

How Malay Proverbs Encode and Evaluate Emotion? A Paremiological Analysis

LIM KIM HUI

ABSTRACT

It should be understood that peribahasa (Malay proverbs) normally performs different roles in Malay discourses, viz. literary, didactic or argumentative function. However, as proverb is presented in natural language, it also encodes and decodes the emotion of the people, the hati budi, hence representing the non-logical elements of the Malay mind. Using Norrick's studies on American proverbs as a reference, this paper examines and portrays the existence of the markers of affect in Malay proverbs. The author also explores the role of hati in the Malay proverbs and how the metaphors of hati and other body parts symbolism as found in the Malay proverbs are in line with three integrated aspects of human feelings, viz. language, culture and body, suggested by Kövecses.

Key words: Human feelings, language and emotion, Malay proverbs, paremiological analysis, heart and mind, metaphors and metonymies, body symbolism

ABSTRAK

Peribahasa lazimnya memainkan pelbagai fungsi dalam wacana Melayu, iaitu fungsi sastera, didaktik atau argumentatif. Disebabkan peribahasa disampaikan dalam bahasa semula jadi, peribahasa turut berfungsi mengkod dan mendekod emosi manusia Melayu, lantas memaparkan unsur-unsur bukan logik dalam menyampaikan hati budi masyarakatnya. Dengan menggunakan kajian Norrick terhadap peribahasa Amerika sebagai panduan, tulisan ini meneliti dan memaparkan kewujudan penanda afeksi dalam pelbagai peribahasa Melayu. Penulis turut meneroka peranan hati dalam peribahasa Melayu dan menjelaskan bagaimana metafora hati dan simbolisme anggota tubuh badan lain, seperti yang terdapat dalam peribahasa, berkembang seiring dengan tiga aspek integrasi perasaan manusia, iaitu bahasa, budaya dan badan seperti yang dikemukakan Kövecses.

Kata kunci: Perasaan manusia, bahasa dan emosi, peribahasa Melayu, analisis paremiologi, hati dan fikiran, metafora dan metonimi, simbolisme badan

INTRODUCTION

There are positive and negative attitudes in seeing how proverbs can be defined. Archer Taylor (1996), a great paremiologist, presents a rather defeatist statement in his classic *The Proverbs* (1931), in which he maintains that “an incommunicable quality tell us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. Hence, no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial.” Taylor’s idea, despite his pessimism, is correct in the sense that we cannot really define what we feel; we just feel that emotion exists. Taylor’s pessimistic view was shared by Barlett Jere Whiting. Despite his pessimism, however, Whiting (1932) had indirectly given us a good critical review on various definitions of “proverbs” from ancient to the present. But, the difficulty in positively identifying a sentence as proverbial and another as not does not imply that we are not able to provide a general guideline of what a proverb is. Generally, *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1988, Vol. 9: 750) states that a proverb is a “succinct and pithy saying in general use, expressing commonly held ideas and beliefs.” Dundes (1975), for example, in attempting to analyse the general structure of proverbs came out with a structural definition that a proverb “appears to be a traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment. This means that proverbs must have at least two words.” Dundes’s definition generally applies to both categorisation of Malay proverbs, *peribahasa* and *simpulan bahasa* (literally means the knot of language). According to Gonda (1973: 103), etymologically the word *peribahasa* in Malay was taken from Sanskrit: *Paribhāsā* ‘speech, any explanatory rule, maxim, general definition’. *Peribahasa* was regarded as the same as *pepatah* or *bidal* by Husny (1972). According to him, *pepatah*, *peribahasa* or *bidal* carries the meaning of:

Kesimpulan sesuatu jang dinjatakan dengan padat dan singkat, jang kadang2 merupakan sebuah pantun, kadang2 hanja merupakan dua baris kalimat dan malahan ada pula jang hanja dilukiskan dalam satu kalimat pendek sadja (Husny 1972: 173).

(A conclusion which is compactly and pithily stated, sometimes in the form of a *pantun* (quatrain), sometimes consisting only of two sentences and some even being drawn in only a very short sentence).

Simpulan bahasa is even shorter. It has only two words normally but “kadang2 ia terdiri hanja dari sepatah kata sadja (sometimes it can consists of only one word)” (Sabaruddin Ahmad 1954: 22). *Simpulan bahasa* or *ungkapan*, according to Za’ba (1965) refers to “rangkaiian perkataan-perkataan yang telah tetap tersimpul atau terbeku dengan

susunan yang khas dan dipakai dengan erti yang khas berlainan daripada asalnya” (The string of words that are fixedly knotted or frosted together in a special sequence and used with special connotation different from its original meaning) (p. 151). In this context of research, my definition and scope of *peribahasa* are used as a generic term in a broader perspective to include *bidalan*, *pepatah*, *perumpamaan*, *perbilang*, *simpulan bahasa* and other forms of proverbial sayings.

SOURCES OF DATA

The main sources of Malay proverbs in this research are: (1) *Tikaman Bahasa* (Mohd. Adnan Mohd. Ariffin (1992), with 2,249 *peribahasa* which will be abbreviated as TB, (2) *The MBRAS Book of Over 1,600 Malay Proverbs: with Explanations in English* (Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society [MBRAS] (1992) and will be cited as MBRAS (3), *Kamus Istimewa Peribahasa Melayu* by Abdullah Hussain (1991), containing 4359 *peribahasa* and will be cited as KIPM and (4) *Peribahasa* by Pamuntjak, Iskandar and Madjoindo (1961) with 3017 *peribahasa* and will be quoted as PB. The first title is chosen because it is the first compilation by a Malay, as most of the previous compilations were done by Western scholars. On the other hand, the second source is preferred as the proverbs involved were in many cases written down for the first time by pioneering British civil servants, such as Hugh Clifford, William Maxwell and inside the dictionary of R. J. Wilkinson (1932). The third title is selected as it was recognised as the most complete title of Malay *peribahasa* collection published in Malaysia (Asmah Haji Omar, cited by Sujak Rahiman in the first edition preface of *Kamus Istimewa Peribahasa Melayu* [Abdullah Hussain 1991, v]). Finally, the fourth title is picked as it is one of the complete collections to represent the Malay proverbs and/or *peribahasa Nusantara* that is compiled in Indonesia from various ethnic groups, but has become part of the Malay proverbial wisdom like those from Palembang, Makassar, Minangkabau, Bengkulu and Betawi. *Peribahasa* which is quoted will be cited according to the title-page-number system, for example, *air pun ada pasang surut* (TB 107: 911) ‘Even water has its high and low tides’ (MBRAS 23: 143), *mulut manis mematahkan tulang* ‘Gentle words lead to bones being broken’ (MBRAS 152: 168), *akal akar berpulas tak patah* ‘The cunning of the creeper’ (KIPM 6: 104) and *Sebab budi boleh kedapatan* (PB 86: 523) ‘By means of kindness profit accrues to us’ (MBRAS 194: 65). The proverbs will also be taken from *Malay Sayings* (Brown 1951), especially for the translation, which will be cited as MS, and then followed by the page. Apart from the translation that comes handy, this collection is chosen as various proverbs from different literary sources, viz. *Hikayat Abdullah*, *Sejarah Melayu* were included.

Besides the above mentioned collections, certain selected proverbs are also taken from *Kamus Dewan* (1986) and *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (1991) when appropriate. For the references and discussion on *simpulan bahasa*, *Kamus Simpulan Bahasa* (Abdullah Hussain 1966) will be used. All these proverb collections do not claim to be exclusive, but will at least be able to act as a corpus for my investigation in order to see the Malay emotion.

HOW DO THE MALAY PROVERBS ENCODE AND DECODE THE EMOTION?

Generally, proverbs have been noted as reason-based language, which urge their users and audience to work hard and follow the authoritative pronouncements and generalised images with the feel of experience and truth (Taylor 1962, first published in 1931; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1973). But, that general perception on proverbs can only be taken as conditionally acceptable due to the characteristics of natural language. Language in itself has its cognitive and emotive aspects, and since *peribahasa* is the product of language, it will automatically be confined to those two aspects as well. It will be rather absurd to take away totally the feeling of the human language as portrayed in their proverbs. Norrick (1994) in one of his studies affirmed the existence of the markers of affect in familiar American proverbs and how these proverbs evaluate proverbial emotions. Alluding to the proverbs collected in Mieder's *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992), Norrick claimed that there were at least five markers of how proverbs encode the affect: first, proverbs convey strong emotion by creating bold images and casting warnings in a very drastic term (e.g. Don't cut off your nose to spite your face); second, a proverbial marker, which is used to convey the affection is through the use of hyperbole; third, proverbs often depict a scene of emotionally charged connotations through the image of animals; fourth, the encoding of affect appears in lexical choices outside the usual domain of polite conversation; and fifth, the proverbial device, which encodes affect can be found in various figures of speech beyond the generalising metaphors and hyperbole. As a stepping stone, let us use Norrick's (1994) division as a guideline to examine the emotion of Malay proverbs.

CREATING BOLD IMAGES AND CASTING WARNINGS IN A VERY DRASTIC TERM

As observed by Norrick (1994) in the American proverbs, Malay proverbs also convey strong emotion by creating bold images and issuing warnings in very drastic terms. For example, the Malays have the proverb: *Potong hidung rosak muka* 'He who cuts off his nose spoils his

face' (MBRAS 178: 107). To show how painful and dramatic a situation is, the Malays use the proverb *bagai bunyi orang dikoyak harimau* 'Like the sound of a person who is torn apart by the tiger' (KIPM 18: 329). The ferocious and brutal image of a tiger is employed to describe and provide the speaker with a dramatic touch. Another proverb, however, uses the image of a crocodile to show how desperate a person's state of emotion is to get help as suggested by the proverb: *Asal selamat ke seberang, biar bergantung di ekor buaya* 'As long as one can cross to the other side of the river, it does not matter even if one has to hang on the tail of a crocodile' (KIPM 13: 234). To show how critical the conditions of one's life, the Malays say *nyawa bergantung di hujung kuku* 'Life hanging from the tip of the finger nail' (MBRAS 157: 25). The state of having no shoulder while the head is tapered is a bold image that is used to describe the inability to do anything as the proverb goes: *Akan memikul tiada berbahu, akan menjunjung kepala luncung* 'To carry with the shoulder but one finds no shoulder, to carry on top of the head but one finds the head is tapered' (KIPM 6: 109). In order to show the spirit of fighting until one has to even sacrifice his own life, the Malay proverb says: *Bersukat darah, bertimbang daging* 'blood is measured, meat is weighed' (KIPM 43: 823). Other proverbs that use the same bold image are: *Anjing terpanggang ekor* 'A dog whose tail has been grilled' (KIPM 10: 188) and *bagai cacing kena air panas* 'Like worms sprinkled with hot water' (KIPM 18: 333).

Convey the Affection by Using the Hyperbole

Hyperbole is generally an overstatement, used to exaggerate a situation, thing or phenomenon, or to make small issues look bigger. It is not meant to be taken literally. The Malays use proverbs like *air setitik dilautkan, tanah seketul digunungkan* 'a drop of water is claimed as sea, a grasp of soil is claimed as mountain' (KIPM 6: 95) to connote the idea of exaggeration. The use of a hyperbole is also employed in order to convey a sense of impossibility. The feeling of impossibility is encoded accurately through a hyperbole. There are a few of them which relate to the sentiment of impossibility: *Awak tikus, hendak menampar kucing* 'You are a rat, but wish to slap a cat' (KIPM 14: 245); *Arang itu, jika dibasuh dengan air mawar sekalipun, tiada akan putih* 'Charcoal will not become white even if you washes it with rose water' (KIPM 13: 225); *Ara tak bergetah* 'A fig tree with no glue' (KIPM 12: 221). A state of dilemma is described by the proverb: *Akan mengaji, surat 'lah hilang; akan bertanya, guru 'lah mati* 'You are thinking of studying but the letter has been lost; you are thinking of asking but the teacher has passed away' (KIPM 6: 110). The Malays describe a state of danger as *bergantung di rambut sehelai* 'Like hanging on a single hair' (KIPM 37:

712; MBRAS 67: 21) or *jiwa bergantung di hujung rambut* ‘My life hangs at the end of a hair’ (MBRAS 89: 32).

Depict a Scene of Emotionally Charged Connotations through the Image of Animals

Emotionally charged connotations through the image of animals are rather common in the Malay proverbs. Malays are good observers and they can understand the behaviour of animals very well. According to Wan Abdul Kadir (1993a: 27):

Orang-orang Melayu dapat memahami perlakuan-perlakuan haiwan di sekeliling mereka. Perlakuan haiwan itu akan menjadi sindiran pula kepada manusia. Seorang yang dinyatakan secara perbandingan dengan jenis-jenis haiwan tertentu itu dapat memahami akan maksudnya. Pernyataan yang simbolis itu telah menjadi sebahagian daripada budaya Melayu yang diwarisi sejak beberapa lama dahulu.

(The Malays can understand the behaviour of animals around them. That animal behaviour is then used as insinuation towards human. One who is compared to certain kinds of animal can understand its meaning. This symbolic expression has become part and parcel of the Malay culture inherited for quite some time).

Among the common animals found in the Malay proverbs are *ayam* (fowl), *gajah* (elephant), *kerbau* (water-buffalo), *anjing* (dog), *ikan* (fish), *harimau* (tiger) and *ular* (snake). On the top of the list is fowl with 54 entries, followed by elephant 43, water buffalo and dog both with 37 entries, fish 29, tiger 28 and snake 26 (See Table 1). These were common animals in the Malay life in those days. Fowls and water buffalo were the closest friends of the paddy farmers. Cocks acted like an alarm clock in the early morning before the sun rises, whereas hens provided eggs. Fowls were fed with rice taken from the paddy fields. Examples of common Malay proverbs, which use fowl as an analogy are: *hangat-hangat tahi ayam* ‘as hot as fowl’s droppings (a fleeting enthusiasm),’ *rabun ayam* ‘weak eyesight (near-sighted, myopic),’ or *buta ayam* ‘chicken blindness (near-sighted),’ *ayam tambatan* ‘a fowl that is tied up to a pole (an important person),’ *ajak-ajak ayam* ‘half-hearted invitation,’ *ibu ayam* ‘a woman who acts as a go-between for prostitutes,’ *bapa ayam* ‘an unworthy father,’ *cakar ayam* ‘the scratching of chicken (scrawl, poor handwriting),’ *kaki ayam* ‘chicken leg (bare-footed)’ and *tidur ayam* ‘chicken sleep (doze, nap, sleep lightly)’ (For more discussion on the uses of animal in Malay proverbs, see Nik Safiah Karim 1999 and 2000). Water-buffalo are also important as they were “Partner in the Padi Fields” (Groves 1995). Groves (1995) explained this relationship when he remarked: “Water-buffalo are so closely associated

Table 1. The common images of animals in Malay proverbs

Numbers	Categories	Number of <i>Peribahasa</i> Entries in Abdullah Hussain (1991)	Number of <i>Simpulan Bahasa</i> Entries in Abdullah Hussain (1966)
1	<i>ayam</i> (fowl)	54	40
2	<i>gajah</i> (elephant)	43	11
3	<i>kerbau</i> (water buffalo), <i>anjing</i> (dog)	37	<i>Kerbau</i> (9), <i>anjing</i> (11)
4	<i>ikan</i> (fish)	29	8
5	<i>harimau</i> (tiger)	28	7
6	<i>ular</i> (snake)	26	3
7	<i>kambing</i> (goat)	18	8
8	<i>kera</i> (monkey)	16	-
9	<i>burung</i> (bird), <i>itik</i> (duck)	15	<i>Burung</i> (8), <i>itik</i> (-)
10	<i>kucing</i> (cat)	14	10
11	<i>katak</i> (frog)	13	2
12	<i>pipit</i> (sparrow)	12	-
13	<i>kuda</i> (horse)	11	14
14	<i>ulat</i> (worm), <i>enggang</i> (hornbill), <i>udang</i> (prawn)	10	<i>Ulat</i> (-), <i>enggang</i> (-), <i>udang</i> (3)

Source: My own analysis

with wet rice cultivation that it is difficult to see how an efficient wet rice (*sawah*) economy could function without them” (p. 152). *Mandi kerbau* ‘buffalo’s bath’, for example, is the most common proverb used to refer to people who take their bath without considering hygiene or cleanliness. Most of the images of animals in the Malay proverbs are animals that can be found in the region. For example, according to Wan Abdul Kadir (1993a: 27-28), since *keldai* (donkey) could not be found in this area, therefore the application of donkey as a comparison in Malay proverbs explained the foreign influence, from where the donkey can be traced. Badil (1999) shared the same idea pertaining to the origin of donkey in the Malay proverbs with Wan Abdul Kadir (1993a). According to Badil (1999): “*Keledai bukan binatang asli Indonesia [...] Entah bagaimana ceritanya, keledai lalu masuk dalam khazanah petatah-petitih peribahasa Indonesia*” (The donkey is not a purely Indonesia animal [...]).

We do not know how the donkey was adopted into the property of Indonesian proverbs).

The image of animal is used to encode and decode the various emotional effects. Certain animals (e.g. *anjing* (dog) and *biawak* (monitor lizard)) were always used in the Malay proverbs to connote “negative effect”, whereas the others (e.g. *gajah* (elephant), *harimau* (tiger) *penyu* (turtle)) might be used to express “positive effect.” When someone is compared with *lembu* (cow), he or she is said to be stupid (negative effect) because for the Malays, cows can be pulled here and there by their owner. It is believed that by such comparison, the person who was being compared to the cow, has the same mentality as the cow. In order to describe a talkative woman, the Malays use the noisiest bird *murai* (magpie robin) as can be observed in *seperti mulut murai* ‘like the beak of a magpie robin/*copsychus saularis musicus*.’ Someone who has very little knowledge about their surroundings is said to be *seperti katak di bawah tempurung* ‘Like a frog under a coconut shell.’ Malays are encouraged to learn from the good character of certain animals and avoid the bad attitudes of the others. For example, *penyu itu bertelur beribu-ribu seorang pun tiada tahu, ayam bertelur sebiji pecah sebuah negeri* ‘The turtle lays eggs by the thousand and nobody knows of it; the chicken lays a single egg and the whole town is acquainted with the fact’ (MBRAS 171: 61). In this context, *penyu* (turtle) is portrayed as having a positive image, whereas the chicken a negative one. The Malays are in favour of being silent and non-confrontational rather than outspoken and critical (even in knowledge). This can also be seen in the proverb *diam-diam ubi berisi* ‘the silent sweet-potato is full of substance.’

Dog is the symbol of dirtiness, immorality and low status according to the Malay worldview, and therefore carries negative effect. Proverbs relating to dogs are relatively many and most of them are negative. For example, those who are hated by the society are compared with *bagai anjing buruk kepala* ‘Like a broken-headed dog’ (KIPM 16: 287). The person who is very happy (but very arrogant) is like a track-crossing dog, *bagai anjing melintang denai* (KIPM 16: 288). The emotion of someone who is really happy after getting something that he or she likes is compared to the attitude of a dog which has found sand, *seperti anjing berjumpa/dapat pasir* (KIPM 185: 3399). A greedy person is just like dogs fighting for bones, *seperti anjing berebut tulang* (KIPM 185: 3398). To describe a person who bites the hands that feed him, the Malays say: *melepaskan anjing tersepit, sudah lepas dia menggigit* ‘to free a trapped dog, which will bite you in return after it has been freed’ (KIPM 134: 2423). To condemn a person who habitually commits morally bad deeds and from time to time will think of committing such deeds again, the Malays say: *Bangsa anjing, tak makan tahi pun cium ada juga* ‘Like a dog, smelling filth although not eating it’ (MS 137, Cf. MBRAS 28: 35).

Besides dog, another image that is religiously taboo to the Malays and quite commonly used to describe negative effect among the Malay folks is pig (*babi*). The general opinion usually equates pigs with stupidity. To the Malays, who are majority Muslims, pigs are always dirty and this notion is reflected in the form of negative effect in the Malay proverbs. Someone who is hypocrite or double-faced is to be described as *kepala yu, ekor babi* 'shark's head, but pig's tail' (KIPM 110: 1991). The Malays use *muka bagai ditampal dengan kulit babi* 'His face looks as if it is pasted with pig skin' (KIPM 152: 2798) to depict a person who does not have any shameful feeling. If a poor person only takes care of himself and does not help others after becoming wealthy, the Malays portray this attitude as *bertambah gemuk tubuh babi itu, bertambah kecil lagi matanya* 'The fatter the pig has become, the smaller its eyes will be' (KIPM 44: 831). The Malays believe that those who come from the lower class should not be match-made to the higher class or people from the aristocratic family. If this happens, it is as if a pig is trying to taste the curry, and therefore is not to be encouraged: *Jangan bagai babi merasa gulai* 'Don't act like a pig which tries to taste the curry' (KIPM 91: 1658). Generally, if we look at the imagery of the dog and pig as found in the Malay proverbial collections, the two animals are always directly related to humiliation and dirtiness.

ENCODING OF AFFECTION OUTSIDE THE USUAL DOMAIN OF POLITE CONVERSATION

Despite the common belief that the Malays are gentle, their affection is sometimes encoded outside the domain of polite conversation through the use of words which are vulgar (e.g. the use of body and human sexual organ metaphors). From the various proverbial collections analysed, such tendency is, however, not that common. The most appropriate proverb that can be translated into this category is *jilat pantat* (lit. to lick one's ass or kiss someone's ass) (KSB 1966: 178), which is rather vulgar. There is a proverb which borrows the human sexual organ as a metaphor, *pelir itik* (lit. duck's penis) (KSB 1966: 308), which means a kind of screw, and therefore does not denote impolite conversation. There are two *peribahasa* which can be manipulated to suit this category, but if and only if someone tries to interpret the word "*kotek*" (cackle, penis) in a very extreme manner: (i) *Seperti kotek ayam mandul* (KIPM 191: 3541, Like the cackle of a sterile cock, or in extreme cases, like sterile cock's penis) and (ii) *Siapa berkotek, siapa bertelur* (KIPM 199: 3695, normally to be translated as one who cackles, one also has to lay eggs; or in an extreme interpretation, one who has the penis, he should also have testicles). The first one is normally used to describe a person who does a lot of talking, but not even a single one succeeded; whereas the second

one refers to someone who has proposed something should also take up the responsibility to do what he/she has voiced. The moral behind these two “impolite conversations” criticise the attitudes of talking without any practical outcomes. These two examples are extraordinary, sophistic, or unusual interpretation, which are derived from the ambiguity of the word *kotek*, which can either mean “cackle of a hen” or “a child’s penis.” It is also possible as the Malays always equate *keberanian* (bravery, courage, boldness) as *jantan* (male, masculine of animals). Those who are cowardly are described as *orang yang tak ada kotek atau telur* ‘people without penis or testicles.’ Without such an extreme and artificial interpretation, these proverbs can actually be deleted under this category. Since all of these examples are exceptions and not the norm, therefore I do not intend to make it a priority in my discussion.

VARIOUS FIGURES OF SPEECH BEYOND THE GENERALISING METAPHORS AND HYPERBOLE

Besides the use of generalising metaphors and hyperbole which we have discussed, Malay proverbs also employ certain paradoxes. There are proverbs like *Alah sabung, menang sorak* ‘losing the cock-fight, but winning in the cheering’ (KIPM 7: 125); *Aur ditanam betung tumbuh* ‘bamboo is planted but large bamboo [*betung*] has grown’ (KIPM 13: 239); *Awak kurus daging menimbun* ‘Your body is skinny but full of flesh’ (KIPM 14: 244). The use of paradoxes creates a feeling of unbelief among the hearers, but the stronger motive behind them is the ability to convey the cynical message: How can someone be skinny but meaty! This paradoxical emotion is indeed success in fulfilling the role of Malay proverbs as the art of allusion.

Malay Proverbs, Emotion Evaluation and Their Spectrum of Emotion

When Norrick (1994) touched on how proverbs evaluate emotions, he traced the use of various emotional entries/terms that can be found in American proverbs. By citing examples of American proverbs, he claimed that proverbs have not altogether damned the emotions and this can be seen from the various selected entries like fear, anger, malice, jealousy, love, hate, pride, sorrow and grief, pity, joy and happiness. In his study, he also revealed that twenty five out of the total eighty nine entries with the heading “heart” referred to the source or expression of emotions, and that there were also pertinent examples that advise us to conceal our emotions. He suggested that the topic clearly invites research on comparing proverbs from different cultures. Norrick’s suggestion immediately got my attention on how the Malay proverbs evaluate emotion as compared to the American proverbs and what kind of

emotional spectrum can be identified in the Malay proverbs. By looking at the study of Norrick (1994), I have tried to conjure some kind of comparison in mind when dealing with the Malay proverbs. Two interesting features emerged from the analysis into the Malay proverbial emotions that attracted my attention and suited my discussion on the Malay tradition, which I will discuss under two different sections: (i) Basic emotion terms; and (ii) Metaphors and metonymies.

Basic emotion terms

In this section, before we plunge into deep water, I should explain that the basic emotion terms in this discussion do not use expressions like *wah*, *cis*, *aduh* and *aduhai* which are rather common in the Malay discourse as an expressive language of emotion, but will only refer to the description of emotional concepts that have received attention like *marah* (anger) and *takut* (fear). While there are so many direct entries expressing passions and emotions in the American proverbs, there are however relatively few such entries in the Malay proverbs, as compiled in *Kamus Istimewa Peribahasa Melayu* (Abdullah Hussain 1991). I could not find as many Malay proverbs – *peribahasa* – that contain direct emotional words as can be found in the American proverbs through the Malay synonyms of Norrick’s entries: fear (*gentar*, *takut*), anger (*marah*, *kemarahan*, *berang*), malice (*dendam*, *dengki*), jealousy (*cemburu*, *iri*), love (*cinta*, *kasih*, *sayang*), hate (*benci*), pride (*bangga*, *megah*), sorrow (*sedih*, *duka*) and grief (*pilu*), pity (*kasihan*), joy (*sukacita*, *gembira*, *girang*) and happiness (*bahagia*). Norrick’s entries are quite relevant also to the Malay-Indonesian context as the basic emotion words included are among the most frequently mentioned emotion words for Indonesia. Twelve most frequently mentioned emotion words are *sedih* (sadness), *marah* (anger), *senang* (happy), *benci* (hate), *cinta* (love), *gembira* (joy), *takut* (fear), *sebal* (annoyed), *kesal* (annoyed), *kecewa* (disappointment), *bingung* (confused) and *rindu* (longing) (Frijda et al. 1995:122). It is actually inappropriate to equal one word with one emotion. Brandt and Boucher (1986) in their work with Indonesian lexical clusters had also stressed on the importance of cluster, rather than single-word consideration (cited in Heider 1991: 5). For that reason, I use the maximum possibilities of translation words to trace the use of emotional words in the Malay proverbs. Heider (1991:70), for example, cited that in English, “love”, and its nearest Indonesian equivalent, *cinta*, are similar but not identical in denotation, for “love” is closer to “happiness,” *cinta* closer to “sadness.” Planalp (1999: 204) argued that:

In trying to understand emotion terminology from other cultures, we immediately run into translation problems. Start with the term *emotion*.

To study the emotion words in a culture, you have to have a working definition of what emotion is so that you know what counts and what doesn't. Unfortunately, there is often no clear distinction between emotions and nonemotions (*italics original*).

The list of entries that can be found in the index of *Kamus Istimewa Peribahasa Melayu* (Abdullah Hussain 1991) is shown in the Table 2.

Table 2. Number of entries of Malay proverbs which contain emotional words

No.	Emotional Words	Numbers of Entries
1.	Fear (<i>gentar, takut</i>)	<i>Gentar</i> – 0 <i>Takut</i> – 9 (1184, 2183, 3911-5, 3919-20)* <i>Takutkan</i> – 2 (3916-7)
2.	Anger (<i>marah, kemarahan, berang</i>)	<i>Marah</i> – 0 <i>Berang</i> – 0
3.	Malice (<i>dendam, dengki</i>)	<i>Dendam</i> – 0 <i>Dengki</i> – 0
4.	jealousy (<i>cemburu, iri</i>)	<i>Cemburu</i> – 0 <i>Iri</i> – 0
5.	love (<i>cinta, kasih, sayang</i>)	<i>Cinta</i> – 0 <i>Kasih</i> – 6 (722, 1879-83) <i>Kasihkan</i> – 4 (1885-8)
6.	hate (<i>benci</i>)	<i>Benci</i> – 0
7.	pride (<i>bangga, megah</i>)	<i>Bangga</i> – 0 <i>Megah</i> – 0
8.	sorrow (<i>sedih, duka</i>), grief (<i>pilu</i>)	<i>Sedih</i> – 0 <i>Duka</i> – 0 <i>Pilu</i> – 0
9.	pity (<i>kasihan</i>)	<i>Kasih</i> – 1 (1884)
10.	joy (<i>sukacita, gembira, girang</i>)	<i>Sukacita</i> – 0 <i>Gembira</i> – 0 <i>Girang</i> – 0
11.	happiness (<i>bahagia</i>)	<i>Bahagia</i> – 0

* all numbers in the parenthesis show where the proverbs appear in the text cited.

Source: Abdullah Hussain 1991

As we can observe from Table 2, there are only two terms which are obvious – “*takut, takutkan*” and “*kasih, kasihan, kasihkan*” – which find their place in the Malay proverbs. Even then, the total number of these emotions is limited: 11 entries for proverbs with the word “*takut*” (9) or “*takutkan*” (2), and another 11 entries for “*kasih*” (6), “*kasihan*” (1) and “*kasihkan*” (4). These limited numbers, perhaps, indirectly manifest the nature and character of the Malays, who are seen to be not as direct as the Americans when dealing with passions. Passions and emotions are

basically private to them (Heider 1991). The lack of direct emotional words should not be used as an inference to contend that the Malays are lacking in their emotional spectrum in their daily life. As emotion is something private, hence the expression of feeling within the Malay community is normally seen through the use of *peribahasa* (Table 3).

Table 3. How Malay proverbs encode the emotion

Types of Emotion	Selected Proverbs	Meaning/ Comments	Interpretation/
Happy/Joyful (<i>gembira/riang</i>)	<i>Bagai emak mandul baru beranak</i> 'Like an infertile mother who just gave birth' (KIPM 19: 345); <i>Bagai perempuan bunting bertemu idamannya</i> 'Like a pregnant woman who got her wish' (KIPM 25: 468).	The nature of pregnancy is used to describe the state of joyfulness and happiness.	
Restless (<i>Gelisah</i>)	<i>Bagai tidur di atas miang</i> 'Like sleeping on top of itchy hairs [<i>miang</i>]' (KIPM 27: 505); <i>Anak ayam kebasahan bulu</i> 'The chick's fur gets wet' (KIPM 8: 141); <i>Bagai ayam dimakan (= kena) tungau</i> 'Like fowls that are eaten by tungau/bug' (KIPM 17: 295).	To portray the restless state of one's emotion.	
Happiness (<i>bahagia</i>)	<i>Anak baik, menantu molek</i> 'good siblings, beautiful in-laws' (KIPM 9: 143).	The Malays stress on the importance of family. If there is good relationship between siblings and beautiful in-laws, then the whole family will be filled with happiness.	
Envious (<i>iri hati</i>); Jealous (<i>cemburu</i>)	1. <i>Bangau! Bangau! Minta aku leher! Badak! Badak! Minta aku daging.</i> 'Stork! I beg from thee thy neck! Rhinoceros! I beg from thee thy flesh' (MBRAS 28: 31); 2. <i>Bagai bersumur di tepi rawa</i> 'Like having a well beside the marsh' (KIPM 17: 314).	1. One feels envious because someone is better than him/her. 2. To describe a person who is always jealous.	
Longing; long for (<i>rindu; kerinduan</i>)	<i>Berjarak serasa hilang, bercerai serasa mati</i> 'one feels loss when distanced and feels like dying when separated' (KIPM 39: 736).	Very strong emotions of longing for someone you love.	
Disappointed	<i>Biar, biar naik ke mata</i> 'small worm, small worm [in the stomach]	To show one's frustration.	

(<i>kecewa</i>)	has gone to the eyes' (KIPM 47: 905).	
Uneasy (<i>tidak menyenangkan</i>)	<i>Bagai duri dalam daging</i> 'Like thorn in the flesh' (KIPM 19: 344).	Something which is really disturbing.
Confusion (<i>bingung</i>)	<i>Bagai ayam kena kepala</i> 'Like a fowl which is being thrown on its head' (KIPM 17: 297).	<i>Kena kepala</i> (lit. is knocked on one's head) = being thrown. To show the emotion of confusion.
Angry (<i>marah</i>)	<i>Bagai diurap dengan daun katang-katang</i> 'Like one who is rubbed with the leaves of <i>katang-katang</i> ' (KIPM 19: 342).	<i>Katang-katang</i> = plants which grow at the seaside and have very itchy sap. To show the anger of someone.
Fear (<i>takut</i>)	<i>Bagai ayam yang terkecundang</i> 'Like a defeated cock' (KIPM 17: 304); <i>Bagai kambing dalam biduk</i> 'Like a goat in a small ship' (KIPM 20: 374); <i>Bagai kucing dibawakan lidi</i> 'Like a cat that is chased with palm leaf ribs' (KIPM 21: 395).	Really afraid of something. <i>Lidi</i> = palm leaf rib.
Hate (<i>benci</i>)	<i>Bagai melihat ulat</i> 'Like one looking at a larva' (KIPM 23: 423).	To show that someone is really fed-up with something.

Source: My analysis

In addition to the selected lists of proverbs that we have discussed, a lot of positive and negative emotion states are also presented in the form of *simpulan bahasa*, with *hati* (heart) as the centre of their passions. This tendency also represents the Malay character of not being directly expressive and sometimes can be perceived as suppressive in handling their emotions. The tendency to conceal emotions is not typical of the Malays alone. It is much obvious in the case of the Javanese. Mantle Hood (Heider 1991: 7) is reported to have said that: "Among the many refinements of Javanese society is the ideal of concealing the emotions – it is sometimes said that there is a Javanese smile for every emotion." Among Westerners, this "Javanese smile" perhaps seems to apply stereotypically to all Asians (especially Thai, Chinese and Japanese) as well.

Metaphors and Metonymies

We cannot stop at only examining the uses of basic emotion terms or the uses of a single emotion term. The Malays always express their emotions

in the form of proverbs, either as metaphors or metonymies of the liver. The role of ‘heart’ in the American mind (as we have seen earlier) as compared with the role of ‘liver’ (*hati*) in the Malays portray the cultural relativity between these two traditions. If the Western tradition concentrate the feelings in the heart (as can be perceived through American proverbs with 89 entries stated by Norrick [1994]), the Malays however, focus the passions and emotions in their liver (*hati*). The Malays sometimes choose a shorter and faster form of proverbial expressions in *simpulan bahasa* (and not other forms of Malay proverbs like *perumpamaan* and *pepatah* which are normally longer) in expressing their feelings. Various emotional states have been recorded in *simpulan bahasa* with *hati* as the keyword. For the purpose of comparison, we can only see relatively few *peribahasa* with the word *hati* as compared to *simpulan bahasa*. There are roughly 12 *peribahasa* (from Abdullah Hussain, 1991) (See nos. 163, 1478-86, 2313 and 4243) but 252 *simpulan bahasa* (Abdullah Hussain (1966) with the word *hati*).

How do the same metaphors roughly emerge in the Malay language in the case of anger as compared with its counterparts: English, Hungarian, Japanese and Chinese? Do the Malays appear to have very similar ideas about their bodies and see themselves as undergoing the same physiological process when in the state of anger, *düh*, *ikari* and *nu* respectively as proposed by Kövecses (2000), that people produce remarkably similar shared pressurized container metaphor? My answer is “yes” when we look into their linguistic usage. As we know, some metaphors reflect universal notions, such as the idea that anger is conceptualised as pressure in a container. Metonymies may also denote universal aspects of emotions, such as the idea that anger is internal pressure, loss of muscular control, redness, a rise in body temperature, and loss of rationality. Universality in the conceptualisation of emotions can be found through some of the metaphors and metonymies in the Malay language as compared to the other languages discussed in Kövecses (1995 & 2000) as well. There is in this sense of universality that the Malay emotion is confined to. And these aspects of emotion language and concepts are universal and clearly related to the physiological functioning of the body. Let me use the general division of “body heat”, “internal pressure” and “redness” to see how this universality in the conceptualisation of emotion in the Malay language and their *simpulan bahasa* emerge. If we look at the Malay conception of emotion, we will see that anger, for example, is described in the following manner:

Body heat

The Malays perceive anger as a rise in the liver's temperature, from cold to hot. Therefore when someone is angry, he or she is referred to by using these various sayings like *panas hati* 'hot liver' (very angry, angry within the liver), *hangat hati* 'hot liver' (feel angry), *panas bala* 'hot misfortune,' *panas baran* 'hot angry,' *panas darah* 'hot blood' (to get angry very fast). If one is too angry, the temperature can rise up to a state that one's liver is burnt: *Hangus hati* 'totally burnt liver,' *terbakar hati* 'the liver is getting burned,' *membakar hati* 'to burn one's liver.' In contrast, when someone is not getting angry anymore, he or she is *sejuk hati* 'cold liver.'

Internal pressure

Anger is metaphorically described as heat within a pressurised container. When one is angry, the Malays say *naik darah* 'blood is rising' and therefore, if he or she makes me angry, the Malays will say *dia membuat saya naik darah* 'he/she causes my blood to rise.' If the anger cannot be controlled any longer, it will erupt and explode as shown by the following phrases: *meletup marahnya* 'his anger is exploding,' *rasa marahnya meluap-luap* 'his anger is steaming,' and *darahnya mendidih* 'his/ her blood is boiling.'

Redness in character

Redness is used among the Malays to describe shyness and anger. When someone is shy, he or she is said to be *merah muka* 'red face' (KSB 271). Redness can also be used to describe anger. In order to describe one's face while angry, the Malays use *merah telinga* 'red ear' (KSB 271) or *merah padam* 'red died out' (KSB 271), or *memerahkan muka* 'make the face red' (KSB 272), which refers to causing anger.

If we refer to the examples above and compare them with some of the examples taken from Kövecses (1995), then we are sure to be able to identify their similarities. As an example, *Dia membuat saya naik darah* 'He/she causes my blood to rise' can be compared to the Hungarian proverb *Felment a vertyoma sa* (up went the blood – his), which means his blood pressure went up and the Japanese proverb *kare no okage de ketsuatsu ga agarippanashi da* (he due to blood pressure keeps going up), which means my blood pressure keeps going up because of him.

Despite the similarities discussed above, there are, however, still differences in cultural knowledge that work according to culturally defined rules and scenarios that are divergent. Due to their different worldviews, the Chinese and Malays, for instance, refer to different human organs as their own source of emotions. For example, the Chinese

generally use *pi qi* (the *qi* of the spleen) as the source of anger, whereas Malays use the heat of *hati* (liver) as their source of anger. It is observed that Chinese abounds in anger-and-happiness-related expressions that employ a variety of internal organs, like the heart, liver, spleen and gall. This is so because of the influence of Chinese medicine on the conceptualization, and hence verbalisation of emotions (Kövecses 2000). The concept of Malay emotion in *hati* is also related to Malay medicine as well (A. Samad Ahmad 1988). Besides the use of different human organs as the source of emotions, cultural diversity does give different motives and functions to a certain emotion. Generally, as human beings, we would try to avoid the emotion of sadness unless we have no choice, but if we were to examine the spectrum of Malay emotions, we would find that culturally, the Malay concept of *sedih* might not be equal to the English concept of *sad* or at least, this emotion was not given the same priority or importance in their literature. Ironically, *sedih* and its other spectrum of emotions (e.g. *lara*, *nestapa*) might not mean something sad in the Malay discourses or literatures but elements that are used to entertain as shown from Muhammad Haji Salleh's (1993) discussion on the Malay aesthetics of sorrow.

THE CONCEPTION OF *HATI* IN MALAY PROVERBS

Culture has its share in body symbolism. The use of body as metaphor of society is quite common too among the Malays as seen in their *simpulan bahasa*, e.g. *kakitangan* (staff; literally means hand and leg); *mata telinga* (spy, informant; literally means eyes and ears); *kepala kampung* (village chief; literally means the head of a village). In order to express their feelings, the Malays use liver (*hati*) instead of stomach, bowels or heart (*jantung*). *Hati* as the source of emotion had been discussed by many researchers (Wazir Jahan Karim 1990a-c, Wan Abdul Kadir 1993b, Sibarani 1999, Saidatul Nornis Haji Mahali 1999 & Mulyadi 2001). The study of Wazir Jahan Karim (1990c) related *hati* (liver) as the source of passions. The term *hati* is used to describe the state of positive and negative emotions. Wazir cited a few Malay proverbs – *simpulan bahasa* – and their English equivalent to explain her point. There are certain terms which, according to her, described the emotive states through the use of *hati*. Positive emotive states can be represented, for example, by *baik hati* (lit. Good-livered, which means kind, good or nice), *murah hati* (lit. Cheap-livered, which means generous), *senang hati* (lit. Happy-livered, which means relaxed or cheerful); whereas the negative emotive states can be seen through *iri hati*, which means envious, *sakit hati* (pain-livered, hard feeling, or as Wazir put it, angry, with a tendency for revenge) and *main hati* (lit. Play-livered, casual flirtation, which is not to be taken seriously). According to Wazir Jahan

Karim (1990c: 26-27), the Malays pinpointed the source of ‘the passions’ to the liver as the mysterious organ which is believed to control the moods and emotions of humans and to command more permanently their psyche and personality in both psychological (*zahir*) and spiritual (*batin*) sense. Wazir also claimed that to the Malays, the liver determines a person’s state of mental health, in contrast to the heart which determines a person’s physical health or well-being. If we were to look at their *simpulan bahasa*, we will notice the extensive usage of the term *hati* to indicate different emotive states, be it positive or negative, which are linked to specific personality traits. *Hati* as the source of emotions and passions was also brought up by Wan Abdul Kadir (1993b). According to him:

Kepada orang Melayu, perasaan atau emosi itu terletak di hati. Hati merupakan pusat pembinaan perasaan atau emosi seseorang. Perasaan marah dinyatakan dengan “sakit hati” dan sebaliknya perasaan suka dikatakan “suka hati” atau rasa senang atau tenang dikatakan “senang hati.” Perasaan benci dan tidak ikhlas pula dikatakan “busuk hati” dan sebaliknya untuk menyatakan perasaan baik dikatakan “baik hati.” Perasaan kasih sayang juga dinyatakan di hati, seperti “buah hati,” “jantung hati” (Wan Abdul Kadir 1993b: 78).

(For the Malays, feeling or emotion resides in the liver. Liver is the centre of the creation of feeling or emotion. The feeling of anger is expressed as “*sakit hati*” [lit. painful liver] whereas the feeling of happiness is articulated as “*suka hati*” or “*senang hati*” [lit. happy liver]. The feeling of hatred and insincerity are expressed as “*busuk hati*” [lit. smelly liver] whereas “*baik hati*” [lit. good liver] is used to convey kindness. The feeling of love is also stated in *hati* [liver], like “*buah hati*” [lit. fruit of liver], “*jantung hati*” [lit. the heart of liver]).

Even though “*hati*” is dominant in *simpulan bahasa* in terms of conveying emotion, this does not mean the Malays neglect totally the importance of thinking. This is reflected from their proverbs like *pikir itu pelita hati* ‘Thought is the lamp of the mind’ (MBRAS 174: 85), *sesal dulu pendapatan, sesal kemudian tidak berguna* ‘to be sorry beforehand is gain, to be sorry afterwards is useless’ (KIPM 198: 3676; MS 174), *padang perahu di lautan padang hati di fikiran* ‘The field for a ship is the ocean; the field for the heart is the mind’ (MBRAS 163: 5) and the very obvious *ikut hati mati, ikut rasa binasa*, ‘Pursue your lust and you will die: go the way of your passions and you will be doomed’ (MS 218. See also KIPM 88: 1617).

Why is *hati* so important to accommodate the Malay passion and emotion? The answer is strongly related to the Malay worldview of how a person is created. The Malays believe that the emotions of a person

have to do with his or her blood (e.g. a person who is angry is said to be *naik darah*, literally means his/her blood is rising or *naik angin*, his/her wind is rising). Blood is said to originate from the attitudes of *angin* (wind) and the place where the wind resides is *hati* (liver). Although it is generally believed that the word *hati* plays an important role in recording the Malay passions, emotions and intuitions, it is sometimes rather ambiguous as it was once understood as belonging to the realm of emotions and one another occasion interpreted as being part of the realm of the mind. For example, when someone says, “*Hatinya tak ada di sini* (lit. His liver is not here; in reality, it refers to his mind not being here). According to *Kamus Dewan* (1986: 379), “*hati*” means “*batin (tempat perasaan, pengertian dll.)* (spirit, the place where feeling, meaning etc. reside).” “*Berhati-hati*” means “*memberi perhatian (pertimbangan dsb) yang teliti (sewaktu melakukan sesuatu)* (paying careful attention or judgement etc. when doing something)” (*Kamus Dewan* 1986: 380). When writing about the notion of *ati* in Balinese (= Malay *hati*), Rappe (1995: 359) simply translated it as “the soul”: “The Balinese use the term *ati* in a curious manner: *ati* actually means ‘liver’, where the soul resides. There are such phrases as *sakit-ati*, ‘sick-livered’; *iri hati*, ‘envious, jealous’. Rappe (1995:359), an expert in the Balinese medicine, however, defined *hati* to include both heart and liver as he said that “*Hati bededeutet sowohl Herz als Leber (Hati means both heart and liver).*” Until today, the word *hati* possesses several meanings, viz., “a) *Leber*;... (liver) b) *Herz, Gemüt, Inneres*; (heart, disposition/ nature/mentality, inner part) c) *Aufmerksamkeit und Interesse*;.. (attention and interest).” (Rappe 1995: 360). Besides its role as the source of emotion, if we check the Malay dictionaries, *hati* is also either directly or indirectly related to other metaphysical terminology like *atma*, *batin*, *budi*, *jiwa*, *kalbu*, *roh*, *semangat* and *sukma*. If we look into the various terminologies and their meaning, we will find out an interesting part of the Malay *hati*. *Hati* is not only the source and centre of emotion; *hati* is also the centre of *atma*, *jiwa*, *nyawa*, *roh*, *batin*, *sukma* and *intuisi* (*gerak hati/ bisikan kalbu*) in the Malay worldview. *Hati* is the centre of life, spirit, lust, intuition and soul.

The language of Malay proverbs and their emotion are basically centred in the realm of “*hati*” (Sibarani 1999). “*Hati*” in these *simpulan bahasas* can be divided into two categories: (1) *Hati sebagai inti* (*Hati* as head) (i.e. *hati kecil*, *hati sanubari* and *berhati batu*) and (2) *Hati sebagai Pewatas* (*Hati* as modifier) (i.e. *baik hati*, *iri hati* and *isi hati*) (Sibarani 1999). The Malays are actually very romantic if we look at how they refer to the person that they love in the form of *simpulan bahasa*. There are examples like: *Buah hati* (fruit of liver/ heart), *Jantung hati* (heart of liver), *Mahkota hati* (crown of liver/heart), *Mestika hati* (a precious stone of liver/heart), *Rangkai hati* (string of

liver/heart), *Tangkai hati* (stem of liver/heart), *Tempat hati* (place of liver/heart) etc. Even though *hati* as liver does play an important role in the Malay passions, it should not be seen as the sole possession of the Malays. Mercado (1994: 27) cited that for instance, a young man in Papua New Guinea refers to his girl friend as his “*lewa*” (liver), not his sweetheart. Etymologically, Gonda (1973) does not stress on its origin from Sanskrit, except the idea of *suci hati*. Dempwolff’s (1938) list of Austronesian words, so far, seems to substantiate the originality of the word *hati*. According to Dempwolff (1938), the word *hati* originates from *hataj* (p. 62) or *ataj* (p. 16) and can be found in most of the Austronesian languages (e.g. Malay-Indonesian ‘*ati*’, Tagalog ‘*atai*’, Toba-Batak ‘*ate*’, Java ‘*ati*’), which means “*Leber*” (liver) or “*Gemüt*” (mind, soul, heart) in German.

The concept of emotion can be generally grouped into two categories: emotion relates with “good events” and emotion conveys “bad events.” According to Frijda (1986), emotions arise because events are appraised by people as favorable or harmful to their own interests. This common classification is generally applicable as well to the Malay source of emotions. According to Mulyadi (2001:28), emotion in the first category, which is called “positive emotion” consists of emotions like *gembira* (glad, joyful), *senang* (happy), *lega* (relax, clear of mind/feeling) and *bangga* (proud). Emotion in the second category is known as “negative emotion” and includes emotions like *sedih* (sad), *marah* (angry), *malu* (shy), *takut* (afraid) and *kecewa* (disappointed). These positive and negative emotions are subordinate categories from the basic human emotion. Despite its use to express positive feelings (e.g. *hati jernih*, *baik hati*, *suka hati*) and negative feelings (e.g. *patah hati*, *sakit hati*), *hati* can also be used to connote nouns (e.g. *hati tangan*, *lubuk hati*, *buah hati*).

The importance of *hati* in the Malay worldview can also be observed through the inner eyes of “*mata-hati*” (literally, the eyes of liver/heart) and not the outer physical eyes. *Mata-hati*-related words like “*berhati-hati*” and “*memperhatikan*” can support their perception of argument, which according to their understanding should not only be purely reason (logical principles) but must also be able to touch their inner eyes (humane emotion). Therefore, a successful and effective argument or reasoning as a way of resolving conflict should not be expressed directly as it might cause hurt. Emotion is variously viewed in both positive and negative ways in the Malay culture, folk beliefs and philosophical traditions. There is, however, no single exact Malay term for “emotion,” which is now often being translated as “*emosi*.” The term most frequently used as a closer equivalent is *rasa*. The term *rasa*, which was borrowed by the Malay from Sanskrit originally means “sap, juice, liquid essence, and taste, and is often translated as flavor, relish, mood, and sentiment” (McDaniel 1995: 47). Due to earlier influence from the

Sanskrit, the Malays generally regard sensation, taste and feeling as falling into the same category. In their everyday conversation, we can easily hear phrases like: *rasa panas* (feel hot), *rasa sejuk/ dingin* (feel cold) (sensation related with skin and the ability to feel); *rasa pahit* (taste bitter), *rasa manis* (taste sweet) (sensation related with tongue) and *rasa sedih* (to feel sad), *rasa gembira* (to feel happy) (feeling or emotion). When discussing about the emotion in the Bengali religious thought, McDaniel (1995) proclaimed that “emotional *rasa* can be tasted and appreciated. While emotions become *rasas*, they may be viewed as art objects, and combined in aesthetic fashion” (p. 47). If Western tradition tends to treat reason and emotion as mutually opposing, Asian tradition however sees emotion and reason as mutually complimenting. For the Malays, the issue of reason-emotion should not be seen from a purely true or false, black or white dichotomy but should be addressed in spectrum. For McDaniel (1995):

In the Bengali and Sanskrit languages, terms for emotion and thought, mind and heart, are not opposed. Indeed, most frequently the same terms are used for both. A term often heard, *mana*, means both mind and heart, as well as mood, feeling, mental state, memory, desire, attachment, interest, attention, devotion, and decision. These terms do not have a single referent in English, and must be understood through clusters of explicit and implicit meanings. Verbs based on *mana* include *mana kara* (to make up one’s mind, to resolve or agree); *mana kāra* (to captivate the mind or win one’s heart); and *mana kholā* (to speak one’s mind or open one’s heart). (p. 43).

McDaniel (1995: 44) further claimed the non-opposing status of Indian emotion and cognition:

We see in these terms and definitions that emotion is a powerful force which is at the same time subtle and delicate, invisible to the senses yet capable of generating physical expressions, associated with perception, intuition, and realization. There is no sharp distinction between emotion and cognition. Thought is associated with knowledge and discrimination, and the mind grasps and holds memories and ideas. Yet thought is associated with feelings, especially anxiety, as well as imagination.

The similarities between Hinduism and Buddhism and its Indian influence can be seen also in the Thai culture from the linguistic perspective. Peansiri Vongvipanond (1994) claimed that if frequency of occurrence can be taken as an indicator of the degree of attention and interest, Thai people seem to put more emphasis on their heart (*jai* ใจ) than their head (*hua* หัว). Moore’s (1992) *Heart Talk* for example explored the Thai language use of *jai* or heart and recorded over 330

Heart Talk root phrases. There are as many as 743 individual *jai* phrases in the third edition of *Heart Talk* (Heaven Lake Press 2006), over 200 more than in the second edition (Heaven Lake Press 1998). The early Malay civilisation was also very much influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism and if the same logic goes, then the Malay people can be said to have put more emphasis on their liver (*hati*) (160 entries as shown in the index of Abdullah Hussein 1966, 252 entries in the text) than their head (*kepala*). The similarities between the concept of *xin* in Chinese, *kokoro* in Japanese, *mana* in Indian, *jai* in Thai and *hati* in Malay as we have seen give us an interesting picture of whether all these cultures share the same origin of Asian-stock as contrasted to Western rationality. Since Buddhism used to play or is still playing an important role within these traditions, can we therefore conclude that these similarities were generally rooted in Buddhism, which became the common denominator among them? This could be a possibility, but further research is necessary.

Table 4. Body parts and their frequency in *simpulan bahasa*

No.	Body Parts	Frequency
1.	Hati (Liver)	160
2.	Mata (Eye)	105
3.	Tangan (Hand)	65
4.	Lidah (Tongue)	50
5.	Muka (Face)	49
6.	Mulut (Mouth)	44
7.	Kepala (<i>Head</i>)	39
8.	Perut (Stomach)	37
9.	Kaki (Leg)	36
10.	Telinga (<i>Ear</i>)	15
11.	Otak (Brain)	15

Source: Analysis based on the Index of Kamus Simpulan Bahasa (Abdullah Hussain 1966: 441-464)

The Malays seem to be in favour of taking their eyes (*mata*) more seriously than their ears (*telinga*), with 105 and 15 entries respectively. This “eyes culture” can be further justified through the use of several vision-related words: *pandang* (to see, 17 entries) is more than *dengar* (to hear, 4 entries); *buta* (blind, 29 entries) is more than *pekak* (deaf, 7 entries). The relationship between liver and eyes can be found through

the *simpulan bahasa, mata hati* (the eye of the liver). Table 4 shows the frequency of various body parts as appeared in *simpulan bahasa*:

The priority given to the eyes was not something by chance, but should be looked at from a bigger area of Indo-germanic culture. Taking one of the specific words for “*Einsicht* (insight)” or “*Wissen*” and comparing it from culture to culture within the indo-germanic tradition, Gaarder (1993) cited various examples to justify his claims: Sanskrit (*vidya*), Greek (*ide*), Latin (*video*, from *videre* which for people of Rome, simply means seeing), English (wise, wisdom), German (*weise* and *wissen*) and Norwegian (*Viten*) and again in the modern/recent word that we use (vision).

CONCLUSION

Using Norrick’s (1994) studies on American proverbs as a reference, I have proven that there are equally wealthy of affection and passions in the Malay proverbs as compared to the logical aspects of proverbs used in the argumentative discourse and how these Malay proverbs encode and decode the emotion as shown through the existence of various markers of affect in Malay proverbs. The importance of *hati* in the Malay worldview as seen in their proverbs has also been explored and discussed. As compared to other body parts symbolism, *hati* remains as the mostly used metaphor in encoding and decoding the Malay emotion. Hence, in general, if we were to understand the Malay emotion, we should go into their *hati budi* because “*manusia Melayu dididik menjaga hati dan perasaan orang lain lebih daripada kepentingan perasaan sendiri*” (The Malays were taught to be more concerned about the feelings of other people than their own feelings) (Saidatul Nornis Haji Mahali 1999).

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Lim Kim Hui, Ph.D.
Visiting Professor
Center for Southeast Asian Studies
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
270 Imun-Dong, Dongdaemun-Gu
130791, Seoul, KOREA.
 E-mail: limkimhui@yahoo.com