Areal semantics

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Contact-induced change

The prototypical contact-induced change, often called 'interference' (Thomason 2001), involves direct importation or transfer of linguistic features from one language to another, with various possible modifications of the imported feature during this process.

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Research on language contact

➢ The traditional niche for studies on language contact –historical linguistics, where contact is often invoked as a cause for linguistic change.

➢ The more recent niche – areal typology , 'the study of patterns in the areal distribution of typologically relevant features of languages' (Dahl 2001: 1956).

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Two main research angles in areal studies

➢ What are the possible outcomes of language contact in different parts of the language system?

➢ To what extent is it possible to use various kinds of linguistic phenomena for reconstructing contact?

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Areal semantics

Areal semantics – diffusion of semantic features across language boundaries in a geographical area.

Contact semantics

Unfortunately, there is no single work (book, chapter, or article) which deals with contact semantics in its own right. 'Semantics' typically does not show up as an entry in the indexes of general textbooks dealing with contact issues. The topics, concepts and observations that have been gathered together here are typically scattered throughout books under such topics as 'the psychology of bilingualism', 'lexical borrowing', 'morphological transfer', 'social factors in second language learning', 'pidgins and creoles', and so on. This state of affairs reflects the fact that contact semantics has not been pursued as an area of study in its own right.

Ameka & Wilkins. 1996. Semantics. In: Goebl et al. (eds.): Kontaktlinguistik/Contact Linguistics/Linguistique de contact, V.1: 130-138. Berlin/New York: DeGruyter

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Areal lexical semantics

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria & Henrik Liljegren 2017, Lexical semantics and areal linguistics. In Hickey, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 204 – 236.

Areal lexical semantics

Lexico-semantic patterns: from the convergence of individual lexemes, through the structuring of entire semantic domains to the organization of entire lexicons.

➢ What are the possible outcomes of language contact in the realm of the lexicon?

➢ To what extent is it possible to use lexical phenomena for reconstructing contact?

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Replication of matter vs. replication of patterns (Matras & Sakel 2007)

Contact-induced language change can lead to direct replication of morphemes and phonological shapes from a source language; we shall refer to this in the following as replication of linguistic *matter*, abbreviated *MAT*. Language contact can also lead to re-shaping of language-internal structures. In the latter process, the formal substance or matter is not imported but is taken from the inherited stock of forms of the recipient or replica language (i.e. the language that is undergoing change). Rather, it is the patterns of distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement at various levels (discourse, clause, phrase, or word) that are modelled on an external source. We call this *pattern replication*, abbreviated *PAT*.

Replication of matter: Borrowed words

Differences in borrowability: different parts of the lexicon differ in their propensity to be borrowed:

o depending on their lexical category
o depending on their semantic class
o depending on the contact situation

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Pattern replication in the lexicon

❧ Lexico-semantic parallels

   o polysemy calquing / sharing

   o lexico-constructional calquing /sharing

❧ Shared formulaic expressions

❧ Area-specific lexicalizations and a shared or similar-looking internal organization of certain semantic domains

Polysemy calquing/sharing

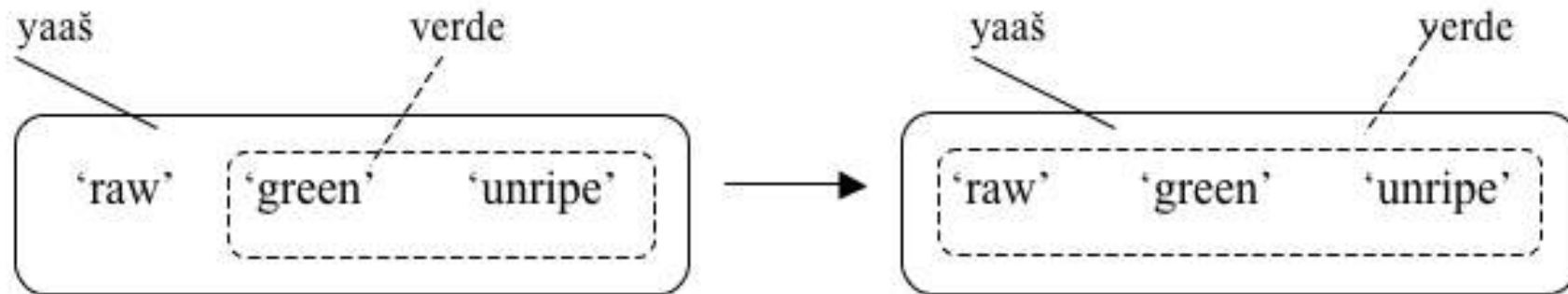"Semantic borrowing", "semantic loan", "semantic shifts", "loan synonyms

Fig. 1: The process of polysemy copying – Spanish *verde* and Acatec *yaaš* in the speech of Acatec-Spanish bilinguals (after Smith-Stark 1994)

Polysemy calquing/sharing

(1) 'draw water' = 'copy, imitate' in the languages of Ethiopia-Eritrea: *k'ädda* in Amharic (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic), *waraabe* in Oromo (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic) and *duuk'k'ides* in Gamo (Afro-Asiatic, Omotic) (Hayward 1991, 1999)

(2) 'child' = 'fruit' in West-African languages: *díŋ* in Mandinka (Mande, West Mande) and in several other Mande languages, *doom* in Wolof (Niger-Congo, Atlantic), *ízè* in Songhay (Nilo-Saharan, Songai), *fidju* in Kabuverdianu (Portuguese-based creole), *obi* in Sɛlɛɛ (Niger-Congo, Kwa)

(3) 'eat' = 'drink' in many Papuan and Australian Aboriginal languages, e.g. *kə-* in Manambu (Ndu) or *a* in Kwoma (Kwoma-Nukuma) (Aikhenvald 2009), as well as in a number of other languages of the world (Vanhove (ed.) 2007).

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Lexico-constructional parallels

(4) Singlish vs. Mandarin (http://www.singlishdictionary.com/)
   a. *eat salt* vs. *chī* 'eat' + *yán* 'salt' – 'suffer a bitter or serious setback'
   b. *give face* vs. *gěi* 'give, grant' + *miàn* 'face; reputation, prestige' – 'show due respect for one's feelings'

The first ex. seems to be wrong in Standard Mandarin, but probably involves the local Mandarin variety. MKT

Mandarin

| *chī* 'eat' | *yán* 'salt' |

'suffer a bitter or serious setback'

Singlish

| *eat* 'eat' | *salt* 'salt' |

'suffer a bitter or serious setback'

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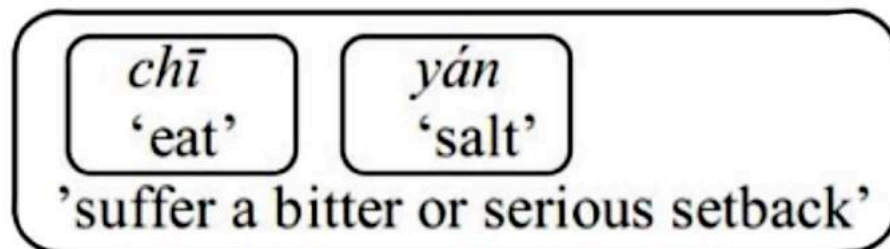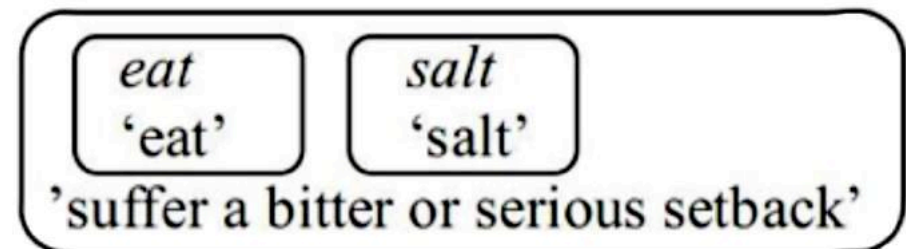
Lexico-constructional parallels

(6) 'sun' = 'eye of the day' (a shared compounding pattern) in Mainland Southeast Asia and parts of Oceania: *mata hari* in Malay/Indonesian (Austronesian, Malay-Polynesian), *wangere ma la'o* 'day POSS eye' in Sahu (Papuan, North Halmahera), *mata-ni-siga* 'eye/face-POSS-day/sun' in Fijian (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian), *masonàndro* (*màso-nàndro*) in Malagasy (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian) (Urban 2010, 2012, Blust 2011)

(7) 'people' = 'man' + 'woman' (a shared compounding pattern) in the languages of New Guinea: *man-meri* in Tok Pisin, *uwr-sa* in Abau (Sepik), *oná-aa* in East Kewa (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, West-Central East New Guinea Highlands), *nɨbi bɨ* in Kobon (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, Madang) (Wälchli 2015), *kadi-imet* in Waskia (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, Madang), or *tamol-pein* in Takia (Austronesian, Oceanic) (Ross 2007: 122)

(8) 'to obey someone' = 'to follow someone's mouth' (a shared collocational pattern) in the languages of Karkar island (Papua New Guinea): *awa-n ŋa-ri* 'mouth-3SG.POSS 1SG.S-follow' in Takia (Austronesian, Oceanic) vs. *kuriŋ karotu-sam* 'mouth:3SG.POSS follow-1SG.S' in Waskia (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, Madang) (Ross 2007: 122)

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Semantic associations

℮ *Lexico-semantic parallels*

    o polysemy calquing / sharing

    o lexico-constructional calquing /sharing

No strict borderline, e.g.:

    o 'fruit' = 'child'

    o 'fruit' = 'child of the tree'

    o 'fruit' = 'child' / 'child of the tree'

In all these cases there is a *semantic association* between 'child' and 'fruit'

Lexico-semantic parallels as areality indicators

Examples of lexico-semantic parallels abound in the literature on contact phenomena, but there is little discussion of their role in areal linguistics. Two notable exceptions:

ℛ Meso-America: Smith-Stark (1994) and Brown (2011)

ℛ Ethiopia-Erithrea: Hayward (1991, 1999)

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Lexico-semantic parallels as areality indicators

Evidence that these have a great potential as areality indicators:

❧ idiosyncratic

❧ multiple

❧ logically independent from each other

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Shared formulaic expressions

❧ Conventionalized formulaic expressions used for particular pragmatic functions (e.g., greetings, curses, proverbs, etc.) – a special case among shared lexico-constructional patterns:

❧ cf. the familiar farewell expressions *au revoir* (French), *auf Wiedersehen* (German), *på återseende* (Swedish), *do svidanija* (Russian), *näkemiin* (Finnish)

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Shared formulaic expressions: expressions of extreme gratitude in the languages of Volta Basin (Ameka 2011)

(a) Ewe (Niger-Congo, Kwa, Gbe; Ghana and Togo)

Né	me-kú	lá,	me-ga-fa	aví	o.
COND	1SG-die	TP	2SG:NEG-REP-shed	cry	NEG

'When I die, don't cry.'

(b) Akan (Niger-Congo, Kwa, Tano; Ghana)

Se	ma-wu-a,	n-su.
COND	1SG-die-TP	2SG:NEG-cry.

'When I die, don't cry.'

(c) Dagaare ((Niger-Congo, Gur, Oti-Volta; N Ghana, Burkina Faso)

Ka	maa	wa	kpi	tɔɔ	kono.
If	1SG	come	die	NEG:IMP	cry

'When I die, don't cry.'

Shared formulaic expressions as areality indicators

☙ not compositional => chances for similar independent innovation low

☙ learned as conversational routines and conventions => witness of shared socialization and repeated communication

☙ often permeated with shared cultural scripts and values => bear testimony to the shared cultural history of the area

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European phraseologisms: Piirainen (2013)

- 73 linguistic varieties spoken in Europe, 17 non-European languages and Esperanto.

- 380 widespread European phraseologisms

- *night and day* [69], *to be/fight like cat and dog* [68], *to be someone's right hand* [64], *to play with fire* [64], *to take someone under one's wings* [62], and *to tear/ pull one's hair out* [62]

- texts of ancient writers, the Bible, post-classical literature, proverbial units of medieval and reformation times, and fables, tales and legends.

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Area-specific lexicalisations

☙ Concepts that are lexicalized across languages in a
particular area, but strike outsiders as very specific and
curious. Not necessarily testifying to language contact:

✓ shared physical environment (e.g., types of terrain,
snow, seasons, types of skin etc.)

✓ shared material culture and/or cultural values and
practices which may, but do not have to go hand in
hand with language contact.

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Area-specific lexicalisations: Ethiopia-Erithrea

Similar lexicalizations within more "universal" semantic domains:

- ℘ 'borrowing something to be returned in kind (like money)' vs. 'borrowing smth which is itself to be returned' (Amharic, Oroo, Gamo)

- ℘ *t'äfäff yalä* in Amharic, *kafaffa* in Oromo, *ts'izʔa* in Gamo 'dry enough for use' (clothes that have been washed for wearing, a road for travelling, a firewood to be used as fuel, etc.) (Hayward 1991, 1999)

Shared organisation of semantic domains: European languages

van der Auwera (1998): phasal adverbs *still*, *no longer*, *not yet*, *already*. Normally found in European lges. A further criterion: 'no longer'

- ∽ a comparative *no longer, ne plus*, *inte längre*: many (but not all) languages in Western and Central Europe
- ∽ 'already' with negation *ya no* (Spanish), *uže ne* (Russian): most of the languages in Eastern Europe and on the Iberian peninsula

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Shared organisation of semantic domains: 'come' and 'go' in European languages

Ricca (1993):

- ❧ *fully deictic* languages in SW and S Europe (Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Albanian, Modern Greek, + Finno-Ugric outliers Hungarian and Finnish),
- ❧ *non-deictic* languages – W and E Slavic and Baltic
- ❧ *predominantly deictic* ones – Germanic, French + S Slavic languages Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian.
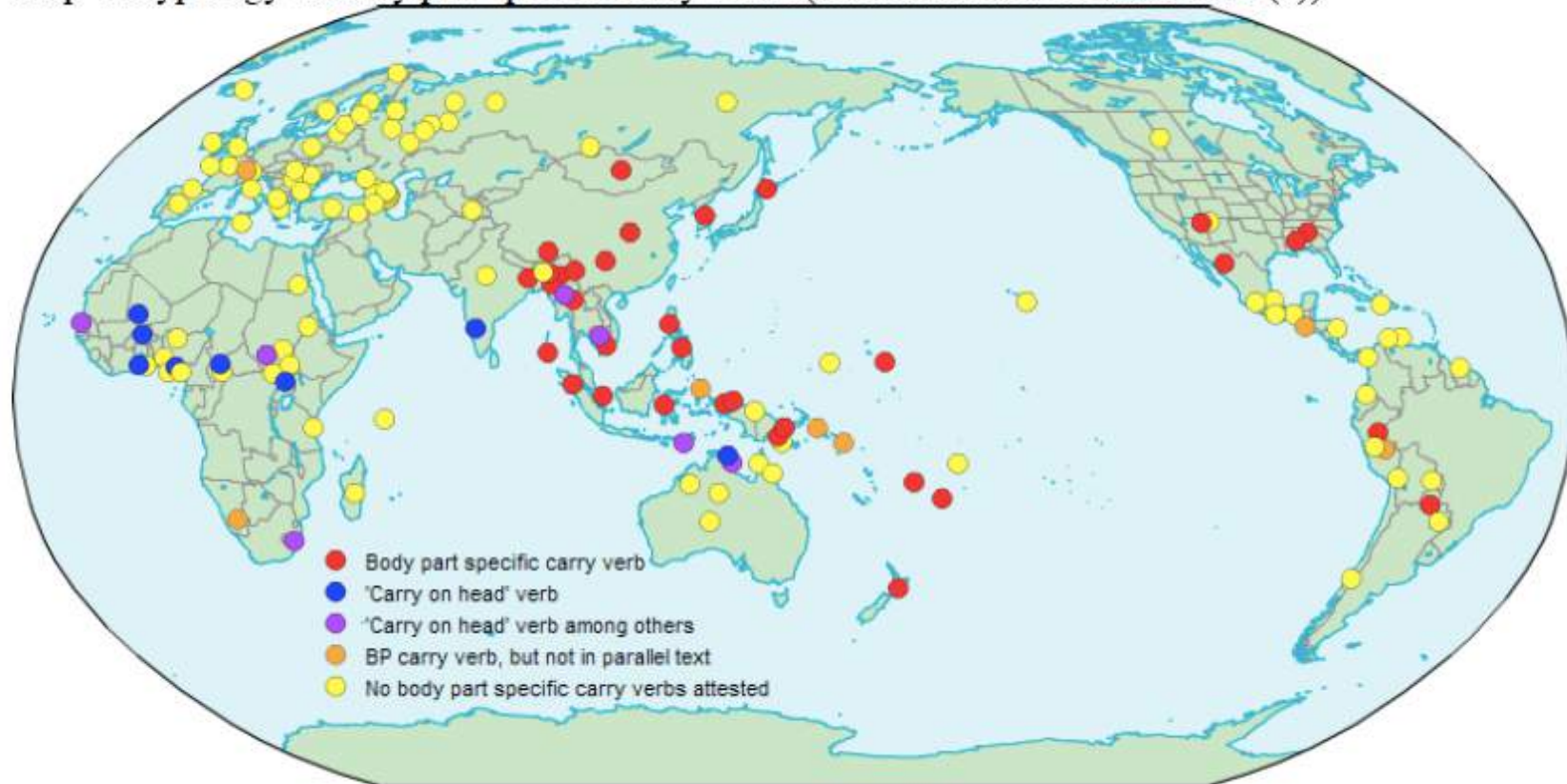
Shared organization of a semantic domain: calendrical expressions in the Hindukush languages

Kamviri	Burushaski	Dameli	Balti	
nučúṭ		*ucǒoṭ/čooṭ diyoo*	*dunma jaq*	'three days ago'
nutrí	*yáarbulto*	*itrii*	*karchaqla*	'the day before yesterday'
dus	*sabuúr*	*doos*	*gonde*	'yesterday'
strák gaaǰaar	*khúulto*	*mu(n)dya*	*diring*	'today'
daalkẽ̌	*jímale*	*beraa*	*bela, haske*	'tomorrow'
aatrí	*hípulto*	*truida*	*snangla*	'the day after tomorrow'
aacǔṭ́	*máalto*	*čooṭ/čooṭa ki*	*rzesla*	'three days hence'

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Shared organisation of semantic domains in a "milder version"

❧ Matisoff (2004: 366), the Southeast Asian lexico-semantic areal features include a rich lexicon of verbs of manipulation within such domains as CARRYING or CUTTING.

Map 4: Typology of body part specific carry verbs (such as used in domains like (1))

- Body part specific carry verb
- 'Carry on head' verb
- 'Carry on head' verb among others
- BP carry verb, but not in parallel text
- No body part specific carry verbs attested

Wälchli, Bernhard 2008. Motion events in parallel texts. A study in primary-data typology. A habilitation thesis, the University of Bern

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Causation and mechanisms

Inheritance, diffusion, shared environment or independent innovation?

൬ Easy cases: many languages belonging to different families within a more or less well-defined region share a property that is very rare in other parts of the world => language contact suggests itself as a particularly appealing explanation.

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Causation and mechanisms

❧ Most contact-induced change is not particularly spectacular, most isoglosses are probably neither unique to an area nor skewed in their distribution so much that they will 'betray' the area in a large-scale sample.

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Causation and mechanisms

๏ Isoglosses rooted in language contacts will often 'stand out' only within a particular area but will not necessarily be noticeable from a large-scale typological perspective => a combination of micro- and macrotypological methods

Universal, genetic, areal,
ex. 1: perception => cognition

ɞ Sweetser (1990): universal link VISION => COGNITION [mainly based on IE languages]

ɞ Evans & Wilkins (2001): areal/genetic link HEARING => COGNITION in 60 Australian aboriginal languages

ɞ Vanhove (2008): HEARING => COGNITION is more widely spread than VISION => COGNITION [25 languages from different families]

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Ex. 2: Lexical motivation and analyzability

➢ Example: 'sun', 'moon', day'

➢ three morphologically simple lexemes

➢ association between 'sun' and 'moon':
  ✓ colexification
  ✓ 'moon' derived from 'sun

➢ association between 'sun' and 'day'
  ✓ colexification
  ✓ 'sun' derived from 'day'

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Lexical motivation from a typological point of view

Urban, Matthias 2012. Analyzability and semantic associations in referring expressions. PhD diss., Leiden university:

- are there universal tendencies in the realization of certain meanings?
- which patterns are rare, only found in some languages?
- are there patterns that are peculiar to a certain area?
- are there patterns that are peculiar to a certain family?
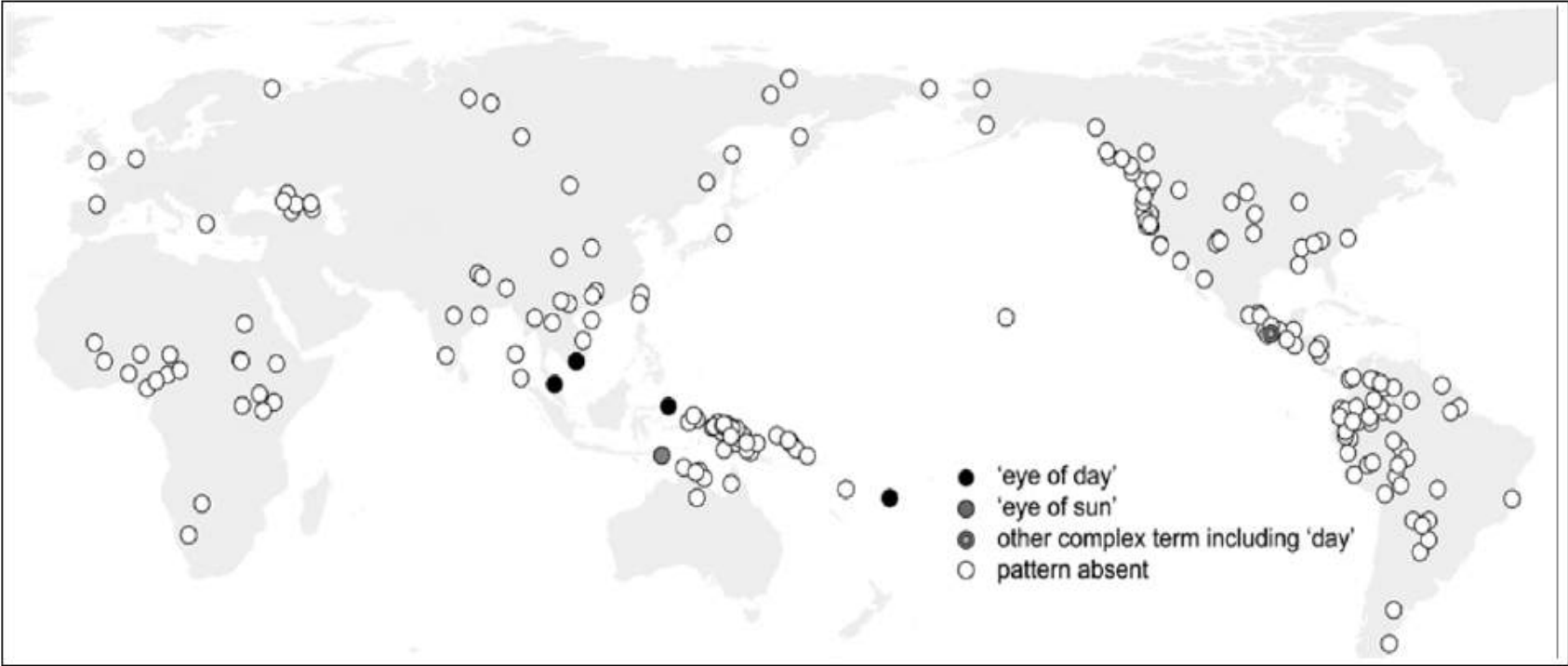
Methodology

160 meanings, four domains:

o topological and nature-related terms (animal, Milky way, egg, flame, etc.)

o artifacts (airplane, mirror, knife, weapon, etc.)

o body parts and body fluids (beard, bladder, blood, etc.)

o phases of the day and miscellanea (dawn, noon, widow, etc.)
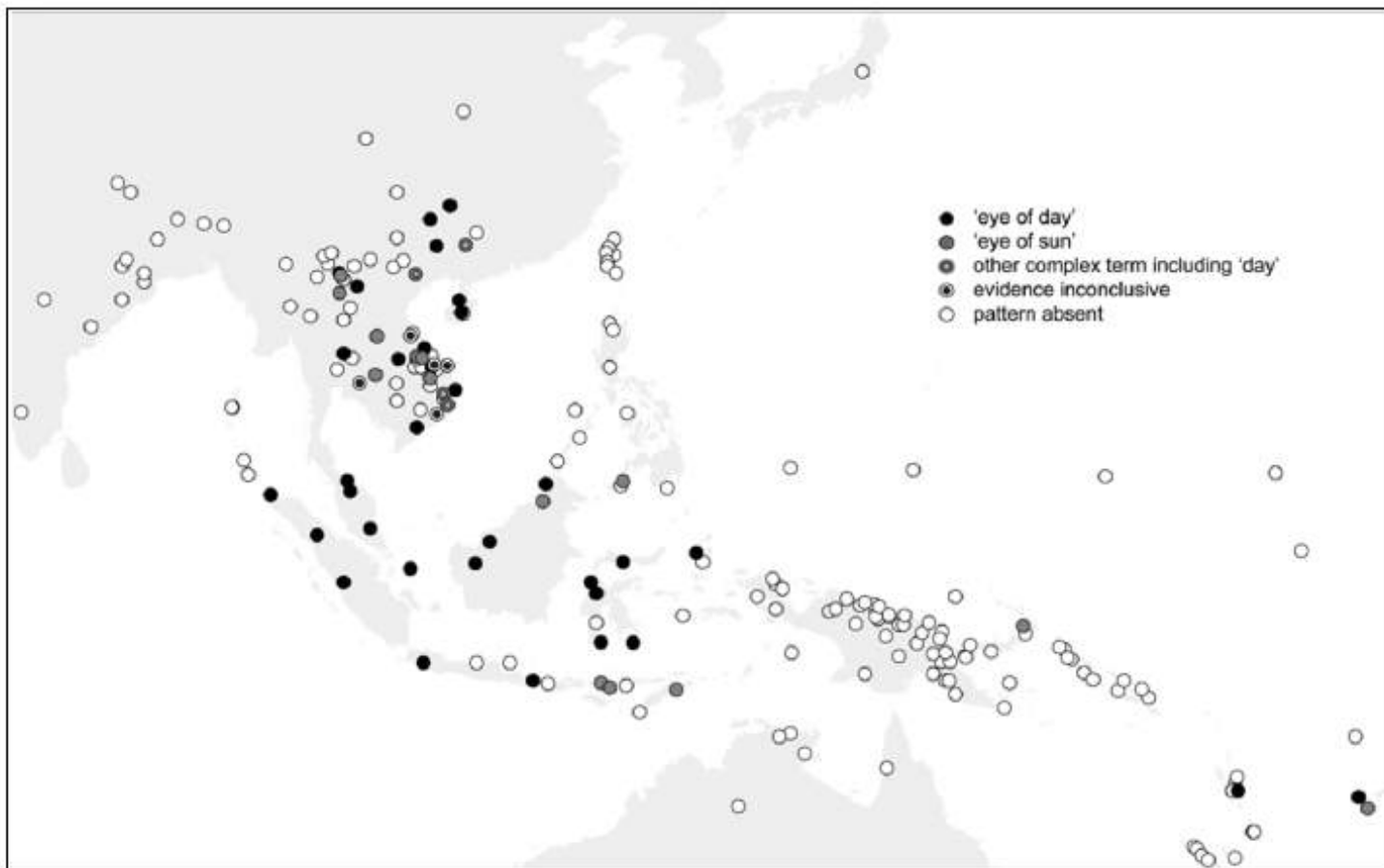
≈ 100 languages

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Universal, genetic, areal: 'sun' = 'eye of the day'

ა Urban (2012): cross-linguistically very rare, but frequent in Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai and Austronesian languages of Southeast Asia and Oceania

ა Blust (2011): much more universal

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MAP 1. WORLDWIDE DISTRIBUTION OF 'EYE OF DAY' BASED ON A GENEALOGICALLY BALANCED SAMPLE OF 214 LANGUAGES

- ● 'eye of day'
- ● 'eye of sun'
- ◉ other complex term including 'day'
- ○ pattern absent

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MAP 2. 'EYE OF DAY' IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND OCEANIA

● 'eye of day'
● 'eye of sun'
◉ other complex term including 'day'
◉ evidence inconclusive
○ pattern absent

Universal, genetic, areal: where-greetings (formulaic expressions)

Gil (2015): the

Mekong-Mamberamo

linguistic area

Vietnamese
Đi   đâu?
go   where
'Where are you going?'

Jakarta Indonesian
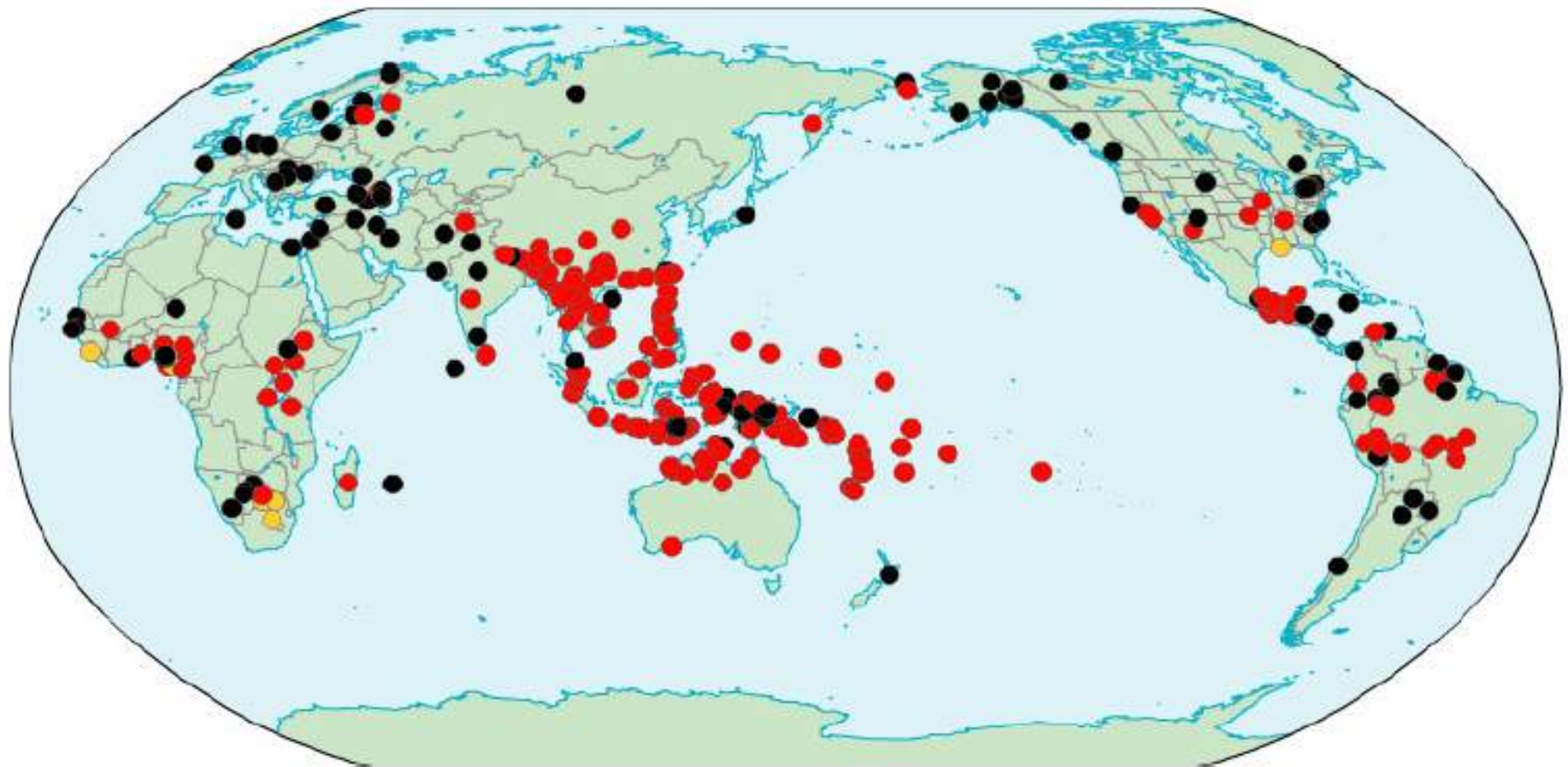Mau   ke   mana?
want to   where
'Where are you going?'

Iha
topon-na   whe-angge
where-ALL   go-IRR
'Where are you going?'

Map 6: Conventionalized Greetings with 'Where', Worldwide

Red: directional conventionalized greeting with 'where'
Yellow: non-directional conventionalized greeting with 'where'
Grey: no conventionalized greeting with 'where'

Recent and current activities

- ✓ the project *Typology of semantic associations* (*Fédération typologie et universaux linguistiques* at the CNRS in Paris (http://www.typologie.cnrs.fr/spip.php?rubrique73&lang=fr, Vanhove 2008);

- ✓ the Catalogue of Semantic Shifts (Moscow, Inst. of Linguistics, numerous publications) (http://semshifts.iling-ran.ru/)

- ✓ CLICS: Database of Cross-Linguistic Colexifications (List et al., http://clics.lingpy.org/main.php) – an online database of colexifications in 221 languages.

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Colexification of 'head' and 'chief' crosslinguistically

- http://clics.lingpy.org/main.php

Found 17 colexifications for "head" and "chief, chieftain". ?
Note that the number of attested colexifications may differ from the number of languages in which the colexifications were attested.

Nr.	Language	ISO	Family	Source	Form
1	Akhvakh (Southern)	akv	North Caucasian	IDS	мирари
2	Albanian, Tosk	als	Indo-European	IDS	ˈkrüe
3	Andi	ani	North Caucasian	IDS	мийар
4	Archi (Var1)	aqc	North Caucasian	IDS	оӀнт
5	Archi (Var2)	aqc	North Caucasian	IDS	оӀнт
6	Archi	aqc	North Caucasian	WOLD	oˤnt
7	Mapudungun	arn	Araucanian	IDS	loŋko
8	Avar (Andalal)	ava	North Caucasian	IDS	белэр
9	Avar (Batlukh)	ava	North Caucasian	IDS	бетӀер
10	Catalan-Valencian-Balear	cat	Indo-European	IDS	cap
11	Dargwa (Muiri)	dar	North Caucasian	IDS	бикӀ
12	Hinukh	gin	North Caucasian	IDS	къиму
13	Hawaiian	haw	Austronesian	IDS	poʔo
14	Italian	ita	Indo-European	IDS	capo
15	Karata	kpt	North Caucasian	IDS	гьадоъа
16	Mari, Meadow	mhr	Uralic	IDS	ˈβuy
17	Takia	tbc	Austronesian	WOLD	grma

2011

Recent and current activities

Juvonen, Päivi & Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2016),

"The lexical typology of semantic shifts. Berlin: de Gruyter / Mouton"

http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/433753?rskey=q2C2vP
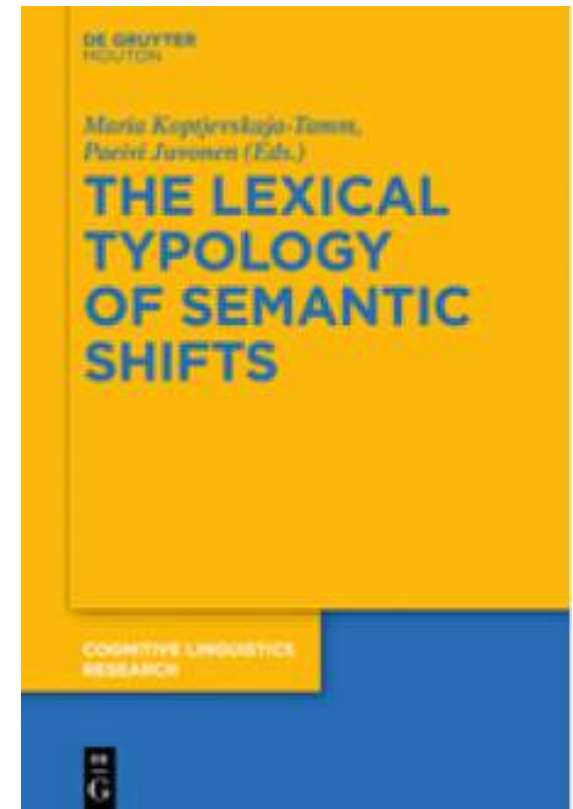
"AFFECTION IS WARMTH" across languages

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Introducing AFFECTION IS WARMTH

➢ English*: warm people, smiles, hugs, words...*

➢ Ukrainian (IE, Slavic, Kryvenko 2015: 324)

tepl-a   *besida*

warm-F.NOM.SG   talk:F.NOM.SG

 'a heart-to-heart talk'

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Introducing AFFECTION IS WARMTH

➢ Palula (IE, Indo-Aryan, Liljegren & Haider 2015)
táatu hírụu 'lit. hot/warm_M heart' = 'generous'

➢ Persian (IE, Iranian, Sharifian & Jamarani 2015.)

bâbâ-m   bâ   dust-am

father-POSS.1SG   with   friend-POSS.1SG

garm   gerefte   bud

warm   take   PST.PRF.3SG

'My father was having a very friendly chat with my friend'.

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Introducing AFFECTION IS WARMTH

Indonesian (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Siahaan 2015: 694)

...*senyum*	*yang*	*meng-hangat-kan*	*dada-ku*...
smile	COMP	ACT-warm-CAUS	chest.1SG

'...the smile which made me feel warm inside (lit. 'which warmed my chest')'

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Introducing AFFECTION IS WARMTH

- Grady (1997), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), Kövecses (1990, 2000, 2005) etc.

- The state of art in conceptual metaphor

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Universality, explanations

"we metaphorically view affection as warmth... because of the correlation in our childhood experiences between the loving embrace of our parents and the comforting bodily warmth that accompanies it. This gives us the "conceptual metaphor" AFFECTION IS WARMTH"

(Kövecses 2005: 2–3)

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Universality – how would we know?

My approach – systematic cross-linguistic comparison (linguistic typology):

➢ dependent on comparable data from (many) different languages, preferably belonging to different families and spoken in different parts of the world;

➢ a procedure which ensures that we compare like with like: theory- and/or framework-neutral definitions, observable phenomena

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AFFECTION IS WARMTH expressions cross-linguistically?

To what extent AFFECTION IS WARMTH expressions are found cross-linguistically?

Methodologically difficult: Conceptual Metaphor Theory emphasizes conceptual association that does not boil down to individual metaphorical uses or to linguistic convention.

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AFFECTION AS WARMTH expressions cross-linguistically?

"cognitive linguists, and others, should articulate criteria for identifying metaphoric patterns in language and inferring specific conceptual metaphors from discourse. These procedures should be specified with sufficient detail so that other researchers can possibly replicate the analysis and emerge with similar conclusions" (Gibbs 2015: 183).

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AFFECTION AS WARMTH expressions cross-linguistically?

Translated into the methodology of systematic cross-linguistic research: we can only test the extent to which some **concrete manifestations** of suggested metaphors hold across languages rather than whether the conceptual metaphors (e.g., KNOWING IS SEEING or AFFECTION IS WARMTH) **as a whole** are universal.

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AFFECTION IS WARMTH expressions cross-linguistically?

We will restrict ourselves to temperature terms, such as *hot, warm, cold*, etc., and check whether and to what extent these have uses that may be related to the AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor.

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TYPICAL CONTEXTS FOR AFFECTION IS WARMTH expressions

What is typically understood by affection in psychology?

Close interpersonal relations:

➢ So-called "Communal Sharing Relations": Relationships like mother-infant, romantic partners, or very close units. These can also be expressed in relation to institutions, governments, nations. The sentiment expresses a responsiveness towards the relationship.

FRIENDLY/INTIMATE/CLOSE IS WARM,
UNFRIENDLY/DISTANT IS COLD

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TYPICAL CONTEXTS FOR AFFECTION AS WARMTH expressions

Prompts based on perceptions of others and emotional attitudes:

SHOWING (RESPONSIVE) EMOTIONS IS WARM,

NOT SHOWING (RESPONSIVE) EMOTIONS IS COLD

➢ Perceptions of people (individuals or groups)

➢ Perceptions important for social interaction, but related to bodily entities metonymically linked to emotions: heart, face, eyes

➢ Manifestations of responsiveness towards others' emotions related to these social interactions in feedback or support as in look, smile, or voice
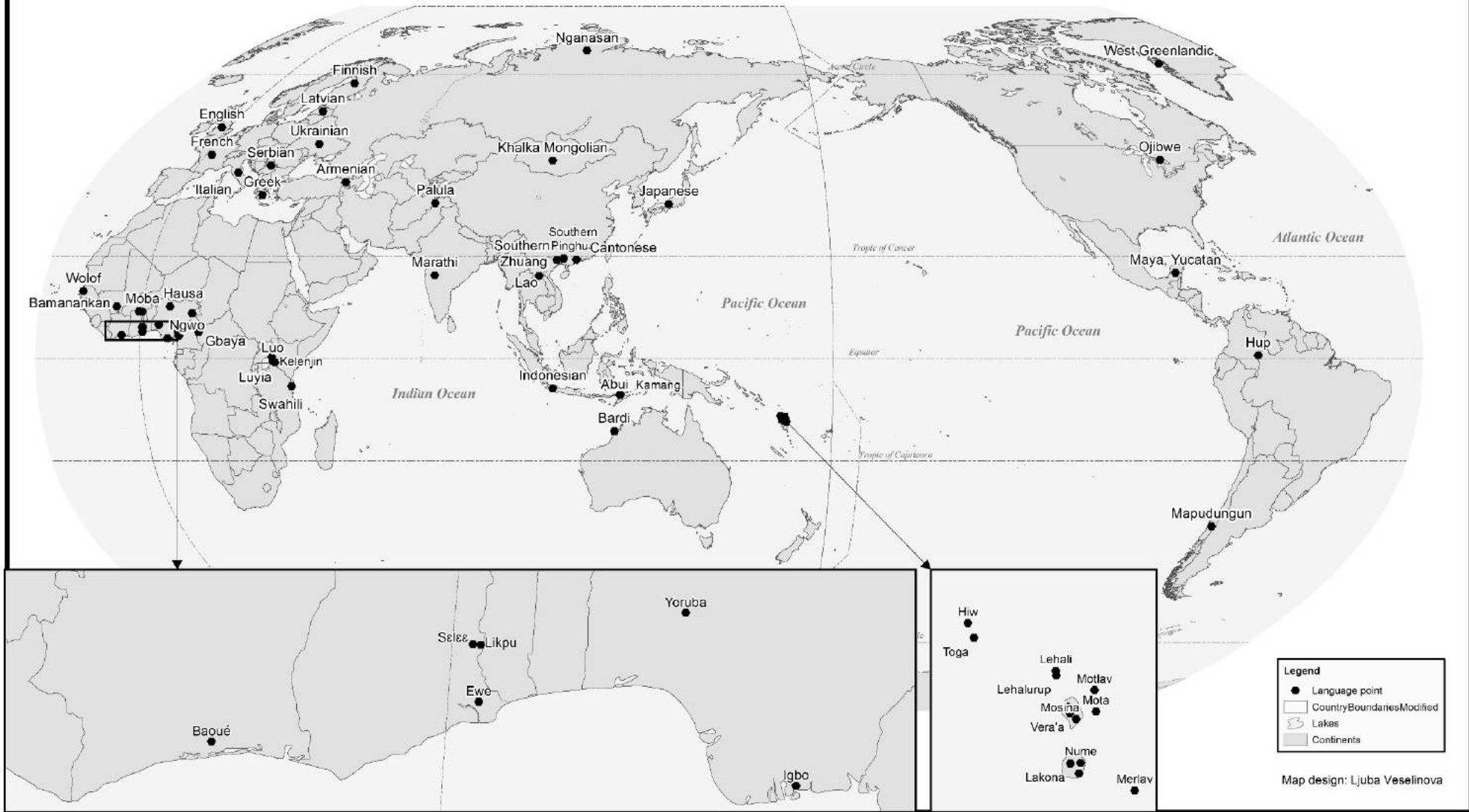
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My data ≈ 85 languages

❑ Koptjevskaja-Tamm (ed., 2015), "The linguistics of temperature" (Benjamins):

✓27 chapters with detailed descriptions of 50 languages

✓3 cross-linguistic chapters
(not all of the languages are used here)

Overview of the languages investigated in this volume

Map design: Ljuba Veselinova

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MY DATA (CONT.)

➢ various descriptions of particular languages (Japanese, Persian, Hungarian, Komi, Bashkir, Swedish, Russian, etc.)

➢ replies to the Temperature guidelines filled in by experts + native speakers

➢ queries to experts on various languages posted at LingTyp the mailing list of the Association for Linguistic Typology, gathering many typologists and field linguists working on languages in various parts of the world,

➢ etc

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AFFECTION IS WARMTH expressions cross-linguistically?

AFFECTION IS WARMTH expressions are definitely quite restricted in their cross-linguistic distribution:

on a very generous count they occur in 32 languages in my not very balanced 84-language sample

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Distribution: potential factors

1. **The distinction between 'warm' and 'hot'?**

Although many languages lexicalize the distinction between 'warm' and 'hot', cross-linguistically this is not the most preferred option (found in less than 35% of the languages in my sample.

	+AFF	-AFF	Total
'warm' ≠ 'hot'	24	5	29
'warm' = 'hot'	8	47	55
Total	32	52	84

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Palula (Henrik Liljegren & Naseem Haider):

both metaphors 'anger is heat' and 'affection is warmth' are realized by one and the same adjective *taatu* 'warm/hot', cf.

so taatu miish 'He is an angry person'
(lit. 'He is a hot/warm person')

taatu hiRu 'generous'
(lit. 'a hot/warm heart').

Distribution: potential factors (cont.)

2. **Genetic affiliation: +AFF restricted to:**

➢ Indo-European:

    ◇ Slavic, Baltic, Germanic: massively

    ◇ Italic/Romance, Greek, Indo-Iranian, Armenian: to a certain degree

➢ Uralic: from massive (Finnish, Hungarian) to occasional uses

➢ Altaic: Turkic and Mongolic (to a certain degree)

➢ Japanese

➢ Sino-Tibetan: Chinese, Cantonese

➢ Austronesian: Indonesian

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Distribution: potential factors (cont.)

3. **Location:**

The use of 'warm' for affection is mainly found in the Eurasian languages, and primarily (but not exclusively) in the languages of Europe.

In some of the languages in the sample the more or less isolated expressions involving 'warm' for affection seem to be borrowed (e.g., from Russian).

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Distribution: potential factors (cont.)

4. "Aversion" against metaphors / extended uses of temperature terms in general

In a number of languages the temperature terms hardly have any extended uses at all, sometimes apart from one or a few isolated expressions, possibly borrowed from other languages.

However, in many languages, the temperature terms are regularly used in extended senses without manifesting any 'WARM IS AFFECTION' connections.

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Distribution: potential factors (cont.)

➢ 'Hot' is primarily associated with various degrees of intensity and danger, ranging from intensive and open manifestations of emotions, eagerness, enthusiasm, to passions and sexual desire, anger, violence, or (dangerous) magic powers.

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Distribution: potential factors (cont.)

➢ 'Hot' is primarily associated with various degrees of intensity and danger, ranging from intensive and open manifestations of emotions, eagerness, enthusiasm, to passions and sexual desire, anger, violence, or (dangerous) magic powers.

➢ Languages differ as to which part of this intensity/danger 'scale' is shown by 'hot' in its extended uses.

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A case study: 'hot' body parts in the Ghanaian languages (in prep.)

Stressed, busy, disturbed	His ears are hot	Akan(AS)
	The man's head is hot	Kasem
	My body is hot	Dagaare
	His body is hot	Ga (He is in trouble)
	His anus inside catch fire (i.e. is hot)	Tafi (he is worried, anxious, perturbed, estless, hemmed in)
	His mouth inside catch fire (i.e. Inside his mouth is hot)	Tafi (He is so much irritated, frightened, woried, anxious, stressed disturbed)
Be agitated	His heart boil top	Akan (Akwapim)
Be hyper-active	His eye top is hot	Akan (AS)

A case study: 'hot' body parts in the Ghanaian languages (in prep.)

Be smart	His **body** is hot	**Akan (Akwapim)**
Be angry	His **heart's** surface is hot	**Ga**
	His **heart** rose burning	**Akan (Akwapim)**
	His **heart** cooked fire (i.e.His heart is very hot)	**Tafi** (He is livid with anger, extremely angry, infuriated)
	His **belly** catch fire(with anger)	**Tafi** (He is agitated, angry, perturbed)
Be mad, disturbed	His **head** inside burns him	**Akan (AS)**

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A case study: 'hot' body parts in the Ghanaian languages (in prep.)

Be fearless, courageous, brave	His eye is hot	**Safaliba**
	His face burns fire (i.e. very hot)	**Tafi** (be fearless (in a negative sense), bold, unafraid, trouble seeking, withour respect for, having no qualms)
	His heart is hot	**Akan (Akwapim)**
	His chest is hot	**Akan**
Be frightened, scared	My stomach burns me	**Akan (AS)**
Be greedy	This man's stomach is very hot	**Kasem**
Be wicked (and be able to cause physical or spiritual harm to others)	The witch's stomach is hot The chief- has a hot stomach.	**Gurɛnɛ** Witches are often alleged targets for such descriptions.

Cold temperature is associated with peace, calmness and quiet

- Expressing peace

na	**mía**	**ŋútí**	**ná-fá**
give:IMP	1PL	skin	SUBJV-become.cold/cool

'Grant us peace!' (Ewe)

ka	**maarʊŋ**	**be**	**fʊ**	**zie**
Let	cold	be	2SG	place

'Let peace be with you'. (Dagaare)

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- Expressing calmness

nyɔ́nu   **má**   **ƒé**   **dɔ.mefá**
woman   DIST POSS stomach   become.cold/cool
'That woman is calm.' (Ewe)

e   **hɛ**   **jɔ**
3SG   eye   cold
'He is calm' (Dangme)

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- Expressing quiet

  tó.me-fá-fá̋
  ear.containing.region-RED-become.cold/cool
  'quiet\peace'

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Conclusions

(Lexical) semantics in language contact and diffusion of lexico-semantic phenomena across language boundaries in a geographic area has a great potential for historical and areal linguistics, but is still awaiting systematic research.

This is partly related to the relatively limited cross-linguistic research on lexical issues in general, which may impede evaluation of particular lexico-semantic parallels as areal indicators and obstruct informed attempts to find reasonable explanations for their origin.

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Conclusions

Lexical typology is currently on the rise. We are therefore looking forward towards more cross-linguistic research on the categorization of lexical semantic domains, polysemy patterns, semantic associations and lexico-constructional patterns, complemented by detailed case studies of these phenomena in languages in various contact situations. This knowledge is essential for gaining a better understanding of what happens with semantics in language contact.

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Thank you!

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