

LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VII. No 2 2022 Special issue

IN SEARCH OF COGNITIVE MOTIVATION FOR SEMANTIC CHANGE: THE CASE OF WORDS THAT ORIGINATE FROM BODY PARTS

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Bibliographic description: Kiełtyka, R. & Grząśko, A. (2022). In search of cognitive motivation for semantic change: The case of words that originate from body parts. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2022, VII (2), Special issue, p. 88-109. ISSN 2453-8035

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to account for the semantics of English terms of Greek and Romance origin from the area of BODY PARTS used figuratively with reference to various human and non-human properties. The analysis of the data (the lexical items under scrutiny are: *cadet, caprice, carnation, courage, dishevelled, gorgeous, melancholy, pygmy* and *sarcasm*) shows that the motivation for the rise of the senses subject to investigation may be sought in the conceptual operation of such mental mechanisms as metaphor, metonymy, their cooccurrence or conceptual integration.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, metonymy, source, target, body parts.

1. Introduction

It comes as little or no surprise that body part terms are employed in many languages to describe metaphorically other ordinary vocabulary items. English provides many examples where words like *mouth, foot, neck* and *eye* have extended to inanimate objects like rivers, mountains, bottles and potatoes, e.g., *the leg of the table, the tongue of the shoe, the bowels of the building, the eye of the storm, the eye of a needle* (Polish *ucho igielne* 'the ear of a needle'), *an eye on a potato* 'one of the dark spots from which new stems grow', *the mouth of the river, the foot of the mountain*. Usually there is some kind of relationship between the body part and the item it comes to describe, for instance, an association to do with shape, size, function or location, e.g., the prominent or projecting part of objects – *a nose* or *a muzzle of a gun*.

However, words may evolve to such an extent that there is very often a striking difference between their modern meaning and their original usage. In this paper, our aim is to propose an analysis of English terms of Greek and Romance origin from the area of BODY PARTS used figuratively with

reference to various human and non-human properties. Our paper will therefore be devoted to changes that involve both inter- and intralinguistic contrasts.

The article is organized as follows. Firstly, we briefly focus on the methodology, namely the cognitive framework adopted in the paper and the way we have obtained the data for our investigation. The analysis of selected words in the main part of the paper follows the methodological tools offered by the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm. Finally yet importantly, the major findings, conclusions, and implications for future research may be found in the final section of the paper.

2. The theoretical framework and the corpus of data

The theoretical framework adopted in the paper is the theory of conceptual metaphor proposed originally by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which evolved in a number of later publications, for example, Barcelona (2000), Kövecses (2010; 2015; 2017a; 2017b; 2018), as well as conceptual metonymy (see, for example, Kövecses & Radden 1998 and Radden & Kövecses 1999) and conceptual integration (see Fauconnier & Turner 2002).

As argued by Kövecses (2015: ix), "conceptual metaphors consist of sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings between two domains of experience and [...] the meaning of a particular metaphorical expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences".

In this account, we also adopt Kövecses' (2006: 99) earlier position that: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM)".

In turn, Goossens (1990) analysed cases of the joint operation of the two conceptual mechanisms, that is metaphor and metonymy, in the form of metaphonymy. Various patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction are studied by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2002). Finally, the theory of conceptual integration or conceptual blending, as discussed by Fauconnier and Turner (1998; 2002), subsumes metaphor and metonymy as special cases of a general mental projection mechanism. The proponents of this cognitive mechanism believe that due to the presence and working of conceptual integration, people have the ability to invent new concepts, create art, science, religion, culture and language. Our standpoint is that the conceptual mechanisms of metaphor, metonymy,

metaphonymy, and also conceptual blending, can be held responsible for the rise of new meanings, that is for both understanding, processing and describing semantic changes.¹

The corpus of data used for our analysis has been obtained from the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* website (<http://www.merriam-webster.com>) whose editors, in the Words at Play section (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play>), regularly upload lists of semantically related words. In this account, we bring to the fore selected words with less-obvious body-part origins. Out of 12 words provided by the website (*cadet, caprice, carnation, courage, dishevelled, ganache, gorgeous, leer, melancholy, pygmy, sarcasm* and *supercilious*) nine lexical items displaying near-universal status cross-linguistically (*cadet, caprice, carnation, courage, dishevelled, gorgeous, melancholy, pygmy* and *sarcasm*), as discussed in section four, have been chosen as lexical material to be analysed in this paper. As far as the other three lexical items are concerned (*ganache, leer* and *supercilious*), we have deliberately excluded them from the analysis given that they are not present in the macrostructure of <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> which, in turn, allows us to determine the potentially (near) universal cross-linguistic status of the data subject to analysis.

3. Literature review

There is no dearth of research on conceptual metaphor and metonymy as such, quite the opposite, one may refer to and benefit from sizable literature on these conceptual mechanisms within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics. Likewise, there have been a number of works devoted to the source domain of BODY PARTS. This contribution is a humble attempt to analyse some "veiled" representatives of the domain in question from a cross-linguistic perspective.

As far as the literature discussing body organs from the cognitive perspective is concerned, it is worth mentioning: Peña Cervel's (2001) paper devoted to the analysis of metaphors for emotions with body parts as the source domains, Urios-Aparisi's article (2010) dealing with the importance of both metaphor and metonymy of the body parts in Almodóvar's films, Więclawska's (2012) diachronic perspective on head-related lexical items, Manerko's (2014) paper on human body parts in English idioms as well as Zahedi's (2012) "cognitive semiosis of human mind".

Among other works, let us mention the collection of articles gathered in Sharifian et al. (2008) which examines the interaction between culture, body organs and various languages from the cognitive perspective. By the same token, Zouheir, Maalej and Yu (2011) address the issues regarding the role of selected body parts in the conceptualization of our emotions, character features or mental abilities.

Another work, namely Brenzinger and Kraska-Szlenk (2014) discusses the mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy in metaphorical language. Last but not least, let us refer to the comparative studies on the relationship between embodiment and cultural models explored in Kraska-Szlenk (2020).

4. Selected terms originating from body parts from a contrastive perspective

Using the *Online dictionary* website <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> we have searched more than 100 languages in six different groups (European, Asian, Middle-Eastern, African, Austronesian and other languages) in order to indicate the range of use of the analysed lexical items (*cadet*, *caprice*, *carnation*, *courage*, *dishevelled*, *gorgeous*, *melancholy*, *pygmy* and *sarcasm*) provided by <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts>. It is fitting to add that given the differences between the Roman script and the writing systems of Asian languages, we deliberately do not take into account the latter ones and in these cases the numbers are given as rough estimates.

The results of our research (which unfortunately for space reasons cannot be reproduced here in its entirety) have shown that the words *melancholy*, *sarcasm*, *cadet* and *caprice* are present in approximately 50-60 different languages. The lexical item *pygmy* can be found in about 50 languages, while *courage* in circa 12 languages. Details are shown in Table 1. One is justified in claiming that such terms originating from body parts as *melancholy*, *sarcasm*, *cadet* and *pygmy* enjoy an almost universal status cross linguistically, which, in all likelihood, may result from the interaction between different cultures. One can naturally emphasise the role of classical languages – Greek, Latin, but also Romance languages as exemplified by *caprice*.

As far as European languages are concerned, we may safely say that nearly half of the words provided by <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts> may be said to have attained near-universal status: *sarcasm* may be found in 88% of European languages, *cadet* in 83%, *melancholy* in 79%, *pygmy* in 69% and *caprice* in 67% of this group of languages. A possible reason for this status quo is the fact that languages sharing similar or the same cultural roots naturally have a lot in common, which may result in the presence of similar or virtually identical forms of some lexical items in analysed languages. Various cultures around the world have their own traditions or religions and, as a result, their conceptualization of certain notions/phenomena is similar.

Table 1. Distribution of the analysed lexical items across languages of the world

	European languages (42) ²	Asian languages (36) ³	Middle-Eastern languages (4) ⁴	African languages (13) ⁵	Austronesian languages (10) ⁶	Other languages (3) ⁷
<i>cadet</i>	35	≤ 3	0	≤ 9	≈ 9	2
<i>caprice</i>	28	≤ 13	1	7	5	2
<i>carnation</i>	≤ 3	≤ 4	≈ 1	≤ 4	≤ 2	2
<i>courage</i>	9	≤ 1	0	0	0	2
<i>dishevelled</i>	≤ 7	≈ 8	0	≈ 9	≈ 4	0
<i>gorgeous</i>	≤ 1	≤ 3	0	≤ 2	0	0
<i>melancholy</i>	33	≤ 8	1	7	3	2
<i>pygmy</i>	29	≤ 15	≈ 1	7	6	2
<i>sarcasm</i>	37	≤ 7	0	4	≈ 2	2

One should also emphasise the role of embodiment and cognition in meaning construal. Our body and its experience may be said to serve as a universal source domain for metaphorical mappings into the more abstract target domains. However, it is various cultural models that provide perspectives from which given body organs are perceived as salient and significant when we want to comprehend those abstract domains (Gibbs 1999). Cultural models perform an interpretative function in the perception of the body, because they may explain the same embodied experience in a different manner given that people in different corners of the world may actually fathom and construe their bodily experiences (e.g., emotions) differently.

It would be interesting to explore whether the same body parts are used in different languages in order to conceptualize the same human experiences. Moreover, we also need to discuss the cultural models that seem to explicate both the similarities and differences in the conceptualizations of body parts. Given that the heart is the centre of emotions/feeling, whereas the brain is said to be the centre of thought/knowledge (at least in European cultures), we should answer the question of whether there are specific organs employed to conceptualize the same emotions or traits universally and whether the same mechanisms (metaphor, metonymy⁸, metaphonymy) are used in their conceptualization. Finally yet importantly, it should be investigated what cultures use the same body parts to conceptualize the same emotions/traits/cultural values/mental facilities.

5. Discussion of selected terms originating from body parts

In this section, we are going to analyse the semantics of nine lexical items (*dishevelled*, *gorgeous*, *courage*, *sarcasm*, *cadet*, *pygmy*, *carnation*, *melancholy* and *caprice*) that originate from body part terms. We shall discuss the etymology of these words and the role played by body parts in their creation. However, our major aim will be to look for the conceptual motivation responsible for the

rise of the analysed terms in English as well as elucidating the role of body parts in the embodied conceptualization of, for example, emotions.

5.1 Metonymic motivation for semantic change: dishevelled and courage

The adjective *dishevelled* appeared in English in the second half of the 14th century.⁹ The word derived from Old French *descheveler* 'to disarrange hair' acquired a similar meaning in English, where it has been used with reference to hair 'without coif or head-dress; hence, with the hair unconfined and flung about in disorder'. It may sometimes appear in a wider sense, that of 'undressed, in dishabille' (the *OED*). The analysed lexical item must have undergone further meaning extensions since in present-day English it may also be used with reference to scruffy people and clothes or ruffled hair. This sense emerges from the following context extracted from the *OED*: "But at the moment, to our astonishment, Theodore whipped away the screen and revealed Kralfesky, slightly purple of face and disheveled, standing free in a pool of ropes and chains." – Gerald Durrell, *Fauna and family* (1979).

Since *dishevelled* 'with disarranged hair' is based on the French root *cheveu* 'hair', it is obvious that the adjective has retained the original meaning in English which may, however, be generalized on the basis of the part for whole metonymic extension UNTIDY/SLOVENLY HAIR FOR UNTIDY/SLOVENLY APPEARANCE. In this case, the metonymic source UNTIDY/SLOVENLY HAIR provides mental access to UNTIDY/SLOVENLY APPEARANCE OF A PERSON, which is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Metonymic motivation in *dishevelled*

Metonymic source:	Metonymic target:
PART	WHOLE
untidy/slovenly hair	untidy/slovenly appearance

To continue in a similar vein, another term whose meaning is motivated by metonymic projection is *courage*, used in the sense 'mental or moral strength to venture, persevere, and withstand danger, fear, or difficulty'.¹⁰ It came to English from the Old French *corage*, but the roots of the word may be traced back to Latin *cor* 'heart'. Despite the fact that, as stressed in Ayto (2005), in Modern English heart is employed as a metaphor for 'innermost feelings or passions', we are more inclined to treat it as an example of metonymy HEART FOR FEELINGS/PASSIONS. The Old French *corage*, in turn, was employed with reference to a wide array of emotions, such as 'anger' or 'lust'. It was not until the beginning of the 17th century when the basic sense of the lexical item underwent the process of the

narrowing of meaning and since then it has been applied to 'bravery'. Therefore, as we may observe, there is a connection between the body organ called heart and the abstract noun *courage* derived from the Latin word for *heart*. Indeed, there is a close connection between *heart* and *courage*, which may be observed on the basis of the definitions of the former noun in dictionaries. For instance, according to the *Cambridge dictionary*, apart from its most basic sense, *heart* may also be employed with reference to courage and determination, as in the following examples: *You're doing really well - don't lose heart now* or *Take heart – things can only get better*.¹¹

It seems that Latin root *cor* 'heart' can be identified as a metonymic vehicle which provides mental access to certain qualities that are conceptually related to this body part because the heart is associated with broadly understood emotions. Thus, as shown in Table 3, the general metonymy might have the shape HEART FOR EMOTIONS, e.g. *He has lost his heart*, while the more specific metonymy is COURAGE (Latin *cor* 'heart') FOR MENTAL OR MORAL STRENGTH.

Table 3. Metonymic motivation in *courage*

Metonymic source: <i>COR</i> 'HEART'	Metonymic target: EMOTIONS
the focal point of feelings (figuratively)	positive feelings
Metonymic source: COURAGE	Metonymic target: MENTAL OR MORAL STRENGTH

As Table 3 portrays, the semantics of *courage* is motivated in two steps by separate metonymic projections. Being etymologically related to Latin *cor* 'heart' which metonymically stands for the seat of emotions, the abstract noun *courage* provides mental access to such emotions as mental or moral strength.

5.2 A metonymic chain: cadet and pygmy vs. metaphor from metonymy

As far as the etymology of the word *cadet* is concerned, its original meaning in English was 'younger brother' although in French, from where it came to English, *cadet* is just 'a little head' (see Ayto 2005). The noun is an altered form of a Gascon *capdet* 'chief', which stemmed from Vulgar Latin *capitellus* 'little head' which, in turn, was a diminutive of Latin *caput* 'head'. The change in meaning from 'chief' to 'younger son' may be motivated by the fact that in Gascon families, younger sons used to be sent to the French court, where they were supposed to work as officers. In fact, when the French *cadet* was borrowed by English it retained its original spelling (see Ayto 2005). Nowadays, *cadet* is

employed with reference to a military school student,¹² which, obviously, coincides with the Gascon sense of the word.

Again, as in the case of *dishevelled*, the change of the sense 'a (little) head' into that of 'a (young) person' seems to be motivated by the *pars pro toto* metonymy. The change 'a (young) person' > 'a military school student' may also have metonymic origin (GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC) associated with specific historical habits. The metonymic motivation in the form of a metonymic chain behind the development of *cadet* is portrayed in Table 4.

Table 4. Metonymic motivation in *cadet*

Metonymic source:	Metonymic target:
PART	WHOLE
'a (little) head'	'a (young) person'
GENERAL	SPECIFIC
'a (young) person'	'a military school student'

Let us now proceed to the discussion of another body-part-related term whose meaning development seems to be motivated by a metonymic chain. As confirmed by Ayto (2005), the meaning of the Greek *pugmé* 'fist' was extended and started to be employed for 'measure of length equal to the distance from the elbows to the knuckles'. Given that the distance was quite short, the word underwent the process of derivation and the form *pugmaíos* started to be figuratively used with reference to somebody who is not tall, or, to be more precise, dwarfish. This form passed into English (*pygmy*) from the Latin word *pygmaeus*. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, the word was applied to name any mythical races characterized by short height. It was as late as in the 19th century when the noun began to designate the inhabitants of equatorial Africa who were short in stature (see Ayto 2005). Apart from the fact that the lexical item in question is used with reference to a certain group of Africans¹³, it might also describe an unusually short person.¹⁴

Our analysis pivots on two facets of one domain (SIZE, SHAPE AND DIMENSION), namely DISTANCE (the metonymic source/vehicle) which provides mental access to another aspect of this domain, namely HEIGHT (the metonymic target). Obviously, the distance from one body part to another (in this case both are located on the upper limb) is quite short; therefore it might figuratively be employed with reference to people who are not tall. The metonymic projections DISTANCE FOR HEIGHT and HEIGHT FOR NATION (CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE FOR SOMEONE DISPLAYING THIS FEATURE) are displayed graphically in Table 5.

Table 5. Metonymic motivation in *pygmy*

Metonymic source: DISTANCE	Metonymic target: HEIGHT
'from the elbows to the knuckles'	'short'
HEIGHT	NATION
'short'	'inhabitants of equatorial Africa short in stature'

In this case, due to the working of the mechanism of conceptual metonymy, in fact the metonymic chain DISTANCE FOR HEIGHT FOR NATION, the lexical item *pygmy* originally belonging to the area of body parts ('fist') started to indicate physical height both in general and specifically in order to refer to a particular nation known for characteristic height.

In turn, the semantics of the lexical item *gorgeous* seems to be motivated by the activation of metonymy followed by metaphor. The etymological sources that have been consulted, for example the *OED*, inform us that the term is related to the Early Modern English *gorgiuous*, *gorgeouse* which itself is a borrowing from the Middle French *gorgias* ('elegant, fashionable'), a continuation of the Old French *gourgias*, *gorgias* ('gorgeous, gaudy, flaunting, gallant, fine'), connected with the Old French *gorgias* ('a gorget, ruffle for the neck'), derived from the Old French *gorge* ('bosom, throat'). One may therefore hypothesise that in this case the sense evolution was probably that of 'throat' > 'swelling of the throat or bosom due to pride, bridling up' > 'assuming an air of importance, flaunting'.

The theoretical mechanisms adopted in this paper suggest that, as shown in Table 6, the meaning of *gorgeous* seems to stem from the metonymy-metaphor interaction: OBJECT/BODY PART FOR SENSATION/ACTION INVOLVING THIS BODY PART metonymy is followed by metaphor motivating the rise of the sense 'assuming an air of importance'.

Table 6. Metonymy-metaphor interaction in *gorgeous*

Metonymic source: OBJECT/BODY PART	Metonymic target: SENSATION/ACTION
'throat'	'swelling of the throat or bosom due to pride, bridling up'
Metaphorical source:	Metaphorical target:
'swelling of the throat or bosom due to pride'	'assuming an air of importance'

The Old French body part term *gorge* 'throat' provides mental access to the action of the swelling of the throat which, in turn, motivates the rise of the metaphorical sense 'assuming an air of importance'.

5.3 Metaphorical motivation: carnation

Most people, when they think of the word *carnation*, imagine a picture of a flower. It is therefore slightly confusing to find that the word comes from a root meaning, quite simply, 'flesh' (Latin *carn-*). The word shares its roots with such decidedly non-floral words as *carnivorous*, *carnage*, and *carnal knowledge*. The reason for this situation is that before it started to refer to a flower, *carnation* was employed with reference to the colour of certain tints of human flesh. In this respect, let us trace its etymology provided by the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*: Latin *carñātiōn-em* 'fleshiness, corpulence' from *carn-em* 'flesh'; compare the French *carnation*, and the Italian *carnagione* 'the hue or colour of one's skin and flesh' (Polish *karnacja* 'complexion'). Consider the following example portraying the present-day sense of *carnation*: "Neither the fetid Rose, nor the withered Carnation, nor the dusty Nasturtium, nor the diseased-looking Pea would oblige Lady Jane's suitor." – Paul Bell, in *Littell's living age*, August 1850.

In terms of the methodological apparatus employed in this paper, we may speak about a general conceptual metaphor PLANTS ARE HUMANS and a sub-metaphor A FLOWER RESEMBLING THE COLOUR OF HUMAN FLESH IS HUMAN FLESH, which may be presented in the following way:

Table 7. Metaphorical motivation in *carnation*

A FLOWER RESEMBLING THE COLOUR OF HUMAN FLESH IS HUMAN FLESH metaphor	
Metaphorical source: HUMAN FLESH	Metaphorical target: A FLOWER RESEMBLING THE COLOUR OF HUMAN FLESH

Thus, one may venture a claim that human flesh and its colour serve as a metaphorical source mapped onto the target domain of plants.

5.4 Metonymic motivation vs conceptual integration: the case of melancholy

The noun *melancholy* 'a sad mood or feeling'¹⁵ comes from the Greek *melagkholiā*, from where it gave rise to the late Latin *melancholia* and the Old French *melancolie*. The Greek term is a compound which consists of *mélās* 'black' and *kholé* 'bile'. The word *bile*, in turn, is related to the English *gall*. Therefore, we may say that from the etymological point of view, *melancholy* means the same as 'black gall' (see Ayto 2005). According to medieval theory of medicine, a human being's physical and mental health are dependent on four substances/'humours' that run through people's bodies, namely: blood,

phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.¹⁶ The balance of these four substances determines our condition and health. A surfeit of black bile makes a person more liable to such negative states as depression or melancholy.

The Humoral Theory was widespread for more than two thousand years, all the way until the middle of the 19th century when it was replaced by the germ theory. Until then people had believed in humoral rather than pathogenic causes of diseases. In all likelihood, the concept of humours stems from the time of the Pharaohs in Egypt (Abu-Asab et al. 2013) from where it was transferred to Ancient Greece. The doctrine was developed and expounded by Hippocrates (460-370 BCE) who claimed that the humours had an important influence on both our personality and behaviour (Bhikha & Glynn 2017: 15029).

In terms of the methodological apparatus employed in the paper, the meaning 'a sad mood, feeling' of the lexical item *melancholy* is metonymically motivated: SUBSTANCE FOR STATE OF MIND. Therefore, we may put forward a hypothesis that the contemporary sense of the noun is metonymically conditioned. The correspondence between the metonymic source and the target is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Metonymic motivation in *melancholy*

Metonymic source:	Metonymic target:
SUBSTANCE	STATE OF MIND (MOOD)
'black bile'	'a sad mood, feeling'

From the perspective of conceptual integration theory worked out by Fauconnier and Turner (1998), we may suggest a hypothesis that the formation of the compound *melancholy* is the outcome of the operation of conceptual integration of two input spaces, namely *mélās* 'black' and *kholé* 'bile'. This conceptual blending involves a set of mappings between the two input spaces, a generic space containing elements of what the two inputs have in common and the blended space in which the sense 'a sad mood or feeling' emerges.

Input space 1: *mélās* 'black'

Input space 2: *kholé* 'bile'

Blended space: *melagkholiā* black bile

In this particular case, the sense 'a sad mood or feeling' of the compound (metonymical blend) *melancholy* results from a set of mappings that occur between the input spaces mentioned above. It is worth noting that, as far as symbolic values connected with colours are concerned, black is – by and large – associated with "negativity, depression and desperation" (Philip 2011: 155). In the European tradition, it is a colour of mourning, hence its obvious connotations with death, remorse, grief and penance (Kopaliński 1990). Philip (2011: 154) stresses that black is the colour of bile, which – in turn – is closely connected with anger.

The common feature between these two entities is that they revolve around emotions. Both concepts may represent negative emotions (black > despair; bile > anger) and these seem to be a common denominator contributing to the final conceptual shape of the emergent blend. The emergent meaning of *melancholy* is based on the conceptual material provided by the two input spaces, that is the element *mélās* 'black' provides mental access to mourning, despair, wrongdoing, evil, darkness while *kholé* 'bile' is conceptually associated with anger, ill temper and peevishness.

5.5 Metaphtonymy vs conceptual integration: caprice and sarcasm

The word *caprice* as we know it today refers to people's specific behaviour characterized by unexpected and impulsive changes of mind.¹⁷ This sense is connected with the etymology of the word, which is of Italian origin. And so, the Italian *capriccio* 'fright, a state of being startled, shivering' is a compound based on two words, namely *capo* 'head' and *riccio* 'hedgehog'. Given that a petrified person's hair is said to stand on end like the spines of the hedgehog, the compound soon started to be used figuratively (Ayto 2005). The lexical item's contemporary meaning referring to fickle people has also been influenced by another animal, namely goat (Italian *capra* 'goat') which is known for its impulsive behaviour (Moder 1987).

Interestingly, both metonymic source (vehicle) (part of an animal – head of a hedgehog) and target (whole animal – hedgehog) are metaphorically motivated and arise from the schema HUMANS ARE ANIMALS. Therefore, we may suggest a combined operation of two mechanisms, namely metonymy and metaphor. Such an interaction is known as metaphtonymy (see Goossens 1990). In short, in such a case metonymic projection is preceded by metaphorical mappings. Table 9 presents the figurative meaning development of *caprice*.

Table 9. Metaphonymic motivation in *caprice*

Stage 1: PART FOR WHOLE metonymy	
Metonymic source: PART	Metonymic target: WHOLE
head of a hedgehog	whole hedgehog
Stage 2: HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor	
Metaphorical source: ANIMALS	Metaphorical target: HUMANS
the spines of the hedgehog	a frightened person's hair

From the perspective of the Conceptual Integration Theory, we are dealing here with two input spaces and a *pars pro toto* mechanism that takes place between them.

Input space 1: *capo* 'head'



PART FOR WHOLE metonymy

Input space 2: *riccio* 'hedgehog'

Blended space: *capriccio* 'fright, a state of being startled, shivering'

On the other hand, however, if we take into account that another animal, namely *capra* 'goat' might have affected the contemporary sense of the compound, we shall propose the following diagram accounting for the rise of the compound in question:

Input space 1: *capra* 'goat'

Input space 2: *riccio* 'hedgehog'

Blended space: *capriccio* 'fickle behaviour of a person'

We may hazard a guess that the contemporary sense of *caprice* results from the fusion of two animals' properties (attributes/features), namely the goat's fickle behaviour and the hedgehog's spines. And so, both animals' behaviour may be ascribed to human beings, as both may be volatile. Likewise, human hair resembles hedgehogs' spines, therefore it is easy to draw a comparison between these two attributes. A set of mappings is established between the two input spaces, specifying that a petrified person's hair, which is said to stand on end, may be associated with the spines of the hedgehog. Next, a generic space is created containing elements of shared material that the two inputs have in common (shape – roundness, hair vs. spikes, that is a person's behaviour and appearance is associated with a hedgehog's appearance and the instinctive behaviour of a goat). Finally, a blended space is created in which a combination of 'a hairy head' and 'a hedgehog' gives rise to the Italian sense 'fright, a state of being startled, shivering' and the English sense referring to people's specific behaviour characterized

by unexpected and impulsive change of mind, which is probably influenced by associations with another animal, namely goat (Italian *capra* 'goat') which is known for its impulsive behaviour.

Yet another term whose meaning is a result of both metaphorical and metonymic motivation is that of *sarcasm*. According to Moder (1987), *sarcasm* 'the use of remarks that clearly mean the opposite of what they say, made in order to hurt someone's feelings or to criticize something in a humorous way'¹⁸ derived from the Greek *sarkazein* which, in turn, came from *sarx* 'flesh'. Historically speaking, the use of Greek *sarkazein* was first recorded in the following two senses: 1) 'to tear flesh like dogs' and 2) 'to pluck grass with closed lips as horses do' (see Moder 1987). One may therefore hypothesise that the change of the verbal sense 'to tear flesh like dogs' into 'to bite the lips in rage' results from a specific instantiation of the general conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS realised as HUMAN ACTION IS ANIMAL ACTION. In all likelihood, the sense of *sarcasm* that we are familiar with today may have been developed from 'to bite the lips in rage', which is also attested in the *OED*. Then, the sense of the word was slightly modified into 'to speak bitterly' and it was this definition that gave rise to the noun *sarkasmos* employed as 'mockery' (see Moder 1987).

Thus, in terms of the methodological apparatus employed here, the underlying conceptual mechanism responsible for the rise of the sense 'to bite the lips in rage' from earlier 'to tear flesh like dogs' is metaphor formalised as HUMAN ACTION IS ANIMAL ACTION, while the present-day sense of *sarcasm* results from the working of conceptual metonymy that may be formulated as ACTION FOR ANOTHER ACTION ('to bite the lips in rage' for 'to speak bitterly'). Both rage and bitterness may be labelled as negative emotions and there is also a close connection between biting one's lips and the activity of speaking which is performed by the lips themselves. The following diagram (Table 10) portrays the figurative meaning development of *sarcasm*:

Table 10. Metaphor-metonymy interaction in *sarcasm*

Metaphorical source: ANIMAL ACTION	Metaphorical target: HUMAN ACTION
'to tear flesh like dogs'	'to bite the lips in rage' (source)
	ACTION FOR ANOTHER ACTION metonymy ↓
	'to speak bitterly' (target)

As Table 9 shows, the shift 'to bite the lips in rage' > 'to speak bitterly' is an example of a metonymic projection where the metonymic source/vehicle is placed in the metaphorical target domain.

In terms of the conceptual integration framework, one may opt for the existence of the following spaces:

Input space 1: 'to tear flesh like dogs'

Input space 2: 'to bite the lips in rage'

Blended space: 'to speak bitterly'

We may, therefore, suggest a hypothesis that the rise of the present-day sense of *sarcasm* is the outcome of the operation of conceptual integration of two input spaces, namely 'to tear flesh like dogs' and 'to bite the lips in rage', a set of mappings between the two input spaces, a generic space containing elements of what the two inputs have in common (tearing, biting flesh) and the blended space in which the sense 'to speak bitterly' emerges.

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, an attempt has been made to show in what way the mechanisms of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, metaphonymy and conceptual integration may be used to account for the semantic motivation of selected words originally naming body parts.

As the conducted analysis shows, the nine lexical items under scrutiny may be divided into five groups according to the mechanisms that motivated the creation of their meanings. Thus, it turns out that conceptual metonymy is the mechanism that played a substantial role in the development of the meanings of *dishevelled* and *courage*, in which single metonymic projections may be identified. In turn, series of projections, or metonymic chains, and metonymy-metaphor interaction lead to the evolution of the present-day senses of *cadet*, *pygmy* and *gorgeous*, respectively. In the case of the semantic change that affected the meaning of *carnation*, one may speak about metaphorical motivation. Furthermore, there are also three lexical items whose semantics may be interpreted as the working of either conceptual integration or the mechanism of metonymy (*melancholy*) or metaphonymy and/or conceptual blending (*caprice* and *sarcasm*).

The paper is a pilot study pointing to an interesting area of research and as such it does not aspire to cover a number of issues which still remain as potential scope for future research. One of the areas worth investigating might be the question of why particular body part terms are used as possible source domains and why these figurative terms are so commonly employed, not only in English but possibly also in other languages, to the extent that – at least some of them – may be argued to have

acquired near-universal status in a cross-linguistic perspective (e.g., Polish *sarkazm* 'sarcasm', *melancholia* 'melancholy', *kaprys* 'caprice', *kadet* 'cadet', *pigmej* 'pygmy').

Drawing on the concept of embodied cognition, according to which the human mind is not only inseparably connected to the body but also the body exerts influence on the mind, one may argue that parts of the body and the way in which we conceptualise them influence the mind in that, through the use of language, the latter enables us to verbally access the body. Thus, the centrality of the human body can be shown to strongly affect the nature of our experience verbalized through language use. In other words, body part terms are used as vehicles or source domains to conceptualise other areas of our experience.

It is worth noting that five out of nine of the analysed lexical items (*sarcasm*, *cadet*, *melancholy*, *pygmy* and *caprice*) may be said to have acquired a cross-linguistic(ally) universal status, at least in European cultures. In all likelihood, in the case of *pygmy* it is the fact that the noun functions as a proper name that determined its universal status. By the same token, the noun *cadet* belongs to military terminology, hence it is used in a number of languages. In turn, the influence of Greek philosophy might have resulted in the popularity of *melancholy*. As far as the universal status of *sarcasm* and *caprice* is concerned, we may hazard a guess that it might be connected with the fact that some words connected with strong emotions become more prevalent than others. Indeed, it turns out that body parts are connected with various emotions, both positive and negative (courage, rage, sadness, haughtiness, pride).

Our results may prove to corroborate not only the conceptual nature of metaphors, metonymies, metaphonymies or cases of conceptual integration as such, but also their impact on social cognition – the relatively high frequency of appearance of some of the terms (e.g. *sarcasm*, *melancholy*, *cadet*) in English and their presence in other languages mentioned in the body of this paper indicates the influence that these concepts may exert on social cognition – they seem to be deeply entrenched and culture-bound terms. Since the meanings of the words discussed in this paper are motivated by, among others, conceptual metaphor and metonymy, we wish to argue, being inspired by Kövecses (2017a: 215), that the presence of both the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory may be evidenced at all levels of linguistic description, while their "important contribution to connecting mind with the body, language with culture, body with culture, and language with the brain" cannot be underestimated.

Notes

1. For example, see Grząsko and Kiełtyka (2021) for a cognitive account of the language of flirtation.
2. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Albanian, Basque, Belarusian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Corsican, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, French, Frisian, Galician, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Luxembourgish, Macedonian, Maltese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Scots Gaelic, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Tatar, Ukrainian, Welsh, and Yiddish.
3. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Armenian, Azerbaijani, Bengali, Chinese Simplified, Chinese Traditional, Georgian, Gujarati, Hindi, Hmong, Japanese, Kannada, Kazakh, Khmer, Korean, Kyrgyz, Lao, Malayalam, Marathi, Mongolian, Myanmar (Burmese), Nepali, Odia, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Sinhala, Tajik, Tamil, Telugu, Thai, Turkish, Turkmen, Urdu, Uyghur, Uzbek, Vietnamese.
4. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Arabic, Hebrew, Kurdish (Kurmanji), Persian.
5. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Afrikaans, Amharic, Chichewa, Hausa, Igbo, Kinyarwanda, Sesotho, Shona, Somali, Swahili, Xhosa, Yoruba, Zulu.
6. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Cebuano, Filipino, Hawaiian, Indonesian, Javanese, Malagasy, Malay, Maori, Samoan, Sudanese.
7. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Esperanto, Haitian Creole, Latin.
8. According to Yu (2008), metonymy often provides the link between bodily experience and metaphor as far as the mapping process from concrete experience to abstract concepts is concerned, which may be seen in the following way: bodily experience → metonymy → metaphor → abstract concepts.
9. See the *Oxford English dictionary (OED)*: c. 1381 Chaucer Parl. Foules 235 In kyrtelles al discheuel [v.rr. dysshuell, discheuele, dissheueld, dissheueled, dischieflēe] went þei þer.
10. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts>: "It is interesting to note that Mr. McCarthy thinks favorably of it as a profession, and records his conviction that nothing but laziness and lack of courage will prevent a capable journalist making a thousand a year." – *Pitman's journal of commercial education*, August 1896.
11. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/heart>

12. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts>: "When Inger-Johanna with impetuosity rushed to the defense of Grip, she saw in him only the son of the idiotic 'cadet of Lurleiken,' as he is called, one of the well-known, amusing figures of the country." – Jonas Lie, in *The granite monthly*, 1894.
13. Consider the following quotation extracted from the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*: "The opinion that Pygmies are not a mere sport of Nature, but that they have representative claims as members of the great families of mankind, is as old as Homer, Hesiod, or the eternal hills." – Robin Goodfellow, *A weekly journal of fact and fiction*, 1861.
14. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts/pygmy>
15. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts/melancholy>: "He reread the first paragraph, his eyes itching with melancholy and pride." – Martin Amis, *The information*, 1995.
16. The idea of humours (fluids) results from the observation of the human body and, to be more precise, a human's freshly drawn blood which is characterized by the fact that it divides into four parts named as follows: the red fraction was known as the sanguinous (blood) humour, the white one as phlegm, the yellow-coloured layer on top was termed yellow bile, whereas the heavy part was the black bile (Bhikha & Glynn 2017: 15030).
17. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts/caprice>: "But again man does not realize the vast power woman wields in the business world – through her desires, her caprices, her will." – Bertha A. Loeb, in *The business philosopher*, February, 191.
18. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/sarcasm>: "You have been working hard," he said with heavy sarcasm, as he looked at the empty page.

List of abbreviations

OED – *Oxford English dictionary*

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Resumé

The aim of this paper is to account for the semantics of English terms of Greek and Romance origin from the area of BODY PARTS used figuratively with reference to various human and non-human properties. The methodology adopted is the theory of conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, metaphonymy as well as conceptual integration. The research shows that the analysed data enjoy a near universal cross-linguistic status and the senses subject to investigation have arisen due to the working and interplay of various conceptual mechanisms. Specifically, it turns out that conceptual metonymy is the mechanism that played a substantial role in the development of the meanings of *dishevelled* and *courage*, in which single metonymic projections may be identified. In turn, series of projections, or metonymic chains, and metonymy-metaphor interaction lead to the evolution of the present-day senses of *cadet*, *pygmy* and *gorgeous*, respectively. In the case of the semantic change that affected the meaning of *carnation*, one may speak about metaphorical motivation. Furthermore, there are also three lexical items whose semantics may be interpreted as the working of either conceptual integration or the mechanism of metonymy (*melancholy*) or metaphonymy and/or conceptual blending (*caprice* and *sarcasm*). The fact that the meanings of the words discussed in this paper are motivated by, among others, conceptual metaphor and metonymy seems to corroborate the

claim that the presence of both the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory may be evidenced at all levels of linguistic description, while the argument that they connect mind with the body, language with culture, body with culture, and language with the brain seems only natural.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, metonymy, source, target, body parts.

Article was received by the editorial board 18.11.2021;

Reviewed 14.12.2021 and 21.03.2022.

Similarity Index 14%