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An Analysis of Polysemy in Kapampangan and Japanese, using the Systems Correspondence Theory

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1. Introduction

The lexicon of a language (i.e., all its words) may be analyzed in many different ways. The diversity of approaches may be explained perhaps by the wide variety of words within one language. Also, different types of analysis focus on a particular feature of the language, or they exemplify a particular methodology.

One common methodology is the diachronic approach, wherein a reconstructed form that summarizes the phonological or orthographic relationships between genetically related lexical counterparts in the daughter languages is hypothesized using the historico-comparative method. Another popular approach is componential analysis, wherein the meaning of a word is broken into its components and from that the regular patterns of relation are deduced. Still another is logical semantics, analysis in terms of entailments and presuppositions.

The influence structural linguistics has had on other social sciences, followed by the development of formalism in transformational generative grammars and now also in semantic analysis, has given linguistics the prestige of a true science. (With the use of such models, it is assumed that precision and exactitude is always sought.) Such types of 'scientific' analysis concentrate on the internal structure of language. Yet, given the nature of language, this produces an incomplete picture. Language is necessary for communication, and communication presupposes a certain context wherein language is used. The choice of a particular context is related to the kind of analysis that results from it.

For my own study, the cultural context is used, since distinctions in culture account for the difference in perceiving reality, and these distinctions are evident in language. The main concern of this study is
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the analysis of semantic diversity or polysemy. And because of the nature of the object of interest, the semantic approach is used, utilizing ordinary language.

Polysemy is a phenomenon in the communication pattern wherein more than one meaning may be attributed to a word or expression. There are words in both Kapampangan and Japanese, and one can venture to say in all living languages, that exhibit polysemy. This study is concerned with polysemy on the word and phrase level as in example 1, in which *mabayat* and *omoi* have at least two meanings each:

(1) Kap\(^1\) *mabayat* (a) heavy (b) serious, important
Jap *omoi* (a) heavy (b) serious

Polysemy can be viewed in two ways. Deductively, one can find words or expressions in a language that have more than one but related meanings as in example 1. Inductively, however, one can imagine a situation (still using example 1) wherein the idea of something serious or important has no corresponding word in the language to signify it. So the native speaker uses the correlative effect of carrying a heavy load. This is 'lexicalization,' the process of 'finding words' for particular sets of semantic features; it has the psychological role of 'packaging' a certain semantic content so that it can be manipulated syntactically as an undivided unity (Leech 1974). The Systems Correspondence Theory accounts for polysemy in just this way.

Words or expressions that are semantically diverse are usually labelled metaphorical, and metaphor comes in many forms such as proverbs, riddles, and lines in poetry. However, this study is limited to a selection of words, phrases, and expressions commonly used in prose. Nevertheless, even though it does not include all speech genres, I believe that the basic pattern explained here is still valid.

2. The Systems Correspondence Theory

The Systems Correspondence Theory was first presented in an earlier study entitled *Kapampangan Lexicography* (del Corro 1985). The theory has direct relevance to lexicography, dictionary making.

Considering example 1 once again, most dictionaries would give the first meaning (the literal meaning), and bigger dictionaries would probably give the second meaning (the derived meaning) as well. Even if the derived meaning is included, the dictionary user still has to depend on an exhaustive listing of meanings. The innovation that the Systems Correspondence Theory (SCT) introduces is the importance of explaining the mechanism of meaning derivation; understanding the framework enables the dictionary user to comprehend the intended derived meanings faster and in a more integrated way.

The Systems Correspondence Theory states that man makes use of already existing systems in his world to identify, label, and in general comprehend the world. 'System' is here defined as a network of coherently interacting parts, an orderly arrangement according to some common law. A constituent of an event is not seen individually but as a component of a system. The mind filters information

\(^1\) The following abbreviations and symbols are used:
- ART article
- COP copula
- JAP Japanese
- KAP Kapampangan
- LK linker
- MK syntactic marker
- PA particle
- SCT Systems Correspondence Theory
- SUF suffix
- ' glottal stop
- . compound gloss
through these existing systems. The information is made to correspond to the existing system by which the event is labelled. The retention of the original name of the system can be explained in two ways: First, the language has no single term to label such a phenomenon; even in cases when it has, a long explanation would have to be resorted to. Second, the use of the name of a common, well-established system provides a vivid description.

There is no limit to the possible systems an individual can make use of since each one’s experience is different. However, there are systems that are commonly shared by virtue of man’s inherent and generic qualities.

For example, in Kapampangan, in the absence of a word that means the pen is releasing too much ink, the event is labelled and in effect likened to a man having diarrhea: *manakla ya ing pen* ‘the pen is having diarrhea’. It means that the pen is releasing too much ink. The event of excessive ink flow is thus translated into the body function system. Even though this is not literally meant, the label is maintained, showing a systematic relationship between the pen’s excessive ink flow and the phenomenon of having diarrhea. To use Allan Paivio’s (1979) terms, ‘pen’ is the topic, while ‘diarrhea’ is the vehicle.

In Japanese, the phenomenon of a sewing machine ‘eating up’ or pulling the thread more than necessary is either *mishin ga ito o tabechana* or *mishin ga ito o kande shimaimashita*. The bodily functions of eating and biting are used to describe the said phenomenon.

3. Physicalism

The basic principle underlying the Systems Correspondence Theory is physicalism. This concept assigns significant value to physical phenomena affecting man’s thinking and perception. Systems that are physically perceived and felt become a point of reference in understanding other systems.

Man’s consciousness is substantially influenced by physical reality. Physical reality is defined as that which can be perceived by the senses, namely, sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch—and that which is indirectly attributed to these senses. Physical qualities are identified as shape, weight, feel, and the like. The visual include those which can be described in spatial terms; the tactile (touch) include sensations physically felt within the human body. Extending this concept, man comprehends nonphysical events by attributing physical features with them. When a nonphysical entity is treated as though it could be seen, touched, heard, felt, or tasted, reference and description thereby achieve clarity. Concomitantly, this gives an exaggerated effect on the referent. Thus, whenever a physicalist expression is used for its derived interpretation, the description is said to be picturesque. This is a consequence rather than an intention.

3.1 Studies in support of physicalism

3.1.1 Jean Piaget (1986)

In Jean Piaget’s 1955 study of child developmental processes (republished 1986), it is made clear that sensorimotor intelligence is pre-linguistic, and as the child constructs the external world, he initially perceives objects that have substance, that are permanent and of constant dimension. This object concept is constructed gradually. Piaget writes:

The significance of the object concept is seen in that the first knowledge of the universe or himself that the subject can acquire is knowledge relating to the most immediate appearance of things as to the most external and material aspect of his being. [Piaget 1986:355]

3.1.2 Wallace Chafe (1975)

In Meaning and Structure of Language (1975), Chafe presents a model for language structure analysis based on semantic units. In his discussion of idioms, he observes the overwhelming tendency of semantic units and configurations involving concrete and tangible meanings to yield idiomatic units
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involving abstract and intangible meanings. In other words, concrete semantic units tend to be symbolized directly while a great many abstract units must undergo a process which he calls postsemantic literalization before they are symbolized. He says further:

It does not seem out of line to speculate that this situation [i.e., the pattern explained above], which I suspect exists in all languages, indicates that the more recent growth of the human conceptual inventory in large part has been a matter of adding concepts that are more abstract to a basic inventory of concrete concepts. [Chafe 1975:48]

3.1.3 Stephen Wallace (1982)

Wallace, in his *Figure and Ground: The Interrelationships of Linguistic Categories*, compares the salience of different linguistic categories. In doing this, he borrows from Gestalt psychology the terms ‘figure’ and ‘ground’ and associates them with linguistic categories. He presents the following characteristics of figure and ground (Wallace 1982:214):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Ground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thing-like, solid, concrete</td>
<td>unformed, diffuse, shapeless, continuous, unbroken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-defined, tightly organized</td>
<td>less definite, unstructured, loosely organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contoured, surrounded, bounded, enclosed</td>
<td>boundless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>localized</td>
<td>unlocalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with distinguishable parts</td>
<td>without distinguishable parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above, in front</td>
<td>below, behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more impressive color</td>
<td>less impressive color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greater contrast</td>
<td>lesser contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stable</td>
<td>unstable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symmetric</td>
<td>irregular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘meaningful’, familiar</td>
<td>‘meaningless’, unfamiliar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The categories considered by Wallace are person, number, animacy, humanness, definiteness, and the like. He mentions a number of investigators who have similarly ranked these linguistic categories showing some to be more prominent than others. He says that human perceivers do not assign equal weight to all incoming sensations; but respond to some as more salient, ‘which stand out distinctively’ in front of a less salient ground (Wallace 1982:216).

Wallace concludes (p.215) that the present tense, referring as it does to immediate events, is more figure-like than the remote past or projected future; bounded, punctiliar perfective is more figure-like and the unbounded imperfective more ground-like; eventive modality expressing reality, actuality, and certainty is more figure-like than diffuse, boundless, unlocalized, non-eventive modality. And even though Wallace’s study focuses on tense and aspect, the implications regarding the more significant effect of the physically perceived sensation is strongly indicated.

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2 Wallace (1982) mentions Comrie’s animacy hierarchy, Givón’s topicality hierarchy, Hopper’s agency hierarchy, and Timberlake’s individuation hierarchy.
3.2 Some features of physicalism

The property of matter called impenetrability is a physical property. It is because of impenetrability that no two objects can occupy the same space. A group of two objects therefore have to be arranged sequentially or in some kind of linear formation. Even speech is in a linear order; speaking is correlated with time, which in turn is conceptualized in terms of space (Lakoff 1980). Time spent is space occupied and, in the same way, space occupied is time spent. This time-space correlate is an important feature of physicalism in expressing linearity.

This time-space concept is extended to actions, events, or abstractions in general. For example, change in space and/or time is often used as a vehicle to refer to change in life whether in status or quality but always in accordance with a certain goal. Thus, change in life when judged according to some standard can be viewed as a movement forward (in case of progress); backward or downward (in case of regression); sideways (for horizontal change as in type or classification); going in circles (to imply misguidance); or static (i.e., in one place, to mean no change whatsoever).

In a narrow and literal way, it is easy to perceive the linear movement of the actor in the scenario implied in the following sentence:

(2) **KAP**

\[\text{manibat kang Maria linapit ya i Pedu kang} \]

\[\text{from MK Maria approached he ART Pedro to} \]

\[\text{Linda} \]

\[\text{Linda} \]

**JAP**

\[\text{Mariyasan kara Pedu losan wa Rindsan ni} \]

\[\text{Maria,SUF from Pedro MK Linda,SUF MK} \]

\[\text{chikazukimashita} \]

\[\text{approached} \]

From a point where Maria is, Pedro goes to a point where Linda is. The linear movement expressed in this sentence can be used in many ways in the language to symbolize nonliteral movement or change. It explains the linear movement in examples 3 and 4:

(3) **KAP**

\[\text{babalik king isa} \]

\[\text{return to one} \]

Translated literally, example 3 means ‘going back to number one'; it refers to senility. The English expression ‘second childhood' is parallel to the following expression in Japanese:

(4) **JAP**

\[\text{kodomo ni modorimasu} \]

\[\text{child MK return} \]

The verb *modoru* in example 4 does not involve space, as it normally does, but rather a change in the stage of one's life. The spatial idea of returning is used to express an aging process, returning to a particular stage in one's life. Lakoff (1980) calls such expressions journey metaphors and gives some examples:

(5a) We're stuck!

(5b) A long bumpy road is life.

Another feature of physicalism is observed in what Lakoff (1980) calls ‘container metaphors.' In order to comment on the quantity or intensity of an abstraction, the language user pictures a hollow space with an external boundary. This space is used to measure the lack or sufficiency of a quality. For instance, in English, a joyful person can be described as being full of joy. This implies that he has
a hollow space within him and the space is filled with joy. For the space to be filled, joy is presumed to occupy space, thus possessing material qualities.

The speaker arbitrarily designates what the container holds or should hold. (It could contain any abstraction that the speaker wants to measure.) In Kapampangan, a person who is about to lose patience may say:

(6) **KAP**  
Knapmu ne ig asawa na  
filled he the spouse his  

His spouse got fed up.  

This is said of a wife who patiently bears the pain and hardships caused by her husband. But after some time, the ‘container’ cannot contain it any longer and the idea of being full is expressed.  

A container of fulfilled obligation is expressed in the following example:

(7) **KAP**  
kipmuan nang ima na ing kayang kakulangan  
filled her mother her the her lack  

Her mother made up for her inadequacies.  

This is said of a wife who does not fulfill all her obligations and therefore her mother comes to make up for her inadequacies.  

The container concept is also expressed in Japanese, as in the following:

(8) **JAP**  
shiawase ippai no kao o shite imasu  
happy full MK face MK doing  

She looks very happy.  

(9) **JAP**  
′atama ga tarimasen  
head MK lacking  

He is not very intelligent.  

In example 8, happiness is expressed as the face being full (ippai) of happiness. In example 9, it is the head that is treated as a container, capable of containing either sufficient mental ability or a lack of it.

Language analysis that employs the physical dimension and which supports the concept of linearity has been presented by Gruber (1965) and Jackendoff (1976) in their discussion of thematic relations. In their theory, a crucial step in moving to abstract reasoning is recognizing a particular phenomenon as an instance of generalized location. What is considered the fundamental semantic notion of the sentence is its ‘theme.’ In sentences with verbs of motion, ‘theme’ is defined as the noun phrase undergoing some form of movement. The ‘source’ is the theme’s initial position, and ‘goal’ is the theme’s final position. In the following example ‘rock’ is considered the theme. (This is similar to example 2, in which Pedru is considered the theme.)

(10) John rolled the rock from the dump to the house.

In their analysis, a change can be in terms of position, possession, or change in some sort of abstract way. Adjectives can function as abstract locations to mean ‘in the abstract domain’ or ‘in the quality space of.’ Thus ‘stay’ can express either a physical or an abstract location.

(11a) John stayed in the room.

(11b) John stayed angry.

The state of being angry is translated spatially as within two points in time, the point when John started being angry until the end point.
4. Systems involved

4.1 Anthropocentrism

One of the first, if not the very first, of man's earliest realizations of existence is his consciousness of his own physical body and its functions. One system by which man understands his world is in terms of how his body is structured and how he naturally functions. Man's own qualities and capabilities form the basis for the formation of meaning.

Lakoff (1980) considers expressions reflecting this tendency under the general category of personification. He says that such expressions allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms, terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics. This man-centered view is supported by the following statement from Giddens (1976:19):

Self-knowledge is highly relevant to the interpretation of alien systems of thought and action. It is connected integrally to the understanding of others.

Douglas (1972:16) recognizes the body as a distinctive system of natural symbols. She writes:

The body will tend to be conceived as an organ of communication. The major preoccupation will be with its functioning effectively; the relation of head to subordinate members will be a model of central control systems.

4.1.1 The body parts

The human body is used as a very common point of reference in perceiving man's physical environment, for example:

(12) 'head'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KAP</th>
<th>buntuk ning paku'</th>
<th>'head of a nail'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head of nail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAP</th>
<th>kugi no atama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nail of head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concept of a system with a network of parts interacting coherently can be seen in figure 1.

The flat top of a nail resembles the head of a man in the human body system. However, the flat top would not resemble a head if not for the vertical extension downward, which somehow resembles the trunk and the legs. Thus, one part by itself, in this case the flat top alone, could not systematically
represent anything; it must be one part interacting with the rest of the parts. Other features of the nail that contribute to the flat top's resemblance of a head are: the perpendicular position of the top with respect to the vertical downward extension, the length of the downward extension, and the smaller diameter of the downward extension when compared to the flat top. The coherent interaction of each part with the other or the insignificance of one component without the rest clearly shows that a composite system really exists. The following are other examples:

(13) 'eye'

KAP  mata ning bagyi
     eye of storm

JAP  taifu  no me
     typhoon of eye

(14) 'ear'

KAP  balugbug ning tasa
     ear of cup

JAP  pan  no mimi
     bread of ear

(In Japanese, the 'ear of the bread' is the dark brown outer crust of the sliced bread.)

(15) 'leg'

KAP  bitis ning silya
     leg of chair

JAP  isu  no ashi
     chair of leg

(16) 'hair'

KAP  bwak ning mais
     hair of corn

JAP  tomorokoshi no ke
     corn of hair

(17) 'mouth'

KAP  asbuk ning boti
     mouth of bottle

JAP  bin  no kuchi
     bottle of mouth

(18) 'tongue'

KAP  dila  ning sapatus
     tongue of shoe

     'tongue/flap of the shoe'
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JAP  
katsu no bero  
shoe of tongue

(Example 18 refers to the shoe flap over which the shoe string is knotted. In Japanese, the undershirt that is seen from the outside is also called bero.)

(19) ‘bone/rib’

KAP  
tagyang ning payung  
rib of umbrella

JAP  
kasa no hone  
umbrella of bone

(20) ‘teeth’

KAP  
ipan ning sukle  
teeth of comb

JAP  
kushi no ha  
comb of teeth

The following expressions are used in Kapampangan but not in Japanese:

(21) ‘face’

KAP  
lupa ning relo  
face of clock

(22) ‘neck’

KAP  
batal ning gripu  
neck of faucet

(The neck of the faucet is that part between the turning knob and the opening where the water comes out.)

(23) ‘lips’

KAP  
labi ning pinggan  
lips of plate

(This refers to the edge or the outer boundary of the plate.)

(24) ‘pupil’

KAP  
telat'au ning mata  
lake, person of eye

The pupil of the eye is called the ‘like-person of the eye’. The pupil, which is the central and vital feature of the eye, is referred to as ‘like a person’, man always focusing on himself, hitomi in Japanese. According to the interpretation of Takao Suzuki (1970), the person is evident when he sees his image reflected in the pupil of the one he is talking to.

bero is used informally; it is an onomatopoeic variant of shita ‘tongue'
The following Japanese expression can be compared with Kap *bulait ning basu* ‘behind of the drinking glass’, which refers to the bottom part of a drinking glass and also to the sitting position, whether on a chair or any flat surface. In the Japanese example 25, reference is made to the traditional sitting position in which the hip area is prominent, for example during a tea ceremony.

(25) ‘hips’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAP</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nyawan no koshi</em></td>
<td>‘bottom part of the teacup’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2 Body functions and actions

Body functions are processes in the body necessary for normal functioning. Body action is a broader term including body functions and also all other activities the body is capable of doing or having done to it.

Body functions and actions are grouped under the human body system. Such functions and actions can be used in comprehending and consequently labelling man’s environment. Thus, in Kapampangan, one can speak of the cooking oil being asleep when it solidifies due to exposure to cold temperature:

(26) KAP *matudtud ing taba*

‘sleeping the cooking oil’

In Japanese, there is a similar expression for dough left to rise in a bowl after kneading:

(27) JAP *kiji o nekasu*

‘leave the dough to sleep’

dough MK asleep

Another verb that expresses this idea is *yasumasenr* ‘made to rest’.

Birth is often used to express the start of a process. In both Kapampangan and Japanese the idea of love developing in a person can be expressed as love being born.

(28) KAP *mibait ing lugud karela*

‘Love developed between them.’

was.born the love between.them

(29) JAP *ai ga umaremashita*

‘Love developed.’

love MK was.born

The absence of separate lexical items with respect to derived interpretations is considered by some as lexical gaps, thereby implying the inadequacy of language. It is my view, however, such absence is due to the categorization process, for which language has a natural bent. Thus, the absence of a distinct term for ‘develop’ as in examples 28 and 29 is not considered an inadequacy because the language is able to derive the needed meaning from the process of being born. Categorization is constantly being utilized by language speakers in their unconscious effort to simplify whenever possible. By this means man identifies objects or events by their criterial attributes as he understands them from conceptual organization and classification.

The following are examples of body actions that can be used with a derived meaning:

(30) KAP *masira a lub*

‘to be discouraged’

be.destroyed LK inside
Deixis is a system that relates entities to a reference point (Comrie 1985). In a broader sense, Fillmore (1966) defines it as an aspect of language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance, such as time, location of the speaker, and the identity of the speaker in relation to its intended audience.

The categories in language that need to make use of a reference point in order to be meaningful are tense, demonstratives, and pronouns. In all these categories, the speaker is the reference point. As the time of speech, which is 'now', is established, the past and the future may be located in time; as the place where the speaker is, namely 'here', is indicated, the 'there' may be known; as the speaker is designated with the 'I' pronoun, the hearer and the one spoken of many be properly identified. As the role of speaker changes in any speech situation, so the referents for the 'here, now', and 'I' also change.

A part of the lexicon that exhibits a high tendency for deixis is kinship. A table is a table to everyone, but a father can be such only to the speaker who is his offspring, whether by blood or affinity. This speaker-centered feature of deixis as a linguistic category supports the concept of anthropocentrism (a logical consequence since only man can make use of spoken language).

The sensory system

Sense perception plays a significant role in meaning derivation. Words used to describe sense perception (visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, and gustatory) can be used to describe abstract concepts such as will, determination, time, pride, disposition, values, and the like. Figure 2 shows how sensory words are classified. (Cf. figs. 3 and 4 at the end of this article in which the sensory subsystem is included.)

Visual

A large proportion of the sensory system words fall under 'visual'. These words are subdivided into those indicating position, direction, and composition. Position words indicate the location of an entry. Direction words indicate some movement towards a particular direction. (Location is static in contrast
with direction, which is dynamic.) Composition words are descriptive in nature, focusing on qualitative content.

![SENSORY SYSTEM]

- visual
- olfactory
- auditory
- gustatory
- tactile
  - composition
  - direction
  - position
  - weight
  - texture

**Figure 2.** Classification of words in the sensory system.

Examples of position words:

(33) **KAP** malalam a kapampangan
depth in Kapampangan

**JAP** kotoba no imi ga fukai
word of meaning deep

'Kapampangan that is difficult to understand.'

(34) **KAP** maulilid a gowa'
righteous in actions

**JAP** seikaku ga massugu
character straight

'Righteous in one's actions'

(35) **KAP** mababo a kabaldugan
meaning shallow

**JAP** anohito wa kan-gae ga asai
that person thought swallow

'That person is simple-minded.'

(36) **KAP** malapit a lub
inside near

**JAP** kimochi ga chikai
feeling near

'amiable, friendly'
Examples of direction words:

(38) KAP babalik king isa' returning to one

JAP kodomo ni modoru child MK return

(39) KAP manabu king kasalanan to.fall to sin

JAP tsumi ni ochiru sin MK drop

(40) KAP mitauli king byai belate for trip

JAP oyomeni ikiokuremasu bride belate

(41) KAP lalakad ing oras walking the time

JAP jikan ga toorisugimasu time MK passes

Examples of composition words:

(42) KAP matuling a kalulwa black LK soul

JAP hara ga kuroi stomach MK black

(43) KAP babai woman

JAP onna woman

(44) KAP pamisanmetung oneness

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5 Holy Week in the religious calendar of the Catholics has a movable date. When it is in early March, it is described as mababa 'low'; and when it is in middle or late April, it is matas 'high'.
4.2.2 Olfactory

(47) **KAP** mabuluk a istorya
ill.smelling LK story

**JAP** kusai hanashi
ill.smelling story

4.2.3 Auditory

(48) **KAP** masigla a anak
noisy LK child

4.2.4 Gustatory

(49) **KAP** mayumu a lawe
sweet LK glance

**JAP** amai kao o shiie imasu
sweet face MK being

4.2.5 Tactile

Tactile words are subdivided into those indicating texture and those indicating weight.

Examples of texture words:

(50) **KAP** maysas a lupa
hard LK face

**JAP** hyoojoo ga katai
expression MK hard

(51) **KAP** marimla ya kanaku
cold he to.me

**JAP** anohito ga tsumetai kao o shiie imasu
that.person MK cold face MK being

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAP</th>
<th>hitotsu ni naru one MK become</th>
<th>'to be united into one'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>paralan road</td>
<td>'method'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP</td>
<td>michi road</td>
<td>'one method, one way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP</td>
<td>kao ga aozameru face MK become blue</td>
<td>'to become pale in the face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>mabuluk a istorya ill.smelling LK story</td>
<td>'unpleasant story'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP</td>
<td>kusai hanashi ill.smelling story</td>
<td>'suspicious kind of story'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>masigla a anak noisy LK child</td>
<td>'jolly child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>mayumu a lawe sweet LK glance</td>
<td>'a glance showing affection'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP</td>
<td>amai kao o shiie imasu sweet face MK being</td>
<td>'showing fondness for someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>masyas a lupa hard LK face</td>
<td>'someone projecting an impersonal character'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP</td>
<td>hyoojoo ga katai expression MK hard</td>
<td>'someone finding himself in an unpleasant situation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>marimla ya kanaku cold he to.me</td>
<td>'He seems unfriendly to me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP</td>
<td>anohito ga tsumetai kao o shiie imasu that.person MK cold face MK being</td>
<td>'That person seems unfriendly.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of tactile words:

(52) KAP  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kapampangan</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mabayat a</td>
<td>byooki ga</td>
<td>‘a serious problem’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problema</td>
<td>omoi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>illness MK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK problem</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(53) KAP  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kapampangan</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mayan a</td>
<td>anohito wa</td>
<td>‘light-handed (said of a doctor who is very careful not to cause the patient any pain)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamat</td>
<td>kanui hito desu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light</td>
<td>that.person MK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK hand</td>
<td>light person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person COP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(54) JAP  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kega ga</td>
<td>‘slight in injury’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>injury</td>
<td>MK light</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some very interesting inferences can be made from a lexical analysis of expressions under the sensory system, both in Kapampangan and Japanese:

(a) The moral qualities of a person can be distinguished by the use of colors, for example, Kap maputi (a kalulwa) ‘white soul; morally good’ and matuling (a kalulwa) ‘black soul; morally bad’. In Japanese, the latter idea is expressed as hara ga kuroi ‘stomach is black; morally bad’.

(b) The complexity of a subject matter can be described in terms of depth, for example, Kap malalam ‘deep; difficult to understand’ and mababo ‘shallow; superficial in treatment’. In Japanese, kotoba no imi ga fukai, fukai means ‘having many meanings’.

(c) Familiarity can be distinguished in terms of distance, for example, Kap marayu’ far; indifferent’ and malapit ‘near; friendly’. In Japanese, chikai ‘near’ and tooi ‘far’ can be used similarly, as in kimochi ga chikai ‘close feeling; familiar feeling’.

(d) Righteousness is pictured linearly as in matulid ‘straight; doing the right thing.’ In Japanese, this idea is expressed in seikaku ga massugu ‘living a righteous life’.

(e) The extent of how far an activity is completed can be viewed as ‘full’ or ‘lacking’: kapmuan ‘to fill up; to make up for some inadequacy’. In Japanese, a similar expression is kare wa atama ga tarimasen ‘he is not too smart’.

(f) Behavior may be viewed in terms of texture as in magaspar ‘rough to touch; unrefined manners’ and mapinu ‘smooth to touch; refined’. In Japanese, the similar expression is anohito wa kine ga komakai ‘the texture of that man is fine; that man has refined manners’. Another example is monogoshi ga yawarakai ‘soft movements; with refined manners’.

(g) The effect of strain on a person can be described as either ‘heavy’ (Kap mabayat; Jap omoi) or ‘light’ (Kap mayan; Jap karui). Kapampangan examples using mabayat are mabayat a problema ‘heavy problem; serious problem’, mabayat a sakit ‘heavy illness; serious illness’, and mabayat a parusa ‘heavy punishment; intense punishment’. Some Japanese examples of omoi and karui are kega ga karui ‘injury is light; slightly injured’; ongaku ga karui ‘light music; relaxing music’; anohito wa kanui hito desu ‘that person is light; that person is not serious about anything’.
An interesting point of contrast between Kapampangan and Japanese is the change in the system or subsystem used in expressing one particular meaning. For example, to express the idea of disappointment, Kapampangan uses the gustatory subsystem in the expression *maslarn a lupa* 'sour face; face showing disappointment', while Japanese uses the visual (composition) in the expression *kao ga aozameru* 'face is pale blue; face shows disappointment'. Other examples:

(55) JAP *amai kao o suru*
    sweet face MK be
    'cute face (as when talking to a child)'

(56) JAP *amai kao o shite inu*
    sweet face MK being
    'showing fondness for someone'

In example 57, the gustatory subsystem is used for Kapampangan whereas the tactile is used for Japanese:

(57) KAP *matbang a lub*
    bland LK inside
    'feeling lazy, unmotivated'

    JAP *ki ga omoi*
    feeling MK heavy
    'feeling lazy, unmotivated'

Committing bad deeds is expressed in Kapampangan as a vertical downward movement, whereas in Japanese it is expressed as a process of entering a place:

(58) KAP *manabu king kasalanan*
    fall into sin
    'to commit sin'

    JAP *akuji ni hairi komu*
    bad.deeds MK enter
    'to do bad deeds'

To express moral integrity, especially for a woman, Kapampangan uses the visual subsystem, whereas Japanese uses the tactile:

(59) KAP *malinis a babai*
    clean LK woman
    'moral woman'

    JAP *katai hito*
    hard person
    'moral person'

To summarize the use of physical features to express something not necessarily physical, the following is a list of abstractions given a physicalist expression:

- **moral quality** connoted by color
- **complexity** connoted by depth
- **familiarity** connoted by distance from the self
- **righteousness** connoted by linear characterization
- **behavior** connoted by texture
- **effect of strain** connoted by weight

The interesting question at this point is how such physical descriptions have come to be associated with such abstractions. For example, how did Kap *mabayat* and Jap *omoi* in example 52 come to mean 'serious' (as in serious illness or serious problem)? In a discussion by Wittgenstein (1973) on pictorial form, he says:
We picture facts to ourselves. A picture presents a situation in logical space, the existence and nonexistence of states of affairs.

A picture is a fact. The fact that the elements of a picture are related to one another in a determinate way represents that things are related to one another in the same way.

The use of the term 'picture' strongly indicates the tendency to visualize facts as though they are concrete entities with shape and form. The elements are given physical attributes with their relationships corresponding in a systematic way consistent to the assumed physical attributes. Thus mahayat or omoi is used to describe the strain or burden on a person's mental or psychological condition in the same way that carrying a heavy load is a strain on a person's physical strength.

However, what cannot be explained in a logical way is why the category of weight came to refer to the severity of an illness or a problem. This question has similarly been raised in the analysis of the eminence of the right hand. Hertz (1978) shows the inadequacy of the anatomical reason as an explanation. He concludes that there should be a compatibility between the physical and social aspects to explain the behavior of the human body. For this reason, conventions based on behavioral patterns are considered culture specific; for though they can sometimes be explained on the basis of pragmatic value, in other cases they cannot.

4.3 The plant life system

Since plants exist in the immediate environment of both Kapampangan and Japanese speakers, it is not surprising that plant life is used in meaning derivation. For example, the idea of a 'fruit' in reference to the result of an action or effort is common:

(60) KAP mamungang mayap bear.fruit good

JAP kare no doryoku ga minoru his MK effort MK bear.fruit

The word 'root,' the source of the life of a plant, is used to mean the origin of a particular quality:

(61) KAP nung nanu ya ing yamut ya ing bunga if what it the root it the fruit Referring to the similarity between a child and his parents.

JAP ne ga fukai root MK deep Referring to the complexity of a problem.

A person's place of origin may be indicated by likening it to the early stage of a plant growing in a particular place:

(62) KAP tubu Menila' sprout Manila

JAP Hokkaido no de desu Hoddaido MK dome out 'someone originally from Manila'

(63) JAP me ga deru sprout MK come out 'someone originally from Hokkaido'

(64) JAP ii tane o maku good seed MK sow Said of a person's developing qualities, which are likened to the sprouting of a new plant.

'...to do good with the expectation of gaining something beneficial in return'
In Kapampangan, words may show the correspondence between the plant life system and the human body system by describing the agricultural event in human terms:

(65) KAP \textit{mabukut ing pale} pregnant the rice plant 'The rice plant is in fruit (is ready for harvest).'

The stage of bearing the fruit is likened to being pregnant in example 65. Prior to that stage, when the seeds are not yet ripe, one can say:

(66) KAP \textit{e pa mibait} not yet born 'The rice is not yet ripe for picking'

The following is another example of plant life being described in terms of human behavior: 	extit{mala-marine}, a kind of grass that folds up its leaves when touched, is said to be 	extit{marine} 'being shy', literally 'to be ashamed'.

4.4 The family system

The concept of family can be extended to describe a corresponding relationship. In a literal family, a number of criteria are used to identify family members, for example, physical appearance, age, and size. These features inspire extended meanings applied to other systems, conveying the idea of relatedness. For example, in the classification of languages the concept of family has been very useful; terms such as 'mother language' and 'sister language' are used. (It is difficult to explain why only female kin terms are used when referring to language.)

In Kapampangan, reference to the family system is made when one describes the relationship between the Philippine fruits \textit{guyabano} and \textit{atis} as cousins since, in spite of their differences in size and taste, their common structure of many seeds and their arrangement attest to their close relationship. The same is said of citrus fruits like the orange, grapefruit, and the Japanese \textit{mikan}, which are different from each other but also share many features in common.

The family system in Japanese is very important as is evident in the number of expressions that make use of it. The \textit{oyabun-kobun} relationship in a company is a perfect example. In this vertical stratification, the superior is perceived as a father or parent while the junior employee is considered the child of the family. Chie Nakane (1970) explains that such a relationship is characterized by specific roles and responsibilities from each member just as in a family. Other examples in Japanese are:

(67) JAP \textit{take no ko} bamboo of child 'bamboo shoots'

(68) JAP \textit{tarako} fish child 'egg of cod (a species of fish')

(69) \textit{ki no ko} tree of child 'mushroom'

(70) \textit{shimai toshi} sister city 'a city with which another city establishes close ties in the form of cultural and commercial exchange'

(71) \textit{shimai sen} sister ship 'a ship that shares some similarities with another ship, such as a common owner or similar structural features'
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(72) *bosen*  
*mother.ship*  
‘the biggest ship in a group of fishing boats; the ship that hauls in the big catch and where initial processing is done’

(73) *okayu no obaasan*  
*porridge of grandmother*  
‘porridge cooked with less water than usual, making the rice harder in texture’

(74) *boko*  
*mother.school*  
‘alma mater; school from which one graduates’

(75) *oya yubi*  
*parent finger*  
‘thumb’

*ko yubi*  
*child finger*  
‘little finger’

4.5 Other possible systems

In both Kapampangan and Japanese, the day cycle system can be used to refer to the stages of a person’s life. This is done in everyday language and even more so in literary expression. Thus, the rising of the sun is likened to a person’s birth or early stages of his life. Noon corresponds to the peak of one’s life, a stage of intense activity and vigor when vital decisions are made. In Kapampangan, the word is *kapalipaliyan*, derived from *pali* ‘heat’ and morphologically modified to mean ‘in its hottest stage’. To refer to the peak of a party or a day’s activities, one can say:

(76) KAP *kapalipaliyan na ning anyang dinatang ya*  
The party was at its peak when he hottest it of party when came he came.

The years of old age and subsequent death are likened to the setting of the sun.

There is no limit to the number of systems a person can use to derive meanings. Such use of a system may be generally understood or it may be one individual’s usage only. In the latter case, an explanation from him may be necessary. Most systems used in this way are a part of the cultural milieu: the seasons, houses, modes of dressing, and the like.

For a Kapampangan speaker, aspects of the Christian religion are often used as a basis for derived expressions:

(77) KAP *iyan ing pupusanan nang krus*  
*that the carrying pr,LK cross*  
‘That is the cross she carries.’

(78) KAP *i Karlos pala ing ubingan*  
*ART Carlos PA the snake*  
‘Carlos is the traitor.’

The deceptive, cunning snake in the garden of Eden refers to a traitor or pretentious villain.

In Japanese, Buddhism and the traditional kimono are used as a basis for meaning derivation, for example:

(79) JAP *Nyorai no kin-gen*  
*god of golden.words*  
‘words of truth from a god’

(Nyorai is a high-ranking deity in Buddhism.) The reference is to someone speaking with wisdom, saying what is generally accepted as true.
The left and right side extensions of a building, extending downward from a higher level are called *sode* in Japanese, *sode* being the vertical extended part of the sleeves in the kimono. In English, these parts of the building are called ‘wings’, with reference to bird wings.

To express inappropriateness, Japanese may use the following analogy: too short to serve as a sash (in a kimono), too long to serve as a cord (used by workers or warriors dressed in the traditional kimono to tie up the wide sleeves, which would give the arms and hand unimpeded movement).

(80) JAP  obi ni mijikashi tasuki ni nagashi  
sash MK short  cord MK long  
‘too short for a sash, too long for a cord’

5. Grammatical features that support the Systems Correspondence Theory

In sections 1-4, the application of the Systems Correspondence Theory was focused on the lexical features of Kapampangan and Japanese. In this section, certain grammatical features of Japanese that support the SCT will be considered. (A linguistic feature is said to be grammatical if its recurrence is relevant to the pattern of usage and not so much to its individual occurrence.) All the examples cited in this section are Japanese.

5.1 Classifiers

A classifier is a syntactic or grammatical feature wherein nouns are grouped together and marked according to a certain feature shared by them.

In Japanese, the use of classifiers, although this is apparently a borrowing from Chinese, is one kind of evidence supporting the significance of physical features in grouping or classifying a collection of nouns. Thus, tall thin objects are counted with the classifier *-hon*, those that come in pairs with *-soku*, animals with *-hiki*, food or drink in cups with *-hai*, and so on. The importance given to perceivable features is obvious when there is a shift in the choice of classifier for the same object presented in a different fashion. For example, beer in a bottle will be counted *ippong*6 ‘one’, *nihon* ‘two’; but beer in a drinking cup will be *ippai*7 ‘one’, *nihai* ‘two’. It is obvious that the liquid object is classified according to the shape of its container. In the same way, medicine that comes in the form of pills is counted with the classifier *tsubu*, but bottled syrup is counted with *-hon*, the bottle being perceived as long. The elongated banana is counted with *-hon*, but the apple is counted with *-ko*, the classifier for spherical, small objects, such as certain fruits.

My thesis is further supported by the fact that no recurrent classifier is used with abstract nouns since no physical feature can be used as a basis for classification. Examples 81-83 do not use any classifier:

(81) JAP  hitotsu no kan-gae  
one MK thought  
‘one thought; one idea’

(82) ichian  
one.suggestion  
‘one suggestion’

(83) itten  
one.point  
‘one point’

6 In *ippong*, the classifier is changed to *-pon*, which is an allomorph of *-hon*.

7 In *ippai*, the classifier is changed to *-pai*, which is an allomorph of *-hai*.
5.2 tokoro

In the following examples, tokoro means 'place':

(84) \textit{kado o magatta tokoro ni} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{hon-ya ga arimasu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{There is a bookstore at the turn of the corner.}

\textit{kado o magatta tokoro ni} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{corner MK turn place MK} \\
\textit{hon-ya ga arimasu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{bookstore MK there}

In examples 85a-e, however, tokoro expresses a state, a point in time, or a moment, instead of a physical location.

(85a) \textit{ima dekakeru tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{I am just (now) going to go out.}

\textit{ima dekakeru tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{now go.out place COP}

(85b) \textit{ima benkyoo shite iru tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{I am studying now.}

\textit{ima benkyoo shite iru tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{now study doing place COP}

(85c) \textit{kyoo benkyoo shite iita} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{I was studying when my friend came.}

\textit{kyoo benkyoo shite iita} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{today was.studying tokoro ni tomodachi ga kita place MK friend MK came}

(85d) \textit{isogashii tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{I am busy.}

\textit{isogashii tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{busy place COP}

(85e) \textit{okita tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{I just got up (from bed).}

\textit{okita tokoro desu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{got.up place COP}

The foregoing examples show the close correlation between time and space as explained earlier (sec. 3.2). The usual meaning of tokoro 'place' is translated into time as one travels the space from the starting point to the end point of one activity or state.

5.3 Direction on compound verbs with kuru and iku

One syntactic feature peculiar to Japanese is the occurrence of compound verbs. In consonance with the thesis of this article, the compound verbs considered here are limited to those whose second member is either \textit{kum} or \textit{iku}. These two verbs were chosen because of their directional meaning, which extends to nonliteral application. Two other verbs of a similar nature are \textit{oku} and \textit{komu}, which the writer reserves for future study.

The directional meaning of \textit{kuru} and \textit{iku} can be considered under the deictic category of language. The reference point is the speaker. Everything towards the direction of the speaker will be labelled by him as \textit{kuru}; away from him is \textit{iku}.

The literal meaning of coming and going is used in the following:

(86a) \textit{mite kimashita (kuru)} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{‘came to see’}

\textit{mite kimashita (kuru)} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{see came}

(86b) \textit{motte kimasu (ku ru)} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{‘bring’}

\textit{motte kimasu (ku ru)} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{bring come}
The idea of coming and going with the speaker as referent may be extended to express aspect in the realm of experience. Generally, the perfective aspect is indicated by *kuru* and the imperfective by *iku*. An action or experience is said to be completed when it reaches the speaker, here considered the goal. The speaker as the source of an action or experience indicates an uncompleted state. The experience of becoming or having become is aspectually qualified with the use of these two verbs.

In contrast, the single verb *naru* implies an objective natural result of becoming from one state to another. In examples 88a and 88b the normal pattern of changes in the season account for the result of 'becoming hot':
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**Systems Correspondence Theory**

![Diagram of Systems Correspondence Theory]

- **Anthropocentrism**
- **Plant**
- **Day**
- **Family**
- **Religion**
- **Seasons**
  - **Christianity**

**Body Parts**
- **Body Function**
- **Sensory**
  - **Visual**
  - **Olfactory**
  - **Auditory**
  - **Gustatory**
  - **Tactile**
    - **Position**
    - **Direction**
    - **Composition**
    - **Texture**
    - **Weight**

*Fig. 3. A visual representation of the Systems Correspondence Theory based on Kapampangan.*

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8 Christianity is not the only religion known to a Kapampangan speaker. It is represented in the diagram for the sake of comparison with Buddhism. For the same reason, in figure 4 'winter' is listed under 'seasons' for the SCT based on Japanese. Note that the unlabeled lines in figures 3 and 4 represent the other possible systems that comprise a person's conceptual repertoire.
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**Systems Correspondence Theory**

![Diagram of Systems Correspondence Theory](image)

Fig. 4. A visual representation of the Systems Correspondence Theory based on Japanese.
References


Wallace, Stephen. 1982. Figure and ground: the interrelationships of linguistic categories. In *Tense-aspect between semantics and pragmatics*, ed. by Paul Hopper. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.