

**Hand in Hand:
A Comparative View on the Use of the Word 'Hand' in Albanian
and English Language**

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore the interrelationship between language and culture. The current study attempts to show that even words that seem to be internationally used open up entire webs of meaning and cultural insights. We have selected the word 'hand' and have explored its usage in Albanian vs. English. To find out examples, we have relied on Albanian National Corpora (ANC) and Corpus of Contemporary English Language (COCA). In the first part of the paper, we introduce information about the corpora selected, literature review, and methodology of the study. The second and third part of the paper bring illustrative examples from the versatile uses of the word 'dorë' and 'hand' in both languages. Special care has been taken to compile a list of purposes of the use of 'dorë' especially for the Albanian language, with the aim of illustrating the way Albanian culture is reflected in the Albanian language, based on the examples extracted from ANC. The methodology of the current study is mainly a qualitative one, therefore few statistical data are given. The innovativeness of this study relates to the use of ANC, an area not yet known and explored by scholars, as well as to the comparison of findings with the use of the same word in COCA for the English language. We aim to extend the current study in the future by including examples from other corpora of Balkan languages and make relevant comparisons. Thus, the current study will serve as a starting point for further research that will exemplify similar cognitive patterns that English and the Balkan languages and cultures share.

Keywords: *English, Albanian, culture, language, corpora, hand.*

1. Description of corpus and method of research

This study provides corpus-based support for the observation that the hand as a body part is a rich source of information to describe human experience. Corpus study of *dorë* (Albanian) and *hand* (English) and their use in phrases in diverse semantic domains will help us explicate the central role of *hand* and several of its culture-related meanings through a cross-linguistic examination of Albanian and English.

In the past the term 'corpus' was used to denote simply a collection of work, however, the development of technology has shifted the use of the term, to refer now to "a collection of texts, written or spoken, which is stored on a computer" (O'Keeffe et al. 2007: 1). A corpus can reveal the regular, patterned preferences of the language users represented in it, speaking and writing in the contexts in which the corpus was gathered (O'Keeffe et al. 2007: 60). Such electronic collections are paired with diverse specially designed software and tools that give rise to qualitative and quantitative analysis of data retrieved for areas like genre analysis, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics and culture studies. Furthermore, corpora are now the standard tool for lexicographers, who use multi-million-word corpora to examine word frequency, patterning and semantics in the compilation of dictionaries, and all major publishers now provide corpus-based dictionaries (O'Keeffe et al. 2007: 17). Apart from the usefulness of corpora search and analysis in the field of grammar, corpora can really help teachers and researchers in the domain of vocabulary. Linguists have for a long time, been interested in how words combine as pairs in collocations (see Halliday 1966, Sinclair 1966), and how groupings of more than one word often have unitary meanings and specialized functions (Bolinger 1976; Pawley and Syder 1983 apud: O'Keeffe et al. 2007: 59). It is precisely due to collocation and the neoFirthian approach to word meaning that we realize that meaning does not reside with the word in isolation, but with the other words that are combined with it. On the other hand, collocations as stated by

O'Keeffe et al., are not absolute or deterministic, but are probabilistic events, resulting from repeated combinations used and encountered by the speakers of any language. Researchers add that it is the collocations of the banal, everyday words that are the most difficult to light upon by intuition alone, and that computers have been very good at teasing out. In support of this thesis, we have selected the word *hand*, commonly used in all languages, with the purpose of comparing its frequency of usage and functions in Albanian vs English, as evidenced by corpus data.

1.1 Why 'hand'?

The field of body part phraseology is extremely rich and promises to yield interesting results illuminating the mental processes behind the acquisition, production and reception of phraseological sequences (Lindquist & Levin, in Granger & Meunier 2008: 156).

The domain of human body, as Wierzbicka maintains, is an ideal focus for semantic typology and cognitive anthropology, because the body is almost certainly a conceptual rather than physical universal and because it is of special interest and importance to speakers (Wierzbicka 2007: 15). Furthermore, the metaphorical use of names of body parts has been noted by researchers who state that *there appears to be a direct link between recurring patterns of embodied experience, primitive and conceptual metaphor, abstract concepts, and conventional and poetic language* (Gibbs et. al. 2004: 1191). This idea is now well accepted in cognitive linguistics (Langacker 1987, 1991, apud Morrow 2009: 12). In his study that compares the English *heart* and Malay *hati*, Goddard (2008) states that when appropriately analyzed, the ethno-psychological constructs of individual languages are revelatory of widely differing cultural models of cognitive experience, moral reasoning, and social values. Because they are embodied in the words and phrases of everyday talk and because they represent "experience-near" concepts, such models find their way into people's self-understandings and into their life narratives (Geertz 1983; Bruner 1990, apud Goddard 2008: 95-96). He adds that contrastive semantic analysis of ethno-psychological

constructs can therefore make a crucial contribution both to cognitive linguistics in its quest to understand the relation of language and cognition (Langacker 1988, 1999, apud Goddard 2008), and to cultural psychology in its quest to understand “the distinctive mentalities and modes of psychological functioning of members of different communities” (Shweder 2003, apud Goddard 2008: 76). Furthermore, *hand* and *use of hands* has determined human development. As American anthropologist and ethnographer Cushing notes, *The degree to which man, practically, intellectually, or spiritually, ascertains truth determines the degree of his security and conditions for his fitness for survival and prevalence; but man attained to both the perception and formal ascertainment of truth first through the use and then through the using of his hands* (Cushing 1892: 290). We support the idea that body part names are a very good place to start to search for metaphors that describe human experience. It is thus clear that the semantic study of body parts can be associated with cultural models that are reflected in language. Even though *hand* denotes a part of the body, it is characterized by an immense richness and frequency of usage in both languages, denoting the pivotal role the *hand* has in human relationships. Furthermore, we support Foolen’s perspective that analyzing the presence of the human hand in natural languages can function as a discovery procedure for insights in the relevance of the *hand* in human life (Foolen 2017: 182). Examples will show particular instances of how we can observe culture and customs reflected in the language we use, through a single word and its surrounding context. To conduct this research on the usages and meanings of the word *dorë* and *hand* we have been aided by electronic corpora in both languages, more specifically ANC and COCA, respectively for Albanian and English. The empirical data derived from corpus-driven research point to interesting results, as we will show with our comments through this paper.

1.2 Literature review on comparative studies of the use of *hand* in different languages

The current research aims to integrate corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and cultural studies. Aligned with the cognitive linguistic perspective that the human body forms the foundation of our understanding of the world, this section of our study presents examples from previous cognitive linguistics research on hand collocations in various languages. Notably, we refer to an extensive investigation conducted by Sadikaj (2010), aiming to illustrate, on a contrastive level, the metaphorical concepts underlying selected phraseologisms in both the German and Albanian languages. Her research is primarily a Germanic-oriented study where Albanian serves as the contrastive language. Drawing on Cognitive Linguistics, which delves into how languages conceptualize the world, Sadikaj observes that contrastive linguistic studies within the realm of cognitive linguistics and conceptual metaphor for this language pair are scarce. Hence, her study aims to fill this research gap. Sadikaj focuses on the investigation of two groups of phraseologisms in both languages, specifically those that include the designation of body parts such as the *heart* and *hand*. She takes examples from different electronic corpora from German language, while for Albanian language she takes examples from 'Fjalor frazeologjik i gjuhës shqipe' – Phraseological Dictionary of Albanian Language (Thomai 1999), due to the absence of electronic corpora of Albanian language at the time of her research. As far as the word *hand* is concerned, the results of Sadikaj's contrastive study conclude that the hand represents control, violence, power, influence, ownership, responsibility, help, exercise of force/crime, giving and receiving, force, protection, category, class, quality, the source of information, authorship, and writing activities (Sadikaj 2010: 130-189). With reference to metaphorical conceptualizations of *hand*, Sadikaj outlines these domains: power, control, influence, ownership, authority, regulation, governance, leadership, supervision, responsibility, patronage, etc. Another significant domain in figurative uses of *hand* is

related to physical and abstract actions and behaviours, including inactivity, impulsive actions, freedom in action, will to work, participation, writing activity, taken measures, talent in action, etc. Third in importance is the target domain of giving and taking, with various aspects such as generosity, greed, bribery, and theft. Negative actions are noted, such as the exercise of violence and crime, whereas among the positive domains, help and protection are included, with the protection domain not appearing in Albanian hand somatisms. Furthermore, abstract concepts such as moral, immoral, and illegal are further structured, representing the value systems of each society and culture. There are also numerous metaphors about marriage and marriage from hand imagery, complementing the uses with domains such as familiar, understandable, vouch for something, guarantee, familiarity, human relationships, resignation, joy, etc. (Sadikaj 2010: 190-222, 225).

Albanian researchers Vora and Çepani (2022) have also conducted a corpus-based study of body-part terms in verbal phraseological units in English and Albanian, based on parallel texts from these two languages in order to recognize the structural, semantic, and stylistic properties of body-part terms as well as their cultural context. Their corpus is composed of 8 literary works in English and 12 in Albanian and 3 idiomatic dictionaries, using the method of continuous sampling, followed by the quantitative method, observation and generalization, and the comparative method to analyse the similarities and differences in the phraseology of these languages. With reference to *hand*, they point out that it is one of the people's indispensable tools particularly connected with manual labour, and many other activities, including writing, holding or manipulating things. Hands are also used in communicating with other people, as well as for gestures. Researchers note through concrete examples that the conceptual metonymy 'the hand stands for the person' acts as a vehicle to connect the literal meaning to its idiomatic meaning. They also mention other phraseological units in which *hand* means 'to control'

(Vora & Çepani 2022: 270-271). Researchers conclude that their analysis unveiled that the image component which motivates many phraseological units is influenced by the culture of a given language and yields lots of information about differences that exist among cultures. (Vora & Çepani 2022: 273)

Morrow (2009) conducted a comparative study focusing on the uses and phraseology associated with two common nouns, *hand* and *heart*. The primary objectives of his research were to identify, analyze, and describe the phrasal patterns linked to these frequently used nouns in English. He investigated the usage of *hand* and *heart* in phrases by extracting and analyzing relevant phrases from the *British National Corpus* using the *Phrases in English* interface. His findings revealed that the high frequency of usage of both terms was linked to their extensive metaphorical use. The study noted that the high frequency of *hand* could be attributed partly to its tendency to be used in phrases, especially in directional phrases collocating with *right* or *left*. Moreover, the plural form *hands* was used in a few expressions of emotion (*to wring one's hands*, *to throw up one's hand*) with a fairly high frequency. Additionally, both *hand* and *heart* were frequently employed in locative expressions, contributing to their overall high frequency in the corpus. Morrow's research aligns with other studies supporting the idea that body part names serve as crucial sources for metaphors to describe human experience (Morrow 2009: 19).

Bertuccelli Papi (2013) conducted a study on idiomatic and figurative uses of *hand* in English and *mano* in Italian. She brings illustrative examples to show cases of convergence, displacement and asymmetries between English and Italian, and, in the second part of her study she concentrates on idiomatic and figurative uses of English *hand* and Italian *mano*. The data of her study are essentially drawn from bilingual and monolingual dictionaries: for the word *hand* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Wordreference* online, and for the word *mano* in the *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana Treccani*, the *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana Zingarelli* and the *Italian-English/English-Italian Zanichelli*. She

concludes that in the metonymic modality, *mano* in Italian may stand for the following: author, skill and capacity, assistance, what is contained in hand, possession, control and power, spatiality, time phases, aggression, and other behaviors, with most of them having parallel metonyms in English language (supported by examples from the corpora of her study). She provides more examples of metaphors with the words *hand/mano*, which allow for expressions of abstract values, moods, attitudes of mind, exploring parallels and asymmetries between English and Italian. Then she complements her study with more examples for the categories of sayings, proverbs, and phrasal verbs, and concludes with derivation and compounding. Bertuccelli Papi concludes her study by stating that the description provided shows that English and Italian relate themselves with the body part *hand/mano* in very similar ways, with a few exceptions that can be referred to social and cultural differences (Bertuccelli Papi 2013: 38).

Researchers Silaški and Radić-Bojanić (2014) explore metonymy in expressions pertaining to *hand/ruka* in English and Serbian language. After analyzing the dataset, the researchers show that both Anglophone and Serbian cultures conceptualize the *hand* in similar ways, as reflected in the usage of three analyzed metonymies: the hand symbolizes help, a character trait, and control. This aligns with the expectation that human concepts are shaped by our bodies and brains, leading to little difference between English and Serbian in metonymically-based expressions. However, variations arise due to cultural interpretations of basic bodily experiences, resulting in differences in the productivity of linguistic mechanisms and linguistic instantiations in the two languages. While there is significant conceptual and linguistic overlap, researchers confirm that these results are preliminary, emphasizing the need for further comparative research with diverse languages and cultures, along with a comprehensive analysis of a broader dataset (Silaški & Radić-Bojanić 2014: 35).

Structural and semantic peculiarities of phraseological units containing the somatic component *hand* in Ukrainian are explored by researchers Voloshynovych and Trotsiuk (2014). Their study brings examples in order to highlight the high productivity of the somatic component *hand*, leading to numerous substantivized and verbal phraseological units. The most common structural types vary for substantivized and adverbial phraseological units, with a prevalent use of attributive word combinations. Three main varieties of phraseological meaning were identified in their research: idiomaticisms, idiophraseomatism, and phraseomatism, with a majority being anthropocentric and based on metaphor or metonymy. Substantivized phraseological units can denote both people and inanimate things, expressing diverse evaluative natures. The obtained results indicate promising prospects for further research in phraseological semantics (Voloshynovych & Trotsiuk 2014: 48-49).

Huong (2016) analyzes the metaphorical uses of human body parts in English and Vietnamese, focusing on *head*, *face*, *hand* and *heart* in the two languages. Findings show that the two languages mostly share the range of phenomena related to metaphorical uses of human body parts, even though there is a remarkable difference in the connotation, and usage patterns of the expressions analyzed in details. Through the analysis of examples, Huong also demonstrates that the conceptual metaphor in both languages share the same type of coherence, and this coherence is shaped by the model. The author emphasizes the close relationship between language and culture, with each culture and language having both similar and different concepts (Huong 2016: 306).

Tatoj (2019) investigates the conceptualization of *hand* in Spanish and Polish (in Spanish *mano*, and in Polish *ręka*). She concludes that while the word *hand* has similar mental representation in both languages based on the terms related to its location, looks, and function, there are quite significant differences resulting from culture. The analysis of this study intertwined three different perspectives:

anatomical, popular and colloquial. Tatoj concludes that the anatomical perspective is the most precise one which searches for accurate descriptions and translations, while the two other ones describe our everyday experience, our perception of reality and they reflect our culture (Tatoj 2019: 413).

Al Kayed (2019) investigated the meaning of the collocation of the body part *hand* in English and Arabic explored the similarities and differences between the two languages in terms of *hand* collocations. He aimed to find out whether English collocations have identical equivalents or partial equivalents in Arabic and he found out that 55% of Arabic and English *hand* collocations have partial equivalents, while 45% of English collocations of *hand* have identical Arabic Equivalents. Al Kayed also found out that 67% of English collocations and 80% of Arabic collocations of *hand* have figurative, idiomatic and extended meaning. He emphasizes that such findings are of much interest to lexicographers as well as translators. The latter may benefit from these results to translate accurately from English to Arabic or vice versa, while lexicographers may benefit from these results to create well-developed bilingual dictionaries of collocations (Al Kayed 2019: 6).

Demir (2021) undertook a study which analyzed the concept of *hand* in idioms in Turkish and German with Conceptual Metaphor Analysis Method and pointed out pedagogical implications in teaching idioms in German as a foreign language. The aim of the research is to explain the whole of a semantic concept formed as a result of the physical and mental experiences acquired in time and space, how these common and different points are reflected in the language. Demir identified about 25 *hand* related phrases in the German language, and 92 *hand* related idioms in Turkish language, emphasizing that the different numbers only show different cultural experiences expressed by the concept of *hand*. The study found that expressions related to the hand in German and Turkish share common concepts, but also exhibit differences. Each culture uses body-related expressions creatively to convey their unique experiences, resulting in diverse idioms based on

distinct environmental and physical encounters. While German idioms related to the hand often find equivalents in Turkish, there are cases where a German phrase comprising two concepts lacks a direct counterpart in Turkish, requiring explanation through a different Turkish idiom. In conclusion, idioms contribute positively to vocabulary breadth and enhance an individual's capacity to comprehend and articulate (Demir 2021: 483).

Taghian (2023) provides a cognitive approach of conceptualization of *hand* idioms and proverbs in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) into English. His study has investigated how Egyptians conceptualize the metaphysical or intangible notions in terms of the tangible material (i.e. the human hand) in ECA. The collected data reveals diverse semantic associations in the chosen idiomatic expressions, conceptualized through cognitive mechanisms such as conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor, and conventional knowledge. In ECA, hand idioms predominantly rely on conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge, often linked to abstract notions in the source domain. Despite minimal lexical and cultural similarities with English hand idioms, both cultures share themes of power, authority, and dominance in their expressions. However, English idioms tend to emphasize activity, skill, holding, and occasionally control and power. Some ECA idioms lack direct English equivalents and are translated communicatively to convey their intended meaning. The analysis highlights the interconnectedness of various hand idioms in ECA, motivated by interchangeable use of conceptual metonymy and conventional knowledge. Overall, the study suggests that the conceptual metaphor theory challenges the traditional notion of arbitrariness in understanding hand idioms in ECA (2023: 155-156).

1.3 Albanian National Corpora

Albanian is an Indo-European language spoken by more than eight million people worldwide, however, a corpus of the Albanian language did not exist until the end of 2011, when the Albanian National Corpus (ANC) was developed as a result of efforts of the creative community of linguists from Saint Petersburg (Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences) and Moscow (School of Linguistics at HSE) / Hamburg (Hamburg University). The collection of texts is done with the help of colleagues from publishing houses in Kosovo and in Albania (Morozova & Rusakov 2013: 86). The current version of ANC uses the morphological Analyzer *Uniparser* and the *tsakorpus* platform developed by Timofey Arkhangelsky. From the time of its creation, ANC included primarily original prose texts that represented Albanian literary language (since the 1970s) as well as translated texts and Albanian poetry. ANC continues to develop to present date. Features of the texts of ANC include user-friendly metadata descriptions and morphological annotation consisting of tags assigned to words, English translation of lemma, accompanying metadata (title of text, author or title of the newspaper, year of creation for books, exact date for newspapers, and genre/type of text). Annotated corpora help linguists to collect numerous linguistic examples (Morozova & Rusakov 2013: 85).

ANC contains a total of 31.12 million words. There are two corpora available in ANC: Corpus of modern literary Albanian (Main corpus) and Corpus of early Albanian texts. The difference lies in the kind of texts they contain and how these texts are presented, whereas search capabilities and annotation are mostly identical. Our search for this paper is confined to the main corpus, which consists of four subcorpora: press (75.2% of the Main Corpus), fiction (10.3% of the Main Corpus), non-fiction (13.8% of the Main Corpus), and poetry (0.7% of the Main Corpus). ANC is dynamic, or 'open', i.e. its content is open to change, as differentiated from static corpora, while its structure and other basic features will be kept intact (Morozova & Rusakov 2013: 87).

ANC also needs to be developed further, especially by expanding the text collection, ensuring genre diversity of texts, completing grammatical wordlist and disambiguating (Morozova & Rusakov 2015: 304). ANC can be accessed online at <http://albanian.web-corpora.net/>.

Among the main reasons listed for the use of ANC there are issues that relate to the grammar, history and lexicon of the Albanian language, both for Albanian as a native language, as well as for Albanian as a foreign language (Morozova & Rusakov 2013: 95). Our aim is to show that ANC can also be used for cultural studies, sociolinguistic studies and discourse studies, to mention but a few. The current paper aims to use the extensive examples of the word 'hand' found in ANC to investigate the cultural customs reflected in the use of this word, hence, the reciprocal relationship between language and culture. We thus put forward the utility of ANC to conduct diverse searches for multidimensional purposes, all starting from language.

1.4 Corpus of Contemporary American English

Corpus linguistics during the last decades has constantly been aiming to develop and use large 'monitor corpora'. Unlike other corpora, such as the BNC, which are quite useful in their own right, but which do not have any real diachronic dimension; or other corpora like the Brown family (Brown, LOB, Frown, FLOB), which attempt to show changes in English in recent decades, but which are far too small to provide useful data on many types of linguistic change; monitor corpora are dynamic, in the sense that new texts continue to be added to the corpus (Davies 2010: 447, 462). COCA has been selected to achieve the goals of this study for three main reasons: first, it is constantly updated and contains more than one billion words of data distributed over 485,202 texts; second, it provides data evenly divided among the genres, i.e. oral discourse, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic journals; third, it is freely available and user-friendly and allows users to receive and share information on collocation, frequency, key words in context, as well as usage time span in different subcorpora.

A crucial aspect of the design of the COCA is that the corpus is divided almost equally between oral discourse, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic journals--20% in each genre (Davies 2010: 453).

The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) has long been used in the EFL classroom to facilitate learners' understanding of how language works at different levels of lexical, grammatical, semantic and pragmatic analysis. However, the use of corpora for teaching and learning EFL is just one of the many areas that electronic corpora can be useful. As it has been emphasized by Lopes, COCA has been used in the EFL classroom to help learners better understand how language works at different levels of analysis (Bennett 2010; Boulton 2011; Callies 2013; Orenha-Ottaiano 2012), but it has also been used to enhance their text production and develop their writing skills (Kim 2009; Nurmukhamedov & Olinger 2013) by helping them to fine-tune grammatical points and by exposing them to different genres and styles (Lopes 2013: 170). What is of specific significance for our study is that:

(COCA) also offers the opportunity to explore culture-related content by shedding light on a huge variety of social, ideological, cultural and historical issues, and on the ways in which these issues intersect with language. Culture-related approaches based on corpus analysis can increase our awareness of the discursive practices within institutions, groups and society at large (Lopes 2013: 170).

In this paper, we support the view that COCA can help us explore the cultural and pragmatic dimension of the English language, due to the instant access to thousands of patterns of collocations that can help us decide on the tendency of the words to co-occur and provide qualitative analysis of such patterns. Our culture-related approach to corpus-driven research advanced in the current paper provides us with the opportunity to explore culture-related content in COCA through the

instant access to social, ideological, cultural and historical issues reflected in language use across different genres, registers and subcorpora.

2. Typology of the uses of the word 'dorë' in ANC

This part of the paper mentions illustrative examples found for the word 'dorë' in ANC. The search was divided into several stages. First, we started the search in ANC by typing 'dorë' in the 'lemma' search, and there were 20,393 occurrences, 19,383 sentences found in approximately 4786 documents. Then we focused our research on the exact form of 'dorë' in the 'word' search and looked for sentences that contained the word. The search yielded 7898 occurrences, with 7682 sentences found in approximately 2755 documents of ANC. We limited our research only to the exact form because we were interested in spotting cultural specificities about the use of this word rather than its different forms. Second, we went through all examples and we grouped similar examples under a similar category. Third, we created a typology of uses of the word 'dorë', based on all examples extracted from ANC, translated into English by maintain the word 'hand' in order for the readers to understand the examples and the context. Below we introduce this typology, bringing illustrative examples. We pay particular attention to those uses of 'dorë' that represent the way culture is reflected in language.

2.1 Body part

We have frequently witnessed the use of *dorë* to denote a body part, either for objects kept in hand, or referring to the sense of touch e.g. *duke mbuluar sytë me dorë* (covering their eyes with their hands), *me gotën e rakisë në dorë* (with a glass of raki in one's hand), etc. It is interesting to note examples such as *prek me dorë* (touch with hand) referring not only to the sense of touch (*ishte e ndaluar të prekje me dorë pemën* – it was forbidden to touch the tree with the hand), but also to healing powers (*t'i prekte me dorë dhe t'i nxirrte xhindet* – touch with hand and release the jinnees), and, in some other cases, leading to abuse (*i prekte me dorë në*

vende të ndaluara – touch with hand in forbidden parts of body). Other examples relate to touching the stomach due to laughing too hard (*zuri barkun me dorë nga të qeshurat – touched the stomach with hand due to laughing so hard*).

2.2 Gesture or posture

We found cases in which movement of hand denotes a gesture of salutation (*përshëndeti me dorë – greeted with hand*), sign of approval (*ia bëri me dorë – signaled with hand*) or disapproval (*mohoi me dorë – denied with hand*). In other cases we found implications of underlying meaning: *duke mbajtur kryqet në 'dorë' – putting hands on the loins* (lack of power and subversion); *me një 'dorë' të vendosur mbi bark – with one hand on the belly* (a sign of protection); *në këtë vend ku heronj janë vetëm ata që vdesin me pushkë në 'dorë' – in this country heroes die with a rifle in their hand*; *me shpatë në 'dorë' – with a sword in hand - fighting posture*). Other cases denote a posture of deep thinking, touching the forehead (*shtrëngonte ballin me dorë – squeezed the forehead with hand*).

2.3 'Dorë' as an instrument and/or with another instrument

We have discovered examples in which the word *dorë* is used as the instrument performing the action, or in juxtaposition with another instrument. Using the hand as an instrument is frequently encountered in examples of manual labor (*pastrim me dorë – cleaning with hand*) as well as handwriting (*parrulla të shkruara me dorë – slogans written by hand*) and embroidery (*fustane të stolisura me dorë – dresses decorated with hand*), painting (*një dorë zifti – one hand of tar*). Examples of the use of 'dorë' and another instrument include actions in cooking (*rrahësen e vezëve me dorë – the hand mixer for eggs*), writing (*pendën në dorë – quill in hand*), remote control (*telekomandën në dorë – remote in hand*), cutting wood (*prerja me sëpatë në dorë – cutting with an ax in hand*), painting (*me penel në dorë – painting with a brush in hand*), driving (*me timon në dorë – with steering wheel in hand*), calculating (*me laps në dorë – with a pencil in hand*), annotating (*të shtuara me dorë – added with hand*).

2.4 Metonymic use of 'dorë'

We have come across metonymic uses of *dorë*, for instance, related to governance (*një dorë e fortë po operon* – a strong hand is operating), unidentified doer of action (*nga një dorë mizore u vra* – killed by a cruel hand), superpower with positive or negative connotation (*dorë hyjnore* – divine hand; *dorë e zezë* – black hand), and coincidence (*në dorë të rastësisë* – in the hand of coincidence).

2.5 Use of 'dorë' for quantity, circulation, exchange and personal delivery

In ANC in many cases *dorë* referred to a group of or a quantity of, such as a group of people (*një dorë njerëzish* – a handful of people), a quantity of money (*një dorë para'* – a handful of money), as well as figurative usage, again referring to quantity (*një dorë agjitacion* – a hand of agitation; *një dorë hapësirë* – a hand of space). Other examples in this category are also *dorë-shkëmbim* – exchange of hands (for exchange) and *qarkullonin dorë me dorë* – circulated from hand to hand (for circulation from hand to hand). We have also spotted cases of the use of 'dorë' in the meaning of something to be delivered personally to someone, *pagesa bëhet në dorë* (payment in hand).

2.6 'Dorë' for (lack of) control and (lack of) free will

Here we notice use of figurative expressions and idioms that denote control in different areas: politics and territory (*frenat në dorë* – brakes on one's hands), sports (*fatet e Realit i mori në dorë Kristiano Ronaldo* – Real's fortune was in the hands of Cristiano Ronaldo), control over females (*ta shtinte në dorë* – to take her to his hand), control over fate (*merre fatin tënd në dorë* – take your destiny in your hands). It is also interesting to observe other cases in which *dorë* is used with the meaning of free will with reference to speech (*i lë dorë të lirë Fjalës* – let free speech in free hands), to religion (*kishin dorë të lirë edhe në çështjet kishtare* – free hand over religious matters), and to governance (*i jepet një dorë e lirë Qeverisë së Kosovës* – free hand to the government of Kosovo). Lack of free will, on the

other hand, is illustrated as ‘having one’s hands tied’, as in: *erdhi me një dorë të lidhur* – he came with tied hands.

2.7 ‘Dorë’ and money

There are cases when we refer to quantity of money (*një dorë të holla* – a handful of money), direct payment in cash (*para në dorë* – money in hand) or pre-payment (*paradhënie në dorë* – down payment in hand). We have observed many examples that relate to money and corruption. Most examples express the phenomenon of *rryshfet* (bribery), meaning giving money illegally in exchange for other profits, such as employment, better service obtained in official sectors of government, health, etc. Such a phenomenon is expressed in ANC by phrases like: *varfëria, papunësia, shëndetësia që kërkon para nën dorë* (poverty, unemployment, health demand money under the hand). Due to space limitations, we would not mention other examples here, we just emphasize the fact that the phenomena of corruption mostly relates to education or health institutions, in which you have to pay money to receive better grades (*nuk kishte hequr dorë nga marrja e lekëve studentëve* – hadn’t given up to take money from students) or treatment (*ndonjë dyshkë në dorë* – some money in hand), to elections, voting in exchange of money (*bëjnë tregti me votën e tyre, me të vetmen pasuri që kanë në dorë* – make business with their vote, the only wealth in their hands). We also note examples which highlight that this phenomenon is quite typically Albanian (*nuk e prekin me dorë pa marrë mjekët e infermieret “racionin” e tyre* – the doctors and the nurses wouldn’t touch with their hands the patient unless they took their ‘share’), as contrasted to other countries like Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, etc. (*Shtetet, ku pacientëve as që u shkon ndër mend që të japin pagesa nën dorë tek doktori janë Zvicra, Norvegjia, Luksemburgu, Islanda, Danimarka dhe një shtet i Ballkanit, Kroacia* - The countries where patients don’t even think about making payments under the hand to the doctor are Switzerland, Norway, Luxembourg, Iceland, Denmark, and a Balkan country, Croatia). We maintain that the high frequency of examples in ANC that illustrate the phenomenon of bribery go to show

the existence of such a phenomenon in Albania. Thus, customs of a country are clearly reflected in its language and vice versa.

2.8 'Dorë' and withdraw, revoke or retreat

This is one of the most frequent meanings in our search. The phrasal verb in Albanian is *heq dorë* (give up, word-for-word translation: 'take off hand', and it is used in multiple occasions. We conducted another search in ANC with these two words (word 1 *heq* -take off, and word 2 *dorë* - hand) and results yielded 292 occurrences, out of which 286 sentences found in approximately 242 documents. The reference of the revoked habits mostly related to drinking, smoking, diet, food, drugs, dressing up and make-up, hair color, marriage or relationship, profession, and wealth. There were also lots of examples that referred to legal matters, giving up property rights, hereditary rights, criminal behavior, fiscal reformation, plans to join the common European monetary union, etc. On a less formal note, retreat also referred to revocation from social networks, dialogue, and way of thinking. Examples from the Bible include use of *heq dorë* with reference to rumor, wrongdoing, cheating and tricky conversation. There are also frequent examples that show the uptight relationship between Serbia and Kosovo, such as *Ne jemi këtu që të porosisim se Serbia kurrë nuk do të heq dorë nga Kosova* (We are here to order that Serbia will never take hands off Kosovo). This led us to another search, with three words in ANC, *Serbia, heq, dorë*, resulting in 29 occurrences in 26 documents, thus, almost 10% of the total occurrences of *heq dorë* (give up) reveal the tension between Serbia and Kosovo.

2.9 'Dorë' and females

The expressions that contain the word *dorë* used in combination with another word in sentences that refer to females have mostly derogatory tones. For example, *Kur nuk mund ta futë në dorë Afërditën, prifti Kozma hakmerret duke mos ia pagëzuar femijën, i cili vdes rrugës* (When he couldn't lay hands on Afërdita, priest Kozma takes revenge at her by not baptizing her child, who dies on the way). In this sentence, the priest

(Kozma) could not get intimate with the female (Afërdita), thus, he takes revenge and does not baptize her child, who dies as a form of punishment. The expression used is *fut në dorë* (literally, *to put in hand*) a phrase that is mostly used by men towards women, which they use to show their pride in the fact that they finally got intimate with women. It is quite offensive as an expression, but it is frequently used. Another example comes from a sentence taken from an Albanian newspaper: *Kjo skllave i bindet verbërisht "pronarit" të saj, që e mban në 'dorë' dhe e përdor* (This slave is strictly bound to her 'owner', who holds her in 'hand' and uses her), illustrating the fact that the female is merely an object of possession for her 'owner' who 'keeps her in his hands' and uses her. Closely related to this statement, we find another, an excerpt from an interview of a raped woman, 22 years old *Dhe pas përdhunimit, më dha 200 franga në dorë e më tha: 'Fshije nga mendja këtë që ndodhi', -ka deklaruar 22-vjeçarja* (And after the rape, he gave me 200 francs in hand and told me: 'Erase from your mind what happened,' - declared the 22-year-old). Being a victim of abuse, she confesses having received *in hand* cash – 200 SFr – in return for keeping her mouth shut about the rape. Another instance that shows how subservient women are in their relationship to men is found in the next sentence: *Ajo sikur bindet se gruaja, që është e lindur t'u nënshtrohet dëshirave të botës mashkullore, që nuk e ka të sotmen në dorë, nuk mund ta ketë as të nesërmen* (She seems to believe that a woman, born to submit to the desires of the male world, who does not have the present in her hand, cannot have the future either). Women, being constantly under the grip of men's power and desires, do not have control over their present or future. Nothing is *in women's hands*.

2.10 'Dorë' as help, unity and commonality

The use of the noun *dorë* in combination with other verbs, especially *jap* (give) gives rise to the meaning of helping somebody or contributing to something else. Examples include helping for further development (*i jep dorë zhvillimit të gjuhës* – gives a hand to the development of language), or contributing to specific features (*materie që jep dorë për prozë* – material that gives hand to a prose). At times *dorë* is used with

reference to the stretched-out arm and open hand, thus, begging for money or food, as in the following example *i zgjatim botës dorë* (we stretch out a hand for money). Other uses of *dorë* in this category relate to a sense of unity and commonality, denoting people that stand hand in hand (*dorë për dore* – hand in hand), political allies (*pala kineze dëshiron të ecë dorë për dore me palën shqiptare* – the Chinese party wishes to walk hand in hand with the Albanian party), a group of people with a common mentality (*dorë e tyre* – their hand), union of authorities (*shkrirja e pushteteve në një dorë të vetme* – merge of authorities in a single hand), mutual suffering, compared to shared handcuffs (*i pranguar dorë me dorë* – handcuffed), figurative fusion of night and day (*dita dhe nata, zënë dorë-për-dore* – day and night, hand in hand), figurative fusion of hand and mind (*mbështjellë nga një dorë dhe nga një mendje* – wrapped by one hand and one mind).

2.11 ‘Dorë’ and abuse of power

Corruption is illustrated in different uses of ‘*dorë*’ such as: bribery (*bakshish nën dorë* – tip under the hand), freedom to exercise violence (*dorë e lirë dhunës* – free hand to violence), abuse of women (*të kam në dorë zogu* – chick, I’ve got you in my hand), unfair interference in freedom to vote (*blejnë me para në dorë votën* – buy the vote with money in hand), abuse with national funds (*qeveria ka vënë dorë* – the government has put hand), unfair interference in police investigation (*janë rregulluar me dorë* – they have been regulated by hand), centralization of power (*ka në dorë pushtetin* – have the power in their hand). There are cases in which shift of power has been denoted by use of *dorë* in combination with other verbs such as ‘leave’ (*i la në dorë dy fëmijë* – left two children in their hand), ‘drop’ (*hidhet nga njëra ose tjetra dorë* – drops from one hand to the other), ‘fall’ (*kishte rënë në duart* – had fallen from hand), ‘have’ (*nuk kemi dorë* – we don’t have a hand in this).

2.12 ‘Dorë’ and transform, build, change

The use of the noun *dorë* with the verb *vë* (put) gives rise to meanings such as: transform or build (*nuk ishte vënë dorë* – had not put a

hand on), and change (*ia ndërrova dorë për dorë* – *changed from hand to hand*). Another example is *Jo shumë moti, politikanët e "pashkollë", kishin vënë dorë edhe në Akademinë e Shkencave* (Not long ago, the uneducated politicians had put hand even in the Academy of Science), where the collocation of 'vë' (put) and 'dorë' (hand) gives rise to ironical implications about the imposition of politicians in the Academy of Sciences.

2.13 'Dorë' and intimacy

Our search through ANC has provided us with several examples that show the use of the verbs *prek* (touch) and *zë* (grab) with *dorë* denoting intimacy, such as delicate touch (*s'kishte provuar dorë të huaj* – *hadn't tried a foreign hand*) or, on the other hand, negligence, lack of intimacy (*nuk e ka prekur dorë mashkulli* – *hasn't been touched by a male hand*). We have also found examples related to the use of 'dorë' and intimate parts of body to denote feelings of self-pleasure.

2.14 'Dorë' and violence, death

Not surprisingly, there are many examples that correlate hand and violence, even death. The hand is used in many expressions in collocation with the verb *ngre* (raise), *vë* (put), *prek* (touch), and *fut* (put) meaning using the hand to hit someone (*ngre dorë mbi policinë* – *raise hand over the police; të fuste në dorë* – *put in his hand*).

2.15 'Dorë' in Albanian culture and customs

The examples under this category are the most interesting ones. A single word can uncover so many layers to indicate the specificity of the Albanian culture. The particular Muslim tradition of fasting is expressed in the sentence ... *muaji kur myslimanët i dedikohen Zotit të tyre... duke mos i prekur me dorë gratë e tyre* (the month when the Muslims are committed to their God...not touching with hand their wives) letting us know that there is no intimacy between partners during fasting. In the other example, *Libri... filloi të qarkullojë si libër i ndaluar, nën dorë* (The book... started to circulate as a forbidden book, under the hand) we are

reminded of the way 'prohibited' books circulated during the long years of dictatorship, 'under' hands, thus, unnoticed, to avoid punishment. A distinguishing feature of the Albanian people is hospitality, as in the example *i priste miqtë me një gotë raki rrushi në dorë* (welcomed the guests with a glass of grape raki in hand) letting us know that 'raki' (the typical alcoholic drink used to welcome visitors or relatives) and cigarettes are always a treat to friends in Albania. The protective nature of Albanians over their own country is evident in the statement *burrat me njërën dorë lëronin arat dhe me tjetrën mbanin shpatën* (the men ploughed the lands with one hand and keep the sword in the other) telling us that men would plough the land with one hand, and use the sword with the other hand to fight Ottoman occupants. Another interesting example ridicules men who would bake a pie: *burrat me pec në dorë, që tëhollnin petë në kuzhinën private më dukeshin teatrale e qesharake* (the men with the rolling pin in their hand, making pie in their private kitchen seemed to me theatrical and ridiculous) which contributes to the prevailing opinion of Albanian men, as fighters and authoritarians, as in the example that follows... *këtheheshin përsëri në atdheun e robëruar për t'a çrobëruar me pushkë në dorë* (came back to their robbed country to set it free with a rifle in hand) Such a skill, fighting with guns in hand for the freedom of their own country, sometimes, to the point of dying, is also attributed to Albanian women: *Ato dinë me dashnue e me dekë bri burrit, me pushkë në dorë!* (loving and dying close to their husbands, with guns in hand to protect the Albanian country). Another Albanian-specific custom is found in ANC, namely the one in which the father of the groom gives money in cash in exchange for the new wife-to-be to her father (*babai i dhëndrit ia jep në dorë shkuesit si paratë, ashtu edhe "shejin"*).

Other cases relate to the collocation of *dorë* with *e djathtë* (right) and *e majtë* (left). After analyzing all examples, we conclude that negative connotations are associated with the left hand (*Deri pak më parë unë e kisha përshëndetur me dorën e majtë, që populli e quan dhe dorë e keqe* - Until recently, I used to greet with my left hand, which people also call the bad hand; *Atij qi iu pre miku, çdo send do t'i jepet me dorë të majtë e për nën gju mje qi ta paguej mikun.* - To the one who offends a friend, everything will be

given with the left hand and under the knee to repay the friend.), while positive connotations with the right hand (*Madje, në artikullin e entit Partneriteti për Shërbimin Publik dy vëllëzrit nga Kosova, Ylli dhe Ylber Bajraktari, jo vetëm që punojnë në Pentagon, por cilësohen si dorë e djathtë e zyrtarëve më të lartë të Pentagonit, përfshirë Sekretarin Amerikan të Mbrojtjes, Ashton Carter. - Moreover, in the article about the Partnership for Public Service, the two brothers from Kosovo, Ylli and Ylber Bajraktari, not only work at the Pentagon but are considered the right hand of top Pentagon officials, including the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Ashton Carter.; Ka vetëm një mjet për lehtësimin e jetës dhe për zoogëlimin e mundimeve fizike: të kesh në shtëpi të rinj, fëmijë, reja, nipa, të cilët për të vjetrit janë zëvendësim, dorë e djathtë dhe krah...Çdo anëtar i familjes vlen si fuqi punëtore; barinjtë, amvoiset absolutisht janë të nevojshme. - There is only one means to ease life and reduce physical efforts: to have young people, children, young relatives, nephews, who are replacements, the right hand, and support for the elderly... Every family member is valuable as a workforce; shepherds, caregivers and supporters are absolutely necessary.)*

We have also conducted a search in ANC about *dorë e ngrohtë* (warm hand) and *dorë e ftohtë* (cold hand). The results of the search show that *dorë e ngrohtë* as a metonymy or metaphor is associated with intimacy and affection (*'Nuk mbaj mend as prindër as dorë të ngrohtë njerëzore që më ka përkëdhelur!' ishin fjalët e vetme që kishte thënë djaloshi, i cili nga ajo ditë ishte bërë pjesëtar i familjes sonë. - 'I don't remember any parents or warm human hand that has caressed me!' were the only words the young man had said, who, from that day on, became a member of our family.; Një dorë e ngrohtë është terapia më e mirë (fizike dhe shpirtërore). - A warm hand is the best (physical and spiritual) therapy.), and *dorë e ftohtë* with distance and indifference (*Ishte më i zbutur, por dora e tij ishte njëllloj e ftohtë. - He was gentler, but his hand was equally cold.; Dorën e kishte shumë të ftohtë dhe Aliu u pendua që ia dha të vetën. - His hand was very cold, and Ali regretted giving him his own hand.)**

We have also found cases in which *dorë (hand)* is used with *pajtim* (reconciliation) meaning reaching agreement after dispute in political matters (*Sipas tij, serbët po i kthehen kohës së Milosheviçit në një kohë kur*

shqiptarët kanë shtrirë dorën e pajtimit. - According to him, the Serbs are turning back to the time of Milosevic, a time when Albanians extended the hand of reconciliation.), enmity (Qofsh faqebardhë», u përgjigj Ekrem Isa nga Shkupi dhe të dy shtrinë dorën e pajtimit, më këtë iu dha fund edhe një hasmëria ndër shqiptarë. - 'May you be prosperous', replied Ekrem Isa from Skopje, and both extended the hand of reconciliation, putting an end to another enmity among Albanians.), and in the context of sportive activities (Tirana u shtrin tifozëve dorën e pajtimit, duke i ftuar në stadium për ndeshjen e së premtes ndaj Skënderbeut. - Tirana extended the hand of reconciliation to the fans, inviting them to the stadium for Friday's match against Skanderbeg.)

Other examples relate to rituals about death and tells us that Albanian customs require hitting the ground so that the earth welcomes the dead: *goditja me dorë e tokës, nën të cilën është varrosur Agamemnoni* (hit with hands the ground where Agamemnon is buried). On the other hand, the well-known Albanian expression *Me jetë të gjatë* (word for word *Live long!*) as a wish for newborns or on recurrent birthday celebrations is found in ANC in the example *Sepse, kur tjetri/a urohet me një "jetë të gjatë!" nuk kihet parasysh që ai/ajo të rrjedhë nga trutë', por që bashkë me këmbë e dorë të vërë në lëvizje edhe përvojën e gjatë jetësore, duke dhënë në çdo rast arësytimet më të shëndosha*, explaining that we wish that people live long enough to be healthy, use their own hands and legs, together with their own sound judgement that comes from lifelong experience. There are also cases observed throughout ANC that highlight problematic situations generally observed in Albania, such as dispute over irregularities of evidence of property, as in the example *...pa pasur më parë tapitë në dorë* (unless they have their land patent in hand). Well-known slogans such as *Ta ndërtojmë socializmin me një kazmë në njërin dorë dhe me pushkën në dorën tjetër* (Build socialism by keeping in one hand the mattock, and the gun in the other hand), *hapim rrugën e historisë me shpatë në dorë* (fight the way through history with a sword in one's hand); *jetë për jetë, sy për sy, dhëmb për dhëmb, dorë për dorë, këmbë për këmbë* (life for life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a leg for a

leg); *me dorë në bakllava dhe herë në revani* (one hand in baklava, one in revani)¹ - found between two equally good things, benefiting on both sides) are also frequently found in ANC. Ironical twists of the slogans can also be found *në njërën dorë kanabisin dhe në tjetrën kazmën* (cannabis in one hand and the mattock in the other), implicitly hinting at the numerous plantations of cannabis in Albania as a way of making money illegally.

3. Hand in COCA

We have to state here that, undoubtedly, COCA provides far more extensive and up-to-date information than ANC, being a large 'monitor' corpus, updated constantly. There are also several features and tools in COCA that enrich the search, its results and follow-up analysis. However, within the limitations of the current study, we are focusing on the use of just some of the tools of COCA, the ones that yield important results for the aims of the comparative perspective that we have adopted so far. The search of collocates of *hand* as a noun in COCA brings 8426 occurrences, among which we mention: *side, grenade(s), tools, signals, gesture(s), sanitizer(s), count(s), job(s), washing, corner, movement(s), recount, mirror, towel(s) cream, hygiene, outs, experience, lotion, injury, basket, position, surge, pump, soap, mixer, crank, knowledge, flat, signs, gun, puppet(s), smoke, controller, control(s), truck, luggage, brake, weights, prints, surgery, junction, grip, shake, wash, combat, axes, print, size, column, warmers, lens, tool, strength, surgeon, accounts, drill, counting, model, speed, palm, dryer, loose, wave, rose, account, bags, blender, canon, store, patterns, labor, prothesis, pumps, coordination, drums, brakes, placement, search, dominance, drum, menu, injuries, ditch*; with *side* as the most frequent (384), and *ditch* as the least frequent (22). As we can see, *hand* relates to part of body and gestures; lotions, sanitizers and wash products used for hands; movement of hand, such as shake, control, position, grip, strength, wave, etc. Most meanings that derive from the use of *hand* in these collocations relate to the first meaning of the word.

¹ Revani is a sweet yellow cake found all throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

By clicking on each of the words of the list, other lists open up, with extensive examples from authentic use, with details about the year and the source, starting from the most recent to the earliest one. For example, the search on *sanitizer* as a separate word that collocates with *hand*, yields 231 results, starting from year 2019 as the most recent examples, and ending at 1999 as the earliest. The use of *hand* in collocation with *friendship* is also culture-relevant and it is shown in examples like *extend the hand of friendship*, *offer my hand in friendship*, *reach out with an open hand of friendship*, *stretched their hand in friendship*, taken not only from academic resources, but also from blogs, news, movies and spoken language.

Based on the study *Hand and Heart: A Study of the Uses and Phraseology Associated with Two Common Nouns* (Morrow 2009: 16), which pointed out that we can limit our search to two semantic areas, location and emotion, we have conducted further research on COCA to find more collocations based on these two semantic categories. As far as directionality and location are concerned, we have searched the collocations *right hand* and *left hand*, and we have found 8729 occurrences for *right hand*, most of which are used in combination with *corner*, *side*, *lane*, *column*, *counter*, *navigation bar*, *peak*, *turn*, and *path*. Collocations like *right hand of God*, *right hand man*, *right hand practitioner*, *right hand rule* and *right hand tradition* show prevalence of *right* over *left* as far as positive connotations are concerned. For example, *To make a genderless comparison, I shake with my right hand rather than my left, not because I want to show that I have no intention of reaching for my sword, but because it is the manly and adult way to do so* (Blog 2012). Another example is: *The Right Hand practitioners are described as Vedic practitioners. Those who deliberately and intentionally break the taboos, following the writings called the Tantras, are Left Hand* (2012 Blog). For *left hand* we found fewer occurrences, 6462 in total, mostly in combination with words like *side*, *movement*, *corner*, *sidebar*, *path*, *corner*, and *turn*. Again, we have witnessed collocations with *left hand* that reveal traditions, as in the examples below:

Most Westerners equate Right Hand with patriarchal religions with male head gods and the Left Hand with matriarchal religions with female head gods. Also, many Westerners associate Lilith with the Left Hand Path and Goddess Worship and Feminism, all of which have become conflated in the West (2012 Blog)

With His last recorded words to Jonah, God made His purpose perfectly clear, " Should I not have Compassion on Nineveh, the great city in which there are more than 120,000 persons who do not know the difference between their right and left hand? (Blog 2012)

This may sound ridiculous, but since people shake hands with their right hand, if I'm going to church or somewhere where you normally greet & shake, out of deference for others, my left hand is my " dirty hand ", which I use if I have to use a tissue, cover a sneeze, etc. (Blog 2012).

To complete this section of the paper, inspired by Kövecses and his remarkable book *In Morality and Emotion*², we conducted another search in COCA for collocations of *hand* with the adjectives *high* and *low* to see whether our search confirms Lakoff's statement about morality. There were 21 cases of *high hand* and only 5 cases of *low hand*. We have found cases of *high hand* with positive connotation [e.g. 1. "Our hand was high, " i.e., has lifted itself up or shown itself mighty, an intentional play upon the " high hand " of the Lord (Web, 2012); e.g. 2. I shall give money; not that I haven't done so always, but I shall do it with a high hand now. (News 1998)] as well as with negative connotation [e.g. 1. Colve ruled the internal affairs of the colony with a high hand. He made the citizens understand that the military power was supreme over the civil; and when the council protested

² In this book, Kövecses quotes Lakoff and his book *Moral Politics* to state that the dominant metaphor for morality in America is a complex metaphor: being good is being upright, being bad is being low, doing evil is falling (Lakoff 1996: 72, cited in Kövecses 2004: 194).

against anything he did, he told them plainly that unless they submitted he would summarily dismiss them and appoint others in their places. (Web 2012) e.g. 2. *They have behaved themselves ill in their doings. literally have made their deeds evil.* " The word rendered doings is almost always used in a bad sense, mighty deeds, and so deeds with a high hand. Source: (Web 2012)]. Among the few cases of *low hand*, we find examples that relate to physically lowering hands and low hands in sports, [e.g. *There is not a single idle moment by any player, on any part of the floor, never a lazy foot or a low hand* (News 2013)]; low level of frequency (*Observed low hand washing rates, however, would suggest otherwise.* Source: ACAD 2009); low incidence (*The bow received good marks for low hand shock with little shot noise.* MAG 2005). As it can be observed, there is no direct correlation between *high* and *low* and positive and negative connotation respectively, based on the data of our corpus. We also conducted another search for *upper hand* with KWIC which yielded 1658 entries in 1540 texts. [e.g. 1. *Ah. Don't take it personally. I just like having the upper hand. You don't have to explain yourself. Our rivalry is done.* (TV 2017) e.g. 2. *The British and Americans on the other hand maintained a slight upper hand on the Germans with a kill ratio better than 1-to-1.* (2012, Mag) e.g. 3. *Emily is back on the revenge trail again! I love seeing her have the upper hand.* (2012 Blog)] Another search was conducted about *warm* and *cold hand* (KWIC), which yielded 130 entries and 124 entries respectively. We observe similarity in their use compared to the Albanian language, with *warm* bearing positive connotation and affection, while *cold* showing either low temperature or distance. [e.g. 1. *The Tick greets Arthur and starts grandiloquently holding forth on destiny's warm hand on the small of his back pushing them towards fighting evil.* (2016 Mag) e.g. 2. *Someplace where a warm hand waits for mine.* (1992 TV) e.g. 3. *Good luck to you all, and God bless America! Let's have a warm hand for our valedictorian Melissa Tyler!* (1991, Mov) e.g. 4. *He held his mother's cold hand as they roared toward the hospital.* (1991 Fic); e.g. 5. *The Middle East crisis has slapped a cold hand across the August doldrums of Washington.* (1990 News).] We conducted another search, inspired from the use of *dorë e bardhë/e zezë* (white/black hand) in COCA, and we found out 121 occurrences of *white hand* and

102 occurrences for *black hand*. [e.g. 1. *That dismissed Chinese concerns that they are the black hand behind the protests.* (2014 News) e.g. 2. *It would weigh on your soul like a cold, black hand. It would trouble you all your life, keeping you awake.* (2007 Fic) e.g. 3. *I think the tattoo says it all. The Black Hand. Mexican Mafia. Yeah.* (2018 TV) e.g. 4. *Let's make it a white hand, the touch of death's white hand.* (1995 Fic) e.g. 5. *Wordlessly, he extended his frail, white hand; in it he held a bone-white card.* (2009 Fic)]. There are no positive or negative connotations related to the use of *white* vs. *black*, only the association to Mafia with black hand. The search about *hand* and *reconciliation* did not yield any matching records.

4. Summary of findings and suggestions for further research

The results of our research point to the fact that linguistic categorisation of uses of *dorë* and *hand* is subject to both universal and language and culture-specific principles. We emphasize that search on electronic corpora ANC and COCA has facilitated our research related to uses of *dorë* in Albanian language and *hand* for English language. Numerous examples were yielded from the searches which were classified according to some categories such as, part of the body, sense of touch, gesture and posture, quantity, exchange, delivery, (lack of) control, free will, money, retreat, (abuse of) power, intimacy, violence, death and typical customs. The findings of the search on ANC clearly demonstrate the interrelationship between language and culture, even through the use of a single word in multiple contexts. On the other hand, search on COCA revealed many more examples, but a detailed analysis of all examples cannot be done within the limitations of this single paper. That is why we have focused on collocations and we have only brought some illustrative examples that point to uses of hand with relevance to a body part, the use of cleansing or moisturising products for this part of body, movements or gestures related to hand, surgery, hand for control and dominance, hand for money, and hand for friendship. Another search on COCA has investigated collocations like *high hand and low hand, right hand and left hand* commenting also on

positive and negative connotations, present in both languages. Colocations *white hand* and *black hand* in COCA did not show any positive or negative associations, while in ANC we observed positive collocations for *dorë e bardhë* (*white hand*) and negative associations for *dorë e zezë* (*black hand*). However, more in-depth study is needed in order to examine thoroughly all instances of use of hand in COCA. This is also related to the fact that there are more occurrences in COCA, when compared to ANC. Thus, the current study will serve as a starting point for further research that will exemplify similarities that English and Albanian (but also other Balkan languages) and culture share.

The innovativeness of this study relates to the use of ANC, an instrument not yet well-known and explored by scholars, as well as to the comparison of findings with the same word, in COCA for English language. We aim to further extend the current study by including examples from other corpora of other languages and make relevant comparisons, even from cognitive linguistics. It would also be interesting to extract data from subcorpora of COCA and ANC and the early Albanian corpus, and derive other relevant conclusions for further research, and compare the frequency of words in entire semantic fields diachronically. We also think that further investigation of examples with the aim to explore the fuzzy borderline between literal and non-literal meaning, i.e. punning, would provide interesting data worthy of our attention. We hope that the current study provides evidence to witness the interrelationship of language and culture. The data extracted from ANC and COCA can be used in the future to investigate other phenomena, beyond purely linguistic ones, from multidimensional perspectives.

Conclusion

The data analyzed reveals that individual words can unveil extensive networks of meanings. This research stands out for its innovation in concentrating on ANC, an area that has not been fully investigated by Albanian scholars. Due to spatial constraints, our study

is confined to examples from ANC and COCA. Nevertheless, our intention is to broaden this investigation by incorporating examples from English language corpora and/or other Balkan languages to facilitate meaningful comparisons. Exploring data from subcorpora and the early Albanian corpus would add further depth to our research, allowing us to draw pertinent conclusions.

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