

**A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF EXTENDED MEANING
IN MLABRI BODY-PART TERMS**

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Thesis
entitled
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IN MLABRI BODY-PART TERMS**

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the categorization of Mlabri body-part terms and their extended meaning through the analysis and explanation of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and Frame Semantics. NSM functions as a simple language which is used for explaining complex concepts of extended meaning. It assists us to see the differences between basic meanings and extended ones while Frame Semantics supports the phenomenon of extended meaning in Mlabri body-part terms with regard to an overall picture via three aspects; shape, function, and position/orientation. It proves that Mlabri speakers extend meaning of their body-part terms for calling items systematically and consistently.

KEY WORDS: BODY-PART TERMS/ MEANING EXTENSION/NATURAL
SEMANTIC METALANGUAGE/FRAME SEMANTICS

106 pages

การวิเคราะห์ความหมายขยายคำเรียกชื่ออวัยวะในภาษามลาบรี

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บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษานี้มุ่งเน้นที่จะศึกษาเรื่องการจำแนกชื่อเรียกอวัยวะในภาษามลาบรีและความหมายขยาย โดยผ่านการวิเคราะห์และอธิบายจากทฤษฎี Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) และ Frame Semantics ทฤษฎี NSM นั้นเป็นภาษาพื้นฐานที่ได้รับการคัดเลือกเพื่อมาอธิบายความหมายที่ซับซ้อนของคำเรียกอวัยวะที่มีความหมายขยาย ทฤษฎีนี้ช่วยให้เรามองเห็นความแตกต่างของความหมายเดิมและความหมายขยาย ในขณะที่ Frame Semantics ช่วยส่งเสริมให้เห็นภาพรวมของการใช้ความหมายขยายในคำเรียกอวัยวะโดยมีรูปร่างหน้าที่ ตำแหน่ง เป็นเกณฑ์สำหรับสับหลักความหมายซึ่งกันและกัน ทฤษฎีนี้ช่วยพิสูจน์ว่าการใช้ความหมายขยายในคำเรียกอวัยวะของชาวมลาบรีนั้นเป็นไปอย่างเป็นระบบและสอดคล้องต่อกันและกัน

106 หน้า

CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)	iv
ABSTRACT (THAI)	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II REVIEW OF LITERATURE	12
CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY	30
CHAPTER IV MLABRI BODY-PART TERMS AND THEIR EXTENDED MEANING	38
CHAPTER V EXPLICATION OF BASIC AND EXTENDED MEANING	58
CHAPTER VI SEMANTICS OF BODY FRAME	73
CHAPTER VII SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY	93
APPENDICES	96
Appendix A Word list of Mlabri body-part terms	97
Appendix B Word list of animal's body-part terms	105
BIOGRAPHY	106

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1.1 Chart showing consonants occurring in Mlabri	8
1.2 Chart showing vowels occurring in Mlabri	9
4.1. Table showing terms for parts of head and neck	39
4.2. Table showing parts of limbs	42
4.3. Table showing terms for parts of torso	44
4.4. Table showing internal organs	46
4.5. Table showing extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms	47
4.6. Extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms for head and neck	50
4.7. Extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms for limb parts	54

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1.1 Chart indicating Mlabri's category	7
1.2 Traditional Mlabri house	10
1.3 Mlabri woman and man's dress at Huay Hom village, Phrae province	11
3.1 Example showing position of each body-part terms on an item	35
3.2 Flow chart showing process of this research	36
4.1. Picture showing major parts of a face	40
4.2. Picture showing parts called [kul muj]	41
4.3. Picture showing major parts of limbs	43
4.4. Picture showing major parts of torso	45
4.5. Picture showing extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms	48
4.6. Picture showing relationship between [cu dup] 'back' and [buk] 'face'	49
4.7. Picture showing parts of items designated as [ket] 'ear'	51
4.8. Picture showing parts of items designated as [ket] 'ear'	51
4.9. Picture showing parts of items designated as [sim bɔ̌p] 'mouth' and [glɔ̌ɔ̌] 'head'	52
4.10. Picture showing parts of items designated as [ku riw] 'eyebrow'	53
4.11. Picture showing parts of items designated as [cəŋ] 'leg'	54
4.12. Picture showing parts of items designated as [glɔ̌ɔ̌] 'head' and [kɔ̌n dɔ̌n] 'bottom'	55
4.13. Picture showing parts of items designate as [chə riŋ] 'spine'	56
5.1. Picture showing parts of items designated as [cu dup] 'back'	63
6.1. Body frames and car parts	73
6.2 Picture showing /doŋ/ 'penis' and other parts of the body on a kettle	74
6.3. Picture showing containers designated by more than two body-part terms	75
6.4. Picture showing items designated by two body-part terms	76
6.5 Picture showing items designated by one body-part term	78

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale:

Mlabri is well-known as a group of enigmatic hunter-gatherers who speak a language of Mon-Khmer, sub-family of Austro-Asiatic language family. Most of studies about the Mlabri focus on culture and development such as “*The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves*” of the famous anthropologist of the Mlabri, Bernatzik (1938), and *The Mlabri and Resource Contestation under the State-led Development* of Sakkarin Na Nan (2005). There are a few studies on Mlabri language. And very old studies mostly paid attention to phonetics and phonology such as *Minor Mlabri: A Hunter-Getherer Language of Norther Indochina* (Rischel,1995) or Thongkum’s (1986) *The Language of the Mlabri (Phi Tong Luang)* and a few of syntax done by Sakamoto (*Possession of Mlabri* (2007)). The study of Kharom Paiyaphroh (1990) is another study about Mlabri people and gets a broad work of anthropological linguistics. Nevertheless, after the Mlabri have been paid more attention and developed their quality of life, a great many of modern cultures have been coming into their life. This has forced them to make their language accommodate the new cultures.

The modern cultures which pour in their lives are everything beyond their bamboo culture such as electric appliances, utensil made of/from other material including all media which introduce them the contemporary world. This affects both their lives and language use. Due to the fact that language of people in a primitive society is limited by the amount of vocabularies which are insufficient to respond to unlimited innovative items, Mlabri speakers use the most familiar vocabularies, body-part terms, to designate unknown innovative items (Bernatzik, 2005, pp. xxv and Rischel, 1995, pp. 101-102). The phenomenon of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms mostly occurs in the category of noun and some in the category of descriptive predicates. For instance, the Mlabri refer front wheels of a car or

motorcycle as /cəŋ/ ‘foot’. Another sample of the extended use is /mat/ which is employed to designate lens of a camera or a headlight of a car.

As written in the studies of Bernazik (1938) and Rischel (1995), they found that there is the use of bodily experience denoting innovative referents. Rischel (1995, pp. 101-102) studied Mlabri semantics and discovered one of their lexical creativity. He mentioned, in his book “*Minor Mlabri: A Hunter-Gatherer Language of Northern Indochina*”, the use of body-part terms for transferring meanings to new items as a head of a cookie box (a lid of a cookie box), an eye of a tiger (a button) or an eye of a hen (malleous). Similarly, Bernatzik’s work (quoted in Rischel (1995)) presented that many implements, like spear or knife, are named after body-part terms.

According to researcher’s preliminary fieldwork on 8th -18th March, 2008, researcher have learnt Mlabri language at Huay Hom village, Rong Kwang district, Prae Province. Coincidentally, it is found that there are some aspects attracting researcher’s interest in regard to lexical productivity of primitive groups like the Mlabri. They generate vocabularies for designating innovative items by using body-parts terms. For instance, front wheels of a pick-up are called /ti□/ ‘hands’ while back wheels become /cəŋ/ ‘feet’. A teapot has also human organs on it such as a handle as /kr□:□ ket/ ‘an ear’, a cap of a teapot as /klə:□/ ‘a head’ and a spout as /doŋ/ ‘penis’.

Moreover, the body-part terms appear in some emotional predicates which describe feeling and emotion like /klol pluŋ/ ‘hot-tempered’, /klol tək/ ‘calm’, /?□n klol/ ‘sad’, /tha ŋ□l glə?/ ‘drunk’ and /?□n mat/ ‘sleepy’. This phenomenon shows that body-part terms are not only used to designate new items but they can also be employed to express human feeling and emotion. It is emphasized that basic terms for body-parts can be semantically extended to not only noun but also to descriptive predicates since they can appear in different contexts. Nevertheless, they are not mentioned because they are beyond the scope of study.

From researcher’s observation, it indicates that Mlabri speakers can generate new words to designate unfamiliar items. Language is an important medium to communicate with people in the outside world. Therefore, it is crucial to generate new vocabularies to sufficiently sustain new items or concepts that close to their daily life more and more so that they can communicate within their own group and with others. And the vocabularies, that they abundantly inherit and get the most familiar

with, are terms for body-parts. Thereby, it is an easy way to use language resource, which they have possessed already, by extending meaning of body-part terms to items around themselves.

According to meaning extension of Mlabri body-part terms, this reflects that Mlabri speakers use basic terms which they have already possess to express other concepts, innovative items and emotional predicates, through organizing and systemizing those basic words which are used in an extended way. Moreover, the organization and systemization are agreed by Mlabri speech community. As claimed by Whorf (1956 p.213-214 cited in Wierzbicka, 1992 p.4), people have linguistic systems in our minds. People organize, systemize and codify our language in pattern which is agreed by speech community. The more the body-part terms are employed extensively, the more their meanings have been changed. When the meanings of body-part terms, which are used more complicatedly to designate innovative items and other lexical fields, are more complex in meaning, we need a tool to represent and describe the complicated in simple terms. Such a representational and descriptive tool is called Metalanguage (Crystal, 1992 p.249).

To define meanings of words, Humboldt (1903-36, v.7 p.60 cited in Wierzbicka, 1992 p.5) and Sapir (1949 p.162 cited in Wierzbicka, 1992 p.5) agreed that people who speak different languages have their own cultural specific world view and social reality. There is no language which can be transferred to another language without loss and addition or can be represented by each other by the same world view. Consequently, there should be a Metalanguage created so that it can be used as a medium to define words, especially complicated conceptual words. And the Metalanguage must be able to solve the problems of circular definition by using simple words which are self-explanatory.

In accordance with the evidences above, variously extending the meaning of body-part terms to both new items and words for emotions, feeling and sensations, Natural Semantic Metalanguage has been chosen as analytical tool in this research. This is because it is an effective theory which generates natural language, various kinds of basic word categories and mutual syntactic structure, used to define the body-part terms' meanings which have been extended (Wierzbicka, 1972, 1980, 1991, 1992, 1996). After the extended meanings of body-part terms are analyzed, worldview of the

Mlabri will be reflected from their language use and from extending meanings of body-part terms.

However, understanding a word-concept also requires evocation of a conceptual frame and cultural practice related to the concept. This research includes Frame Semantics, which has been formulated by Charles J. Fillmore since 1970's, to analyze the data more thoroughly. This theory was created in order to study the meaning of a word and to find out how to form new meanings based on schematization of speakers' world view. Fillmore (1986) developed his work from the idea of "slot" in Tagmemics, the work of Kenneth Pike. He substitutes the word "frame" for "slot". Tagmemically, when there are some words that can be replaced by other words in the same slot, the meaning of a sentence are different. Similarly, knowing how to select words to put in frame does not only require lexical knowledge but speakers must be schematized by their experiences, scenarios and world view. The research must, additionally, be able to identify the occurrence or phenomena of the target words.

1.2 Objectives:

- 1.2.1 To categorize basic meanings and extended meanings of body-part terms in Mlabri language
- 1.2.2 To analyze how the body-part terms, with their basic and extended meanings, are used
- 1.2.3 To discuss the pattern of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms in relation to an influx of innovative items to Mlabri culture

1.3 Research Questions:

- 1.3.1 What terms do Mlabri speakers use to designate internal and external organs in their language?
- 1.3.2 How are the meanings of Mlabri body-part terms extended and used?
- 1.3.3 What is the pattern of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms in relation to an influx of innovative items to Mlabri culture ?

1.4 Expected outcome:

- 1.4.1 Learning and understanding more explicitly system of Mlabri speakers' thought cross-culturally
- 1.4.2 Analyzing Mlabri body-part terms by using linguistic devices called Natural Semantic Metalanguage and Frame Semantics
- 1.4.3 Understanding the pattern of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms in relation to an influx of innovative items to Mlabri culture

1.5 Scope of the study:

Data collection had been conducted in Huay Hom village, Rong Kwang district, Prae province, Thailand from July, 2008 to December, 2010. There were five informants. They were two men and three women in middle age. The reason why middle-age Mlabri people were selected as the informants of this study is the period of age which has as many experiences as the elder, who have difficulty to communicate with the researcher in Thai language. Furthermore, the middle-age informants can likely to retain old vocabularies of their mother tongue. However, there was a teenager selected as my informant since he helped me to translate Thai into Mlabri when the middle-age informants did not understand any concepts which the researcher would like to elicit.

1.6 General information about Mlabri people and their language:

1.6.1 Mlabri language and classification:

The Mlabri speak Mlabri language which is classified as a language in Khmuic branch of Northern Mon-Khmer. Other members of Khmuic branch include Khmu, Tin Mal, Tin Prai, which share common phonological feature with Mlabri. Rischel(1989) suggests that four languages are genetically related to each other in agreement with genetically mutual vocabulary criteria. And it should establish "Tinic" as a new sub-branch.

On the contrary, Gérard Diffloth (2005) classifies Mlabri as a member of Khasi-Khmuic under Khmuic sub-branch. Thus, Khao, Xihn Mul, Phong-Kniang, Puoc, Khmu Khuen, O'du, Mal, Phray, Phai, Lua, languages spoken over Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, are included in this group. However, Mlabri is still classified as a member of Khmuic sub-branch although it is separated from the Mon-Khmer branch. This may be because both sound system and morphological structure of Mlabri are more related to languages in Khmuic branch than others in Mon-Khmer.

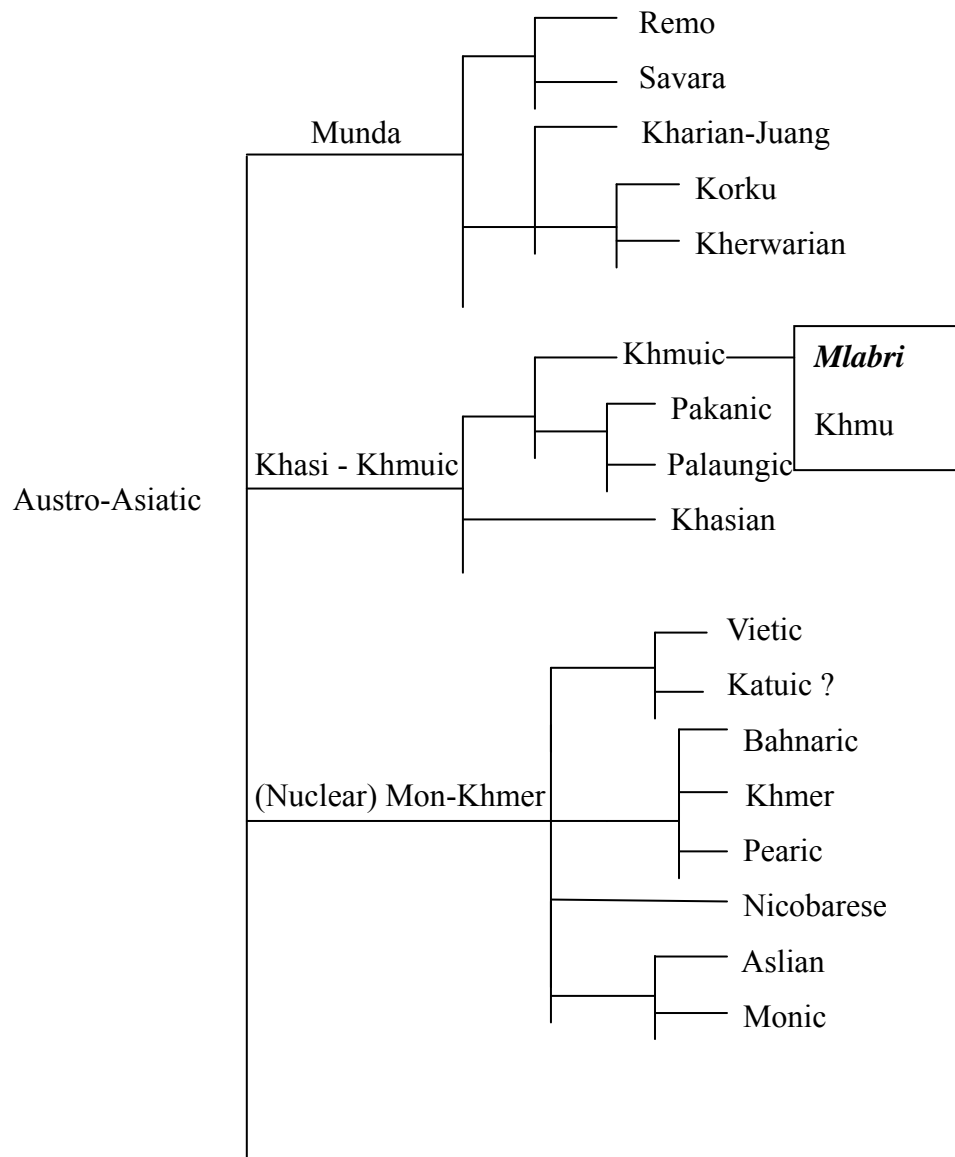


Figure 1.1 Place of Mlabri in Austro-Asiatic Family (adapted from Gérard Diffloth. (2005))

Table 1.1 Chart showing consonants occurring in Mlabri (Kharom, 1990)

<div> <div>Place of articulation</div> <div>Manner of articulation</div> </div>		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	vd.	m	n	□	ŋ	
	vl.	m□	n□	□□	ŋ□	
Stop	vl. unasp.	p	t	c	k	□
	vl. Asp.	ph	th		kh	
	vd.	b	d	□	g	
	vd.implosive	□	□			
Fricative				ç		h
Lateral	vl.		l			
	vd.		l□			
Trill			r			
Semi-consonant	vl.	w□				
	vd.	w □w		j □j		

Based on the anthropological linguistic study by Kharom Paiyaphrohm (1990), there are 32 phonemes in Mlabri language. 32 phonemes are initial consonants, and there are 16 phonemes functioning as final consonants. There are distinctively voiced and voiceless contrast among nasals, stops and also lateral [l] and semi-consonant [w]. Voiced implosive stops still occur in Mlabri while many Mon-Khmer languages lost them.

Table 1.2 Chart showing vowels occurring in Mlabri (Kharom, 1990)

Tongue position		Unrounded		Rounded
		Front	Central	Back
Monophthong	Close	i	ɯ	u
		e	ɤ	o
	Middle	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
	Open		a	
Diphthong		iɤ	uɤ	ua

The chart below shows all vowels occurring in Mlabri language. There are 10 monophthongs and 3 diphthongs [iɤ, uɤ, ua]. The vowels in Mlabri are not complicated because there are many contrastive initial consonants.

1.6.2 The Mlabri and current way of life:

At present, the Mlabri, whom were called as “Tong Leuang or forest people”, have changed the way of their life in terms of house, food, profession, dress, education and health or even social interaction. From fieldworks at Huay Hom village, Prae province, it was observed that Mlabri people no longer maintain a primitive way of life as many researchers used to describe. They can adapt themselves to live with other tribes. Thereby, this section will describe the current life of the Mlabri at Huay Hom village.

The Mlabri were traditionally nomadic hunter-gatherers who uniquely lived in the forest. Thus, it became the myth of Phi Tong Luang “Spirits of Yellow Leaves” for outside people. This is because they traditionally moved to new place

when the roof of their shelter turns from green leaves to yellow. Where they dwelled in was called /thap/, a shelter with a roof sloping to one side, no wall, no window, no door but floor as a bed (Bernatzick, 1938 pp. 46-47). Rischel(1998) claimed that they belonged to a pre-stone age of “bamboo culture”. It could be proved from their domestic utensils which were mostly made from wood or bamboo such as vessels, torches, sticks for digging, cooking pots or even weapons for hunting. However, those pictures have become their past.

They, now, live together as a village which is surrounded by mountains and Hmong villages. In fact, they have come out from a forest and have their own houses for many years from Boonyeun Suksanee’s assistance. He was an American missionary who quitted his job and he has helped the Mlabri for years. Huay Hom village is in Rong Kwang district and far away from Meaung Prae around 30 kilometers. The Hmong is the main group of that area. Mlabri village live separately from but adjacently to Hmong villages. Despite the fact that Mlabri people do not live in Hmong village, the two tribes have close relationship.

Although the Mlabri still live in remote place, their lives are more convenient with innovative items such as televisions, motorcycles, lightings or even guns. Moreover, they have to suffer from the fertility of forest which has been declining every year since vast areas of forest are destroyed for the sake of agriculture.



Figure 1.2 Traditional Mlabri house

Houses of the Mlabri at Huay Hom village are made from concrete and bamboo, have only one story and look more covered. Most of their houses have tiles but there are some houses covering the roof with leaves. The main portion of a house

is made of cement with openings for windows and a door. Some houses have only aperture but no window panes and door panes. Kitchen is built beside a house. In the kitchen, there is only a stove which is made from 3 iron sticks as tripod and round iron stick used to put a pot. It seems that furniture is not important for them because each house almost does not have any basic furniture like tables, chairs, beds etc. They just put a plastic mat and that can function as bedroom, dining room, living room and sometimes as a closet to pile clothes. There are a few toilets and bathroom in the village. They are separated from the houses and available for everyone in the village.



Figure 1.3 Milbari woman and man's dress at Huay Hom village, Phrae province

At present, both men and women wear the same clothes as rural people outside the village. They wear shirts, T-shirts, shorts, skirts or jeans. Most of their clothes are donated by many organizations.

Except from houses and clothes which have changed, their lives are more convenient due to electrical appliances such as televisions, DVD players, mobile phones and electric fans. Moreover, most of them own a motorcycle because they have to ride to rice fields. And due to the motorcycles, they have a chance to go to town and see many new items and find the way to call them.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 The Previous Studies of Body-Part Terminology:

Body-part terminology is lexical universal in the study of various semantic domains. The studies of Brown (1976) and Andersen (1978) are respected as noticeable studies working on language universals of body part terminology. Andersen (1978) tried to find out “Lexical universals of body-part terminology” by studying various languages to recommend principles of body-part categorization which Enfield (2006) summed up as follows:

- There will be distinct terms for BODY, HEAD, ARM, EYES, NOSE and MOUTH;
- FINGER and TOE are always labeled;
- NAIL is always labeled;
- If there is a distinct term for FOOT, then there will be a distinct term for HAND;
- If there are terms for INDIVIDUAL TOES, then there are terms for INDIVIDUAL FINGERS;
- HAND, TRUNK, ARM and LEG are always ‘possessed by’ BODY;
- There will be a hierarchical partonomy with no more than six levels of depth.

Moreover, Andersen (1978) mentioned that children can acquire body parts before they learn other things. Therefore, the terms for body parts are universal, especially parts which have round or long shape like head and arms. The claim supports the belief of lexical universals so her work was referred many times by those who work in this area.

Enfield is one of the researchers who has taken advantages from the studies of body-part categorization of Brown (1976) and Andersen (1978) in his work. He studied “Lao body part terms” (2006) and also published “elicitation guide on parts of the body” (2006) in order to collect terms for body parts correctly and explore their semantics. In the elicitation guide of Enfield, he does not only suggest the way to collect desirable data but he also proposes a method which he used for his work called “coloring task”. This method can help elicit the categorization of each part of the body more clearly and easily by simple way. The coloring task is very easy to conduct because it consists of a few steps: using a color pen to draw or color parts of the body (van Staden and Majid, 2003). And the informants must color the parts of the body from beginning point to the ending point of those parts and not only mark the point. The reason why they proposed the task is some languages have different way to categorize parts of the body. For example, hand and arm are called separately in English but they might be the same term in other languages. This task is, consequently, useful for this work because the categorization of the body parts in Mlabri language is different from other languages. For instance, they call their leg and foot as /cəŋ/ but the upper part of leg is called /bluŋ/.

There are some researchers interested in the study of body-part terminology. Some studied basic terms for body parts; other focused on both terms and their extended meaning. The studies of Panjabi (Marjid, 2006) and Kammu (Ahlner, 2008) are similar to each other in terms of partonomy. Both studies are the attempt to find out the way speakers of each language categorize their body parts. However, the work that is the most useful for my research is body-part terms in Kammu because it is the language in the same branch, Khamuic branch, as Mlabri language. Furthermore, Ahlner used “coloring task” for collecting data like “Lao body part terms” of Enfield (2006) and as my research in this thesis. His work can help me as a guide line to elicit terms for parts of the body more easily and systematically.

There are studies about meaning extension in other languages such as Valley Zapotec languages spoken in southwestern-central highlands of Mexico (Lillehaugen, 2003), Kewa language spoken in Papua New Guinea island (Franklin, 2003), Modern Hebrew spoken among Jewish people (Petruck, 1995) and Moken language spoken in Surin island of Thailand (Andaman Pilot Project, 2009).

Valley Zapotec languages were emphasized on body part terms as prepositions and as parts of a car (Lillehaugen, 2003). Similarly, body part terms in Kewa language are employed to call new items which have just been entered into their culture (Franklin, 2003). Franklin (2003) studied body parts used as car parts in Kewa language in terms of metaphor. He focused on only the meaning extension on car parts. All parts of a car is called as if it was a human body. For instance, a cabin of a car, a gearbox and a tire are designated as head, heart and finger nail respectively. Some body part terms in Kewa language and in Mlabri language are employed to call the same parts of a car like side mirrors as ears, headlights as eyes and front tires as hands. Although they come from different language families, they share the idea of new words' generativity.

In the same way, Moken language, one of Austronesian family, calls parts of [ka ban], 'Moken boat' as body parts (Andaman Pilot Project, 2009). Their boat is designated as if it had cheek, stomach, ribs mouth and bottom of human body. Both Moken and Mlabri are hunter-gatherer groups in Thailand who have just known the outside world so they may have the same way to produce vocabularies to serve new items introduced into their culture. Petruck (1995) is another person who worked on body-part terms of Modern Hebrew. She found that there are body part terms occurring in form of compound nouns and complex nouns. Additionally, there are some verbs deriving from body part terms because of morphological structure in Hebrew. Petruck explained the phenomenon of the meaning extension using Frame Semantics approach which is applied in my study of Mlabri body-part terms as well.

2.2 Natural Semantic Metalanguage:

One of the most challenging tasks in semantics is to define meaning. Almost all monolingual dictionaries inevitably describe meaning by translating unknowns into unknowns (Pascal, 1667/1954:580 cited in Wierzbicka, 1996). For example, a mock-definition of "Light" which shows the circular definition is "Light is the luminary movement of luminous bodies". Wierzbicka (1996, p.11) stated that "Semantics is a search for understanding, and to understand anything we must reduce the unknown to the known, the obscure to clear, the abstruse to self-explanatory."

From the quotation, Wierzbicka tried to explain that semantics is a study which should make complex concepts in words clearer, not make it more obscure or so complicated like circular definition of “Light” above. To solve the problems of circular definition is one of important purposes of Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

Furthermore, Wierzbicka (1996) supported this idea by mentioning to the opinion in terms of solving the problem of circular definition and recommend the idea of primitive words as basic language elements used to define the unknowns into the knowns.

If nothing could be comprehended in itself nothing at all could ever be comprehended. Because what can only be comprehended via something else can be comprehended only to extent to which that other thing can be comprehended, and so on; accordingly, we can say that we have understood something only when we have broken it down into parts which can be understood in themselves. (Leibniz, 1903/1961, p.430 cited in Wierzbicka, 1996, p11)

Leibniz (1903/1961) suggested that we should have a tool to explicate complicated meaning to be simpler to understand and that tool must be self-explanatory. In other words, that tool should be the basic elements which can be understood without knowing their definition and they must not also be defined themselves.

Apart from Leibniz, there are great thinkers of the seventeenth century who showed their opinion on a set of primitive words or some important properties of good linguistic elements used in the definability of words. Those great thinkers are, for instance, Descartes, Pascal and Arnauld. Descartes wrote:

Further I declare that there are certain things which we render more obscure by trying to define them, because, since they are very simple and clear, we cannot know and perceive them better than by themselves. Nay, we must place in the number of those chief errors that can be committed in the sciences, the mistakes committed by those who would try to define what ought only to be conceived, and who cannot distinguish the clear from the obscure, nor discriminate

between what, in order to be known, requires and deserves to be defined, from what can be best known by itself. (1701/1931,p.324 cited in Weirzbicka, 1996 p.12)

Pascal (1667/1954) also agreed that there should be simpler words to define meaning of more complex words and the simple words or metalanguage must not make words lose or distort their meanings. He wrote:

It is clear that there are words which cannot be defined; and if nature hadn't provided for this by giving all people the same idea all our expressions would be obscure; but in fact we can use those words with the same confidence and certainty as if they had been explained in the clearest possible way; because nature itself has given us, without additional words, an understanding of them better than what our art could give through our explanations. (1667/1954 p.580 cited in Wierzbicka, 1996 p.12)

In the same way, Arnauld implied that there should be some primitive words to avoid the confusion of circular definition. Hence, he showed his opinion as follows

Our first observation is that no attempt should be made to define all words; such an attempt would be useless, even impossible, to achieve. To define a word which already expresses a distinct idea unambiguously would be useless; for the goal of definition—to join to a word one clear and distinct idea—has already been attained. Words which express ideas of simple things are understood by all and require no definition ...

Further, it is impossible to define all words. In defining we employ a definition to express the idea which we want to join to defined word; and if we then wanted to define "the definition," still other words would be needed—and so on to infinity. Hence, it is necessary to stop at some primitive words, which are not defined. To define too much is

just as great as to define too little: Either way we would fall into the confusion that we claim to avoid. (1662/1964 p.86-7 cited in Wierzbicka, 1996 p.12)

Another problem of semantics is how to translate one language into another language without distortion. Many thinkers agreed that it is impossible that one language can be translated into another with equivalence in meaning and thought. As Johann Gottfried Herder (1913, v.21 p.19), a German thinker of eighteenth-century insisted that language and thought of any languages relate but culture and thought of each language are different from each other. He believed “The human spirit thinks with words” (1877/1913 v.21 p.19 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003 p.3). “Every nation speaks ...according to the way it thinks and thinks according to the way it speaks” is Herder (1877/1913 v.21 p.88 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003 p.3)’s conclusion about cultural identity of each language. Human can translate meaning of a word in one language into another but the meaning cannot be equivalent to the source language at all. This is because each word of any language speakers who belong to a culture is combined with cultural- specific meaning of each language. Wilhelm von Humboldt emphasized that language is not only a medium of communication but also a medium indicating speakers’ perspective and worldview as he wrote:

[E]ach language ... contains a characteristic worldview. As individual sound mediates between object and person, so the whole of language mediates between human being and the internal and external nature that affects them ... The same act which enables him [man] to spin language out of himself enable him to spin himself into language, and each language draws a circle around the people to whom it adheres which it is possible for the individual to escape only by stepping into a different one. (Humboldt, 1903-36 v.7 p.60 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003 p.3)

Additionally, Edward Sapir (1949) showed his agreement with this idea by writing a reputed passage about unequivalence of language translation.

Language is a guide to social reality. Though language is not ordinarily thought of as of essential interest to the students of social science, it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. (1949 p.162 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003 p.4)

In accordance with the excerpts of Herder (1774-1804) and Sapir (1949), both of them indicated that no language is transferred into another language and conserve all meaning and cultural-specific concepts absolutely. They tried to convey that language is a box of human's perspective, would view, experiences and their reflection on their perspective, worldview and experiences in form of language. Therefore, to translate language we can only translate surface meaning not all things in the box. This aspect can be seen more clearly from Humboldt (1793-1835)'s names of elephant in Sanskrit. He wrote:

When, for example, in Sanskrit the elephant is sometimes called the twice-drinker, otherwise the double-toothed one, otherwise still the provided-with-a-hand, many different concepts are designated, even though the same object is meant. For language does not represent objects but rather the concepts which, in the process of speech, have been formed by the mind independent of those objects. (1835-36, v.7 p.89-90 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003 p.5)

Wierzbicka (1997) highlighted the cultural-specific concepts by launching “*Understanding Cultures through their Key Words*”. There are a lot of research taken place on various languages like Latin, English, Russian, Polish, German, Australian, and Japanese. From her impressive work, she indicated that cultural-specific vocabularies in each language is like a mirror which reflects the way speakers think, perceive and experience about the world and their life.

There are, for instance, seven words, *amae*, *enryo*, *wa,on,giri*, *seishin*, and *omoiyari* that were studied in terms of cultural-specific vocabularies of Japanese (Wierzbicka, 1997). These words need cultural understanding of language users and then they can use the words correctly.

Similarly, the phenomenon of Mlabri body-part terms is apparent evidence signifying that they are cultural-specific vocabularies which are difficult to describe their cultural-specific meaning hiding in general body-part terms. The meaning extension of body-part terms affects the meanings of body-part terms, used to designate innovative items and express human emotions, to be more complicated. Thereby, the extended meanings need to be described their meanings as equivalently as the source language. Nevertheless, circular definition should be avoided since it always makes complex become more complex. And the cultural differences among languages should be understood, especially cultural-specific vocabularies which are significant in each language. When there is no appropriate medium, which can solve both circular definition and meaning equivalence and be employed to define meaning of those vocabularies, many thinkers and linguists have proposed a medium called “primitive words” or “semantic primes” to play new important role on word description.

Anna Wierzbicka (1972, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997) has developed “semantic primes” to use as Natural Semantic Metalanguage in defining cultural-specific vocabularies. Her mentor, Andrzej Boguslawski in 1965 (Wierzbicka, 1996) who inspired her to create a set of semantic primes when she studied at Warsaw University. She has pursuit exact set of semantic primes until now. She compared Bogslawski’s clue of the study of semantic primes as “the golden dream of the seventeenth-century thinkers” (Wierzbicka, 1996) because most thinkers in that time believed that the idea of semantic primes of all languages was like utopia and impossibly existed.

Before the semantic primes existed, many thinkers had been proposing the idea of universal human concepts such as Leibniz, Descartes and Pascal (Wierzbicka, 1992). In particular, Leibniz (1903/1961 p.435 cited in Wierzbicka, 1992 p.3) who created the theory of an “alphabet of human thoughts” (Wierzbicka, 1966 p.13).

A few conspicuous samples of the ideas of universal concepts are clearly from Swadesh list (Swadesh, 1955) and the theory of universal color terminology of Berlin and Kay (1969). Swadesh was one whose work was influenced by Sapir. His work was to try to search for basic vocabulary based on shared features of human concepts. He hypothesized that there were universal vocabularies which all human shared basic concepts together in every language. He had tried to carry out those basic vocabularies for data elicitation of fieldworkers and comparativists. Moreover, they are used and referred in many new discoveries until now. In the same way, the discoveries of Berlin and Kay (1969) supported the idea of universal human concepts. They found out that human have basic concepts of color terms in common. In other words, these discoveries indicated that although people use different terms referring to each color, we still share similar concepts of basic color terms in all languages.

Apart from the problems of language and culture translation and the idea of universal human concepts, Wierzbicka (1996) mentioned innate human concepts and language acquisition. She did not focus only on cultural-specific configurations of universal semantic primitives (one of her collection in 1992), she also tried to relate to human mechanism of language acquisition. To quote Bowerman (1976 p.101 cited in Wierzbicka, 1996) “Acquiring language consists in large part of learning how to map or translate from one representational system (the child’s prelinguistic conceptual notions) into another (language)”.

Bowerman illustrated that the child has a stock of basic concepts which he independently develops it into new complex concepts when he has more interaction with the world.

Wierzbicka (1996) cited Bowerman’s (1976) discussion of the problem of innateness. Bowerman believed that there are relationship between a child’s first concepts, language universals and semantic primitives as in the following excerpt:

The view that a central process in language acquisition is the child's research for links between cognitive and linguistic concepts and linguistic forms and operations has been strengthened and encouraged by recent developments in linguistics. Many linguists now argued, on grounds quite independent of child language, that the most basic elements of language are not abstract syntactic configurations like grammatical relations, but rather a universal set of prime semantic concepts that combine according to general and language-specific constraints to yield both words and sentences (1976 cited in Wierzbicka, 1996 p.17).

Wierzbicka (1996) also alluded to Slobin's (1985) "semantic space" of "prelinguistic meanings". Slobin claimed that "core concepts and cluster of related notion" can be proved. And there are grammars which are generated from the combination of input language's core concepts. This brings Slobin the hypothesis of BCG (Basic Child Grammar) (1985) to be said that there are prelinguistic meanings of a child's innate conceptual semantic primitives which can be combined and produced to be simple sentences based on a child's reactions to meaning.

Moreover, the search for innate and universal semantic primitives of Bruner (1990) was referred by Wierzbicka (1996 p.18). Bruner believed that children have "a selective set of prelinguistic readiness for meaning". In other words, human beings are innately set semantic primitives. Then children acquire more complicated concepts by the cultural tool of language.

Natural Semantic Metalanguage has been developed by Anna Wierzbicka (1972, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997) and her colleague Cliff Goddard (1994, 1997, 2002, 2004, 2008) for a quarter of a century with an inspiration from her mentor Andrzej Boguslawski, a Polish linguist, famous linguists and thinkers from 1970s to 1990s including Aristotle (Wierzbicka, 1972, 1996) who lighted the idea of indefinibilia, elements used to define meaning of words but cannot define themselves, or semantic primes more than two thousand years ago. Aristotle suggested that the more basic elements were used to define complicated concepts, the more intelligibly human inherently understood those complicated concepts. Hence, the more basic elements are called "indefinibilia" or semantic primes (Wierzbicka, 1972, 1996). Likewise, Wilhelm

Humboldt (1903-36 quoted in Wierzbicka, 1996) explicitly summed up that there is “a midpoint around which all languages revolve”. Accordingly, it influenced Wierzbicka to search for NSM (Natural Semantic Metalanguage).

When Wierzbicka was inspired by the idea of semantic primes, she has began to search for them based on the following criteria (Wierzbicka, 1992 p.11-12)

1. Semantic primes must be intuitively clear and self-explanatory.
2. Semantic primes cannot be defined.
3. Semantic primes must have been verified to define other concepts for many times.
4. Semantic primes should be cross-linguistically checked whether they are available for many different languages.
5. Semantic primes must appear their own name in all languages of the world.

Wierzbicka (1996 p.22-24) stated that Natural Semantic Metalanguage must be capable of equivalently paraphrasing the entire meaning of vocabularies in all languages. And it must be used naturally as a human language and as culture-free analytical tool.

In 2002, Cliff Goddard has proposed and illustrated categories of a set of semantic primes as followed:

Categories	Primes
Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, PEOPLE
Rational Substantives	SOMETHING/THING, BODY, KIND, PART
Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH
Evaluators	GOOD, BAD
Descriptors	BIG, SMALL
Mental/Experiential	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
Predicates	
Speech	SAY, WORDS, TRUE
Actions and Events	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence and Possession	THERE IS/EXIST, HAVE

Life and Death	LIVE, DIE
Time	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT
Space	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE, TOUCH (CONTACT)
Logical Concepts	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Intensifier/Augmentor	VERY, MORE
Similarity	LIKE/WAY

Adopted from Goddard, 2002

All of the proposed semantic primes are divided into 16 categories which include about 60 elements. Each candidate has their functions as parts of speech in traditional grammar. They can, thereby, be combined into meaningful sentences which completely consist of subjects and predicates so that they are used to define cultural specific vocabularies in any languages. In addition, these semantic primes have been proved that they appear as basic concepts and are used to define complex concepts in regard to “Friendship”, “Freedom”, “Homeland”, “Fatherland”, and “Japanese and Australian key word” in *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words: English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese*, a publication of Wierzbicka in 1997.

Furthermore, the semantic primes have not been limited only in English but there are also many Wierzbicka’s and Goddard’s students and colleagues trying to employ semantic primes in other languages. Those languages are Ewe, Mangap-Mbula, Mandarin, Thai, Acehnese, Kayardild, Yankunytjatjara, Misumalpan languages, Mparntwe Arrernte, Longgu, Samoan, Japanese, Kalam, and French (Goddard and Wierzbicka (eds), 1994)

Only a set of semantic primes is not enough. There must be combinations of the semantic primes to generate meaningful sentences. Consequently, the explication need “Allollexy”, different forms of words, “Valency Options”, various structures of words especially verbs, and “Canonical Sentences” or the simplest combination of sentences. Allollexy is the notion of conjugating the primitives in the matter of tenses, parts of speech, plurality and so on whereas valency options are the

options employed to formulate various syntactic structures of any primitives in order to support and boost the mechanism of NSM. The last one is canonical sentences which are the most simply combining sentences which can match any languages' fundamental syntactic constituent based on natural syntactic rules of many investigated languages.

Some Sample Work Defined by Semantic Primes:

There are samples of cultural-specific words of Japanese like Amai, Enryo, Wa, On, Giri, Seishin, and Omoiyari (Wierzbicka, 1997). The following explications show key words which signify cultural value of Japanese. Although Japanese culture is different from other cultures, all meanings of cultural-specific vocabularies are defined by universal languages called NSM. It will be illustrated only three words :amai, enryo and wa as follows:

“amai” ‘happiness and desire to be loved’

(a) X thinks something like this about someone (Y):

I know:

(b) when Y thinks about me, Y feels something good

(c) Y wants to do good thing for me

(d) Y can do good things for me

(e) when I am with Y, nothing bad can happen to me

(f) I don't have to do anything because of this

(g) I want to be with Y

(h) X feels something good because of this

(Wierzbicka, 1997 p.241)

“enryo” ‘reserve or restraint’

(a) when X is with person Y, X thinks something like this:

(b) I can't say to this person:

(c) “I want this, I don't want this”

(d) “I think this, I don't think this”

(e) if I did this, someone could feel something bad because of this

(f) someone could think something bad about me because of this

(g) because of this X doesn't say things like this

(h) because of this X doesn't do some things

(i) people think: this is good

(Wierzbicka, 1997 p.247-8)

“wa” ‘value of harmony’

(a) this people want to be like one thing

(b) they all want the same

(c) they don't want this:

(d) one of them say: “I want this”

(e) another one say: “I don't want this”

(f) they don't want to say about some of them:

(g) these people did something good,

(h) “these people did something bad”

(i) they don't want to say about one of them:

“this person did something very good”

(j) they want to do some things because of this

(k) they all feel something good because of this

(m) they couldn't do these things if they didn't all want the same

(n) people think this is very good

(Wierzbicka, 1997 p.253)

The sample illustration above shows how semantic primes combined as sentences or phrases to define meanings. The definitions are defined by simple phrases and sentences which are not translated again and also indicate deep meaning in Japanese culture.

To define basic and extended meanings of Mlabri body-part terms, NSM is useful to define their meanings especially, extended meaning. It can distinguish the meaning components and shows the relation between basic and extended meanings which make us know the main criteria, orientation, shape and function, highlighting meaning of the body-part terms. Therefore, the metalanguage is used firstly and then analyze the overall picture by Frame Semantics.

2.3 Frame Semantics:

Frame Semantics has been introduced into linguistics by Charles J. Fillmore since the end of 1970's. This theory was created in order to study meaning of words and to find out some principles for creating new words which have new meanings and how to form new meanings based on schematization of speakers' experiences (Fillmore, 1982). Fillmore (1986) developed his work from the idea of "slot" in Tagmemics, the study of Kenneth Pike. He substitutes the word "frame" by "slot". Tagmemically, when there are some words that can be replaced by other words in the same slot, the meanings of a sentence are different. Similarly, how to select words to put in each frame, in frame semantics, must not only know meanings of words but speakers must be schematized by their experiences, scenarios and worldview. In addition, we must identify the occurrences or phenomena of the target words which we would like to understand their meanings. Certainly, syntax is the heart of all languages because a speaker must know how to combine words into sentences for communication. Except from syntax, a speaker must also have basic concepts of words and it is believed that the basic concepts of any languages are alike.

In 1976, Fillmore paid attention to frame used for the studies of word's meaning and he called it as Frame Semantics. He suggested that the process of understanding and comprehension of words, phrases or larger utterances depends on our memories of experiences which are selected, filtered and generalized. And the notion of selection, filtration and generalization is called as frame or scene. He gave an example of the word "breakfast" which may be meaningless for people who eat only one meal or no meal because they eat only when they are hungry like Mlabri culture. Another example is symptoms and causes for diseases in a language which do not exist since people who speak that language believe that all diseases result from evil spirits.

Fillmore (1977) wrote "The Case for Case Reopened" in order to revise his old work "The Case for Case" (1968). In this paper, he shows that human choose, perceive and comprehend expressions and all concepts by scenes or images or memories of experiences in human's mind. The scenes or images or memories of human's experiences activate them to name, describe and classify things around them

or any concepts which human perceive every day. And this is the coming up of the slogan: Meanings are relativized to scenes.

The idea of meanings being relativized to scenes is clarified by the example of the word “land” and “ground” (Fillmore, 1977c) as the following sentences:

1. I spent three hours on land this afternoon.
2. I spent three hours on the ground this afternoon.

From the example above, English speakers can provide the first sentence from the second one and understand that the former sentence has sea voyage as its scene and the latter one belongs to the scene of air travel. This is because the speakers can provide the two-way contrast of pairs of expressions “at sea” versus “on land” and “in the air” versus “on the ground”. Therefore, they automatically understand and see the scenes of each sentence.

Frame semantics is also concerned with the concept “prototype”. However, the notion of prototype that is used in frame semantics is different from prototype of Eleanor Rosch (1973) or Langacker (1987) which plays an important role on their well-known cognitive linguistic work. In cognitive school, Rosch (1973) uses prototype to study notions of natural kinds, colors, shapes, and basic level artifacts while prototype which Fillmore (1977b) applies on his work is prototype with respect to frame or scenes and it is called as “prototype scene”. The word that is the most suitable for considering this concept is “breakfast” (Fillmore, 1982) again. The meaning of breakfast consists of three characters: the post-sleep character, the early morning character and the breakfast menu character. Although there are some people not sleeping but having a meal at sun-up or some people waking up at three o’clock in the afternoon or some people having cabbage soup and chocolate pie, the native speakers of American English still call that meal “breakfast”. It is indicated that the word has prototypical use. It can be used in multiple conditions and may more or less match the scenes or frames of the prototype’s definition.

Besides being activated by scenes of each word, human can acquire the framing of the actual communication situation (Fillmore, 1982) as he pointed below

...when we understand a piece of language, we bring to the task both our ability to assign schematizations of the phrases or components of the “world” that the text somehow

characterizes, and our ability to schematize the situation in which this piece of language is being produced.

From the excerpt above, Fillmore summarizes that we possess both “cognitive frames” and “interactional frames”.

Miriam R. L. Petruck is one of the linguists who are interested in frame semantics of Fillmore. She used the frame semantic approach for her PhD dissertation in 1986 in order to study word meaning, word structure and semantic structure in the domain of body part terminology in Modern Hebrew. In 1995, Petruck wrote “frame Semantics and the Lexicon: nouns and verbs in the body frame”. Petruck would like to emphasize in her paper that “while the frame semantic approach could be demonstrated with any lexical semantic domain, it seems appropriate for body part terminology because its referential domain, the body, is one which all people have primary experience” (Petruck, 1995 p.280). She demonstrates the application of body part terminology in a set of compound noun, a set of complex noun and a set of denominal body part verbs. She found that body frame, which is employed as primary knowledge to extend meaning of body part terminology in a set of compound noun, a set of complex noun and a set of verbs, is a tool that Fillmore calls “the experience-based schematization of word meaning”. This tool links newly created words to knowledge and experience of the body.

Petruck has revised frame semantics again in 1996. She has simplified and summarized the notion of frame semantics in general to emphasize advantages of the frame idea in various areas of study. For instance, in the area of lexicography that there are Petruck (1986, 1995) who used body frames to study polysemy of body part terminology and other work which Fillmore cooperated with Atkins in 1992 and in 1994. They focused on lexical description and dictionary making. Frame semantics has also been employed with regard to syntax like Lambrecht (1984) referred from Petruck, 1996’s German binominal experiences of the form *N und N* and O’Conner (1994, 1996)’s Possessor-Raising construction in Northern Pomo, an Amerindian language of Northern California. Goldberg (1995) used the frame idea for the analysis of argument structure construction. Furthermore, there are other two Japanese researchers analyzing Japanese syntax and pragmatics with experience-based schematization, the important tool of frame semantics.

For the analysis of basic and extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms, Frame Semantics highlight body frame of the body-part terms' meaning extension. It shows that Mlabri speakers use background knowledge of their body parts to link to new items in their culture based on orientation, shape and function of the body parts. Consequently, the background knowledge of the body-part terms' meaning affect terms calling new items which have been introduced to their culture instead of creating new words.

To sum up, all the data of extension of Mlabri body-part terms were analyzed by two theoretical approaches: Natural Semantic Metalanguage and Frame Semantics. The former theory is developed by Anna Wierzbicka and the latter one is proposed by Charles Fillmore. Both of them shared the idea of a speaker's worldview, experiences and background knowledge which reflect how he uses limited language to designate unlimited ideas or concepts. These two theories could help to explain the phenomenon of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms effectively and evidently with basic explanations which are easy to understand.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes 4 sections: definitions of data, data collection, data organization and data analysis. More details were added in these parts in order to explain and enumerate what kinds of data were collected, how data were collected, organized and analyzed. And samples of data analysis of Mlabri body-part terms' extended meaning are illustrated at the end of this section.

3.1 Definitions of Data:

kinds of data are defined in order to clearly see the phenomenon of extended meaning in Mlabri body-part terms. The data are divided as follows:

- Data of body-part terms which were classified to be simplex and complex terms
- Data of extended meanings of the body-part terms into innovative items

3.2 Data Collection:

Due to the fact that the Mlabri is still a primitive group, it should be planned how to collect data carefully and circumspectly. This research needs data of body-part term categorization and the terms whose meanings are extended for designating innovative items. Therefore, there should be equipment and procedures for each kind of data as follows:

- **Show pictures of human body, which are covered by transparent plastic sheets, to informants**

(Andersen, Elaine S. ,1978 and Enfield, Nick J. ,2006). This is the strategy that many researchers who work on body-part terms used to elicit terminology of body

parts in many languages such as Modern Hebrew (Petruck, 1986) and Kammu (Ahlner, 2008).

- **Ask informants to highlight each part of the body on pictures by colored pens while eliciting Mlabri body-part terms**

In this stage informants had to use colored pen to highlight each part of the body and tell the names of body parts at the same time. This method presents how they categorize each part of the body more clearly because of the color, for example, where the starting point and ending point of their arm or leg.

- **Show the model of pig's internal organs to informants in order to elicit internal human organs**

This step was carried out to collect names of internal organs by using a pig's internal organ's model. When the model had not been accessible for the Mlabri, fresh internal organs bought from the market were used in this task.

- **Use pictures and innovative items to ask Mlabri speakers the terms they call each part of them**

This was a stage employed to collect extended meanings of body-part terms. Pictures and innovative items were shown in order to gain the data as many as possible. Furthermore, informants were taken to the town of Prae and showed them more items in the market and supermarket.

- **Recheck all the data I have collected**

The informants were asked body-part terms and body-part terms again which have extended meaning to confirm the data. If some of them are wrong, they were corrected.

3.3 Data Organization

After obtaining all kinds of data, there had to be good and effective data organization so that we could analyze data more easily and systematically. The data organization was done both before and after data collection. It was shown as the following stages.

- **Prepare a list of the body-part terms**

This was the stage before collecting data.

- **Divide the predicted data into two parts: basic meanings of internal and external organs and extended meaning**

All predicted data were systematically organized; thereby, the data were divided into two parts which were one for basic meaning of Mlabri body-part terms and the other for extended meaning. This step showed the meaning used in designating body-parts and innovative.

- **Put all the data on a table to see how body-part terms extend their meaning**

The table included extended and non-extended meaning of body-part terms to compare how each body-part term are extended their meanings to designate things around the Malbri, especially innovative items which have just come into their life. The table helped analyze data easily and clearly.

3.4 Data Analysis

- Explicate Mlabri body-part terms by employing Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) describing the definition of Mlabri body-part terms in regard to position, function, material, shape, and quantity as main components.

- Explicate extended meanings of each body-part terms by NSM in order to indicate the pattern used to generate new meanings from the original body-part terms' concepts.

- Compare similarities and differences of meaning's shades

- Analyze the data by using Frame Semantics to clarify that Mlabri speakers extend their body-part term's meaning from their experience-based schematization. This theory helped us to see overall picture of designating items by body-part terms.

- Discuss the pattern of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms in relation to an influx of innovative items to Mlabri culture

- Suggest some potential studies which should be carried out in the future

Examples of Analysis with NSM:

[ti²] “hand” (Basic Meaning)

- Two parts of a person’s body
- These parts are alike.
- One is on one side of the body.
- The other is on the other side of the body.
- These parts are parts of arms.
- These parts can move.
- If people want to do or move something, people use these parts.
- These two parts cannot move a person’s body.

[ti²] “front leg”

- Two parts of an animal’s body.
- These parts are alike.
- One is on one side of the body.
- The other is on the other side of the body.
- These parts can move.
- These parts are parts of legs.
- Because of these parts, an animal’s body can move.
- There must be other two parts if an animal’s body moves.

[ti²] “front wheel”

- Two parts of a car’s body
- Two parts are alike.
- Two parts are under a car’s body.
- One is on one side of a car’s body.
- The other is on the other side of a car’s body.
- These parts are not like two parts of a person’s and an animal’s body.
- These parts can move.
- Because of these parts, a car’s body can move.
- There must be other two parts if a car moves

mat “eye” (Basic Meaning)

- Two parts of a person’s face
- These parts are alike.
- One is on one side of the face.
- The other is on the other side of the face.
- Because of this two parts, a person can see.

mat ‘headlight of a car’

- Two parts at the front part of a car
- These two parts are alike.
- One is on one side of the front part of a car.
- The other is on the other side of the front part of a car.

mat ‘camera’s lens’

- A part of a camera
- This part is at the front part of a camera.
- If there is this part, far persons or things can be near.
- If there is this part, near persons or things can be far.
- If there is this part, a person can see things persons and places better.
- A person’s eyes are after this part

mat ‘bulb of a lamp’

- A part of a lamp
- This part is above other parts of a lamp.
- Because of this part, a person can see places, persons, things well.
- This part does something like a headlight of a car.

Example of Analysis with Frame Semantics

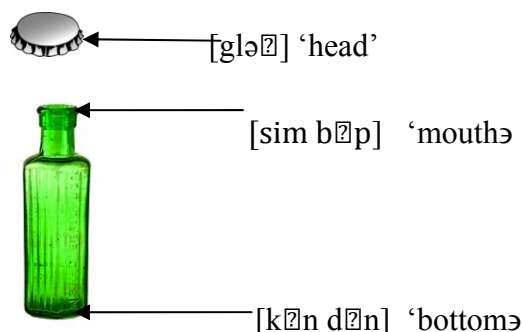
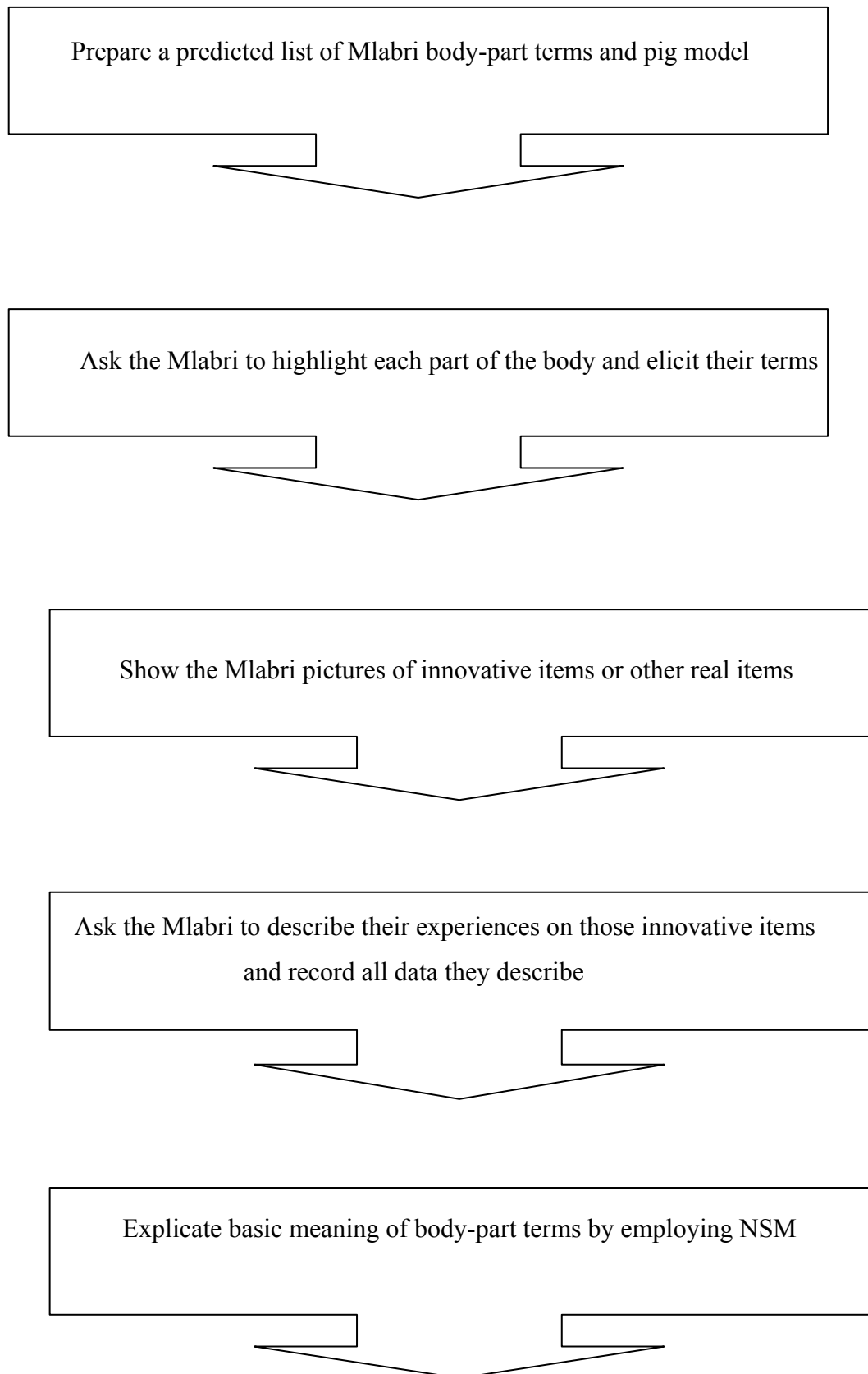


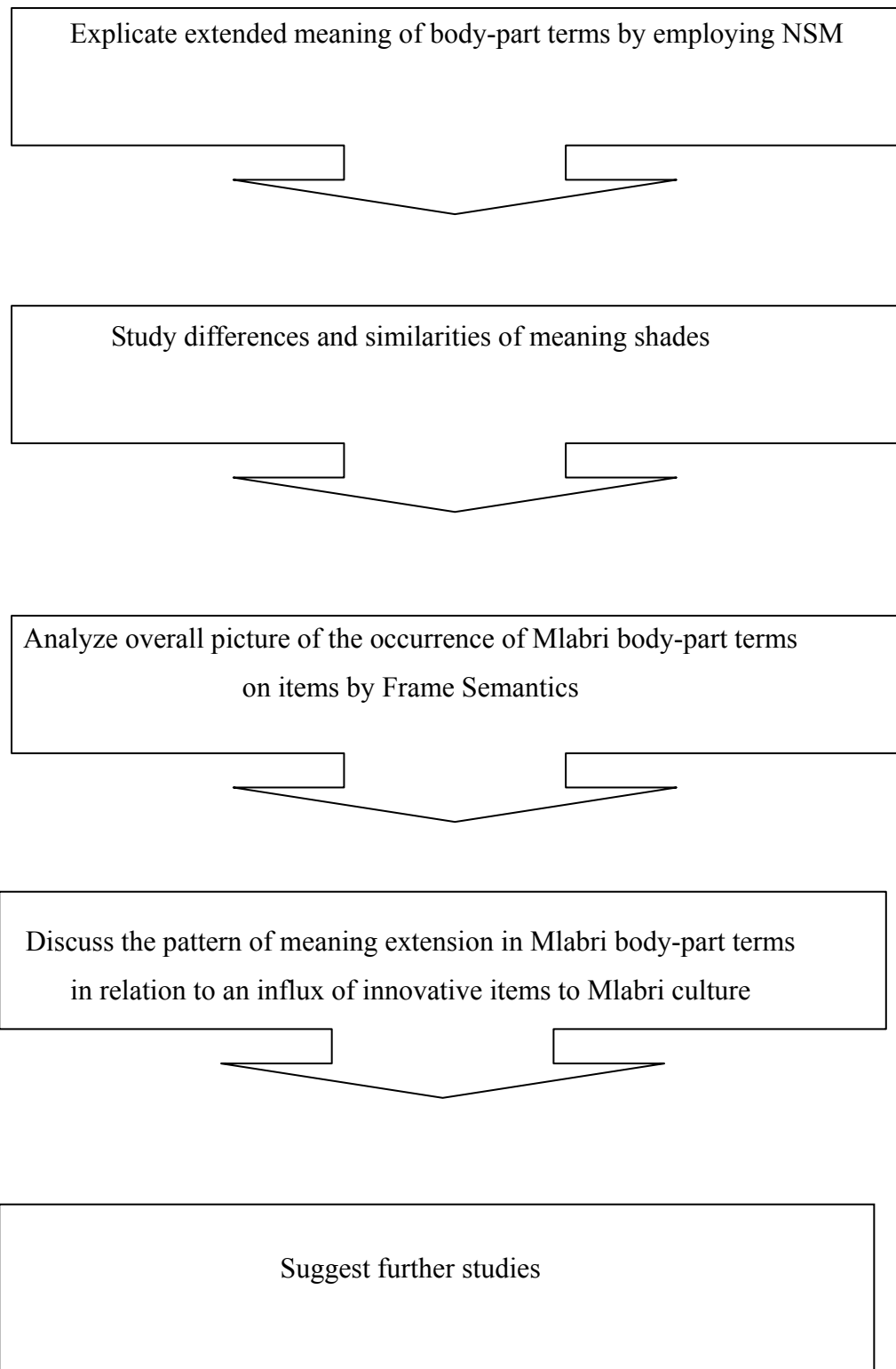
Figure 3.1. Example showing position of each body-part terms on an item

Frame Semantics explains the overall picture of the phenomenon of using body-part terms for designating parts of items as shown in the picture above. When they are employed together, each term for each part has their own criteria to decide to use the terms. For example, [gləʔ] 'head' and [kʔn dʔn] 'bottom' are decided to call a lid of a bottle and bottom of a bottle depending on the criterion of position/orientation while [sim bʔp] 'mouth' of the bottle uses the criterion of shape and function.

From the sample analysis above, it can be seen how the Mlabri use limited vocabularies to designate unlimited concepts of things around them by NSM whereas Frame Semantics shows how each part of the body appears on parts of items. The details will be illustrated and discussed further in the following chapters.

A Flow Chart Showing All Process of Methodology





CHAPTER IV

MLABRI BODY PART TERMS AND THEIR EXTENDED MEANING

In this section, the basic meaning of body-part terms and their descriptions are shown at the beginning of the section and followed by the extended meanings of the body-part terms.

4.1. The collected data

The data collection was carried out in order to study the basic meanings and extended meanings of body-part terms. Therefore, the data collection begins with the description of how to categorize each part of the body and how to set up the main areas on the body. There are many points which reflect Mlabri culture and worldview. For instance, they use the words /ɔŋ/ ‘father’ and /uj/ ‘mother’ for calling thumb and index respectively. This indicates that they might think that the two fingers are as important as father and mother. Moreover, the body-part terms consists of simplex and complex terms in order to cover all parts of the body. The complex terms are used in form of compound nouns such as /kul muj glə/, [kul muj sim bɔp] or [kul muj mat]. I think that the description below reveals the Mlabri’s world.

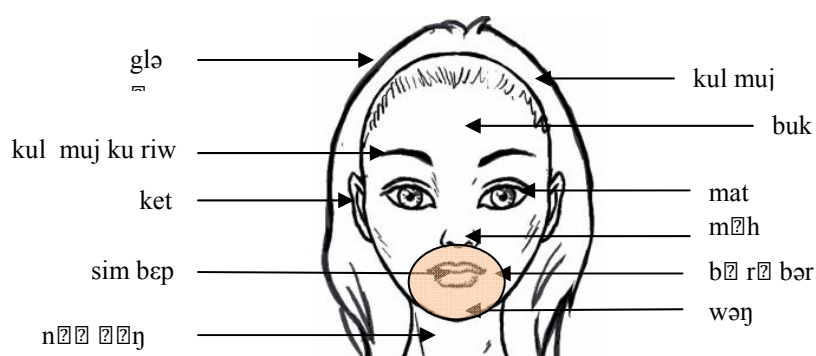
4.1.1 Body-part terms with basic meaning

Table 4.1. Table showing terms for parts of head and neck

Mlabri Body-Part Terms	Meanings
Simplex terms	
glə□	head
n□□ □□η l□□	neck
buk	face+forehead+cheek
wəη	chin+molar
kul muj	body hair
mat	eye
ket	ear
m□h	nose
sim bəp	mouth
c□n	tooth
kr□t lat	tongue
b□ r□ bər	areas around mouth
cin c□n	gum
kr□t lət	throat
ku ru wel	bare spot in the center of a whorl of hair
kuriw	areas around eye
kul muj	beard, whiskers
k□n toaj	pupil
kiw lək	bridge of nose
kul	wisdom tooth
ta lel	uvular
tr□k	gum at the back of wisdom tooth

Table 4.1. Table showing terms for parts of head and neck (cont.)

Complex Terms	
kul muj glə	hair of head
klu ɔ̃ ɔ̃wəŋ	cheek pouch
pɔ̃l dəl rɔ̃ŋ kap	palate
klu ɔ̃ ɔ̃wəŋ mɔ̃h	nostril
pə ket	auricle
wəŋ ket	ear canal
klu ɔ̃ ɔ̃wəŋ ket	ear canal
rɔ̃ŋ kap tha lu	oral cavity
kul muj ku riw	eyebrow
kul muj mat	eyelash
kul muj mɔ̃h	moustache
kɔ̃n mat	eyeball
ku ɔ̃ ku mat	eyelid
ple ɔ̃ kək	Adam's apple
cɔ̃n wək bo	milk tooth

**Figure 4.1. Picture showing major parts of a face**

In Mlabri language, parts of the head and neck are classified as three main areas: /buk/ ‘area around face’, /bɔ̃ rɔ̃ bər/ ‘area around mouth and /ku riw/ ‘area around eyes’. The word /buk/ is composed of face, chin, cheeks and forehead. There is no word for cheek or forehead because they are called as one part of a face. However,

the word /wəŋ/ that means chin and molar is separately used. Mlabri speakers designate body parts which have the shape of hole as /klu□ □uŋ/ such as /klu□ □uŋ m□h/ ‘nostril’, /klu□ □uŋ ket/ ‘ear canal’ and /klu□ □uŋ wəŋ/ ‘cheek pouch’.

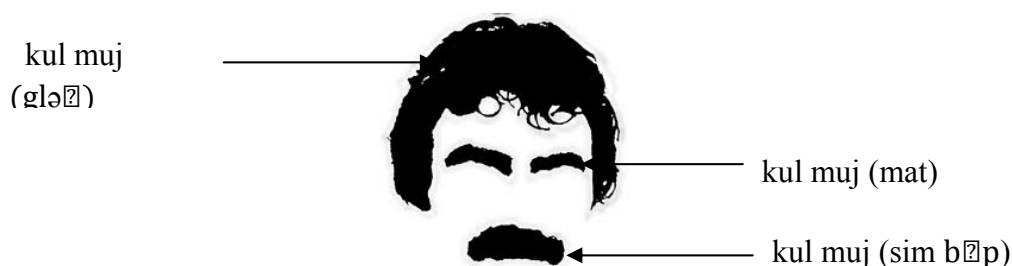


Figure 4.2. Picture showing parts called [kul muj]

For hair of any parts of the body, they call /kul muj/ which means hair. When it is distinctively used for hair of each part of the body, it is in form of compound word like /kui muj ku riw/ ‘eyebrow’, /kul muj mat/ ‘eyelash’ or /kul muj m□h/ ‘mustache’. If they are literally translated, they become hair of area around eye, hair of eyes and hair of nose respectively. It is indicated that Mlabri speakers have simple concept to group similar things. And they have no need to create many words like hair, beard, eyebrow, eyelash or mustache because all of them share characteristic of hair. Thus, only the word /kul muj/ is enough to call all kinds of hair on the body.

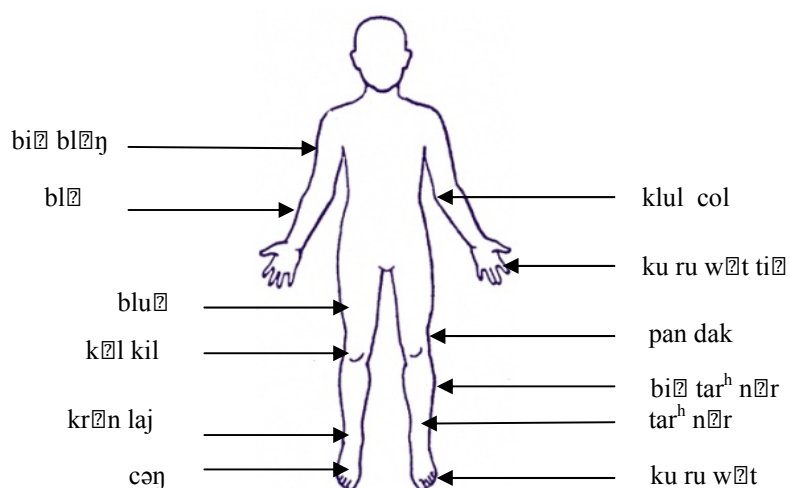
Another body part term is the word /ple□ kok/ which means Adam’s apple. /ple□/ means fruit or ball-like things so it can be summarized that Mlabri speakers see their Adam’s apple as fruit and they metaphorize Adam’s apple with fruit, local thing that they get the most familiar with.

Table 4.2. Table showing parts of limbs

Mlabri Body-Part Terms	Meanings
Simplex Terms	
ti□	hand
bl□ŋ	arm
klu□ col	elbow
hl□w	waist
khwep	shoulder blade
kr□n laj	knuckle
kr□n laj	ankle
kr□n laj	wrist
lu□ kul	thumb
□oŋ	thumb
kl□r	index
□uj	index
□□w	middle finger, ring finger, little finger
buk ti□	palm of hand
bi□ bl□ŋ	bicep
blu□	thigh
tar ^h n□r	shin
k□l kil	knee
ti□ cəŋ	toe
lu□ kul	thumb of toe
□oŋ	thumb of toe
kl□r	index of toe
□uj	index of toe
□□w	middle finger, ring finger, and little finger of toe

Table 4.2. Table showing parts of limbs (cont.)

cəŋ	foot
klul col	heel
p□□ l□□	malleolus
pan dak	foldable joint
Complex Terms	
ku ru w□t ti□	finger nail
bi□ tar ^h n□r	calf muscle
ku ru w□t cəŋ	toenail
buk cəŋ	sole of foot
pəl dəl cəŋ	sole of foot

**Figure 4.3. Picture showing major parts of limbs**

Parts of arms and hands divide terms for toes and fingers into two sets. The first set is labeled by normal terms but the second one is called by family-relationship terms which were discussed in chapter 6. Generally, /lu□ kul/ and /kl□r/ are used for toes and fingers respectively. /lu□ kul/ can possibly mean thumb or great toe and /kl□r/ is employed for index finger or index toe.

In addition, there are terms which are used for designating more than one body parts like /k□n laj/ and /klu□ col/. Mlabri speakers employ the word /kr□n laj/ for calling any joints of the body. In other words, knuckle, ankle or wrist are called

/krɔ̃n laj/ except foldable joints which are called /pan dak/. Mlabri speakers use /buk ti/ ‘palm of hand’ and /buk cəŋ/ ‘sole of foot’. /kluɔ̃ col/ is another body part term which can mean both elbow and heel. It is possible that Mlabri speakers see that the two body parts have shared characteristics. It might be shape or position of elbow and heel. Or it might be function that uses for supporting something.

Table 4.3. Table showing terms for parts of torso

Mlabri Body-Part Terms	Meanings
Simplex Terms	
cu dup	back
chɔ̃r chɔ̃r	collarbone
la	shoulder
puj	stomach
gəŋ	area below navel
hlɔ̃w	waist
krɔ̃ ɔ̃ək	chest
taɔ̃ ho	armpit
boɔ̃	breast
wul wal	hip
kɔ̃n diŋ	navel
kɔ̃n dɔ̃n	bottom
kɔ̃n ton	nipple
ri koj	coccyx
plil	vagina
doŋ	penis
Complex Terms	
cin nɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ŋ lɔ̃ɔ̃	neck+shoulder
tar kɔ̃n diŋ	navel string
kluɔ̃ col boɔ̃	nipple
kluɔ̃ ɔ̃uŋ ɔ̃i jak	anus

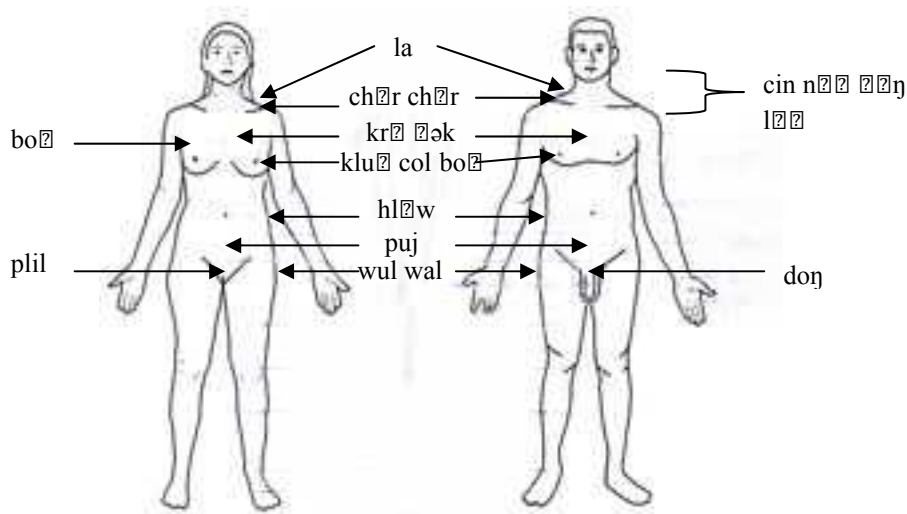


Figure 4.4. Picture showing major parts of torso

Some parts of Mlabri torso have their own terms; the others are designated by compounding words. For instance /c^hər c^hər/ ‘collarbone’, /la/ ‘shoulder’, /hlw/ ‘waist’ or /wul wal/ ‘hip’ are labeled by specific name whereas navel string, anus and nipple come from combination of two words as /tar kəndiŋ/ ‘string+navel’, /klu ɔŋ ɔi jak/ ‘hole+fece’ and /klu col bo/ ‘elbow+breast’. Again, the word /klu col/ ‘elbow’ is used to designate nipple because of some shared characteristics which are visible only among Mlabri speakers. They also use /klu col bo/ although they have /kən ton/ to call a nipple.

For parts of torso, there is /cin n... l.../ used for calling the areas around neck and shoulders. /n... l.../ actually means neck. Nevertheless, when it compounds with the word /cin/, a piece of meat, it becomes general word for calling area around neck and shoulders.

Table 4.4. Table showing internal organs

Mlabri Body-Part Terms	Meanings
Simplex Terms	
gləꞤ ꞤꞤn	brain
ceꞤ ꞤꞤŋ	cranium
trək	ribs
chə riŋ	spine
tar Ꞥe	trachea
krꞤꞤ lət	esophagus
pꞤt	lungs
kluꞤ klol	heart
pet	liver
chi chi joj	large intestine
dꞤt kwꞤt	small intestine
puj	stomach
geŋ gꞤj	kidney
kru ru mꞤt	gall bladder
mꞤj	belly
muŋ	womb
pol	placenta
Complex Terms	
tar hmꞤŋ	blood vessel

The Mlabri get more familiar with internal organs of pigs or other animals than human's ones in spite of the fact that they are an expert of evisceration as the nature of hunter-gatherers. For organs which are in the shape of string, Mlabri speakers call them as /tar/ like /tar Ꞥe/ 'trachea' or /tar hmꞤŋ/ 'blood vessel'. Nonetheless, the word /tar Ꞥe/ 'trachea' is not only compounding word, but it is also a word that reflects the Mlabri's culture of eating. This is because /Ꞥe/ means wild potato, an important kind of food in the Mlabri's life.

4.1.2 Body-part terms with extended meaning

After the data collection took place in Huay Hom village, Rong Kwang district, Prae province from August, 2008- July, 2010, the data of extended meaning were illustrated in the table below to reveal how body-part terms are extended their meanings on unfamiliar or innovative items. The table shows body-part terms, names of items and how body-part terms are used to designate innovative items.

Table 4.5. Table showing extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms

Body-part terms	Extended meaning
[glə□] ‘head’	a motor of an electric fan, a lid of a pot, a buckle, a waist of a trousers or a skirt
[buk] ‘face’	a windscreen of a car, a screen of a television, a fan guard, a door of a microwave
[kul muj] ‘hair’	a broom, brush of a toothbrush/of bottle brush/of shoe brush, bush of a mop
[m□h] ‘nose’	a nose of a mask
[mat] ‘eye’	a torch, lights of a car/of a motorcycle, a light of a lamp, lens of eyeglasses, lens of a camera
[ku riw] ‘eyebrow’	a joint of a light bulb, a handle of a hammock
[ket] ‘ear’	a handle of a pot, a handle of a basket, a collar, side mirror
[sim b□p] ‘mouth’	an opening of a pot, an entrance of a bottle, seat of a toilet, an entrance of a basket
[c□n] ‘tooth’	a sharp side of a knife, sharps sides of scissors, a sharp side of a hoe, craws of a crab
[r□ŋ kap] ‘oral cavity’	top part of a fire extinguisher
[kr□t lat] ‘tongue’	a drawer
[k□n d□n] ‘bottom’	a bottom of a bottle, a bottom of a pot, a bottom of a car
[doŋ] ‘penis’	a spout of a kettle, a spout of watering can
[chə riŋ] ‘spine’	a mountain ridge, a ridge of a knife, shoulders of a shirt, a spine of a book

From the table showing how body-part terms extended the meanings, we can see that body-part terms are used for both innovative items. Most of the body-part terms where basic meanings are extended include major parts of the body such as head, arm, foot, ear or back. Moreover, only one item can be designated its parts by more than one body-part terms. For instance, parts of a car are designated by Mlabri speakers as hands (front wheels), feet (back wheels), eyes (head lights), ears (side mirrors), face (wind shield) and back (rear of a car). Another example is body-part terms on a kettle. A kettle is composed of head (a lid), mouth (aperture of a kettle), bottom (bottom of a kettle) and penis (spout for pouring water).

To consider the data conversely, each word can be employed for more than one meaning. For example, the word /gləʔ/ 'head' can possibly mean top of a lamp or of baby carriage and a lid of rice cooker, of a pot and of a kettle. Except from ears for hearing, /ket/ is called as a handle of a rice cooker or of a kettle and side mirrors of a car. Because there are two ways to consider the phenomenon of the collected data, this research focuses on two theories: Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and Frame Semantics. This is because NSM helps simplify complex concept and understand cultural-specific meaning while Frame Semantics fulfills the analysis with the idea of a speaker's world view and schemata which affect the way speaker generate and perceive new meaning of words.

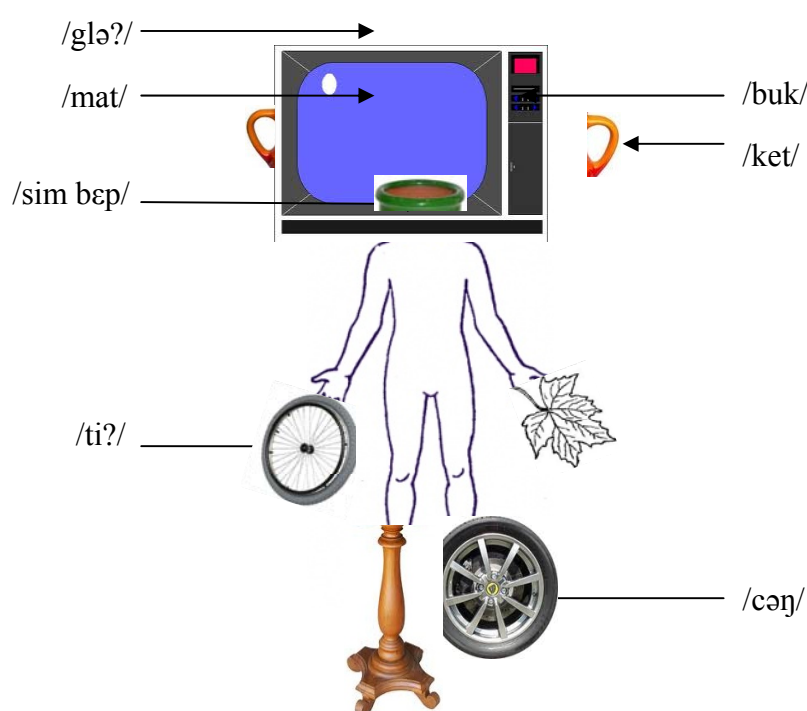


Figure 4.5. Picture showing extended meanings of Mlabri body-part terms

From the data collection of using extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms, it is found that not every word's meaning of body-part terms is extended. Most of the body-part terms extended meanings are prominent parts and have crucial and clear functions for the body such as seeing, hearing, putting things or separating directions and positions. In addition, most of the body-part terms are used as simple words. A few of them compound with other nouns. In this research, there are not, thus, complex words shown separately like studies of body-part terms in Modern Hebrew (Petruck, 1986), Lao (Enfield, 2006) and Kammu (Ahlner, 2008). All words which are employed polysemously are shown below but only frequently used words are more focused.

Firstly, terms of major areas which are extended their meanings are /cu dup/ 'back' and /ku□ ku/ 'skin'. The reason why other terms of the major areas are not extendedly used is they are words employed for positions and directions such as /luŋ^hlua/ 'outside', /ti naj/ 'inside', /r□ŋ kal/ 'in front of' and /r□ŋ k□t/ 'behind. The word /cu dup/ 'back' is the most frequently used terms and often used binarily with /buk/ 'face' as seen in figure below

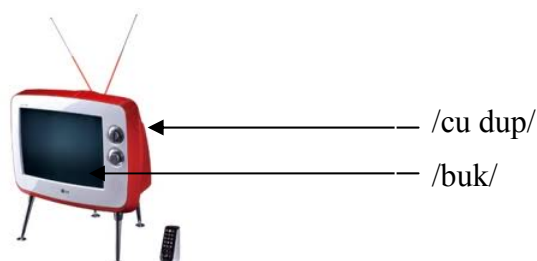


Figure 4.6. Picture showing relationship between /cu dup/ 'back' and /buk/ 'face'

The position of [cu dup] 'back' always parallels to the position of the word [buk] 'face'. For instance, a microwave, wardrobe, refrigerator, luggage or the back of a car have their own [cu dup]. Consequently, it is indicated that Mlabri speakers have anthropomorphic point of view. In other words, [buk] of a television, refrigerator, wardrobe, luggage or a car actually encounter speaker's face so this side is called as [buk] 'face'. On the other hand, both back of the speaker and the objects are opposite to the position of face. Therefore, any items, which have [buk] 'face', always includes [cu dup] 'back' as their binary. This answers the question why the word [cu dup] has more frequency of usage than other terms of major areas of the body parts.

The important areas whose meanings of the terms are extended the most highly in number are head and neck. The body-part terms which their meanings are polysemously designated for innovative items consist of [gləŋ] ‘head’, [buk] ‘face’, [kul muj] ‘hair’, [mŋh] ‘nose’, [mat] ‘eye’, [ket] ‘ear’, [sim bŋp] ‘mouth’, [cŋn] ‘tooth’, [rŋŋ kap] or [rŋŋ kap thalu] ‘oral cavity’ and [krŋt lat] ‘tongue’. Extended meanings of each term are illustrated on the table below

Table 4.6. Extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms for head and neck

Body-part terms	Extended meaning
[gləŋ] ‘head’	a motor of an electric fan, a lid of a pot, a buckle, a waist of a trousers or a skirt
[buk] ‘face’	a windscreen of a car, a screen of a television, a fan guard, a door of a microwave
[kul muj] ‘hair’	a broom, brush of a toothbrush/of bottle brush/of shoe brush, bush of a mop
[mŋh] ‘nose’	a nose of a mask
[mat] ‘eye’	a torch, lights of a car/of a motorcycle, a light of a lamp, lens of eyeglasses, lens of a camera
[ket] ‘ear’	a handle of a pot, a handle of a basket, a collar, side mirror
[sim bŋp] ‘mouth’	an entrance of a pot, an entrance of a bottle, seat of a toilet, an entrance of a basket
[cŋn] ‘tooth’	a sharp side of a knife, sharps sides of scissors, a sharp side of a hoe, craws of a crab
[krŋt lat] ‘tongue’	a drawer

There are around 35 terms designating parts of head and neck but only 9 terms are used for calling innovative items. It is observed that the meaning of /glə□/ ‘head’ expresses items which are in similar position to human’s head. Head is on the top part so the top part of the items on the table is called as /glə□/ ‘head’. The word /buk/ is extended to call items which have surface encountering speakers as mentioned above. The next term is /kul muj/ ‘hair’. Everything which has similar shape to hair, moustache, and beard is called as /kul muj/. And it is likely to add word to specify what kind of /kul muj/. For example, we can add the words /mat/ ‘eye’, /glə□/ ‘head’, /p□η/ ‘brush’ after the word /kul muj/. They will become compound nouns: /kul muj mat/ ‘eyebrow’, /kul muj glə□/ ‘hair of head’ and /kul muj p□η/ ‘brush of a toothbrush’ other than shrimp whisker since they call it /^h□im ^h□□m/. /ket/ is another term whose meaning is extended to items which have similar shape to ears such as handles of a pot, handles of a box and a headphone.

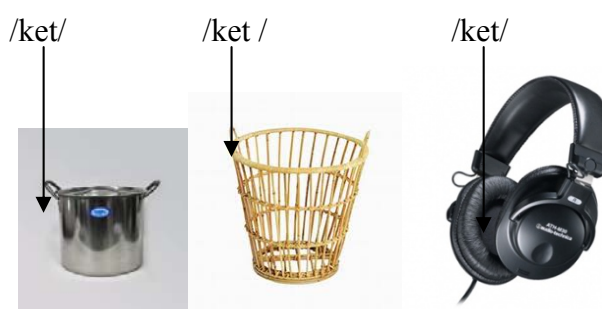


Figure 4.7. Picture showing parts of items designated as /ket/ ‘ear’

However, there might not be two sides of ears. Mlabri speakers call items which have only one side as /ket/ as well. For instance, a handle of rice cooker is on the lid of it and a handle of a luggage or suitcase or collar.



Figure 4.8. Picture showing parts of items designated as /ket/ ‘ear’

/mat/ ‘eye’, /c□n/ ‘tooth’ and /sim b□p/ ‘mouth’ have meaning extension in the same way. The common characteristic of three terms which Mlabri speakers see and use to designate innovative items is the function of seeing of eyes, of cutting of tooth and of putting inside the mouth. Most of the items which /mat/ extends its meaning are lights. Although some items have two sides of light or some have only one side of light, if their function is “to make people see” or “to lighten” Mlabri speakers still call them /mat/ ‘eye’ similarly, everything which has sharp sides for cutting things like scissors, knives, swords, axes or even claws of a crab is designated as /c□n/ ‘tooth’ in Mlabri language. The last one is the word /sim b□p/ ‘mouth’ because it constantly comes with /gl□/ ‘head’ which is used to mean a lid of an item. Mlabri speakers are not weird to use the items in that way since they can categorize and extend their meaning based on position/orientation, function and shape. /gl□/ is the topmost and vertical position of everything even human so the top part of items is called as /gl□/ based on its position and orientation such as motor of an electric fan, waist of trousers or skirt, a lid of a box etc. There are also some items having /gl□/ in horizontal position like the front part of a plane or a buckle. The word /sim b□p/ is employed based on functional criterion. Thereby, it is normal for Mlabri speakers that their mouth is next to the head.

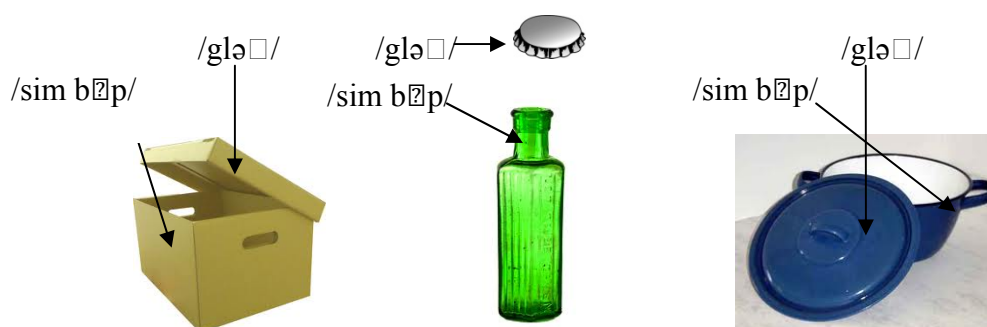


Figure 4.9. Picture showing parts of items designated as /sim b□p/ ‘mouth’ and /gl□/ ‘head’

/sim b□p/ is an opening of a container; hence, this term has very high frequency of usage because there are a lot of containers around them in their daily life such as a basket, a bamboo stem, a pot, a gallon, a pan and a baggage etc.

The other 3 terms of head and neck parts which are rarely extended to use for calling items are /m□h/ ‘nose’, /r□η kap/ ‘oral cavity’ and /kr□t lat/ ‘tongue’. It is found that the informants call nose of a snorkel as /m□h/. This may be because the position and shape of nose on a snorkel and nose on face are similar to each other. And the word /kr□t lat/ ‘tongue’ is found that it is used for calling only a drawer. This is the same as Thai terms /lín/ ‘tongue’ which is employed to call a drawer as well. Another one is /r□η kap/ ‘oral cavity’ which is used for calling only few items like blower of fire extinguisher and stapler. The items which are in the shape of the symbol [<] are compared with /r□η kap/.

The last term is /ku riw/ ‘eyebrow’ which is not often used. There are only two items found that they are called as /ku riw/ : handles of a hammock and joint of a light bulb as the figure below

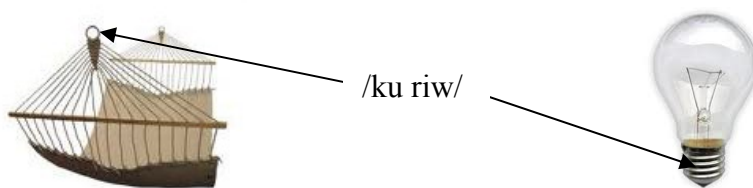


Figure 4.10. Picture showing parts of items designated as /ku riw/ ‘eyebrow’

From this phenomenon, shape might be shared characteristic which eyebrow, hanger of a hammock and joint of a light bulb belong to. Mlabri speakers might see eyebrows on handles of a hammock and joint of a light bulb. However, this term is not often used so there are very few items designated by the terms /ku riw/.

Body-part terms of hands and neck are employed to designate a lot of items based on position, function and shape. The meaning of /gl□/ ‘head’ and /buk/ ‘face’ are extended under directional factor while the extension of the meaning of /kul muj/ ‘hair’, /ket/ ‘ear’, /kr□t lat/ ‘tongue’ and /m□h/ ‘nose’ are based on shape. And the other three terms /sim b□p/ ‘mouth’, /c□n/ ‘tooth’ and [mat] ‘eye’ extend to call items on functional criterion. The extension of meaning like this occurs in other parts of the body such as limbs, torso and internal organs.

Terms of limb parts are the terms which are employed to call parts of hands, arms and legs. Although hands, arms and legs consist of many terms, there are

only three of them mostly extended to designate items. Nevertheless, the three terms, except /blu□/ that is rarely used, are used to designate items very often. This may be because of the prominence of the shape and function as we can see their meaning extension below

Table 4.7. Extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms for limb parts

Body-part terms	Extended meaning
[ti□] ‘hand’	a front wheel, a foreleg of an animal, vein of a leaf
[bl□ŋ] ‘arm’	a handle of an umbrella, a limb of eyeglasses, a handle of a pot, a handle of a racket, leaf stalk
[cəŋ] ‘foot’	a limb of a table or chair, base of an electric fan, a back wheel, an easel of a motorcycle
[blu□] ‘thigh’	a limb of trousers

The word /ti□/ ‘hand’ often accompanies the word /cəŋ/ ‘foot’ because they are employed to call wheels and animal’s legs except shrimp’s legs which are called as /ku ru w□t ti□/ ‘hand finger’. Mostly, vehicles have front wheels and back wheels so forelegs look like hands and back wheels or hind legs become feet in the Mlabri’s worldview. Nonetheless, it is not essential to always use /ti□/ ‘hand’ and /cəŋ/ ‘foot’. They can be used to designate items independently. For example, /ti□/ can mean vein of a leaf, a front wheel, a foreleg of an animal and /cəŋ/ often means the bottom part of items like an easel of a motorcycle, a heel of shoes, base of an electric fan or a wheel of a trolley which might have only one or two wheels as the figure below



Figure 4.11. Picture showing parts of items designated as /cəŋ/ ‘leg’

Another term whose meaning is extended to call as many items as /ti/ and /cəŋ/ is /bl/ 'arm'. The items called as /bl/ mostly have long shape like a handle of an umbrella, a handle of a pot, a handle of a kettle, a handle of a racket or a limb of eyeglasses. Nevertheless, there are some items called /bl/ though they are short such as a leaf stalk, a pin of a light bulb or a pin of a plug.

It is found that the word /blu/ 'thigh' is also employed to call an item but there is only one item called as /blu/. This item is a leg of trousers. This might be a specific part of the body so it is called as /blu/ 'thigh'. From the observation of the researcher, other items which have thin long shape are always designated as /bl/ but in the case of /blu/ used for a limb of trousers because it is on the position of /blu/ which is human's thigh. This shows the metonymic relation between limbs of trousers and human's thigh which are next to each other so the object is called as human organ.

Next, terms of torso parts which are extended to designate items are /k d/ 'bottom' and /doŋ/ 'penis'. The meaning of /k d/ is polysemously used based on position criterion. /k d/ 'bottom' often comes with the words /gl/ 'head' to indicate direction. The topmost part of an item must be designated as /gl/ 'head' and the bottom part is /k d/ 'bottom' especially the part which is on the surface of the ground as seen in the figure below

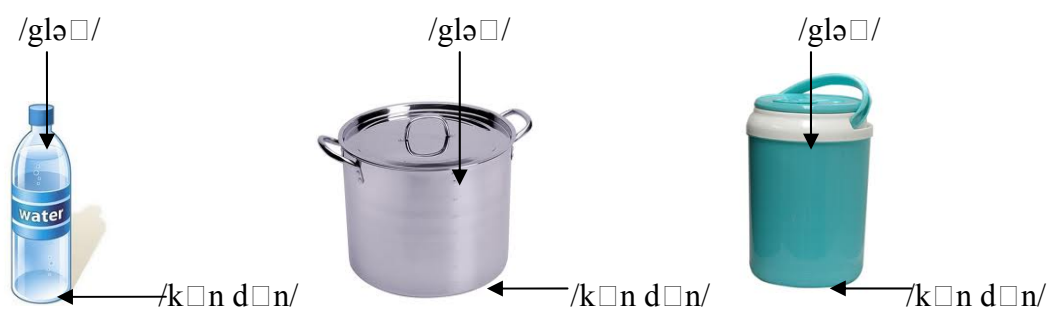


Figure 4.12. Picture showing parts of items designated as /gl/ 'head' and /k d/ 'bottom'

Most of the top part is a lid and bottom of all items. It seems that Mlabri speakers see themselves as a center or core position and then they see items as same as they see themselves in vertical orientation. Therefore, all parts of the items are designated with the same position of the speakers.

/doŋ/ or penis has specific usage for only items which have similar shape to a penis. A spout of a kettle and a spout of watering can are the items which /doŋ/ extends its meaning to designate them. Because of both shape and function to pouring liquid as same as /doŋ/ ‘penis’, a spout of a kettle and a spout of a watering can are undoubtedly called /doŋ/.

Except from many terms of extended organs used polysemously, there are some terms of internal organs which their meanings are extended to call items. /chə riŋ/ ‘spine’ can possibly mean spine of a book, foot of mountains, shoulders of a shirt, spine of a knife and top part of an iron.

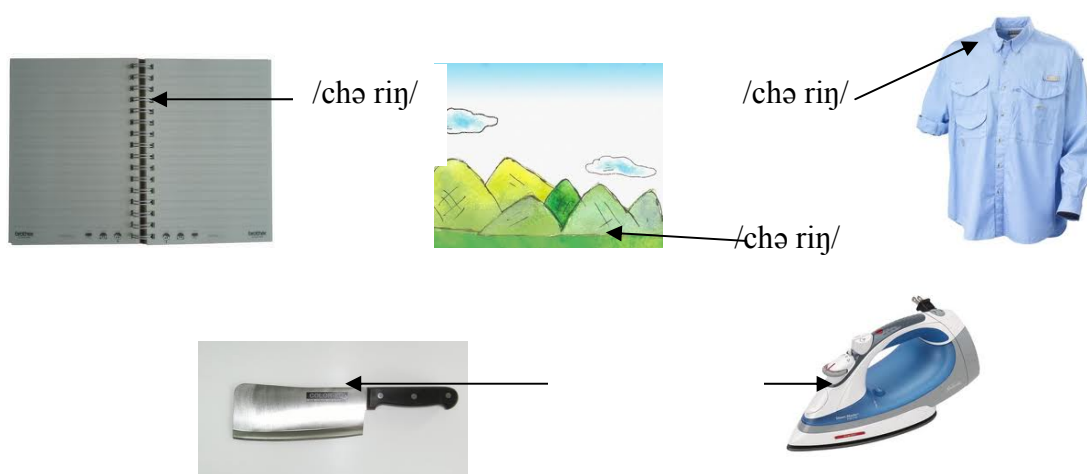


Figure 4.13. Picture showing parts of items designate as /chə riŋ/ ‘spine’

It is seen that Mlabri speakers extend the meaning of /chə riŋ/ ‘spine’ to call items which are in the shape of spine both vertically and horizontally as the figure above. Similarly, the word /chi chi joj/ ‘intestine’ can mean items which are inside something as same as intestine in the body. However, there are very few items designated by this term. Consequently, /chi chi joj/ can possibly be used to designate only the stapler track which is the only one item found in this research.

It can conclude that Mlabri speakers use their basic knowledge about body-part terms to designate other items around them without creation of new words. The meaning of the body-part terms can be understood easily among their group but it is difficult to understand for non-native speakers of Mlabri languages. Accordingly, there must be a method or methods to explain worldview and meaning of words in

Mlabri language so that non-native speakers can comprehend them and their language better. For this research, the methods which are suggested to explain the phenomenon of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms are Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and Frame Semantics which are going to be illustrated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

EXPLICATION OF BASIC AND EXTENDED MEANING

Using Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) (1972, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997), both basic meaning and extended meaning of body-part terms will be explicated by around 60 words of semantic primes in order to show how difference and similarity of the meanings of body-part terms when they are employed to designate items. There are three sets of body-part terms classified by the criteria of position/orientation (criterion of position and orientation used together in order to show narrow range of the difference between position and orientation in this research), function and shape. The criteria affect the meaning extension so the data are grouped in order that we can see the extension of meaning more clearly. Furthermore, in each set of basic meanings was firstly explicated and then followed by the explication of extended meanings.

The first term is /glə□/. Basically, /glə□/ means ‘head’ but when its meaning is extended, it can possibly mean a motor of an electric fan, a lid of a box, a waist of trousers, a bed head and a buckle.

/glə□/ ‘head’

- A part of a person’s body
- It is above all other parts of body.
- This part is on all people’s body
- Because of this part, a person is alive.

/glə□/ ‘a lid of a box’

- A part of a box
- This part is above other parts of a box.
- A person can move this part.

/glə□/ ‘an electric fan’

- A part of an electric fan
- This part is above other parts of an electric fan.

/glə□/ ‘a waist of trousers’

- A part of trousers
- This part is above other parts of trousers.
- All trousers have this part.

/glə□/ ‘bed head’

- A part of a bed
- This part is near head when a person lies

/glə▢/ ‘a buckle’

- A part of a belt
- It is seen on a /glə▢/ of trousers.
- This part touches a belt.

From the explication of meaning extension of the term /glə□/, there is a common characteristic of basic meaning of /glə□/ which means ‘head’ and the essential characteristic of head is “being above other parts” both vertically and horizontally. /glə□/ which means a waist of trousers, a motor of an electric fan and a lid a box is in vertical orientation as same as human standing. Additionally, /glə□/ which is extended to designate a bed head and a buckle indicates that Mlabri speakers have the picture of human lying as well. Metonymically, /glə□/ of a bed head is in the same position when people lie on a bed and /glə□/ of a buckle is the topmost or beginning point of a belt.

Therefore, it can be seen that position/orientation is emphasized as the prominent characteristic of the word /glə□/ rather than other criteria. To the Mlabri, they frequently use the word /glə□/ to designate things because it is one of major parts of the body and it can indicate position and orientation of the designated things. The explications above indicate that they employ the word /glə□/ to point both vertical and horizontal positions of human body comparing with the things.

/cəŋ/ ‘foot’

- A part of a person’s body
- This part is below other parts of the body.
- There are two sides on a body
- They are the same.
- They can move body.

/cəŋ/ ‘a leg of a table’

- A part of a thing
- This part is below other parts of the things.
- There may be one or more.
- They are the same.
- They cannot move things.

/cəŋ/ ‘a back wheel of a car’

- A part of a thing
- They are below all other parts of a thing.

/cəŋ/ ‘an easel of a motorcycle’

- A part of a thing
- This part is below other parts of a thing.

- They are on two sides of a thing.
- There must be other same two parts.
- The car can move because of them.
- When a thing moves, this part must be moved.

/cəŋ/ ‘a leg of a bed’

- A part of a thing
- They are below all other parts of a thing.
- A thing has four parts.
- They cannot move.
- They cannot move a thing.

The explication of the term /cəŋ/’s meanings shows that their shared characteristic is position/orientation and function of movement. Generally, /cəŋ/ ‘foot’ is below the body and moves the body. Similarly, /cəŋ/ ‘a leg of a table’, /cəŋ/ ‘a wheel’, /cəŋ/ ‘a leg of a bed and /cəŋ/ ‘an easel’ are all below a table, a car, a bed and a motorcycle respectively. According to the function of each meaning of the term /cəŋ/, only /cəŋ/ which means a wheel has the same function as /cəŋ/ ‘foot’. That function is to move thing above it. For example, foot moves body while a wheel moves a car. Other /cəŋ/s are used to make things stand. In other words, /cəŋ/ makes a table, a bed and a motorcycle stand as if they were legs supporting their bodies. If there is no /cəŋ/, a bed and a table will become only a plank of wood.

Human has two feet but when the meaning of /cəŋ/ is extended to items; they may or may not have two sides of feet. /cəŋ/ of a bed and a table has three or four sides whereas an easel of a motorcycle has only one foot. No matter how many feet the items have, the lowest parts of them are usually called /cəŋ/.

/kɒn dɒn/ ‘a bottom’

- A part of the body
- There are two parts of this part.
- These parts are alike.
- They are near /cu dup/ ‘back’.
- These parts are on the other side of the body.

/kɒn dɒn/ ‘bottom of a bottle’

- A part of a thing
- This part is below all other parts of a thing.
- This part cannot move.
- Nothing is inside a box if there is no this part

- They are not on the same side as /buk/ 'face'.
- They are not as same as /cəŋ/ 'foot'.
- These parts cannot move.

/kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ 'bottom of a box'

- A part of a thing
- This part is below all other parts of a box.
- This part cannot move.
- Nothing can be inside a thing if there is no this part.

/kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ 'bottom of a glass'

- A part of a thing
- This part is below all other parts of glass
- This part cannot move.
- Nothing can be inside a thing there if there is no this part.

/kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ 'bottom of a pot'

- A part of a thing
- This part is below all other parts of a thing.
- This cannot move.
- Nothing can be inside a thing if there is no this part.

Although the explication of /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ looks similar to the explication of /cəŋ/, they are different in terms of position and worldview of speakers. It seems that most items whose the meanings of /cəŋ/ are extended have shared characteristic of bottommost position but they must have long stick like legs. Moreover, the items which are called /cəŋ/ must make the other parts above them stand. On the other hand, /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ means the bottommost position when speakers are sitting or lying. This part cannot move but /cəŋ/ which can move the body or a car. However, when /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/'s meaning is extended, the shared meanings and characteristics which the items own are "to make things stand" and "the bottommost position of an item". In addition, /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ does not make items stand by a long stick but by a flat plate contacting the ground. Apart from the different position, /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ functions as a part of containers. For instance, the explication "Nothing can be inside a thing if there is no this part." indicates that if a container lacks of /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/ 'bottom', it will not be able to remain the characteristic of containers to contain things. From these criteria, Mlabri speakers

systematically select terms to designate thing they have seen. It is easy for them to distinguish what should be called [cəŋ] what should be called /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/.

The next two terms, which are explicate consistently together in order to see their parallel of meaning especially, from the criterion of position, are /buk/ ‘face’ and /cu dup/ ‘back’.

/buk/ ‘face’

- A part of head
- This part is on one side of a head.
- There are other parts on this part.
- Because of this part, x knows people feel.
- If one sees another part, one cannot see this part.

/cu dup/ ‘back’

- A part of the body
- This part is on one side of the body.
- This part is not the same part of a face.
- This part is above /kɔ̌n dɔ̌n/.
- If one sees this part, one cannot see another part.

/buk/ ‘screen of a television’

- A part of a thing
- This part is on one side of a thing.
- One can see something on this part.
- This part is very big part of a thing.
- People seeing this part is like people seeing /buk/ of a head.

/cu dup/ ‘back of a television’

- A part of a thing
- This part is on one side of a thing.
- One can see nothing on this part.
- This part is very big part of a thing.
- People seeing this part of television is like people seeing /cu dup/of back.

/buk/ ‘screen mirror of a car’

- A part of a car
- This part is on one side of a car.
- This part cannot move.
- This part is very big part of a car.
- If people see a car, people see this part.

/cu dup/ ‘back of a car’

- A part of a car
- This part is on one side of a car.
- This part cannot move.
- This part is not on the same side of /buk/ of a car.
- This part is the backmost of head.
- If one sees /buk/, one cannot see this part.

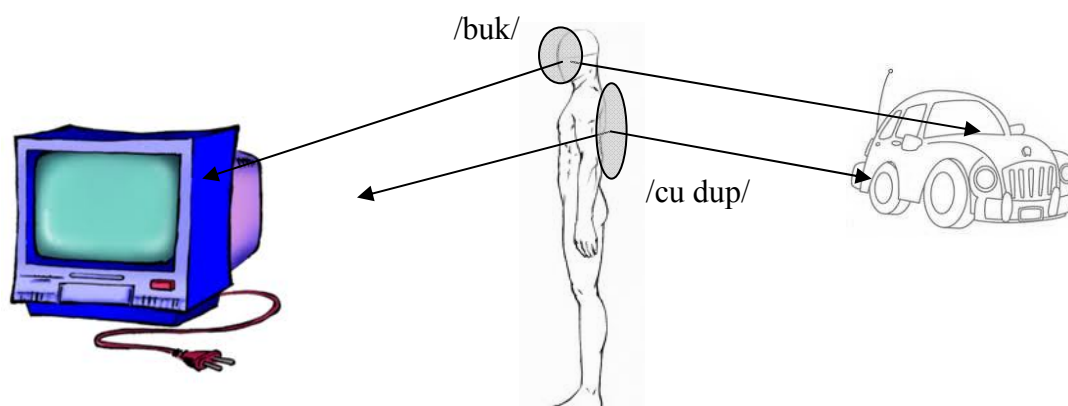


Figure 5.1. Picture showing parts of items designated as /cu dup/ ‘back’

It is seen that the shared characteristics of the terms /buk/ ‘face’ and /cu dup/ ‘back’ linking to the items are the front and back. /buk/ of a car or of a television is important parts of the items which they are attached. /buk/ of a car or a television is like a speaker’s face. Furthermore, it can be observed that /buk/ accompanies /cu dup/. For example, the designation of /buk/ and /cu dup/ occur on both a television and a car as if Mlabri speakers saw a television and a car as themselves. The part which encounters speakers is called /buk/ and the other part which is behind the /buk/ is called [cu dup]. The orientation of /buk/ and /cu dup/ on items is very important to designate them. However, the terms /buk/ and /cu dup/ can be used alone. For instance, /buk/ can be designated as a mask of an electric fan while a back of the electric fan is called /glə□/, not /cu dup/. Another example is the topmost position of a stapler. The occurrence of /cu dup/ on a stapler is on the topmost position as well. This can be hypothesized that worldview of [cu dup] in Mlabri language may occur in horizontal position and the back turns upside down. It can be claimed that their worldview is quite subtle and systematic.

The next explications are the group of body-part terms which are extended to designate items by using function as the linkage between basic meanings to extended meaning. This group consists of /mat/ ‘eye’, /sim b□p/ ‘mouth’ and /c□n/ ‘tooth’. Their explications are illustrated below

/mat/ ‘eye’

- Two parts of a person’s face
- These parts are alike.
- One is on one side of the face.
- The other is on the other side of the face.
- Because of this two parts, a person can see.

/mat/ ‘headlight of a car’

- Two parts at the front part of a car
- These two parts are alike.
- One is on one side of the front part of a car.
- The other is on the other side of the front part of a car.

/ mat/ ‘camera’s lens’

- A part of a camera
- This part is at the front part of camera.
- If there is this part, a person can see things better.

/mat/ ‘bulb of a torch’

- A part of a torch
- This part is above other parts of a camera.
- Because of these parts, seeing is better.

/mat/ ‘lens of eyeglasses’

- A part of an eyeglasses
- This part has two parts
- These two parts are alike.
- These two parts for a person’s eyes
- One is on one side of the eyes
- The other is on the other side of the eyes
- Because of these parts, seeing is better.

Eyes or /mat/ in Mlabri language are very important organs which have clear function, to see. When the meaning of eyes is extended, it transfers the function. Therefore, the component of meaning which /mat/ ‘eye’ shares with other items is “to see thing” both by one eye and by two eyes. /mat/ which means a head light of a car and a torch can make people see things in the darkness while /mat/ meaning glass of eyeglasses and lens of a camera need relation with eyes (human organs) to see things. In other words, eyeglasses are used to help see thing more clearly for those who are

short-sighted or long-sighted. And people use eyes to look through the lens of a camera before we take a photograph. Similarly, calling eyeglasses in Mlabri language is based on metonymic relation as same as /blu?/ ‘thigh’ designated as limbs of trousers and /glə?/ ‘head’ called a head of a bed

Usually, items which the term /mat/ ‘eye’ designates must have two sides of eyes but in Mlabri language it is not essential that /mat/ should always have two sides. /mat/ of a torch and a camera have, for example, only one side but they are still called as /mat/ because their function to make people see things is more important than their shape or the number of eyes.

/sim b□p/ ‘a mouth’

- A part of a face
- This part is below other parts of a face.
- There might be something inside this part.
- There are two parts of this part.
- One is above the other and one is below.
- Because of this part, a person can say things to other people.
- A person can move something to be inside this part.

/sim b□p/ ‘an opening of a bottle’

- A part of a bottle
- This part is above other parts of a bottle but below /glə?/ of a bottle
- .
- People can see this part if there is no /glə?/.
- A person can move something to be inside this part.

/sim b□p/ ‘an opening of a pot’

- A part of a pot
- This part is above other parts of a pot. but below /glə□/ of a pot.
- There might be something inside this part.
- People can see this part if there is no /glə□/.
- A person can move something inside this part.

/sim b□p/ ‘an opening of a box’

- A part of a box
- This part is above other parts of a box but below /glə□/ of a box.
- There might be something inside this part.
- People can see this part if there is no /glə□/.
- A person can move something inside inside this part.

From the explications of /sim b□p/’s meaning, it is indicated that its main function is “the entrance and exit of containers” from the component “A person can move something to be inside this part” and “There might be something inside this part”. Although the position of /sim b□p/ designated on a pot, a bottle and a box is the topmost position, the entrance and exit of the items is called /sim b□p/. This is because shape or position does not affect the meaning extension of the term /sim b□p/. Consequently, the function of /sim b□p/, the opening of container, is a criterion which Mlabri speakers use to decide in order to designate items because it is distinguished function.

/c□n/ ‘a tooth’

- Parts of a mouth
- These parts are small things inside the mouth.
- There are many of this part inside the mouth.
- They do thing to be smaller and smaller inside the mouth.
- When this part touches a thing, a thing can have 2 or many parts.

/c□n/ ‘a knife’

- A part of a knife
- This part do thing to be smaller and smaller.
- When this part touches a thing, a thing can have 2 or many parts

/c□n/ ‘scissors’

- Parts of scissors
- There are two parts of these parts.
- They are alike.
- One part is above the other part.
- One part is below the other part.
- When this part touches a thing, a thing can have 2 or many parts.
- They do thing to be smaller and smaller.

/c□n/ ‘a claw of a crab’

- A part of a crab’s claw
- There are two parts of these parts.
- They are alike.
- These parts are on two side of a crab.
- This part is the part touching things.
- When this part touches a thing, a thing can have 2 or many parts.
- They do thing to be smaller and smaller.

/cɔ̃n/ ‘a sharp side of a hoe’

- A part of a hoe
- This part is a part touching things.
- This part is like /cɔ̃n/ of a knife.
- When this part touches a thing, a thing can have 2 or many parts.
- They do thing to be smaller and smaller.

The explications of the term /cɔ̃n/’s meanings show that essential meaning distinctively depends on the function, to cut, of tooth. Although some meanings of /cɔ̃n/ focus on two sharp sides like a claw of a crab and scissors and there are other meanings used for one sharp side of a hoe and a knife, they are designated as /cɔ̃n/. This is because the function they have in common is “to cut things”. From the components explicated above, there is contact between sharp sides of /cɔ̃n/ and they can make a thing separate and become smaller. Hence, it is not different for Mlabri speakers to undoubtedly call all things which have this function as /cɔ̃n/.

The last four terms, /ket/ ‘ear’, /blɔ̃ŋ/ ‘arm’, /chə riŋ/ ‘spine’ and /don/ ‘penis’, which are then illustrated their explication use the orientation of shape to extend meaning to designate items as shown below

/ket/ ‘an ear’

- A part of a face
- This part is on two sides of a face.
- One is on one side of a face.
- The other is on the other side of a face.
- They are alike.
- Because of these parts, people can hear.

/ket/ ‘handle of a pot’

- A part of a pot
- This part is one two sides of a pot.
- One is on one side of a pot.
- The other is on the other side of a pot.
- They are alike.
- These parts are near /sim bɔ̃p/ of a pot
- People touch these parts to move a pot.

/ket/ ‘a collar’

- A part of a shirt
- This part is on two sides of a shirt.
- One is on one side of a shirt.
- The other is on the other side of a shirt
- They are alike.
- These parts are above other parts of a shirt.

/ket/ ‘handle of a rice cooker’

- A part of a rice cooker
- It is above other parts of a rice cooker.
- It is like /ket/ ‘ear’ and ‘handle of a suitcase’.
- It is on /glə□/ of a rice cooker.
- People touch this part to move a rice cooker or to move /glə□/ of a rice cooker.

/ket/ ‘handle of a suitcase’

- A part of a suitcase
- It is above other parts of a suitcase
- It is like /ket/ ‘ear’.
- People touch this part to move a suitcase.

Basically, ears are on two sides of human face and they are alike. Moreover, their function is to hear which is quite different from function of the items the term /ket/ extends the meaning to basic shape of ears is a half round and this shape is transferred to parts of a pot, a shirt, a suitcase and a rice cooker. Both of /ket/ ‘a pot’ and /ket/ ‘a shirt’ have two sides of /ket/ while a suitcase and a rice cooker have only one /ket/ on the topmost position of their body. None of the items has the same function, to hear, as the meaning of /ket/ ‘ear’ but their shared characteristic is immovability. In addition, the difference of meaning when the term /ket/ is used to call other items is portability since most of the /ket/s employed to designate the items all functions as a handle, not an ear for hearing. To sum up, shape of ear, a half round, is an important characteristic which Mlabri speakers use to extend to call items. Additionally, the items which are designated as /ket/ have the function as a handle of the items they are attached.

/blɔŋ/ ‘an arm’

- A part of the body
- This part is on two sides of the body.
- One is on one side of the body.
- The other is on the other side of the body.
- They are alike.
- They can move

/blɔŋ/ ‘handle of a broom’

- A part of a broom
- This part is above other parts of a broom.
- People’s hand can touch this part.
- There is another part next to this part.
- They are not alike.
- Because of this part, people can move a broom.

/blɔŋ/ ‘hanger of eyeglasses’

- A part of eyeglasses
- This part is on two sides of eyeglasses.
- One is on one side of eyeglasses.
- The other is on the other side of eyeglasses.
- These parts touch ears.
- If there is not these parts, eyeglasses do not exist.

/blɔŋ/ ‘handle of an umbrella’

- A part of an umbrella
- This part is below other parts of an umbrella.
- People can touch this part.
- There is another part above this part but they are not alike.
- Because of this part, people can move an umbrella.

Most of the meanings of /blɔŋ/ tend to mean a handle because the parts which the term /blɔŋ/ designates have contact with hand like a handle of an umbrella or a handle of a broom. Shape of /blɔŋ/ is the most important criterion to designate a long handle as /blɔŋ/. A hanger of eyeglasses is also called /blɔŋ/ although a hanger of eyeglasses may rather relate to ears and they should be designate as ears. This might be because their shape look rather like /blɔŋ/ than /ket/ in Mlabri speakers’ worldview.

/doŋ/ ‘penis’

- A part of the body
- This part is not above or below other parts of the body

/doŋ/ ‘spout of a kettle’

- A part of a kettle
- This part touches the body of a kettle.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One side of this part touches the body. - The other side is sometimes up and sometimes down. - If there is not this part, people cannot exist. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One side of this part touches the body of a kettle. - The other side is up. - If there is not this part, a kettle does not exist. - There might be something out from one side of this part. |
|--|---|

/doŋ/ ‘spout of a watering can’

- A part of a watering can
- This part touches the body of a watering can.
- One side of this part touches the body of a watering can.
- The other side is up.
- There might be something out from one side of this part.

The extension of /doŋ/’s meanings is another clear example of meaning extension based on the criterion of shape in Malbri language. /doŋ/ is a penis which has prominent shape to designate a spout of a kettle and a spout of a watering can because of the similarity of their shape. Direction of /doŋ/ ‘penis’, ‘spout of a kettle’ and ‘spout of a watering can’ are in slant which make them look more similar to each other. In addition, the common characteristic which they have is the part which let liquid go out. Therefore, there are very few items designated as /doŋ/ since not many kinds of items are often made to look like /doŋ/.

/chə riŋ/ ‘spine’

- A part of a body
- This part is on another side of the body.
- This side is not the same side of face.
- This part is inside the body but can be Touched from outside.

/chə riŋ/ ‘spine of a book’

- A part of a book
- This part is on one side of a book.
- Because of this part, all parts of the book are together.
- This part is as long as a book.

- This part is good for the body.
- This part is long
- Because of this part, all parts of the body are together.

- Because of this part, a book is good.

/chə riŋ/ ‘foot of mountains’

- A part of a mountain
- This part is very big.
- Because of this part, mountains are good.
- This part is long.
- This part is below other parts of mountains.
- Because of this part, mountains are together.

/chə riŋ/ ‘spine of a knife’

- A part of a knife
- This part is above all other parts of a knife.
- The other side of this part is

/cʰən/ ‘tooth’

- This part is long.

/chə riŋ/ ‘shoulder of a shirt’

- A part of a shirt
- This part is very big.
- Because of this part, a shirt is good.
- This part is above other parts of a shirt.
- Because of this part, other parts of a shirt are together.
- This part is long.

For internal organs spine is referred to designate items more often than other internal organs because of clear shape and function. /chə riŋ/ which means ‘spine’ has long hard form at the center of the body. Furthermore, spine functions as a splint for splicing bone which helps the body vertically stand upright. It seems that every part of the body was tied by spine. Hence, all characteristics are transferred to other items in the same way.

/chə riŋ/ of a book is a part to make a book because it gathers all sheets of paper to become a book. Moreover, it makes the book strong. Similarly, /chə riŋ/ of mountains, a knife and a shirt have the same function but may have different positions. /chə riŋ/ of the body is more similar to /chə riŋ/ of a book since it ties two sides, left hand side and right hand side, of the body together to compose as a body. /chə riŋ/ of mountains is the feet of mountains, the bottommost part of a mountain, which also ties mountains together. /chə riŋ/ of a knife and of a shirt are in the same position, topmost position with long shape like a spine. It is not because of the back shirt which makes a shirt is in form of a shirt but because of /chə riŋ/ designated at the shoulders of a shirt. And /chə riŋ/ of a knife is received the component of long hard shape from the original meaning although /chə riŋ/ of a knife lies horizontally.

In conclusion, the extension of Mlabri body-part terms' meaning depends on three main criteria: position/orientation, function and shape. The terms whose meaning extend to designate items based on the criterion of position are /glə/ 'head', /cəŋ/ 'foot', /cu dup/ 'back', /buk/ 'face' and /kən dən/ 'bottom'. Next groups are terms which consist of /mat/ 'eye', /sim bəp/ 'mouth' and /cən/ 'tooth'. The last one focuses on the criterion of shape which is important component transferred to items. This group includes /ket/ 'ear', /bləŋ/ 'arm', /doŋ/ 'penis', and /chə riŋ/ 'spine'. In addition, each term has relationship to each other. For example, /buk/ 'face' often occurs with /cu dup/ in terms of position or direction of parts of items. And there are references to each other like /sim bəp/ 'mouth' which is always under /glə/ 'head' in the case of entrance of a pot and a lid of a pot. Some terms look contradictory such as /kən dən/ and /cəŋ/, especially in their components but Mlabri speakers can categorized which part of items should be called /kən dən/ and which one should be called as /cəŋ/ depending on the components of movement and shape.

CHAPTER VI

SEMANTICS OF BODY FRAME

After the data explicated by semantic primes in terms of shades of meaning, another theory, which fulfills the data analysis by the explanation of experience-based schematizations of the speaker's worldview (Fillmore, 1978), is Frame Semantics. It helps to understand how Mlabri speakers perceive and extend the meaning of the body-part terms by the explanation of body frame (Petruck, 1986 and 1995) which they understand among their group automatically and systematically. The usage of body frame in order to designate items around them show that the new meaning generated from their experience or background knowledge of the most familiar things, body parts. If the background of new meaning is understood how they have generated, it will support explication of the extended meaning of body-part terms better.

This chapter shows innovative items which are named by body-part terms based on the number of body-part terms used for calling each items. For example, many parts of a car are designated by various body-part terms which highlight various qualities while a belt is named by only one term.

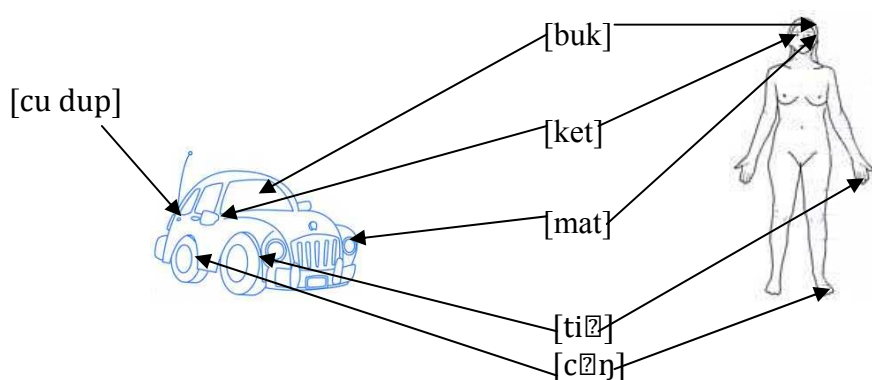


Figure 6.1. Body frames and car parts

In the Mlabri's culture, a car is the new item for their life so each part is designated by body-part terms depending on Mlabri speakers' worldview. The windshield is seen as /buk/ 'face' while all back area of a car are /cu dup/ 'back'. The position/orientation of the wind shield and back of a car are framed by the position/orientation of the front and back parts of our body as if we transferred ourselves to a car. Similarly, the /ket/ 'side mirrors' of a car are ears because people or living things have left and right sides of ear like a car's left and right side mirrors. Moreover, wheels of a car can indicate both position/orientation and function of our hands and legs. Front wheels are designated as hands whereas back wheels become legs. From the terms called both sides of wheels, they give the picture of body in horizontal position/orientation rather than vertical position/orientation when they call windshield and the back of a car. However, there are headlights and taillights of a car are designated by frame of function of eyes. /mat/ 'eye' is the terms for calling all kinds of light bulbs in this language. This is because the function of eyes is "to see" as same as the function of light bulbs which help to see things particularly, in the darkness. Therefore, wherever the light bulbs are and as long as their function is to make people see thing in the darkness, they are still called [mat] for Mlabri speakers. From the sample of the car's parts in Mlabri body-part terms, it can be concluded that only one item can be composed by various kinds of frames depending on the three criteria.



Figure 6.2 Picture showing /dɔŋ/ 'penis' and other parts of the body on a kettle

Similarly, it shows body frame on many parts of the kettle. The shape of /dɔŋ/ 'penis' is another clear figure to designate items which share this characteristic. V shaped-like characteristic overlaps the shape of a spout of a kettle or a spout of

watering can so they are called /doŋ/ among Mlabri speakers. Additionally, /doŋ/ of the body and /doŋ/ of a kettle or of a watering can are able to let liquid drain out. However, in my opinion, Mlabri speakers would call a spout of a kettle and a spout of a watering can because of rather shared characteristic of shape than the latter one. In addition, /doŋ/ on a kettle can have /sim bɔp/ ‘mouth’ on top of it because it functions as an entrance and exit for thing inside the kettle which is a container composed with /kɔn dɔn/ ‘bottom’, /glɔ/ ‘a lid of a kettle’ and /blɔŋ/ ‘a holder’. Thus, a kettle for Mlabri speakers is combined with many body parts depending on the three main criteria, position/orientation, function and shape.

The picture below illustrates the relationship of the body frames influencing how to designate parts of the containers which are the items always named by many body-part terms.

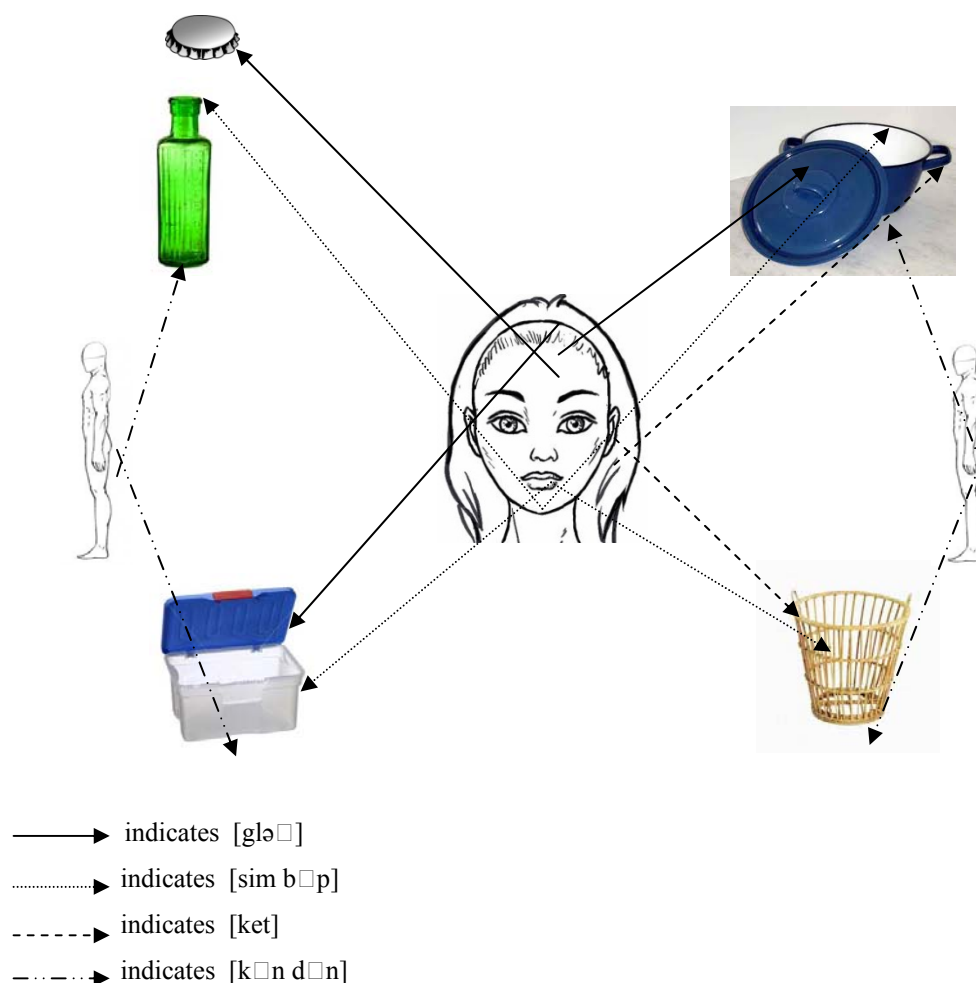


Figure 6.3. Picture showing containers designated by more than two body-part terms

From the picture showing the relationship between body frames and items, it indicates that the position/orientation of parts of the items relate to position/orientation of parts of the body. /glə□/ is the highest part of the body so it is the highest part of the items. For instance, the lids of a bottle, of a pot and of a box are clearly seen that they are in the topmost position of the items. On the other hand, the opposite position of /glə□/ is the bottoms of the items which are called as [k□n d□n] ‘bottom’ in Mlabri language. The frames of the head and the bottom are transferred to the lids and bottom, topmost and bottommost positions respectively, of the items in terms of position/orientation. From the sample items, their bottommost position is designated as /k□n d□n/ ‘bottom’ instead of /cəŋ/ ‘leg’ because the reason mentioned above. It seems that the head and the bottom in Mlabri people’s worldview function as position/orientation indicators rather than /cəŋ/ ‘leg’ whose function differs from /k□n d□n/ quite a lot. The containers above especially, a basket and a pot are attached with holders on their left and right sides like [ket] ‘ear’ on or head. /ket/’s frame is transferred with regard to its shape and position/orientation to items. Sometimes /ket/ ‘ear’ occurs on /glə□/ which is used for designating a lid of a pot or of a box. Only one /ket/ on different position/orientation is still called /ket/ for Mlabri speakers. For /sim b□p/ ‘mouth’, without /glə□/ ‘a lid of a container’ it is the topmost part which also functions as an entrance and exit for something put inside the containers. Hence, whatever is designated as /sim bəp/ ‘mouth’ must function both position/orientation indicators and entrance-exit for contained things.

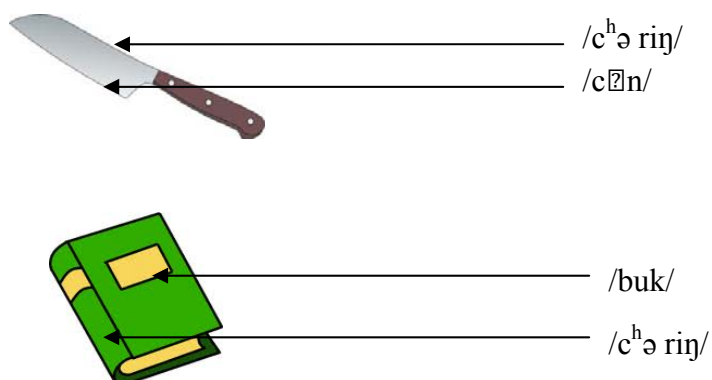




Figure 6.4. Picture showing items designated by two body-part terms

All items illustrating above highlight functions of body parts influencing terms for parts of the items and collaborating with other frames. /cɔ̃n/ ‘tooth’ and /c^hə riŋ/ ‘spine’ occur on a knife together. /cɔ̃n/ ‘tooth’ transfers the function of cutting to a knife whereas /c^hə riŋ/ ‘spine’ functions as a ridge of a knife. Two body-part terms transfer function frame to a knife while function frame and position/orientation frame occur together on parts of a book. /c^hə riŋ/ ‘spine’ of a book gathers all sheets of paper like the spine of the body which gathers pieces of bones to be a skeleton. And /buk/ ‘face’ indicates the front part of a book. Furthermore, arms attached with eyes can be possible for parts of glasses in Mlabri language as seen in the picture.

/buk/ ‘face’ - /cu dup/ ‘back’ is another contrastive pair in positions. In Thai, /nâ/ ‘face’ and /lǎŋ/ ‘back’ indicate positions “in front of” and “in the back of” respectively. In contrast, Mlabri language has separated sets of body-part terms and prepositions. /rɔ̃ŋ kal/ ‘in front of’ and /rɔ̃ŋ kɔ̃t/ ‘behind’ function as prepositions while /buk/ ‘face’ and /cu dup/ ‘back’ are used for calling body parts and extending to designate items which have the same characteristics as these parts of the body. This can be summarized that the way that Thai speakers use prepositions does not influence Mlabri prepositions because they have their own words for both body-part terms and prepositions.

/buk/

- Television screen
- Mirror of a car
- Door of a microwave
- Screen of a mobile phone

/cu dup/

- Back of a television
- Back of a car
- Back of a microwave
- Back of a mobile phone

Most of the items are always designated by /buk/ and /cu dup/. It might be possible that Mlabri speakers assume themselves as these items. /buk/ is the frontmost position of items whereas /cu dup/ indicates the backmost position of items. For example, a screen of a television or computer, a door of a microwave, a mask of an electric fan, a screen of a mobile phone, a mirror and a radiator bonnet of a car are in the same position of /buk/ 'face'. Contrastively, the back of all items is in the position of /cu dup/ 'back' like back of a television, back of a car, back of a microwave and back of a mobile phone. However, /buk/ and /cu dup/ can be used as a single word but they still refer the same positions of the body-part terms' meaning. For instance, /buk/ of an electric fan is the part which is in the frontmost position encountering face of speakers but its back which is a motor is called /gləŋ/ 'head' in Mlabri speakers' worldview instead of its binary /cu dup/ 'back'. From the extended meaning of /buk/ and /cu dup/, it is emphasized that Mlabri speakers extend meaning of the body-part terms based on their background of experience on those pairs of the body-part terms. Their background of experience affects the usage of each term for items systematically.

Some innovative items have only one part designated as human body parts because those items do not have complex structure like a car or a pot.



Figure 6.5 Picture showing items designated by one body-part term

From the figure of the belt above, it indicates that Mlabri speakers classify /glə□/ of items as /glə□/ of their body not only vertically but also horizontally. They call a buckle of a belt, a head of a bed and front part of an airplane /glə□/ as well but they are /glə□/ which lie in horizontal position. It can be concluded that /glə□/ in Mlabri speakers' worldview is divided into two orientations: vertical and horizontal orientation and they use these frames for transferring this background to the items to call them in the same way. Apart from /glə□/, /cəŋ/ indicates the bottommost position of the body. Similarly, /cəŋ/ is the term used for designating everything which is in the bottommost position of items such as a leg of a table, a leg of a bed, base of an electric fan and a wheel of vehicles. Nevertheless, there is a limitation of using the word /cəŋ/ to designate only items which have the same shape; long rather like a leg than a foot. In additionally, some items might be movable or unmovable. For instance, wheels of a car, of a motorcycle or of other vehicles including hide legs of an animals are called /cəŋ/ and they are movable like human's feet while heels of shoes, legs of a chair or of a table are not movable but they are framed by shape of legs instead.

Any items which are in the shape of hair or fur, thin and long like thread, are designated by /kul muj/. Actually, hair of the body parts such as eyelash, moustache, beard or hair in the armpit are /kul muj/ in Mlabri speakers' worldview. However, this term covers feather, fur and hair of animals. A shuttlecock is, therefore, called /kul muj/.

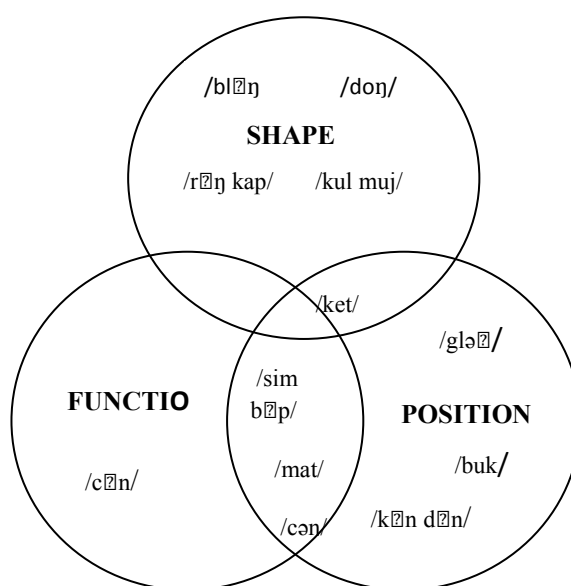


Figure 6.6 Diagram showing coordination of three kinds of the body frames

The diagram is divided into three parts: body-part terms extending meaning based on position/orientation, on function and on shape. Some body-part terms' meanings are extended depending on only one criterion; the others are employed due to two kinds of criteria. The diagram has some parts merging to show that those terms are sometimes extended based on criterion and sometimes based on the other criteria. This is because some body-part terms highlight differently criterion. For example, /blɔ̃ŋ/ 'arm', /doŋ/ 'penis' and /kul muj/ 'hair' are experienced with regard to only shape. Similarly, when /gləɔ̃/ 'head', /buk/ 'face' and /kɔ̃n dɔ̃n/ 'bottom' are used to designate items, Mlabri speakers are rather interested in their position or direction than their shape or function. /ket/ 'ear', /cəŋ/ 'foot' and /sim bɔ̃p/ 'mouth' are terms in the merging parts of the diagram since they can be employed because they can distinguishingly highlight two types of the criteria. When Mlabri speakers use the term /ket/ for calling items, they may consider their shared characteristics of shape or position. The other terms whose meaning extension depend on position/orientation and function are /cəŋ/ 'foot' and /sim bɔ̃p/. If people understand how Mlabri speakers pay attention on each body parts through their experience and worldview, it will not be different to study other angles of their mysterious life.

In conclusion, languages around the world which are referred above including Mlabri speakers use their own methods to validate body part terms, familiar vocabularies in their daily languages and lives, by extending meaning of them so that they have enough vocabularies to serve increasingly non-cultural items coming into their life. It can be claimed that the way people utilize their language source as the meaning extension in body part terms might be a common feature occurring in many languages especially, tribal languages which have limited number of vocabularies. It indicates that people transfer concepts of body part in respect of position/orientation, function and shape to whatever they experience without borrowing or coining new words. And these basic concepts are mutually understood among speakers of a language. Consequently, the phenomenon of meaning extension in Mlabri body part terms, how to extend meaning of limited vocabularies to unlimited concepts, can occur in any languages spoken in the world but some might extend to new items in their culture; the others might use for both familiar and unfamiliar items like Mlabri

because it is the easiest and the most basic solution for any cultures acquiring new concepts and not being able to generate enormous vocabularies as many as new ideas augmenting every day.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

7.1 Summary:

The Mlabri is a hunting-gathering group which has their unique style of culture and language. The uniqueness reflects on the way they categorize their body parts and the way they take advantage from them in terms of meaning extension of the body-part terms. Although the categorization of Mlabri body-part terms is not complicated like other cultures, the terms which they designate parts of their body indicate simplicity of their life. They do not pay attention on details of each part. If any parts of the body look similar to each other, they are called by the same term. For example, [kul muj] basically means ‘hair’ but eyelash, moustache, beard, hair of armpits or hair of any parts of the body are called [kul muj] as same as [kul muj] ‘hair of head’. Another example is the term for elbow and heel. Mlabri speakers may see that an elbow and a heel have some shared characteristics. Thus, they call those two parts [klu col]. Apart from [kul muj] and [klu col], the more interesting terms are terms for thumb, index and other fingers. Normally, they call all fingers [ku ru wut] but sometimes fingers can show the relationship among members of a family. Thumb is called [on] ‘father’ and index is a representative of [uj] ‘mother’. The rest of the fingers are designated as children or [uw] in Mlabri language. In addition, [uj] and [on] are used for calling the moon and the sun respectively. It can conclude that in Mlabri worldview, parents are very important people in their life. They do not only lighten in day time and in night time but they also work hard as [ku ru wut] on the Mlabri’s hands.

According to the analysis of meaning extension in the previous chapter, not all body-part terms are extended to designate innovative items. There are only around twenty terms which have prominent characteristic and relate to items. The Mlabri extend meaning of body-part terms to designate items systematically. Some of them might be extended to designate items which have similar shape; others might be

used for items which share characteristic of function or position. To find the best way to explain this phenomenon, this research has employed two theories: Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and Frame Semantics. Both theories are appropriate tools for explanation of semantic phenomena because they were generated based on basic knowledge of human.

There are 13 body-part terms analyzed with NSM because of the prominence of their characteristics and frequency of usage. The body-part terms were grouped based on the prominence of position/orientation, function and shape. [gləŋ] ‘head’, [cəŋ] ‘foot’, [kŋ dŋ] ‘bottom’, [buk] ‘face’ and [cu dup] ‘back’ were in the group of the terms which extend meaning to items being in the same position or direction. [mat] ‘eye’, [sim bŋp] ‘mouth’ and [cŋ] ‘tooth’ use their obvious functions, to see, to contain things and to cut, for the meaning extension based on their function whereas [ket] ‘ear’, [blŋ] ‘arm’, [dŋ] ‘penis’ and [chə riŋ] ‘spine’ have shape as their prominent characteristic so their shape are important component for meaning extension. Among each group there are some components which were explicated by semantic primes shared to each other. For instance, any items used for cutting things such as a hoe, a knife, a sword or scissors are designated by the term [cŋ] ‘tooth’ due to the same function. And there are the components like “when this part touches a thing, it can have two parts or many parts.” or “when this part touches a thing, it may be smaller.”. However, there are some terms having more than one kind of components overlapping. [ket] ‘ear’, for example, is used for items which have handles on two sides as same as ears on a head but sometimes [ket] is employed for a handle on a lid of a pot. It might be very funny to imagine that a pot can possibly have three ears on its body, two ears on left and right sides and the other on its lid.

Another theory used in parallel with NSM is Frame Semantics which was derived from the idea of experience-based schematization of speakers. Actually, NSM and Frame Semantics came from the same basic idea, to explain meaning based on basic experiential knowledge. The base of knowledge can make people understand more complex meaning better. For Frame Semantics, Fillmore selected to use frames to analyze and explain the phenomenon of meaning extension and meaning generation of words in many languages. In this research, body frame played important role to explain the meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms. The whole body is a big

frame but there are sub-frames assigned by position/direction, function and shape of the body parts. These kinds of frames show how Mlabri speakers extend the meaning of their body-part terms more clearly and systematically. Furthermore, their worldview which reflects on the relationship between all kinds of body frames and items. For example, they see a television as if they saw themselves in a mirror. And then they call the screen of a television's [buk] 'face' and the back of a television [cu dup] 'back'.

In short, both NSM and Frame Semantics are effective tools to analyze the meaning extension of Mlabri body-part terms. They support each other to make outsiders understand how Mlabri speakers take advantage from their language to harmonize their culture and outer cultures. Nevertheless, some points of the theories still have problems which affect the analysis. The problems will be discussed in the next section.

7.2 Discussion:

The discussion of this research was divided into cultural issue, theoretical issue and recommended studies. In the cultural issue, Mlabri culture and worldview which reflect on their language are discussed. And then some points from the analysis section especially, strong points and weak points of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and Frame Semantics influenced the analyzed data. Finally, there will be some recommended studies which would be worthwhile to be studied in the future.

Generally, major areas of the body in Mlabri are divided as binary parts: upper-lower body, front-back sides, left-right hand sides, and inside-outside skin. Mlabri speakers have 2 sets for frontness and backness. One is a set for front side and back side and the other is a set for orientation. [re ɔ̌k] and [cu dup] are a pair of a set for front side and back side respectively while a set for orientation consists of [rɔ̌ŋ kal] 'in front of' and [rɔ̌ŋ kɔ̌t] 'in the back of'. The two sets of frontness and backness are used in different way. The former is used as nouns whereas the latter is employed as prepositions. On contrary, there is only one pair of frontness and backness in Thai that is used in any context and function. For example, Thai speakers use [dan nâ/ khan nâ] 'front side of the body' as a noun or a preposition as [khân nâ bân] 'in front of the house'. In Thai, [nâ] means face and [lan] means back. Thai

speakers use both for indicating body parts and directions. Similarly, English speakers employ only one set of front-back which might be used as front side-backside for telling sides of objects and in front of-in back of for telling directions.

Moreover, there are words for “left hand side” and “right hand side” in English and in Thai which do not relate to any parts of the body but Mlabri speakers use their fingers for directions. For the left hand side they use left finger side [kuruw□l ta□poj] and [kuruw□l di] for the right finger side. There are also [luŋ hlua] ‘outside’ and [ti naj] ‘inside’ functioning as nouns and prepositions. The word [ti naj] is quite similar to Northern Thai language [taŋ naj]. It is possible that Mlabri speakers borrow it from Northern Thai language. The last major area is skin which is called as [ku□ ku]. It is used for calling all parts that is skin.

Another point is [lu□ kul] and [kl□r] used for toes and fingers. [lu□ kul] can possibly mean thumb or great toe and [kl□r] is employed for index finger or index toe. However, Mlabri speakers have another set of terms for calling fingers and toes. Thumbs and great toes are labeled by the word [□oŋ] which means father while index fingers and index toes are called as [□uj] which means mother. And for the rest of the fingers and toes are labeled as [□□w] ‘children’. It is denoted that parental value plays important role in Mlabri culture because they call the sun as [□oŋ] ‘father’ and the moon as [□uj] ‘mother’ as well.

Mlabri speakers use [buk ti□] ‘palm of hand’ and [buk cəŋ] ‘sole of foot’. It can be assumed that they might see faces on hands and feet so they create compound body part terms. Furthermore, toe is called [ti□ cəŋ] or hand of foot. This can be implied that the Mlabri think that their body parts are living things which can have organs as usual human or animals.

Traditionally, they ate wild potatoes and fruit as their staple food. Although they have changed their food and the way to eat very much, their traditional culture reflects on some words such as [ple□ kok] ‘Adam’s apple’ and [tar □e□] ‘trachea’. [ple□] means ‘fruit’ so it is shown that Mlabri speakers compare their Adam’s apple to fruit which attached at the neck. Likewise, [□e□] means ‘wild potatoes’, the most important food for the Mlabri in the past, and the word [tar] is used for calling whatever look like a string or cord. When the two words combine together, there is a

new word for calling a trachea to indicate that this organ relates to food in according with the Mlabri's construal.

The cultural issues discussed above shows us that the prominence of their culture is signified in words in daily life, such words for directions or human organs. For instance, the family institution is very important for them so words for family relationship do not only occur on organs like fingers, but they are also employed for calling other things like the moon and the sun. In addition, their traditional food appears as compounded words to designate human organs. If the culture of eating wild potatoes is no longer their daily culture, it will be still occur in their vocabularies.

The meaning extension of body part terms does not only in Mlabri language but also in languages in other families such as Valley Zapotec languages spoken in southwestern-central highlands of Mexico (Lillehaugen, 2003), Kewa language spoken in Papua New Guinea island (Franklin, 2003), Modern Hebrew spoken among Jewish people (Petruck, 1995) and Moken language spoken in Surin island of Thailand (Andaman Pilot Project, 2009). The three-fourth of the languages suggested are considered as the languages of minority groups which are endangered except Modern Hebrew. The body part terms in each language are extended in different way as the following discussion.

In Valley Zapotec languages, people use body part terms as prepositions and as parts of a car (Lillehaugen, 2003). For example, [ni'ih me'es] means 'foot of a table' but it also means 'under the table'. The word [ni'ih] means 'foot' if it defines the bottommost part of a table. The meaning changes when syntax of a clause prefers locative phrase to noun phrase. Thus, to know if the meaning of [ni'ih] is 'foot' or 'under' depends on the syntactic structure of a clause. Except from prepositions, some body part terms are used to designate new items like a car. This phenomenon occurs in Mlabri language as well.

Body part terms in Kewa language are employed in the same way as Mlabri and Valley Zapotec languages to call new items which have recently entered into their culture (Franklin, 2003). All parts of a car is called as if it were a human body. For instance, a cabin of a car, a gearbox and a tire are designated as head, heart and finger nail respectively. Oil is included as a part of a car and called blood which has the same function as blood, liquid for stimulating parts of our body. Moreover,

some body part terms in Kewa language and in Mlabri language are employed to call the same parts of a car like side mirrors as ears, headlights as eyes and front tires as hands. Although they come from different language families, they share a similar way to generate new vocabularies in order to make them sufficient for new things introduced into their life.

Similarly, Moken language, one of the Austronesian family, calls parts of [ka ban], Moken boat as body parts (Andaman Pilot Project, 2009). Their boat is designated as if it had cheek, stomach, ribs mouth and bottom of human body. However, there is no further study in the project about the meaning extension of body part terms. Both Moken and Mlabri are hunter-gatherer groups in Thailand who have just integrated with the outside world so they may have the same method to generate vocabularies to name new items introduced into their culture. If this language is studied further, the same phenomenon in the language might be found as in Mlabri language.

Petruck (1995) is another person who validates body part terminology affecting nouns in Modern Hebrew. There are body part terms in Hebrew occurring with both compound nouns and complex nouns. In addition, there are some verbs deriving from body part terms because of morphological structure in Hebrew. The similarities of the body part terms' extended meaning between Hebrew and Mlabri languages are items which are designated by body-part terms. Some of them are new items introduced into their culture; the others are things which can be seen easily around themselves like heads of vegetables, nature, or items in their cultures. Petruck explained the phenomenon of the meaning extension by the notion of Frame Semantics which was used in my study of Mlabri body part terms as well.

According to the analysis of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms which has employed two critical theories, NSM and Frame Semantics, they will be discussed about advantages and disadvantages based on data analyzed in the previous chapters. In this section of discussion, it will include advantages and disadvantages of NSM and Frame Semantics used for the analysis of the meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms, occurrence of body-part terms in other semantic fields and suggestions for further studies.

Natural Semantic Metalanguage or NSM was the first theory used for analyzing the data and after using the semantic primes to explicate the data, both its strength and weakness for explaining the phenomenon of the meaning extension in the body-part terms are recognized. Many researchers working on NSM such as Wierzbicka (1972, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997), Goddard (1994, 1997, 2002, 2004, 2008), Ameka (1994), and Chappell (1994) . NSM can render complex ideas or concepts to simple ones especially, in indigenous or unfamiliar languages by basic words called “semantic primes” which are believed that human have learnt them since human are very young. In addition, the semantic primes are claimed to be universal vocabularies which human can mutually perceive (Wierzbicka, 1996 and Swadesh, 1955). It is very easy to explain meaning with basic words we have known. It is not necessary to face circle definition which makes complex term become more complex as seen in dictionaries. However, the problems found in the analysis of the data collected are limitation semantic primes for explicating characteristics of items to which Mlabri body-part terms’ meaning, thus ending up with too long explication for each meaning.

Due to the fact that the meaning extension of Mlabri body-part mostly occurs on artifacts, the semantic primes which trend to use for explicating abstract ideas, are not enough to explicate the meaning of the artifacts to which the body-part terms extend their meaning. For example, [buk] mean ‘face’ and it can possibly mean a screen mirror of a car and a screen of a television. It is very difficult to explicate the meaning of a car’s screen’s mirror or a television’s screen with the semantic primes because the number of the semantic primes is not enough to clearly explain the characteristic of the items. The explications may confuse people who really want to understand the true meaning of cultural-specific words of a language. Another example is the term [c□n] ‘tooth’ which also means a sharp edge of a knife, sharp edges of scissors or a sharp edge of an ax. If someone never experiences a knife, scissors or an ax before, they cannot understand what the explications are expressing. It is hard to explain the prominent function of the sharp side which functions as a cutter, cutting everything or making a thing split into many pieces. This characteristic was explicated with the limited words from the semantic prime as followed

“When this part touches a thing, it can have two parts or many parts.

When this part touches a thing, it is smaller and smaller.”

The limited semantic primes cannot define the characteristic or meaning of the sharp edge perfectly and clearly enough. From the explication above, someone might not think about cutting but they might think about other functions like grinding, pounding or tearing instead because those methods can make a thing become two or many parts and smaller as same as sharp edge.

Additionally, explicating shape of items is one of the problems of using semantic primes in the word definition. This is because to describe shape needs words for each kind of different shapes such as round, long, short, thin or thick, etc. I found this problem when I tried to explicate the extended meanings of the word [cəŋ] 'foot'. It can mean a wheel of vehicles and leg of furniture like a chair, a bed or a table. To explicate the shape of a chair's leg which looks like a long cylinder, the words in the semantic primes are not enough to describe this kind of shape. Although long cylinder is the shape which transfers from leg of the body, this characteristic was avoided to be explicated by emphasizing on function and position of legs instead since there are not semantic primes matching with long cylinder-like shape.

If it is possible, some words for describing basic shapes should be added to be new members of the semantic primes in order to explicate meanings of manufacture. Every culture must have their own cultural-specific items to show their identity and those items need good definitions because they are cultural-specific concretes in a culture. If the semantic primes are selected as representatives of universal basic words for analyzing complicated concepts, they should be able to be used for giving definition of items or concrete concepts so that they are an effective tool to define any abstract or concrete concepts and solve the problem of circle definition which has been tested for years.

Apart from NSM used in the previous chapter, Frame Semantics has played important role to explain the phenomenon of Mlabri body-part terms in a more integrated way. It trends to emphasize the usage of the most familiar frame for the native speakers to analyze the phenomenon of the data. In this research, body-frame was selected as Petruck also used in her dissertation in 1986. And it is found that Frame Semantics is the theory which is easier than NSM in terms of complexity and usage for analysis and presentation to other people who might not have background knowledge about it before. In other words, the body is the important thing which

people get most acquainted with. Furthermore, it is the thing which people have experienced very well. For example, Mlabri speakers extend the meaning of their body-part terms to call new items without creating new words. [glə] ‘head’ can be used to designate a lid of a box, a lid of a pot or a buckle. The extended meaning of Mlabri body-part terms systematically occurs under the limitation of each part of the body. Because each part of the body in the Mlabri’s worldview is different with regard to position/direction, function and shape, some terms which seem similar and might replace each other for calling items are limited their usage based on position/direction, function and shape or shortly called “body-frame”. Consequently, the speakers are never confused to select terms for items they see. There is, for instance, a confusing pair [kən dən] ‘bottom’- [cəŋ] ‘foot’. [kən dən] can be used for calling bottom of a bottle, bottom of a pot or bottom of a kettle while [cəŋ] is employed to designate legs of a table, legs of a chair or wheels of vehicles. It seems that the position of [kən dən] and [cəŋ] are the same, the bottommost position, but the position is not the only one criterion which Mlabri speakers use to categorize terms for each item. This is because they tend to mention the criterion of function and shape as well. [kən dən] is mostly used for designating bottoms of containers like a bottle, a box, a plate or a kettle although the bottom is in the bottommost position as same as the position of [cəŋ]. Not every item which is in the bottommost position is called as [cəŋ] since it must have function and shape like [cəŋ]. The function of [cəŋ] is to move or to make the body of items stand. Moreover, items which have similar shape to legs, long-cylinder like shape, can be designated as [cəŋ]. For example, wheels of vehicles are called as [cəŋ] because they can make vehicles move as same as legs which contribute to our bodies’ movement. Legs of a chair or of a table or a base of an electric fan make the body of the furniture stand like the legs of our bodies. Due to the factors mentioned above Mlabri speakers never get confused to designate items as they are based on experiences of their body parts. The body frame which are attached with the criteria, position/direction, function and shape, functions as an indicator for selecting appropriate terms of each item.

Frame Semantics is an appropriate choice for explaining the phenomenon of meaning extension in Mlabri body-part terms even though it was not created to ‘define meaning’ directly like NSM. This theory is very easy to understand for any

people and possibly adapted for any other semantic fields because it describes the language phenomena by relating to the concrete experience of native speakers. Frame Semantics can be used to simplify any complex cultures based on the experiences they perceive.

Another issue is the occurrence of body-part terms in emotional expressions which link feeling or emotion to various parts of the body. There are a few of the emotional expressions which include body-part terms but some of them are very interesting and indicate the Mlabri's identity. For example, [ɲɲn mat] literally means 'cooked eye' but it is used for expressing sleepiness of a person in Mlabri language. [tha ŋɲl gləɲ] is another expression compounded with the body-part term [gləɲ] 'head' in order to mean 'get drunk' or 'feel dizzy'. However, this kind of the expressions is not often found in Mlabri language and it would take much time to elicit them from the ex-hunter-gatherers like the Mlabri.

Now that linguistic studies of Mlabri language are rarely found, some useful studies which will help to augment linguistic and cultural information about the Mlabri in the future will be suggested then. Some compound words attracted the researcher's interest very much because they are built from body-part terms. For instance, [ʔɲn mat] 'sleepy' is composed from [ʔɲn] 'cooked' and [mat] 'eye'. It literally means 'cooked eye' but they mean 'sleepy'. Another word is [tʰa ŋɲl gləʔ] which mean 'be drunk' or 'be dizzy'. The word [tʰa ŋɲl] has no meaning but [gl əʔ] means 'head'. In English, the symptoms of being drunk and being dizzy are different while Mlabri speakers see that they are the symptoms occurring in the head. There are more descriptive words consisting of body-part terms like the example indicated above waiting to be studies.

Another one is designating gender of objects through the words [ʔuj] 'mother' and [ɲon] 'father'. For example, they call the moon [ʔuj] and use the word [ɲon] for calling the sun. When they make a knife, they call the plate under the knife as [ʔuj] and [ɲon] as a hammer. It is possible that there might be more pairs for calling objects in the same way as the sun-the moon and the plate for making a knife- a hammer.

Both of the linguistic issues suggested above focus on culture and worldview showing in their vocabularies. This might be a better way to learn the Mlabri's culture through the semantic field than elicitation which is difficult to conduct because their culture has been fading away through time.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Word list of Mlabri body-part terms

	External Organs	Extended Meaning in Innovative Items
Head Parts	[glə□] ‘head’	-band of a headset -lid of a bottle -top part of a lamp -lid of a cooking pot -top part of a vacuum bottle - top part of a flask -buckle -lid of a milk bottle
	[ce□ □□η] ‘skull’	
	ku ru wel ‘middle part of a head’	
	[kul muj glə□] ‘hair’	-[t□k kul muj □ac] ‘batminton’ -brush of a toothbrush -brush of a mop
Face&Neck Parts	[buk] ‘face&fore head’	-front page of a file -lamp -door of a microwave -bottom part of an iron -screen mirror of a car
	[mat] ‘eye’	-light bulb -lens of a camera -head light of a car or

		of a motorcycle
	[kru riw] 'surroundings of eye, eyebrow'	
	[kul muj mat] 'eyelash'	
Face&Neck Parts	ku□ ku mat 'eyelid'	
	[k□n mat] 'pupil'	
	[k□n toaj] 'eye ball'	
	[m□□] 'nose'	
	[klu□ □uŋ m□□] 'nose hole'	
	[kiw lək] 'nose bridge'	
	[m□ gaŋ gaj] 'alar cartilage'	
	[chə riŋ m□□]/ [ch□r t□r] 'cartilage from nose bridge to area above upper lip'	
	[p□r pəl] 'area around lips'	
	[wəŋ] 'chin&molar'	
	[sim b□p] 'lips'	-hole of pencil sharpener -hole of a faucet -entrance of a pot -entrance of a bottle -entrance of a glass -entrance of hair drier
	[c□n] 'tooth'	-sharp side of scissors

		-sharp side of a knife -sharp side of a hoe -sharp side of nail clipper
	[krɔ̌t lat] ‘tongue’	-drawer
	[kul] ‘molar tooth’	
	[rɔ̌ŋ kap] ‘oral cavity’	-presser of a fire extinguisher
	[trɔ̌k] ‘gum behind molar tooth’	
	kluɔ̌ ɔ̌uŋ wəŋ ‘palatal’	
	[cin cɔ̌n] ‘gum’	
Face&Neck Parts	[ta lel] ‘uvula’	
	[ket] ‘ear’	-[prɔ̌ pok ket] ‘headset’ -handle of baggage -handle of a pot -side mirror of a car -side mirror of a motorcycle
	[pə ket] ‘pinna’	
	[weŋ ket] ‘internal ear’	
	[tha lu] ‘external ear’	
	nɔ̌ɔ̌ ɔ̌ŋ lɔ̌ɔ̌ ‘neck’	
	[pleɔ̌ kok] ‘adam’s apple’	
Leg Parts	[wul wal] ‘hip’	

	[blu□] ‘thigh’	
	[klul kal] ‘shin’	
	[pan dak] ‘foldable joint’	
	[kul kil] ‘knee’	
	[tar n□r] ‘calf&shin’	-easel of a bicycle
	[kr□n laj] ‘ankle’	
	[cəŋ] ‘foot’	-heel of a high heel -easel of baggage -[ten cəŋ] ‘footbroad of a bicycle’ -wheel of a bicycle -wheels of a car
	[pəl dəl] ‘sole’	
	[ti□ cəŋ] ‘foot fingers’	
	klul col ‘heel’	
	p□□ l□□ ‘talus&instep’	
	[ku ru w□t] ‘finger’	
Hand Parts		
	[buk cəŋ] ‘finger palm’	
	[ti□] ‘hand’	
	[ku ru w□t ti□] ‘hand finger’	
	[klul] ‘thumb’	
	[kl□r] ‘index finger’	

	[pəl dəl ti□] ‘palm of hand’	-[buk ti□] ‘palm’
	[kr□n laj] ‘wrist’	
Arm Parts	[bl□ŋ] ‘arm’	-handle of a flask -handle of an umbrella -leaf stalk
	[ta□ ho] ‘armpit’	
	[bi□ bl□ŋ] ‘muscle’	
	[khwep] ‘shoulders&shoulder blades’	
	[kr□n laj] ‘joint of shoulders’	
	[la] ‘shoulders’	
	[klu□ col] ‘elbow’	
Front Parts of Trunk	[bo□] ‘breast’	
	kr□ □ək ‘chest’	
	[k□n ton] ‘nipple’	
	[ch□r ch□r] ‘collarbone’	
	[træk] ‘rib’	
	^h l□w] ‘waist’	
	[k□n diŋ] ‘navel’	
	[gəŋ] ‘belly’	
	[plil] ‘virgina’	

	[doŋ] ‘penis’	-spout of a kettle -spout of a watering can
	[lɔŋ kal] ‘front side’	
	[ku ru wɔl ta poj] ‘left side’	
	[ku ru wɔl di] ‘right side’	
	[wul wal] ‘hip’	
	[kuɔ ku] ‘skin’	
Back Parts of Trunk	[chə riŋ] ‘bone from neck to back’	-foot of a mountain -spine of a knife -spine of an iron -spine of a book -spine of a notebook
	[kriɔ koj] ‘coccyx’	
	[nɔɔ ɔɔŋ lɔɔ] ‘neck bone’	
	[kɔn dɔn] ‘bottom’	-base of a lamp -bottom of a pot -bottom of a bottle -bottom of a flask
	[kluɔ ɔuŋ ɔi jak] ‘anus’	
	[cu dup] ‘back’	-back of a television -back of a microwave -back of a wardrobe
	[lɔŋ kɔt] ‘back side’	

	Internal Organs	Extended Meaning in Innovative Items
	[krɔ̌t lət] ‘internal neck’	
	[tar ɔ̌e] ‘esophagus’	
	[tar krɔ̌t lət wɛŋ] ‘trachea’	
	[pɔ̌t] ‘lung’	
	[kluɔ̌ klol] ‘heart’	
	[pet] ‘liver’	
	[puj] ‘stomach’	
	[chi jɔ̌j] ‘large intestine’	
	[chɔ̌ rɔ̌ tæl] ‘cartilage on back’	
	[cuŋ thoŋ] ‘intestine (general term)’	
	[gləɔ̌ ɔ̌ɔ̌n] ‘brain’	
	[chi jɔ̌j ɔ̌ɔ̌n] ‘small intestine’	
	[geŋ gɔ̌j] ‘urinary bladder’	
	[ban] ‘fat’	
	[hmɔ̌ŋ] ‘blood’	
	[jak jek] ‘lymph’	
	[nɔ̌m] ‘urine’	

	[ɿ jak] ‘stool’	
	[tar hmɿŋ] ‘vein’	
	[hmɿŋ plil] ‘menstruation’	
	[huaɯ mat] ‘tear’	
	[guŋ] ‘pus’	
	[huaɯ taɿ aɿ] ‘saliva’	
	[pol] ‘vagina’	
	[kak] ‘vomit’	
	[thuɿ ɿur] ‘sweat’	
	[tar kɿn diŋ] ‘umbilical cord’	
	[muŋ] ‘womb’	
	[ɿ jak ket] ‘ear wax’	
	[guŋ mat] ‘gum’	

Appendix B

Word list of animal's body-part terms

[hɔ̌n tar] 'tail'
[chɔ̌ŋ kɔ̌r] 'wing'
[cul bok] 'pig's feet'
[cəŋ chiɔ̌ kɔ̌ŋ] 'chicken's feet'
[pru lut] 'scales'
[chɔ̌ rɔ̌ tɔ̌r] 'fin'
[khan daj] 'horn&ivory'
[kul muj ɔ̌at] 'feather'
[ɔ̌im ɔ̌ɔ̌m] 'fish whisker'
[mɔ̌j] 'streaky pork'

BIOGRAPHY

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