The conceptual structure of Basque *buru* 'head'[i]

IRAIDE IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO*

1. HOW MANY MEANINGS DOES *BURU* CONVEY?

Buru is the Basque word for *head*. The word *head* is described in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* as "the upper or anterior division of the animal body that contains the brain, the chief sense organs, and the mouth". This definition corresponds to the prototypical[ii] understanding of the word *head* as illustrated in (1) but it is only one of the possible meanings of this word.

(1) *Mutil   horrek   buru handia dauka*
     boy   that:ERG   head big:ABS has
     'That boy has a big head'

Buru can also mean 'top or summit' as in *mendiburu* 'lit. mountain top'; 'ear of corn' as in *artaburu* (lit. 'corn head'); 'important place' as in *mahaiburu* 'head of the table'; 'hair' as in *buruorratz* 'hairpin'; 'boss, leader' as in *buruzagi*; 'end, conclusion' as in *buru eman* 'to conclude' (lit. head give); 'intelligence' as in *buruargi* (lit. head light); and 'self' as in *burumaisu* 'self-taught person' (lit. head teacher).

This small selection of but a few of the many meanings conveyed by the word *buru* in Basque must be taken as an indication of how richly polyse-

[ii] I use 'prototypical' following Rosch's approach to categorisation where the prototype is the typical member of a category to which other members are related in a motivated way (Rosch 1977, 1978). Other authors refer to the prototypical meaning as the 'ideal' meaning (Herskovits 1986), and the 'primary nuclear sense' (Austin 1961).

mous this word actually is. Dictionaries (see bibliography) have pages and pages on this entry and its possible compounds and derivations, but they do not discuss either why these meanings are conveyed by this word, or what possible relations they hold among themselves. The following is a summary of the main meanings attributed to *buru* in the dictionaries consulted[iii]:

(i) *Buru* as top, summit (HM, EHL, GALW, OEH, AZ, MM)

    (2) *Mendiburura*   *igo*   *ginen*
         mountain.head:ALL   ascend:PER   aux
         'We climbed to the top of the mountain'

(ii) *Buru* as tassel (of grain); ear (of corn); bulb (EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM)

    (3) *Gaur*   *artaburuak*   *jan*   *ditugu*
         today   corn.head:PL:ABS   eat:PER   aux
         'Today we ate corn on the cob'

(iii) *Buru* as end, conclusion (EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM)

    (4) *Nola*   *eman*   *behar zioten buru*   *asmoari*?
         how   give:PER   must   aux   head:ABS   plan:DAT
         How were they going to finish the plan? (EHL)

(iv) *Buru* as important location, person (EHL, GALW, OEH, AZ, MM)

    (5) *Erriburu*   *eta*   *ikasburu.*   *Biak*   *buru,*   *ta*
         ez   *bat bestea*   *baino*   *buruago*
         town.head:ABS and   school.buru:ABS   two:PL:ABS head:ABS eta
         NEG   one other:ABS   more   head.than
         'The major and the teacher. Both are important, and none more important than each other' (OEH)

(v) *Buru* as lintel, part of a door frame (GALW)

    (6) *Ateburuan*   *karteltxo*   *bat*   *ipini*   *du*
         door.head:LOC   notice   one   put:PER   aux
         'S/He has put a notice on the lintel' (GALW)

(vi) *Buru* as boss, leader, chief, superior, chairperson, president (HM, EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM)

    (7) *Nor*   *da*   *etxe*   *honetako*   *burua*?
         who:ABS   is   house   this:ADN   head:ABS
         'Who is the head of this house?' (HM)

(vii) *Buru* as head of cattle, unit, person or people (HM, EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM)

    (8) *Hogei*   *buru*   *dituzte*   *abeltegi*   *hartan*
         twenty head:ABS   have   farm   that:LOC
         'There are twenty animals in that farm' (HM)

[iii] After each meaning and example there is a code that identifies its source (dictionary or corpus).

(9) *Besteren   buruan   kalte   au   ikusi   ta   nola*
begiak   argitzen   ez   dituzu?
other:GEN   head:LOC   harm   this   see:PER   and   how
eyes:ABS   clear:HAB   NEG   aux
'You have seen other people hurt, and how come you haven't
realised it?' (OEH)

(viii) *Buru* as self (reflexive pronoun) (HM, EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM).
The reflexive pronouns in Basque are constructed by combining *buru* plus
the article *–a* with strong genitives[iv]:

(10) *Hark   bere   burua   larri   ikusi   zuen*
he:ERG   he:GEN   head:ABS   worried   see:PER   aux
'S/He saw her/himself in trouble' (HM)

(ix) *Buru* as intelligence, common sense, talent, memory (HM, EHL, GALW,
IS, OEH, AZ, MM)

(11) *Emakume   buruargia   eta   bipila*
woman   head.light:ABS   and   brave:ABS
'An intelligent and courageous woman' (IS)

(x) *Buru* as extremity opposed to end; side (EHL, IS, OEH, MM)

(12) *Ezpataren   burua*
sword:GEN   head:ABS
'The pommel of the sword' (EHL)

(13) *Buru   batetik   zor   nauzue ehun   libera,*
bertzetik   berrehun
head   one:ABL   owe   aux   hundred   franc:ABS
other:ABL   two hundred:ABS
'On the one hand you owe me a hundred francs, and on the
other two hundred' (OEH)

(xi) *Buru* as beginning, origin, title, headline (EHL, IS, OEH, MM)

(14) *Hitz   buruan   maiz   aurkitzen   da   b-,d-,g-,/p-,t-,k-*
aldaera
word   head:LOC   often   find:HAB   aux   b-,d-,g-,/p-,t-,k-
variation:ABS
'The variation b-, d-, g-, / p-, t-, k- is often found at the begin-
ning of the word' (IS)

(xii) *Buru* as book chapter (EHL, IS, OEH)

(15) *Bigarren   burua.   Sigifredo   kondea   gerrara*
second   head:ABS   sigifredo   count:ABS   war:ALL
'The second chapter: Count Sigifredo goes to war' (OEH)

---

iv See Rebuschi (1995, 1993) for a discussion of the usage of weak and strong genitives in this con-
struction. In some Bizkaian and early Northern writers it can be used without the possessive
(Euskaltzaindia 1991: 62).

(xiii) *Buru* as hair (OEH)

(16) *Burua   orazten   dut*
head:ABS   comb:HAB   aux
'I comb my hair'

(xiv) *Buru* in the instrumental case[v] and preceded by a noun in the dative case corresponds to the preposition 'about' in English as in (17), but it can also have the spatial meaning 'in the direction of[vi]' (HM, EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM).

(17) *Ekonomiari   buruz   hitzegin   zuen   hizlariak*
economy:DAT head:INST word.make:PER aux   speaker:ERG
'The speaker talked about the economy' (HM)

(18) *Zaharrenari   buruz   erran   dut*
old:SUP:DAT   head:INST   say:PER   aux
'I said it directing myself to the oldest' (AZ)

(xv) *Buru* in the locative case and preceded by a noun in the genitive case is also used in temporal expressions in the sense of 'after' (HM, EHL, GALW, IS, OEH, AZ, MM).

(19) *Lau   egunen   buruan   joan   zen*
four   day:GEN   head:LOC   go   aux.3SG
'He left after four days', (HM)

This list contains a wide variety of apparently unrelated meanings that range from the purely physical meaning of head as a body part to other more abstract ones such as 'intelligence' and 'the self'. There are opposite meanings such as 'end' and 'beginning', and even 'center'; and senses as disparate as 'hair', 'door lintel', and 'leader'. Judging from the way these fifteen meanings are presented in the dictionaries consulted, one might think that the only connection among them is that they all contain the word *buru.* However, a word does not just acquire any new meaning. As many cognitive linguists have widely shown, the relation between the various senses of a given word is not arbitrary but systematic and natural. This relation is motivated by our own conceptualisation and experience of the world ('embodiment', Johnson 1987) and structured by different cognitive devices such as metonymy and metaphor.

The goal of this paper is therefore to show: (i) how the senses of *buru* discussed above are systematically related and bound to the prototypical meaning of *buru* as a body part; (ii) what tools we need in order to give a coherent structure to those meanings.

This paper also provides some data in favour of recent proposals which discuss the importance of metonymy in the experiential grounding of

---

[v] It is important to notice that the possible meanings convey by *buru* in the instrumental case are not restricted to these two. *Buruz* on its own can mean 'by heart', 'with the head', 'on one's own initiative'.

[vi] This sense is restricted to Labourdin dialect. In Eastern dialects, the same meaning can be expressed by the postposition with *buru* in the instrumental case but governed by a noun in the allative case (see Euskaltzaindia 1991: 300).

metaphors (Barcelona 1997, 2000a; Goosens 1990; Radden 2000; Kövecses and Radden 1998) and that of the semantic packaging of single predicates (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999). The following section offers a brief account of the theoretical framework in which this paper is grounded.

The examples used in this article come from two sources: bilingual and monolingual dictionaries (see References), and the Present-day Basque Reference Corpus (EEBS)[vii]. EEBS is made available by the Basque Centre for Terminology and Lexicography (UZEI) and the Royal Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia). This corpus contains everything published in Basque from 1900 to 1995 and it is updated annually. It makes up to a total of 3,553,000 forms. There are 12,144 entries for *buru*.

2. SOME NOTES ON THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Lexical Networks

Polysemy is the term used in semantic analysis to describe the situation in which a word has two or more related senses. Its study has been one of the major research topics in Cognitive Linguistics. A possible tool to describe the different but related meanings of single predicates within this framework is the use of 'lexical networks'. These are structures that graphically show the relations among the different senses on the basis of how far they are conceptually situated from each other and of how they are interconnected. Rice (1996: 136) describes them as:

"[…] integrated structures containing multiple, linked nodes. These nodes are ambiguously taken to represent either separate senses or separate usage types of the lexeme in question. […] The nodes extend out from a central node whose value is commonly taken to be the prototype of the entire lexical category. […] The nodes are understood to be situated conceptually at varying distances from one another and from the semantic center".

There are different models for lexical networks, but perhaps two of the most adopted ones are Lakoff's (1987) and Langacker's (1991, 2000). Lakoff's proposal is based on a radial structure for conceptual categories. The different senses of a given word "form a radially structured category, with a central member and links defined by image-schema transformations and metaphors" (1987: 460). The prototype or central member of a category can be predicted; non-central members, on the other hand, are not predictable, but they are motivated by the family resemblances with the prototype[viii]. Langacker's model also adopts the notion of prototype but only as a 'special case' (1991: 266). In his view a single structure can develop "an elaborate net-

---

[viii] Perhaps one of the major problems that this Lakoffian network faces is the explanation of how this prototype or core meaning, out of which all other members extend, is determined. For instance, in the case of the preposition *over* the proposed central sense is 'above-across' (Brugman 1981, Lakoff 1987). However, studies on language acquisition have shown not only that this sense is not very productive in the array of usages of the preposition *over*, but also that the sparse cases found are only acquired at a later stage (Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Serratrice 1999). Such data suggest the need of stronger cognitive and psychological backup for core senses.

work comprising any number of conventional units linked by categorising relationships" (2000: 12). In other words, the members of a linguistic category are understood as nodes of a network. These nodes are related to each other by three main categorising relationships: extension from a prototype[ix], schematisation (extraction of schemas), and instantiation (articulation of some more general units into more specific ones).

Lexical networks are a very useful and clear device for representing the various senses of a word and the relations that hold among them. They show which meanings are directly linked to each other, what the conceptual distances between these meanings are, and how these meanings are organised in a structure with a centre and a periphery[x].

Despite these advantages lexical networks also posit some problems and weaknesses. Sandra and Rice (1995) point out that the basic problem with lexical networks is their lack of explicitness at different levels. These authors argue that existing analyses of lexical networks[xi] are too vague when it comes to describing: (i) the methodology they use to identify the different meanings; (ii) the representational conventions of the networks; (iii) the linguistic and cognitive status of the senses (whether they are semantic or referential distinctions; the psychological or conceptual specifics of the networks).

In this paper I will adopt the lexical network model as the main means to graphically represent the relationships between the group of meanings introduced in Section 1. Although I am aware that these models present some weaknesses, I think they are suitable for the representation of the connections and relations of the polysemes in *buru*, and therefore, I leave for future research a deeper discussion of such models. Nevertheless I focus on two aspects that have not been discussed enough in previous network analysis: the role of the semantic packaging of the different elements in the predicate, and the importance of metonymy as a categorising relationship.

2.2. Compositional polysemy

One of the characteristics of lexical network models is that they offer a fine-grained analysis of the meanings and usage of the word under investigation. Despite the advantage of providing this high level of granularity, a major shortcoming in these studies is that they do not seem to take into account, as much as they should, the role and influence of the semantics of the other members of the sentence where those lexical items occur.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999) showed how some proposed meanings in Brugman's (1981) analysis of *over* are not only obtained by the semantic content of this preposition, but also by the choice of specific words (verbs, nouns…) whose semantic content was decisive in the distinction of several usages of this preposition[xii]. Sihna and Kuteva (1995) reached a similar conclusion in their

---

[ix] This categorising relationship is similar to Lakoff's radial category "to the extent that the network consists of chains of extensions radiating outward from […] the prototype" (Langacker 2000: 12).

[x] This is in line with one of the main tenets in Cognitive Linguistics which states that categories are organised with respect to a prototype, with more or less central members (see Lakoff 1987 for a discussion).

[xi] These authors mainly refer to analyses of prepositional polysemy such as Brugman (1981), Cuyckens (1991), Herskovits (1986), Lindner (1981) and so on.

[xii] For instance, the difference between *the plane flew over* or *the plane hovered over*; or *Sam walked over your house, Sam climbed over the wall,* or *Sam jumped over the fence.*

analysis of spatial relational meaning in locative particles. They argue that "the spatial relational meaning is not mapped exclusively to the locative particle, but is distributed over the other elements in the syntagm as well" (1995: 170).

In order to solve this problem and make sure that the role of the other elements is recognised in the semantic extensions of *buru*, I have introduced the term 'compositional polysemy'[xiii]. The basic idea is that the different polysemes of a lexical item are obtained through the interaction of the semantic content of both the lexical item itself and its different co-occurring elements. The weight of the semantics of these elements in the creation of polysemes is not always the same, it varies according to the degree of semantic influence of these elements. As we will see later on, this concept will allow us to analyse some meanings of *buru*, treated as different in dictionaries, as instances of the same meaning.

2.3. Metaphor, metonymy, and metonymy-based metaphors

The study of metaphor, and to a lesser extend that of metonymy, has been one of the main research areas in Cognitive Linguistics. Within this framework metaphor and metonymy are two basic imaginative cognitive mechanisms. They are not figures of speech, as they are considered by many traditional objectivist approaches (see, for instance, Halliday 1985: 319-20); not even the result of a wide array of contextual implications, as proposed by Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 231-37; Papafragou 1996; Goatly 1997). In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor and metonymy occupy a central role in thought and language. They are the means by which it is possible "to ground our conceptual systems experientially and to reason in a constrained but creative fashion" (Johnson 1992: 351).

Metaphor and metonymy are defined as "mappings" or "projections" between conceptual domains. These two cognitive devices can be distinguished because the connections made between things are different for each case (Lakoff and Turner 1989). Whereas in metaphor, the mapping is across different experiential domains (Lakoff 1993); in metonymy, on the other hand, the mapping takes place within the same domain.

Metonymy has received less attention than metaphor in Cognitive Semantics. Although early studies, such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989) have mentioned the importance of metonymy in language characterisation, it was not until recently that its study came to be at the core of current investigation[xiv]. This is perhaps the

[xiii] The concept of 'compositional polysemy' stems from that of 'graduable polysemy' (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999). Based on the analysis of perception verbs, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999: 2193-218) establishes and analyses the importance of the elements of a sentence in the creation of the overall meaning in three degrees of compositionality: (i) 'Unpredictable polysemy', when it is not possible to predict what the interpretaion is by means of the choice of arguments; (ii) 'Verb-driven extensions', when it is the verb that mainly governs the choice of arguments and meaning; and (iii) 'argument-driven extensions', when the meaning is mainly determined by the verb arguments and other elements of the sentence. The choice of the different elements is constrained by the 'verb-property requirement' This requirement states that the properties that characterise the different elements that interact with the verb must not violate the prototypical properties that constitute the bodily basis upon which the polysemy of these verbs is based.

[xiv] See for instance papers such as Kövecses and Radden (1998), Radden and Kövecses (1996), or the monographs Barcelona (2000a) and Panther and Radden (1999).

reason why the definition of metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics is still under construction. Most researchers agree on the definition given above, but they disagree on the referential character of metonymy and the relation between the conceptual domains involved[xv].

But perhaps more interesting for our purpose is the description of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. For the past years researchers have, more or less explicitly, discussed the metonymic motivation of metaphors. Goossens (1990) might be the first[xvi] linguist to coin a name for the possible interrelations between metaphor and metonymy. This term is 'metaphtonymy'. It has two dominant patterns: one where the experiential basis for a metaphor is a metonymy ('metaphor from metonymy') and another where a metonymy functioning in the target domain is embedded within a metaphor ('metonymy within metaphor'). In a recent paper, Radden (2000) argues that a great number of metaphors are experientially grounded on metonymies, and proposes what he calls 'metonymy-based metaphors'. These are "mapping[s] involving two conceptual domains which are grounded in, or can be traced back to, one conceptual domain" (2000: 93). Although Radden does not claim that all metaphors are motivated by metonymies, a position taken by Barcelona (2000b), he suggests that a great number of them is. As a consequence Radden proposes a continuum of mapping processes where the traditional notions of metaphor and metonymy are only the prototypical categories at both ends, and metonymy-based metaphors occupy the range in the middle.

In this paper I take this notion of metonymy-based metaphor as the main structuring device of the different polysemes in *buru*. The results obtained in this analysis are a further support for Radden's claims.

3. DIFFERENT CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF *BURU*

In this section I argue that all the senses of *buru* given in the dictionaries form an organised lexical network with three main nodes of extended meanings. These three nodes are structured and linked to the prototypical *buru* by means of three different metonymies: WHOLE FOR PART, ENTITY FOR LOCATION, AND PART FOR WHOLE. These three metonymies conform the conceptual basis for the rest of the semantic extensions in *buru*, which are obtained with the help of other cognitive devices such as metaphor, and compositional polysemy.

3.1. *Buru* and the whole for part Metonymy

The relationship between a thing (in the Langackerian schematic sense) and its parts is widely exploited in metonymy. As Kövecses and Radden (1998: 49) point out "[t]hings, in particular physical objects, are typically conceived of as forming a gestalt with well-delineated boundaries and as internally composed of various parts". This conception of things allows the creation of two metonymic relationships: a part of a whole can stand for the

---

[xv] A detailed discussion on the notions of metaphor and metonymy can be found in Barcelona (1997, 2000c), Gibbs (1994), Ruiz de Mendoza (1999).

[xvi] For a survey of research on metonymy-based metaphors in the literature, see Barcelona (2000c).

whole thing, and a thing as a whole can stand for one of its parts. The former case is also known as synecdoche and I will deal with it in more detail in section 3.3. The latter is the main structuring device in the meanings discussed in this section. In all these cases, the head (the whole) stands for one of its parts: the hair, the front, and the mind.

3.1.1. *Buru as hair*

The hair is part of the head. In some cases, Basque allows the use of the word *buru* to refer to the 'hair'. The metonymy at work is HEAD FOR HAIR[xvii]. That is why we can use the word *buru* in expressions like *buru moztu* 'to cut one's hair' (lit. to cut the head), *buru orraztu* 'to comb one's hair' (lit. to comb the head), and *buruorratz* 'hairpin' (lit. head needle).

3.1.2. *Buru as front*

A very important part of the head is the area where some of our sensory organs, the eyes, the nose and the mouth, are located. These organs allow us to perform some of the basic perceptual processes –vision, smell, and taste– help us to participate in the world in an interactive way. I call all this area the 'front' part of the head[xviii]. Basque allows the use of *buru* to refer to this area, and consequently such expressions are instances of the metonymy HEAD FOR FRONT PART.

This metonymy explains examples like *buruz gora* (lit. head.INST high.ALL) 'upside up'; *buruzbera* (lit. head.INST low.ALL) 'upside down'[xix]; *buruz buru* (head.INST head) 'face to face', which literally means head to head.

Another meaning of *buru* explained via this metonymy is the postpositional use of *buru* with the sense of 'in the direction of' as illustrated in (20) and (21).

(20) *Mendiari   buruz   abiatu   ginen*
     mountain:DAT   head:INST   go:PER   aux
     'We went towards the mountain'

In order to interpret this example correctly, it is necessary to understand what exactly is implied by the concept of front part. As we have just mentioned, this is the place where our main perceptual organs are, and especially the eyes, which permit our vision[xx]. The key to these examples is to realise that when we go towards something, our 'front part' faces ahead. Imagine for exam-

---

[xvii] Svorou (1993: 77) reports of the same metonymy in Navajo and Tarascan, where *'atsii'* and *–ci* respectively refer to both the head and the hair.

[xviii] The choice of the word 'front' instead of 'face', which is the name of this part of the head, is based on two reasons: (i) to contrast it to Allan's (1995) definition of 'back'. This author defines the back as "that part of a body opposite the interactive-side" (1995: 11); consequently, the area described here by 'front' corresponds to that area where the action and the interaction goes on. (ii) To eliminate any possible misleading associations with the lexical item *face* and its meanings in other languages. For instance, the expression in English *face to face* corresponds to Basque *buruz buru* (head.inst head), but the verbalised noun *to face* in English does not correspond to the conceptualisation of the use of *buru* in a sentence like (20) above.

[xix] These examples bring up an interesting question: what is the 'up' and what is the 'down' of a head; and which is the reference point of 'up' and 'down'.

[xx] This link between the face and the eyes is very pervasive in languages like English where expressions such as *to get out of sb's face* in a situation when we do not wish to see the person anymore are very common.

ple that we are going to a shop, which is situated a couple of metres ahead of us. If we are asked to visualise the image of us going there, we will not see ourselves walking with the back of our head facing the shop; quite the opposite, we will see ourselves walking with our front part facing the shop.

The same conceptual process takes place in example (20). What we really imply in this sentence is that we have our front part directed towards the mountain, and that we are going to keep going in that direction, i.e. with our eyes towards the mountain. This explanation also applies to the example that I cite in Section 1 reproduced here as (21), where the subject's focus is on the old man, instead of the mountain. Notice, however, that no motion is implied in this example, just the direction of his focus.

(21) *Zaharrenari   buruz   erran   dut*
    old:SUP:DAT   head:INST   say:PER   aux
    'I said it directing myself to the oldest' (AZ)

Example (22) is different from the two previous ones. In (20) and (21) the object to which we directed our head (front → vision) is a physical entity that can be actually seen. In (22), on the other hand, this object is abstract, death cannot be physically seen. However, the sense in which the postposition in (22) is used is the same as above. Death is understood as a destination and this man is approaching it; this man is metaphorically walking towards it, in the same way as 'we' were walking towards the mountain in example (20).

(22) *Gizona   heriotzari   buruz   doa*
    man:ABS   death:DAT   head:INST   goes
    'The man is approaching his death' (IS)

If the explanation for these meanings holds, it is possible to account for examples like (23) in the same way.

(23) *Ekonomiari   buruz   hitzegin   zuen hizlariak*
    economy:DAT head:INST   word.make:PER aux   speaker:ERG
    'The speaker talked about the economy' (HM)

What we have in (23) is a grammaticalised usage of the same postposition used in the examples above. In (23) the postposition is translated not as 'in the direction of' but as 'about'. Therefore, (23) means that the topic of the talk that this speaker is giving is the economy'. Despite the different translation I argue that the conceptualisation of all these examples is exactly the same, i.e. 'somebody with his front part in the direction of something'. The only difference is that each of them corresponds to a different state of semantic change. Sentences (20) and (21) are semantic extensions of *buru* via the metonymy HEAD FOR FRONT PART. These two cases are the basis for the metaphorical semantic change occurred in (22) via the insertion of an abstract noun like 'death'. Although our goal is no longer physical the meaning of 'in the direction of' is still kept. Finally, (23) is the last stage in this chain. The metaphorical meaning has lost its original connection to the primary sense of 'in the direction of', both physically and metaphorically. The use of this postposition in the sense of 'about' is only a recent incorporation into the language, but it seems to have eclipsed the other meaning which is becoming more and more obsolete (see Villasante 1978: 70-72 for a detailed discussion).

An important issue that has to be borne in mind in cases where this post-position is used in the sense of 'about' is the role that the context and the co-occurring words play in the creation of this meaning. Usually this sense is inferred with verbs that require a topic; for example, *hitzegin* 'to speak', *eztabaidatu* 'to discuss'. And similarly, with nouns which denote a topic, i.e, one can ask the question 'what about?'; for instance, *txosten* 'report', *ikasgai* 'lesson', *azterketa* 'exam' and so on. Therefore, if we modify example (22), and instead of having a verb of motion like *joan* 'to go' (*doa* is the 3rd person singular synthetic form), we insert a verb like *hitzegin* 'to speak' the meaning is no longer 'to go towards' but 'to speak about'. These are cases of Compositional Polysemy (see Section 2.2) because it is only through the semantic interaction of these 'topic' related words with the construction dative+*buruz* that we can obtain such readings.

An interesting topic that needs further investigation is the grammatical construction of this postposition and how it shows the way in which these meanings are conceptualised. The first thing that we have to notice is that *buru* is always inflected in the instrumental case. This means that the head (front part → vision) is the instrument, the means we use in order to carry out whatever we are doing. Therefore, *buruz* would be translated as 'by means of the head (front part → vision)'. The second thing that we have to consider is that the postposition governs an NP in the dative case. The dative case in Basque generally indicates the entity affected by the action. Therefore, the NPs used in the examples above *mendiari* 'mountain.DAT', *zaharrari* 'old man.DAT', *heriotzari* 'death.DAT', and *ekonomiari* 'economy.DAT' would be the entities that are affected by the action carried out with the head (front part → vision). It is very difficult to imagine in what sense these NPs can be affected, but the fact is that the case governed by this postposition is the dative.

According to Euskaltzaindia (1991: 299), in Northern dialects[xxi] there is yet another postposition of *buru* marked for instrumental case with the same physical meaning of 'in the direction of', where the NP is not inflected in the dative but in the allative as in (24).

(24) *Oihanera   buruz   abiatu   ginen*
     forest:ALL   head:INST go:PER   aux
     'We went towards the forest'

Although the meaning is practically the same as in (20), the conceptualisation of these two examples cannot be the same[xxii]. The allative case in Basque expresses the goal of motion, whereas the dative as in (20) expresses the entity that receives the effects of a certain action. This is an area that I will not pursue any further in this paper but that needs to be looked at in depth.

3.1.3. *Buru as mind*

The last sub-type of the WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymy is the HEAD-FOR-MIND case. In folk theory, the mind –the locus for rational thinking, consciousness, intelligence, and common sense– is understood as part of the

---

[xxi] Lhande (1926) regards this use as specifically Souletin, for a different view see Villasante (1978: 71).
[xxii] We could recall here Goldberg's 'Principle of No Synonymy': "If two constructions are syntactically distinct, they must be semantically or pragmatically distinct" (1995: 67).

head[xxiii]. This understanding of the mind as a physical entity with a specific location within the head makes it possible for *buru* to be used in reference to the mind in Basque.

The HEAD FOR MIND metonymy is perhaps one of the most pervasive mappings in body-parts across languages (cf. Pascual 1998-99). In general, the head is being mostly associated with intelligence instead of the mind itself because it is understood as "an attribute connected with the folk theoretical main function of the head, i.e. thinking" (Barcelona 1997: 43). This would imply a different kind of metonymy, i.e. HEAD FOR FUNCTION[xxiv] instead of HEAD FOR MIND. However, I prefer the WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymic relationship between head and mind instead, for two reasons: (i) Judging from the data of our corpus, *buru* does not only refer to intelligence, but also to other attributes associated with the mind such as common sense, thoughts, and wisdom[xxv]; (ii) the spatial relationships implied in the grammatical constructions in which *buru* occurs seem to indicate that the head (mind) is understood as a place where 'things' (ideas, thoughts…) are situated[xxvi].

Once we have established this metonymy of HEAD FOR MIND, a whole new set of different metaphors of the mind begins to get activated. Let us analyse some examples[xxvii].

(25) *Orduan,   buruari   bueltak   emanez   zutaz*
     gogoratu   nintzen
     hour:LOC   head:DAT round:ABS:PL give:PER:INSTR you:INSTR
     remember.PER aux
     'Then, after thinking about it, I remembered you' (EEBS-1183)

In this sentence, we have the metaphorical expression *buruari bueltak eman*, literally 'to turn over to the head'. Here, head –metonymically mapped as the mind– is an object that we can turn over and over again. The metaphor underlying this expression will be THINKING IS TURNING OVER THE MIND REPEATEDLY.

(26) *Horrek   beste   gauzarik   ez   zuen   buruan*
     that:ERG   other   think:PAT   NEG   aux   head:LOC
     'He didn't have anything else in mind' (EHL)

(27) *Ez   zait   burutik   joango   esan   didazuna*
     NEG   aux   head:ABL   go:FUT   say:PER   aux:REL:ABS
     'I won't forget what you told me' (IS)

[xxiii] Sweetser (p.c.) has suggested that these examples may simply be analysed as cases of the conceptual metaphor MIND-AS-BODY (Sweetser 1990), and thus, without the participation of any metonymical mechanism. I, however, prefer to propose a metonymical basis for these meanings before applying a conceptual metaphor such as MIND-AS-BODY. My main reason for this metonymical grounding lies on the folk understanding and conceptualisation of mind as a 'physical' part of the head, and not as 'abstract' concept to denote rational thinking.

[xxiv] Or in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980: ch. 8) terms BODY PART FOR INTELLECTUAL ATTRIBUTES CONVENTIONALLY ASSOCIATED WITH IT.

[xxv] See, for instance, the word *burugabe* 'idiot'. It literally means 'without head' and it refers to any person who lacks all these three attributes: intelligence, common sense and wisdom.

[xxvi] Notice that I used the word 'situated' and not 'contained' (see discussion in Note xxviii).

[xxvii] The metaphors discussed here are only a random selection out of the rich system of metaphors of mind in Basque.

(28) *Ea   zerbait   datorkigun   burura*
     SP   something:ABS   come:1PL:COMP   head:ALL
     'Let's see if we come up with something' (EHL)

In these last three examples we have a different conceptualisation of the head as mind. Whereas sentence (25) refers to the mind as the thinking entity or mechanism, in the latter examples the mind is understood as an area or place where things are stored (sentence 26); a place where things move to and from (sentences 27 and 28).

These examples are explained by means of two main metaphors: MIND AS PLACE[xxviii] and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. On the basis of these two metaphors, we can establish the following connections:

Source	Target
Things are located at* a place	Ideas are located at the mind
Things can leave / be taken from a place	Ideas can leave / be taken from the mind
Things can go / be brought to a place	Ideas can go / be brought to the mind

Table 1: Some correspondences in the mind as place and ideas are objects metaphors

These correspondences between the source and the target domain explain the examples above. The meaning of (26) is 'to have in mind, to remember'. This metaphorical meaning is explained by the first connection in Table 1, where to store ideas in your mind equals to remember about something. Notice that (26) also implies that this person is doing more than just thinking about one thing. He does not have anything else in mind, this example implies that this person might be a little bit obsessed. This connotation, however, is not brought up by the meaning of the expression *buruan izan* 'to have in mind', but by means of 'Compositional polysemy'. The specific meaning in this example is carried out by the negative construction in conjunction with the adjective *beste* 'other'. If we do not use the negative and *beste* as in (29) below, the sentence simply means 'to remember'.

(29) *Adibide   au   euki   bear   da   buruan   meditazino*
     guztietan
     example   this   have   must   aux   head:LOC meditation
     all.LOC
     'This example must be remembered in every meditation' (OEH)

[xxviii] The MIND AS PLACE metaphor that I propose here is a revised version of Lakoff and Johnson's MIND AS CONTAINER metaphor. I have chosen the more general and unspecific term of 'place' for this metaphor instead of 'container' because if we look at the lexical items that we have in these sentences, including the locational cases, none of them seems to specify the head as a container, only as a location, as a place. As I have argued elsewhere (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2001, In prep), containers (hence container schema) are only specific types of areas that do not play such an important role in the conceptualisation of space in Basque (as well as some other languages like Spanish, cf. Bretones, Cristobal and Ibarretxe in press). For example, if we take the locative case in Basque, the only information that we can infer from this spatial relation is that the trajector is situated at some location with respect to a landmark. Whether it is a container or not is only given by the semantics of the word we use as a landmark. This is different in English because the spatial relation of the locative case comprises three specific relations *in* (container), *on* (surface), and *at* (location).

* I have deliberately chosen the preposition at for these correspondences because this preposition seems to be the most neutral one in English in respect to the topological characteristics of the Landmark (either container –in– or surface –on–).

[13]   475

The basic idea that structures the metaphorical meaning in (27) is explained by the second connection in Table 2. Things can leave or be taken from a place corresponds to ideas can leave or be taken from the mind, which in other words means 'to forget'. Again in this case, there are two ways to do so: one person can forget by himself (by allowing ideas to flow out) or a person can be made to forget by an external force (ideas are taken from the person). Example (27) corresponds to the former way. In this sentence, the person is saying that he will not let go from his mind what the other person has told him. In other words, he will not forget. In sentence (30) on the other hand, the person who is uttering this sentence is commenting on how he could not make this person forget –that is, 'take out from his head'– his fanciful stories about witches and related topics.

> (30) *Sorginak   airetan ibiltzen   zirela…   eta   halako*
> *zorokeria   batzu nehork etziozkan burutik   aterako*
> witches:ABS air:LOC walk:HAB aux:COMP   and   this.way
> nonsense   some   I:ERG NEG.aux   head:ABL   takeout:FUT
> 'I couldn't convince him to forget all about flying witches and nonsense like that' (OEH)

The meaning of sentence (28) is 'to occur, to come up with something'. It is an example of the third connection in Table 1. The idea that things can go or be brought to a place equals the idea that ideas can go or be brought to the mind.

Apart from the MIND AS PLACE metaphor, there are other possible metaphors based on the metonymy HEAD FOR MIND. For instance, the MIND AS MACHINE metaphor. This metaphor conceptualises the mind as a "machinelike mechanical system" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 247). If the machine (mind) is working well, it will produce an output (idea, thought). But sometimes the machine can stop working properly. The malfunctioning of a machine may be due to an overload. If we make the machine work more than its capacity can take it might break down as in (31).

> (31) *Ez   zaitez kezkatu,   ez   ezazu burua   hauts!*
> NEG   aux   worry:PER   NEG   aux   head:ABS break
> 'Don't worry, don't break your head!' (EHL)

In (31) the person is worrying too much and as a consequence he is making his mind work too much, which can cause him to 'break it'.

On other occasions machines stop working because there is a problem with an internal component of the machine. If a piece breaks down or if the different components are not arranged properly the machine might not work any more.

> (32) *Zergatik egiten   duzu hori? Burua   nahasi   al   zaizu?*
> why   do:HAB aux that head:ABS mix:PAR INT aux
> 'Why are you doing this for? Have you lost your mind?' (EHL)

In (32) whatever the internal pieces of the machine are have been mixed up, they are not arranged properly, and as a result this person can no longer think properly, he has lost his mind (literally, 'has your head got mixed up').

When we use expressions like *burua nekatu* (lit. tire out the head) 'to rack one's brains' in (33) we are conceptualising the MIND AS A LIVING ENTITY. When a person practices some sport or does any kind of physical exercise this person

usually feels physically tired. In this metaphor what gets tired is not the person but the mind, and the cause is not physical exercise but intellectual exercise.

(33) *Baña,   etxeko   andrea,   burua   orrenbeste nekatzeak*
    on-egingo   al-dio?
    but   house:ADN   woman:ABS   head:ABS   so.much   tire:NOM:ERG
    good-make:FUT   inter-aux
    'But, woman, will it be good for you to rack your brains so much?'
    (EEBS-136)

The structuring, relationships, and interconnections among this group of 'whole for part' meanings of *buru* are graphically represented in the lexical network illustrated in Figure 1.
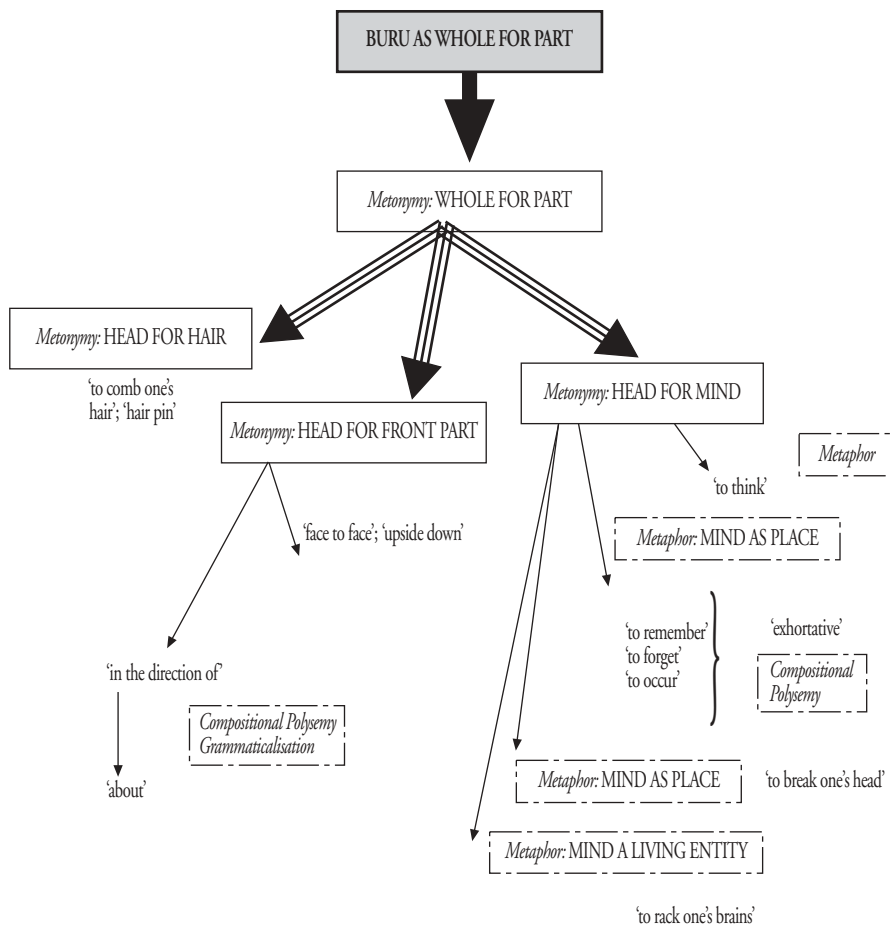

Figure 1: Lexical network of head as whole for part in Basque *buru*

3.2. Buru and the entity for location metonymy

This group of meanings is systematically related to the prototypical meaning of *buru* by means of the metonymy ENTITY FOR LOCATION. This metonymy states that an entity provides access to or stands for the location or place where it is situated. A subcase of this metonymy is BODY-PART FOR LOCATION, where the role of the entity is covered by a body-part. Typological

studies such as Svorou (1993) have shown how pervasive and common this metonymy is in language. According to Svorou's analysis of 55 languages, a number of twenty-five body parts give rise to eleven specific spatial notions[xxix].

In this paper we analyse those cases where the body part is the head. The data we show below seem to indicate that the head in Basque, unlike other languages, is conceptualised in two different ways. On the one hand, it is seen as one of the extremities of the body, and on the other, as the centre of the body. As a consequence *buru* can be used to refer to two spatial locations: extremity and centre. Therefore, I divide the metonymy HEAD FOR LOCATION into two subcases: HEAD FOR EXTREMITY and HEAD FOR CENTRE.

3.2.1. Head for extremity

One of the possible conceptualisations of *buru* as a LOCATION is that of 'extremity'. Before I start to analyse the set of meanings structured via the metonymy HEAD FOR EXTREMITY, it is necessary to explain a little bit more about this concept of 'extremity' and its conceptualisation in Basque.

What I mean by 'extremity' is that the head is not used to describe a specific type of location such as top, bottom, beginning, or end, but as "the farthest or outermost point or section, termination" (*Collins English Dictionary*). This definition of 'extremity' becomes very clear in a sentence like (34), where the head, together with the legs, mouth, and tail are all considered the extremities of the body in Basque.

> (34) *Haren predikuak   ez   zuela   ez   bururik   ez*
> *zangorik   edo muthurrik ez   buztanik*
> his sermon:ERG   NEG had:COMP   NEG head:PART NEG
> leg:PART   or   mouth:PART NEG tail:PART
> 'His sermon was uncomprenhensible' (OEH)

This example gives rise to an interesting question: to which body do these expressions refer? Human bodies do not have 'tails' and yet this type of expressions is very common in Basque (usually only two parts are mentioned: the head and the tail, e.g. *ez bururik ez buztanik izan*). A possible answer would be to say that these conceptualisations are not created on the basis of a human body, but of an animal body. Basque is by no means the only language that takes the animal anatomy as the source of some correspondences between body part terms and spatial relations. Svorou (1993: 74) points out that:

"differences in the canonical orientation (Clark 1973) of the human body and the four-legged animal body provide the basis for two models for the development of spatial grams from body part terms [...] The *anthropomorphic* model, which corresponds to the configuration of human body parts, and the *zoomorphic* model, which corresponds to the configuration of the four-legged animal body [sic]".

Several studies on body-part-based spatial words (Heine 1989; Brugman 1983; Svorou 1993) have shown that this classification is common cross-linguistically.

[xxix] Svorou argues that head is used to describe the front and back regions in two and twelve languages, respectively (1993: 71). The results in this paper, however, indicate that head can also be used to refer to other situations in Basque, a language that she also touches on in her book.

Sentence (34) literally means that the sermon did not have either a head, or a leg or a mouth or a tail. That is to say, it was impossible to tell what the beginning or the end of the sermon was and as a result it was impossible to make sense of what the priest was saying. The metaphorical link between 'to be comprehensible' and 'to have an organised structure with a beginning and an end' does not concern us here yet. What is important about this example is that the head is viewed as one of the extremities of the body and not as either the beginning or the end or the top or the bottom[xxx]. Therefore, this example shows that the head is conceptualised only as an extremity of the body in Basque. Let us now look at those cases linked to the prototypical meaning via the HEAD FOR EXTREMITY metonymy.

There are some expressions in Basque where it is totally impossible to tell whether there is a beginning, end, top or bottom. For instance, *buruz buru* (head.INST head) corresponds to English 'from head to toe' but what is really said in Basque is 'from head to head', namely 'from one extremity to the other'[xxxi]. A similar expression where once again it is very clear that the head refers to an extremity is *buru batetik bestera* (head one.ABL other.ALL) 'from one end to the other' as illustrated in (35).

(35) *Buru batetik zor nauzue ehun libera, bertzetik berrehun*
head one:ABL owe aux hundred franc:ABS other:ABL 200:ABS
'On the one hand you owe me a hundred francs, and on the other two hundred' (OEH)

An interesting example that adds further support to this hypothesis is the expression *buru buruko* (head head.ADN). This expression has a semantic dialectal variation: In Northern dialects (Labourdin, Low Navarrese and Zuberoan) it means 'first', whereas in the rest it means 'final' (GAWL). All these expressions are cases of the metonymy HEAD FOR EXTREMITY.

However, as discussed in Section 1, dictionaries show that in some expressions *buru* precisely refers to a specific location. For instance, *buru* in sentence (36) refers only to the beginning of the word:

(36) *Hitz buruan maiz aurkitzen da b-,d-,g-,/p-t-,k- aldaera*
word head:LOC often find:HAB aux b-,d-,g-,/p-,t-, k- variation.ABS
'The variation b-, d-, g-, / p-, t-, k- is often found at the beginning of the word' (IS)

Buru means 'beginning' in (36) and so does in the word *iturburu* (fountain.head) 'fountain source', but *buru* in a word such as *mendiburu* (mountain.head) 'summit, top of the mountain' refers to the top part of the mountain, and in a word such as *asteburu* (week.head) 'week-end' to the end.

In order to account for these cases I propose that the specific meaning of *buru* is obtained by means of 'Compositional Polysemy', that is, the idea that the different polysemes of a lexical item are obtained through the interaction

---

[xxx] Remember that in Section 1 these different locations were treated as separate meanings in dictionaries.

[xxxi] Similar cases are reported to occur in Celtic languages such as Breton (Sweetser, p.c.).

of the semantic content of both the lexical item itself and its different co-occurring elements.

Therefore, in the case of sentence (36) and *iturburu, mendiburu,* and *aste-buru*, I claim that they refer to very specific locations – beginning, summit, and end respectively– not because of the semantic content of *buru*, which is 'extremity' via the metonymy HEAD FOR EXTREMITY, but because of the semantic content of the nouns they are in conjunction with namely, *hitz* 'word', *itur* 'fountain', *mendi* 'mountain', and *aste* 'week'[xxxii].

There are also several metaphorical meanings based on this metonymy. The expression *buru eman* (head give) means 'to finish, to give an end', but literally it means 'to give a head to something' as illustrated in (37).

(37) *Gauko   lanari   buru   eman   diot*
       today:AND   work:DAT   head   give:PER   aux
       'I have finished up today's work' (IS)

There are several expressions in Basque related to this meaning 'to finish'. The verbalised form of *buru*, the verb *burutu*, and the verb *bururatu* (head.all.ver) also mean 'to finish'. The noun *helburu* 'aim' is also an interesting example based on this meaning. It consists of the verb *heldu* 'to arrive' and *buru* 'head'. *Helburu* is an example of the LOCATION EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (see Lakoff 1993, Lakoff and Johnson 1999: ch.11). In this metaphor, the source domain of motion-in-space is mapped onto the domain of events. The word *helburu* implies that there is a path that we have been following, this path has a beginning and an end. When we start walking we go towards the end, and when we reach the end, we have arrive at our desired destination.

The postposition *buru* in the locative case and preceded by a noun in the genitive case is also an example of the HEAD FOR LOCATION (extremity) metonymy. This postposition as illustrated in (38) means 'after, at the end'.

(38) *Hiru egunen   buruan   biztuko   naiz*
       three days:GEN   head:LOC   revive:FUT   aux
       'After three days I will come to life again' (IS)

In (38), the noun *buru* refers to the end of a period of time. It is only after the completion of these three days that this person would come to life again. The fact that we understand *buru* in terms of time is possible thanks to the TIME AS A SPATIAL LOCATION metaphor. In this case, the head, which is metonymically a location in space, is metaphorically understood as a location in time. This is a very common metaphor that seems to be present cross-linguistically (see Lakoff and Johnson 1999: ch.10; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2001 for Basque).

3.2.2. Head as centre

Buru in the HEAD FOR LOCATION metonymy is not only interpreted as extremity in Basque. It seems that Basque also conceptualises the head as centre. Let us look at several examples where *buru* refers to that central position and that are linked to the prototypical meaning via the metonymy HEAD FOR CENTRE.

[xxxii] Although most of the cases of Compositional Polysemy analysed in this paper are compound nouns it is important to point out that this is not a requirement for the application of this mechanism (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999: ch. 7).

For instance, the word *bideburu* (road head) designates the place where two different roads converge, i.e., 'crossroads'. The central area of many vegetables and cereals is described as *buru* in Basque. Among these cases we have *azaburu* 'head of the cabbage', *kipulaburu* 'head of the onion', *artaburu* 'ear of corn'.

Buru is also used to describe the place where the coat of arms is. This place is usually the central area in the façade of a house.

> (39) *Etxe-buruan   harmarria   dago*
> house-head:LOC   coat of arms:ABS   is
> 'There is a coat of arms in the middle of the house façade' (HM)

Buru as door lintel is another case of the HEAD FOR CENTRE metonymy. If we only look at the translation provided for this expression, 'lintel', it would be possible to argue that, contrary to our claim, *ateburu* is only the 'upper' part of the doorframe in a sentence like (40).

> (40) *Ateburuan   karteltxo   bat   ipini   du*
> door.head:LOC   notice   one   put:PER   aux
> 'S/He has put a notice on the lintel' (GALW)

However, this is not the case in Basque. *Ateburu* specifically refers to that middle or central area of the door. To designate that upper part of the door, there is another word *ategain* ('door above') as illustrated in (41).

> (41) *Etxeko   giltza   ategainean   ezarri   dut*
> house:ADN   key:ABS   door.above:LOC   put:PER   aux:1SG
> 'I left the key on the door lintel'

The HEAD FOR CENTRE metonymy gives rise to several metaphorical meanings. For instance, *buru* refers to an 'important place or person' in expressions like *burualde* (head side) 'place of importance', *hiriburu* (city.head) 'capital city' and in a sentence like (42).

> (42) *Erriburu   eta   ikasburu.   Biak   buru,   ta*
> *ez   bat   bestea   baino   buruago*
> town.head:ABS   and   school.buru:ABS   two:PL:ABS   head:ABS   eta
> NEG   one   other:ABS   more   head.than
> 'The major and the teacher. Both are important, and none more important than each other' (OEH)

Buru can also mean 'boss, leader, chief, superior' as in *buruzagi* 'chief', *apazburu* 'high priest', and example (43).

> (43) *Mari, Anbotoko   sorgina,   sorgin danen   buru bezela*
> *agertzen   zaigu   histori zaharretan*
> mari   anboto:ADN   witch:ABS   witch   all:POSS   head   like
> appear:HAB   aux   story   old:LOC
> 'Mari, the witch of Anboto, is usually portrayed as the leader of all witches in the old stories' (EEBS-642)

Buru is also used in the sense of 'to chair' and 'to lead' as in expressions like *buru izan* (head be) or *buru egin* (head make) illustrated in (44) and (45) respectively. All these semantic extensions are instances of the IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL metaphor.

(44) *Nor izango da buru batzarra honetan?*
who:ABS be:FUT aux head:ABS meeting this:LOC
'Who will chair this meeting?' (GALW)

(45) *Morroien artean buru egiten zuena*
servant:GEN among:LOC head make:HAB aux:REL:ABS
'The one that used to lead all the servants' (EHL)

In the analysis of similar examples in languages such English, the metaphor proposed is not IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, but IMPORTANT IS UP, HIGH STATUS IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:16)[xxxiii]. These latter metaphors correspond to hierarchical models organised in a bottom-up scale, where the person at the top is the most important one. It is crucial to bear in mind that this understanding of hierarchical structures does not correspond to the one in Basque. The study of archaeological remains of ancient Basque settlements shows that the organisation of the society and the distribution of the duties that each member had to carry out were understood as circular. These were represented in stone circles. The members were the stones that form the circle and there was a stone at the centre which represented the person in charge, the person that had to distribute the duties and give orders (R. Frank p.c.).

The structuring, relationships, and interconnections among this group of 'whole for part' meanings of *buru* are graphically represented in the lexical network illustrated in Figure 2.
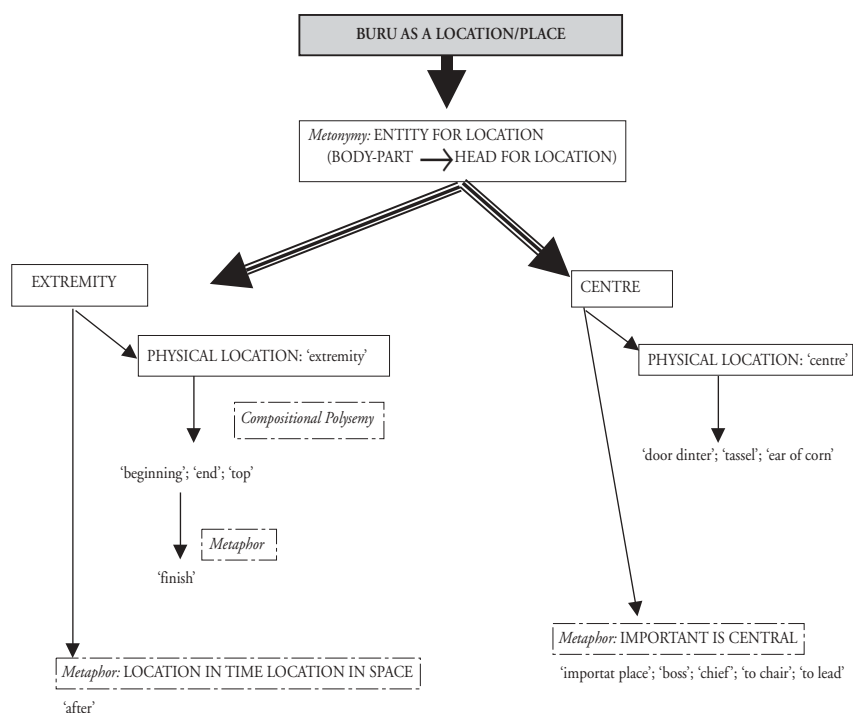

Figure 2: Lexical network of head as location in Basque *buru*

[xxxiii] Recently, Sweetser (in press) has proposed the metaphor ESSENTIAL IS CENTRAL in relation to the description of the self. This metaphor is based on centre / periphery relations, and seems to interact with containment relations, so that there is a correlation (co-orientation) between "the upwards end of a vertical dimension with the inner part of a container structure, and the centre of a centre / periphery structure".

3.3. Buru and the part for whole metonymy

The last group of meanings of *buru* are those systematically related to the prototypical meaning by the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy[xxxiv]. In this case the head –a body-part– stands for the body (the whole), so the specific metonymy here is HEAD FOR BODY[xxxv]. This metonymy can be used to refer to both animals and human beings; therefore, it can be subdivided into HEAD FOR ANIMAL metonymy and HEAD FOR PERSON metonymy. Let us examine some examples.

(46) *Bi mila,   bi mila eta bostehun   buru izaten   ditu*
       artalde   bakoitzak
       two thousand two thousand and five.hundred head have:HAB   aux
       herd   each:ERG
       'Each herd usually has two thousand or two thousand five hundred heads' (IS)

(47) *Besteren   buruan   kalte   au   ikusi   ta   nola*
       begiak   argitzen   ez   dituzu?
       other:GEN   head:LOC   harm   this   see:PER and how
       eyes:ABS   clear:HAB   NEG   aux.2SG
       'You have seen other people hurt, and how come you haven't realised it?' (OEH)

(48) *Bere   burua   eta   Barthes   aipatzen   ditu*
       her/his   head:ABS   and   Barthes   mention:HAB aux.3SG
       'S/He mentions Barthes and himself' (IS)

In (46) *buru* is mapped onto the body of an animal –a sheep–, whereas in (47) and (48) it corresponds to the body of a human being. In (46), we interpret *buru* as an animal, more precisely as a sheep, because of the word *artalde*. *Artalde* is composed of *ardi* 'sheep' and *talde* 'group'; therefore, we know that the heads to which we are referring are sheep heads. If we had used the word *behitalde* (cow.group) or *txerritalde* (pig.group) then we would have been talking about 'cows' and 'pigs' instead; or alternatively, if we had wanted to refer only to animals in general, we could have used the word *abeltegi* (*abere* 'animal' and *–tegi* 'place') 'corral'. This can be considered another example of 'Compositional polysemy'.

In both (47) and (48), *buru* stands for a human being, a person. However, the person to whom we are referring in these examples is not the same in both of them: in the former the human being is somebody else whereas in the latter it is oneself. Notice that the difference between these two examples is triggered by the use of *besteren* in (47). *Beste* means 'other' so we know that the head we are talking about belongs to somebody else.

[xxxiv] The relationship between PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy and synecdoche is the object of a great deal of discussion in the literature (Meyer 1993; Nerlich in press; Nerlich and Clarke 1999; Seto 1999). In this paper I will make no claims about the status of these two tropes, and simply use the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

[xxxv] The relationship between body-parts and the part-for-whole is very pervasive across languages, see Hillary and McGregor (1994) for a detailed discussion.

Noun phrases like *bere burua* in (48), which are constructed by combining intensive or strong genitives[xxxvi] with *buru* and the article *–a*, play the role of reflexive markers in Basque[xxxvii]. Table 2 shows the whole paradigm.

Neure burua	'myself'
Zeure burua	'yourself'
Bere burua	'himself', 'herself'
Geure burua	'ourselves'
Zeuen burua	'yourselves'
Haien burua	'themselves'

Table 2: Reflexive markers in Basque

Although these constructions in present day Basque are used mainly with this reflexive meaning[xxxviii], it seems that earlier in the language the combination of the possessive and *buru* was not always understood as a reflexive. Altuna (1980) in his critical edition of Etxepares's *Linguae Vascorum Primitiae* (the first book printed in Basque in 1945) points out several examples illustrated in (49) and (50) whose meaning is not reflexive.

(49) *Niri untsa ezpadagit behar dizit pintatu / ene buruia ziaidazu harendako abastu*
'If she doesn't do me good I'll have to drink / *my person* will suffice me for that'

(50) *Hebetik ioan gabe ene buruia / Egin behar duzu ene nahia*
'Before I leave this place / you must do my will'

In these examples *ene buruia* does not function as a reflexive pronoun. Instead, it designates the whole body, the person. *Ene buruia* is used instead of *ni* 'I'. There are two pieces of evidence that support this claim. On the one hand, reflexive pronouns cannot stand in the subject position, but as we see in (49) *ene buruia* has a subject status. On the other hand, as Rebuschi points out (1995: 347), is the fact that Axular (another Basque writer from the 17th century) translates Latin *corpus* 'body' for *burua*.

The metonymical use of *buru* as body/person and its development into a reflexive pronoun is very interesting. It indicates that in reflexive sentences the same person is conceptualised as two different entities. For instance in a sentence like (51) below one entity is the subject *Jonek* (John.ERG) and the other is *bere burua* (his head.ABS). The subject John kills this other person (himself).

[xxxvi] Euskaltzaindia (1991: 62) notices that some early authors used *buru* without the genitive pronoun. It is also important point out that although reflexive pronouns require intensive genitives some varieties do not have these intensive pronouns and therefore, they use the ordinary genitives instead.

[xxxvii] The use of the word head as the source of reflexive marking is also very common in some West African languages –countries between Senegal and Chad– (Heine 2000), as well as Ethiopia (Goldenberg 1991).

[xxxviii] Notice that in Basque the possessives are not necessary with body parts.

(51) *Jonek   bere   burua   hil   du*
john:ERG   his   head:ABS   kill:PER   aux
'John committed suicide' (IS)

Here is another example that more clearly shows this duality (52).

(52) *…Esaten   diot   nere   buruari*
say:HAB   aux   my   head:DAT
'I was saying to myself…' (OEH)

The literal translation of this sentence would be, 'I was saying to my head (=my person)'. Interestingly, the person talking is conceptualised as different from the person listening. This becomes evident in the agreement shown in the auxiliary *diot*. Agreement in Basque is very extensive. A finite auxiliary like *diot* in (52) agrees in person and number with the subject, with its direct object and with its indirect object. In other words, *-t* indicates that the subject is the first person singular and *-o-* that the indirect object is a third person singular. Now let us have a look at (53) where the person talking and the person listening are also different.

(53) *Esaten   diot   amari*
say:HAB   aux   mother:DAT
'I was saying to my mother'

In this case the person that speaks is still 'me, but the person who listens is different, -my mother. Although we have two different 'listeners' the grammatical construction and the choice of auxiliary in (52) and (53) are identical.

So how is this possible?

Following Lakoff (1996) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) I argue that the only way to understand the similarities between those examples is by means of the SUBJECT-SELF metaphor. These authors claim that human beings experience themselves as a split, as divided into a 'Subject' and one or several 'Selves'.

A 'Subject' is "that aspect of a person that is the experiencing consciousness and the locus of reason, will, and judgement, which, by its nature, exists only in the present […] the locus of a person's Essence –that enduring thing that makes us who we are" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 269).

A 'Self' on the other hand is "that part of a person that is not picked out by the subject. This includes the body, social roles, part states, and actions in the world" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 269).

It is by means of this metaphor that we can make sense of the reflexive examples above and their similarities with other non-reflexive constructions. The 'Subject' in these examples is the person that executes the action, 'John' in (51) and 'I' in (52). The 'Self' corresponds to the construction genitive + *burua*. The relationship between the Subject and the Self is one of killing in (51), the Subject kills the Self, and one of talking in (52), the Subject is conversing with the Self.

This split between the subject and the self is even more evident in a sentence like (54), where the expression *buruaz beste egin* literally means 'to make another with the head', in other words 'to commit suicide'.

(54) *Hark   bere   buruaz   beste   egin   du*
he.ERG   his   head.INSTR   another   make.PER   aux.3SG
'He committed suicide'

The use of *buru* as 'self' is so grammaticalised in Basque that expressions like *burumaisu* (head.teacher) 'self-taught', *buru-ukamen* (head-denial) 'self-denial', *buruzale* (head.fond-of) 'egotistical, selfish', and *burujabe* (head.owner) 'independent' are widely found. The word *buru* in all these cases has become a pseudo-prefix which corresponds to English *auto-* and *self-*. Figure 3 summaries the structuring, and interconnections among this group of 'part for whole' meanings.
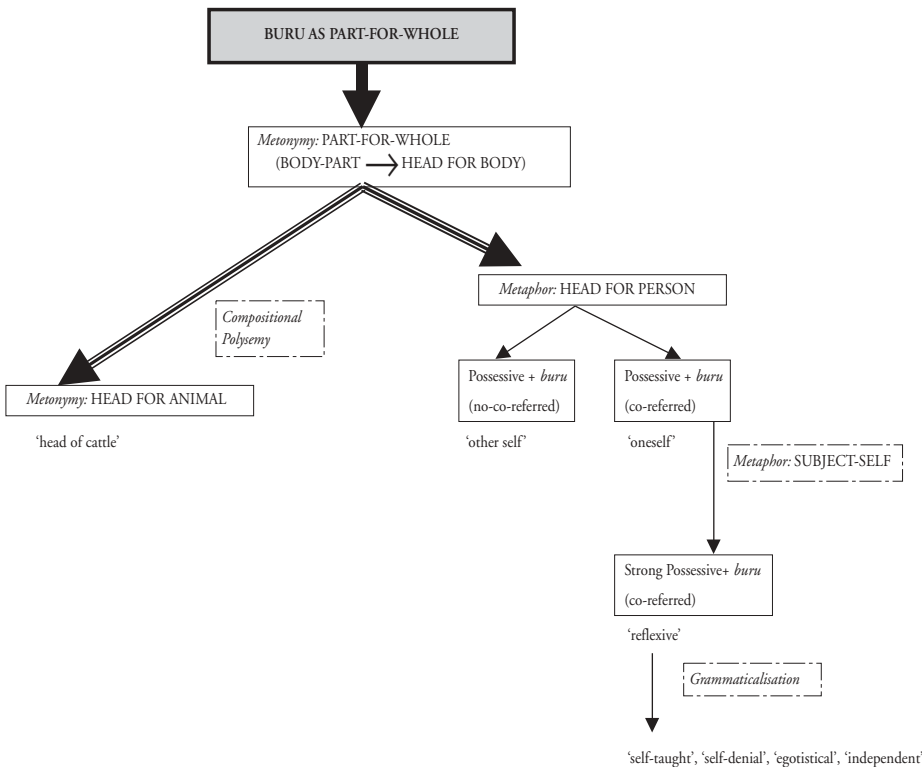

Figure 3: Lexical network of head as part for location in Basque *buru*

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have offered an analysis of the different possible meanings conveyed by the Basque word *buru*, 'head' in present-day Basque language. I have argued that these meanings form a lexical network whose central member is the prototypical meaning of *buru* as a body part. The other meanings are linked to this prototypical sense by means of a complex hierarchical network of metonymies, metaphors, and compositional polysemy.

Based on the role played by the word *buru*, I organised these meanings into three main categories: (i) those where the 'head' refers to a certain part of the head; (ii) those where the head indicates the position or LOCATION were something is located; and (iii) those where the head refers to the whole body.

These three categories are related to the prototypical meaning via three different metonymies: WHOLE FOR PART, ENTITY FOR LOCATION, and PART FOR WHOLE, respectively. Each of these metonymies is in turn subdivided

into more specific subclasses. In the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, the head (the whole) stands for three different parts: the HAIR (*buruorratz* 'hairpin'), the FRONT (*buruzbera* 'upside down'), and the MIND (*burugabe* 'idiot'). The ENTITY (HEAD) FOR LOCATION has two cases EXTREMITY (*buru batetik bestera* 'from one end to the other') and CENTRE (*bideburu* 'crossroads'). Finally, in the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, the head stands for the BODY of either an ANIMAL (*bi mila buru artaldean* two thousand sheep) or PERSON (*bere burua* 'he himself')

The structuring, relationships, and interconnections among the senses of *buru* are graphically represented in the lexical network illustrated in Figure 4.
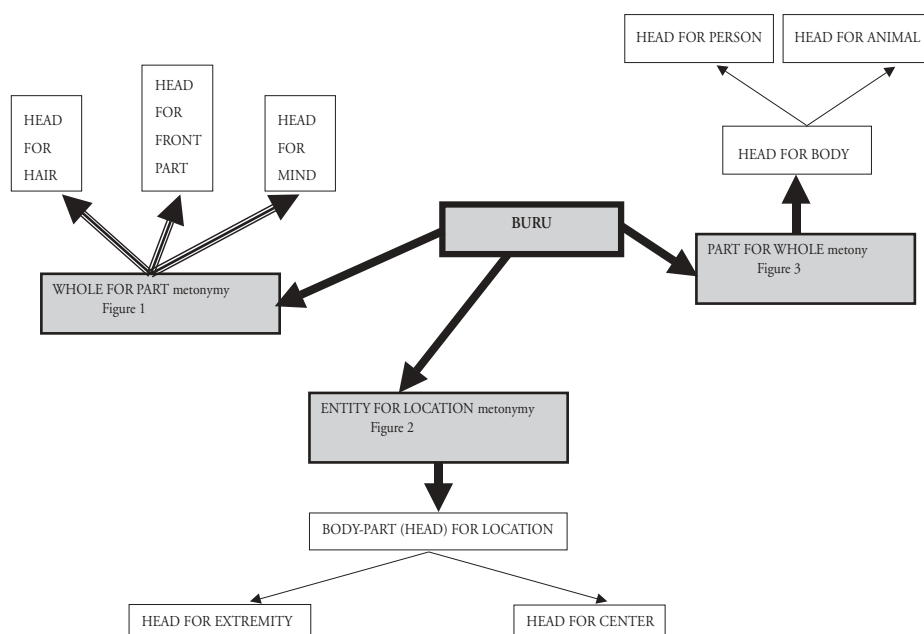

Figure 4: Lexical network of head in Basque *buru*

Following Radden's (2000) definition of metonymy-based metaphors, I have shown that these three metonymies serve as the grounding for several other metaphorical expressions such as MIND AS MACHINE metaphor (*burua hautsi* 'to break one's head), TIME AS A SPATIAL LOCATION (*buruan* 'after'), IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL (*buruzagi* 'leader'), and SUBJECT-SELF metaphor (*bere burua hil* 'to kill oneself'). Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (1999) compositional polysemy was responsible for other meanings such as those where a specific position as beginning (*iturburu* 'spring'), end (*asteburu* 'week-end'), and summit (*mendiburu* 'mountain summit') was indicated.

Numerous studies on body-parts in different languages have attested that these words are the sources of a great deal of locative markers, particles, and so on. This paper is devoted to the synchronic study of just one of these semantically highly productive words in Basque, i.e. the head. The following step will be to see whether the semantic network proposed in this paper can be used to describe the historical development of the word *buru.*

As I briefly pointed out throughout this paper, some of the meanings covered by *buru* are found in other languages ('hair' in Navajo and Tarascan,

'mind' in English and Spanish, 'reflexive' in Ethiopian and West Africa…). However, I believe that the complex hierarchical network discussed here could be unique to Basque. No other language seems to cover such a wide array of disparate meanings with the single word 'head'. Unfortunately, this is only a hypothesis at present. Future cross-linguistic research will tell whether it is right or wrong. But that is the topic for another interesting article.

REFERENCES

ALLAN, Keith. 1995. 'The antropocentricity of the English word(s) *back*'. *Cognitive Linguistics* 6-1: 11-31.

AUSTIN, J.L. 1961. *Philosophical Papers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BARCELONA, Antonio. 1997. 'Clarifying and applying the notions of metaphor and metonymy within Cognitive Linguistics'. *Atlantis* XIX.1: 21-48.

–, (ed.). 2000a. *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

–, 2000b. 'On the plausibility of claiming a metonymic motivation for conceptual metaphor'. In: Antonio Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective* 31-58.Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

–, 2000c. 'Introduction. The cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy'. In: Antonio Barcelona (ed.*), Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective* 1-28. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

BRETONES-CALLEJAS, Carmen; María Cristobal; and Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano. In press. *The construction* SALIR-DE *in Spanish. How Spanish speakers conceptualise exiting events.* In: Mirjam Fried and Hans Boas (eds.), *Construction Grammar Back to the Roots.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

BRUGMAN, Claudia. 1981. *The story of Over*. MA Thesis. University of California at Berkeley.

BRUGMAN, Claudia. 1983. 'The use of body-part terms as locatives in Chalcatongo Mixtec'. In: A. Schlichter et al. (eds.), *Survey of Californian and other Indian Languages*. Report # 4: 235-290.

CHAPELL, Hilary and WILLIAM, McGregor (eds.). 1994. *The Grammar of Inalienability: A Typological Perpective on Body Part Terms and the Part-whole Relation*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

CLARK, Herbert. 1973. 'Space, time, semantics and the child'. In: T.E. Moore (ed.), *Cognitive Development and the Acquisition of Language* 28-63. New York: Academic Press.

CUYCKENS, Hubert. 1991. *The Semantics of Spatial Prepositions in Dutch: A Cognitive Linguistic exercise.* Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Antwerp.

Euskaltzaindia. 1991. *Euskal Gramatika. Lehen Urratsa-I.* Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.

GIBBS, Ray Jr. 1994. *The Poetics of the Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GOATLY, Andrew. 1997. *The Language of Metaphors*. London and New York: Routledge.

GOLDBERG, Adele. 1995. *Constructions. A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

GOLDENBERG, Gideon. 1991. '"Oneself", "one's own" and "one another" in Amharic'. In: Alan S. Kaye (ed.), *Semitic Studies* 531-549. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

GOOSSENS, Louis. 1990. 'Metaphtonymy: The interaction of metaphor and metonymy in expressions for linguistic action'. *Cognitive Linguistics* 1:323-340.

HALLIDAY, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London, Baltimore, Melbourne: Edward Arnold.

HEINE, Bernd. 1989. 'Adpositions in African languages'. *Linguistique Africaine* 2: 77-127.'

–, 2000. *On the evolution of grammatical forms: the case of reflexive marking.* Paper presented at the Berkeley Linguistics Colloquia, April 10, 2000.

HERSKOVISTS, Annette. 1986. *Language and Spatial Cognition: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Prepositions in English*. Boston, Basel: Birkhäuser.

IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO, Iraide. 1999. *Polysemy and Metaphor in Perception Verbs: A Cross-linguistic Study*. PhD Thesis. University of Edinburgh.

–, 2001. "An overview of Basque Locational cases: Old descriptions, new approaches". International Computer Science Institute Technical Report No 01-006. (Available at http://www. icsi. berkeley.edu/techreports/index).

–, In prep. *Is the Container Schema a Conceptual Primitive Schema? Evidence from Basque and Spanish.* Department of Linguistics. University of California at Berkeley.

IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO, Iraide and Ludovica SERRATRICE. 1999. *Making sense of 'over'. A Study in Acquisition.* Paper presented at the 6th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference. Stockholm, Sweden.

JOHNSON, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind. The Bodily Basis of Reason, Thought, and Imagination.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

–, 1992. 'Philosophical implications of cognitive semantics'. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3.4: 345-366.

KÖVECSES, Zoltán and Günter Radden. 1998 'Metonymy: Develping a cognitive linguistic approach'. *Cognitive Linguistics* 9.1:37-77.

LAKOFF, George. 1987. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind.* Chicago and London: Chicago University Press.

–, 1993. 'The contemporary theory of metaphor' In: Andrew Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* 202-251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LAKOFF, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

–, 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to the Western World.* New York: Basic Books.

LAKOFF, George and Mark Turner. 1989. *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

LANGACKER, Ronald W. 1991. *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

–, 2000. 'A dynamic usage-based model'. In: Michael Barlow and Susanne Kemmer (eds.), *Usage-based Models of Language*, 1-65. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

LHANDE, Pierre. 1926. *Dictionnaire basque-français.* Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne.

LINDNER, Susan. 1981. *A Lexico-semantic Analysis of English Ver-particle Constructions with UP and OUT.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of California, San Diego.

MEYER, Bernard. 1993. *Synecdoques: Etude d'une figure de rhétorique.* Volume 1. Paris: L'Harmattan.

NERLICH, Brigitte. In press. 'Synecdoche: A trope, a whole trope and nothing but a trope? In: Neal R. Norrick and Armin Burkhart (eds.), *Tropical Truth.*

NERLICH, Brigitte and David D. Clarke. 1999. 'Synecdoche as a cognitive and communicative strategy'. In: Andreas Blank and Peter Koch (eds.) *Historical Semantics and Cognition*, 195-212. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

PANTHER, Klaus-Uwe and Günter RADDEN (eds.). 1999. *Metonymy in Language and Thought.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins

PAPAFRAGOU, Ann. 'On metonymy'. *Lingua* 99.4: 169-195.

PASCUAL-ARANSÁEZ, Cristina. 1998-99. 'The role of the head in the conceptualisation of rational behaviour: A cross-linguistic study of the metaphorical expressions of the folk model of the head'. *RESLA, Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada* 13: 113-124.

RADDEN, Günter. 2000. 'How metonymic are metaphors?'. In: Antonio Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective*, 93-108. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

RADDEN, Günter and Zoltán KÖVECSES. 1996. *Towards a theory of metonymy.* Hamburg: Cognitive Linguistics: Explorations, Applications, Research (C.L.EA.R.)

RICE, Sally. 1996. 'Prepositional prototypes'. In: Martin Pütz and René Dirven (eds.), *The Construal of Space in Language and Thought*, 135-165. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

REBUSCHI, Georges. 1993. 'Basque pronouns and relativized locality'. In: José Ignacio Hualde and Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics,* 115-144. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

–, 1995. 'Weak and strong genitive pronouns in Northern Basque: A diachronic perspective'. In: José Ignacio Hualde, Joseba A. Lakarra and R.L. Trask (eds) *Towards a History of the Basque Language*, 313-356. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Rosch, Eleanor. 1977. 'Human categorisation'. In: Norman Warren (ed.), *Studies in Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol. 1, 1-49. London: Academic Press.

–, 1978. 'Principles of human categorisation'. In: Eleanor Rosch and B.B. Lloyd (eds.), *Cognition and Categorisation*, 27-48. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibánez, Francisco José. 1999. *Introducción a la Teoría Cognitiva de la Metonimia*. Granada: Granada Lingvistica.

Sandra, Dominiek and Sally Rice. 1995. 'Network analyses of prepositional meaning: Mirroring whose mind- the linguist's or the language user's?'. *Cognitive Linguistics* 6-1: 89-130.

Seto, Ken-Ichi. 1999. 'Distinguishing metonymy from synecdoche'. In: Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden (eds.), *Metonymy in Thought and Language*, 91-120. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Sinha, Chris and Tania Kuteva. 1995. 'Distributed spatial semantics'. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 18: 167-199.

Sperber, Dan and Deidre Wilson. 1995. *Relevance. Communication and Cognition*. Oxford, Eng. and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwells.

Sweetser, Eve. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sweetser, Eve. In press. "The suburbs of your good pleasure': Co-orientation of metaphorical mappings in literary and everyday language'. *Zeitschrift für Semiotik*.

Svorou, Soteria. 1993. *The Grammar of Space*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Villasante, Luis. 1978 [1983]. *Estudios de Sintaxis Vasca*. Oñate: Ed. Franciscana Aranzazu.

DICTIONARIES

Agud, Manuel and Antonio Tovar. 1989-. *Diccionario Etimológico Vasco*. Donostia: Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia.

Aulestia, Gorka and Linda White. 1992. *Euskara Ingelesa-Ingelesa Euskara Hiztegia*. Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press. (Galw)

Aulestia, Gorka. 1989. *Basque-English Dictionary*. Reno and LasVegas: University of Nevada Press. (Galw)

Azkue, Resurrección María de. 1905. *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés I-II*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca. (Az)

Diccionario Hiru Mila Hiztegia. Adorez 7. 1996. Bilbo: Bostak Bat. (Hm)

Diccionario Retana de Autoridades del Euskera. 1976. Bilbao: Biblioteca de la Gran Enciclopedia Vasca. (Ar)

Elhuyar Euskara-Gaztelania/Castellano-Vasco Hiztegia. 1996. Usurbil: Elhuyar Kultur Elkartea. (Elh)

Michelena, Luis. 1987-. *Diccionario General Vasco. Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia. (Lm)

Morris, Mikel. 1998. *Morris Student Plus. Euskara-Ingelesa. English-Basque*. Donostia: Klaudio Harluxet Fundazioa.

Mugica Barrondo, Pedro. 1981. *Diccionario Vasco -Castellano I,II*. Bilbao:Mensajero.

Sarasola, Ibon. 1984-95. *Hauta-lanerako Euskal Hiztegia*. Zarauz: Itxaropena. (Is)

LABURPENA

Buru euskal hitzaren esanahi prototipikoa "burua" da. Beste hizkuntza askotan bezala, hitz hori polisemikoa da. Izan ere, gorputzaren atalari dagokio, eta, horrez gain, hainbat testuingurutan ere erabil daiteke. (*Buru* ere adimena edo gogoa da, izenorde bihurkaria...). Hiztegietan esanahi horiek bereizita jasotzen dira, baina nik proposatzen dut esanahi edo adiera horiek guztiak sare lexiko antolatuan sartzea, esanahi zabalduen hiru nodo nagusietan banaturik. Hiru nodo horiek egituratuak eta lotuak daude *buru* prototipikoari hiru metonimia ezberdin hauen bidez: oso-zatizkoa, posiziozkoa eta zati-osozkoa. Hiru metonimia horiek daude *buru* hitzaren gainerako

adiera semantikoen oinarri kontzeptualean, eta adiera horiek lortzen dira beste baliabide kognitiboen bidez, metafora eta konposaketa-polisemien bidez, esate baterako.

RESUMEN

El significado prototípico de la palabra vasca *buru* es "cabeza". Al igual que en muchas otras lenguas, la palabra cabeza es polisémica, no sólo porque se refiere a la parte del cuerpo sino también porque puede utilizarse en varios contextos (*buru* como mente, pronombre reflexivo...). A pesar de que los diccionarios observan estos significados por separado, lo que yo propongo es que todos estos sentidos o acepciones formen parte de una red léxica organizada con tres nodos principales de significados ampliados. Estos tres nodos están estructurados y ligados al *buru* prototípico por medio de tres metonimias diferentes: el todo por la parte, categoría o valor de posición y la parte por el todo. Estas tres metonimias forman la base conceptual del resto de extensiones semánticas de *buru*, que se obtienen con la ayuda de otros recursos cognitivos como metáforas y polisemias de composición.

RÉSUMÉ

La signification prototypique du mot basque *buru* est "tête". De même que dans beaucoup d'autres langues, le mot tête est polysémique, non seulement parce qu'il se réfère à la partie du corps, mais aussi parce qu'il peut être utilisé dans plusieurs contextes (*buru* comme esprit, pronom réflexif...). Bien que les dictionnaires observent ces significations séparément, ce que moi, je propose c'est que tous ces sens ou acceptions font partie d'un réseau lexique organisé ayant trois noyaux principaux de significations développées. Ces trois noyaux sont structurés et liés au *buru* prototypique par le biais de trois métonymies différentes: le tout par la partie, catégorie ou valeur de position et la partie par le tout. Ces trois métonymies forment la base conceptuelle du reste des extensions sémantiques de *buru*, qui s'obtiennent à l'aide d'autres recours cognitifs comme les métaphores et les polysémies de composition.

ABSTRACT

The prototypical meaning of the Basque word *buru* is ‘head’. As is the case in many other languages, the word for head is polysemous not only because it refers to this body part but also because it can be used in several other contexts (*buru* as mind, reflexive pronoun, self…). Although dictionaries deal with these meanings separately, I propose that all these senses form an organised lexical network with three main nodes of extended meanings. These three nodes are structured and bound to the prototypical *buru* by means of three different metonymies: WHOLE FOR PART, ENTITY FOR LOCATION, AND PART FOR WHOLE. These three metonymies conform the conceptual basis for the rest of the semantic extensions in *buru*, which are obtained with the help of other cognitive devices such as metaphor and compositional polysemy.