

Cultural Linguistics

Judit Baranyiné Kóczy
Veronika Szélid *Editors*

Cultural Linguistics and (Re) conceptualized Tradition

Past in Present

 Springer

Cultural Linguistics

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Cultural Linguistics was founded by the late Professor Farzad Sharifian, an outstanding, field-defining scholar. The world-renowned linguist launched the series to advance multidisciplinary inquiry into the relationship between language and cultural conceptualisations. Building from his academic legacy, this series champions research that advances our understanding of how features of human languages encode culturally constructed conceptualisations of experience. Cultural Linguistics publishes monographs and edited volumes from diverse but complementary disciplines as wide-ranging as cross-cultural pragmatics, anthropological linguistics and cognitive psychology to present new perspectives on the intersection between culture, cognition and language. Featured themes include:

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ISSN 2520-145X

Cultural Linguistics

ISBN 978-981-97-6324-5

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-6325-2>

ISSN 2520-1468 (electronic)

ISBN 978-981-97-6325-2 (eBook)

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Preface

The contributions in this volume preserve some of the findings presented at The Third Cultural Linguistics International Conference, which was originally planned for Spring 2020 but, due to the pandemic, was finally held from June 16 to 18, 2021. The conference, which was originally planned to take place in Budapest, could only be held online. Unfortunately, one of the main organizers and driving forces behind this international conference series, the prolific and engaging scholar Farzad Sharifian, the founding father of the discipline of cultural linguistics, was no longer with us at the time of the conference, as he unexpectedly passed away in May 2020. It is due to his charisma and legacy that, despite the sad events and difficulties, the conference successfully hosted five plenary lectures and nearly 90 papers, welcoming participants from 28 countries across 5 continents. We invited researchers presenting at the conference whose work explores the role of tradition in the conceptualization of contemporary people to contribute their studies to this edited volume.

Regrettably, the series of disheartening events accompanying our efforts did not leave us after the end of the conference. One of our brilliant contributors, Ying-hsueh Hu from the English Department of Tamkang University in Taiwan, passed away at a young age during the compilation of this volume. She was a wonderful woman with great passion, wit and energy, and she is truly missed not only by her family, friends, students, and closest colleagues that had the pleasure of interacting with her regularly, but also by the communities of cognitive and cultural linguists who enjoyed reading her insightful contributions to these disciplines. We dedicate this volume to her memory and offer her chapter, written in collaboration with her Ph.D. student, to be enjoyed by the reader as a final transmission from this remarkable scholar.

Veszprém, Hungary
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Judit Baranyiné Kóczy
Veronika Szelid

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Cultural Linguistics and (Re)conceptualized Tradition: Past in Present



Judit Baranyiné Kóczy and Veronika Szelid

The study of the intersection of language, cognition and culture has received distinguished attention in several disciplines, which share the common goal of exploring meaning-making processes at different levels of human communication in a complex way. This common interest has created a dialogue between cognitive linguistics and other previously separate disciplines, such as ethnolinguistics (Bartmiński, 2009; Gład, 2022; Underhill, 2011, 2012; Underhill & Gianninoto, 2019), anthropological linguistics (Foley, 1997; Yamaguchi et al., 2014), and cognitive psychology (e.g., Rosch, 1973, 1978), branches of which fields (i.e., cognitive anthropology, ethnosemantics, and cognitive psychology) “have been incorporated and elaborated in CL [i.e., cognitive linguistics] from the early days on” (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009: 30). Further expansions are the interconnection between cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics, which has resulted in the growing field of cognitive sociolinguistics (see e.g., Kristiansen & Dirven, 2008a; Kristiansen et al., 2022; Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009) and Cultural Linguistics.¹ The latter discipline is interested in reflecting core values and conventions linked with a cultural community. As Sharifian (2015: 33) puts it:

originally, this area [i.e., Cultural Linguistics] grew out of an interest in integrating cognitive linguistics with the three traditions present in linguistic anthropology, namely, Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics, and the ethnography of speaking. In the last decade, Cultural

¹ Names of disciplines are not capitalized here (e.g., ethnolinguistics, cultural linguistics), only specific models within those disciplines (e.g., Sharifian’s Cultural Linguistics or Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar). See more on this issue in Peeters (2017).

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Linguistics has also found strong common ground with cognitive anthropology, since both explore cultural models, which are associated with the use of language.

The mentioned scientific fields share common key notions, such as ‘conceptual metaphor’, ‘category’, ‘cultural schema’, and ‘cultural model’, which are employed as guiding principles and methodological tools in the studies of this book. Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) write the following about these key concepts in their substantial volume on World Englishes that has been written from a cognitive sociolinguistic approach:

While ‘conceptual metaphor’ is a genuinely CL [i.e., cognitive linguistics] notion, the other theoretical concepts also draw from various congenial developments in neighbouring social sciences. Specifically, research on ‘cultural categorization’ has an explicit footing in work done in ethnosemantics, cognitive anthropology, and cognitive psychology in the 1970s. [...] Finally, notions like ‘cultural schema’ and ‘cultural model’ are inspired by cognitive anthropology and psychology, in particular by the work represented by Holland and Quinn (1987), D’Andrade (1987), and by D’Andrade and Strauss (1992). (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009: 29–30)

In line with this, a common area of interest in the conceptualizations of different communities as manifestations of the interplay between language, culture, and collective cognition passed down from generation to generation has resulted in a large number of research papers by scholars working in the aforementioned disciplines.

Among the notions listed above, metaphor has occupied a prominent place in the cognitive-cultural linguistic scholarship from the very beginning. By today, a large body of studies in the field of conceptual metaphor research have pointed out that human behavior and thought are just partly universal, and they are largely determined by the context in which human communication (in any modalities of representation) takes place. It has been justified that the embodiment of metaphors emphasizing their universal grounding, and the importance of context leading towards conceptual variation do not contradict but complement each other (see e.g., Baranyiné Kóczy et al., 2024; Dirven et al. 2007; Kövecses, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2020; Kövecses et al., 2015; Kraska-Szlenk, this volume; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2017; Prodanović Stankić, this volume; Szelid & Kövecses, 2018). For example, Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1991), and Kövecses (2000) pointed out in connection with the *ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER* conceptual metaphor that the embodiment hypothesis needs to be complemented by a sociocultural dimension. Kövecses (2000) named the corresponding approach “body-based social construction,” and later introduced the concept of “differential experiential focus” (Kövecses, 2005). This idea emphasizes how people with different backgrounds—cultural, social, geographical, etc.—capture diverse elements of a given concept, which can lead to various conceptualizations of the same phenomenon and, consequently, to the variation of metaphor use in languages and cultures across the world.

An extensive account of the contextual factors giving rise to metaphorical variation is provided in Kövecses’ (2015) book *Where metaphors come from?* The author classifies these factors into four main types: situational context, discourse context, conceptual-cognitive context, and bodily context, and argues that the mentioned four

contextual factors exist on both a local and a global level, between which there is no sharp dividing line. In this theoretical framework, the cultural (as well as social and physical) aspects of metaphorical conceptualization, which receive distinguished attention in this volume, are part of the situational context.

All things considered, variation is a crucial component of conceptual metaphor research; in fact, Polzenhagen and Wolf (2017: 155) contend that in the past almost two decades, it has emerged as one of the theoretically most significant issues and research areas in cognitive linguistics. In the same vein, Szelid and Kövecses (2018: 458) stress that it is worthwhile to think about approaching the universality and variation issue (i.e., of metaphors) from the perspective of variation rather than from the point of view of universality.

In the light of the above, the focus of investigations in the field of conceptual metaphor studies within the framework of cognitive linguistics has shifted. Earlier, the question was *whether* there were differences in conceptualization across and within cultures, while today researchers are more focused on *the extent* to which our concepts are universal or dependent on the influences of the surrounding world. In this context, studying language use rather than merely language structure, and incorporating an empirically validated methodology has become a key issue, which was particularly emphasized and urged by the scholars of cognitive sociolinguistics (Kristiansen & Dirven, 2008b). A major contribution to the issue of universality and variation of metaphorical conceptualization, employing a complex methodology, is currently underway (Kövecses et al., 2024). This is a collective volume investigating the metaphors of ANGER in 25 languages, with a focus on the issue of the universality and variation of metaphors. All of the contributions follow the same twofold methodology: a dictionary and a corpus-based approach. The uniformity of the investigations makes it possible for the researchers to come to a definitive answer to the question of universality and variation, which has so far been hindered by a relatively limited number of systematic, contrastive studies and the diverse methodologies applied.

In the present volume, most of the analyses rely on or revolve around ‘cultural metaphors’, which are characterized by diversity when examined from a synchronic or a diachronic perspective. In synchronic analyses, these metaphors are divided into a “cognitive processing continuum” (Sharifian, 2017a: 21–22), with two extremes. On one end, there are “worldview metaphors” that rely on entire cultural frameworks, such as aboriginal Australians, who consider themselves to be inextricably linked to the land. On the opposite end, there are metaphors that are part of a culture but do not explicitly define it, like the use of *foot Falcon* in Aboriginal English that means ‘travel on foot, especially long distance’, where “[t]he long-distance component is carried by the word *Falcon*, which normally refers to a popular make of car” (Sharifian, 2017a: 21). Between these two extremes, there are metaphors that are closely tied to cultural worldviews but are recognized as figurative by speakers, exemplified by the cultural conceptualization of MEDICINE AS HEALING POWER OF THE ANCESTOR BEINGS (Sharifian, 2017a: 20–21).

Cultural metaphors are classified by applying the principle of graded categorization, with certain metaphors deemed more prototypical than others (Rosch, 1978) based on their profound integration into the cultural group’s cognitive framework.

This integration is determined by the extent to which they rely on a broad and complex set of cultural knowledge (including beliefs and ideology) and their significance within the community. A cultural metaphor can be understood in various ways: as an expression of a shared cultural worldview, a culturally conventionalized mapping, or a unique expression that is culture-specific in the sense that it is only used by those who share that culture and have little to no (folk-) theoretical underpinnings (Musolff, 2021: 8). Wolf et al. (2021b) propose a more specific definition of cultural metaphors, limiting the term to cross-domain mappings that are uniquely tied to a particular culture.

From a diachronic perspective, cultural metaphors can be categorized according to their developmental stage within a culture's history. Some metaphors can be considered as "fossilized" representations (Sharifian, 2015: 482) that reflect a specific period in a cultural group's history. According to Sharifian (2015), these metaphors exist in the background of a culture's collective consciousness, and individuals may not be consciously aware of them when using these metaphors in their cognitive processes of connecting one idea or concept to another. These conventionalized metaphors may no longer be perceptible to individual speakers, but they continue to exist as common figures of speech that are shared as part of the cultural heritage and stored in the "cultural repository" (Deignan, 2003: 270). Just like the renowned Hungarian poet Attila József, who lived in the twentieth century, portrayed it in one of his masterpieces:

I am he who has gazed a hundred thousand years
 On that which he now sees for the first time.
 One moment, and fulfilled all time appears
 In a hundred thousand forbears' eyes and mine.
 I see what they could not because they must
 I see what they could not because they must
 Drag hoes, kill and embrace, for this enrolled,
 And they, who have descended into dust
 See what I do not, if the truth be told.
 We know each other as sorrow and delight.
 I, in the past, they in the present live.
 They hold the pencil in the poem I write.
 I feel them and evoke what they now give.
 (Extract from Attila József's poem *By the Danube* [1936.]²)

In many languages and cultural communities all over the world, representations of traditional folk culture including folk songs (e.g., Baranyiné Kóczy, 2017, 2018, 2022; Hamszovszki & Baranyiné Kóczy, 2022; Szelid, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2020, 2021, this volume), laments (Szitó, this volume), folk tales (Makkos, this volume), and archaic folk prayers (Baranyiné Kóczy, 2023) constitute a significant part of the mentioned cultural repository. However, cultural conceptualizations, with special focus on cultural metaphors, are not uniformly entrenched within a cultural group's

² Translated by Watkins, Vernon, https://www.babelmatrix.org/works/hu/J%C3%B3zsef_Attila-1905/A_Dun%C3%A1n%C3%A1l/en/1766-By_the_Danube.

collective mindset (see e.g., Hutchins, 1994; Kövecses, 2005, 2015; Sharifian, 2008: 124). The existence of cultural metaphors within a cultural context is characterized by varying degrees of influence, rather than a simple presence or absence (see Musolf, 2021: 8). Furthermore, cultural metaphors are often multimodal constructs, exemplified by metaphors such as LIFE AS OPERA (see Yu, 2017) or by folk poetry and folk art as shown in Szelid's chapter in this volume (see also Szelid, 2019, 2020).

Some of the studies of the volume propose the use of basic analytical tools that can serve to assess not only the conceptual content of linguistic expressions but also their place in the evaluation system of a given community (see Baranyiné Kóczy, this volume; Boldizsár, this volume). For example, as noted by Tsujimura (this volume) on the cultural conceptualization of SILENCE in Japanese language and culture, “[i]n exploring potential paths to conceptualizing silence, the language depiction cannot be understood without exploring what sound or silence, individually and collectively, means to the speakers.” In this way, apparently paradoxical situations like linguistic representation of silence by way of nature sounds can be unearthed.

By embracing a rigorous empirical methodology, we can delve deeply into the intricate web of cultural models intertwined with diverse concepts, dissecting their nuances to the fullest extent. The term ‘cultural model’ plays a pivotal role in cognitive anthropology’s exploration of culture (as emphasized by Quinn and Holland 1987; Shore 1996; Strauss and Quinn 1997), highlighting the unifying nature of this shared conceptual knowledge among a collective of individuals (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006). Sharifian proposed that ‘cultural models’ could encompass a network of schemas, categories, and metaphors (Sharifian et al., 2008: 339). Nevertheless, he later adopted the term ‘cultural conceptualizations’ as an overarching label for ‘cultural schema’, ‘cultural category’, and ‘cultural metaphor’ (Sharifian, 2017a, 2017b). While ‘cultural model’ and ‘cultural schema’ share similarities, many researchers opt for ‘cultural schema’ when referring to specific types of conceptual content (such as role schemas), while they prefer the term ‘cultural model’ when addressing the systematic and intricate nature of cultural-conceptual creations, composed of various forms of cultural conceptualizations. A compelling case in point can be found in the recently published edited volume, which scrutinizes the cultural models associated with the human HEART (Baranyiné Kóczy & Sipőcz, 2023). This work dissects the multidimensional function of this essential organ in depth, revealing its profound relationships with cultural cognition and the wide range of religious and philosophical linkages it establishes. The book provides a striking example of the intricate interweaving of cultural models and numerous cognitive processes, such as categorization, the creation of image schemas and emotion schemas, and the subtle interaction of metaphor and metonymy.

The studies published in this volume do not only attempt to discover and rebuild traditional cultural conceptualizations which are grounded in cultural cognition (e.g., Baranyiné Kóczy, 2018), but with the employed analytical tools provided by the cognitive and cultural linguistic frameworks, as well as by diachronic linguistics, corpus linguistics, and pragmatics, they also investigate how these knowledge structures are revitalized and renegotiated in present-day cultural contexts, and how they contribute to shaping our contemporary understanding of the world. The book

presents a collection of studies examining the (re)conceptualization of traditions in the twenty-first century, addressing how traditional communities ascribe meaning to diverse phenomena of the world, how their worldview systems influence contemporary conceptualizations, and how traditional concepts are either preserved or transformed in daily contexts. These general questions are addressed in a wide variety of topics and genres, such as the language of emotion, religion and morality, the natural environment, concepts of LIFE, DEATH and TIME, folk beliefs, etc., using the key notions of conceptual/cultural metaphors, metonymies, categories, image/cultural schemas, and cultural models. The languages under scrutiny range from well-documented to minority varieties, and even to endangered languages and dialects.

The contributions are divided into seven larger thematic sections, including (1) Time, history, and cultural conceptualizations; (2) Embodiment and cultural conceptualizations; (3) Emotion and cultural conceptualizations; (4) LIFE, DEATH, and cultural conceptualizations; (5) Morality, religion, and cultural conceptualizations; (6) Natural environment and cultural conceptualizations; and (7) Folk beliefs and cultural conceptualizations.

Zoltán Kövecses' chapter in the first thematic section, "Figurative construal in prehistory: the case of LION-MAN," leads far back into the past and focuses on the figurative processes that might have been going on in the mind of prehistoric humans when they created art. The author of this paper undertakes an analysis of the statue of the Lion-man, created around 30,000 years ago, using the methodology of Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020).

The chapters of the second thematic section address the issue of embodiment and cultural conceptualization.

Iwona Kraska-Szlenk's chapter "Embodied lexicon and cultural conceptualizations in Swahili" explores how embodied conceptualizations shape the cultural model of Swahili speakers. She shows that while many conceptual patterns resonate across cultures globally, the Swahili cultural model exerts a unique influence, exemplified by conceptualizations like HEART FOR COURAGE, WORKING IS SWEATING, and THE COMMUNITY/FAMILY IS ONE BODY. The Swahili language is rich in cultural concepts related to humoral theory and spirit possession. It is also asserted that linguistic structures of the embodied form are especially well suited to conveying emotions and cultural values because doing so simultaneously activates the sensory and motor systems and results in co-simulation effects on the listener/reader.

A comparative analysis of the cultural conceptualizations of FACE and CHEEK on the ground of image schemas and metaphorical/metonymic mappings is presented in Diana Prodanović Stankić's contribution "Cultural conceptualizations of the FACE and the CHEEK(S) in Serbian and English: A corpus-based study." The connection between the face as a means of communicating emotions (for an extensive description of how to read human faces, see Wierzbicka, 1999), especially negative ones, is emphasized in both languages. Furthermore, in a social setting, the FACE frequently serves as an embodiment of the individual or the self, but it also functions as a point of direction. The most notable distinction between these two languages is the usage

of the CHEEK to allude to dignity and honor in Serbian, as opposed to the similar usage of FACE in English.

In her contribution entitled “Heat that hits us: The conceptualization of PAIN in Hausa,” Izabella Will examines the concept of PAIN in the Chadian, Afro-Asiatic language, Hausa. The author’s main claim is that the concept is based on the action schema referring to percussive actions, which is demonstrated by (1) pain-related expressions, (2) semantic extensions of words denoting PAIN, as well as (3) by the gestures used in conjunction with PAIN-related statements.

Zsuzsanna Schnell, in her experimental study, “Rethinking linguistic relativity in idiomaticity: Conceptual universals and frames of reference in pragmatic competence” emphasizes that pragmatic competence, with special regard to metaphor comprehension skills, is partly based on biologically determined—embodied—universal social-cognitive skills. While the author also points out the culture-specific traits of metaphor comprehension and of idiomaticity in general, her findings confirm that metaphor comprehension (and idiomatic meaning construction in general) draws heavily on social-cognitive skills, suggesting that this skill is more universally defined and stabilized across cultures at the same age.

The three contributions of the third thematic section are related to emotion and cultural conceptualizations.

Monica Kahumbu and Yo Matsumoto’s study on “A corpus-based study of the externality of emotions in Swahili and Japanese” is a comparative analysis of metaphorical conceptualizations of EMOTIONS AS EXTERNAL ENTITIES, such as AN EXTERNAL FORCE or AN ENTITY ENTERING THE EXPERIENCER. Although these conceptualizations frequently occur in both languages, the authors show that the two languages have distinct ways of adopting expressions for specific emotions. An example for this is ANGER, an externally originating emotion in Swahili but internally originating in Japanese. In addition, even if both languages conceptualize emotions as external entities, they draw on different types of it. It is shown that such differences are deeply grounded in cultural worldviews, such as the Japanese culture’s propensity to link internal feelings to external natural or meteorological occurrences, or the belief in external malevolent forces/spirits for Swahili people.

Gabriela Stoica’s chapter “(Re)conceptualizing emotions in (Early) Modern Romanian. From PRIDE and (SELF-)LOVE to ARROGANCE, VANITY, and AMBITION” discusses the evolution and reconceptualization of emotional concepts, particularly PRIDE and LOVE, in (Early) Modern Romanian culture. It highlights the shift from a collective, traditional perspective to an individualistic one in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when emotions became more self-oriented, leading to the prominence of HUBRIS PRIDE and the emergence of SELF-LOVE as key emotional concepts, and giving rise to related emotions like ARROGANCE, VANITY, and AMBITION. As argued, these self-oriented emotions are viewed positively from an individual’s perspective but negatively from a collective standpoint, as they challenge traditional values and social harmony. Consequently, they were labeled as “locally moralized emotions” and considered undesirable.

In the final chapter of this section, Boglárka Boldizsár examines the cultural schemas of the highly broad and abstract notion of MENTAL PAIN in her chapter on

“Cultural conceptualization of MENTAL PAIN in Hungarian proverbs.” After identifying and analyzing the cultural metaphors of her manually selected corpus, she points out that Hungarian proverbs and sayings on MENTAL PAIN mainly represent negative cultural schemas (such as “mental pain is a punishment that has to be endured” or “mental pain ‘consumes’ the soul”), however, a few positive conceptualizations can also be detected (e.g., “time heals mental pain,” “the long suffering has a transforming power” and “the divine providence guides people in the midst of their hardships”).

The fourth section includes papers on the cultural conceptualizations of some fundamental concepts of human life, such as LIFE, DEATH, or TIME.

The first contribution in the section is “Metaphors and metonymies for DEATH and GRIEF in Hungarian laments from the Upper-Tisza Region” by Judit Szitó. It investigates a unique folklore genre, Hungarian lament, which deals with the sensitive subjects of death and grief by creating a sacred and transitional space. The author identifies various metaphors and metonymies related to DEATH and GRIEF, including some that have not been previously documented, such as MUTENESS and WILTING, in addition to previously recognized ones like DEPARTURE/SEPARATION and JOURNEY. The study also shows the metaphorical relationship between these metaphors and metonymies, such as those between MUTENESS and the LACK OF SOMETHING, and SEPARATION and FUTILE SEARCH/MOTION. Meanwhile, the connections between folklore and Christianity and laments and modern grief therapy are also addressed.

Judit Baranyiné Kóczy’s chapter “Anthropomorphic nature in Hungarian folklore: What TREE metaphors reveal about human life” analyzes the cultural category and the metaphorical and metonymical representations of TREE in Hungarian folk songs from the perspective of the HUMAN- - NATURE relationship. Her findings show that the usage of the lexeme *fa* ‘tree/wood’ in the folksongs goes beyond standard definitions, hence it shapes a cultural category in the texts. It also offers diverse metaphorical meanings tied to human life, showcasing varying levels of anthropomorphism linked to the different figurative meanings of TREE. It is shown that there is an overall positive perception about trees in Hungarian folk culture.

One of the Uralic language family’s most endangered languages, the Mansi language, is under scrutiny in Katalin Sipőcz’s chapter entitled “The conceptualization of TIME in Mansi.” The author examines the linguistic expressions of TIME in folkloric texts and written sources of contemporary language use, with the help of a joint cognitive linguistic and Cultural Linguistic approach. Her goal is to understand how the process of language shift to Russian is reflected in the use of TIME metaphors in Mansi, and for this reason, she carries out a comparative diachronic study based on data from two periods of time. Her results show that culture-specific metaphors, such as TIME IS COOKING and TIME IS AN ARROW have mostly disappeared, whereas more general ones, such as TIME IS SPACE, TIME IS MOTION and TIME IS A SUBSTANCE have been preserved until recently.

The fifth thematic part of the volume, “Morality, religion, and cultural conceptualizations,” expands on the discussion of religious conceptualization and morality, which is also crucial to folk conceptualization and the fundamental concepts of life.

The study on “Embodied SOUL conceptualizations in metonymies and metaphors in Selkup” by Ulrike Kahrs deals with the application of conceptual metaphors and metonymies that play a role in the conceptualizations of the SOUL in Selkup, a Samoyedic language, spoken between the rivers Ob and Yenisei in Siberia. The author claims that cognitive processes connected with SOUL conceptualizations are rooted in ancient times and give us a glimpse in traditional thinking, which can be traced in metonymical and metaphorical language use.

Veronika Szelid’s contribution, “The creating power of love. Multimodal metaphors in Hungarian folklore” is a multimodal approach to morality in the context of folk conceptualization. Based on the principles of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphor is not merely a figure of speech but a conceptual device, it is not only employed in language, but also in a number of other modes of expression. The study proposes a linkage between the linguistic, sonic, visual, and tactile modalities, all of which are involved in the metaphorical meaning-making processes of the studied community. The concepts of LOVE, SEX, and MORALITY, and their relation to the SACRED are rendered the main specific subjects of the paper.

The next chapter by Bartosz Pietrzak entitled “Cultural conceptualizations of the six traits of *sayyid*—the pre-Islamic Arabic cultural conceptualizations encoded in formulas of the Language of Early Arabic Poetry” analyzes the concept of *sayyid* ‘[tribal] chief or lord’, a role model which embodied ideal behavior through specific character traits in pre-Islamic Arabic society, through metonymic and metaphoric conceptualizations. It sets out to reconceptualize the traditional understanding of *sayyid* as a representation of pre-Islamic Arabic script for honorable behavior. The analysis reveals the stereotypical scenarios of *sayyid* behavior and its relationships with physical imageries. The chapter also discusses the validity of cultural linguistic research on the formulaic language of Early Arabic Poetry and al-Ġurġānī’s conception of metonymy in cognitive linguistic perspectives.

Eve Jingwen Chen’s study “‘Why would I care how much salt you have eaten?’ Reconceptualizing ELDER’S AUTHORITY through a Cantonese Idiom *sik jim do gwo nei sik mai*” explores the concept of ELDER’S AUTHORITY in Chinese society, which has evolved over generations and is now viewed as an obstacle to societal development and harmonious intergenerational relationships. The concept, rooted in Confucian values and associated with filial piety, has been reconceptualized through the use of a Cantonese idiom, *sik jim do gwo nei sik mai* ‘I have eaten more salt than you have eaten rice’. The study analyzes online discourse and interviews with young Cantonese speakers to deconstruct the contemporary understanding of elder’s authority and highlights that honoring age has been a steadfast cultural tradition in China, but its belief is no longer compatible with contemporary Chinese society.

Another aspect of cultural cognition is the understanding of the natural environment, or the linguistic worldview, which topic is addressed by the contributions of the sixth thematic section.

Anastasiia Carisio’s study, “Cultural conceptualization of SIBERIA in Spanish corpora,” focuses on cultural stereotypes that serve as building blocks in the conceptualization of Siberia, as they are represented in Spanish corpora. The research

methodology combines the cognitive and ethnolinguistic approaches, and the author uses the so-called “cognitive definition” in order to determine the peculiarities of the conceptualization of Siberia by the representatives of Spanish culture. The analysis identifies stereotypical characteristics of Siberia organized into four main categories: Nature, History, Economy, and Society. Among these, the most frequently mentioned subcategories are Climate, Climatic and natural areas, Geography, and Exile. The cognitive definition categorizes Siberia as a place of exile and suffering, highlighting the subjective nature of its conceptualization. Siberian cold is described through four profiles: biological, functional, aesthetic, and psychological, influenced by social values. Overall, the paper argues that Bartmiński’s approach reveals significant differences in cognitive definitions across languages and cultures, providing an alternative way to describe cultural conceptualization.

The chapter “Same world, different minds: The conceptualization of animals in Bunun and Mandarin Chinese” by †Ying-Hsueh Hu and Tzu-Hsiang Sung explores the disparities in how the Austronesian-speaking Bunun and the Sino-Tibetan-speaking Han Chinese in Taiwan conceptualize animals. Their findings show that in the worldview of the younger generation of Bunun speakers, particularly those using Mandarin Chinese, wild animals are given greater significance than in the conceptualization of other generations. However, Han Chinese participants show a subtle linguistic relativity effect, aligning with animal categories encoded in the Chinese writing system. This difference is less pronounced among Bunun speakers, despite their high proficiency in written Mandarin Chinese. The study highlights the complex interplay between language dominance, cultural practices, and natural world conceptualizations among these two distinct linguistic communities.

Natsuko Tsujimura’s article “Sound of silence and cultural conceptualization of SILENCE in Japanese” explores the linguistic and rhetorical mechanisms used to describe silent scenes in Japanese, focusing on the use of nature sounds like animals, insects, rain, ocean waves, and wind to symbolize ambient silence. The author contends that symbiotic relationship between sound and silence is deeply embedded in cultural experiences, and understanding the language depiction requires exploring the meanings of sound and silence to speakers. The prevalence of verbal descriptions of ambient silence in Japanese reveals a pattern of conceptualization that is dependent on cultural practice.

Finally, the chapters of the closing thematic unit lead to the world of mythology by focusing on folk conceptualization through the analysis of magic figures of folk beliefs, including fairies, magicians and witches.

Alexandra Borschke and Hans-Georg Wolf’s study “Cultural model of FAIRY in Scottish English” uncovers the cultural keywords, cultural keyword chains, cultural conceptualizations, schemas, and categories that together form the cultural model of FAIRY as expressed in Scottish English. The authors show that the term *fairy* and its associated collocations in Scottish English (SE), such as *fairy hill*, *fairy landscape*, *fairy rings*, and *fairy captivity*, are of cultural significance. The analysis reveals several conceptualizations of FAIRY, including ideas that portray fairies as the spirits of deceased ancestors or as possessors of malevolent magical powers, and schemas related to protection from fairies, involving objects or bodily fluids. Furthermore, the

research delves into the relationship between fairies, the Scottish landscape, and the supernatural realm, highlighting conceptualizations like FAIRIES ARE INHABITANTS OF THE SCOTTISH LANDSCAPE and FAIRIES ARE PART OF THE REAL AND THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD. All these identified conceptualizations come together to form the Scottish cultural model of FAIRY.

Another study that broadens the scope of research on folk beliefs is Mónika Varga's investigations on pragmatic markers in witchcraft records: "(Un)certainly, suspicion and some 'horrifying sickness'—On pragmatic (or stance) markers in Hungarian witchcraft records." The analysis of the data collected from published witchcraft documents written in Hungarian shows patterns of a wide range of pragmatic or stance markers, and the results are explained considering the documents' legal and cultural embeddedness.

The conceptualization of folk tales is further discussed in Anikó Makkos' study on "The cultural conceptualization of the ancient Hungarian MAGICIAN preserved in folk tales" in which the metaphorical conceptualization of the ancient Hungarian shamanic belief system is analysed. The focus of this study is the main character of this religion, the Hungarian MAGICIAN or shaman (*táltos*) and its MAGICAL HORSE (*táltos ló*), both of which originate from the Ural-Altai shamanic tradition. Makkos' study establishes links between shamanic traditions and Hungarian folk tales using Cultural Linguistics as a novel approach.

Eve Jingwen Chen's study "Why would I care how much salt you have eaten? Reconceptualizing ELDER'S AUTHORITY through a Cantonese Idiom *sik jim do gwo nei sik mai*" explores the concept of ELDER'S AUTHORITY in Chinese society, which has evolved over generations and is now viewed as an obstacle to societal development and harmonious intergenerational relationships. The concept, rooted in Confucian values and associated with filial piety, has been reconceptualized through the use of a Cantonese idiom, *sik jim do gwo nei sik mai* 'I have eaten more salt than you have eaten rice'. The study analyzes online discourse and interviews with young Cantonese speakers to deconstruct the contemporary understanding of elder's authority and highlights that honoring age has been a steadfast cultural tradition in China, but its belief is no longer compatible with contemporary Chinese society.

The twenty-two chapters in this volume thus aim to explore and reconstruct traditional cultural conceptualizations and to examine how they are being renegotiated in our postmodern world. As the editors of this volume, we hope that this diverse collection of studies integrating cognitive and cultural linguistics with various disciplines across a broad spectrum of languages and cultures will be a fruitful venture for the reader.

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Part I
Time, History, and Cultural
Conceptualizations

Chapter 2

Figurative Construal in Prehistory: The Case of LION-MAN



Zoltán Kövecses

Abstract Cultures emerged when prehistoric humans began to create imagined realities (i.e., realities that do not exist objectively) (Harari in *Sapiens. A brief history of humankind*. Vintage, 2015). These imagined realities are constituted by abstract concepts. As we know from conceptual metaphor theory (see, e.g., Kövecses in *Metaphor. A practical introduction*, 2nd ed. Oxford University Press, 2010 [2002]; Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors we live by*. The University of Chicago Press, 1980), abstract concepts arise from more concrete concepts via figurative ways of conceptualization, such as metonymy, metaphor, and blending. With the help of the concrete concepts that denote physical reality, people around the world create a large variety of imagined realities, that is, cultures. The specific question I address in the paper is how we can explain the figurative processes that probably went on in the mind of one of the earliest artists who created the statue, or figurine, of Lion-man roughly 30,000 years ago. Using what I call “extended conceptual metaphor theory,” or “extended CMT,” for short (see Kövecses in *Extended conceptual metaphor theory*, Cambridge University Press, 2020), I attempt to map the figurative mechanisms that must have been present in the artist’s head and enabled the creation of the statue.

Keywords Lion-man · Prehistoric mind · Figurative devices · Metaphor · Metonymy · Blending · Extended CMT

2.1 Introduction

The inspiration for the project I report on here came from Yuval Harari’s book, *Sapiens. A brief history of humankind*. What was inspirational about the book was that, to a large extent, Harari (2015) discusses the history of human evolution in

I am indebted to Rob Wiseman for his detailed and constructive comments on the paper.

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terms of the cognitive development of mankind, an approach that makes it immediately amenable to a cognitive linguist. As Harari notes, in the first period of this cognitive development (that he calls the Cognitive Revolution), homo sapiens began to create “imagined realities,” or “fictions,” for short, such fictions as “spirits,” “gods,” “nations,” “money,” “power,” “rights,” “justice,” etc. None of these exist in the world objectively. But, as we know from CMT, humans can actually create mentally such fictions. We call them abstractions, or abstract concepts. What is striking about such fictions is that although we cannot perceive them directly through our senses (unlike many other entities in the world that we can), they perform extremely important roles in human life. These fictions, or abstract entities, can be created by such cognitive processes as metaphor, metonymy, and blending.

Given these observations, some interesting issues arise for a cognitive linguist, including the following: How did such fictions, or abstractions, emerge in prehistoric human thought? And which ones emerged this early? Or did they all emerge already then? How did metaphor and other figurative devices play a role in the emergence of cultures? In addition, there are a number of more specific questions that need to be answered in such an undertaking. These include: Do we have any evidence for the existence of metaphorical thinking by early humans between roughly 30,000 and 100,000 years ago? What was the “entry level” of metaphorical thinking as regards the participating conceptual structures—image schemas, frames or something else? What kind of metaphors were used initially—correlation or resemblance metaphors, or both? Did the emerging cultures share any forms of conceptual metaphors? How can we account for the apparent diversity of metaphorical thinking in later periods, but also maybe in the initial period of the emergence of metaphorical conceptualization? I use “extended conceptual metaphor theory” (Extended CMT) (see Kövecses, 2015, 2020) to begin to address such issues by way of focusing on a single material object that can be assumed to reflect and represent an abstraction.

But it is cognitive archeologists who are at the forefront of research on the earliest manifestations of human cultures. In a way “responding” to Harari’s suggestion, in the past couple of decades, some cognitive archeologists started to use some of the results of cognitive linguistics in their investigations of the beginnings of cultures (see, e.g., Ortman, 2000; Wiseman, 2014, 2015). One conceptual tool that they appear to find useful in their work is conceptual metaphor (see Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Since cognitive archeologists who study prehistory have no recourse to linguistic data, they can only work with material objects. They try to reconstruct the general patterns of life in prehistoric communities on the basis of material objects and their properties, some of which can serve as source domains for studying more abstract concepts that function as target domains. In other words, they are helped in their work by conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), as it can provide them with certain conceptual patterns (i.e., conceptual metaphors) that are relevant to the study of certain issues they are interested in. An example of this kind of work in cognitive archeology is the benefit we can derive from the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE. As one cognitive archeologist states, the advantage of the almost universal presence of this metaphor for archeologists would be that in communities where “inhabitants are free to choose where they build

their houses, archaeologists can assume that physical proximity in small settlements reflects social proximity” (Wiseman, 2015: 1048). Thus, the metaphor can guide researchers of prehistoric communities to make and test predictions concerning social issues within its scope.

My focus in the paper will be on one of the earliest artworks humans have ever created: a small statue, or figurine, called Lion-man in the literature. I will be concerned with the figurative processes that the maker of the statue, I assume, must have possessed to create it over 30,000 years ago. Similar to the cognitive archeologists, my starting point will be the figurative mechanisms that I deem to be relevant to such cognitive achievements as the creation of the statue today. One of these mechanisms is metaphor, which links the category of people and lions in many contemporary societies (see, e.g., Wei, 2011). In addition, I will suggest some further specific figurative devices that the artist must have used.

2.2 Extended CMT

Extended CMT (Kövecses, 2020) makes several relevant claims. First, metaphors can be either *resemblance-based* or *correlation-based*. Resemblance metaphors, like “life is a box of chocolates—you never know what you get,” are based on some schematic similarity between two entities or situations, whereas correlation metaphors, like “burning with anger” in ANGER IS FIRE, are based on correlations in experience (in this cases, intensity and heat, represented by the metaphor INTENSITY IS HEAT). Metaphor researchers who work in the CMT framework typically concentrate on correlation-based metaphors. These are conceptual metaphors in which two situations (states, events), a physical and a subjective, mental experience, are tightly correlated (such as body heat and anger or physical closeness with social/emotional closeness). These metaphors emerge from metonymic associations between these situations.

Second, the conventional and entrenched resemblance- and correlation-based conceptual metaphors form a stable metaphor system in *long-term memory*, which serves as the background to particular metaphoric usage events.

Third, in every metaphoric usage event involving correlation metaphors, the metaphors come in the form of *schematicity hierarchies* on four levels of conceptual structure: image schema, domain, frame, and mental space.

Fourth, the choice of metaphors (both linguistic and conceptual) in discourse is prompted by *context*.

Fifth, the conceptual metaphors on the image schema, domain, and frame levels are offline structures in long-term memory, whereas the conceptual *metaphors on the mental space level* exist or, more precisely, occur only online, *in working memory*. The offline structures provide the conceptual material for the online, mental space-level conceptual metaphors.

Sixth, not only abstract ideas but also *concrete (tangible) concepts* can be metaphorically understood (e.g., by means of personification).

This is a less than skeletal outline of the theory, but it can provide us with some background to the ideas discussed in the rest of the paper.

2.3 Three Tasks

If we want to operationalize our claims for the understanding of prehistoric humans' metaphoric, or, more generally, figurative, functioning and capacities, as well as its relationship to the figurative potential of modern people, it seems to me that we can set ourselves three basic tasks. In outlining the tasks below, I am assuming that imagined realities can be of various kinds. The imagined reality can be (a) an abstract concept or idea, (b) it can be an abstract idea that is represented physically, and (c) it can be an abstract idea that is used to interpret a physically existing thing or event. Let us now sketch the three tasks.

- (1) Given a piece of *currently existing imagined reality* (fiction, abstraction, abstract idea/concept),
 - how is it conceptualized today?
 - which offline conceptual structures make it up?
 - what is the meaning of the abstraction today?
 - how far can we trace it back in history?
 - can we trace it back to prehistory?

Examples for such imagined realities include a variety of concepts today, such as rights, morality, emotions, money, power, religion, and many others.

- (2) Given a piece of *imagined reality in prehistoric times* (abstract idea that is represented physically),
 - how did it possibly emerge? That is, which cognitive processes led to its existence?
 - which offline conceptual structure(s) is (are) involved in the creation of the abstraction?
 - what was the socio-pragmatic function (meaning) of the abstraction in prehistoric times?
 - how was its meaning motivated in prehistory?
 - how did it change up to the present? Can we trace the development of the abstraction to the present time? How was this development influenced by context?

The examples that belong in this group are the various items found by archeologists in different parts of the world, such as apparently figuratively conceived and made cave art, statuettes, utensils, buildings, etc.

- (3) Given a piece of *existing observable reality* (with an abstract idea that is used to interpret it, i.e., a piece of imagined reality) *today that is likely to have existed in prehistory*,

- how is it conceptualized today? By literal means or by figurative means?
- how is it interpreted today? (i.e., what is its meaning today?)
- how was it conceptualized in prehistory? By literal means or by figurative means?
- how was it interpreted? What was its meaning?
- in case of divergent meanings then and now, how can we account for the divergence?

An example of this can be the phenomenon of “fire.”

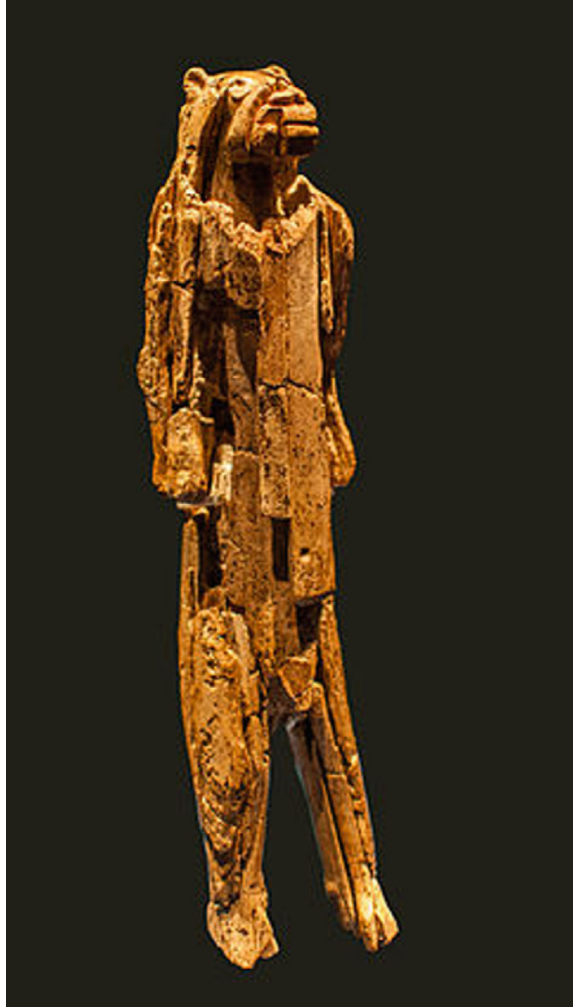
The three tasks outlined above are aimed at the issues of diachronic dynamism and the potential continuity of imagined realities. In a sense, imagined realities can be thought of processes of (figurative) symbolization. Viewed this way, we can distinguish several distinct forms of imagined realities, or symbolization. Facchini (2000) proposes three forms of symbolism (as he refers to the phenomenon): functional symbolism, social symbolism, and spiritual symbolism. This three-way distinction crosscuts the three tasks above. Functional symbolism (which has to do with issues of survival) would seem to include items from the second and third tasks, where utensils, buildings, and fire would be examples. Social symbolism (which ensures survival also on a biological-social level) would include items from the first task, such as morality, emotions, religion, as well as the second task (cave art, figurines). Spiritual symbolism (which “goes beyond both functional and social purposes” [Facchini, 2000: 544]) would take elements from both the first task (religion) and second task (figurines). In other words, the classification by Facchini is based on the kinds of purposes symbols are meant to achieve. The three tasks represent an effort to deal with three distinct cases of imagined reality based on the nature of the imagined reality: (a) an abstract concept or idea, (b) an abstract idea that is represented physically, and (c) an abstract idea that is used to interpret a physically existing thing or event.

In the paper, I will only discuss the issues related to the second task and examine the statue of “lion-man,” an archeological find from prehistoric times.

2.4 Lion-Man

Lion-man is a small statue found in a cave in South-Western Germany. It was created around 32,000 years ago. It is regarded as the first figurine that fuses a human with an animal: the *body of a human* with the *head of a lion*. It looks like this (Fig. 2.1).

The first question we can ask about the statue is how it was conceptualized. Clearly, we can only make informed guesses regarding the issue. However, based on what we know about the nature of abstractions in contemporary cultures (Tomasello, 1999), it could have been conceptualized only figuratively, since there are no real-world entities with a human body and the head of a lion. As this physically observable artwork shows, an abstraction was created which does not exist in physical reality, only in the mental reality of the artist. Next, we can ask which conceptual operations

Fig. 2.1 Lion-man

were used in its creation. Given a CMT framework, the usual candidates would be metaphor, metonymy, and blending, or their combinations.

Some cognitive archeologists argue that it is metaphor. Mithen (1996), for example, suggests that the Lion-man is the product of “cognitive fluidity” that allows conceptual materials to move from one domain of intelligence (in this case, biological intelligence) to another (here, social intelligence). Hence, putting it in terms of CMT, we have the generic metaphor: HUMANS ARE ANIMALS. In terms of extended CMT, it would be a domain-level metaphor (connecting the high-level domain of HUMANS with the high-level domain of ANIMALS). In other words, we can interpret Mithen’s suggestion to say that the entry level for prehistoric humans into abstract