *niquaab* has developed over the years a new social concept related to women's face; that is of being modest giving rise to this culture-specific metonymy A SAUDI TRIBAL ADULT FEMALE FACE STANDS FOR HER TRIBE which is based on THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON. Idiom (6) implies that the face of an adult female should be covered as not to be known by others. Not doing so, implies that she is shameless:

(6) /maashia	bwajhaha /	'She is walking with her face exposed in public.'
walking she	with face her	She is shameless. (Note 11)

4.2 Face as Indicator of Emotion and Character (Note 12)

Displayed emotions on the face is our thermometer to our character and states of mind. The blood underlying our face changes in its flushing according to different situations we pass through giving different colors that appear on it. Through these changes, the human face can signal a person's emotion and character (Yu 2009: 156). Various gestures can be displayed on our face which are the basis to people reading them and knowing our mood such as crying (being sad), laughing (being happy), yawning (to feel boredom or sleepy), etc. As stated in Yu (1995, 1998, 2002, and 2009), these expressions displayed on the face are metonymic FACIAL DISPLAYS STAND FOR EMOTIONS OR STATES OF MIND. Idioms (7) reveal different kinds of emotions as collected from HDA /native speakers. It is apparent that the use of certain words within these idioms (i.e. verbs, nouns, adjectives, gerunds) shows the kind or extremity of an emotion. These idioms stress the fact that our cognition is embodied since it relies on different biological and cultural knowledge to understand a certain meaning.

Idiom (7a) is an idiom that is used to imply different positive or negative emotions related to the facial expressions displayed on the face (such embarrassment, shyness, happiness, etc.). The use of *baayin* 'apparent' is a proof that the face can display different emotions on its surface:

(7) a. / min	wajhaha	baayin/	'It is apparent on her face'.
from	face her	apparent	The emotion is apparent. ♦ (Note 13)

The use of *xaraayiT* 'maps' is important in the structure and comprehension of (7 b). Looking at a map, different haphazard shapes and colors are displayed. A face similar to a map denotes different kinds of readings: it is based on the conventional knowledge we hold about maps in relation to the colors and different shapes of lands, oceans, and deserts. A face like this means that it is extremely embarrassed as it displays different colors. A literal presentation of meaning is present as well: a face when beaten is swollen and this results in different colors seen on it.

Moreover, a face similar to a map with its different shapes and colors means that that person is extremely ugly since makeup colors applied are haphazard and lack beauty. This extended meaning is based on THE FACE STANDS AS AN INDICATOR OF BEAUTY:

(7) b. /wajhaha Saar xaraayiT/ 'Her face became maps'.
 face her became maps She became extremely embarrassed/
 extremely beaten/extremely ugly. (Note 14)

?*alwaan* 'colors' is used in (7 c) to signify extremity or variety of emotions when different shades of colors are displayed:

(7) c. /wajhaha Saar ?alwaan/ 'Her face became colors'.
 face her became colors She became extremely embarrassed/
 extremely confused/extremely annoyed/extremely afraid/ She is a liar. (Note 15)

The use of the actual presentation of Arabic letters signifies the physical shape of such a face in (7 d). A face which takes a shape of half triangle (presented as 7 in Arabic) and half square (presented as 6 in Arabic) is a face that lacks beauty as a literal presentation. This meaning is based on THE FACE STANDS AS AN INDICATOR OF BEAUTY. Due to its weird shape, the extended meaning leads to different kinds of negative emotions:

(7) d. /wajhu sitta f sab9a/ 'His face 6 in 7'.
 face his 6 in 7 He is extremely ugly/ extremely
 embarrassed/ extremely afraid/extremely astonished/ extremely tired. (Note 16)

The use of the verb *tGayyar* 'has changed' describes the immediate changes that happen on the face as a result of a situation. The face here is a thermometer for the inner emotions as in idiom (7 e):

(7) e. /wajhu tGayyar/ 'His face changed'.
 face his changed He was extremely embarrassed/He
 was extremely ashamed /He was extremely afraid/ He was extremely sad/ He was extremely
 confused/ He was extremely astonished from what he heard or saw/ He was lying. (Note 17)

Idiom (7 f) is based on our conventional knowledge about a situation when small flies stick on our face in an annoying manner. Out of annoyance, we would fly them away off our face while our annoyed facial expressions are displayed to others. This kind of picture is the basis of all the negative abstract concepts based on it as a consequence:

(7) f. /mush Taayg dubban wajhi/ 'I cannot bear the flies flying on my face'.
 not bear flies my face his I am extremely angry/I am extremely
 irritated /I am extremely bored/ I am extremely tired/ I am extremely busy. (Note 18)

Idiom (7 g) relies heavily on our conventional knowledge and experiences when the face changes as a result of a specific situation. The explanation of such change can be a marker that: a person is extremely afraid; extremely confused; extremely tired, extremely surprised,

4.3 Face as an Indicator of Dignity and Shame

The idioms in this section are based on one of these cultural metonymies THE FACE STANDS FOR DIGNITY AND PRIDE, THE FACE STANDS FOR SHAME all of which are based on the biological metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON.

Idiom (8 a) is based on the biological posture of the face when it is ashamed of a bad deed a person did. The face tends to lean down because that person cannot face others out of extreme shame:

- (8) a. /wajhu filʔarD/ 'His face is in the ground'.
 face his in the ground He is ashamed of what he did.♦

Idiom (8 b) is based on the biological role of the face in that whenever we want to talk to a person, we tend to turn our faces towards them where all our facial expressions are displayed. A person who cannot face another person, is a person who is too ashamed because of a deed they did. They describe themselves as having no face as a form of hyperbole to express extreme shame:

- (8) b. /maali wajh ʔakallimu/ 'I do not have a face to talk to him'.
 do not have I a face talk to him I am really ashamed to talk to him. ♦

Idioms (8 c and d) talk about a person who is: extremely impudent or extremely ugly. Both meanings rely on the biological and physical shape of the back of the neck. The two meanings are culture-based in relation the use of the back of the neck: the part of the neck is seen to be ugly and has no beauty at all. A person when portrayed as having a face identical to the back of their neck is a person who is extremely ugly. This extended meaning is based on THE FACE STANDS AS AN INDICATOR OF BEAUTY. The other meaning relies on the conventional knowledge we know about the back of the neck which has no expressions displayed on it. A person whose face is similar to their back of the neck is a person who is extremely impudent since they do not show any feelings to others:

- (8) c. /wajhu zay gafaah/ 'His face is like his back '.
 face his like back of his neck He is extremely impudent/ He is extremely ugly. (Note 22)

- (8) d. /wajhu wgafaah waaHid/ 'His face and his back of the neck are one '.
 face his and back of his neck on He is extremely impudent/ He is extremely ugly. (Note 23)

Idiom (8 e) is used to express the speaker's extreme shame because of a close person who did a socially-unaccepted deed. Examples include social activities which are compulsory to be done. Generosity in relation to guests is one of these examples. It is culturally important to welcome a first-time visitor to your house through a lamb feast. Failing to do so, is regarded as embarrassing. The structure of the idiom relies on THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and on the cultural negative implication of the color 'black' in the Hijazi

community. A face which is black talks about a change of color to the extremely darkest of all colors which denotes extreme shame. Hyperbole, cultural and conventional knowledge, THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON, and the cultural metaphor A BLACK FACE IS SHAME are at work:

- (8) e. /sawwad wajhi/ 'He blackened my face '
 blackened he face my He made me ashamed of his behavior. ♦

Idiom (8 f) is the contrary to (8 e). It is used to describe one who made the speaker extremely proud because of a social activity achieved. The idiom relies on the cultural and conventional knowledge about the Hijazi society, the cultural metaphor A WHITE FACE IS PRIDE and THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON:

- (8) f. /bayyaD wajhi/ 'He whitened my face '
 whitened he face my He made me proud because of his behavior. ♦

Idiom (8 g) talks about a kind of order to the hearer to act respectively in public. This idiom relies on the conventional knowledge that the face is our image to the world. It is the body part mostly exposed. A person who is shameless, impudent, and careless does not care of public image. This idiom implies that the hearer should consider the public image of their face to save their dignity and modesty in front of others:

- (8) g. /?istaHi 9ala wajhik/ 'Be ashamed of your face'.
 ashamed you (f.) on face your (f.) Have some discipline! ♦

Idiom (8 h) is an interesting idiom. It is based on the metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR DIGNITY AND PRIDE where a person can face people because of their good reputations and good deeds. A person whose face has fallen into the floor in pieces is a person who has lost their pride and has gone through a great shame. They are asked to collect back their face as a result of severe shame:

- (8) h. /laggiTi wajhik/ 'Collect your face'.
 collect you (f.) face your (f.) This situation made you extremely ashamed. ♦

Idiom (8 i) is an idiom that is based on the conventional knowledge we know about the face and how it stands for pride and dignity. A person who cannot face other people is said to be extremely ashamed because if they met them again and because their face will reveal their shame:

- (8) i. /maani 9aarfah ?awaddi wajhi fain minnaha/ 'I don't know where shall
 put my face from her'.

don't know I (f.) put shall I face my where from her) This situation made you extremely ashamed. ♦

Idiom (8 j) is an idiom that relies on the metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR DIGNITY AND PRIDE. A person who is not ashamed from their face is a person who does not care

about others at all. The idiom implies that they should hide their face because of their shameful actions and deeds; however; they tend to show their faces as if they did nothing:

- (8) j. /ma tistaHi 9ala wajhaha/ 'She is not shy on her face'.
 not shy she on face her She is extremely unashamed. ♦

4.4 Face as a Focus of Interaction and Relationship (Note 24)

Idiom (9 a) is based on THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE FACE IS A FOCUS FOR INTERACTION AND RELATIONSHIP in which we all know that if we want to talk to someone we tend to meet them face to face. The idiom implies that the kind of talk is:

- a. secretive since no one is in between listening to their conversation.
 b. is direct and personal and it contains some kind of advice or threat depending on the context:

- (9) a. /kallamtu wajhan lwajh/ 'I talked to him face to face'.
 talked to him I face to a face I talked to him directly. ♦

Idiom (9 b) relies on the metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE FACE AS A FOCUS OF INTERACTION. It is known that when we want to converse with people, we converse by directing our faces to them in order to see, hear, talk and interact. A person who does not give others a face, is a person who 'ignores' them out of disrespect. This person might be sharing the same place with others, hence they are ignoring them by not speaking to them or sharing any conversation with them:

- (9) b. /maa ?a9TaaTni wajh/ 'She did not give me a face'.
 not gave me she a face She completely ignored me. ♦

Idiom (9 c) is an idiom that relies on THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and the conventional knowledge we have about cold. A face which is cold lacks any blood that flushes out of welcoming feelings. A face that comes into contact with another face is expected to welcome the presence of that comer, hence a person whose face is cold is a person who does not welcome others:

- (9) c. /gaabalatni bwajh baarid/ 'She met me with a cold face'.
 met me she with a face cold She did not welcome my presence. ♦

4.5 The Face Stands for Beauty/Ugliness

Idioms (10 a and b) are gender-specific. They are addressed only to females and never to males. They are based on the Arabian cultural knowledge where the moon is used in Arabic poetry to talk about beautiful women. A moon in its whiteness, brightness, and full face is compared to a face of a beautiful woman. THE FACE STANDS FOR BEAUTY AND UGLINESS, conventional and biological knowledge that we hold in our cognition where

beauty and ugliness are always displayed on the face, and cultural-specific metaphor A FULL MOON RESEMBLES FEMALE BEAUTY are the basis of both idioms:

- (10) a. /wajhik walal gamar/ 'Your face is nothing but a moon '
 face your (f.) nothing but a moon You are extremely beautiful. (Note 25)
- (10) b. /wajhaha falgat gamar/ 'Her face is a full moon '
 face her full moon She is extremely beautiful. ♦

Idiom (10 c) is based on the conventional knowledge about light. Light is shininess and beauty, a face that is enlightened and shiny is a beautiful and happy face. We tend to attach positive emotions to such description:

- (10) c. /wajhik mnawwir/ 'Your face is full of light '
 face your (f.) full light You are extremely happy/ you are
 extremely beautiful. (Note 26)

4.6 Face as Indicator of Hypocrisy

Idioms (11 a, b, and c) have one meaning in common: expressing the abstract concept of hypocrisy. As humans we only have one face, however, the person in (11 a) has two faces; (11 b) has seven faces; (11 c) has one hundred faces displayed in different situations. It is as if the face has the ability to hide all the emotions and displays only fake ones. The structure of these idioms contains a hyperbole to portray the extremity of hypocrisy:

- (11) a. /?um wajhain/ 'The mother of two faces'.
 the mother of two faces She is a hypocrite. ♦
- (11) b. /bsab9a wjiih/ 'With seven faces'.
 with seven faces A hypocrite. ♦
- (11) c. /laha miyyat wajh/ 'She has one hundred face'.
 has she one hundred face She is a hypocrite. ♦

4.7 Face an Indicator of Health

Idiom (12 a and b) are based on the biological knowledge that we have about the face when it is extremely exhausted, sick, or sad. The face is a thermometer for showing health if it is glowing, tired, etc., so when it is 'withered' as a flower (12 a) its appearance signifies its exhaustion, sickness, or sadness:

- (12) a. /wajhak dablaan/ 'Your face is withered'.
 face your (m.) withered You look extremely exhausted/ You
 look extremely sick/ You look extremely sad. (Note 27)

Negative feelings are described as when the face tends to be yellowish (12 b), a color that stands for lifelessness, exhaustion, or fright. Being so, turns the face to a yellow color:

- (12) b. /wajhak mSaffir/ 'Your face is yellowish'.
 face your (m.) yellowish You look extremely exhausted/ You
 look extremely sick/ You look extremely afraid. (Note 28)

Both idioms rely on THE FACE STANDS FOR HEALTH and FACIAL DISPLAYS STAND FOR EMOTIONS OR STATES OF MIND as well as the conventional knowledge we know about withering flowers and yellow color in relation to its appearance on the face.

4.8 Face as an Indicator of Luck

The root of all the idioms below is THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE FACE STANDS FOR LUCK. All the three idioms are culture-specific. Idiom (13 a) talks about a person being optimistic. The structure of the idiom is culturally-based on a well-known phrase said when you are waiting for good news from a comer. Hijazis tend to say bashshir: 'tell me the good news' or Allah ybashshirak bilxair 'May Allah grant you good news'. Also, it relies on the biological appearance of the face when one is holding good news to others:

- (13) a. /wajhik ybashshir bilxair / 'Your face foretells good news'.
 face your (f.) foretells good news You are a good omen. ♦

Idiom (13 b) talks about a person who always brings good omen to others by their presence:

- (13) b. /wajhaha Hilw 9alaina / 'Her face is beautiful on us.
 face her (f.) beautiful on us You are a good omen on us. ♦

In contrary, idiom (13 c) is rude in its tone and it is used to describe a person who brings bad luck once they are present in a place:

- (13) c. /wajhik naHs 9alaina / 'Your face is a misfortune on us'.
 face your (f.) misfortune on us You bring misfortune to us. ♦

4.9 Face as Indicator of Impudence

Idiom (14 a) expresses the abstract concept of being impudent in a rude way. The speaker says a word in front of the face of another person who literally are hearing them. It is based on THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON where the presence of that person is not an important matter. The idiom has a negative implication that whatever is said is rude and the other person does not care about others' feelings:

- (14) a. /gaalatha f wajhi/ 'She said it in my face'.
 said she in my face She said it in my face impudently. ♦

Idiom (14 b) talks about an impudent person who does not care about others' views about them. The idiom is based on the biological basis that if one is embarrassed or ashamed, it will be apparent on their face FACIAL DISPLAYS STAND FOR EMOTIONS OR STATES OF MIND. Thus the person does not care since their face is accustomed on not being ashamed of others. Personification is at play here since it is the one which is responsible for displaying shame. It is as if the responsibility of the face to display shyness and it is not:

(14) b. /wajhaha	ma	yixjal/	'Her face never gets shy'.
face her	never	gets shy	She is impudent. ♦

5. Concluding Remarks

This study on HDA face idioms has demonstrated that the face in the majority of cases analyzed is basically used according to its biological representation. This metonymical basis of THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON is used to stand for the following (Table 2):

Table 2. The biological face in HDA face idioms

1. The biological face:	1.a. representing the physical presence of a person through their face. 1.b. representing the face as a focus of interaction and relationship. 1.c. presenting different emotions that are displayed on the face: happiness, sadness, lying, embarrassment, boredom, confusion, annoyance, fright, astonishment, tiresome, shame, anger, not showing any feelings to others, surprise, shyness, arrogance, impudence, irritation, boredom, being busy, carelessness, not welcoming other's presence, exhaustion, sickness, a complete change of someone's behavior. 1.d. as a marker of beauty/ugliness. 1.e. as a marker of health.
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Moreover, the study proved that the social cultural face is also present through two processes (Table 3):

Table 3. The social cultural face in HDA face idioms

2. the social cultural face through the metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON:	2.a. presenting an adult tribal female face.
3. the social cultural face through conceptual representation:	3.a. presenting 'a face' to objects and places through personification. 3.b. presenting women's beauty. 3.c. presenting dignity and pride. 3.d. presenting hypocrisy. 3.e. presenting luck. 3.f. presenting social tribal shame.

As Table 3 shows culture is strongly present. The social cultural face related to Hijazi culture included extended meanings in relation to: social tribal shame, female's beauty, dignity and pride, hypocrisy, and luck. These meanings were achieved basically through the conceptual metonymy THE FACE STANDS FOR THE PERSON and many conceptual and cultural metaphors. It is beyond this study's scope to discuss HDA-speakers' responses, however, their responses proved many important points that I will relate to the scope of this study. Even though there are no HDA dictionaries, almost all the participants provided the same meanings. In other cases, some participants provided more than one meaning. This is a strong evidence that they are relying on their biological embodiment and cultural experiences to understand the meaning of these face idioms. Although the number of the participants in the study was sixty, the meanings exceeded this number because those native speakers relied on their biological embodiment and cultural experiences to understand certain meanings. As a result, these responses are a strong proof that HDA face idioms' structure is based on two levels: 1. on bodily roots (i.e. the 'face' is intentionally used and not another body part to signify a specific meaning). 2. On Hijazi culture influencing the meanings of these idioms (i.e. the case where the biological basis does not relate to the abstract concept intended). This is also a strong evidence that HDA-speakers' conceptual system is metaphorical. Despite of the shared human biological experience of the face, HDA-speakers' cognition holds all of these human facial experiences and associates them with certain meanings that related to the biological face in some cases and according to the Hijazi culture in other cases. This stresses the fact that the biological side of the face is universal while when culture attaches its own print, the idioms become culture-specific. These cultural differences reflect how HDA-speakers view the face and what kind of values are attached to the face. They also point out to the reason why idioms are difficult to learn by second language learners. This study recommends further research on Hijazi body parts and proverbs that have not been research yet. This could further be of great benefit to teaching idioms to NNS of Hijazi using the cognitive linguistic framework. Pedagogical research in relation to the cognitive linguistic framework in teaching could therefore be of interest for further study.

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Notes

Note 1. Ibn-Sina (no date) The Canon of Medicine.

Note 2. Al-Razi (no date) Kitab Al-Hawi.

Note 3. HDA is a non-standardized variety of Arabic spoken in the West-Arabian area of the Northern Hijaz region of Saudi Arabia, an area which includes the cities of Makkah, Madinah, Jeddah and Taif along the Red Sea (Al-Jahdali 2010: 10). This study only covers the city of Jeddah with both its varieties (urban and rural) for limitations of time and space.

Note 4. King Abdulaziz University where the researcher works.

Note 5. Because of the limited time and space, the study will not investigate these responses in relation to their variations except when necessary.

Note 6. In translating these idioms and their meanings to English, I tried my best to provide the exact literal and figurative translations. Since we are dealing with two different languages, there might arise some lexical gaps.

Note 7. Forty-seven HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while ten provided the answer Your face has changed to be more beautiful/ uglier. Three answered 'I don't know'.

Note 8. This poetic line is written by Omar ibn Abi Rabia, an Amayyad Ghazal poet, (644-711). Its translation is my own. In the Arabic culture, both the moon and the sun imply extreme beauty to women.

Note 9. Surprisingly, the traditions of a tribe can have a stronger influence more than religions rules where it is stated that the face should not be covered.

Note 10. Since Jeddah is a gate to the two holy cities Makkah and Madinah, in old times most of these different nationalities came to perform Hajj and some of them resided in Jeddah, Makkah, and Madinah for religious purposes. They were then given Saudi nationalities.

Note 11. Twenty HDA-speakers agreed on this interpretation, while forty answered 'I don't know'. This is the highest answer of 'I don't know' in this study. This is due to the fact that all who provided this answer were HaDar. They do not use this idiom as it is apparent. This raises an important social issue of people living in the same city, hence their idioms can differ according to their lifestyles. It is to be noted that this idiom is gender-specific. It is only addressed to women and not men.

Note 12. Yu (2009: 156)

Note 13. Fifty-seven HDA-speakers provided different kinds of emotions such as: happiness, lying, embarrassment, boredom. Three provided a general term ‘emotion’ to refer to different emotions generally.

Note 14. Fifty-one HDA-speakers agreed on She became extremely embarrassed, three agreed on She was extremely beaten, and three agreed on She became ugly because of extreme use of makeup and three answered as I don’t know.

Note 15. Forty-four HDA-speakers agreed on She became extremely embarrassed, six agreed on She became extremely confused, four agreed on She became extremely annoyed, five agreed on She became extremely afraid, and one agreed on She is a liar.

Note 16. Thirty HDA-speakers agreed on He became extremely ugly, four agreed on He was extremely embarrassed, three agreed on He became extremely afraid, two agreed on He became extremely astonished, one agreed on the marginal answer He became extremely tired, nineteen answered I don’t know, and one answered as I haven’t heard this before. The high frequency of not knowing the meaning of this idiom is related to that it is age-specific and is unknown to elders.

Note 17. Fifty-one HDA-speakers agreed on He was extremely embarrassed, two agreed on He was extremely ashamed, two agreed on He was extremely afraid, two agreed on He was extremely sad, one agreed on the marginal answer He was extremely confused, one agreed on the marginal answer He was extremely astonished from what he heard or saw and one agreed on the marginal answer He was lying.

Note 18. Thirty-one HDA-speakers agreed on I am extremely angry, fourteen agreed on I am extremely irritated, six agreed on I am extremely bored, four agreed on I am extremely tired, four agreed on I am extremely busy, and one answered ‘I don’t know’.

Note 19. Forty-six participants answered She is extremely afraid, six participants answered: She is feeling extremely tired; four participants answered She is extremely surprised; two participants answered She is extremely shy; and two participants answered: ‘I don’t know’.

Note 20. Fifty-two HDA-speakers agreed on She became extremely shy, and eight agreed on She became extremely angry.

Note 21. Twenty-four HDA-speakers agreed on She is arrogant, twelve agreed on She is careless, ten agreed on She does not show any kind of expression or feeling, eight answered ‘I haven’t heard this before’, and six answered ‘I don’t know’.

Note 22. Forty-four HDA-speakers agreed on He is extremely impudent, eight agreed on He is extremely ugly, while eight answered ‘I haven’t heard this idiom before’.

Note 23. Fifty-two HDA-speakers agreed on He is extremely impudent, four agreed on He is extremely ugly, while four answered ‘I don’t know’.

Note 24. Yu (2009: 162)

Note 25. Forty-eight HDA-speakers agreed on 'You are extremely beautiful', six answered 'I haven't heard this before', and six answered 'I don't know'.

Note 26. Forty-eight HDA-speakers agreed on 'You are extremely happy', eight agreed on 'You are extremely beautiful', and four answered 'I don't know'.

Note 27. Forty-eight HDA-speakers agreed on 'You look extremely exhausted', eight agreed on 'You look extremely sick', two agreed on 'You look extremely sad', while two answered 'I haven't heard this idiom before'.

Note 28. Thirty HDA-speakers agreed on 'You look extremely exhausted', twenty-six agreed on 'You look extremely sick', while four agreed on 'You look extremely afraid'.

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