

## **"Psycho-Collocations" in Malay: A Southeast Asian Areal Feature\***

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Though mainland and insular Southeast Asia may be thought of in many ways as constituting a single regional entity — unified by common geographical conditions and by centuries of commercial and cultural contact<sup>1</sup> — the languages of these two adjacent areas would appear, on the face of it, to have very little in common with each other. Indeed, typologically, they could hardly be more different — the languages of "Indochina"<sup>2</sup> being predominantly (though not exclusively) isolating, monosyllabic (or tending to monosyllabicity) and tonal, whereas those of the "Malay Archipelago"<sup>3</sup> are polysyllabic, agglutinating and non-tonal. On this basis alone, it has always been assumed that they belong to entirely distinct stocks, with only marginal regional overlap.<sup>4</sup>

Modern comparative research has borne out the fact that these are indeed separate linguistic domains, but it nevertheless seems increasingly evident that the division is not quite so absolute as was once thought. This is to say that the Austronesian languages of the islands do in fact have certain affinities with some, if not all, of the major linguistic groupings of the Indochinese mainland — though it is less clear precisely how these are to be explained.<sup>5</sup> These affinities include not only a common "areal vocabulary" found throughout the region, but also a number of parallel grammatical and "conceptual" features — notably the use of numeric classifiers, of honorific pronouns and forms of address, and of strikingly similar verb morphology in

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<sup>1</sup> For an illuminating discussion of these cultural and historical commonalities from a global Southeast Asian perspective, see Reid 1988.

<sup>2</sup> A term that seems to have fallen into disfavor these days within the English-speaking world, but which I use here to refer to the areas of present-day Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand, and Burma.

<sup>3</sup> I use this term here in the older (and broader) sense, as comprising modern-day Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines — locus of the major Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) subgroup of the Austronesian (AN) language family.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the presence of several Austronesian-speaking groups on the mainland, notably the Chams and closely-related highland tribes such as the Jarai and Rhade of southern Vietnam.

<sup>5</sup> Most intriguing in this respect have been the pioneering efforts of Paul Benedict (1975) to link the Austronesian phylum genetically with the Tai-Kadai and Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) languages of the mainland, while at the same time postulating a 'sub-stratum' relationship between AN and the Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer) group, and also demonstrating a good deal of interaction between AN and Old Chinese.

some cases.<sup>6</sup> Certain of these commonalities are found not only throughout Southeast Asia but across much of East Asia as well, and seem not to be the result of any clearly-defined borrowing in the traditional sense (e.g. lexical or phonological borrowing), but rather seem to flow from a common areal conceptualization and compartmentalization of the world, a point to which we shall return later.

One such Southeast Asian areal feature, described for a number of mainland Southeast Asian languages by Matisoff (1986), is the explicit reference within polymorphemic expressions concerning psychological phenomena to certain key body parts or organs where such phenomena are thought to "reside" or "transpire" — expressions which he terms "psycho-collocations" (also "psi-collocations" or simply "psi's" for short). As Matisoff has pointed out (1986:45-6), such expressions are in fact part of a universal metaphorical tendency — closely related to expressions in English of the sort "hard-hearted," "hot-blooded" and "big-mouthed" — yet there seems to be a qualitative difference in the extremes to which Southeast Asian languages carry this tendency. Indeed, traditionally it has often been difficult in these languages to express any sort of mental activity, emotion or personality trait without a specific somatic reference.

The purpose of the present paper is to demonstrate the existence in Malay, a major Austronesian language of western Indonesia and Malaysia, of numerous expressions that are strikingly parallel to those cited by Matisoff for the languages of mainland Southeast Asia. Indeed, most western Indonesian languages regularly employ such expressions, constructed primarily around the term for "liver/heart," but involving additionally the "mind," "head," "blood," "mouth," "hands," "face" or other body constituents. A few examples from Malay/Indonesian will be cited below, following a brief discussion of the general nature, structure and classification of psi-collocations in this language.

### **"To Think in the Liver"**

In Malay, much of what is regarded as conscious mental activity is thought to take place not in the brain, but in the heart or liver. The Malay word most commonly used to refer to such activity is *hati*, literally meaning "liver" (as in *sate hati kambing* = "skewered, grilled goat's liver") but also frequently denoting "heart" (as in *berdebar-debar hati*; lit: "with a palpitating heart" = "to be nervous, fearful, excited, or in love"). In older texts, *hati* also can refer to the liver, heart, gall-bladder, and "viscera"

<sup>6</sup> The best examples of the latter phenomenon are the presence in many Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages of a causative prefix *pa-* as well as an infix *-um-* which acts as a nominalizer (in Austroasiatic languages) or marks an actor-focus (in Austronesian languages).

collectively. Figuratively, as in English, it refers also to the "center" or "core" of things.<sup>7</sup>

Psycho-collocations with *hati* are extremely common. For example, "to think" is often expressed as "to think in the liver" (*pikir dalam hati*); "to feel" is "to feel in the liver" (*merasa dalam hati*); "to say to oneself" is "to say in the liver" (*berkata dalam hati*); "to read to oneself" is "to read in the liver" (*membaca dalam hati*); "to be concerned about, to take a keen interest in" is "to place in the liver" (*menaruh dalam hati*); and "to have unexpressed or deep-seated feelings [about something or someone]" can be expressed as "to store in the liver" (*simpan dalam hati*). Similarly, "to be careful, cautious or attentive" is literally "to have liver-liver" (*berhati-hati* — often used imperatively, as in "*Hati-hati!*" = "Be careful!"). A variety of other psychological terms and expressions are also derived from *hati* through the addition of affixes, as in *perhatian* ("interest, attention") and *memperhatikan* ("to give one's attention or consideration to something"), and newer forms are still being coined from this root, as for example *bersehati* (lit: "of one liver") = "unanimous" and *pemerhati* ("one who pays attention") = "[political] observer."

Concerning the frequent use of the word *hati* with reference to psychological phenomena, philologists have traditionally remarked only that it comes about because the Malays believe this to be the "seat of the emotions" as well as the primary "organ of intellection." Wilkinson (1932), quotes the following final couplets from two traditional Malay *pantun*<sup>8</sup> as examples of this (the rather literal translations are my own):

<i>Antara hati dengan jantung</i>	Between my liver and my heart
<i>Di situ adik abang tinggalkan.</i>	There, younger brother, I place thee
<i>Kami menangis di dalam hati</i>	I shed tears in my liver
<i>Seorang manusia tiada tahu.</i>	Not a soul knows it

We may note here that such expressions of psychological phenomena employing *hati* are both exceedingly "transparent" and also physically immediate — situating the emotion or mental process in question in a particular spot lying at the very core of one's physical being. To a degree, the concrete "objectification" and physical "localization" of emotions and thought processes is perhaps related to the relative absence in traditional Malay of terms for generalized and abstract concepts. Indeed, the vast majority of such terms now found in Malay/Indonesian are either loans from

<sup>7</sup> To refer to the heart specifically, there are a number of other terms in Malay, most of them loans, which are not metaphorically extended in Malay in the same way as *hati*, for example *jantung*, *kalbu* (< Arabic *qalb*), *fuad* (< Arabic *fuʿa:d*), *nala* (< Minang).

<sup>8</sup> Popular rhyming quatrains (ABAB), often aphoristic in nature.

Sanskrit, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch or English, or have been derived from Austronesian roots during the past few decades through affixation, largely under the influence of Dutch and English. And conversely, as the lexicon has become increasingly abstract in recent years, it seems that collocations employing *hati* have fallen somewhat out of favor. Today one is more likely in everyday conversation to simply employ the verbs "to think" (*pikir*), "to feel" (*meras*), etc., without the addition of *hati*, and the inclusion of the latter (most commonly found in poetry, songs and prose literature) now has a certain archaic and literary flavor to it, and is reserved for situations in which very strong emotions are being expressed.

### "Primary" vs. "Secondary" Psycho-Nouns

In fact, *hati* is not the only "psycho-noun"<sup>9</sup> used in Malay — there are a number of others, such as: *kepala* "head" (< Sanskrit *kapala* = "skull"); *akal* "mind" (< Arabic *ʿaql*); *muka* "face" (< Sanskrit *mukha*); *tangan* "hands"; etc. For example, a clever person is *panjang akal* ("long-minded") or *terang akal* ("clear-minded"), while a numskull is referred to as a *kepala udang* ("prawn-head"). When one becomes angry, one's "blood rises" (*naik darah*), while a calm and patient person is, as in English, "cool-headed" (*dingin kepala*). A talkative, amiable person is *ringan mulut* ("light-mouthed") — while a blabber-mouth is "itchy-mouthed" (*gatal mulut*).

Matisoff (1986:2) has pointed out that such expressions form a number of overtly-marked classes (or "phenotypes" in Whorfian terms), each of which is defined by the use of a single somatic noun (their Whorfian "reactance").<sup>10</sup> Expressions in English of the type (x + y)-ed where 'y' is a "psycho-noun" and 'x' an adjective ("hard-hearted", etc.) may be said to form overt classes analogous to Southeast Asian psycho-phenotypes, but they by no means cover as broad a spectrum of psychological phenomena as do the Southeast Asian psi's.

By Whorf's definition, there thus appear to be several "psycho-phenotypes" or classes of psi-collocations in Malay, defined in terms of the various psycho-nouns mentioned above. Nevertheless, *hati* is clearly pre-eminent among them, not only because it is far and away the most productive, but also because the usage of the other psycho-nouns appears, on

<sup>9</sup> This term has been coined by Matisoff (1986:4) to designate the morpheme within a psi-collocation referring to the body part or organ with which the psychological phenomenon is associated. His definition of a 'psycho-noun' should perhaps be amended slightly, however, as the Malay psycho-noun by itself need not (and most often does not) have "explicit psychological reference." Its salient feature is rather that it is somatic (i.e. a body part or constituent, such as the head, heart, liver, hands, blood, bodily excretions, etc.) and is also employed in psycho-collocations.

<sup>10</sup> See "A linguistic consideration of thinking in primitive communities" in Whorf 1956:70-71.

the whole, to involve a more figurative extension of their meaning (much like the usage of such terms in English). This last point is demonstrated by the fact that psycho-nouns other than *hati* do not collocate redundantly with "psycho-mates"<sup>11</sup> that possess the same meaning as the *psi* on their own (i.e. with what Matsoff has termed "literal mates"). For example, in Malay, one may simply be "sad" (*sedih*) or "happy" (*senang*), as well as literally "sad-livered" (*sedih hati*) or "happy-livered" (*senang hati*). In fact just about any word denoting an emotional state may collocate freely with *hati*. Other psycho-nouns, however, generally collocate only with adjectives that on their own have no psychological connotation, so that only in a figurative or metaphorical sense is one considered to be "hard-headed" (*keras kepala* = "stubborn") or "ripe-minded" (*masak akal* = "mature") or "two-faced" (*muka dua* = "hypocritical").

In fact, there are significant differences and singularities in the usages of each psycho-noun, both in the degree of literalness that it allows or requires in a psycho-mate, as well in the semantic areas to which it applies. As we shall see, the word *hati* collocates with a rather wide variety of literal mates having to do with emotional states, such as: "sad," "happy," "suspicious," "resentful," "envious," "lustful," etc., while also being used to describe numerous character traits and mental processes. The word *akal* ("mind"), on the other hand, though seemingly (to us at least) referring intrinsically to psychological matters, is not used in nearly so literal a fashion (i.e. it will not collocate redundantly — all its psycho-mates are descriptive adjectives that in and of themselves have nothing to do with the psyche, such as "long," "narrow," "clear," "sharp," etc.) and its *psi*-collocations have to do with intelligence, trickery, fakery and mental stratagems or inventions (the latter being, in fact, secondary, more colloquial glosses for *akal*). The words for "mouth" (*mulut*) and "face" (*muka*), by way of contrast, are both extremely productive, but even more restricted in their semantic applications. *Psi*'s employing the former refer exclusively to character traits (many of them having to do, of course, with speech) while those containing the latter pertain primarily to a person's attitude or psychological image.<sup>12</sup>

### The Classification of Malay *Psi*-Collocations

Aside from these essential differences in the various psycho-nouns themselves, Malay *psi*-collocations may also be distinguished according to the number of morphemes they contain. We have seen examples above of verb phrases with *hati* containing three morphemes (*pikir dalam hati* = "to

<sup>11</sup> "Psycho-mate" is a term employed by Matsoff (1986:4) to describe the morphemes (usually action verbs or adjectives) that combine with a psycho-noun to form a *psi*-collocation.

<sup>12</sup> Both also have figurative applications similar to those of their counterparts in English, as in *mulut sungat* = "river mouth" and *muka gedung* = "facade of a building".

think in the liver," etc.) and there are also numerous expressions containing four or more morphemes that are idiomatic or aphoristic in nature, such as<sup>13</sup>

- *dart hati ke hati* (lit: "from liver to liver") = "heart to heart, frankly speaking"
- *hati gatal mata digaruk* (lit: "liver itchy eyes scratched") = "desiring or attempting something that is unachievable, falling in some unrealistic endeavor"
- *terbit dari hati yang suci* (lit: "arising from a pure liver") = "sincerely spoken or felt"
- *lain di mulut lain di hati* (lit: "different in mouth, different in liver") = "insincere, not meaning what one says, two-faced"
- *jauh di mata dekat di hati* (lit: "far in eyes, close in liver") = "out of sight but still close to one's heart"
- *akal tak sekali tiba* (lit: "mind not one time arrive") = "good plans are not laid in a moment"
- *buruk muka cermin dibelah* (lit: "rotten face, mirror split") = "blaming someone else for one's own mistakes, unwilling to take responsibility for one's actions"

By far the more numerous and interesting type of psi-collocation, however, is that containing only two morphemes. Following Matisoff, we may conveniently classify such psi's according to the properties of their respective psycho-mates. Three major categories may be distinguished: adjectival mates, nominal mates and verbal mates.<sup>14</sup> Adjectival mates may be further sub-divided into literal mates and metaphorical mates (of which those pairing antonymically form a sizeable sub-group).

<sup>13</sup> Such expressions are not really comparable, however, to the 4-morpheme "elaborated psycho-collocations" or "psycho-elabs" described for mainland languages by Matisoff (1986:38), in which the psycho-noun is either reduplicated or paired with a psycho-noun of similar meaning, apparently in order to achieve a certain phonological bulk. In Malay, where the morphemes themselves are already for the most part dissyllabic, phonological bulk is not an issue, and these expressions appear to be simply idioms or proverbs.

<sup>14</sup> The expression *walang hati* = "disappointed, worried, pining" may also be an example of what Matisoff calls a "morphemic mate" — i.e. a mate which cannot stand alone — as *walang* has no apparent meaning in Malay. This may not be a true morphemic mate, however, because *walang* is likely an archaic form of the word *balang* or *belang* in the sense of "lack" or "defect." (Thanks to Randy J. LaPolla for bringing the Tagalog negative possessive/existential *walang* to my attention.)

## I. ADJECTIVAL MATES

A. *Literal mates*. Only used with *hati*. The psycho-mate in each case is an adjective denoting an emotional state that can stand alone with the same meaning, but there is something more colloquial and satisfying about the inclusion of the psycho-noun. The use of *hati* would seem to make the emotion more concrete and explicit by locating it in the liver, and therefore stronger. To be sad (*sedih*) in a general way is thus a bit less strong, perhaps, than to be "sad-livered" (*sedih hati*).

B. *Metaphorical mates*. Generally these are very common, high-frequency adjectives such as "long," "short," "big," "small," etc. which collocate with psycho-nouns to form metaphorical expressions similar to English "big-hearted," "thick-skinned," "sharp-tongued," etc., except of course that Malay collocations employing similar terms may result in quite different meanings. Compare, for example, the English expression "light-headed" with its literal Malay translation, *ringan kepala* = "quick-witted, bright." Nevertheless, many collocations found in Malay, English and other languages with similar psycho-nouns and metaphorical mates are quite similar in meaning, and the ability to construct this sort of psi-collocation would seem to be a linguistic universal.

C. *Antonymic pairs*. This is a special sub-grouping of psi's with metaphorical mates, in which the adjectives are antonyms and the resulting expressions are antonymous.

## II. NOMINAL MATES

These usually refer to quite common objects which have obvious and tangible properties, such as "stone," "wind," "eye," "fruit," "poison," etc., though often the property of the noun which is being metaphorically tapped to give the psi-collocation its meaning is not immediately obvious to an outsider, as in *lubuk hati* ("deep-seated feelings") — a *lubuk* being a particularly deep part of a river in whose hidden depths monsters are often thought to lurk. More abstract nouns are also used, and then their semantic contribution to the collocation is not generally metaphorical, but quite literal (almost like a literal adjectival mate), as in *rasa hati* (lit: "feeling of the liver") = "opinion, feeling, state of mind"; *dendam hati* (lit: "revenge of the liver") = "grudge, resentment, desire for revenge" and *cenderung hati* (lit: "inclination of the liver") = "inclination, bias." Psi-collocations with nominal mates are relatively few in number in Malay, and psycho-nouns such as *mulut* ("mouth") do not form any.

## III. VERBAL MATES

The other major type of psi-collocation takes the form [**action verb + noun**], and there appear to be several subtypes, depending on whether the verb is transitive, intransitive or causative. As Malay verbal forms are not always overtly marked through the use of affixes, however, it is often unclear whether a given verb is being used actively or statively (i.e. as an 'adjective'), and often it is only when given the context that we may distinguish between the two.<sup>15</sup> For example, the word *balik* in *balik hati* ('to change one's mind, having changed one's mind') can be a stative verb meaning 'returned, overturned' or an active verb meaning 'to turn back or over' (transitive or intransitive), and as the glosses indicate, the resulting collocation can be used either actively or statively as well, depending on the context. Likewise, *bakar* in *bakar hati* ('to be or become angry') can be stative in the sense of 'burnt' or active meaning 'to burn' (transitive or intransitive).

In many cases, nevertheless, the addition of affixes is necessary in order to transform a stative verb into an active one. Compare, for example, the difference between *bulat hati* (in which *bulat* is an adjective or stative verb meaning 'round' or 'whole') = 'single-minded; whole-hearted' and *membulatkan hati* (in which *membulatkan* is the active form meaning 'to make something whole, to complete') = 'to be determined, set on a particular goal.'

## Grammatical Structure of Binary Psi's

**ADJECTIVAL MATES.** The internal structure of an adjectival psi-collocation is rather unusual. Its constituents are an adjective ('stative verb' or 'predicate') and a psycho-noun, and because modifiers are post-posed in Malay, the normal predicate-topic word order for such a pair is [**noun + adjective**] as in *rumah* [house] + *merah* [red] = 'a red house.' Note that the resulting expression here is itself a noun.

Because the desired 'outcome' of a psi-collocation is not generally a noun but rather another predicate, however, the psycho-mate is normally preposed, as in *lurus* [straight] + *hati* [liver] = 'honest.'<sup>16</sup> The noun is thus in effect modifying the adjective (i.e. 'straight with respect to the liver').

<sup>15</sup> The addition of verbal affixes like *me-* (actor focus); *ter-* (perfective); and *-kan* (transitive/causative) would remove this ambiguity, but such affixes are often optional with high-frequency verbs, especially in informal speech.

<sup>16</sup> And this would seem to be a very specialized kind of construction. Conversely, a numeral like *dua* ('two') which is normally preposed when modifying a noun, appears postposed in the collocations *kepala dua* (lit: 'two-headed') = 'taking both sides of an issue' and *muka dua* (lit: 'two-faced') = 'hypocritical.' It seems therefore that the normal predicate-topic order, whatever it is, is usually reversed so that the end result will be another adjective rather than a modified noun.



and the result is comparable to our compound participial expressions in English of the sort "light-hearted," etc. In Malay, however, the bonding of the compound does not appear to be as tight as it is in English, as the two constituents may usually be re-arranged in a number of equivalent or closely-related formulations, such as

- *berlurus hati* (lit: "having liver-straightness") = "honesty, sincerity"
- *berhati lurus* (lit: "having a liver that is straight") = "honesty, sincerity"
- *lurus dalam hati* (lit: "straight in the liver") = "honest, sincere, trustworthy"
- *hati yang lurus* (lit: "a liver that is straight") = "an honest, sincere heart"
- *hatinya lurus* (lit: "his/her liver [is] straight") = "he/she is honest, sincere"

It is also common for the adjective to be immediately postposed without the addition of affixes or prepositions (whose purpose is generally to alter or specify the form-class of the collocational constituents) and still possess psychological reference, as in: *kepala berat* (lit: "a heavy head") = "a numskull, dim-witted" and *mulut besar* (lit: "big mouth") = "conceited, insolent, given to exaggeration."<sup>17</sup> In general, though, it is not possible to reverse the order of collocations containing *hati* without the addition of some other element (such as a genitive suffix), since the result of such a predication seems rather too literal to be meaningful, for example: \**hati lurus* (lit: "a straight liver").

There are a number of psi-collocations of the form [*hati* + adjective] which are themselves nouns, many of which contain Arabic-derived psychomates and pertain to specific mental or religious states in Islamic theology.<sup>18</sup> The compounds here appear to be highly lexicalized.

- *hati nurani* (< Arabic *nurani*; lit: "lustrous liver") = "the heart or disposition of an enlightened religious man; pure and sincere feelings"
- *hati sanubari* (< Arabic *sanaubari*; lit: "pinecone-shaped liver") = "inner feelings, disposition"
- *hati tawajjuh* (< Arabic *tawajjuh*; lit: "liver turning toward God") = "devoting oneself to God"
- *hati salim* (< Arabic *salim*; lit: "healthy liver") = "leading a God-fearing life"

<sup>17</sup> In some cases where the order is [psycho-noun + adjective], however, the psycho-noun is taking on a different semantic value, as in *akal busuk* = "a rotten trick" where *akal* means not "mind" but "trick" or "ruse" and the result is not, strictly speaking, a psycho-collocation.

<sup>18</sup> A very interesting exception is *hati kecil* = "conscience" vs. *kecil hati* = "slighted"; this is the only example I know of in Malay in which the reversed order of the psycho-noun and mate results in an entirely new meaning. Such reversible psi's are a striking feature of Thai (Matisoff 1986:35-7).

- *hatt rabbani* (< Arabic *rabbani*; lit: "divine liver") = "heart of a student of God or a mystic"
- *hatt beku* (lit: "congealed liver") = "unhappy feelings"
- *hatt kecil* (lit: "small liver") = "conscience, heart of hearts" [cf. *kecil hati* = "slighted; upset; dejected; desolate"]

**NOMINAL MATES.** These are most commonly employed in psi-collocations taking the form [**nominal mate + psycho-noun**] where the grammatical relation is a genitive construction of the type "[**nominal mate**] of the [**psycho-noun**]" — as in *buah hati* (lit: "fruit of the liver") = "the apple of one's eye" or *rasa hati* (lit: "feeling of the liver") = "opinion."

When the order is reversed, i.e. [**psycho-noun + nominal mate**], then the nominal mate is modifying the psycho-noun, as in *kepala batu* (lit: "a head of stone, stone-headed") = "stupid" or *akal ubi* (lit: "mind of a sweet-potato") = "a very adaptable, mentally agile person." Note that this order cannot occur with *hatt*, because then it takes on the secondary meaning of "core" or "center" and loses all psychological reference, as in *hatt tangan* (lit: "liver of the hand") = "hollow of the palm of the hand."

**VERBAL MATES.** In psi-collocations with verbal mates, the psycho-noun is most often the direct object of the action verb, as in *menjolak hati* (lit: "to poke or prod the liver") = "to find out what someone is thinking." Sometimes, however, the psycho-noun appears rather to be the subject of an intransitive verbal mate, as in *jatuh hati* (lit: "liver falls") = "to fall in love", or *datang hati* (lit: "liver arrives") = "to feel emboldened." Curiously, the more normal word order [**subject + verb**] is not possible with such expressions if they are to maintain their psychological reference, so that the inversion here appears to create a certain metaphoricality.

### Malay Psi's from a Southeast Asian Perspective

In conclusion, it is interesting to speculate on possible reasons for the similar emphasis that Malay (and other western Austronesian languages) and the languages of the mainland place on the use of somatic references within such collocations. To what extent, in short, are these similarities the result of contact and diffusion, or even of remote genetic affiliations? Or are they wholly independent, albeit parallel developments? The simplest explanation is of course that psycho-collocations are a linguistic universal, and that these expressions have therefore developed independently in these languages. This may seem borne out by the fact that no precise, one-to-one mapping of specific expressions from one language to the next is possible. Rather, we are merely presented with an overall tendency in Southeast Asia that appears to be much stronger here than elsewhere.

On the other hand, this tendency itself does seem to call for an explanation. From the perspective of the Malay (and other Austronesian) evidence, it is indeed striking that collocations employing the word for "liver" have a certain pre-eminence that is paralleled on the mainland. Given that most Austronesianists are now increasingly convinced that the ultimate homeland of the family is to be located in what is now southern China, in the same general region to which the Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien [Miao-Yao] and Austroasiatic languages may be traced, is this perhaps evidence of early contact or even of the existence of an ancestor common to some or all of them, as has been suggested by Schmidt, Benedict and others? At this point, I would hesitate to draw the latter conclusion until these theories can be better demonstrated by the collection of more substantial comparative evidence.

Matisoff (1986:47-48) makes the point with reference to the mainland Southeast Asian languages that the need for "phonological bulk" (to disambiguate homophonous monosyllabic morphemes) and a common, areal "conceptual" approach to the compartmentalization of the world may both be contributing factors. In Malay, as I have noted above (note 13), "phonological bulk" is not really an issue. Yet here, just as on the mainland, we find that many classes of objects and phenomena are overtly marked through the use of class-nouns, as for example the use of words for "fish" (*ikan*) and "bird" (*burung*) in the names of various individual species. This is analogous also to the use of numeric classifiers in Malay<sup>19</sup> just as in many East and Southeast Asian languages. What we seem to be dealing with here, then, is an areal conceptual stratum that has become diffused over a very broad region, transcending genetic boundaries and leaving no distinct historical pattern or direction of borrowing.<sup>20</sup> It is quite possible indeed that this diffusion may date back to a very early period of contact, when the ancestors of these languages were spoken within relatively close proximity on the Asian mainland.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Malay *ekor* (tail) for animals; *batang* (stick) for long, narrow objects; *pucuk* (sprouting leaf) for letters and guns; *buah* (fruit) for round, solid objects; *orang* (person) for humans; *lembar* (sheet) for thin, flat objects; *biji* (seed) for diminutive or self-contained objects; *potong* (slice) for cut objects, etc.

<sup>20</sup> The classic exposition of such areal phenomena is of course that of Emeneau (1956).

## Glossary of Malay Psi-Collocations

(Categorized by Psycho-Nouns and the Properties of their Psycho-Mates)

### I. Psi-Collocations with *hati* "liver"

#### A. ADJECTIVAL MATES

##### 1. Literal mates

SAD: *sedih hati, sedu hati*

TOUCHED: *pilu hati*

TROUBLED: *susah hati*

YEARNING: *rindu hati*

HAPPY: *senang hati*

PLEASED: *suka hati*

SATISFIED: *puas hati*

RESENTFUL: *sebal hati*

SUSPICIOUS: *waswas hati*

TICKLED: *gelt hati*

ENVOIOUS: *dengk hati*

PASSIONATE: *berahi hati*

COVETOUS: *iri hati*

HESITANT: *btimbang hati*

MELANCHOLY: *rawan hati*

##### 2. Metaphorical mates

STRAIGHT: *lurus hati* = "honest"

SOUR: *kecut hati* = "frightened, cowardly"

RICH: *kaya hati* = "generous"

PLENTIFUL: *murah hati* = "generous"

BLAND: *tawar hati* = "timid"

HEAVY: *berat hati* = "reluctant"

DISTURBED: *rusuh hati* = "agitated, worried"

CORRODED: *karat hati* = "spiteful"

DECAYED: *buruk hati* = "malicious"

ROTTEN: *busuk hati* = "wicked"

DESTROYED: *hancur hati* = "broken-hearted"

WHITE: *putih hati* = "sincere"

LACKING: *kurang hati* = "without purpose, unmotivated, timid"

GOOD: *baik hati* = "well-intentioned, good-hearted"

SICK: *sakit hati* = "resentful"

BRITTLE: *rapuh hati, rentan hati* = "sensitive, gentle"

WRONG: *salah hati* = "Irrked"

##### 3. Antonymic pairs

HOT: *panas hati* = "jealous, hot-tempered"

COOL: *sejuk hati* = "happy, satisfied"

WARM: *hangat hati* = a) "happy"; b) "jealous, hot-tempered"

HARD: *keras hati* = "determined, stubborn"

SOFT: *lembut hati* = "cool-headed, gentle"

STIFF: *tegar hati* = "obstinate"

WEAK: *lemah hati* = "Irresolute"

LOW: *rendah hati* = "humble"

HIGH: *tinggi hati* = "snobbish, conceited"

LARGE: *besar hati* = a) "easy-going, patient, tolerant"; b) "proud"

SMALL: *kecil hati* = a) "easily annoyed, discouraged"; b) "slighted"

BROAD/SPACIOUS: *lapang hati, lega hati* = "patient, even-tempered"

NARROW: *sempit hati* = "Impatient, hot-tempered"

TURBID: *keruh hati* = "ill-intentioned"

CLEAR: *terang hati* = "clever"

BROKEN: *patah hati* =

"disappointed, broken-hearted"

WHOLE: *bulat hati* = "whole-

heartedly; single-mindedly"

#### B. NOMINAL MATES

AORTA: *tangkal hati* = "something or someone cherished"

BUNCH: *rangkat hati* = "sweetheart"

CONTENTS: *isi hati* = "feelings"

REVENGE: *dendam hati* = "a grudge, resentment, desire for revenge"

FRUIT: *buah hati* = "the apple of one's eye"

EYE: *mata hati* = "consciousness, perception"

WATER HOLE: *lubuk hati* = "deep-seated feelings"

WORD: *kata hati* = "thought"

FEELING: *rasa hati* = "opinion, state of mind"

EAR/HAIR ORNAMENT: *sunting hati* = "darling"

PASSION: *berahi hati* = "passionate desire"

TENDENCY: *cenderung hati* = "inclination, bias"

#### C. VERBAL MATES

• To TAKE: *ambil hati* = "to captivate"

• To HANG: *menggantungkan hati pada* = "to place one's hopes on"

• To CAPTURE: *menambat hati, menawan hati* = "to steal someone's heart"

• To GET: *dapat hati* = "to feel encouraged or contented, get one's way"

• To COME: *datang hati* = "to feel emboldened"

• To STEAL: *mencuri hati* = "to steal someone's heart"

• To EXPAND: *mengembangkan hati* = "to delight, make happy"

• To SKEWER: *menusuk hati* = "to sadden"

• To FALL: *jatuh hati* = "to fall in love"

• To EAT: *makan hati* = "to rankle at something; to brood"

• To DOUBLE: *mendua hati* = "to become hesitant, undecided"

• To CONTAIN: *mengandung hati* = "to bear a grudge"

• To MAKE: *menjadikan hati* = "to make someone angry, hurt or sad"

• To ENTERTAIN: *menghiburkan hati* = "to console"

• To ENLARGE: *membesarkan hati* = "to become proud; to become emboldened"

• To RELEASE: *melepaskan hati* = "to satisfy one's (physical) desires; to follow one's yearnings"

• To PROD: *menjolak hati* = "to find out what someone is thinking"

• To PROTECT/MAINTAIN: *memelihara hati* = "to cultivate good relations"

• To REPAIR: *membaiki hati* = "to make it up to someone"

• To PLACE: *menaruh hati [pada]* = "to be interested in; to desire in marriage"

• To BURN: *membakar hati* = "to become angry"

- To MAKE WHOLE: *membulatkan hati* = "determined, set on a particular goal"
- To GIVE: *memberi hati* = "to make happy, encourage, embolden; to follow another's or one's own desires; to fall in love"
- To REVERSE: *balik hati* = "to change one's mind; to feel revulsion"
- To MOBILIZE: *menggerakkan hati* = "to work up the courage or the desire to do something"
- To ATTAIN: *sampai hati* = "to have the gall to do something"
- To GRASP: *cekal hati* = "to screw up one's courage, to be steadfast"
- To PULL: *menarik hati* = "interesting, attractive"

#### D. IDIOMATIC AND APHORISTIC EXPRESSIONS

- *dengan sepenuh hatinya* (lit: "with all one's liver") = "with all one's heart and soul"
- *menaruh dalam hati* (lit: "to place in the liver") = "to be interested in, concerned about; to hold in one's true feelings"
- *berhati mutu* (lit: "with a liver full of sadness") = "despairing, at the end of one's rope"
- *berhati berlian mas* (lit: "with a liver of diamonds and gold") = "very good-hearted"
- *berhati batu* (lit: "with a liver of stone") = "unfeeling, hard-hearted"
- *berhati tungau* (lit: "with the liver of a mite") = "cowardly"
- *berhati berjangut* (lit: "with liver with heart") = "sensitive[ly]"
- *dari hati ke hati* (lit: "from liver to liver") = "person to person, face to face, frankly speaking"
- *hati gatal mata digaruk* (lit: "liver itchy eyes scratched") = "desiring something unachievable"
- *lain di mulut lain di hati* (lit: "different in mouth, different in liver") = "insincere, not meaning what one says"
- *jauh di mata dekat di hati* (lit: "far in eyes close in liver") = "out of sight but still close to one's heart"
- *terbit dari hati yang suci* (lit: "arising from a pure liver") = "sincere"
- *tertambat hati terpaut sayang* (lit: "liver moored, tied by affection") = "to love dearly"
- *hati sebagai baling-baling* (lit: "liver like a windvane") = "irresolute, unable to stick with anything"
- *hati kecil* (lit: "small liver") = "conscience, heart of hearts" [cf. *kecil hati* = "timid; oversensitive"]
- *hati nurani* (< Arabic *nuran*; lit: "a lustrous liver") = "the heart or disposition of an enlightened man; pure and sincere feelings"
- *hati sanubari* (< Arabic *sanaubari*; lit: "pine-cone shaped liver") = "inner feelings, disposition"
- *hati tawajuh* (< Arabic *tawajjuh*; lit: "a liver turning toward God") = "devoting oneself to God"
- *hati salim* (< Arabic *salim*; lit: "a healthy liver") = "leading a God-fearing but secular life"
- *hati rabbani* (< Arabic *rabbani*; lit: "a divine liver") = "heart of a student of God or a mystic"

## II. Psi-Collocations with akal "mind"

### A. ADJECTIVAL MATES

#### 1. Metaphorical Mates

LOST: *hilang akal* = "at one's wits' end, despairing"

FINISHED: *habis akal* = "at one's wits' end, despairing"

SEVERED: *putus akal* = "at one's wits' end, despairing"

LACKING: *kurang akal* = "dim-witted"

NARROW: *sempit akal* = "dull-minded"

CLEAR: *terang akal* = "clever"

RIPE: *masak akal* = "mature, experienced"

STRAIGHT: *lurus akal* = "straight-forward"

SHARP: *tajam akal* = "sharp-witted"

#### 2. Antonymic pairs

LONG: *panjang akal* = "clever, artful, far-sighted"

SHORT: *singkat akal* = "intellectually limited, short-sighted"

### B. NOMINAL MATES

CRIMINAL: *akal geladak* = "an evil trick"

TUBER: *akal ubi* = a) "a receptive, fertile mind"; b) "a deceitful trick"

INDIAN: *akal keling* = "deceitful"

MOUSEDEER: *akal kancil* = "deceitful"

ROOT: *akal akar* = "adaptability, mental agility"

GOOD CHARACTER: *akal budi* = "sane, level-headed"

### C. VERBAL MATES

• To CHANGE: *berubah akal* = "to go crazy"

• To SWITCH: *bertukar akal* = "to go crazy"

• To SEEK: *cari akal* = "to look for a stratagem or way to do something"

• To ASK FOR: *minta akal* = "to ask for instructions"

• To ENTER: *masuk akal* = "to be logical, make sense"

### D. IDIOMATIC AND APHORISTIC EXPRESSIONS

• *akal-akal* = "to pretend, feign"

• *akal-akalan* = "invention of the mind"

• *sebudhi seakal* (lit: "all intellect, all mind") = "to the full extent of one's abilities; with all one's heart and soul"

• *akal busuk* = "a rotten trick"

• *akal sejengkal* (lit: "mind one hand-span") = "to feel superior to others"

• *akal dua jengkal* (lit: "mind two hand-spans") = "to feel equal to others"

• *akal tiga jengkal* (lit: "mind three hand-spans") = "to feel inferior to others"

• *akal waras* (lit: "healthy mind") = "common sense"

• *akal bulus* (lit: "bald trick") = "deceit"

• *akal tak sekali tiba* (lit: "mind not one time arrive") = "good plans are not laid in a moment"

### III. Psi-Collocations with *kepala* "head"

#### A. METAPHORICAL MATES

HEAVY: *berat kepala* [*kepala berat*] = "dim-witted"  
 LIGHT: *ringan kepala* = "quick-witted"  
 COLD: *dingin kepala* [*kepala dingin*] = "patient, calm"  
 HARD: *keras kepala* = "stubborn"

#### B. NOMINAL MATES

WIND: *kepala angin* = "stupid"  
 PRAWN: *kepala udang* = "idiot, numskull"  
 STONE: *kepala batu* = "bull-headed"

#### C. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

- *kepala dua* (lit: "two-headed") = "taking both sides of an issue"
- *tergadat kepala* (lit: "head pawned") = "very embarrassed"

### IV. Psi-Collocations with *mulut* "mouth"

#### A. METAPHORICAL MATES

MUCH: *banyak mulut* = "a big-mouth"  
 SWEET: *manis mulut* [*mulut manis*] = "a sweet-talker"  
 DIRTY: *mulut kotor* = "foul-mouthed"  
 BIG: *besar mulut* [*mulut besar*] = "conceited, insolent, given to exaggeration"  
 ITCHY: *gatal mulut* = "a blabber-mouth"

WIDE: *lebar mulut* = "conceited, insolent"

LONG: *panjang mulut* = "a gossip"

FAST: *cepat mulut* = "Indiscreet, unable to keep a secret"

BRITTLE: *rapuh mulut* =

"Indiscreet, unable to keep a secret"

CHEERFUL: *riang mulut* = "talkative, amiable"

SHARP: *tajam mulut* = "sharp-tongued"

HEAVY: *berat mulut* = "close-mouthed, tight-lipped"

LIGHT: *ringan mulut* = "voluble, talkative"

POISONOUS: *mulut bisa* = "sharp-tongued"

#### B. IDIOMATIC AND APHORISTIC EXPRESSIONS

- *gula di dalam mulut* (lit: "sugar in the mouth") = "a cinch, something totally under one's own control"
- *mulut satu lidah bertopang* (lit: "mouth one, tongue contradict") = "not saying what you mean"
- *mulut disuapi pisang pantat dikait onak* (lit: "mouth fed with banana, backside stuck with thorn") = "using gentle words but harboring evil intentions"
- *murah di mulut mahal di timbangan* (lit: "cheap in mouth, expensive on scale") = "easier said than done"
- *lain di mulut lain di hati* (lit: "different in the mouth, different in the liver") = "saying one thing while doing another; deceitful"
- *mulut manis mematahkan tulang* (lit: "a sweet mouth breaks bones") = "gentle words can do much damage"



- *karena mulut binasa* (lit: "because of mouth destroyed") = "destroyed by something one said"

## V. Psi-Collocations with *muka* "face"

### A. METAPHORICAL MATES

THICK: *tebal muka* [*muka tebal*] =

"unashamed, thick-skinned"

SWEET: *muka manis* = "attractive, happy"

SOUR: *muka masam* = "a sour-puss; disappointed"

### B. NOMINAL MATES

WALL: *muka tembok, muka dinding* = "impudent, insolent"

WOOD: *muka kayu* = "impudent, unabashed, knowing no shame"

BOARD: *muka papan* = "impudent, unabashed, knowing no shame"

### C. VERBAL MATES

- To SEEK: *cari muka* = "to flatter, to fish for a compliment"
- To TAKE: *mengambil muka* = "to wheedle, flatter, to get in someone's good graces"
- To MAKE: *membuat muka* = "to flatter, to receive praise"
- To GIVE: *memberi muka* = "to encourage; to give face to, not to embarrass someone"
- To HIDE: *menyembunyikan muka* = "to hide one's embarrassment"

## D. IDIOMATIC AND APHORISTIC EXPRESSIONS

- *buruk muka cermin dibelah* (lit: "rotten face, mirror split") = "blaming someone else for one's own mistakes, unwilling to take responsibility for one's actions"
- *berminyak mukanya* (lit: "oily-faced") = "happy"
- *terpecak peluh di muka* (lit: "dented and perspiring in the face") = "very, embarrassed"
- *bermuka-muka* (lit: "having face-face") = "to feign, pretend"
- *air muka* (lit: "face-water") = "facial expression (revealing one's character or emotional state)"
- *lain di muka lain di belakang* (lit: "different in face, different in back") = "hypocritical"

## VI. Psi-Collocations with *tangan* "hand[s]"

### A. METAPHORICAL MATES

COLD: *dingin tangan* = "successful at everything, having a green thumb"

HOT: *panas tangan* = "a failure at everything"

HEAVY: *berat tangan* = "lazy"

LIGHT: *ringan tangan* = "hard-working, helpful, handy"

COARSE: *kasar tangan* = "crass, a bully"

SHORT: *singkat tangan* = "stingy"

VII. Psl-Collocations with *darah* "blood"

## A. METAPHORICAL MATES

HOT: *darah panas* = "hot-headed"

## B. VERBAL MATES

• To BOIL: *mendidih darah* = "to become very angry, to have one's blood boil"

• To RISE: *naik darah* = "to get angry"

## C. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

• *darah putih* (lit: "white-blooded") = "a blue-blood, an aristocrat"

• *mendarah daging* (lit: "to become one's blood and flesh") = "to become second nature"

• *darah setampuk pinang* (lit: "blood [like] the calyx of an areca nut") = "green, inexperienced, young"

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