Lexico-semantic networks on various levels of resolution

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Today's talk

- Part 1: lexico-semantic networks based on large-scale lexical databases using CLICS
- Part 2: fine-grained analyses of lexico-semantic associations within language families. Example: Quechuan internal parts of the torso in diachrony

Part 1



The CLICS team



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Sources

Currently CLICS utilizes four different sources, all of which are freely available online themselves.

- The intercontinental dictionary series (IDS, Key & Comrie 2007 eds.) features lexical data for 233 world languages. IDS data were provided mostly by experts on the respective languages, although in some cases published written sources have been used. There are 1,310 entries to be filled for each language, though, of course, there are gaps in coverage for individual languages. The list of concepts is inspired by Buck (1949). Of all 233 languages in the IDS, 178 were automatically cleaned and included in CLICS.
- The IDS list, in turn, provides the basis for the choice of meanings in the World Loanword Database (WOLD, Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009 eds.). The principal aim of this source is to provide a basis for generalizations on the borrowability of items in different parts of the lexicon. The WOLD data consist of vocabularies of between 1,000-2,000 items for 41 languages, with annotations about the borrowing history of particular items where applicable. WOLD data was coded by experts on the respective languages, in some cases also with the aid of extant sources. Of all 41 languages in WOLD, 33 are included in CLICS.
- The Logos Dictionary is a freely accessible multilingual online dictionary that is regularly updated online by a network of professional translators. It offers lexical data for more than 60 different languages. We manually extracted lexical data for 4 languages that were neither present in IDS nor in WOLD.
- The Språkbanken project (University of Gothenburg) offers a couple of wordlists for South Asian and Himalayan languages. The wordlists mirror the IDS format closely, and we included 6 of currently 8 wordlists in CLICS

The situation before CLICS: IDS

Mapudur	ngun Dictionary	/			Glottocode: 😋	mapu1245 SSO 639-3: 🕑 ari	
€ ± ▼ Showing 1 to 100 c	of 1,377 entries	Author • María Catrileo • Mary Ritchie Key					
IDS code	Meaning	Chapter 🔶	Counterparts	Description 🔶	Ana V. Fernández Gar	ay (Ranquel)	
Search	Search	any 🗸	Search	Search	cite		
1.100	world	The physical world	mapu	Phonemic			
1.210	earth, land	The physical world	mapu	Phonemic	+ APIKey		
1.212	earth=ground, soil	The physical world	mapu	Phonemic			
1.213	dust	The physical world	f Rufir	Phonemic			
1.214	mud	The physical world	foțRa	Phonemic			
1.215	sand	The physical world	kuyim	Phonemic			
1.220	mountain, hill	The physical world	wiŋkul mapu	Phonemic			
1.222	cliff, precipice	The physical world	111	Phonemic			
1.230	plain, field	The physical world	ketrawe	Phonemic		/	
1.240	valley	The physical world	l ^y оθко тари	Phonemic		38°44'S, 71°17'W -38.74, -71.28	
1.250	island	The physical world	čaŋkiŋ	Phonemic	00.14, 11.20		
1.250	island	The physical world	wapi	Phonemic		Agriculture and vegetation	
1.260	mainland	The physical world	fita mapu	Phonemic	CARL DARLING BUCK	Animas Basis actions and technology Clubbing and goconing	
1.270	shore	The physical world	lafken mapu	Phonemic	A DICTIONARY OF SELECTED	Emotions and values Filed and drink Kriship	
1.280	cave	The physical world	lolo	Phonemic	SYNONYMS IN THE PRINCIPAL	Law Macelaneous function words Modern world Modern world Motion	
1.310	water	The physical world	ko	Phonemic	INDO-EUROPEAN L A N G U A G E S	Country Country Religion and belief	
1.320	sea	The physical world	lafken	Phonemic		Sense perception Social and political relations Spatial relations Search and Insonana	
1.322	calm (of sea)	The physical world	tiŋ	Phonemic		The body The rouse The physical word	
1.323	rough (of sea)	The physical world	il ^y kun	Phonemic		Time Wartare and hunting Shuwan 1 In 24 of 24 cellans	

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The situation before CLICS: WOLD

WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (WOLD) pilipili swada pilipili Swada pilipili Swada Database pilipili Swada Database pilipili Swada								
Home Vocabula	rles Meanings Languages	Authors						
Vocabulary Imbabura Quechua								
by Jorge A. Gómez Rendón cite								
The vocabulary contains 1297 meaning-word pairs ("entries") corresponding to core LWT meanings from the recipient language Imbabura Quechua. The corresponding text chapter was published in the book Loanwords in the World's Languages. The language page Imbabura Quechua contains a list of all loanwords arranged by donor languoid. Meaning-word pairs Description								
Showing 1 to 100 of 1,319 entries $1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ \text{Next} \rightarrow 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ \text{Next}$								
Details	A Value	♦ Valueset						
	Search							
more	pacha mama	Imbabura Quechua / the world	Imbabura Quechua / the world					
more	allpa	Imbabura Quechua / the land	Imbabura Quechua / the land					
more	allpa	Imbabura Quechua / the soil	Imbabura Quechua / the soil					
more	allpa jaku	Imbabura Quechua / the dust						
more	turu (1)	Imbabura Quechua / the mud						
more	tiyu	Imbabura Quechua / the sand						
more	urku	Imbabura Quechua / the mountain or hill	Imbabura Quechua / the mountain or hill					
more	jaka	Imbabura Quechua / the cliff or precipice	Imbabura Quechua / the cliff or precipice					

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Colexification

In the context of CLICS, we use the term *colexification* (coined by François 2008^[PDF]) to refer to the situation when two or more of the meanings in our lexical sources are covered in a language by the same lexical item. For instance, we would say that Russian *pyka* colexifies 'hand' and 'arm', that is, concepts that are semantically related to each other. Roughly spoken, colexification can correspond either to polysemy or semantic vagueness in lexical semantic analyses. Since we have not performed such analyses that would allow us to further discriminate between the two, we chose *colexification* as a label that deliberately does not make a commitment with regard to this distinction. However, we offer measures to rule out effects of accidental homonymy.

Conceptual links, which constitute our main interest in colexification, are clearly not the only possible reason why two concepts can be expressed by the same form in a given language. The most prominent among the others is *homonymy*, which is in very simple terms an accidental similarity in form, often arising from sound changes causing originally distinct lexical items to collapse phonologically. Such cases may lead to spurious links in the database (compare, for example, the links between the concepts 'arm' and 'poor' which are due to homonymy in some Germanic languages). To deal with this issue in a consistent and generally applicable way (even if the history of the lexical items in question is not known) we recommend to employ a typological criterion to distinguish between homonymy and polysemy (see Croft 1990): for semantic connections to be accepted as genuine rather than accidental, the connection should be detectable in more than one language family. We should, however, point out that this criterion has been developed and originally applied by the aforementioned author in the realm of polyfunctionality of grammatical markers, that is, items belonging to a paradigmatically relatively well-structured set of items with a manageable semantic range. When applied to lexical meanings, there is a danger that the criterion rules out a set of genuine, but simply rare, semantic associations. Still, we feel that our approach is justified, methodologically because it offers a simple and non-subjective decision criterion, and conceptually because our approach relies on cross-linguistic data in the first place.

Some characteristics of the data (inherited from major sources)

- synchronic
- predefined meanings
- resolution cannot be changed
- no balancing for language families/areas

Some (imagined) characteristics of research done on the basis of CLICS

- Worldwide scope (resolution for areal studies probably too low)
- Broad-scale typological-comparative, no expertise of research on individual langauges and their history

Part II: Quechuan terminology for internal organs of the torso



The Quechuan language family



http://www.quechua.org.uk/Eng/Main/i_DIALS.HTM

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Major Andean ecological zones



Figure 6.2. Cross-section of the Central Andes showing the major environmental zones according to Pulgar Vidal (1987). (Adapted from Richardson 1994).

Quilter (2014) 13

Traditional Central Andean economical and sociological organization

- The Qollahuaya *ayllu* (traditional Andean kin-group) of Kaata consists of settlements at high, mid, and low ecological zones of the Andes.
- Triple mapping between environment, community structure, and body: in analogy to the body, the upper level has a "head," a "mouth" and "eyes," the central one a "stomach" and a "heart," and the lower level "feet" and "toenails."
- The central settlements consist of several hamlets which "are joined together as are the vital organs surrounding the heart", and "Kaatapata, the oldest and highest of these hamlets, forms the liver."

MOUNTAIN OF THE CONDOR Metaphor and ritual in an Andean Avllu



Joseph W. Bastien

Turning to lexical data...

- The Quechua term corresponding to 'heart' at Kataa is sonco.
- "Although the sonco is translated as "heart," Qollahuayas refer to it as a compression-distillation center, which preforms circulatory, respiratory, and digestive processes (The sonco is also associated with thought and emotions, which are qualities of the fluids) ...Within the sonco, fat is separated from food by the force of the blood coming together in an inward spiral of centripetal movement. This force, then, reverses itself in outward movement and disperses the fat and blood to the parts of the body." (Bastien 1985: 598-599)
- Intension vs. extension

 in colonial texts and also in the dictionary of Santo Tomás (1560), the <shonqo> is associated with the indigenous concept of *camac*, the life force permeating all beings classified as animate in Quechua ontology Some different configurations of the entire field in different languages...

Junín-Huanca Quechua (based on

Cerrón-Palomino 1976)



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Imbabura Quichua (based on Gómez Rendón 2009)



Heart of humans and heart of animals

- Junín-Huanca *puywan* 'heart of big animals' (Cerrón-Palomino 1976)
- Ayacucho (Cangallo) *puywan* 'heart of big animals' (Parker 1969)
- Ancash-Huailas *puywan* 'heart of big animals' (Parker and Chávez 1976)
- 16th century Cuzco Quechua<puyhuá> ~ <puyhuan> is 'heart of animals' (Gonçalez Holguin 1608)
- <puyhuan soncoyok> "a man like a beast, without understanding"



What was the meaning of *puywan?

- Wilkins's (1996: 274) "natural tendency" of semantic change no. 4:
- "It is a natural tendency for the term for an animal part to shift to refer to a person part"

Conclusions

- lexico-semantic organization in a given language or family stems from the complex interplay
 - culture-specific conceptualizations,
 - the cognitive-perceptual apparatus shared by all humans,
 - linguistic history (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2016: 2),

Conclusions

• To access and understand different aspects of lexicosemantic associations, we need different and complementary study designs at various levels of resolution

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