

Yay	Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai	Hudak, Thomas John. 1991. <i>William J. Gedney's The Yay Language: Glossary, Texts, and Translations</i> . Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.
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PIDGIN & CREOLE LANGUAGES

Bislama	Pidgins & Creoles, English-Based	Crowley, Terry. 2003. <i>A New Bislama Dictionary</i> . Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.
Lesser Antillean Creole	Pidgins & Creoles, French-Based	Mondesir, Jones E. 1992. <i>Dictionary of St. Lucian Creole</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter.

Appendix B: Full list of meanings covered

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|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| I. NATURAL AND TOPOLOGICAL CONCEPTS | 30. honey | 60. straw |
| 1. animal | 31. horizon | 61. sun |
| 2. ashes | 32. horn | 62. swamp |
| 3. bark | 33. lagoon | 63. tail |
| 4. bay | 34. lake | 64. thorn |
| 5. beak | 35. lightning | 65. thunder |
| 6. bird | 36. meteoroid (shooting/shining star) | 66. tree |
| 7. bloom (blossom, flower) | 37. milk | 67. valley |
| 8. branch | 38. Milky Way | 68. volcano |
| 9. bud | 39. moon | 69. waterfall |
| 10. cave | 40. mountain | 70. wave |
| 11. clearing | 41. mushroom (fungus) | 71. wax |
| 12. cloud | 42. nest | 72. whirlpool |
| 13. coal | 43. plant | II. ARTIFACTS |
| 14. coast | 44. puddle | 1. airplane |
| 15. dew | 45. rain | 2. ball |
| 16. dust | 46. rainbow | 3. bed |
| 17. eclipse | 47. resin | 4. belt |
| 18. egg | 48. river/stream | 5. boat |
| 19. embers | 49. river bed | 6. car |
| 20. estuary | 50. root | 7. chair |
| 21. feather | 51. seed | 8. clock |
| 22. flame | 52. shadow | 9. glasses |
| 23. flood | 53. sky | 10. house |
| 24. foam | 54. smoke | 11. key |
| 25. fog/mist | 55. soil | 12. knife |
| 26. forest | 56. spark | 13. ladder |
| 27. gold | 57. spring/well | 14. mirror |
| 28. grass | 58. star | 15. needle |
| 29. headland | 59. steam | 16. paper |

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|---------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 17. pen | 15. eyebrow | 42. tear |
| 18. rope | 16. eyelash | 43. tendon/sinew |
| 19. scissors | 17. eyelid | 44. testicle |
| 20. shoe | 18. finger | 45. tongue |
| 21. road/street/way | 19. fingernail | 46. tooth |
| 22. table | 20. guts | 47. urine |
| 23. toilet | 21. heart | 48. uvula |
| 24. train | 22. jaw | 49. vein |
| 25. weapon | 23. kidney | 50. womb |
| 26. window | 24. lip | 51. wrinkle |
| | 25. liver | |
| III. BODY PARTS AND BODY FLUIDS | 26. lungs | IV. BASIC TEMPORAL CONCEPTS AND MISCELLANEA |
| 1. Adam's apple | 27. mouth | 1. dawn |
| 2. ankle | 28. mucus | 2. day |
| 3. beard | 29. navel | 3. dusk |
| 4. belly/stomach | 30. neck | 4. night |
| 5. bladder | 31. nipple | 5. noon |
| 6. blood | 32. nostrils | 6. sunrise |
| 7. bone | 33. pupil | 7. sunset |
| 8. brain | 34. pus | |
| 9. breast | 35. rib | 1. man (human being) |
| 10. buttocks | 36. saliva/spittle | 2. saturday |
| 11. calf | 37. scar | 3. virgin |
| 12. cheek | 38. skin | 4. widow |
| 13. chin | 39. snot | |
| 14. eyeball | 40. semen | |
| | 41. sweat | |

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development, ‘skin’ is also likely to be prior to ‘bark’ diachronically. Let us consider the case of ‘smoke’ ~ ‘dust’ polysemy mentioned above, which is more difficult to handle intuitively. The situation concerning overt marking here is in fact comparable: there are four sample languages with a complex term for ‘dust’ using ‘smoke’ as a conceptualization source, such as Hup *mɔj jʔk*, literally ‘house smoke’ (Epps 2009), but no language with the reverse situation.

Obviously, it is questionable if a strong prediction about semantic change can be made if a certain pattern is only attested very rarely in the sample. For this reason, only patterns in which both polysemy and overt marking are found in more than one language in the sample will be considered in the further discussion. Table 1 provides a more systematic list of all such cases of asymmetries in overt marking—note that for methodological reasons, only cases in which both meanings are on the list in Appendix B can be considered. The cases are ordered roughly following the system for describing semantic relations originally developed by Matisoff (1978) and adopted by Wilkins (1996). A distinction is made between semantic shifts within a single semantic domain (say, when a body-part term comes to denote another body-part term) and shifts to a different semantic domain (for instance, when a term shifts meaning from ‘egg’ to ‘testicle’). Internally, the cases are further ordered according to the strength of the data; cases which are more widespread appear earlier in the table than less common associations. Since the data are quite abstract, an example from one language is provided for each polysemy and morphologically complex term for illustration.

Table 1. Cross-linguistic asymmetries in overt marking

Semantic association	Number of languages with polysemy	Number of languages with overt marking	Cross-linguistically unmarked member of the meaning pair
	Example	Example	
INTRA-DOMAIN ASSOCIATIONS: NATURE > NATURE			
1. ‘cloud’ ~ ‘fog/mist’ ^a	24 Bakueri <i>limbaki</i>	7 White Hmong <i>pos huab</i> ‘moist cloud’	‘cloud’
2. ‘sun’ ~ ‘moon’	17 Macaguán <i>jomét ~ -omét</i>	3 Lake Miwok <i>káwul híi</i> ‘night sun’	‘sun’
3. ‘grass’ ~ ‘straw/hay’	11 Itzaj <i>su’uk</i>	10 Yoruba <i>koriko gbigbẹ</i> ‘grass dry’	‘grass’
4. ‘smoke’ ~ ‘fog/mist’	11 Miskito <i>kiasma</i>	3 Otomi <i>’bipa /’bifi-pa/</i> ‘smoke-heat’	‘smoke’

Table 1. (continued)

Semantic association	Number of languages with polysemy	Number of languages with overt marking	Cross-linguistically unmarked member of the meaning pair
	Example	Example	
5. 'steam' ~ 'fog/mist'	9 Rotuman <i>afafu</i>	2 Ket <i>ulij /ül-ii/</i> 'water-air/steam'	'steam'
6. 'animal' ~ 'bird'	8 Jarawara <i>bani</i>	8 Nivkh <i>pyi-ña</i> 'fly-animal'	'animal'
7. 'lake' ~ 'swamp'	8 Ket <i>deʔ</i>	4 Khalkha <i>cөгerym yazar</i> 'pool/lake earth'	'lake'
8. 'smoke' ~ 'dust'	8 Bezhta <i>got'</i>	4 Tetun <i>rai-bolon</i> 'earth-smoke'	'smoke'
9. 'smoke' ~ 'cloud'	7 Arabela <i>najaca</i>	2 Cashinahua <i>nai kuin</i> 'sky smoke'	'smoke'
10. 'tree' ~ 'branch' ^b	6 Ngambay <i>kake</i>	17 Yir Yoront <i>yoputh /yoq-puth/</i> 'tree-arm'	'tree'
11. 'ashes' ~ 'embers'	6 Carrier <i>qeltših</i> 'white ashes, embers'	2 Mandarin <i>hui1-jin4</i> 'ashes-what.is.left.from.fire'	'ashes'
12. 'tree' ~ 'forest'	4 Ngambay <i>kake</i>	6 Baruya <i>yí da-rya /yitan-rya/</i> 'tree-area'	'tree'
13. 'day' ~ 'dawn'	3 Hawaiian <i>ao</i>	20 Itzaj <i>chun-k'in</i> 'base/trunk/foot-day/sun'	'day'
14. 'flower/blossom' ~ 'bud'	3 Yoruba <i>irudi</i>	4 Wayampi <i>pɔti-yazi</i> 'flower-child'	'flower/blossom'
15. 'day' ~ 'noon'	2 Wintu <i>sani</i>	35 Cubeo <i>jāravu corica</i> 'day middle'	'day'
16. 'sun' ~ 'noon'	2 Sko <i>ráng</i>	24 Huambisa <i>etsa tutupin</i> 'sun straight'	'sun'
17. 'honey' ~ 'wax'	2 Nunggubuyu <i>lagu</i>	4 Kanuri <i>kàmàgà̀n-mí</i> 'honey-son.of'	'honey'

Table 1. (continued)

Semantic association	Number of languages with polysemy	Number of languages with overt marking	Cross-linguistically unmarked member of the meaning pair
	Example	Example	
18. 'bone' ~ 'horn'	2 Highland Chontal <i>legat</i>	2 Great Andamanese <i>wôlo-tâ</i> 'adze-bone'	'bone'
19. 'river/stream' ~ 'flood'	2 Ineseño Chumash 'u'lam	2 Tetun <i>mota-tun</i> 'river-down/descend'	'river/stream'
INTRA-DOMAIN ASSOCIATIONS: HUMAN SPHERE > HUMAN SPHERE			
20. 'breast' ~ 'milk' ^c	43 Ngambay <i>mbà</i>	30 Lengua <i>namankug ingminik</i> 'breast juice'	'breast'
21. 'mouth' ~ 'lip' ^d	16 Comanche <i>tupe ~ tuupe</i>	31 Kanuri <i>kà cî-bè</i> 'stick mouth-of'	'mouth'
22. 'belly/stomach' ~ 'womb'	11 Khalkha <i>kebeli</i>	6 Vietnamese <i>dà con</i> 'stomach child'	'belly/stomach'
23. 'heart' ~ 'belly/stomach'	7 Arabela <i>jiuujia</i>	2 Malagasy <i>ambavafò /aN-vàva-fò/</i> 'LOC-mouth-heart'	'heart'
24. 'milk' ~ 'nipple' ^c	5 Kolyma Yukaghir <i>ibiši:</i>	4 Central Yup'ik <i>emulek /emuk-lek/</i> 'milk-one.having'	'milk'
25. 'liver' ~ 'lungs'	4 Laz <i>cigeri</i>	9 Hupda <i>hɔ wowõw'</i> 'liver wring.out'	'liver'
26. 'car' ~ 'train'	3 Pawnee <i>kaa'as</i>	3 Swahili <i>gari (la) moshi</i> 'car (of) smoke'	'car'
27. 'heart' ~ 'kidney'	3 Guaraní <i>pitikiri'i</i>	3 Samoan <i>fatu-ga'o</i> 'heart-fat'	'heart'
28. 'mirror' ~ 'glasses'	2 Hausa <i>madubi</i>	9 Abzakh Adyghe <i>ne-γ°ənʒe</i> 'eye-ice/mirror'	'mirror'
29. 'heart' ~ 'lungs'	2 Burarra <i>munmolma</i>	3 Imbabura Quechua <i>yurak shungu</i> 'white heart'	'heart'

Table 1. (continued)

Semantic association	Number of languages with polysemy	Number of languages with overt marking	Cross-linguistically unmarked member of the meaning pair
	Example	Example	
30. ‘(molar) tooth’ ~ ‘jaw’	2 Wappo <i>šahwélek</i>	3 Tsafiki <i>te’fún chide</i> ‘tooth bone’	‘(molar) tooth’
31. ‘belly/stomach’ ~ ‘navel’	2 Basque <i>zilbor</i>	3 Cayapa <i>aj-bundju</i> ‘abdomen-knot’	‘belly/stomach’
32. ‘cheek’ ~ ‘but-tocks’	2 Basque <i>ipurmami</i>	3 Wichí <i>to-wej-ch’alu-s</i> ‘POSS. INDET-queue-cheek-PL’	‘cheek’
33. ‘mouth’ ~ ‘cheek’	2 Burarra <i>japurra</i>	3 Mbum <i>fāà-háú</i> ‘sack-mouth’	‘mouth’
TRANS-DOMAIN ASSOCIATIONS: HUMAN SPHERE > NATURE			
34. ‘skin’ ~ ‘bark’	45 Ancash Quechua <i>qara</i>	26 Yuki <i>ʔol šil</i> ‘tree skin’	‘skin’
35. ‘mouth’ ~ ‘beak’	18 Toaripi <i>ape</i>	11 Kashaya <i>haʔbo /ʔaha-ʔbo/</i> ‘mouth-swell.up’	‘mouth’
36. ‘saliva/spittle’ ~ ‘foam’	8 Badaga <i>jollu</i>	4 Baruya <i>aalimaagwala /aalya-maagwala/</i> ‘water-saliva’	‘saliva/spittle’
37. ‘house’ ~ ‘nest’	7 Lenakel <i>nimwa</i>	14 Quileute <i>dì-doʔós-ti</i> ‘bird-house’	‘house’
38. ‘mouth’ ~ ‘estuary’	5 Mandarin <i>kou3</i>	5 Muna <i>wobha-no laa</i> ‘mouth-GEN river’	‘mouth’
39. ‘tongue’ ~ ‘flame’	2 Hausa <i>harshe</i>	24 Highland Chontal <i>tibat gunja</i> ‘tongue fire’	‘tongue’
40. ‘road/street/way’ ~ ‘Milky Way’	2 Hausa <i>hanya</i>	15 Chayahuita <i>chimirin ira</i> ‘death way’	‘road/street/way’
41. ‘bed’ ~ ‘nest’	2 Manange <i>3tsaj</i>	2 Bislama <i>bed blong pijin</i> ‘bed of bird’	‘bed’

Table 1. (continued)

Semantic association	Number of languages with polysemy	Number of languages with overt marking	Cross-linguistically unmarked member of the meaning pair
	Example	Example	
TRANS-DOMAIN ASSOCIATIONS: NATURE > HUMAN SPHERE			
42. 'egg' ~ 'testicle'	20 Bororo <i>ba</i>	9 White Hmong <i>noob-qes</i> 'seed-egg'	'egg'
43. 'sun' ~ 'clock'	15 Comanche <i>tabe-, taabe</i>	16 Rotokas <i>ravireo vetavetapa</i> /ravireo vetaveta-pa/ 'sun count-??'	'sun'
44. 'seed' ~ 'testicle'	6 San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec <i>behez</i>	6 Fijian <i>sore-ni-qala</i> 'seed/pip-POSS-scrotum'	'seed'
45. 'shadow' ~ 'mirror'	3 Sedang <i>mó'mó</i>	5 Pawnee <i>uka'aatawiiriku ~ ukaatawiiriku</i> /uka'aatawi-iirikhus/ 'shadow-see'	'shadow'
46. 'bird' ~ 'airplane'	3 Swahili <i>ndege</i>	3 Khoekhoe <i>àn'ís kúnis</i> 'bird wagon'	'bird'
47. 'foam' ~ 'lungs'	3 Kaluli <i>suba:s ~ tuba:s</i>	2 Fijian <i>yate-vuso</i> 'liver-foam'	'foam'

^a In Meyah there is the complex term *mocgój ófog* for 'cloud' which is glossed by Gravelle (2004:388) as 'fog round', but the dictionary entry for *mocgój* states that the semantic range of the simplex alone already includes 'cloud', and this reading is clearly selected in other complex terms on the basis of *mocgój*.

^b In most, but not all languages where this polysemy is found, terms also mean 'wood' at the same time.

^c Evans (1992:479) cites 'breast' ~ 'milk' polysemy as a typical case of an "actual-potential" polysemy characteristic of Australian languages. However, this type of polysemy is by no means restricted to Australia, but is well represented in other parts of the world. As a further note, the correct analysis of the situation in Fijian is difficult: *sucu*, according to Capell (1991:205), means 'to be born; to suck the breast' in verbal and 'birth; milk' in nominal usage. With suffixation of *-na*, indicating possession, it means 'breast'. However, Capell also states that the nominal reading is "more exactly" expressed by the phrasal lexeme *wai-ni-sucu* 'water-of-sucu'. I have ignored this case.

^d There is one potential example from Embera in which overt marking is present for 'mouth'; this comes from a grammatical description of the language, and not the principal dictionary consulted. Aguirre Licht (1999:99) has the term *í-táe*, literally 'lip-intersection' for 'mouth'. However, it is unclear whether this form has lexical status.

^e All cases in this category also mean 'breast' by themselves.

Omitted from the table is an asymmetry pertaining to the meanings 'branch' and 'forest', since in all languages with polysemy the respective terms also mean 'tree'