The body as a source for object names: A study of partial colexifications across languages

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Keywords: Lexical Typology, Body Parts, Colexifications

Expressions in which a body part term refers to an object occur in most languages. Although English does not systematically use body part terms for objects (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), numerous examples exist: *foot of the mountain, clock face*, etc. In addition, some languages use body part terms consistently for object descriptions (Levinson, 1994). A cross-linguistic approach that considers diverse languages is essential to identify constraints on linguistic variation (Croft, 2016). Thus, the study of cross-linguistic *colexifications* (François, 2008) offers important insights into cognitive principles that facilitate the use of body part terms for objects. As of yet, large-scale studies across many languages (e.g., Jackson et al., 2019; Xu et al., 2020; Brochhagen & Boleda, 2022) have focused on full colexifications in which the same lexical item is used for two different meanings, for example, Czech *ruka* 'hand, arm'. Partial colexifications such as *river mouth* where one part of the word, i.e., *mouth*, is colexified, are examined primarily in studies focusing on a smaller number of languages (e.g., Schapper, 2022; Urban, 2022). In this talk, we present a new methodology that allows us to infer full and partial colexifications between body and object concepts automatically (cf. List, 2023).

The material for our study is based on a large lexical data collection, Lexibank (List et al., 2022). We selected concepts representing human body parts and everyday objects from the Concepticon reference catalog that consists of cross-linguistically comparable concepts (List et al., 2016; Tjuka et al., 2022). The 45 body concepts included, for example, HEAD, NOSE, ARM, and BONE. The 65 object concepts were from the semantic field of artifacts, landscapes, plants, food, and household items. The concepts are linked to word lists such as the Intercontinental Dictionary Series (Key & Comrie, 2021) which are curated in Lexibank (List et al., 2022). By employing the methods described in Rzymski et al. (2020), we automatically generated a colexification network of the data. However, this preliminary network only provided full colexifications, i.e., two different concepts are linked to identical lexical items. Thus, we established a new method that detects common substrings across lexical items to extend the analysis to partial colexifications (List, 2023). This method recognizes whether a concept is expressed, for example, by a compound as in *river mouth*, where only one part colexifies with a body concept.

We analyzed 93 colexifications between a body and object concept across 997 languages from 87 language families. The results indicate that only a few body-object colexifications are frequent across several languages, but many distinct body-object colexifications exist in diverse languages. For example, the colexification between SKIN and BARK is one of the most widespread and occurs in 128 languages. There are also languages like Maori or Abui that use the partial colexification 'tree skin' for the concept BARK. The body-object colexifications arise from similarities based on visual and functional perception between body parts and objects. For example, shape leads to the colexification between NOSE and CAPE and spatial alignment is the basis for HEAD and MOUNTAIN SUMMIT. The study also supports previous findings that languages have preferences for certain similarities (Tilbe, 2017).

The implications of the findings are far-reaching in that they offer new insights into meaning extensions of body part terms from a cognitive perspective. In addition, the new methodological approach allows for a study of different morphological structures in the formation of cross-linguistic colexifications and can be extended to other semantic domains.

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