

Animal-referring Words in Malay Idioms: A Lexical Function Analysis

Salinah Jaafar
Malay Studies Academy
University of Malaya
Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Abstract

Malay language has many ways in describing various things and events. Idioms are used as one of the very fine ways to say something in order to save the listeners' face. Every word chosen in idiomatic phrases has its own meaning. Compared to the common words used daily, the words chosen in Malay idiomatic phrases are much related to the way of thinking among the Malay people. They show creativity in that they relate to the surrounding world as a symbolic way in telling something. Nowadays, idioms are almost forgotten by Malay younger generation. They only learn idioms as a compulsory subject to pass their exam in Malay Language classes. Other than that, they would not know exactly what idioms are about. This paper discusses Malay idioms, focusing on the meanings and the lexical functions of some animal-referring words in Malay idiomatic phrases.

Introduction

Malay proverbs always say that *bahasa menunjukkan bangsa* "manners make the man"; this is to show that from the language point of view we can recognize the culture and the way of life of the people in this world. Malaysia, for instance, is a nation that pay great attention to politeness in communications. Those who know how to speak properly with the right choice of words will be considered well-mannered and those who always use the harsh words will be considered rude and unmannered persons. Nowadays, among most of the youngsters, all the norms and values in polite communication seem to be fading day by day. They do not know how to respect the elders and how to communicate without provoking somebody's feeling. Sometimes they do not even bother whether their choice of word brings about bad consequences in future communication.

Among our old generation there were ways to convey messages without hurting or provoking one's feeling. They were really careful with their choice of word in order to save the listeners' face. Their diction was taken from the surrounding and they would use it as a comparison to all the events and incidents happening in people's life. The words chosen in Malay idioms were not only to bring the correct meanings but would also give a deep effect to the person involved without identifying who the person was. All forms of idioms were created in such a way to convey messages whether direct or indirectly.

Harun Mat Piah (1999: 459) said that Malay idioms contained some important poetic values which were arranged following some rules between the lines and also had some rhyme to make them sound like poems. From the choice of words we can see that some of the idioms in Malay language are similar to the *pantun* or *syair*. The rhyme

arrangement makes the idioms sound like songs with a nice melody even though they contained a sarcastic remark or advice that may not be conveyed in normal language. For example:

*Berapa tinggi terbangnya bangau,
Akhirnya hinggap di belakang kerbau.*

(However high the padi-bird soars, it's on a buffalo's back that he eventually perch). Or *East or west, home is best*, which means that how far or how good the outside world is, it cannot be compared with our home which is the best.

Malay idioms are created in such a creative way by relating the surrounding to their real lives. To discuss all aspects of Malay idioms will need more time and space; so I will only discuss four words referring to animals used in Malay idioms such as *anjing*, *gajah*, *pelanduk* and *buaya*. I will focus on their lexical functions.

Idioms

There are quite a great number of idioms in Malay. The different types of idiom can be distinguished by looking into the lines, the choice of words, and the rhyme used. Some of the idioms only contain one line, called *pepatah* or *bidalan*, as can be seen in *kalau bertunas diganggut kambing* (if it puts forth a shoot, the shoot is bitten in two by a goat), referring to (a) the condition of a man whose small hard-earned profits are all swallowed up by misfortunes, or to (b) an invalid whose attempts to pick up strength are all frustrated by accidents just as they begin to be promising. Other examples as *ada gula, adasemut* (where there is sugar, there are ants), *ada air, ada ikan* (wherever there is water, there is fish) which contain the same meanings as "where food is to be gotten, or money to be made, there are peoples who will always congregate". From the second and third examples we can see that the idea intended to be conveyed is one of faith in the bounty of God, who will provide for His creatures wherever they may find themselves. This *pepatah* or *bidalan* are more popular among the people in Negeri Sembilan an area related to Minangkabau customs, culture, or *adat pepatih*¹.

Another type of Malay idiom is *kiasan* which contains only two words. For example, *rabun ayam* (chicken blindness) referring to a person having a difficulty of sight at dusk; *cakar ayam* (the scratching of fowls) which refers to a bad hand writing. Other than *kiasan*, *perumpamaan* is also part of Malay idioms which contains direct and indirect meanings. *Perumpamaan* always starts with the word like *laksana*, *seperti*, *bagai*, and *umpama*. For examples *laksana lembu kasi*, *galak sahaja tiada melawan* (Like a bullock, which threatens but never charges) referring to someone who only knows how to threaten people but have no courage to act. This type of *perumpamaan* is a comparison of things, events, or acts. Another example is *seperti anjing dengan kucing* (like cats and dogs) which is applied to people who likes to quarrel most of the time.

As for English, Moon (1998:03) divides idioms into two main meanings. First, idiom is a particular manner of expressing something in language, music, art, and so on, which characterizes a person or group. For examples:

¹ *Adat pepatih* is a kind of law practices by the people in Negeri Sembilan, originated from Indonesia.

...the most fantastic [performance] I have seen in the strict idiom of the music hall comedian.

But, as the show's own cliché-riddled idiom would have it, it's all a lost cause and a crying shame.²

Secondly (and much less commonly in English), an idiom is a particular lexical collocation or phrasal lexeme, peculiar to a language. Moon also looks at idioms from the speech act theory and states that idioms are occasionally used to refer to a conventionalized formula with an illocutionary function. She also refers to Sadock (1972) who draws attention to ambiguity of utterances which have more than one pragmatic function: ambiguity leads to the status of an idiom.

Looking at the definition given in dictionaries, Kamus Dewan³ (1996:1018) defines the word *peribahasa* (idiom) as:

"ayat atau kelompok kata yang mempunyai susunan yang tetap dan mengandung pengertian tertentu, bidal, pepatah: pegangan mereka yang teguh kepada ~ "biar mati anak jangan mati adat", sudah cukup menerangkan kebudayaan mereka.(sentences or a group of words in a fixed arrangement and contain a certain meaning, bidal, pepatah: "the adat (law) has to stay even at the cost of your own children" their strong belief to peribahasa is enough to show their culture).

While Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia⁴ (1999: 755) defines *peribahasa* as:

1. kelompok kata atau kalimat yang tetap susunannya dan biasanya mengiaskan maksud-maksud tertentu (dalam peribahasa termasuk juga bidal, ungkapan, perumpamaan) ;2. Ungkapan atau kalimat-kalimat ringkas padat, yang berisi perbandingan, perumpamaan, nasihat, prinsip hidup atau aturan tingkah laku.(1. a group of words or expressions in a fixed arrangement and normally reflecting to a certain meaning (included in peribahasa are bidal, pepatah); 2. Expressions or simple short sentences which contain a comparison, reflection, advice, a life principles, or behavior)

Collins Cobuild⁵ defines an idiom as:

1. As a particular style of something such as music, dance, or architecture. (FORMAL).

Examples:

McCartney was also keen to write about classical *idioms*, rather than pop ones.

It was an old building in the local idiom.

(N-COUNT: usu sing, with supp = style)

² Examples are taken from Oxford Hector Pilot Corpus.

³ Malay monolingual dictionary

⁴ Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia is similar to Kamus Dewan, published in Indonesia for Indonesian language.

⁵ Collin Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners on CD-Rom, 2001, HarperCollins Publishers.

2. As a group of words which have a different meaning when used together from the one they would have if you took the meaning of each word separately. (TECHNICAL). Examples:

Proverbs and idioms may become worn with over-use.

She is, in fact, a perfect illustration of the French idiom 'to be comfortable in one's own skin.'

N-COUNT

= phrase

3. As a particular kind of language that people use at a particular time or in a particular place. (FORMAL). Examples:

a) *And nothing was so irritating as the confident way he used archaic idiom.*

b) *...her command of the Chinese idiom.*

(N-UNCOUNT = language)

From the definitions given by Cobuild above, we can consider idioms as a particular style in conveying message and meaning. We can conclude that Malay idioms can be defined as a lexical unit which containing messages, advices, humors, and emotions which are used and created differently from the normal grammar. It is a way of reasoning and expressing feelings in order to save the listeners' face.

The Functions of Idioms in Malays

Idioms are a tool used by Malay people to convey a message in a fine and beautiful way. Idioms show how careful the traditional Malay people in choosing their words to say something without hurting or provoking someone else's feeling. The uniqueness in their choice of words really shows that Malay people are more concerned about the politeness when communicating with each other to avoid tension.

Generally, an idiom in Malay functioning as a medium to convey a message which contained advices regardless who the persons involved are. This becomes a symbol that Malay peoples are proud of. With idioms, they can educate their people and guide them to live in harmony and peace, without creating any havoc or tension among themselves. The creative words chosen in idioms are not only nice to hear, but also have a deep meaning which can give a strong effect to the listeners. Proverbs such as *bumi jangan lembang, pemalu jangan patah, ular biar mati* (Let not the earth be disturbed nor the stick broken, yet let the snake be killed) is an advice to people do things consistently and effectively to avoid loosing in the end. Seeing how they chose the word *ular* (snake), we can conclude that whatever happens around Malay people can be used as a comparison to their fact of life.

Idioms also function as a reminder to people who always forget their duties as human beings. In Malay culture everybody has his/her own duty towards family, friends, relatives, religion, life and so on. Sometimes as normal human beings people tend to forget things that need to be done or to be prioritized. In order to remind them they come up with idioms like *bungapun gugur, putikpun gugur, masakpun gugur* (The flowers fall and so must all things fair, the old drop off and so the fully ripe) which states that death is inevitable to young or old people; when the time comes and God wishes, anybody can die anytime.

Other than that, idioms also function as a fine way in expressing sarcastic remarks or anger. In the Malay world, people do not use harsh words to repay or to reply to bad remarks. They will choose nice words in return, or give sarcastic remarks to those people who always forget or who always do something against their culture. For example *bangsa anjing kalau biasa makan tahi, tak makanpun cium juga* (Dogs that eat filth, smell filthy, even when they have not eaten it) carries a function as a sarcastic remark to those people who have very bad habit or behaviour, even though they are not active anymore, but still they have a thought to do it.

Sibarani (2002: 383) in his paper lists seven functions of Malay idioms:

1. Giving advices.
2. Taboo.
3. Encouragement.
4. Compliment
5. Education
6. Sarcastic remarks
7. Entertainment.

Idioms which function as an advice are normally directed towards younger people or younger generation. As a taboo, idioms are formed to avoid bad things happen. As an encouragement, idioms are formed to console people who are in sadness or frustration. As a compliment Sibarani further states that idioms are formed to express beauty, courage, or excellent persons. As an education, idioms is formed to guide people in life and way of living. And lastly, he says that idioms are created in the form of jokes to make people happy during relaxed time.

Lexical Functions

The concept of lexical function was first introduced by Igor Mel'čuk (and Žolkovskij) in his theory called Meaning Text Theory, It is a set of formal tools designed to describe in a fully systematic and compact way all types of genuine lexical relationship among lexical units of a language. According to Mel'čuk, in the process of text production, the speaker, whether a human or a computer, is faced, among other difficulties, with the problem of lexical choices: to go from a given Semantic Representation to a corresponding Deep Syntactic Representation. The speaker has to select lexical units, i.e., lexemes and/or phrasemes that he will use to build his sentences. In this perspective, two types of lexical unit have to be distinguished: one is a lexical unit with the paradigmatic axis, and the other is a lexical unit with the syntagmatic axis. For example, the speaker, while speaking of cars, may need to find the name for the 'little plaque which is designed to be fixed on a vehicle and on which the vehicle's registration number is printed' [=LICENSE PLATE] or for the 'small business which sells gas and oil for automobiles...' [=GAS STATION]: a paradigmatic choice. On the other hand, he may need to find the name for an event involving the car, e.g., 'the wheels of a car loose their grip on the road, so that the car gpes sideways [=the car SKIDS] or to say that his 'car uses up to much gasoline' [=the car GUZZLES gas]: syntagmatic choices (Mel'čuk: 1996: 37)

For a lexical unit, a lexical function specifies:

- a) Paradigmatic lexical correlates – which show the derivational relationship.

b) Syntagmatic lexical correlates – which show collocational relationship.

Mel'čuk's extensive work to expand the lexical function approach has led him and his group to bring about 'Explanatory *Combinatorial Dictionaries*' in lexicography. In addition, in order to codify the denotational and connotational semantics of lexemes, establishing their polysemous structure, and so on, he pays particular attention to the lexical and syntactic association of words. Even though the lexical functions in Mel'čuk's approach can specify the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relation, all the criteria and aspects of the lexical unit need to be identified in the mathematical sense, which is complicated and difficult to elaborate especially for those who are not familiar with math.

Referring to the lexical function definition and its relation to meaning, a lexical function in Malay language can be defined as a function or role of the chosen word used in natural language without relating it to a language system and grammar. Lexical functions can be used to explain meaning contained in a chosen word from its occurrence in phrases or sentences.

Collocation

In order to understand the concept of a lexical function, we need to define other terms or concepts related to lexical function analysis, such as collocation, concordances, lemma and corpus. Sinclair (1991:170) defines *collocation* as "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in text".

Moon (1998:26) says that collocation typically denotes frequently repeated or statistically significant co-occurrences, whether or not there are any special semantic bonds between the collocated items. There are three kinds of collocation reflecting qualitatively different kinds of phenomenon. First, collocation arises through semantics: co-occurrence of co-members of a semantic field, representing co-occurrence of the referents in the real world. For example, the lemma *jam* co-occurs significantly with other words from the lexical set 'food', such as tarts, butty, doughnuts, marmalade, apricot, and strawberry. Such collocation may help identify topic or disambiguate polysemous words automatically in cases where discursual context has to be inferred.

Second, collocation arises where a word requires association with a member of a certain class or category of item. Such collocations are constrained lexicogramatically as well as semantically. For example, *rancid* is typically associated with *butter*, *fat*, and food containing butter or fat. In other cases, a word has a particular meaning only when it is in collocation with certain other words. The third kind of collocation is syntactic, and arises where a verb, adjective, or nominalization requires complementation with, say, a specified particle. Such collocation or colligations are closer to other recurrent strings in the text, grammatically well-formed and highly frequent, but not necessarily holistic and independent. For example, *to be*, *one of*, *had been*. The various kinds of collocation discussed above show that a lexical selection is motivated by the meaning or semantics; it carries with it various collocational and syntactic constraints: the selection of co-text is not free. (Moon: 1998:27)

In Malay language (from my point of view) collocation also plays a big role in describing or explaining lexical meanings. Collocation refers to meaning relations that are found

among words in a syntagmatic structure. Abdullah Yusof (2002) states that collocation can supply more information and more details about a lexical item compared to the information provided in a Malay dictionary. This is because from collocation we can detect a different meaning when the word occurs in different co-texts. Jackson and Amwela (2000: 65) said that idioms may be treated as a type of collocation involving two or more words in context. An idiom may be defined as a phrase, the meaning of which cannot be predicted from the individual meanings of the morphemes it comprises.

Other than collocation, concordance also plays a big role in lexical function analysis. Concordance is an alphabetical list of the principal words used in a book or body of work with their immediate contexts. Concordances are frequently used as a tool that can be used for the study of a text, such as:

1. Comparing different usages of the same word
2. Analysing keywords
3. Analysing word frequencies
4. Finding and analysing phrases and idioms
5. Finding translations of subsentential elements, e.g. terminology, in bitexts and translation memories
6. Creating indexes and word lists (also useful for publishing)⁶

Lexical Functions of Animal-referring Words in Malay Idioms

Due to the time constraint, this paper will discuss and analyze only four words related to the animal's *anjing*, *gajah*, *pelanduk* and *buaya* used in Malay idioms by focusing on their lexical functions.

Anjing (Dog)

Anjing or dog is an animal that has four legs often kept by people as a pet, or to guard their house or property, or to hunt. In Kamus Dewan (2005:63) *anjing* was defined as 1. *Sejenis binatang yg menyalak (ada yg diperlihara utk menjaga rumah dsb ada yg liar); 2 ki barua, tali barut, ang sama, muncikari, jaruman, pinang muda;* (1. a kind of animal that barks (some are kept as a house guard and some are stray) and 2. a spy or secret agent (referring to people). From the definition above we can see that *anjing* carries two concepts, one refers to the animal and another to a person who acts as a spy or secret agent.

In Malay idioms, *anjing* carries various lexical functions. To discuss further the lexical function, we need to know the meaning of an idiom which contains the word *anjing*. The list of *anjing* used in Malay idioms and its meaning can be seen as below:

Sepert anjing beroleh bangkai; anjing gonggong bangkai; (Like a dog finding a dead animal; a dog carrying a carcass)

The idiom refers to a person who wants to keep something which has obtained, and who grudges others the share (as we know that dogs growl and snap each other over a carcass).

⁶<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Concordance>

Seperti anjing mengulang bangkai (a dog going back to his carcass).

This idiom refers to a person (normally a man) who has once stopped a filthy habit, but cannot forget it and then returns to that filthy habit again.

Seperti anjing dapat pasir. (Like a dog on a sand-bank)

Running heedlessly hither and yon, through sheer and rude health and robust spirits.

Seperti anjing dengan kucing. (Like a dog and a cat)

This idiom refers to a situation between two persons who like to quarrel whenever they meet. (It normally happens among colleagues or siblings who disagree with each other).

Anjing diberi makan nasi, bila akan kenyang? (Will a dog be satisfied, no matter how much rice you may feed him?)

Kindness is thrown away upon coarse, unmannerly people, who are always expecting fresh favours.

Bagai anjing disua antan. (Like a dog when you poke a stick along his direction).

A metaphor for growling wrath, which refers to a person who likes to express his anger by shouting and yelling to people.

Anjing ditepuk kepala menjungkit ekor. (Pat the dog on the head and up goes his tail)

Show attention to a brute, and he will requite you with an insult.

Anjing galak, babipun berani. (The dogs are bluffing, the wild boars are prepared to fight)

Both sides are spoiling for a fight.

Seperti anjing kepala busuk or *seperti anjing kurap.* (Like a dog with a sore head or like a dog with bad ringworms).

A contemptuous expression applied to an outcast, without friends, shelter, food, or money.

Seperti anjing makan muntahnya. (Like a dog which eats what he has vomited)

A simile to a stingy or miserly misconduct.

Anjing menyalak bukit, bukit mahukah runtuh? (If a dog barks up a hill, will the hill crumble?. If a pauper threatens a wealth or a prince, will the prince tremble?.

The idiom means if someone who does not have anything wants to challenge somebody who has everything, it is impossible for the poor to win. It is to advise people to look at themselves before doing anything, so that what we do will be worthwhile.

Bagai anjing menyalak di pantat gajah. (Like a dog barking behind an elephant)

Impotent threat or useless act.

Bagai anjing tersepit di pagar, or *bagai anjing tersepit ekor.*

Like a dog squeezed in a fence.

A person showed her/his anger in a clamour or hideous way.

Bagai melepas anjing tersepit.

Like freeing a dog from being squeezed in a fence.
 It is not worth to help someone who doesn't know how to appreciate it.

The relation between collocation and lexical function *anjing* can be seen in the table below:

Collocates	Lexical Function
<i>Bangkai</i> (carcase)	Bad habit
<i>Muntah</i> (vomit)	Unmannered person
<i>Pasir</i> (sand)	Mischievous
<i>Menyalak</i> (barking)	Lousy or useless acts
<i>Antan</i> (wood stick)	Hot-tempered/anger person
<i>Tersepit</i> (squeezed)	Useless person, ungrateful person
<i>Kurap</i>	Pauper
<i>Babi</i> (pig)	Bluster
<i>Kucing</i> (cat)	Quarrelsome

Table 1: Collocation and Lexical Function of *anjing*

The word *anjing* in Malay idioms usually carries a negative meaning when associated with certain words. The words *gonggong* collocates with *anjing* reflect to a very greedy person who is selfish, while the word *ulang* refers to a person who has a bad habit but cannot change it. When *anjing* collocates with the word *pasir*, it functions as a playful person who is not serious in doing his work, or as a person who does not have an objective in life. The word *menyalak* when collocating with *anjing* shows that there are people who have a louder voice but they are not getting any benefit from their loudness. *Anjing* collocating with the word *tersepit* pictures an angry person who likes to shout aloud when he is in trouble. *Anjing* collocates with the word *melepaskan* and *tersepit* giving an impression of an ungrateful person. *Anjing* when collocating with the word *babi* (pig) functions as a bluster. *Anjing* collocating with the word *kurap* or *kepala busuk* describes a penury people. As we can see above, *anjing* mostly carries a negative impression to Malay people. Compared to English, dog always represents loyalty or companion to English people and carries a positive effect.

Gajah (Elephant)

Kamus Dewan (2005) defines the word *gajah* as:

1. *Sejenis mamalia dalam famili Elephantidae (berbadan besar dan mempunyai belalai dan gading).* (A kind of animal in Elephantidae group, which has a pair of tusks and a big size).
2. *buah catur yang jalannya menyerong* (a chess cube that takes a narrow move)
3. *sesuatu yang besar.*(Anything in big size)

In Malay idioms, *gajah* (elephant) also carries various lexical functions. To discuss further the lexical function we need to know the meaning of the idiom which contains the word *gajah*. The list of words for *gajah* used in Malay idioms and their meanings can be seen as below:

Gajah hendak berak besar, kancilpun hendak berak besar, esok ke bebang. (The elephant passes the excrement; the mouse-deer desires to do the same: in the end the latter will have a stoppage).

This idiom refers to a person who is so ambitious do something below his capability which then leads him to negative and bad effects.

Gajah lalu dibeli, kuasa tidak terbeli. (He could buy the elephant but not the goad)

A taunt directed against a person who does not take into account minor details when the main thing is secured. In presence world we can refer this to a man who buys a car but doesn't have a license or doesn't know how to drive.

Seperti gajah masuk kampung. (Like an elephant entering the hamlet).

IT describes a calamitous event, such as the arrival of a royal family with his followers.

Gajah mati meninggalkan tulang, manusia mati meninggalkan nama. (A dead elephant leaves its bones; a human being will leave his reputations after death).

Th idiom means that whatever we do in this world will have an effect, even after we die. If we do a good things, people will remember as good, but if we do a bad thing people will also remember it as bad, leaving a good or bad reputation to our young generation.

Gajah mati tulang setimbun. (When an elephant dies its bones make a heap).

When a house falls its woodwork forms a heap.

Gajah seekor, gembala dua. (An elephants with two mahouts)

A girl with two lovers.

Normally, in Malay culture only men are allowed to have more than one lover, but for woman it is not appropriate for her to have two men.

Gajah sama gajah berjuang, pelanduk mati di tengah-tengah. (When elephants meet in conflict, a mouse-deer that gets between them is likely to perish).

Keep out of the quarrels of the powerful, or you may chance to be ruined without any fault of your own.

Gajah tempang jangan dipimpin, takut mati dihempapnya. (Do not lead the lame elephant because it may fall on you and crush you to death).

This idiom is to remind people about the dangerous company which may lead someone to a bad situation.

Bagai gajah putih ditambat. (Like a tamed white elephant).

Excessive attentions paid to one from whom there are expectations.

Seperti gajah berpaling. (Like an elephant turning around).

It describes the size of obese people (how big they are).

Gajah empat kaki lagi tersarok. (An elephant with four big legs also can apt to stumble)

Life is uncertain and nobody is perfect in this world.

Bangkai gajah bolehkah ditutup dengan nyiru? (Can a dead elephant be covered over with a sieve?)

A big or important matter cannot be kept as a secret.

Adat gajah terdorong. (It's an elephant nature, it might fall down)

This refers to a person who has the money and power and misuses his fortune. These idioms are created to remind a person who has money and power to be careful with his wealth and fortune because money and power can lead people to wrongdoing.

Menguak-nguak bagai hidung gajah. (Bellowing as if he had the snout of an elephant)

A simile used regarding a person who snores and breathes loud. This idiom actually is quite rude, normally used when one is angry and emotional.

Bagai denai gajah lalu. (Like the path of an elephant)

Big events or things could not be hidden.

Bangkai gajah busuk di hutan hendak ditanam, pekung di kaki sendiri dibiarkan meroyak. (Elephant carcasses in the jungle would be buried, but bad ringworms on our own legs are let to spread out).

This idiom refers to a person who likes to point out others' bad things, but say nothing of his own.

Gajah berhati, kuman pun berhati juga. (An elephant has a heart and so does a mite)

Rich or poor people, both of them have a feeling and desire.

Hati gajah sama dilapah, hati kuman sama dicicah. (Together we slice the elephant's heart; together we taste the heart of the mite).

It refers to togetherness through thick and thin.

Gajah dipandang seperti kuman. (Elephants are considered as mites)

When someone is in great anger, he is capable of doing anything, no matter how big is the enemy size is.

Gajah mati kerana gadingnya. (An elephant dies because of its tusks)

What one gets springs out from what he does with what he has.

Gajah pengangkut lada, kuda pelejang bukit. (Elephants as chilli carriage, horses as hill kicker).

A young man becomes a servant because of his love on compliment given by people.

Gajah terum di tengah rumah. (An elephant sitting in the middle of a room).

This idiom has two meanings: one refers to the mosquito net in the middle of a house, another one to a proverb describing a popular or well known person paying a visit to the poor people who have a very small house.

Gajah ditelan ular lidi. (The whipsnake has swallowed the elephant)

Size is not the only element for power.

Gajah rompong belalai. (A elephant with a broken tusk)

This means that someone who is admired by most of the people suddenly do very bad things that can lead to his failure.

The relation between collocation and lexical function *gajah* can be seen in the table below:

Collocates	Lexical functions
<i>Kancil</i> (Mouse-deer)	Power, size that matter
<i>Manusia</i> (human)	Good or bad names
<i>Putih</i> (white)	High expectation
<i>Ular lidi</i> (whipsnake)	Incrisible events
<i>Kuman</i> (mite)	Showed a great anger
<i>Pekung</i> (ringworms)	Bad habit
<i>Rompong belalai</i> (broken tusk)	Defeated, lost power.
<i>Terum</i> (sitting)	Big size, big event
<i>Gembala</i> (mahout)	A girl that flirts
<i>Kuman, hati</i> (mite, heart)	Equality
<i>Paling</i> (turning)	Big size

Table 2: Collocation and Lexical Function of *gajah*

The word *gajah* plays various functions in Malay idioms. *Gajah* collocating with *kancil* functions as a comparison about power, or size. When *gajah* collocates with *manusia* it gives an impression about life; people who live as good men will die as good men and be remembered as good men. If they live as bad persons, they will die as bad men and be so remembered. *Gajah* collocating with *putih* means something that has a very high value to be kept but cannot give any benefit. *Gajah* collocating with *ular lidi* shows that anything is possible in this world -- even the biggest animal can be swallowed by a very small one. When *gajah* collocates with *rompong belalai* it refers to a great person losing his power or title. *Gajah* functions as a way to tell about the big size of someone when it collocates with words such as *terum* or *paling*. *Gajah* carries three different functions in Malay idioms. One as a general statement informing about life; second as a sarcastic remark as in *gajah dua gembala*, *gajah busuk*; and third as a reminder to people about power and size. For example, *gajah empat kaki lagi tersarok*, *gajah tempang jangan dipimpin*, *takut mati dihempapnya*. Unlike the word *anjing*, the word *gajah* in Malay idioms does not have a negative meaning. When people use *gajah* as a metaphor, it does not mean bad; they use it as a comparison to remind people of size or power.

Pelanduk. (Mouse-deer)

When people talk about *pelanduk* they might be confused because there is another word *kancil* which is similar to *pelanduk*. Kamus Dewan (2005: 1162) defines the word *pelanduk* as 1. *sejenis binatang seperti Kancil tetapi lebih besar saiznya*. (A kind of animal that looks like a *kancil* but bigger in size). For me, *pelanduk* is similar to *kancil* but in terms of usage, *pelanduk* has been used in different contexts.

Similar to the word *gajah* (elephant), *pelanduk* also carries various lexical functions. To discuss further these lexical functions, we need to know the meanings of the idioms which contain this word. The list for *pelanduk* used in Malay idioms and their meanings can be seen as below:

Pelanduk lupakan jerat, jerat tak lupakan pelanduk. (The mouse-deer forgets the snare, but the snare does not forget the mouse-deer).

People may forget the rules, but the rules will not forget people.

Bunting pelanduk. (The look of the female mouse-deer in pregnancy).
The early stage of pregnancy followed with some bleeding like having menstruation.

Gajah dialahkan oleh pelanduk. (An elephant defeated by a mouse-deer)
Powerful persons beaten by weaker persons; Rich women married to poor men.

Hilang pelanduk berganti kijang emas. (The loss of a mouse-deer, replaced by a gold roe-deer)
A lady left by a bad husband remarried to a better one.

Pelanduk di cerang rimba. (A mouse-deer left in a cleared area in the middle of the jungle).
This idiom refers to a person who is in an extremely scary situation or someone in bewildering situation.

Pelanduk dua serupa. (Two mouse-deers that look the same)
Two people who exactly look alike.

The relation between collocation and lexical function *pelanduk* can be seen in the table below:

Collocation	Lexical functions
<i>Bunting</i> (pregnant)	Unusual pregnancy
<i>Gajah</i> (elephant)	Unbelievable event
<i>Kijang emas</i> (gold roe-deer)	Fortune
<i>Rimba</i> (jungle)	Uncertain, bewildered
<i>Dua serupa</i> (look alike)	Similarity
<i>Dekat, rusa, jauh</i> (near, deer, far)	Unprofitable acts.

Table 3: Collocation and Lexical Function of *pelanduk*

The word *pelanduk* in Malay culture normally refers to a genius person who always has tricks or ways in solving his problems. In Malay idioms, *pelanduk* which collocates with the word *bunting* carries a general meaning of an unusual pregnant woman who still has her menstruation at the same time. *Pelanduk* collocating with *gajah* functions as an example of what a smart and clever person can do, even though he is small in size or power. *Pelanduk* also carries a negative meaning when collocating with *kijang emas*; in this idiom, *pelanduk* functions as a bad person. This is the same as *pelanduk* collocating with the words *cerang rimba* which carry the meaning of an uncertain person who is lost or in unstable situation. *Pelanduk* collocating with the words *dua serupa* carries a general meaning of similarity between two persons who look exactly alike.

Buaya (Crocodile)

Among the Malay people, the word *buaya* implies the characteristic of a flirtous behaviour. *Buaya* in Kamus Dewan (2005) is defined as 1. *sejenis reptilia besar berkulit tebal, berbadan panjang dan hidup di air.* (A reptile with thick skin, long body and live

in the water). As we know, *buaya* or crocodile is a very weird creature with a scary look. In Malay idioms, *buaya* also has various functions. We can see them from the list of Malay idioms containing the word *buaya* below.

Adakah buaya menolak bangkai? (Will the crocodile reject the carcass?)

A man does not lose an opportunity of gratifying a favorite vice.

Air yang keruh-keruh kerak, alamat buaya di hulunya. (When the water is murky, there are crocodiles in the upper sanctuary)

We can recognize someone's intention from his act or appearance.

Air yang tenang jangan disangka tiada buaya. (Do not think that still water does not have crocodiles)

Never take for granted a peaceful outlook since danger may lurk beneath.

Asal selamat ke seberang, biar bergantung di ekor buaya. (Be hanging on the tail of crocodile as long as we can reach the bank across the river).

The idiom refers to someone who really needs help, even though to get it he might face a serious danger.

Bergalah ke hilir tertawa buaya, bersuluh di bulan terang tertawa harimau. (To go down-stream makes the alligators laugh, to carry a light when the moon shines makes the tigers laugh).

Besar berudu di kubangan, besar buaya di lautan. (If the tadpoles in a mud hole are great, so are the crocodiles in the ocean).

Everyone has his own place.

Buaya setanjung makan tak habis. (A pack of crocodiles cannot be eaten all)

This idiom describes fat people who are useless and lazy.

Ditangkap buaya, nampak riaknya, ditangkap malas tak bertanda. (To catch the crocodiles we can trace from the water, but there is no sign for laziness)

There is no way to recognize lazy persons unless they are given works.

Mengajar buaya berenang (To teach a crocodile to swim)

There is no benefit to teach someone something that he is already expert in the field.

Seperti buaya bertemu bangkai hanyut. (Like crocodile getting a floating carcass)

A greedy person.

Tidak terlawan buaya menyelam. (Cannot beat a crocodile dive)

This idiom refers to someone who has the expertise and cannot be defeated by a normal person.

Terlepas dari mulut buaya masuk ke mulut harimau. (Escape from the mouth of a crocodile only to fall into the mouth of a tiger).

Unlucky people who always have a bad luck one after another.

The relation between collocation and lexical function *buaya* can be seen in the table below:

Collocates	Lexical function
<i>Bangkai</i> (carcase)	Bad habit
<i>Air keruh</i> (murky water)	Sign of a danger
<i>Air jernih</i> (still water)	Beware, be cautious.
<i>Ajar, berenang</i> (teach, swimming)	Useless act.
<i>Lawan, selam</i> (figth, dive)	Reminder
<i>Mulut, terlepas</i> (mouth, escapes)	Unlucky.

Table 4: Collocation and Lexical Function of *buaya*

In Malay culture, the word *buaya* normally refers to a flirt. In idioms, *buaya* is used to represent certain meanings. When *buaya* collocates with the word *bangkai*, it carries a bad impression to a man who has a bad habit, such as visiting a prostitute, or who likes to do a bad job, like stealing, taking drugs and so on. And *buaya* also functions as a greedy person when collocating with the word *bertemu bangkai hanyut*. *Buaya* refers to danger when collocating with the word *air jernih*, or *air keruh*. *Buaya* is also used to describe an unlucky event when collocating with the words *terlepas dari mulut harimau*. Other than that, *buaya* may also imply that a quiet person can be dangerous if disturbed.

Conclusion

Words referring to animals are used widely in Malay idioms. Lexical functions derived from animals in Malay idiom may differ from those other language. For example, *anjing* or dog in Malay culture represents a negative image, but in English it may describe loyalty to the superior. In English, a mouse may represent intellectuality, but in Malay language *tikus* represents dirtyness.

Idioms perfoms a lot of canonical functions in most of the contexts in which they are used, as conveying information or evaluation, stating logical relationship, expressing emotion, reasoning and so on in Malay world. With idioms Malay people can show their politeness in giving comments or advices to their people no matter how young or old they are. Overall, when we deal with the mind of the Malays, it is the '*budi* and its networks' that determine their thinking (judgement), their moral attitudes, their goodness, and how an argument should be presented. That is why Malay people will use their surrounding to describe unhealthy things happening around them in order to avoid tension among the people.

Bibliography.

1. Brown, C. C. (1959). *Malay Saying*. Singapore: Asia Pacific Press.
2. Cowie, A. P.(ed). (1998). *Phraseology: Theory, Analysis and Aplications*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. Jackson, Amvela. (2000). *Words, Meaning and Vocabulary*. London: Cassel Pub.

4. Melcuk, I. A. (1996). "Lexical Funtion: A Tool For The Description of Lexical Relation in A Lexicon". In *Lexical Functions in Lexicography and Natural Language Processing*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
5. Moon, (1998) *Fixed Expressions and idioms in English*. New York: Oxford Press.
6. McEnery et al., (2006) *Corpus Based Languages Studies*. New York: Routledge.
7. Mubin, Sheppard, (2001) 'The MBRAS Book of Over 1600 Malay Proverbs with Explanation in English'. Kuala Lumpur: National Library Publication,.
8. Sibarani, Robert (2002) "*Penggunaan Peribahasa Sebagai Jati Diri Wacana Bahasa*". In Proceeding of Language and Thought of Malay/Indonesia Colloquium. Page 373-385.
9. Sinclair, J.M. (1991.) *Corpus, Concordance, and Collocation* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
10. Stubbs, M. (2002). *Words and Phrases*. Oxfords: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.