Cultural-Linguistic Explorations into Spirituality, Emotionality, and Society

EDITED BY

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John Benjamins Publishing Company

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Hans-Georg Wolf, Denisa Latić, and Anna Finzel

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Introduction

Hans-Georg Wolf, Denisa Latić, and Anna Finzel
University of Potsdam

We were in the process of finalizing this volume when news reached us of the passing of Farzad Sharifian. Farzad was *the* key figure of Cultural Linguistics. Gary Palmer (1996) laid the foundation, and Farzad has built Cultural Linguistics as it is today: an internationally recognized field of research (see below). Farzad will live on not only in the hearts and minds of his colleagues and friends, but also in his numerous publications, publicly available presentations as well as in the countless works that have adopted his theoretical framework. We dedicate this book to him.

This volume emanates from the jointly held *38th Linguistic Agency University of Duisburg* (LAUD) conference and the *2nd Cultural Linguistics International Conference* (CLIC) that took place in August 2018, in Landau, Germany.[1] Combining the two conference series was a natural choice. LAUD (originally called L.A.U.T., which stood for "Linguistic Agency University of Trier") has a long tradition of showcasing cutting-edge research on alternating themes, primarily in the areas of Cognitive Linguistics and Sociolinguistics (and a fusion of the two with Cognitive Sociolinguistics as the conference theme in 2010). Given that the LAUD conferences featured world-leading scholars, these conferences often set the research agendas in their respective fields (see University of Koblenz-Landau, n.d., on the history of LAUD). Likewise, the newly-established CLIC conferences pay tribute to the ever-growing role Cultural Linguistics plays as a catalyst and new paradigm for a range of different research foci at the nexus of language and culture (see, for example, Sharifian, 2017a; Wolf, Polzenhagen, and Peters, 2017; Schröder, Mendes de Oliveira, and Wolf, 2020).

Accordingly, this volume is based on the firm belief that culture and language are inextricably connected, a tenet that has been around at least since Herder. Even more so, already for early "culturalists," the connection between culture and language was not a philosophically vague assumption, but tangible in structural properties of language (see Polzenhagen and Wolf, 2010). While some of these earlier

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1. See Peters and Mundt (2021) and Polzenhagen and Reif (in prep.) for related collective volumes.

approaches to culture and language may have fallen into disrepute (see Polzenhagen and Wolf, 2010), along with the resurgent linguistic interest in culture since the 1980s, new theoretical approaches, new terminologies, and new methodological tools have been dynamically developed. As indicated above, Cultural Linguistics has emerged as a leading paradigm that draws from various disciplines in its endeavor to explore the relation between culture and language (see Sharifian, 2015). With its focus on cognition, Cultural Linguistics is a cognate with Cognitive Sociolinguistics (see, e.g., Kristiansen and Dirven, 2008; Pütz et al., 2014), yet, arguably, with a more rigid analytical terminology. Nevertheless, Sharifian (2015, p. 477, also see Sharifian, this volume) subsumes "'cultural schema," "cultural category" (including "cultural prototype"), and "cultural metaphor" under the collective label "cultural conceptualizations."[2] The attentive reader may notice certain differences regarding the use of (cultural) metaphor and cultural conceptualization in the chapters of this volume. Sometimes, authors (cf. Chen, Ghazi, this volume) may use the term "(cultural) metaphor" in instances where we would find the more neutral term "cultural conceptualization" to be more appropriate. The reason for this preferred usage is laid out in Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009, p. 60):

> Whether the relationship between source and target domain is to be regarded as one of similarity/analogy or rather one of contiguity depends on the "perspectives" (in the sense of Bartsch, 2002) that are involved in the particular context of use, and on what constitutes a certain domain of experience for a particular individual. In a cross-cultural analysis, this issue comes to the fore even more prominently. Concepts that would pertain to the same domain of experience for members of a specific socio-cultural group may rather belong to different matrixes for members of another group. … Occasionally it is … hard to decide if a particular expression in a non-Western variety of English [or any other language, for that matter] has a metaphorical or non-metaphorical conceptual basis. Leaving the question open, we therefore prefer to sometimes use the neutral label "conceptualizations."

In addition, "*cultural* conceptualizations are cultural in the sense that they are culture-specific or restricted to a small number of cultures" (Kühmstedt and Wolf, fc., emphasis added). To our mind, Sharifian's term "cultural metaphor" should only be used if domain separation seems evident and if cultural specificity is given (for the latter, otherwise, one should stick with the term "conceptual metaphor" from Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)). Admittedly, it follows that the term "cultural conceptualization" would have two senses, a broader and a narrower one: (a) as a reference to and cover term for all culture-specific conceptual material

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2.   Note that in Sharifian (2011, p. 5), only "cultural schema" and "cultural category" are referred to as cultural conceptualizations; also see Sharifian (2003, p. 188).

(including cultural schemas and cultural categories) and (b) for cases which cannot be unequivocally designated as conceptual/cultural metaphor or conceptual/cultural metonymy.[3]

Regarding convention, it is agreed that conceptual material is represented in small caps. However, for cultural metaphors, Sharifian (2017b, p. 18) proposes to use AS instead of IS. While the latter usage is conventional in CMT (e.g., TIME IS MONEY), Sharifian provides no explanation for his preference (e.g., TIME AS MONEY). For the future, one could, perhaps, use AS for cultural conceptualizations in the narrow sense sketched above, and IS for clear cases of cultural metaphor, which would be in line with the conventions of CMT. Until these issues have been resolved, however, we prefer to use the more established IS.

Notwithstanding such minor disagreements, Sharifian has been pivotal in establishing Cultural Linguistics as a global research paradigm and in shaping its terminology. This is just one reason why his chapter was selected as lead chapter. Not only does it provide a sketch of the analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics on which subsequent chapters build, but it also provides a new perspective on a research area that, according to Sharifian, so far has been dominated by sociolinguistic approaches: language and religion. After an overview of these approaches and partly drawing on previous studies, Sharifian applies the cultural linguistic framework to three religious subjects: Sufism, conceptualizations of DEATH in Buddhism and Christianity, and conceptualizations of SACRED SITES in Aboriginal English. As disparate as these religious beliefs may seem, Sharifian's discussion shows how spirituality materializes in language and, in turn, how language can provide access to the ways this spirituality is conceptualized.

Spirituality is also the theme of the second chapter. On the basis of two corpora – a corpus of unedited classifieds and one composed of ethnographic interviews – Peters looks at cultural conceptualizations of ancestral communication in Black South African English and the mediating role of diviner-diagnosticians. Through the ritualized and non-verbal act of THROWING BONES, these mediators are understood to achieve communication with the ancestors in the cultural context of Black South African English.

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3. Sharifian (2017b, p. 11) is right in stating that "[c]ultural metonymy is another potentially useful analytical tool in Cultural Linguistics." However, given the indeterminacy regarding cross-domain mapping or not, the narrow sense of the term "cultural conceptualization" covers cultural metonymy as well. Ultimately, it is an empirical question to determine whether certain concepts fall within one or two domains for any cultural group. As to the definition of certain terms in Cultural Linguistics, see Sharifian (2017b) and Ghazi, this volume. A more critical and comprehensive review of the terminology of Cultural Linguistics is prepared by Wolf and Polzenhagen (in prep.).

The third chapter offers a unique and pioneering perspective on applied Cultural Linguistics. Wolf's contribution inverts the established (synchronic and intracultural) cultural-linguistic approaches to language and uses its analytical tools to carry out a pan-cultural analysis of conceptualizations of menstrual blood across time. The focus hereby lies more on the unifying aspects and shared conceptual mappings of MENSTRUAL BLOOD, which – on the basis of the corpus data – can be accounted for in Latin America, Nigeria, Indonesia, China, and the United States, to name but a few regions and countries. Following from that, Wolf also discusses the possibility of an archetypal idea of menstrual blood and its spiritual dimension as an explanation for its spread across cultures and time.

Taking a multidisciplinary approach to conceptualizations of emotion, Stoica looks at the conceptualization of SHAME in Old Romanian. The corpus findings suggest that although 'shame' is a highly individual feeling, it is also socially coded, in that it is defined by social rules. This, in turn, illustrates that the construal of SELF is a dependant of the community and reflects the collectivist nature of the Old Romanian (and present-day Romanian) cultural model of SOCIETY.

The conceptualizations of SHAME are also the main focus in the subsequent chapter. Ghazi takes a cultural-linguistic perspective on its Persian equivalents *xejâlat* and *kamruyi*. On the basis of a corpus compiled of 150 questionnaires, dictionary and encyclopedia entries, as well as web-based speech data, Ghazi shows that the two different shame-related emotion categories arise from a distinction between the self and the evaluation of the self by others. Consequently, in the Persian cultural context, *xejâlat* refers to the inner state of the experiencer, while *kamruyi* is considered an undesirable character trait. Lexically, these culture-specific conceptualizations are realized by a set of shame-related synonyms in Persian.

In a cross-cultural study that compares British English to Polish, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Wilson examine emotional clusters of MENTAL HURT in data gathered experimentally as well as from corpora. In their study, the authors widen the analysis of HURT under consideration of related emotion clusters such as, for example, SADNESS, ANGER, and PRIDE, demonstrating the complexity of HURT. In terms of cultural variation, it was found that in British English "hurt" is more closely connected to ANGER and Polish *poczucie krzywdy* to SADNESS.

Baranyiné Kóczy sets out to analyze the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in Hungarian in the light of the choices women make with regard to their marital names. With seven different name patterns available to choose from upon marriage in Hungary, these patterns are shown to represent different extents of adherence to the schema in question. For data collection, 533 women completed questionnaires in which their adherence to traditional vs. modern values was surveyed, and their answers were compared against the marital name choice they had made. Baranyiné

Kóczy proposes a Fuzzy Signature Model with which she evaluates the different components of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, concluding that such a complex approach returns more reliable results than a single-component approach.

Of the chapters that deal with issues in the realm of gender and sexuality, Finzel's contribution opens with a discussion of conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY in Indian and Nigerian English. Based on data gathered through interviews with speakers of the two varieties, she found that conceptualizations in Indian English are in general more positively connoted and draw on a notion of INNATENESS. In contrast, conceptualizations in Nigerian English are more negatively connoted and often draw on a notion of ACQUISITION. These findings are discussed against the backdrop of two assumed cultural models of GENDER specific to the Indian, respectively Nigerian context.

In her contrastive corpus analysis, Huang analyzes cultural variation in the interpretations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY in British English and Chinese. While both languages employ the metaphor, the underlying culture-specific understanding of the source domain JOURNEY yields distinct mappings onto the target domain LIFE. Huang shows that in Chinese, aspects of PURPOSE and DIFFICULTIES are prevalent, which is tune with the Chinese worldview of a pre-defined goal that is to be achieved in life. In English, however, aspects of ACTION/CAUSE and CHANGE/PROGRESS are highlighted, which is reflective of a more flexible and alternative view on how to reach goals in life or the destination of the journey, for that matter.

The chapter by Chen elaborates on the centrality and quasi-spiritual dimension of rice in Cantonese culture. Chen's focus of investigation lies on rice-related idioms in Cantonese she gathered from dictionaries and reference books. These idioms were presented to Cantonese-speakers from Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau. Chen finds RICE to be a common source domain for the domains of ESSENTIALS and VALUABLES. Her study not only reveals underlying conceptualizations instantiated by *rice*, but also gauges to what degree the informants perceive the idioms in question to be idiomatic.

As is evident from the topics addressed in these chapters, this volume is thematically structured according to the topics of spirituality, emotionality, and society. Most of these topics are, so far, under-researched from a cultural linguistic perspective. It is our hope that the contributions included here inspire further such studies into the rich *Lebenswelten* of human existence.

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Cultural-linguistic explorations into religion, spirituality, and the supernatural

Cultural Linguistics and religion

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Spiritual systems such as religions embody particular worldviews or systems of conceptualizing life, death, morality, creation, the life hereafter, fate, and so on. Since these conceptualizations are more or less shared across any speech community that believes in the same faith, religions can be viewed as providing systems of *cultural conceptualizations*. The analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics should therefore be able to offer fruitful tools for examining the language and conceptualizations associated with spiritual systems. This chapter demonstrates this premise by presenting a survey of the research on language and religion from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics.

1. Cultural Linguistics

Cultural Linguistics is a field of research with multidisciplinary origins, which explores the interrelationship between language and cultural conceptualizations (Sharifian, 2011, 2017a, 2017b). The theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics can provide a nuanced understanding of the nature of, and the relationship amongst, cultural cognition, cultural conceptualizations and language. The analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics, on the other hand, provides a number of analytical tools (cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphors), collectively referred to as "cultural conceptualizations," and explores how they are encoded in certain features of human languages and language varieties, such as World Englishes. This chapter will show that the analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics also provides a set of robust tools for the in-depth explorations of conceptualizations underpinning religion and spirituality. The relationship between language and cultural conceptualizations may be diagrammatically represented as follows:
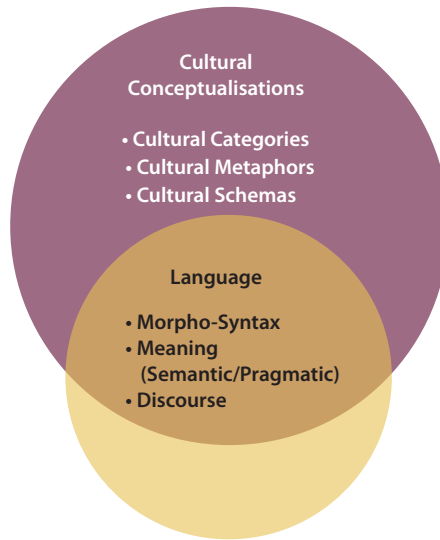
Figure 1. The analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics (source: Sharifian, 2017b, p. 8)

Cultural schemas (and subschemas) capture beliefs, norms, rules, and expectations of behavior as well as values relating to various aspects and components of experience. Cultural schemas, which may in some cases encompass subschemas, are instantiated in various aspects of language. They capture encyclopedic meaning that is culturally constructed and realized via many lexical items of human languages. The word *privacy* in American English may serve as an example: the pool of knowledge that forms the web of concepts defining what privacy entails from an Anglo-American perspective in relation to various contexts and factors is best described as the Anglo-American cultural schema of PRIVACY. Cultural schemas may also provide a basis for pragmatic meanings, in the sense that the knowledge underpinning the enactment and uptake of speech acts, which is knowledge assumed to be culturally constructed and therefore shared, can be said to be largely captured in such schemas. For example, in Chinese, as well as in many (Southeast) Asian languages, the speech act of "greeting" is closely associated with the Chinese cultural schemas of EATING and FOOD, to the extent that people use the question "Have you eaten?" as a greeting. In other languages, such as Persian, greetings are associated with cultural schemas that relate to the health of the interlocutors and their family members, and they are phrased accordingly. The inquiries, for example, include asking about the health of spouse, parents, siblings, and children.

From a Cultural Linguistics perspective, making appropriate inferences and assumptions about the knowledge of one's interlocutors is based on the existence of shared cultural schemas. Successful communication presupposes that speakers and hearers are acquainted with these schemas which are necessary for making

sense of the enactment of speech acts. In short, cultural schemas capture pools of knowledge that provide the basis for a significant portion of encyclopedic and pragmatic meanings in human languages, and a substantial foundation for the "common ground," i.e., the knowledge shared, or assumed to be shared, by the members of a speech community.

Cultural categories (and subcategories) are those culturally constructed conceptual categories (colors, emotions, attributes, foodstuffs, kinship terms, events, etc.) that are primarily reflected in the lexicon of human languages. In English, the word *food* refers to a category, and a word such as *steak* is an instance of that category. Usually, categories form networks and hierarchies, in that instances of a category can themselves serve as categories with their own instances. For example, *pasta* is an instance of the category of FOOD but is also a (sub)category in its own right (i.e., PASTA), with its own instances such as *penne* or *rigatoni*. Subcategories, too, are culturally constructed, and so are their prototypical (and less prototypical) instances: the distinction between vegetables and fruit is not clear-cut, tomatoes being a good example of a food that seems to "fall between the cracks" (see Petruzello, n.d.). The above remarks hold true for all categories and subcategories, whether they refer to objects, events, or to such other categories as color categories, age categories, kinship categories, categories that relate to religion, and so on.

Cultural metaphors are cross-domain conceptualizations grounded in cultural traditions such as folk medicine, worldview, or a spiritual belief system (see Sharifian et al., 2008). As an example, temperature terms, in particular *garm* 'warm' and *sard* 'cold,' are used as cultural metaphors in Persian to categorize edible things, such as food and fruit, as well as human nature. For example, *fish* is categorized as COLD while *walnuts* are categorized as WARM. People may also be categorized as having a hot or a cold nature. These categorizations have provided Persian speakers with a kind of folk medicine approach to people's health problems. Thus, people diagnose each other's rather mild illnesses as temporary imbalances caused by having had too much "cold" or "hot" food, and they often recommend foods of the opposite type as a kind of remedy. For example, if someone feels lethargic as a result of eating beef, categorized as a "cold" food, "warm" food is considered to create a balance of "warm" and "cold" food in the digestive system. As mentioned above, these conceptualizations involving temperature are consistent with Iranian Traditional Medicine (ITM) and its theory of the four humors. Temperature concepts play a pivotal role in the theory of the four humors and in ITM in general. According to these ancient theories, the basic components of the universe are warmness, coldness, wetness and dryness. The primary "natures" are warmness and coldness, while wetness and dryness are regarded as secondary "natures." Galen (AD 131–200) is known to have constructed the first typology of temperaments, exploring the physiological reasons for different behaviors in humans and linking them to hot/cold-dry/wet temperaments, based on the four "natures."

2. Background

Traditionally, linguistic research focusing on religion has mainly taken a socio-linguistic perspective (e.g., Pandharipande, David, & Ebsworth, 2019; Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006; Samarin, 1976, 1987; Sawyer, 2001a, 2001b; Sawyer & Simpson, 2001). The sociolinguistic approach regards religious language as the end product of the intersection of a number of different language variables within the context of human religious experience (Samarin, 1987). Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) provide a summary of the development of language and religion as a socio-linguistic field of study. They note, for example, the significance of religion as a so-cial variable that influences language maintenance, shift, variation, ecology as well as language spread, standardization, planning, and policy. Other areas of research on language and religion include the discourse functions of religious language. Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) furthermore present a brief overview of the *Concise encyclopedia of language and religion* (Sawyer & Simpson, 2001) and note that the main themes of the encyclopedia are as follows:

1. The role of language in a wide range of religions.
2. Sacred texts, their translations, and archeological finds.
3. The role of particular languages or language varieties (e.g., Jewish Aramaic) in the history and development of religions.
4. The special use of language in contexts of worship, theological discourse, reli-gious experiences (e.g., meditation), and in everyday life (e.g., cursing).

Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) also refer to the framework that Bernard Spolsky (2006) developed for the study of language and religion, which consists of the following dimensions:

1. The effects of religion on language (e.g., influence of religion on language choice, maintenance, and borrowing).
2. The reciprocal relationship between language and religion (e.g., the interface between multilingualism and religious pluralism).
3. The effects of language on religion (e.g., the role of language in building reli-gious communities).
4. Language, religion, and literacy (e.g., the influence of language and religion on literacy).

In general, the overview presented in the article by Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011) reveals that sociolinguistic research on language and religion has examined the reciprocal influence of a wide range of sociolinguistic variables on religion. Comparatively little research has been carried out on language and religion from the perspective of other sub-disciplines of linguistics. An exception to this dearth is Wierzbicka's work (2001, 2019) titled 'What did Jesus really mean?' and 'What

Christians believe,' which draw on linguistic semantics to offer a novel perspective for research on religious texts (see also Habib, 2012, 2018). She makes use of the two analytical tools of conceptual primes and human universal concepts to offer "an entirely new perspective on the study of the Gospels, especially on the meaning of Jesus' sayings" (Wierzbicka, 2001, p. 6). Another exception to this is the recent collection of articles edited by Chilton and Kopytowska (2018) entitled *Religion, language, and the human mind* (see also Wolf, 2006). The chapters in this volume examine the relationship between language and religion from a variety of cognitive perspectives, such as Cognitive Linguistics, pragmatics in the Cognitive Linguistics framework, and neuroscience.

The newly developed field of Cultural Linguistics has examined the language and cultural conceptualizations associated with spirituality and religion from the onset. From the perspective of Cultural Linguistics, terms such as "religion," "spirituality," and "traditional beliefs" are not seen to be representing distinct sets of conceptualizations. As Wolf (2006, p. 42) puts it, "[i]t is crucial to note that "religion" and traditional beliefs should not be seen as something separated … If a cosmology is involved …, then all concepts pertaining to it are 'religious'."

The following sections present summaries of studies of religion from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics.

3.   Conceptualizations relating to Sufi life

Most accounts of Sufism rely on the cultural metaphor SUFI LIFE IS A PATH TOWARDS BECOMING ONE WITH GOD. The Sufi spiritual path is characterized by "annihilation" – Ahmadi and Ahmadi (1998, p. 67) refer to "abnegation" – of the self, aimed at reaching God and uniting with Him, in what is called the Unity of Existence. As Ahmadi and Ahmadi (1998, p. 72) put it, "through this process, one proceeds from the state of 'I-ness' to the state of 'He-ness' and from there to the state of 'one-ness'." This state of one-ness is the Unification with God.

Javad Nūrbakhsh (1992), an influential Iranian Sufi scholar and practitioner, summarizes the Sufi path diagrammatically as in Figure 2. According to Nūrbakhsh (1992), the self (*nafs*) is conceptualized as a stage a Sufi passes through towards perfection and finding God in oneself. He maintains that, from the Sufi point of view:

> […] material nature (*tab'*), the self (*nafs*), heart (*del*), spirit (*ruh*), the inner consciousness (*serr* or *xafi*), and the innermost consciousness (*serr-e serr* or *axfâ*) constitute the stages of advancement through which the human psyche passes on its journey towards perfection.   (Nūrbakhsh, 1992, p. 1)

According to this chain of conceptualizations, material nature is inherited at birth and has a significant influence on the development of *nafs*. The latter takes place as a
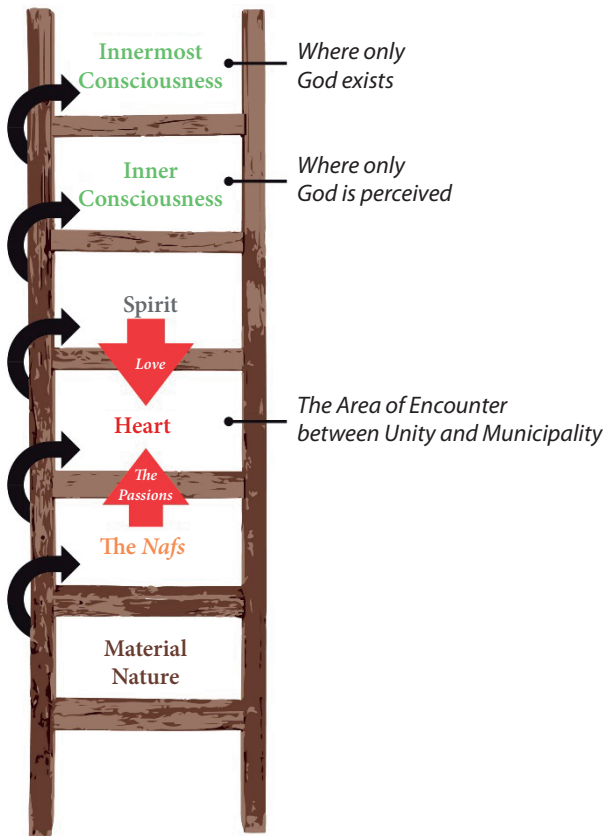
Figure 2. The stages of the human psyche's advancement and perfection in the traversal of the Sufi path (based on Nūrbakhsh, 1992, p. 3)

result of interaction with the natural and cultural environment, and in the course of processes of socialization within the family, school, and so on. Nūrbakhsh's account of Sufism reflects the cultural conceptualizations NAFS IS A PERSON WITH EGOISTIC TENDENCIES (such as pride, jealousy, and greed) and NAFS IS THE SOURCE OF THE IMPULSE TO DO ILL. Attributes of *nafs* (sourced from Nūrbakhsh, 1992, pp. 12–19) include the following: *nafs* is ignorant; *nafs* is an idol; *nafs* finds peace only in deceit; *nafs* stands accused of evils of all kinds; *nafs* always desires that which is prohibited; *nafs* is a slave to the passions; *nafs* is a hypocrite, a pretender, and an idolater (latent idolatry is one of the most corrupt tendencies of the *nafs*); *nafs* is arrogant and egocentric; *nafs* likes to be complimented and praised by others; *nafs* changes its color every moment; *nafs* is greedy. All of these attributes of *nafs* reflect the underlying conceptualization NAFS IS A PERSON. Some scholars have translated

nafs as the 'lower self' in English. The 13th-century Sufi mystic Molavi (known as Rumi to Westerners) metaphorically referred to NAFS IS A DOG:

> I thought that if I put the chain of repentance around the neck of the dog (the *nafs*), if I make him old that way, maybe I could eliminate his rebellion. But whenever he sees a decaying corpse, he breaks the chain and runs for the corpse. I do not know how I am going to deal with this dog (the *nafs*). I do not know what I should do to this dog (the *nafs*). (Rumi, cited in Can, 2005, p. 176)

The second stage in the Sufi path is *del*. The cultural conceptualization that is at stake here is DEL IS THE SPIRITUAL HEART; the body part term instantiates the site contested by *nafs* and *ruh* 'spirit.' Whichever wins the battle conquers the heart and therefore rules the individual. There are particular cultural schemas associated with *del* which may vary in different accounts of Sufism. For example, Nūrbakhsh (1992, p. 72) observes that the spiritual heart "is the site of all the knowledge and perfections of the spirit and the site of the appearance of the revelations of Divine Manifestations through different levels of the Essence." He notes that "[t]he physical heart governs the physical body and the spiritual heart governs the psyche" (Nūrbakhsh 1992, p. 76). A Sufi strives to purify the heart through detachment from the world and from *nafs*, and through attention to God. Detachment from the world is achieved through suppressing the outward senses, which can plague the heart. Once this is achieved, the Sufi's mission is to resist the satanic temptations of his *nafs*. An important weapon during this battle is the constant remembrance of God (*zekr*). Nūrbakhsh (1992, p. 106) observes that "[t]he virtue of remembrance is that it effaces and removes all turbidity and veiling which Satan and the *nafs* have rooted in the heart."

The main Sufi conceptualization relating to *del* is that of DEL IS THE HOME OF SPIRITUAL LOVE FOR THE BELOVED, that is, for God. Nūrbakhsh (1992, p. 91) maintains that the *del*'s "very existence is founded on love, and the existence of love is through it." Part of a Sufi poem by Sa'do'd-Din Hamuya (cited in Nūrbakhsh, 1992, p. 83) reads, "[i]f there were no heart, where would love build a home?" For a Sufi, the attainment of this love is through cleansing the heart from the plague of desires and passions that it endures in its original state (cf. Sharifian, 2011, p. 162f).

Once it attains perfection, the heart becomes a site for the manifestations of all God's attributes, which are of two types: grace and wrath. This is the stage of Unity with God, where a Sufi finds God in his heart. Cultural Linguistics expresses this as a proposition schema: GOD EXISTS IN A SUFI'S HEART. Ahmadi and Ahmadi (1998, p. 64) summarize the Sufi's spiritual journey in terms of two steps: stepping out of one's self (THE SELF IS A CONTAINED PLACE/CONTAINER) and stepping into God (GOD IS A CONTAINED PLACE/CONTAINER).

4.   Conceptualizations relating to death in Buddhist and Christian eulogistic idioms

A recent study adopting the framework of Cultural Linguistics to examine the conceptual basis of religion is that of Lu (2017), who focuses on cultural conceptualizations of DEATH in the idioms of Taiwanese Buddhist and Christian eulogies. To begin with, Lu notes that FUNERAL is an event category and that different speech communities/religious groups have different customs and rituals associated with funerals. Lu's study relies on Mandarin eulogistic idioms stored in the official eulogy request system in Taiwan. The idioms from the Buddhist data analyzed for the study reflect six major cultural conceptualizations, described as DEATH IS REBIRTH (reflected in sentences such as "(This person has gone) towards life in the pure land"), DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, REBIRTH IS WEST (reflected in sentences such as "(This person) has died; (his life is) complete (and he has) returned to the west"), LIFE IS A CIRCLE, A PERSON IS A LOTUS, and HEAVEN IS A LOTUS GROVE. The Christian data reflects three underlying cultural conceptualizations: DEATH IS REST, HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME, and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY. Some of these cultural conceptualizations appear to be based on underlying cultural schemas. For example, the Taiwanese Buddhist cultural conceptualization DEATH IS REBIRTH is consistent with the underlying cultural schema of REINCARNATION, by virtue of which life and death form a never-ending cycle where death is not only the end of a particular life but also the beginning of another. The conceptualization according to which DEATH/REBIRTH IS WEST is consistent with a Buddhist cultural schema by virtue of which, at life's end, people return to the Western Heaven, and Buddha looks westward to bless a person's soul. The metaphor A PERSON IS A LOTUS appears to be based on a Buddhist cultural schema according to which SYMBOLS OF PURITY AND HOLINESS are conceptualized as LOTUSES, and when a person is portrayed as a lotus, it implies that this person's life is pure and spotless. Similarly, the conceptualizations reflected in the Christian idioms are consistent with the worldview that characterizes Christianity and according to which, for example, DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO THE LORD. Lu notes that, in some cases, more than one conceptualization is reflected in a single idiom. He also notes that some of the underlying conceptualizations, such as the one according to which DEATH IS A JOURNEY, appear to be shared by both groups. Overall, Lu's study reflects how Cultural Linguistics can elegantly bring out conceptualizations that underlie religious language.

5.   Conceptualizations relating to Sacred Sites in Aboriginal English

The analysis of cultural conceptualizations associated with discourses of spirituality is not necessarily limited to what has traditionally been labelled "religion," but may include any form of discourse around spirituality and sacredness. In the remainder of this chapter I will present an example of the discourse of sacredness and spirituality from an Australian variety of English called 'Aboriginal English.' A great deal of discourse in Aboriginal English reflects conceptualizations that relate to sacred and spiritual phenomena. However, before turning to the topic of Sacredness in Aboriginal English, a brief characterization of Aboriginal English seems to be in order.

5.1   Aboriginal English

Aboriginal English, or more properly termed, Aboriginal Englishes, refers to the indigenized varieties of English spoken by Aboriginal people in Australia, either as their first or second language (e.g., Arthur, 1996; Eades, 1991, 1995; Harkins, 1990, 2000; Kaldor & Malcolm, 1991; Malcolm, 1994a, b). Although Aboriginal people come from a variety of cultural-linguistic backgrounds, it is possible, with a fair level of generalization, to refer collectively to the varieties of English that they speak as 'Aboriginal English.' This is due to the similarities in the conceptual systems and the worldviews that characterize most of these varieties, which came into existence as a result of various contact-induced linguistic processes such as pidginization, depidginization, creolization, and decreolization through the interaction of English and Aboriginal languages. However, varieties of Aboriginal English did not develop solely due to the need for a lingua franca between Aboriginal people and European settlers. Aboriginal people who were displaced by Europeans from their original settlement areas, and who collectively spoke more than 250 different languages, have needed a lingua franca to communicate with each other. Thus, Aboriginal English is, as Eades (1991, p. 57) notes, "a distinctive dialect of English which reflects, maintains and continually creates Aboriginal culture and identity." Malcolm (2001, p. 217) also observes that "AbE [Aboriginal English] is a symbol of cultural maintenance; it is the adopted code of a surviving culture."

In terms of syntax, Aboriginal English is more variable than Australian English (Malcolm, 2001, 2004). It has been noted that structured varieties of Aboriginal English share many features with creoles and substrate languages (Dixon, 1980; Harkins, 1990). Koch (2000) observes that in Central Australian Aboriginal English, *belong* is used as a preposition to mark conceptualizations of POSSESSION and PURPOSE (comparable to *of* and *for* in Australian English).

Also, Aboriginal English has certain distinctive pragmatic norms which reflect Aboriginal cultural systems. Eades (e.g., 1982, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000) has observed that Aboriginal speakers rely on more indirect strategies for seeking information in comparison to Anglo-Australians, who usually try to elicit information in a direct and repeated manner. Eades has also observed that silence achieves certain functions for Aboriginal English speakers which are unfamiliar to non-Aboriginal speakers, including that of mourning. Misunderstandings due to such cultural differences in communication style have disadvantaged Aboriginal English speakers in legal cases involving murder and allegations of deprivation of liberty by police officers (Eades, 1995, 1996, 2000).

5.2   Sacredness in Aboriginal English

For Aboriginal people, Sacred Sites (which may be hills, rocks, waterholes, trees, plains, and lakes) embody conceptualizations of the activities of Ancestor Beings in the Dreamtime. As such, they have immeasurable symbolic significance. In the Aboriginal worldview, during the Dreamtime, Ancestor Beings created the Land, the people, and the animals, and at the end of their journey turned into topographical features.

In order to convey the immeasurable symbolic importance of various aspects of Aboriginal cultures (e.g., Sacred Sites), Aboriginal English speakers often use analogies associated with Spirituality and Sacredness that are culturally familiar to non-Aboriginal speakers (e.g., church, Bible, university, library). This is a particular feature of Aboriginal English that deserves an in-depth analysis from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics. A telling example is the phrase "Our Bible is getting ripped apart," from the following excerpt:

(1)   *When you go to church you pray to the lord. We haven't got a church. We learn our people out in the bush. And all these rocks that's got carving on, we teach the children and sing the songs to them and that's how they come to learn about culture. […] Our Bible is getting ripped apart, and we'll have nothing here to show them about our culture law.*   (Dingle, 2015)

The Aboriginal Elder refers to "going to church" and uses the Bible as an analogy to highlight the significance, to Aboriginal people, of what they refer to as their Sacred Sites, many of which are being destroyed by mining companies. A piece of legislation called the "Aboriginal Heritage Act" has made this kind of destruction possible by ruling that Sacred Sites had to be "devoted to a religious use," and not merely subject to "mythological belief." The following utterances by Aboriginal speakers are further examples of this usage, one involving language, which reflects how language can have an important spiritual nature.

(2)   *Well, if we talk of sacredness, what do we mean by sacredness? I mean in general terms today, we might identify a sacred place as being a synagogue, a church, a mosque, … What is sacred today perhaps in very general terms, we might say the family home. If somebody were to come into your home uninvited, you would feel violated.*   (ABC, 2001)

(3)   *When we do ceremony sometimes we we do the smoking ceremonies, that's the same as a Catholic Church doing the incense, same thing. We ask our ancestors to be there, to move all negative energy out when we have our meetings.*
                                              (Global Oneness Project, 2009a)

(4)   *When I talk about my culture, my language, my songs and dances – the spirits of my fathers, they are not here, they are back at home* [referring to an Aboriginal Country Land]. *That is our library, that is our university. That is where we belong.*
                                              (GetUp! Australia, 2009)

(5)   *Our language is like a pearl inside a shell. The shell is like the people that carry the language. If our language is taken away, then that would be like a pearl that is gone. We would be like an empty oyster shell.*   (Parliament of Australia, n.d.)

The following excerpt reflects some other conceptualizations relating to Sacred Sites, specifically THE LAND IS A CONTAINER FOR SPIRITUAL CEREMONIES, TREES/ ROCKS ARE CONTAINERS FOR SPIRITUAL CEREMONIES:

(6)   *Um if we said that that place was sacred over there you know across Uluru. If I sat down I was tellin' a lot of politicians or someone you can't develop over there because that place is sacred over there and the first thing that they would do, then they would go and they would look to see what was sacred about it or they would try and bring the sacredness down, and you know they'd say "well so what's sacred about it?" You know but they can't understand the energy or the ceremonies that went into the land and the singing that went into the land, into the rocks ah into the trees ah they cannot understand that and ah and so they've got to look to find some to identify something there. They're trying to look for that sacredness thing, you can't see sacredness.*   (Global Oneness Project, 2009b)

As can be seen in this excerpt, the Aboriginal speaker associates particular Sacred Sites with the "energy," the "ceremonies," and the "singing" that have gone into them. That is, the Land absorbs the spirit of the rituals that are performed on it and as such it becomes Sacred. Many Aboriginal ceremonies, which involve singing, music, dance, and visual art, depict Dreamtime Stories.

   Finally, it is to be noted that communities of speakers often reconceptualize elements of religion as they adopt and localize them (see also Yükleyen, 2011). For example, some Australian Aboriginal communities have reconceptualized elements of Christianity as they adopted the religion. I noticed, for example, a church where

Aboriginal speakers painted the images of their totem ancestors on the walls and worshipped them. Cultural Linguistics provides fruitful analytical tools for exploring such cases of reconceptualization.

6.   Concluding remarks

Spiritual systems such as religions provide their followers with ways of conceptualizing various aspects of human experience, such as creation, life, death, life hereafter, and divine sources. The analyses presented in this chapter reveal how the analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics may be employed to explore religious/spiritual conceptualizations, which are, of course, a form of cultural conceptualization (see, e.g., Sharifian & Bagheri, 2019). In addition, Cultural Linguistics allows for in-depth comparative studies where different religions may be compared in terms of their underlying conceptualizations.

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Lexical evidence for ancestral communication in Black South African English

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The present chapter derives from a comprehensive project on culture-specific conceptualizations in Black South African English. It carries out a lexico-semantic analysis of conceptualizations of ancestral communication in Black South African English and is based on a 66,634-word corpus of 424 unedited classifieds published in 48 consecutive editions of the South African *Daily Sun* newspaper as well as on a 54,000-word corpus of ethnographic interviews with meso-/acrolectal Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu L1-speakers of English. The chapter addresses the central role of the ancestors in traditional and retraditionalized Black South African communities and the importance of intact communicative bonds between the physical and the spiritual parts of the community. In addition, the analysis produces lexico-semantic evidence for the processes of nativization and contextualizations in Black South African English by examining the ritualized communicative act of THROWING BONES as conducted by diviner-diagnosticians in mediated ancestral communication. Finally, the chapter proposes a model representation of the vertical organization of ancestral communication schemas in Black South African English. The present chapter communicates with Peters (2021), which provides a more detailed account of the cultural-conceptual background of WITCHCRAFT and TRADITIONAL HEALING as represented in Black South African English herbalist classifieds.

Keywords: Cognitive Sociolinguistics, newspaper corpora, ethnographic interviews, ritualized communicative acts, ancestors, traditional healers, mediation

1.   Introduction

In a 2016 ethnographic interview conducted at the North-West University in South Africa, a 45-year-old Sotho speaker of English, when asked to explain the basic difference between *sangomas* and herbalists, answered:

(1)   Sangomas throw bones. A herbalist is someone who knows um herbs […] um they are just herbalists. Uh they don't, they don't throw bones. They don't talk to the ancestors.

When asked the same question, a 42-year-old Tswana speaker of English explained:

(2)   Now a sangoma actually uses the bones. The bones have different shapes, sizes and everything and they have names for those bones. I don't know how the bones communicate but um they will tell you that this one, call it by name, it says the ancestors are saying what to treat for. The bones will diagnose, they'll tell you what's wrong and then the sangoma would also now prescribe and give you muthi.

From both an ethnographic and a cognitive-sociolinguistic perspective, these statements contain a rich array of cultural categories (e.g., SANGOMA, HERBALIST, ANCESTORS, BONES, MUTHI) as well as cultural schemas and related propositions (e.g., SANGOMAS THROW BONES TO TALK TO THE ANCESTORS > BONES DIAGNOSE; SANGOMAS APPLY MUTHI; HERBALISTS DO NOT TALK TO THE ANCESTORS) that are worth a closer analysis. To any speaker of English approaching English in South Africa from an etic, i.e., an out-group, perspective, these categories and schemas will undoubtedly call for clarification, and hence present good cases in point for the contextualizations and nativization of English (in the sense of Kachru, 1965 and Schneider, 2007) not only in a South African setting more generally, but in a Black South African setting in particular.

The present chapter focusses on lexical evidence for conceptualizations of AN-CESTRAL COMMUNICATION in written and spoken sources of Black South African English (BSAE). It is complemented by a parallel publication which deals in great detail with cultural conceptualizations of TRADITIONAL HEALING and the ample roles that healers, herbalists, diviners, traditional doctors and psychiatrists, rain-makers, witches, wizards, and so on play in the traditional and retraditionalized[1]

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1.   Retraditionalization, as a term countering the notion of modernization, can be understood as a massive revival of fundamental and common traditional concepts such as the kinship-based model of community and the role of the occult in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa (Chabal & Daloz, 1999, pp. 45–76; Polzenhagen, 2007, p. 117).

spiritual ecology of sub-Saharan Africa (see Peters, 2021). Hence, the discussion here places its main focus on how communicative processes in the domain of spirituality are conceptualized categorically and schematically in sub-Saharan Africa and how these conceptual patterns surface lexico-semantically in nativized forms of language use in BSAE. Basic conceptual distinctions between diviner-diagnosticians and healers-herbalists are only briefly addressed.

2.   Data and method

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on the SUN Classifieds Corpus, a purpose-built 66,634-word corpus of 424 non-redacted herbalist classifieds published in 48 consecutive editions of the South African *Daily Sun* newspaper in August-September 2016. These editions also provide further examples of conceptual patterns and their lexical contextualizations in the South African setting. As a tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Sun* aims at a target readership that is mainly working class or unemployed, lives in the townships and the majority of which uses English in a highly-multilingual ESL or EFL context with comparatively low proficiency levels. The tabloid's main intention is to provide its target readers "with stories they could relate to, issues they could identify with and information they could use and benefit from" in a format that is interesting, commonplace, inexpensive, non-elitist, informal and easy-to-read (Viney, 2008, pp. 7–8). Herbalist advertisements are a regular content component of most South African newspapers and are inserted with the intention of selling the services of traditional/retraditionalized healers, herbalists and doctors to special-interest readers from the wider community. In the *Daily Sun*, herbalist advertisements are printed in a non-redacted form, preserving linguistic characteristics such as spelling variants and errors, non-standard grammatical forms and individual idiosyncrasies as well as culture-specific and/or domain-specific fixed expressions and conceptualizations.[2] Hence, herbalist advertisements in the *Daily Sun* more generally make an ideal database for cognitive-sociolinguistic enquiries into cultural-cognitive patterns of language use, nativization and contextualization (for a more in-depth discussion of cultural-conceptual and linguistic properties of herbalist advertisements, see Peters, 2021 and Peters & Polzenhagen, 2021).

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2.   The examples from the SUN Classifieds Corpus cited in this chapter remain unredacted to reflect all of these linguistic characteristics. In order to maintain the readability of the examples, I refrain from using '[sic]' for spelling errors throughout this chapter.

The data from the herbalist advertisements are complemented by a 54,000-word corpus of mesolectal/acrolectal Pedi, Sotho, Tswana, Swati, Xhosa and Zulu speakers of English, comprising eight ethnographic interviews conducted at the North-West University in South Africa between August and September 2016. The main motivation underlying these interviews was to confront participants with some of the key issues detected in the herbalist advertisements in order to retrieve descriptions and explanations that would come from an emic, i.e., an in-group, perspective (rather than an etic one), that featured linguistic expressions and structures that were those of the interviewees (rather than those of the interviewer), and that could be utilized in interpreting underlying cultural schemas (cf. Peters & Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2020).

From the three sets of data that underlie the analysis in this chapter it is clear that the approach to cultural cognition and cultural conceptualizations relies on the analytical framework of corpus linguistics. With its set of quantitative methods, this framework aims at uncovering salient collocational patterns (e.g., Leech and Fallon, 1992; Baker, 2010) as well as cultural keywords (Wierzbicka, 1997) and potential keyword chains (Peters, 2017). The necessary computational analyses in this process were conducted using Wordsmith Tools version 6. At the same time, the present analysis draws from Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its qualitative objective of retrieving conceptual metaphors that are inherent in a given linguistic system (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2005; Steen et al., 2010). From a World English(es) perspective the chapter follows an agenda similar to that established in studies such as Wolf (2001) on Cameroon English, Polzenhagen (2007) and Wolf & Polzenhagen (2009) on West African English, Finzel and Wolf (2017) on Nigerian English and Peters (2021) on Black South African English as well as, more broadly, Onysko (2017) on New Zealand English and Peters (2017) on Irish English.

3.   Herbalist advertisements and representations of ancestors

To most observers, the connection between newspaper publishing and ancestors will not be a straightforward one, but in the South African context, these two entities are tightly intertwined. Typical herbalist advertisements in the *Daily Sun* classified section such as in (3) contain an abundance of cultural references to and conceptualizations of traditional/retraditionalized practices of witchcraft and healing on the one hand (for a detailed analysis, see Peters, 2021); however, they also feature concrete references to the ancestors of the readers of the ad on the other.

(3)   100% KING MADALA MAJAWA HERBALIST [telephone number] Mail order and delivery. Do you know that real doctor cannot take people money. His job is to help the public not to rob them. Madala started the job a long time ago. His muthi is not for sale. Bring back lost lover and items and make

him/her to love you only. Get rich by using Amagundwane[3] short boys, magic stick. Ndondochandodo[4] to put money in your account. Also have original sendawana[5] kasenya[6] that gives you any amount of money. Did you see the money in your account, house or office that your ancestors gave you but you don't have it. Mandala is going to give that money. Also finish unfinished jobs left by other doctors. Get 3x paid your salary and other jobs you want kajani[7] for winning gambling and pass interview. PAY AFTER JOB IS DONE. [telephone number]   (_2016-08-04_ad_p22_col2_HERBALISTS_a5)

In the SUN Classifieds Corpus, the lemma *ancestor** occurs with a frequency of 17 tokens, yielding a normalized frequency of 25.8 lexical units per 100,000 words. For comparison, the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB), features only 1.3 lexical units per 100,000 words, showing how central *ancestor* is in the services advertised in herbalist advertisements in the South African context. In Example (3), these services are described as follows: the herbalist, King Madala Majawa, promises to arrange that money provided by the ancestors of the reader of the ad (which is virtually everybody) will be finally (re)assigned to its intended and rightful recipient after an episode of disappearance/divergence for reasons unspecified. Hence, in broad terms, the advertiser here claims to possess the capability of recovering ancestral provisions that the recipient can no longer access for him-/herself. Similar scenarios of ancestral provision are outlined by the advertisers in the following Examples (4)–(7):

(4)   Financial problems get money quickly using your ancestors.
                    (_2016-08-07_ad_p21_col2_HERBALISTS_a3)

(5)   *Get quickl money from your ancestors using magic.
                    (_2016-08-21_ad_p21_col6_HERBALISTS_a14

(6)   Dr mapanje wants you to come forward with all your problems, you ancestors will never let you suffer in your life, ask and they will help
                    (_2016-08-04_ad_p23_col6_HERBALISTS_a30)

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3.   From Zulu *amagund(w)ane* 'rats' (Doke & Vilakazi, 1972, p. 276).

4.   Possibly derived from Zulu *indondo* 'brass rattle' and Zulu *indoda* 'man; male' (Doke & Vilakazi, 1972, p. 164, 167).

5.   A natural-based *muthi* often advertised as an oil, possibly made from certain parts of the *sandawan* 'elephant shrew,' a mouse-like animal found in Zimbabwe (see Peters, 2021).

6.   A geographical location in mid-Western Zambia.

7.   Unknown origin and meaning.

(7)   Doctor Masuku the great healer, the messenger of ancestors and challenger of all doctors in sloving and knowing human problems.

(_2016-08-19_ad_p27_col5_HERBALISTS_a26)

While (4) and (5) only address financial provisions made by the ancestors and a way of 'using' magic and/or the ancestors for one's own financial gain, (6) and (7) foreground the notions of communicating with the ancestors in order to receive help and resolve problems. Similar to the two statements from the ethnographic interviews in (1) and (2) and the herbalist advertisement in (3), Examples (6) and (7) outline a communicative situation that seems to involve three main types of participants: the diviner-diagnosticians/healer-herbalists on the one side, the ancestors on the other side and in-between the 'patients' who are in need of communicative help in order to restore the care and goodwill provided by their ancestors. (The distinction between diviner-diagnosticians and healer-herbalists as well as the communicative role of the diviner-diagnostician as mediator between the recipient and the ancestors is discussed in Section 5.)

As can be seen, South African herbalist advertisements are highly contextualized forms of advertising – similar to, for example, matrimonials in the Indian English context (see Polzenhagen & Frey, 2017; Peters & Polzenhagen, 2021). Bruthiaux (1996, p. 4) observes that in order to make communication in classified advertising successful, context-appropriate and recipient-oriented choices in the encoding of information must be made by the author, while the decoder of information, i.e., the recipient, must be aware of the expectations of the encoder in each context. Hence, from a cognitive-sociolinguistic perspective, decoders must be able to integrate the information provided by the encoder into existing cultural models, which means that, at least to some extent, encoders and decoders are required to share in a common cultural cognition (in the sense of Sharifian, 2017, p. 3). The cultural schemas that underlie representations of ancestors, ancestral provisions and the diviner-diagnostician's communicative role in the herbalist advertisements are rooted in a cultural cognition that is shared by a majority of people in sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa. These underlying schemas will be addressed in the following section.

4.   Ancestors in sub-Saharan and South Africa

The role of ancestors in sub-Saharan Africa can be best understood through a closer look at the kinship-based model of community. By and large, this model explains the vertical hierarchy in which traditional sub-Saharan African communities are organized and the underlying kinship relations that are used in order to

conceptualize the relationship between different social entities and/or social roles within the community, hence the underlying conceptualization of FAMILY IS COMMUNITY and, vice versa, COMMUNITY IS FAMILY. Within this model, vertically superordinate community members are conceptualized as fathers/mothers, subordinate community members as children and coordinate members of the same community as well as members of other communities as brothers/sisters. On the vertical axis of the model, the ancestors are located in the supernatural world at the upper end of the social hierarchy. Family members continue to exist despite their death and are perceived to actively participate in the day-to-day routines and as the *ancestors* of the living community, hence FAMILY IS TIMELESS, ANCESTORS ARE (DECEASED) FAMILY MEMBERS and, vice versa, (DECEASED) FAMILY MEMBERS ARE ANCESTORS, ANCESTORS ARE LIVING BEINGS and ANCESTORS ARE COMMUNITY MEMBERS. There are different kinds of ancestors for various socio-structural subgroups within the hierarchy: the ancestors of the immediate family, the ancestors of the village and the ancestors of the larger ethno-cultural group, the latter either equated with and/or directly superseded by the gods/God (for detailed discussions of underlying models and conceptualizations, see Wolf, 2001, pp. 275–299; Polzenhagen, 2007, pp. 117–166; Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2007, pp. 399–435; Peters, 2021).

The status of the ancestors within the community and the types of influence and forms of respect that come with it is also supported by the views expressed by the participants in the ethnographic interviews. In these the lemma *ancestor** has 291 tokens, accounting for a normalized frequency of 538.9 lexical units per 100,000 words. Frequent collocations within a search horizon of five words to the left and to the right include *believe in* (26), *worship* (14), *appease* (13), *protect* (10) and *thank* (7), underlining the spiritual, protective and superordinate position that the ancestors take in the social hierarchy.

Since ancestors are perceived as active members of the family-community, communication between the members of the spiritual community and the members of the physical community is vital for all aspects of community life. In traditional/retraditionalized sub-Saharan Africa, any form of illness, distress or misfortune or any other calamity on the individual or communal level will be interpreted as the result of a disruption of the communicative bonds between the physical community and the ancestors. This underlying conceptualization of disrupted communication and ceased provision along the lines of ILLNESS, MISFORTUNE AND DISTRESS ARE HUMANITY IN DISCORD WITH THE ANCESTORS, is also expressed by Examples (8) and (9), which both come from articles published in the news section of the *Daily Sun* and which speak for the visibility and centrality of ancestral communication in the media.

(8)   DA DUMPED FOR HIS ANCESTOR […] HIS dead father used to hate politics, so DA [Democratic Alliance, AP] councillor candidate Ayanda Ngubane felt guilty getting involved. On Saturday, with only three days to go before the elections, he quit the DA and politics after his son (2) wouldn't stop scratching his election poster. Ayanda Ngubane, from Newlands East in Durban, said it was a clear message from beyond the grave. He said ever since he pasted his poster up on the wall, little Sabelo would wake up in the morning and start angrily scratching it, aiming for the eyes. He would tell the child to stop, but Sabelo would start crying, saying his grandfather would hit him if he did. […] Ayanda, who many have criticised for dropping the ball so close to the elections, said after much thought he came to the conclusion that Sabelo's actions were a sign that his dead father was angry.   (Daily Sun, 2 August 2016, p. 3)

(9)   IF YOU don't listen to the call of the ancestors, you risk facing anger from beyond the grave. This is something Smangele Mashele was forced to learn the hard way. The 28-year-old from Winterveld in Tshwane told *Daily Sun* she was on the verge of committing suicide and her life was falling apart because she disobeyed the ancestors. "I was a serious Christian and I didn't believe in the ancestors. Whenever I had a dream of my gogo telling me to become a sangoma, I would pray hard but the dreams didn't stop." Smangele said she first had a calling when she was a teenager […] People advised me to honour my ancestors' calling so I went to thwasa[8] in November." Smangele said since July her life had changed dramatically and these days she is a happy woman.
(Daily Sun, 9 September 2016, p. 12)

In both Examples (8) and (9), the ancestors, i.e., the dead father and the deceased *gogo* (Zulu 'grandmother') respectively, communicate with their family members from the spiritual world in order to effect a change in behavior in the physical world. Through dreams and/or the alarming behavior of a family member functioning as a medium, the ancestors in these two examples expressed their displeasure or concern about the lifestyle choices of their relatives. What is interesting and to some extent unusual in these two cases is that the protagonists were capable of decoding their ancestors' communicative efforts without the (explicit) help of any third party, i.e., without seeking the help of a diviner-diagnostician. These would usually be consulted as mediators in situations of suspected ancestral miscommunication or punishment – a role integrated both into the sub-Saharan model of community and a complex model of cultural conceptualizations of witchcraft and traditional healing, which will be illustrated in the following.

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8.   From Zulu *ethwasa* '1. Come out anew, emerge for the first time (of a season, new moon, &c.) […] 2. Show signs of changing state, as by spirit-possession to become a diviner or doctor.' (Doke & Vilakazi, 1972, p. 195).

5.   The communicative dimension: Traditional healers as mediators

In an attempt at shedding some light on the complex conceptual network surrounding traditional healers in sub-Saharan Africa, Richter (2003, p. 8) distinguishes two basic performative-functional categories of healers: "those that serve the role of diviner-diagnostician (or diviner-mediums) and those who are healers (or herbalists)." Traditionally, the services of healers are sought whenever there is the need for remedies for physical, mental or social ailments. However, while the diviner-diagnostician will be consulted if the cause of an ailment is still undetermined, healer-herbalists will be called on once an ailment has been uncovered and a concrete treatment or application is sought. Both diviner-diagnosticians and healer-herbalists are located at the interface between the physical and the spiritual world and possess the capacity to perform witchcraft, albeit to varying degrees (Truter, 2007, p. 57). While the diviner-diagnosticians tend to possess more knowledge about the spiritual/supernatural world, the healer-herbalists tend to be more knowledgeable regarding the physical/natural one. Both herbal substances and magical rituals applied by diviner-diagnosticians and healer-herbalists are called *muthi* (Zulu 'tree, shrub;' 'medicine'), which as a lexical category has 164 tokens in the SUN Classifieds Corpus (246.1/100,000). It proves to be key to the conceptualization of traditional healers both within and outside the herbalist advertisements, hence the schema of TRADITIONAL HEALERS APPLY MUTHI (see Peters, 2021).

Native South African ethnic groups such as the Zulu or the Basotho distinguish a wide range of diviner-diagnosticians and healer-herbalists, e.g., Zulu *isangoma* 'diviner,' *inyanga* 'traditional doctor, herbalist,' *abathakathi* 'wizard, witch-doctor,' *umthandazi* 'faith healer' and *umprofiti* 'prophet' (Truter, 2007, pp. 57–58; von Kapff, 2011, p. 52, 64) and Sotho *nkgekge/ngaka* 'diviner using bones,' *ngakat-jhitja* 'doctor without horns, not using bones,' *dingaka* 'herbalist,' *senohe/mokoma* 'psychiatrist,' *monesapula/morokapula* 'rainmaker,' *moloi* 'wizard' (Lenake, 2016, pp. 1–5). While the cultural schemas connected with each of these traditional healers may vary greatly, all of them are conceptualized as having received their powers from the ancestors (Lenake, 2016, p. 3; also Geschiere, 1997, pp. 50–53). At the same time, however, not all of them can communicate with the ancestors, as only diviner-diagnosticians possess enough knowledge about the spiritual/supernatural world to function as mediators between the ancestors and the physical world.

In case of a disruption of the communication between the ancestors and (members of) the community due to a lack of individual and/or communal remembrance, respect or worship, or as an expression of ancestral intervention (in combination with sickness, bad luck or any other calamity), *sangomas* and *ngakas* – in their function as diviner-diagnosticians – will perform a ritual mediation in order to re-establish communicative bonds, articulate the ancestors' demands, enable the

family/community to comply with them and to eventually resolve the disruption completely. Due to their placement between the physical/natural and the spiritual/supernatural world and due to their function as mediators between the ancestors and the living community, diviner-diagnosticians (and healer-herbalists) are respected community members that rank high in the social hierarchy.

The underlying conceptualization of TRADITIONAL HEALERS ARE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE SPIRITS AND THE LIVING is confirmed both by the SUN Classifieds Corpus and the ethnographic interviews. In the classifieds, where the lemma *ancestor** has 17 tokens (25.8/100,000), collocations include communicative functions and processes such as *messenger of* (2), *talk to* (2) *communicate with* (1), *consult* (1), *demand* (1) and *swear on* (1). Despite the low absolute number of these items, it is noteworthy that almost half (i.e., 8/17) of all herbalist advertisements that make reference to the ancestors also refer to the advertiser's capacity to communicate with them. This fact underlines the keyness of this notion, which is illustrated by Examples (10)–(12).

(10)   HAMIDI HERBALIST [telephone number] Messenger of Ancestors expert in all human problems, you are my next person to testify about my muthi. […]
(_2016-08-26_ad_p30_col7_HERBALISTS_a38)

(11)   […] Use Sandawana oil to make you win all gambling games. Connect you to talk to your ancestors. I can also send your medicine through post. For more information call MAMA RASHIDA [telephone number].
(_2016-09-13_ad_p16_col3_HERBALISTS_a19)

(12)   […] Gambling: she consults the spiritual ancestors on real winning numbers and I chose the first one (short boys) which brings money in the bank account. […]   (_2016-08-15_te_p2_col6_HERBALISTS_a27)

In the ethnographic interviews, in which the lemma *ancestor** has 291 tokens (538.9/100,000), frequent collocations include communicative verbs such as *say* (22), *talk* (19), *tell* (13) and *communicate* (11), emphasizing the centrality of schemas of communication with a view to the ancestors in the South African context, as illustrated by Examples (13)–(15).

(13)   So the the prophet will also, yeah, so they believe in ancestors and they also believe in God. So they will say um they will ask of ancestors – so they will talk to ancestors, then they will tell you what your ancestors are saying or what the problem is.   (#03-female-29-Sepedi)

(14)   The uh the ancestors they are communicating with God and that is why they're [the community, A.P.] communicating with the ancestor- ancestors. It's because the ancestors are the closest thing they have and then the ancestors are going to communicate to the God so to them the ancestors are also mediating ((laughs)) in a way yeah.   (#05-female-55-Xhosa)

(15)   Now a sangoma actually uses the bones. The bones have different shapes, sizes and everything and they have names for those bones. I don't know how the bones communicate but um they will tell you that this one, call it by name, it says the ancestors are saying what to treat for. The bones will diagnose, they'll tell you what's wrong and then the sangoma would also now prescribe and give you muthi.   (#01-female-42-Setswana)

The statement in (13) does not specify any schematic details on how talking to the ancestors proceeds or what it involves, while exhibiting the kind of ancestral communication that has been illustrated in this chapter so far. In contrast, Example (14) introduces a new dimension to the concept of ancestral communication, namely one where the ancestors not only communicate downward in the communal hierarchy but where they become mediators themselves in the upward communication with the gods of the cultural group, from a traditional perspective, or God, from a retraditionalized, Christianized one. Hence, two mediation schemas are at work in sub-Saharan African ancestral communication, namely DIVINER-DIAGNOSTICIANS ARE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE ANCESTORS AND THE LIVING COMMUNITY and AN-CESTORS ARE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE LIVING COMMUNITY AND GOD. However, detailed schematic knowledge of how precisely the mediation proceeds, i.e., which communicative actions it involves, only exist for diviner-ancestors mediation. This is illustrated by Example (15), which was already shown in the introduction of this chapter and which specifies the notion of 'throwing bones' as an act of communication. This will be explored in more depth in the following section.

6.   'Throwing bones' as a ritualized communicative act

From the ethnographic interviews it emerges that within the South African context 'throwing bones' is the act that is most frequently associated with the process of divining, i.e., diviner-ancestor communication. In the interviews, the lemma *bones* has 38 tokens (70.4/100,000), distributed across all interviewees represented in the corpus. Frequent collocations within a search horizon of five words include *throw* (13), *use* (7), *divining* (5), *know* (5), *animal* (4), *talk* (4), *tell* (4), *sangomas* (3), *communicate* (1) and *diagnose* (1), all of which address different categorical and schematic aspects associated with *bones*. Firstly, these collocations specify the provenance of the bones as coming from animals (rather than humans, a fact that cannot be stressed enough in the light of muthi-related murders in areas such as Limpopo and Lesotho).[9] In fact, the term "bones" proves to be highly metonymic/metaphorical as bones may

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9.   For several societal and legal issues surrounding so-called 'muthi murders', see, e.g., Hund (2003).

not only come from various animals but may also contain animal parts that, strictly biologically speaking, are not to be classified as bones, such as hooves, as well as a number of other objects that have been assigned a ritual function in divining, such as stones (see Examples (16)–(18).[10] As such, the categorization of objects as BONES turns out to involve the processes of both metonymical and metaphorical extension along the lines of a conceptualization of OBJECTS (ESSENTIAL TO DIVINING) ARE BONES. Secondly, the collocations define the primary users of BONES, hence the schema SANGOMAS APPLY OBJECTS (ESSENTIAL IN DIVINING). Thirdly, they specify the objective of the use of bones and detail the underlying ancestral communication schema through communicative verbs such as *talk*, *tell*, *communicate* and *diagnose*, hence DIVINING IS THROWING BONES and THROWING BONES IS COMMUNICATING WITH THE ANCESTORS.

(16)   The bones are used, they, you know, use animals like a like like bull or an ox, yeah, they use uh all the hooves yeah.   (#02-male-88-Sesotho)

(17)   They'll have some bone, then stones and whatever that they put inside a sack and then from there what they'll do, they'll just shake and then they'll say you have to blow – blow and then from there they shake again and then from there they throw the bones. Okay, then they can talk to the bones and then can tell you what's going on.   (#03-female-29-Sepedi)

(18)   Sangomas throw bones […] animal bones, yes, animal bones. Um um, they they keep their bones in a in a bag, in a small bag, made of leather and when you go to consult them, you blow into uh as uh trying to blow into that bag to tell the ancestors that you are there and then they'll say their ritual. Um, you know, they perform their ritual that they they they usually do and they they will they'll they'll they they will sing or utter words that they usually utter and then they throw the bones onto the ground and based on what uh on the position of the bones they are able to tell you your story.   (#06-male-45-Sesotho)

The most noteworthy property of THROWING BONES, however, seems to lie in the conceptual-metaphorical transfer that underlies the application of the motion schema of THROWING to the schema of COMMUNICATING. This is illustrated by Examples (18) and (19), the latter of which comes from a description of the process of 'throwing bones' in what could be called both an ethnographic and journalistic representation of ancestral communication as performed by a South African *sangoma* (Reeder, 2011, p. 1):

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10. Reeder (2011, p. 72) observes that "[t]he term 'bones' is a misleading one for foreigners, since there are in fact few real bones to be found in a diviner's bag," which may contain a vast variety of items such as "reedbuck hooves and cow's teeth, semi-precious stones and sets of dice, seeds and pods and rusting bottle caps, old pennies from the previous century and shells and pebbles."

(19) 'Once tossed to the ground from Elliot's hand, his scattered collection of 'bones' portray an overall picture of his clients' lives. The bones are made up of a collection of carefully chosen bric-a-brac, objects essential to divining. Elliot takes note of the positions in which the objects land and with the assistance of his ancestors, offers counsel and insight on matters of mental and physical well-being, either in the past, present or future.'

From a pragmatic perspective, the short passage in (19) (and less explicitly also that in (18)) introduces three actors involved in one communicative setting: the community members ('the clients'), who seek counsel and insight on matters of mental and physical well-being, the ancestors, of whom the provision of counsel and insight is expected but who cannot be directly addressed by the clients, and the diviner, who is addressed by the clients, who addresses the ancestors on behalf of them and through whom the ancestors communicate in the process of throwing the bones. The process of throwing-communicating then consists of four main components: the throwing of the bones, the identification of their position(s), the consultation with the ancestors and the verbalization of meaning based on positional interpretation and ancestral consultation. The transfer then is happening along the following lines:

–   AN ACTION IN PHYSICAL SPACE IS AN ACTION IN COMMUNICATIVE SPACE,
–   THE ARRANGEMENT OF SYMBOLS IN THE PHYSICAL SPACE IS MEANING INDUCED FROM THE SPIRITUAL SPACE,
–   DIVINER-DIAGNOSTICIANS ARE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL SPACE AND THE SPIRITUAL SPACE, entailing DIVINER-DIAGNOSTICIANS COMMUNICATE WITH THE ANCESTORS,
–   SUBSTANCES AND DEVICES APPLIED BY TRADITIONAL HEALERS ARE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION FOR THE ANCESTORS.

As can be seen from the collocational patterns and the examples, in their function as mediators between the ancestors and those members of the living community who seek counsel, the diviner-diagnosticians perform a communicative act that comprises both verbal and non-verbal actions and, in addition to linguistic expressions, consists of ritualized performances and symbols (Tambiah, 1973/2017, p. 452). Hence, THROWING BONES is shown to be a ritualized communicative act, which Tambiah (1979, p. 119) defines as

a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication […] [that] is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition).

From a cognitive-sociolinguistic perspective, aspects such as conventionality and rigidity are shown to be detectable in the conceptualization patterns underlying THROWING BONES, i.e., in somewhat invariable categorical and schematic components that form the core of the ritual act of ancestral communication, as discussed above.

7.   Conceptualizations of ancestral communication

The analysis of lexical material from herbalist advertisements, newspaper articles and ethnographic interviews presented in this chapter has produced evidence for a number of conceptualizations of ancestral communication in BSAE that surface in form of a network of categories, schemas, conceptual metaphors and schematic entailments. The analysis has also foregrounded the importance of the sub-Saharan model of community in understanding the directionalities that exist in traditional and retraditionalized conceptualizations of communicative acts between the ancestors, diviner-diagnosticians and the living community on the one hand and between the ancestors and the gods/God on the other. Figure 1 attempts to integrate the most central conceptual patterns of ancestral communication into a representation of the verticality underlying sub-Saharan traditional communities.
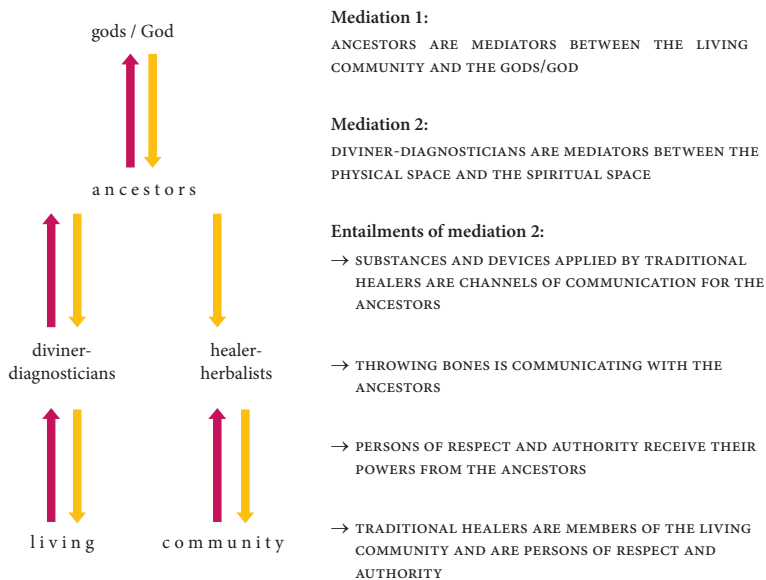

Mediation 1:
ANCESTORS ARE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE LIVING COMMUNITY AND THE GODS/GOD

Mediation 2:
DIVINER-DIAGNOSTICIANS ARE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL SPACE AND THE SPIRITUAL SPACE

Entailments of mediation 2:
→ SUBSTANCES AND DEVICES APPLIED BY TRADITIONAL HEALERS ARE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION FOR THE ANCESTORS

→ THROWING BONES IS COMMUNICATING WITH THE ANCESTORS

→ PERSONS OF RESPECT AND AUTHORITY RECEIVE THEIR POWERS FROM THE ANCESTORS

→ TRADITIONAL HEALERS ARE MEMBERS OF THE LIVING COMMUNITY AND ARE PERSONS OF RESPECT AND AUTHORITY

Figure 1. Model of the vertical organization of conceptualizations of ancestral communication in BSAE

Mediation 1 and *Mediation 2* as well as *Entailments of mediation 2* show the same hierarchical order that also underlies the traditional sub-Saharan model of community, hence the parallel-vertical representation in the model. While *Mediation 1* and *Mediation 2* are overarching conceptualizations of ancestral communication, *Entailments of mediation 2* comprises aspects of "rich knowledge" (in the sense of Kövecses, 2010, p. 122) about the conceptual domains involved in communicative processes involving the ancestors. It also comprises the central key act of ritualized communication between the ancestors and the living community, which is performed in form of THROWING BONES by the diviner-diagnostician. As discussed earlier, this communicative act is highly conventionalized and highly metonymical-metaphorical and, hence, carries a high symbolic value.

Besides the central role of the ancestors on the one hand and the diviner-diagnosticians on the other, the model highlights the general bi-directionality of communicative acts, i.e., most agents in this model can actively send and receive communication, with the exception of healer-herbalists, who can only communicate downwards.

8. Conclusion

The analysis in the present chapter has given a detailed account of underlying conceptual patterns of communication between the community, diviner-diagnosticians, ancestors and the gods/God in BSAE and has provided a number of good cases in point for the centrality of ancestral communication in BSAE cultural cognition. Conceptualizations, conceptual entailments as well as conceptual metaphors/metonymies of ancestral mediation have surfaced in both newspaper reporting and advertising and in ethnographic interviews. These interviews have shown to be a useful methodological tool in order to provide emic descriptions of relevant conceptualizations in the words of the members of the cultural group. As a result, the interviews portrayed even more clearly cultural-conceptual patterns yielded by the analysis of herbalist advertisements and newspaper articles.

From a methodological perspective, the analysis has demonstrated that even smaller sets of data from text types as specialized as herbalist advertisements can produce lexico-semantic evidence for the culture-specific organization of thought and meaning as well as for the process of nativization in World Englishes. Especially in settings of highly contextualized instances of encoding and decoding, as given in classified advertising, culture-appropriate choices are made by the advertisers in the encoding of information, which produce a rich array of lexico-semantic features that can be studied from a cognitive-sociolinguistic perspective.

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Cultural conceptualizations of magical practices related to menstrual blood in a transhistorical and transcontinental perspective

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Most, if not all, of the studies in Cultural Linguistics have (a) taken a synchronic perspective or (b) focused on specific, intracultural conceptualizations. In my chapter, I will look at a cluster of conceptualizations that have been found to exist in different historical periods, in different languages and varieties, and on different continents. The case in point is conceptualizations of magical practices based on menstrual blood. The existence of these conceptualizations across time and space raises the challenging questions of their motivation, and, more generally, the "flow of conceptualizations." While these questions will be pursued in my chapter, the main focus will be on an elaboration of the conceptual network of conceptualizations pertaining to menstrual blood magic.

Keywords: cultural conceptualizations, menstrual blood, magic, love potion, universality

Prologue

In the evening of October 15, 2017, by chance I saw a religious (!) program on Silverbird TV, Nigeria (the exact title of the program could not be retrieved), which featured a longer explanation by the anchorman of the magical power of menstrual blood. Immediately, I was captivated, for three reasons: First of all, it was fascinating to see that these references were presented as real facts, without a distancing perspective. Secondly, the anchorman's expounding triggered a network of familiar conceptualizations of witchcraft and magic expressed in African English, which Frank Polzenhagen and I had analyzed at length (see Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009). Thirdly, I was reminded of the identical belief in the magical power of menstrual blood conveyed to me by Indonesians. These motivating factors led me to investigate this somewhat bizarre topic further.

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1.   Introduction

Cultural Linguistics has become a well-established field of research,[1] and the present volume attests to this statement. By now, numerous studies with a cultural-linguistic outlook exist (for an overview, see, e.g., Sharifian, 2017a; and Wolf, Polzenhagen, & Peters, 2017; and Callies & Onysko, 2017, for a further recent collection of articles pertaining specifically to varieties of English). Despite the impressive array of studies that exist already, the field is still in its infancy. This claim does not only hold true for the range of languages and varieties under scrutiny so far, but also for certain theoretical issues that await further investigation. Those that come to mind are the nature of conceptual change in general, conceptual accommodation in English-as lingua-franca interactions[2] as well as understanding the flow of cultural conceptualizations over time and space. This chapter intends to at least raise awareness of the latter issue. The case in point is cultural conceptualizations of the supposed (love) magic of menstrual blood and, mentioned in passing, other bodily fluids. As Goethe (1808, p. 34) has Mephistopheles say in *Faust*, "Blut is ein ganz besonderer Saft" ('blood is quite a special juice').[3]

Given that blood is *the* life-bearing substance per se, the conceptualization BLOOD IS A SPECIAL KIND OF LIQUID can be assumed to be universal. Blood has been a key symbol in religious (cf., "the blood of Jesus")[4] and multiple non-religious contexts (regarding, e.g., group membership – "blood in blood out," kinship – "blood-related," dedication and self-sacrifice – "blood, sweat, and tears"). Needless to say, the symbolic importance of blood is an epic topic, aspects of which have been addressed in countless works (for a European perspective, see Matteoni, 2009, as a good starting point). Specifically, "the topic of menstruation has long been a staple of anthropology," according to Buckley and Gottlieb (1988b, p. 3). While scholars in anthropology, cultural, and feminist studies, for example, have dealt with this topic from an etic perspective, the amount of authentic data produced from an emic perspective is relatively scarce, especially regarding the supposed magic aspects of menstrual blood. One reason for this scarcity might be the fact that most of the

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1.   Here, I do not want to go into detail regarding the relation between Cultural Linguistics and the cognate discipline Cognitive Sociolinguistics; for further explanation, see Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009; Wolf & Chan, 2016; and Wolf, Polzenhagen, & Peters, 2017.

2.   Though considerable progress in this regard has been made in Mendes de Oliveira (2018).

3.   One finds different translations of this line in English versions; I chose the one from (Kline, 2003). Also see Steiner's (2008/1906) mystical essay on the topic.

4.   See Sharifian (this volume) for cultural linguistic approaches to religion.

beliefs are conveyed in undocumented oral lore (cf. Dammery, 2016, p. 93, who, on p. 109, also notes "similarities and a broad cross-cultural global distribution in the menstrual lore"). Another reason might be the wide-spread stigmatization of this topic (not only in Christianity, Islam, and Judaism)[5] and its being put under a taboo (see, e.g., Showalter & Showalter, 1970) outside the medical field.

The aim of this chapter is not an interpretation according to anthropological theories (as outlined, e.g., in Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988a; Meyer, 2005; Schlehe, 1987) but rather a cultural-linguistic analysis of a diverse body of texts united by common conceptualizations. Hence, my data comes from an eclectic array of sources, such as blogs, newspaper articles, folktales, and personal communication. Researching this topic, one enters a world of esoterism and occultism, which spans different historical periods, cultures, and languages. Since my professional focus lies primarily on the English language, most of my evidence for the conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A MAGIC SUBSTANCE as well as its ramifications and entailments will come from different varieties of English, but not exclusively so.

The belief in the magic power of menstrual blood cannot be properly understood without grasping the more encompassing belief in the spiritual power of blood or even corporeal fluids per se. Hence, I will first try to shed some light on the latter aspect before proceeding to the actual topic of this chapter. However, even the wider focus on blood here is a restrictive case of highlighting and hiding, which could erroneously suggest that blood is a distinct biological category, separate from other corporeal fluids. For a fuller picture, one would need to consider historical and culture-specific (folk) medical theories, which is far beyond the scope of this chapter.[6] For example, as Matteoni (2009, p. 117) explains, in early modern Europe thought, "every bodily fluid was connected to blood" (and "semen and milk sublimations of it;"[7] also see McClive, 2005, pp. 79–80), suggesting a cultural salience

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5. See Ploss (1887), for a comprehensive cross-cultural, by now historical survey, and Schlehe (1987) for a critical anthropological account of such purportedly "distorted" reports from a Western perspective.

6. The conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A MEDICAL SUBSTANCE against all kinds of ailments also existed and exists across cultures (see, e.g., Pliny The Elder, 1855, book 28, ch. 23, n.p.; Ploss, 1887, p. 267). For historical medical treatments with menstrual blood in medieval and early modern Europe, see Green (2005), Bildhauer (2005), McClive (2005), Stolberg (2005), and in medieval China, Wilms (2005). For the use of menstrual blood as skin treatment, health supplement for athletes and cure for rabies, see GhanaWeb (2019); for the use of menstrual blood against acne in the Philippines, see Farless (2010).

7. The interchangeable conceptualization BLOOD IS SPERM or SPERM IS BLOOD can still be found in data from Cameroon (cf. below): "During sexual intercourse, the males pass their blood to the females: The two combine and form a child" (Alobwede d'Epie, 1982, p. 101)

of blood. Hence, blood could easily be substituted by all other bodily fluids (see Figure 1 below); for example, URINE IS A MAGIC SUBSTANCE has been attested in close connection and identical fashion to menstrual blood in the literature (see Wolf, 2019). In this chapter, however, only blood-related conceptualizations can be pursued.
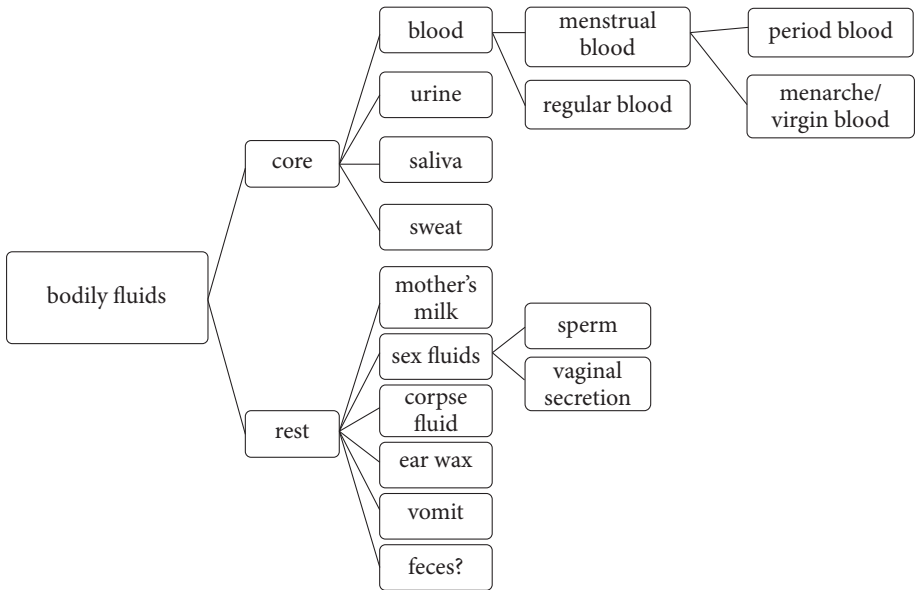

Figure 1. Kinds of bodily fluids

The latter part of the chapter will widen the scope again to speculate on the reasons for the transhistorical and transcontinental occurrence of these conceptualizations, as an invitation to not consider cultural conceptualizations in temporal, geographical, and cultural isolation. My account does not and cannot claim exhaustiveness. The abovementioned TV-program led me to set a foot in what I presupposed was a pond, but which widened to an ocean. This chapter only constitutes the first strokes of swimming in this ocean.

2. Spiritualistic conceptualizations of BLOOD and their geographical, temporal, and cultural distribution

Magical beliefs of menstrual blood cannot be seen separately from the superordinate conceptualization A BODILY FLUID IS A SPIRITUAL OR SUPERNATURAL FORCE. This conceptualization is not restricted to the European or Christian context (see Wolf, 2018), nor is the more specific conceptualization BLOOD IS A SPIRITUAL FORCE. Strangely enough, in anthropological treatments of menstruation, the conceptual influence of the superordinate category BLOOD tends to be ignored (cf., e.g., Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988a, and Meyer, 2005, for an exception). In fact, conceptualizations pertaining to bodily fluids as spiritual or supernatural forces are good examples of what Lakoff (1993, p. 222) has called inheritance hierarchies: "Metaphorical mappings do not occur isolated from one another. They are sometimes organized in hierarchical structures, in which 'lower' mappings in the hierarchy inherit the structures of the 'higher' mappings."

The conceptualization BLOOD IS A SPIRITUAL FORCE goes far back in history (see below). Meyer (2005, p. 205) refers to a geographic and historical "cultural continuity" regarding blood symbols and rituals, and her book is full of cross-cultural examples. In Europe, this conceptualization gained momentum during the early modern period. As Matteoni (2009, p. 27) argues, during that period, "the body and especially its fluid, the blood, became the means of exchange between a supernatural force and the physical world." At length, Matteoni (2009) discusses how the concept of BLOOD became central to the social order and a symbolic means for "othering." On the one hand, there is Christ's blood, which cleanses "the human soul of mortal sin" and secures "religious community" (Matteoni, 2009, pp. 30–31), and on the other, blood is "the most important means of exchange between the devil and his allies" (Matteoni, 2009, p. 28), as Jews and witches were believed to be.[8]

Though historically and geographically remote from the early modern European context, the same conceptualization BLOOD IS A SPIRITUAL FORCE exists in contemporary West Africa. Alobwede d'Epie's (1982) study of traditional medicine among the Bakossi (an ethnic group in Southwest Cameroon) may serve as an example. In his interview data on what he calls "blood cognition," one finds the following answers:[9]

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8. It is widely known that the nocturnal sabbath of the witches (and modern day Satanists), in which blood plays a central role, is the inversion of a Christian mass (also see Matteoni, 2009, p. 36).

9. It is not clear whether the interviews were originally conducted in English or later translated from Bakossi.

(1)   It carries man's soul and so keeps the body alive.
      If it is short, the soul deserts the body.
      Human blood is powerful. If you kill somebody, his blood haunts you as did
      that of Abel to Cain.[10]   (Alobwede d'Epie, 1982, pp. 99f.)

Furthermore, as an entailment of the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor, HUMAN
BLOOD IS MORE POWERFUL THAN ANIMAL BLOOD, as expressed in

(2)   [T]he blood of an animal is not powerful and as such it does not haunt the
      killer of an animal.   (Alobwede d'Epie, 1982, p. 103)[11]

Likewise, the degree of spiritual power that humans have in their blood is seen to
be different (in the first example coupled with the conceptualization SPIRITUAL
FORCE IS PHYSICAL FORCE):

(3)   The difference that exists is in strong and weak blood. Some people when they
      wear a watch, it stops because they have strong blood.
                  (Alobwede d'Epie, 1982, p. 104; cf. the point about magnetism below)

(4)   The blood of a witch is stronger than that of an ordinary person.
                                              (Alobwede d'Epie, 1982, p. 104)

An example of BLOOD IS (PART OF) A MAGIC SUBSTANCE, as a subcase of BLOOD IS
A SPIRITUAL FORCE, comes from *Hoodoo, conjuration, witchcraft, rootwork*, a collec-
tion of folk tales published in the 1970s by the folklorist Harry Middleton Hyatt.[12]
The conceptualization is expressed in the passage under the heading "if you want
someone of opposite sex separated from person of your sex":

(5)   You get the mud dauber [also "dirt dauber" or "dobber," a sand wasp].
      (Yes.)
      Out of a big stable anywhere. You stick this finger.
      (Which finger?)

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10.   This quote, of course, points to the influence of Christianity.

11.   There is also an answer that refers to the powerful blood of "tabooed animals," such as dogs
and cats (Alobwede d'Epie, 1982, p. 103) but it would lead too far from the topic at hand to
analyze this utterance.

12.   It consists of five volumes and 4766 pages of folkloric material – transcribed semi-phonet-
ically – gathered by Hyatt in the Southern U.S. between 1936 and 1940 (with supplementary
interviews in Florida in 1970). The data comes from a total of 1600 African-American informants
(plus one "white" informant), who were professional root doctors, conjurers, and hoodoo magi-
cians. This collection is probably the most comprehensive compilation of folk beliefs, at least in
the English language.

This one.
(The middle finger of the right hand?)
Yes. Get the blood out of it.
(Yes.)
Get all the blood. You write the name nine times on a piece of paper. You roll that mud dauber, that name, steel dust, lodestone, wrap it up. Roll it up tight, and you get [have] some luck.
It separates them.
Man and woman.   (Hyatt 1970–1978, p. 4149)[13]

In the following I will provide a short historical overview of spiritualistic conceptions of (menstrual) blood. Besides, the duality of such conceptions, in which menstrual blood is either perceived as a negative or positive force, will also be discussed.

3.   Menstrual blood and its conceptualizations

The earliest ascriptions of spiritual powers to blood most likely pertain to menstrual blood specifically. Beliefs in the magic and spiritual dimension of menstrual blood are primordial. On this ground, menstrual blood is valorized, if not spiritualized, by contemporary feminist scholars, to which publications like *Blood, bread, and roses: How menstruation created the world* (Grahn, 1993/2005) and *Metaformia: A Journal of Menstruation and Culture* attest. The following is an often-cited quote from Elinor Gadon, one of the pillar saints of female spiritualism:

> The word 'ritual' comes from 'rtu,' sanskrit for menses. The earliest rituals were connected to the woman's monthly bleeding. The blood from the womb that nourished the unborn child was believed to have mana, magical power. Women's periodic bleeding was a cosmic event, like the cycles of the moon and the waxing and waning of the tides. We have forgotten that women were the conduit to the sacred mystery of life and death.   (Cit. in Elias & Ketcham, 2009, n.p.)

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13. The intricacies of this hoodoo belief, regarding the other factors besides blood (dirt dauber, middle finger, the number nine), cannot be further pursued here. Note, however, that lodestone is magnetic iron oxide and steel is usually non-magnetic, which evokes the conceptualizations PHYSICAL FORCE IS SPIRITUAL FORCE and LACK OF PHYSICAL FORCE IS LACK OF SPIRITUAL FORCE, reverse conceptualizations of SPIRITUAL FORCE IS PHYSICAL FORCE. The conceptual link between personal attraction and magnetism comes to mind, see below. For another example of hoodoo blood magic ("bring back a person") involving blood from a finger, see Hyatt (1970–1978, p. 4311).

In a similar vein, Walker (1983, p. 635) states that "from the earliest human cultures, the mysterious magic of creation was thought to reside in the blood women gave forth in apparent harmony with the moon, and which was sometimes retained in the womb to 'coagulate' into a baby." The same role in the creation of life is assigned to women and menstrual blood in rabbinic literature, for example:

(6)   The female holds one of the keys to this mystery of the fall of mankind. The female Goddess/priestess is associated with the moon, the *Shekinah* [the presence of God], and *Malkuth* [the visible kingdom of God] and mates with the Elohim [God] and thus maintains the cycle of birth and death because the cycles of the moon are linked to a woman's menstrual cycle (whether she conceives life or expels the unfertilized egg). She is the initiator of wisdom. She is worshipped as *Isis*, *Kali*, the *Matronit*, *Sophia*, and *Diana* [all goddesses]. Her power is based upon her association with fertility and birth as all humans are born into this world via the woman (the Mother of all living-*Chawah*). This places the female closer to the source of the mysteries of life, sex, and death. This power, as mentioned, is symbolized by the menstrual blood (Adamah – the red earth or the source of Adam – the Aleph a + dam = the creator with blood).   (Nydle, n.d, p. 72)

According to Nydle (n.d., p. 72), "the red wine of the Catholic Eucharist was based upon the partaking of menstrual blood." This practice, in turn, goes back to the ancient practice of mixing snake blood and venom, tied to the belief in the "snake Goddess-*Ninharsag*" (or *Ninkharsag*), the Sumerian "earth and mother" or "fertility Goddess," according to Nydle (n.d., pp. 72f.).[14]

In the Christian context, some saw menstruation as an atonement with blood for Eve's original sin: "sondern die Blutschuld, weil die Eva am ersten gesündigt hatte, muss sie selbige monatlich vorzeigen" ('because Eve was the first to sin, she has to show her bloody atonement every month') (Ettner von Eiteritz, 1715, p. 53), expressing the conceptualization MENSTRUATION IS A PUNISHMENT FOR THE ORIGINAL SIN. This religious or spiritual dimension of menstruation, as it were, connects with the negative perception of menstrual blood (see below).

On a wider scale, it seems that the conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE is or was universal, independent of particular religious beliefs. Numerous sources bear evidence of this universality (especially see Frazer, 1894, for a comprehensive overview, but also cf. Scalenghe, 2008, p. 266). The following example from Thailand (printed in a Malaysian online newspaper) illustrates the contemporaneity and geographical spread of this conceptualization:

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14. See Knight (1988) for similar "snake beliefs" in Far Eastern and Australian Aboriginal cultures.

(7)   'Tacks had been inserted at the six corners so that the statue of the revered king could not emit its power. We drew out the tacks from all six places.' Sondhi [a leader of the Thai party People's Alliance for Democracy, PAD] continued: 'I must thank the women of the PAD because after (the tacks) were pulled out, to ensure they would not be replaced, sanitary napkins from menstruating women were placed on the six points. Experts said the spirit adepts were furious because they could not send their spirits back as their magic was rendered ineffective.'   (Golingai, 2008, n.p.)

Menstrual blood is conceptualized either as a NEGATIVE/DESTRUCTIVE SUPERNATURAL FORCE or as a POSITIVE/PROTECTIVE SUPERNATURAL FORCE. One of the most influential attestations of both MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A DESTRUCTIVE SUPERNATURAL FORCE and MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A PROTECTIVE SUPERNATURAL FORCE can be found in Pliny's *Natural History*, written around 77 AD.[15] To start with the negative conceptualization, I quote two fairly long passages from Pliny's work (italics mine):

(8)   As to the menstrual discharge itself, a thing that in other respects, as already stated on a more appropriate occasion, *is productive of the most monstrous effects*, there are some ravings about it *of a most dreadful and unutterable nature*. Of these particulars, however, I do not feel so much shocked at mentioning the following. *If the menstrual discharge coincides with an eclipse of the moon or sun, the evils resulting from it are irremediable*; and no less so, when it happens while the moon is in conjunction with the sun; *the congress with a woman at such a period being noxious, and attended with fatal effects to the man*. At this period also, *the lustre of purple is tarnished by the touch of a woman: so much more baneful is her influence at this time than at any other*. At any other time, also, *if a woman strips herself naked while she is menstruating, and walks round a field of wheat, the caterpillars, worms, beetles, and other vermin, will fall from off the ears of corn*.   (Pliny the Elder, 1855, book 28, ch. 23, n.p., italics mine)

(9)   Much as I have already stated on the virulent effects of this discharge, I have to state, in addition, that *bees, it is a well-known fact, will forsake their hives if touched by a menstruous woman; that linen boiling in the cauldron will turn black, that the edge of a razor will become blunted, and that copper vessels will contract a fetid smell and become covered with verdigrease, on coming in contact with her. A mare big with foal, if touched by a woman in this state, will be sure to miscarry; nay, even more than this, at the very sight of a woman, though seen at a distance even, should she happen to be menstruating for the first time after*

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15. According to Schlehe (1987, p. 14), Pliny the Elder was the first to introduce the idea that menstrual blood constitutes something negative. For classical Greek conceptions of menstruation, see Arata (2005) and Hiltmann (2005).

the loss of her virginity, or for the first time, while in a state of virginity. The bitumen that is found in Judæa, will yield to nothing but the menstrual discharge; its tenacity being overcome, as already stated, by the agency of a thread from a garment which has been brought in contact with this fluid. Fire itself even, an element which triumphs over every other substance, *is unable to conquer this*; for *if reduced to ashes and then sprinkled upon garments when about to be scoured, it will change their purple tint, and tarnish the brightness of the colours. Indeed so pernicious are its properties*, that women themselves, the source from which it is derived, are far from being proof against its effects; *a pregnant woman, for instance, if touched with it, or indeed if she so much as steps over it, will be liable to miscarry.*   (Pliny the Elder, book 7, ch. 12, n.p., italics mine)[16]

In these passages, apart from MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A DESTRUCTIVE SUPERNATURAL FORCE (also note the reference to astrology, another supernatural belief system – "eclipse of the moon or sun"), one finds additional conceptualizations and "entailment hierarchies," so to say: The superordinate and hence most general conceptualization would be MENSTRUATION IS A SUPERPOWER that one either possesses or not. From that it follows that the menstruating woman is conceptualized as a SUPERNATURAL BEING (see below). Another conceptualization, though not necessarily with an exclusively supernatural meaning, that is explicitly expressed in the above passage from Pliny the Elder is MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A POISONOUS SUBSTANCE, specifically in "a woman at such a period being noxious, and attended with fatal effects to the man."[17] The second one is A SUPERNATURAL FORCE IS A NATURAL FORCE (cf. above), in that a woman *having* her menstruation can cause chemical and biological changes (such as changing colors, hardening substances, killing organisms, and causing miscarriages). There are two possible interpretations of the inherent logic of this concrete case: either the metonymy A WOMAN HAVING HER MENSTRUATION FOR THE MENSTRUATION (a specific case of the more general metonymy POSSESSOR FOR THE POSSESSED) applies, or, more likely, the conceptualization A MENSTRUATING WOMAN IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING, on the basis of the supposed transformative power of the menstrual blood. The last conceptualization expressed in the passages from Pliny the Elder is that (THE LOSS OF) VIRGINITY IS AN ENHANCEMENT TO THE SUPERNATURAL FORCE OF MENSTRUAL BLOOD ("menstruating for the first time after

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16. According to Bostock and Riley (Pliny, 1855, book 7, Fn. 4, Pliny possibly collected his ideas from the biblical text Leviticus, i.e., the 3. Book of Moses, ch. 15).

17. This conceptualization is related to the pollution theory of menstrual taboo (see Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988b, pp. 25–34; Ploss, 1887, pp. 249–266; Schlehe, 1987, passim; Ouj & Ve, 2008). Also see Asian Boss (2019: 7:10f.) on respective beliefs in Bali. One also finds this conceptualization in religious practices, such as Islam or the Celestial Church of Christ, where menstruating women are banned from visiting the mosque or church service, respectively.

the loss of her virginity, or for the first time, while in a state of virginity," see below). All of these conceptualizations and examples still echo some 1700 years later in Ettner von Eiteritz (1715, p. 107). In fact, the following example from Ettner von Eiteritz (1715, p. 107) would lend support to the conceptualization A MENSTRUAT-ING WOMAN IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING:

(10) Einige wollen behaupten, dass wann man ein Haar einem Frauenzimmer zur Zeit dieses Auswurffs ausziehet, und in den Mist vergräbet, eine Schlange daraus werden soll.
'Some claim that if you pull out a hair from a menstruating woman and bury it in the manure, it would turn into a snake.'

In that example, even small and dispensable parts of the body of a menstruating woman were conceived to be supernaturally charged. The conceptualizations expressed by Pliny the Elder regarding menstruating women still found resonance at the end of the 19th century:

> In various parts of Europe, it is still believed that if a woman in her courses enters a brewery the beer will turn sour; if she touches beer, wine, vinegar, or milk, it will go bad; if she makes jam, it will not keep; if she mounts a mare, it will miscarry; if she touches buds, they will wither; if she climbs a cherry tree, it will die. In Brunswick people think that if a menstruous woman assists at the killing of a pig, the pork will putrefy. In the Greek island of Calymnos a woman at such times may not go to the well to draw water, nor cross a running stream, nor enter the sea. Her presence in a boat is said to raise storms.   (Frazer, 1894, n.p.)

Similarly, the prohibition for menstruating women to touch trees because they would die, to touch grapes when making wine because "it will go off" or to make tomato sauce because it would spoil are all beliefs Dammery (2016, p. 93) found to exist in Sicily in the 1950s and among Italian immigrants in Australia. While it might be argued that all of these European examples could trace their ancestry to Pliny the Elder, this may not likely be the case for the Northern Ugandan belief that menstruating girls were banned from climbing trees because the fruits would spoil, as reported by an informant in Dammery (2016, p. 94), or an incident from the Beng in Ivory Coast, detailed in Gottlieb (1988, pp. 60f.), in which yams were believed to have died because a menstruating woman was working in the field.[18] In Ghana, I was told that menstruating women are not supposed to cook or go fishing. The conceptualization

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18. See Buckley and Gottlieb (1988b, pp. 6–7) on the "near universality" of such "menstrual taboos," Callaway (1981, p. 181) for an example from the Yoruba in Nigeria, and Reeder (2012, p. 188) for a reference to South Africa. See Gathigia, Orwenjo, and Ndung'u (2018) for a cognitive-linguistic analysis of menstruation as a taboo in Gĩkũyũ.

A MENSTRUATING WOMAN IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING in the negative can also be found in the *Corpus of Historical American English* (Davies, 2010–)

(11) Because of his Indian training and beliefs, he had a deathly terror of women in their menstrual periods: a dread of being near them, or speaking to them, or even looking at them or having them look at him.

However, as indicated above, menstrual blood is not only conceptualized negatively, but also positively; i.e., in the words of Buckley and Gottlieb (1988a, p. 37), "a dialectical relationship between the negative and positive poles of symbolic menstrual power" exists. This dialectic is reminiscent of the dual role of witchcraft in the African context, as described by Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009). Buckley and Gottlieb (1988a, pp. 36f.; cf. Elias & Ketcham, 2009, n.p.) cite several studies in which positive beliefs in the supernatural power of menstrual blood are described, be it as a means to enhance fertility – as in the case of the Nigerian Tiv (Lincoln, 1975), – as a protection against monsters – as in the case of the Kwakiutl of California (Ford, 1941), or as a protective charm against witchcraft – as in the case of the Asante of Ghana (Rattray, 1927).

Again, the earliest account of MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A POSITIVE/PROTECTIVE SUPERNATURAL FORCE comes from Pliny the Elder (1855, book 28, ch. 23, n.p.):

(12) Over and above these particulars, there is no limit to the marvellous powers attributed to females. For, in the first place, hailstorms, they say, whirlwinds, and lightning even, will be scared away by a woman uncovering her body while her monthly courses are upon her. The same, too, with all other kinds of tempestuous weather; and out at sea, a storm may be lulled by a woman uncovering her body merely. … Another thing universally acknowledged and one which I am ready to believe with the greatest pleasure, is the fact, that if the door-posts are only touched with the menstruous fluid all spells of the magicians will be neutralized.

In Ettner von Eiteritz (1715, pp. 114–117) we find the following long passage:

(13) Ob gleich meines Erachtens ein Geblüt dem anderen, welches entweder zuerst oder nachfolgendes monatlich ausgestossen wird, gleicht ist, so scheint es doch, als wenn das Menstruum virginis primum vor anderen einen Vorzug habe … dannenhero ich allen Eltern rathe, daß sie das erste Geblüte, welches von ihren Töchtern ausgeht, wol in obacht nehmen, denn wofern ein boßhafftiges etwas davon habhafft würde, kann es der Person, von der solches gangen ist, allerhand Verdrießlichkeit machen. Die alten Gothen und Finnen, als auch Lappländer, gebrauchen sich desselben entgegen der Zauberey in ihren Schifffahrten, dann wann ein Schiff an seinem Gange durch Zauberey verhindert wurde

nahme sie ein solch Flecklein, machten es feuchte, und bestrichen damit die obersten Theile der Umgänge, womit die Zauberey wiche. Ein Mägdlein die von ihrem eigenen menstruo primo ein beflecktes Stücklein mit ein wenig Farrenkraut-Wurzel in ein Tüchlein eingenäht am Halse träget, wird nicht leichtlich von bösen Leuten angetastet werden. … Andere loben es, daß mit selbigem alle Festigkeit könne ausgelöset werden, und so wol ein Kriegsmann in Bestehung seiner Feinde und Contraparts, als auch ein Spiel-Begieriger im Gewinnen grossen Vortheil habe. … Wenn ein Sohn von seiner leiblichen Mutter das primum menstruum zu einem Angehencke haben kann, es weit mehr Wirkung als ein anders ausüben würde. … In Italien und anderen Orten pflegen einige Leute diese mit dem Primo Menstruo befleckte Tücher zu ver-kaufen. … Vorsichtige Eltern sollen sich wohl in acht nehmen und zusehen, wem sie es geben, denn mit selbigem … man per magnetismus ihnen grossen Schaden und Unfug zurichten kann.

'Although in my opinion, there is no difference between the initial menstrual bleeding and the subsequent ones, it seems that the menstruum virginis pri-mum [menarche blood] has more power than the regular menstruation… therefore, I advise all parents to take good care of their daughters' menarche blood, for, if it ends up in the possession of an evil one, it may cause the person, from whom it came a great deal of trouble. Ancient Goths and Finns, as well as Laplanders, also used it [menarche blood] on their voyages to counter sorcery, and when a ship would be impeded by means of witchcraft, they would take such a blood stain, wet it, and wipe the uppermost parts of the walkways with it, which would break the evil spell. Some say that a maiden who wears around her neck an amulet made of a cloth stained with the own menstruo primo [menarche blood] with a bit of fern root wrapped up in a handkerchief will be protected from being assaulted by evil people. Others praise it for endowing its masters with the ultimate strength, thus giving a warrior a great advantage over his enemies and opponents as well as bringing a gambler the best of luck in gambling. … If a son is given an amulet with his own mother's menarche blood, it would be far more powerful than any other. … In Italy and other places, cloths stained with Primo Menstruo are bought and sold. … Parents should exercise great caution and be careful about who they give it [menarche blood] to, because, if combined with magnetism, it can cause great damage and bring about all kinds of trouble.'

In this passage, further conceptualizations become evident. An entailment of MEN-STRUAL BLOOD IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE is THE POSSESSOR OF MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS THE POSSESSOR OF SUPERNATURAL POWERS, which allows him or her to use these powers for either good or evil. In other words, perhaps in contradiction to

the negative view of menstrual blood referred to earlier, it is per se conceived as a NEUTRAL SUPERNATURAL FORCE. Furthermore, the perceived "purity" of virgins, coupled with the originality of the first menstruation (menarche) and the biological relationship between donor and receiver, are believed to affect the supernatural force of menstrual blood. The underlying belief here seems to be that virginity, originality, and degree of biological relatedness affect the supernatural power of menstrual blood (Ettner von Eiteritz is mute on the supernatural power of menstrual blood in general). Furthermore, the reference to "magnetism" is evoked by the conceptualization SPIRITUAL FORCE IS PHYSICAL FORCE (as found in the data from Cameroon, see above). The same notion of the power of virginal menarche is also referred to in Schlehe (1987, pp. 30f.), who summarizes various accounts of the German folk belief that weapons forged with the menstrual blood of a virgin are victorious (also see Ploss, 1887, p. 268), and in Ploss (1887, p. 267), who refers to the use of the first menstrual blood of a virgin for successful hunting.

One can presuppose that Ettner von Eiteritz' book reflects the medical discourse at that time, which is hard to disentangle from concurrent folk beliefs. While (mainstream) medical discourse, of course, no longer incorporates beliefs in the supernatural power of menstrual blood, in Western society, such beliefs could still be found up to the 20th century (see Schlehe, 1987, pp. 32–34) and may still persist today; in non-Western societies (if such a dichotomy is permissible), they are still widespread today.

The following section will present further conceptualizations of menstrual blood, specifically pertaining to its magical functions, with examples taken from various parts of the world.

3.1   Conceptualizations of menstrual blood as a charm

As indicated above, more specific or hierarchically "lower" conceptualizations inherit the mappings of more general ones. Hence, the use of menstrual blood for magic can serve "good" or "bad" purposes. The conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR GOOD OR EVIL[19] is captured in the following response from a Nigerian informant (personal email communication between Anna Finzel and informant, 2017):

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19. I use the conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE when general supernatural qualities are attributed to menstrual blood and MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM when menstrual blood is used for magical purposes. The two, though, cannot always be neatly distinguished.

(14)   To answer your question about menstrual flow in the TV program you saw, I found out it's used in voodoo practices to command wealth, invoke diseases, ailment, afflict and all sort.[20]

A number of such uses are listed in Hyatt (1970–1978, see above). The following representative quotes (more can be found in the source) reflect some of the magical applications of menstrual blood, here divided according to "good" and "evil."

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR LUCK IN GAMBLING

(15)   Luck with a man gamblin' – jis' like if he got a girl friend or somepin or other, go around her ministration, jis' like he may have a han's'chef, get some [menstruation blood] on his han's'chef or piece of paper or somepin or other, an' jis' wrap his money all up good with it an' go in a game an' nobody in the world can win from him.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 645)

(16)   Ah heard that they could take the periods of a woman an' tie it – yo' know, jes' has it on a cloth an' put it in their pocket, in the right pocket, an' carry that dice into that pocket an' it would give them luck. They nevah lose …
(They just carry this [these] dice right on this piece of cloth?)
Dat's right, an' they'd be always lucky in gamblin'. (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 645)

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR ATTRACTING CUSTOMERS

(17)   Your business get kinda dull, just open your half pint of whiskey or pint, or quarter or whatever you want, and take some of your monthlies, clear it, and put two or three teaspoonsfuls in it and whensomever they come in give 'em a drink and that's draw your trade in.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 645)

(18)   Ah heard 'em tell if yo' want people tuh come back to buy whiskey from yo' – if dey come dere tuh drink some whiskey, jes' befo', take an' put chew some urinate in dat whiskey, yo' understand, or either some of yore monthly discharge. If yo's a man, put some urinate; if yo's a woman, put some ministration in dere an' when dey come in dere drinkin', dey'll come back. Dey jes' hang onto yo' – dey can't go nowhere else seem lak. Dey jes: come to yore place of business.
                                                                                    (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 708)

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR CURING ALCOHOLISM

(19)   Well, when a woman ministrate, well she cook dat in some tomato soup or sompin lak dat. Dere two or three thin' whut she take dat an' give tuh 'im wit – some tomato soup or anythin'. Well, she ministratin' an' while she cookin' she'll

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20. Further evidence for MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR GOOD OR EVIL come from the discussion that ensued after I presented this material at a conference in Ghana: one colleague stated that menstrual blood sprinkled on the ground is supposed to protect the household (in Ewe culture), another that a husband was bed-ridden for 25 years after his wife had administered menstrual blood to him in his food.

take some watah, an' she'll rinch (rinse) dis heah rag, she weah, out in some watah. An' she'll put about nine drops of it in de pot dat she's cookin' in. Well, she won't eat none of it, see, right den. She'll call yo' [a man] in an' let chew eat. See?

Well, dat stuff puts dat whiskey drinkah – quits it altuhgethah. He won't drink no mo' at all. (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2315)

(20)   A woman kin jes' take her periods, ketch some of it an' kin give yo' [him] jes' a drop every time she want yo' [him] break off drinkin', see. Jes' give him a drop in de whiskey. An' ah don't care how good he love whikes, he will break off from it. HE WOULDN'T BREAK OFF FROM IT RIGHT JES' DAT MINUTE.
(Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2521)

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR CONTROLLING A MAN

(21)   A woman kin take her sickny [sickness, see the negative conception of menstruation above] rag, yo' undahstan'. She kin take datt off it an' put it in 'is rations, an' give it to him to eat. An' whilst he's eatin' it an' befo' he git through eatin' an', she scold at 'im, yo' undahstan'. Well, jes' anythin' she wanta do den, she got 'im. He be scared of 'er from den on. (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2514)

(22)   An' den a woman tole me dat she take an' she trick 'er husban' wit 'er periods. She take it an' she feed 'im wit fo' nine mawnin's. An' aftah dat nine mawnin's he would do anythin' dat she want 'im tuh do. When she tell 'im, "Yo' not goin' go no place," he'd stay at home. She'd be able tuh change his mind.
(Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2530)

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR CONTROLLING A WOMAN

(23)   A says, if a man got a woman an' also, if he can't rule de woman, he kin jes' take a woman when a woman's periods rise, an' carry it an' find a red ants' nest. Dat's all he gotta do wit dat. … (What will that do then?) Keep her home – yes sir, keep 'er undah yore jurisdiction. (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2514)

(24)   Yore wife run off from yuh an' yo' kin get holt of some of 'er monthly pieces, yo' take it an' put it between yore innah sole an' yore outside sole of yore shoe. An' yo' kin wear dat an' she'll be undah yo'. She'll have to come back an' be aroun' yo'. She can't stay away, she have to come back – yo' be wearin' dat.
(Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2532)

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A CHARM FOR KILLING A MAN

(25)   Well, it's – a woman kin take some of' er blood an' take dis man's name; yo' know, write his name [with her blood] on a piece of papah. An' tied is up in dis piece of papah an' tie a strand of thread around it. An' yo' kin sew it up in a mattress, or jis' sew it up in anything an' let it [stay] dere. Well, he will pine away dat way. He will die.

(Yes? He will die?)

Yes, sir, he will die.
(Just take her ordinary blood or her period blood?)
Dat's right, her period blood.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, pp. 3498–3499)

As these examples illustrate, the supernatural power of menstrual blood is "gender-neutral." Furthermore, in some cases, it is believed that the menstrual blood can be turned against the woman who produced it, condensed in the conceptualization LOSS OF CONTROL OF MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS LOSS OF (WHOLESOME) LIFE, which in turn implies GAINING CONTROL OF MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS GAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER, as in the following examples from the Hoodoo collection and from contemporary Nigeria:

(26) Ah heard of people takin' women's monthlies an' hide it – put it in a tree an' smoke.
      (How do you mean smoke it?)
      Well, dey build a fiah up undah it an' leave it stay dere. Well, de fiah gotta go out, but den ag'in dat'll kill de tree, an' den it will kill de person.
      (Where do they put that cloth?)
      Put it in de hollow of a tree, see.
      Dey put dat cloth in dere an' when dat rottens, it rotten de tree an' dey rots down an' dey dies.
      (How do they smoke it?)
      Well, dey smoked it first fo' a purpose.[21]   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2519)

(27) An' well, jes' lak a lady's 'pearance [appearance], yo' know. Well, yo' kin be careless wit dat an' somebody could git dat an' take it an' bury it. Well dat destroy yore whole health. Yo' can't nevah been well, cuz it stop yo' from menistratin' – can't ministrate.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2517)

(28) If a person wanted tuh run a woman crazy – dis whut dey did mah mothah. Dis woman went in mah mothah's trunk an' took her monthly an' taken it tuh some runnin' watah, an' as dat watah would continue tuh run it would soon wash that blood out, an' mah mothah begin tuh fade away an' die.
                                                        (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 1047)

(29) Yo' see, an' here's anothah question dat people always say, yo' see, about wimmen people. Yo' know whenevah de period is on 'em dat way, dey say yo' kin take some of dere period, yo' see – in a bottle yo' see – an' stop dat up, yo' see, an' dig a hole, yo' see, an' turn de mouth of it right down into de ground, yo' see. An' dey say as long as dat stay in dere, say dat'll pass dat woman away. An' evah month yo' know 'er period come on 'er, dey claim it won't come er [or] nuthin

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21. See below for the practice of burning menstrual blood and putting the remains under or in a tree.

but jes' reg'lah big clods [clots] of blood. An' it will keep' er in a way dat she nevah can have intahco'se wit a man, not no mo' in' 'er life, unless yo' have to go back dere an' release dat bottle – dig it up.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2515)

(30)   The victims are mostly from Edo state where Benin City is located, but in recent times, there have been reports of young women trafficked from other parts of Nigeria, including the troubled northeast region where Boko Haram operates. In some cases, they are told to bring their underwear stained with menstrual blood which they hand to the priest who also cuts their pubic hair and toenails and makes them swear over the blood of an animal, usually a chicken, that they would never betray their supposed benefactor. The ritual gives the priests power to punish those women who fail to keep to their oath wherever they are in the world.   (Obaji, 2017)

(31)   You have to really bury the cloths for menses because many witches go around for human blood and they can destroy you if they use your blood for witchcraft. In fact, infertility results from this. Again [sic] some evil ones also use these materials for rituals and they can affect you.

(an Igbo informant in Ouj & Ve, 2008, p. 111)

Within the framework of this chapter, it is impossible to analyze the conceptual, image-schematic details of each single folk belief or the cultural schemas expressed in them. In general, though, as indicated already, menstrual blood is held to have more supernatural force than "ordinary" blood. While ordinary blood, per definition, is the essential component of blood-related spells, other "ingredients" are required to make the spell work, as in Example (5) with the mud dauber. Menstrual blood, on the contrary, only requires a "carrier" at best, such as food or a piece of cloth or needs to be changed in its physical state, e.g., from solid to fluid ("wash that blood out") or from solid to gaseous (as in "burning (to smoke)" or "rotting").[22] The following instructions, again taken from Hyatt (1970–1978), as can be exemplarily seen are cultural schemas as to how to proceed in the administration of menstrual blood magic (for reasons of space, the conceptual details of these schemas cannot be spelled out); some of them are also expressed in the examples above:

BURNING MENSTRUAL BLOOD schema[23]
(32)   If ah had a woman an' ah want 'er tuh stay at home – want 'er tuh stay at home – yo' kin take dat. Yo' know, jes' lak she' s ministratin', yo' kin take dat rag an'

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22. This physical transformation is reminiscent of the burning of paper models for ancestral use in the Hong Kong context, described in Wolf & Chan (2016).

23. See Ouj & Ve (2008, p. 111) for the folk-medical taboo amongst Igbo women to "burn the cloths used for menses."

burn it up – burn it up in de ashes. Take it [ashes] an' carry it to de front yard an' bury it. Dat'll keep 'er at home. Yo' would have to steal it [dat rag].

<div align="right">(Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2516)</div>

(33) Now, yo' kin take – jes' lak if yo' wants tuh make' em weak, weak-minded an' don' have no good health, jes' bad health all de time. Yo' kin take a rag an' yo' kin put it roun' de pot an' burn it. Put it roun' de pot or eithah put it in de chimley an' burn it. An' take de smoke, jes' lak if yo' ketch de smoke in a bottle an' stop de smoke up in de bottle, an' dat'll make dem weak-minded an' don' have real bright sense – an' bad health. (What do you do with that bottle then after this smoke is stopped up? What do you do with that bottle then?)
Well, yo' take dat bottle an' yo' bury it right undah de center of yore house lak de centah of de room heah. Well, yo' bury it right undah de center of de house by de middle block undah [supporting] de house. [Center of house makes a quincunx.]
(Just that cloth, the woman's monthly cloth, get the smoke of it.)

<div align="right">(Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2516)</div>

(34) Mah gran' fathah taught me about it – fo' de woman, fo' instan', woman when she has 'er co'ses [courses] on see. Dey take one of dose pieces whut she have – listen well! – if dey hang it up in de chimley where it smokes by de fiah, she will dry up in de smoke. Yo' see women dat git so small an' thin, an' take treatment from de doctor [M. D.] an' don' get any bettah. She dries up. Now, take dat [piece] an' burn it to a powdah. Take a augah [auger] an' bo' a hole in a tree. [Stop that powder up] when dat sap is down, an' when dat sap goes up dat's whut stops [it]. She's blowed [bloated] up. When de sap goes up, she is blowed up, yo' undahstan'. (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2517)

(35) Well, ah'm married, an' people has been tellin' me dat mah husband wus goin' wit a woman. So ah didn't believe it, ah said ah wanted tuh see fo' mahself. So one night ah were out an' ah went tuh a friend of mine's house an' ah met 'em dere togethah. Co'se ah didn't ack anyway 'spicious. Ah know whut dey would think. So dis woman dat he wus goin' wit, she wus a friend of mine an' she visited mah house often. An' so one day she came dere an' she happen tuh be ministratin' at de time, an' she ast me did ah have somepin dat she could use. So ah tole her yeah, an' ah gave her a piece. So de piece dat she had on, she gave it tuh me. Ah say, "Yo' give it tuh me an' ah'll throw it away fo' yo', put it in de trash." She said all right.
So, since den, ah were out an' ah met 'im an' 'er togethah. So ah tole her, ah say, "DE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TELLIN' ME DAT YO' WERE GOIN' WIT MAH HUSBAND, BUT AH DIDN'T BELIEVE IT. NOW AH KNOW IT FO' MAHSELF." AH SAID, "AN' AH WILL FIX YO' IN A WAY DAT YO' WON'T HAVE ANYTHIN' TUH DO WIT MAH HUSBAND AN' NO OTHAH WOMAN'S HUSBAN."

So whut ah did. De piece dat she left dere, ah got some sulphur an' red pep-pah an' put in it an' burned it. An' in a month's time – ah had tole her dat in a month's time she wouldn't know anyone. So, during dat month aftah ah had burned it, she ined – went tuh pinin' away. An' WHEN DE MONTH WUS UP, DEN SHE DIED.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2516)

WASHING THE BLOOD OUT + BURYING schema

(36)   Now a woman like me, a female woman, dey would git mah ministition, or cloth, an' wash it an' dreen [drain] it out of dat. Ah've seen dat dug up, an' buried. But now de way dey bury dat, dey bury it like dat [demonstrates], caticornah [catercornered = slanted downward here]. Leave jes' a little hole fo' it to dreen out chew know. An' jes' as dat dreen outa dat bottle, jes' dat way yo'll dreen away.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2515)

(37)   If a man gits tired of a woman an' wan'a git out 'er way an' wan'a make her leave town, he'd go to work an' take dat sanitary cloth – yo' know whut dat is – if he kin git holt it, be wise 'nuff an' [get] hal' dat sanitary cloth. Take dis cloth, go 'cross any runnin' stream of watah an' bury it, he'll nevah have no trouble wit 'er in dat town or country or village or wheresomevah she live.
                          (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2539)

PUTTING MENSTRUAL BLOOD IN A TREE schema

(38)   Yo' kin do a latta things [informant is answering my unrecorded question]. Yo' kin take dat an' bury it an' put it into a hole in a big oak tree, an' take [write] her name [and put with it] an' dat will run 'em crazy – make all 'er blood dry up. (Put her monthly period in that hole in that tree?). Yeah.
                          (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2537)

PUTTING MENSTRUAL BLOOD IN A TREE + DIGESTION BY AN ANIMAL schema

(39)   Well, dat's like if yo' wanta kill someone. Dat's whut dat is. Yo' kin take a woman ministratin' cloth, don't chew know, an' yo' kin care [carry] it to a pine tree as de sun go down an' yo' kin take a ten-penny nail an' drive it in de hollow of dis ole pine tree as de sun goin' down an' walk off an' leave it right dere. Den when de frog eat it up, den she'll die. (What eats it up?) De frog. (The frog eats that up?) Yeah, a frog will eat dat up, den yo'll die. (Where would the frog come from?) Yo' would have tuh carry de frog dere an' put de frog in dere. When de frog eat dat up, den yo'll die. (You just put it in the hollow of a tree?) De hallah of a ole pine tree.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2536)

In today's Western contexts, the use of menstrual blood for magical or ritualistic purposes may seem marginal at best – at least in public discourse and judging by large computer corpora – and mostly restricted to satanic or occultist practices. The following is an excerpt from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies, 2008–):

(40)   After calling Abramovic a "top occultist," the site helpfully explains that "spirit cooking" is "an occult performance during which menstrual blood, breast milk, urine and sperm are used to create a 'painting.'"

A similar reference, more specifically to the use of menstrual blood in satanic practices, is made in the British newspaper *The Guardian* (Storr, 2011, n.p.; also cited in Davies, 2013):

(41)   Soon, we get to the actual satanism. Sinason talks of a popular ritual in which a child is stitched inside the belly of a dying animal before being 'reborn to satan'. During other celebrations, "people eat faeces, menstrual blood, semen, urine."

The sexual dimension of using menstrual blood for ritualistic purposes is evident in the following passage from the Canadian sub-section of *The Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (Davies, 2013):

(42)   On the third day the ritual began four hours before dawn. Ron tells his companion, "lay out a white sheet. Place upon it blood of birth. Envision her approaching thee. Think upon the lewd, lascivious things thou coulds't do. All is good to Babalon. All. Preserve the material basis. Thus lust is hers, the passion yours. Consider thou the Beast raping." These invocations along with other passages in the ritual indicates that Parsons had collected specimens of his own sperm and the girls menstrual fluid. The climax of the ceremony occurred the following day with Ron at he [sic] altar working his two subjects into a sexual frenzy.

3.2   Menstrual blood as a love charm

In fact, scanning the various sources on the magical use of (menstrual) blood, I found the conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A LOVE CHARM – which implies a sexual dimension – to be the most salient one amongst the magical beliefs concerning menstrual blood, especially so in contemporary transcultural contexts. Possibly, this is due to fact that menstrual blood, as well as urine, sperm, and vaginal secretion, are associated with the reproductive organs (cf. Matteoni, 2009, pp. 202–205).

Probably the oldest expression of this conceptualization, at least in the European setting, is the following passage in Burchard von Worms' *Decretorum libri XX* (published in the 11th century, as cited in Ploss, 1887, p. 352):

(43)   Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent? Tollunt menstruum suum sanguinem, et imminscent cibo vel potui, et dant viris suis ad manducandum vel ad Bibendum, ut plus diligantur ab eis.

'Do you know what some women do? They mix their monthly blood into the food or drink they give to their husbands, so they become more the object of their love.'   (my free translation)

Using menstrual blood as (part of) a love charm has not been an uncommon prac-
tice throughout Europe. From Matteoni (2009, pp. 201–208), who draws from var-
ious sources, we can gather that this practice was widespread in early modern
Europe. A concrete example can be found on a neo-pagan website (without further
corroboration):

(44)   Here is a standard recipe of a love-potion: menstrual blood, hair ashes, powder
       of a nail, brains of a bat, and frog skin. A modern human being would throw
       up, but this was the cocktail (mixed with wine, of course), which was served
       to the French King Loius XV [sic] by his favorite Marquise de Pompadour.
                                                           (Cuhulain, 1997–2018, n.p.)

MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A LOVE CHARM also features prominently in Hyatt's collec-
tion of folklore, as the small selection of examples illustrates, with the entailment
CONSUMING MENSTRUAL BLOOD OF A WOMAN FOSTERS THE RELATIONAL BOND TO
THAT WOMAN:

(45)   I have heard dat dey kin take yore – take a sanitary cloth, rinsin' [it], put it
       in cake. Cook it in cake an' give it tuh whomsomevah yo' wants tuh love yuh.
       An' yo' give it tuh 'em de firs' time, hit takes effect; an' if yo' give it tuh dem de
       secon' time, if yo' want 'em tuh marry yuh, why dey'll marry yuh.
                                                           (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2530)

(46)   A woman kin take an' go tuh de market an' she kin git a piece of steak or a
       piece of po'k [pork] livah, an' she kin put it on a cloth, jes' lak she putt in' on a
       cloth fo' her monthly period – lay it between' er laigs jes' lak she fixin' a cloth
       when she's sick. An' lay it right on dere an' pin it up on 'er, jes' lak she put on
       a towel. Put dat on dat mawnin' an' wear it until twelve a'clock. Take it off an'
       cook it an' give it to him, jes' 'nuff fo' him – nuthin tuh throw 'way, jes' 'nuff fo'
       him – an' let 'im eat it. An' when he eat, den she's got 'im so – she got 'im den.
                                                           (Hyatt, 1970–1978, pp. 2533–2534)

(47)   Yo' see, aftah she feed off her month'lies fo' de three days, yo' see, an' den let
       dat res' awhile, fo' if she continue to feed it off him, well, he be purtty bad
       gittin' 'long wit her, 'cause he'll be so jealous of her dat she couldn't stay dere,
       yo' see. But she de one dat thought of dat, yo' see. Well, she feeds him off fo'
       three day. Well, she'll ketch it agin den on de next mont'lies, yo' see, an' feed
       him fo' three days agin, yo' know – on like dat fo' three times she feed him on
       de mont'lies, yo' see. Well, den she hold him jes' as tight as dat hat band, yo'
       see. [He is pointing to an old black hat lying in front and against my recording
       machine on the table. <…>]
       But she can't do it, yo' know, jis' reg'lar. She doesn't make dat a habit, yo' see,
       'cause if she do, yo' see, de mo' she do dat, de crazier he git about her. He kin
       be round other women an' dey offer to go with him or somepin like dat, but
       he'd git mad an' cuss 'em out. 'Fore dis would happen [before he was tricked],

why he would be lovin' wit 'em an' want to go wit 'em, an' [but now] can't nary a woman in de world suit him atall but her. An' he couldn't git another one to save his life. De moment he have intercourse wit dat woman, de mo' he wants to have intercourse wit her, yo' see.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, pp. 1177–1178)

(48) If you takes his discharge and your ministration and lengthpiece – two together and cast them overboard, he'll never get away from you.
(How do you put them together now?)
You take your ministration, his discharge, before they dies – you have to work this within three or four hours after you get it. Put them in a bottle and seal it up, he'll never get away from you.
Now, there's another I'll tell you, that he will never have the designs for anyone else until you turns this on him – just turn him loose, if you wants to give him away. You gets de bottle back and turn him loose. (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 1161)

(49) A woman, she take an' give yo' a drop of blood, if she's ministratin'. Dey say if she give yo' any of dat, say as long as she live dat yo's goin' be wit 'er. If she evah git dat an' give it to yo' in coffee or molasses bread, or anything lak dat, says yo'all will die togethah or kill one' nothah or sompin lak dat. If she evah give yo' anything lak dat, if she wanta quit chew an' do yo' lak dat, says she kin go' head on somewhere s an' yo' gonna always be behin' 'er, be on her track, until she kill yo' or somebody else [kills you].   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2520)

There is also evidence that the conceptualization MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A LOVE CHARM existed and exists outside of the hoodoo tradition. The following passage comes from a 1917 issue of the journal *Psychoanalytic Review*, where it is cited under "compulsive neurosis":

(50) Rose went on to tell the story of a young woman who had caused a man to fall violently in love by secretly putting some menstrual blood in his tea. "It worked wonderfully," concluded Rose. "The man was crazy about her, but all the rest of his life he was never very well."   (Frink, 1917, p. 31)

Until today, there is textual evidence for the existence of this conceptualization (if not the practices associated with it) in the U.S.:

(51) In the African-American hoodoo tradition, as well as in Sicilian folk-magic, menstrual blood served to a man in his coffee or tea is a sovereign recipe for capturing his sexual attention. No ritual, prayer, or invocation is necessary; you simply add some menstrual blood to the man's coffee or tea. The idea is to get your scent into the beloved's sphere of consciousness. This is nothing more or less than pheromone-magic, and as such it partakes of biology as much as it does of occultism. My Sicilian grandmother believed in its efficacy completely. I have done this often, with uniformly good results. I have directly fed gobbets of menstruum to my lover, from my fingers, as one might feed a pet. This was

done to bind him, but to avoid the sneakiness of slipping it into his drinks – i [sic] want him to KNOW how much i [sic] want him to be mine, and to know that i [sic] am working the spell on him right out in the open.

(Yronwood, 1994–2017, n.p.)

(52)   Some folks believe that the power of menstrual blood is inherent – that is, it will work just the same whether it is deliberately added to foods or beverages as a magical act or ingested accidentally. For those who feel this way, any contact with menstrual blood may result in bewitchment. Nona C. Wright tells how this advice was passed along in her husband's family:

My late husband, who was African American, used to tell me his grandmother warned him never to indulge in oral sex with a woman during her period because it would make him bound to her for life. I always took it as his quirky sense that one could use menstrual blood in love spells. But in hindsight this seemed to be a very powerful thing to him as he swore he would never do it. To him it had to do with giving up his free choice to be with someone and somehow being under their power or control.   (Yronwood, 1994–2017, n.p.)

Rebel Circus, a New York-based website for "alternative & tattoo clothing," features a blog with several female authors. One of the articles in that blog contains a survey in which its female readers were asked the following questions:

(53)   Would you ever consider cooking with your menstrual blood? What do you think about magic that uses menstrual blood? Let us know in the comments!

(Rivas, 2017, n.p.)

The blog then goes on to detail numerous stories in which women used menstrual blood and urine as love charm, for example:

(54)   One thing she said that blew my mind was my ex frequently urinated and placed menstrual blood in my food and drinks! Apparently the belief is a man that eats or drinks a woman's pee or menstrual flow is bound to her for life. I had an overwhelming animal attraction to her and lost all my common sense and judgment.   (Rivas, 2017, n.p.)

(55)   **Another woman put menstrual blood in her boyfriend's food on a whim**. The woman, known only as Rose, was dating a man with a huge sexual appetite, and came home to him cheating on her after she went away for a week to see her parents. She forgave him, but she vowed not to forget. "After one week I forgave him because I love him, but I was still angry with him. He asked me to cook rice for him. I was on my period, i [sic] removed my pad and suck it inside water and made sure the blood was very much so in the water, I added my urine into the water and I made stew for him, he came back and ate the food without knowing."   (Rivas, 2017, n.p., bold in the original)

Unfortunately, no comments on these stories can be found; the author attributes the purported effects of menstrual blood as love charm partly to magic and partly folk-biologically explained to pheromones (see Rivas, 2017).

In the following, further instantiations for MENSTRUAL BLOOD IS A LOVE CHARM from around the world are listed:

Latin America (in connection with *Santería*, a widespread religious practice brought to Latin America by enslaved Africans)

(56) If a woman wishes to seduce a man, she can take seven earthworms, some of her menstrual blood, a dash of her feces, hair from her head and pubic hair, and place them in the sun to dry. When they are dried, she can grind them into a fine powder and place the powder in the man's food or drink.

(Philpott, 2016, n.p.)

Nigeria

(57) So scrolling through FB today, one of my homegirls was asking does the blood in the spaghetti trick really work. lol now I ain't try na influence nobody to do anything but there was no ring on my finger, before the spaghetti, but after the spaghetti, there is a ring! It's a cold world out there ladies, sometimes you gotta do what you gotta do.   (NL Talk Talk, 2017)

Ghana

(58) The ritualistic use of period blood to create a love charm or potion to ensnare a man is legendary. This power of period blood is revered and celebrated. Mixing period blood into food for their spouses is one way a love charm was created.

(GhanaWeb, 2019)

Zimbabwe

(59) A Chitungwiza man recently pulled a shocker when he made sensational claims in court alleging that his wife was feeding him with menstrual blood. 24-year-old Admire Gwenzi, made the claims at the Chitungwiza magistrates court where he was facing charges of physically abusing his wife Linda Chikoti (22).

(Sibindi, 2014)

Indonesia

(60) Ilmu Mahabbah, Asihan, Pengasihan, Gendam Asmara, atau Pelet Kemaluan adalah pelet yang di buat dari kotoran darah haid wanita yang di campur dengan minuman dan di minumkan pada orang yang ditujunya dan menjadi-kan orang yang menjadi targetnya tersebut tunduk dan takluk pada si wanita tersebut. Biasanya agar tidak ketahuan, darah haid tersebut dicampur dengan minuman Kopi atau minuman yang berwarna gelap. ('Magical science or genital magic is a magic that is made from blood, feces, menstrual blood mixed with drinks of the person who is targeted to make the target person subject and submissive to the woman. To not get caught, the menstrual blood is mixed with coffee or dark drinks.')   (Sugianto, 2013)

Indonesia and Singapore

(61) The domestic helper who added menstrual blood to her employer's coffee has been given a jail term of one month. The 24-year-old who goes by the name Jumiah pleaded guilty to spiking the drink of her former employer, a 37-year-old man, on 31 August 2011 after keeping the blood in a bottle for five days. <…> Jumiah said she added her menstrual blood into her employer's drink after being told that doing so would make a person nicer to her, ST said.

(Yahoo! News, 2012)

Dubai

(62) Some maids are using a form of witchcraft, in which they mix their employer's food and drink with urine and menstrual blood, in a misguided effort to impress them, police said yesterday. While the practice is not thought to be widespread, police say at least four incidents have been reported in Dubai so far this year. <…> "We are always investigating such cases," said Lt Col Ahmed Al Merri, the head of CID. "The majority do it out of a belief that it will capture their employer's heart and make them pay extra incentives or get them gifts."

(Issa, 2012)

China

(63) Menstrual Blood Gong Tau (经血降). Menstrual Blood of a Girl/Woman is added to the food and consumed by the intended Victim [sic]. The intention of Menstrual Blood Magic is often to tie or bind a lover or sexual attraction. It is also often used by Maids from South East Asia to make the employers nicer or even listen to them. ("Gong Tau", 2012)

Japan

(64) "If I get my period on Valentine's day, then I can put my secret ingredient in." I mix in menstrual blood with my honmei choco every year."
"Were there ever any girls who didn't put their own menstrual blood in the Valentine's chocolate?" (Waterland, 2014)

India

(65) The woman desiring to control her husband has to put a Tilak [the red mark] of her own Menstrual Blood on the forehead of her husband or Lover. This is believed to put the desired man under her spell of Vashikaran [subjugation magic]. The woman wishing to put a Vashikaran Spell on her husband or any other man, should take three whole undamaged Cloves and during the four days course of her Monthly Cycle, keep these Cloves near her Vagina, inside her underwear. On the fifth day, she should take these three Cloves, grind them, and give them to her husband to eat. The Clove Mixture can be mixed in any eatable or food drink; however, mixing in any eatable or food drink is only if it is impossible to feed the grounded Clove powder to the husband or lover.

(Neel N, 2014)

Russia

(66) Приворот на месячные — как сделать правильно? Самый простой ритуал заключается в том, что на белое полотно женщине необходимо капнуть собственную кровь и высушить пятно. После этого ткань необходимо сжечь, собранный пепел добавить в напиток и дать его выпить жертве. 'A love spell with menses – How to do it right? The easiest way is to stain a white cloth with a droplet of the woman's own [menstrual] blood, and let it dry out. Then the cloth is burned and the ashes are used to spike the victim's drink before he drinks it.'

("Privorot na Mesyachnuyu Krov", n.d., translation by Alisa Egorova)
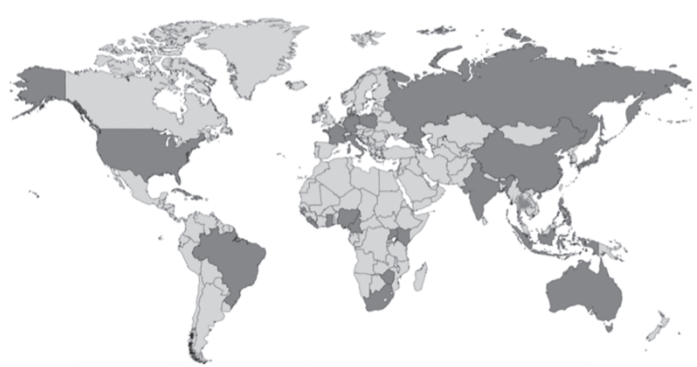
Figure 2. Geographical distribution of the menstrual blood beliefs according to the linguistic evidence collected by the study

Given the spiritual duality of menstrual blood, it can also be used as a counter charm to break the spell of a love potion, as in the following example:

(67) Ah heard a fellah say if a woman take his nature dataway, if he wants tuh git it back, he have tuh go tuh work' git some of 'er ministrate. If he git dat, yo' see, an' he'll git it on a rag, an' he'll go tuh work an' take him some gin-whiskey an' put it in gin-whiskey, an' give it tuh 'er tuh drink. When she do dat she'll go tuh work an' release it offa him.   (Hyatt, 1970–1978, p. 2471)

4.   Discussion

The data referred to above raises the question of whether there is an archetypal concept of the spiritual dimension of menstrual blood that spread through time and space, as suggested by Meyer (2005) or whether these identical conceptualizations developed independently of each other; i.e., to borrow terms from pidgin and creole studies, whether a monogenesis or polygenesis seems more likely.

There are strong arguments in support of a monogenetic or evolutionist perspective of cultural beliefs in general. According to Durham (1991, p. vii)

> human cultural systems are all related by historical derivation or 'descent,' in much the way that human gene pools are all related by descent. The challenge … is not to show that cultures have, in fact, evolved from common ancestry …; rather, the challenge is to show just *how* this happened.

One is reminded of Dawkins notion of memes, which are likened to genes (CULTURAL UNITS ARE GENETIC UNITS). This "memetic" perspective reverberates in a quote by Durham (1991, p. 31): "Human cultures are all related by 'descent' …. the differences we observe today are the cumulative results of some set of historical diversifying processes."[24] This "descent with modification" (Durham, 1991, p. 9) implies that "the relevant transmission is not of traits, but of beliefs and principles that … create a wide array of traits" (Durham, 1991, p. 175). To remember, I found identical conceptualizations tied to different individual practices and variation in the application of menstrual blood (e.g., how charms are administered, in which form they come, additional ingredients, etc.).

As Durham (1991, p. 9) further writes, there are "two major information systems – a genetic and a cultural one." He continues to state – in agreement with cultural-linguistic tenets – that "culture is handed down through time and space in [ideational] units that are conceptual, socially conveyed, symbolically coded parts of a system" (Durham, 1991, p. 9). Later in his book, he refers to Geertz (1973, p. 44) by saying that "culture is best seen not as complexes of concrete behavior patterns – … but as a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions … – for the governing of behavior." Obviously, these control mechanisms are akin to cultural schemas in cultural linguistic terminology (cf. Sharifian 2017b, pp. 3–6).[25]

On the basis of the examples and evidence available to me, let me briefly sketch plausible connections and strands of transmission of menstrual blood beliefs. Historical ties between Africa and Indonesia seem fairly well established.

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24. In fact, this biologistic, evolutionist perspective has spawned a number of studies in anthropology and archeology on the historical spread and distribution of folktales (see, e.g., Berezkin, 2013, 2016; d'Huy, 2014; Tehrani & d'Huy, 2017; Tehrani, 2011; Thuillard, Le Quellec, d'Huy, & Berezkin, 2018). The relevance to Cultural Linguistics is apparent, and it would be a promising endeavor to apply the methodologies developed in those studies to the diachronic-geographic investigation of cultural conceptualizations. In linguistics, this perspective has been fruitfully applied by Greenberg (1966) to the study of *The languages of Africa*, so the title of his famous book.

25. Given the broad scope of this chapter, the focus here was primarily on cultural conceptualizations; cultural schemata of menstrual blood magic could only be hinted at in a few instances.

Researchers at the Eijkman Institute of Molecular Biology in Jakarta have traced parts of Indonesia's genetic ancestry to Africa, and, in turn, a South East Asian influence in the genetic ancestry of Malagasy (cf. Brucato et al. 2019). Similarly, on the basis of ethnobotanical and artefactual evidence, the "'Indonesia Jones' theory for Africa" (Carrol, 2004, n.p.) holds that "mariners from Indonesia raided and traded across the [African] continent" (also see Blench, 2007). Likewise, the link between African expressions of the conceptualizations pertaining to menstrual blood and those found in the U.S., especially among the African-American population, is fairly apparent; parallel to linguistic transfer, it is due to the forced migration of parts of the African population in the context of slavery (whether the same conceptualizations exist in the Caribbean and South America remains to be investigated). If Europe can be considered as a cultural space whose history is inextricably intertwined, it does not come as a surprise that identical beliefs exist(ed) across different regions and nations. Furthermore, seminal texts, such as Pliny the Elder's, most likely had a considerable influence on successive writings and popular thought at large. No specific explanation for the identity in the conceptual material found in Africa and Europe comes to my mind, apart from the general facts of geographical proximity and longstanding historical contacts between the two continents. It is possible that missionaries spread the belief in the supernatural power of (menstrual) blood – as was the case with Western notions of witchcraft, for example (see Geschiere, 1997, pp. 187–195). Still, while the accounts of the primordial beliefs in the importance of menstrual blood and the evolutionist arguments in general could suggest an even earlier, archetypal origin of the conceptualizations discussed in this chapter, further evidence is needed to rule out that such beliefs developed independently yet parallelly to those found in Europe.

5.   Conclusion

The conceptualizations of menstrual blood are a good case in point for Cultural Linguistics to address the question of universality vs. cultural variability. Arguably, the main focus within Cultural Linguistics has been on culture-specific conceptualizations. In its focus on cultural differences, Cultural Linguistics so far has been aligned with sociolinguistics as a study of particulars. As Joshua Fishman once said (personal communication, my loose recollection), "I am interested in difference, not similarity." However, with the diversity paradigm in full swing, it might be worthwhile to reconsider what unites, not separates the humankind. An investigation of (near) universal conceptualizations, as evidenced in those relating to menstrual blood, may provide some insights into the interconnectedness of the humankind. This tenet ties in with a recent call in anthropology to recognize

the importance of cross-cultural commonalities (Antweiler, 2016). For Cultural Linguistics, taking such a universalist perspective may also be an invitation to explore new methodologies in explaining the discoursal distribution of certain conceptualizations across time and space.

Acknowledgements

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Cultural-linguistic explorations into emotion concepts

Conceptualizing ꜱʜᴀᴍᴇ in Old Romanian

A cultural and historical-semantic analysis

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The chapter deals with the conceptualization of a social-moral emotion, *ruşine* [*shame*], in Old Romanian (16th–18th centuries). Within an integrative theoretical and methodological framework (combining elements of Cultural Linguistics, Textual and Cognitive Lexical Semantics, Cultural Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology of Emotions), I tackle the patterns of conceptualizing *shame*, delineating the prototypical feature profile, together with its contextual variation, as highlighted by the counterpart lexicalization. The corpus data bring forward a complex componential grid. Certain types of *shame* can be outlined: (a) dysphoric *prototypical shame*; (b) *contiguous shame*, contextually intersecting with *disrespect*, *dishonor* or *fear*; (c) *religious shame*, hedonically hybrid, both euphoric and dysphoric, overlapping with *respect* and *fear*; (d) *positive shame*, socially validated and decoded as *shyness*, *modesty*, or, in a romantic love context, as *pudor*.

Keywords: shame, conceptualization of emotions, componential grid, semantic feature, cultural dimensions, cultural evaluation, Old Romanian

1. Preliminaries

The present chapter addresses the ground issue of conceptualization of emotions, focusing on a particular social-moral emotion, *ruşine* [*shame*], as instantiated within a certain cultural and temporal setting, highly marked by emotional extroversion – the Romanian 16th–18th centuries. *Shame* is a core emotion in the Romanian affective mentality and lexicon, constantly present throughout the centuries and particularly instantiated within the medieval[1] time (see Stoica, 2010; see

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1.   The use of "medieval" or "feudal" for Romanian 16th- mid18th centuries is justified by the historical, social, economic, and cultural specificity of the Romanian space within the period of time under consideration. The Romanian society was still a medieval/feudal one (as well as in other parts of Eastern Europe) and this late feudalism persisted until the 19th century. The common chronological delimitation of the historical and cultural stages (Medieval, Renaissance, Early

also Chelcea, 2008); therefore, it represents a highly exponential case of conceptualization of emotions. Based on a representative corpus of Old Romanian texts, I shall describe the patterns of conceptualizing *shame* (the prototypical feature profile and its contextual variation), as reflected by the corresponding lexicalization. The specific aim of the analysis is to highlight the salient conceptual parameters and the extent of their cultural and historical dependency.

The structure of the chapter is the following: Section 2 unfolds certain aspects of the main paradigms in emotion research, outlining the theoretical framework of the analysis. Section 3 focuses on the particular topic of *shame*, offering a selective theoretical overview of its main definitions and typologies, from psychological, cultural-anthropological, sociological, and linguistic perspectives; here, an integrative methodology of analysis is proposed. Section 4 presents the most important features of the Old Romanian concept of *shame*, alongside its basic counterpart lexicon, with reference to the cultural-anthropological pattern delineated by previous studies for Old Romanian culture. Several conceptual patterns of *shame* are discriminated, pointed out as such by the corpus lexical-semantic analysis. Conclusions are drawn in the final Section 5.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical starting point of the present chapter is that emotions represent complex cognitive and cultural phenomena, linguistically encoded, diachronically and diatopically variable, according to the broader historical context.[2]

From a cultural-anthropological perspective (see the social constructivism paradigm, developed in the 1970s: Averill, 1980; Harré, 1986; Oatley, 1993; among others), emotions and their public display are socio-cultural constructs, prescribed, shaped, and expressed according to a set of social/cultural rules, active within a certain community or cultural context. Emotions are thus culture-dependent; they are "made up" by each specific society and culture; the cultural specificity is, therefore, a salient feature and, from this perspective, the highly debated universal dimension of affectivity can hardly be defended.

Yet, within another research paradigm, that of cognitive psychology (Arnold, 1960; Frijda, 1986; among others), conceptualization of emotions involves complex inner cognitive mechanisms (see also Lutz & White, 1986, p. 419), a complex

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Modern, etc.) does not apply in the same way to the Romanian context. There was an important cultural and economic desynchronization comparing to the Western European space that will be recovered later on, starting with the end of the 18th century and, mainly, ending in the 19th century (for more details, see also Hitchins, 2014).

2.   I have addressed these theoretical and methodological aspects in previous papers. For a synthetic discussion, see Stoica (2018).

process of appraisal of a triggering event. One of the major cognitive theoretical frameworks is the componential approach (Fontaine, Scherer, & Soriano, 2013), related to the appraisal theories of emotions, stemming from psychology. From this perspective, an emotion is a multi-componential phenomenon, including a set of patterned processes of appraising a stimulus event, along some specific dimensions (*novelty*; *pleasantness/unpleasantness*; *goal/need relevance*; *causality*; *outcome probability*; *urgency*; *coping potential – control, power, adjustment –*; *compatibility with self-concept/standards – compatibility with social norms/values* (see *the Component Process Model*, Scherer, 2013, also Scherer & Ellsworth, 2003; Frijda & Scherer, 2009). According to this model, the features of the emotional experience can be converted into dimensions of emotional meaning, making up a "component profile" for any specific emotion concept.

The cognitive patterns of emotions can be accessed using the methodological tools of a complementary discipline, cognitive lexical semantics, which considers the lexical meaning as "a conceptual representation," related to an entire encyclopedic system of world-knowledge (Soriano, 2013, p. 65), and which, accordingly, highlights the interdependent relationship between cognition, language, and culture. The cognitive structures involved in the conceptualization of emotions can be mapped and pinpointed by a (semantic) corpus analysis of emotion terms (the emotional meanings in context) (see Ogarkova, 2013, p. 50).

Emotions encompass, at the same time, a so-called universal dimension (given by the prototypical cognitive schemata) and a culture-dependent one (given by the possible variation of the constitutive conceptual-semantic parameters), related to the broader historical context. All these aspects are reflected by a specific lexicalization (see also Stoica, 2012, pp. 92–111).

My analysis is based on this theoretical assumption. Moreover, taking into account the complex nature of emotions in general and of *shame* in particular, I propose a unified theoretical and methodological framework, combining elements of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017), cognitive lexical semantics (Fontaine, Scherer, & Soriano, 2013) and textual semantics (Rastier, 1994) with certain key-concepts of cultural anthropology, sociology of emotions, cognitive psychology, and cultural history of emotions (Russell, 1991; Kitayama & Markus, 1997; Tangney & Fischer, 1995; Barbalet, 2001; Haidt, 2002; Lewis, 1992, 2008; Stets & Turner, 2014; Rosenwein, 2010; Frevert, 2011; Boquet, 2008; among others) (see 3.2 below). This type of interdisciplinary approach may map and highlight, in a more accurate and refined manner, the polymorphic structure of emotion concepts, currently perceived as fuzzy and difficult to be grasped in a single coherent frame of reference.[3]

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3. For a detailed presentation of the proposed theoretical and methodological model of analysis (dealing with the historical and cultural conceptualization and lexicalization of emotions), see Stoica (2015, 2018, pp. 185–187).

3.   *Shame* – definition, description, and typology

Shame is one of the so-called *social-moral emotions*, widely discussed in the psychological, anthropological, and sociological literature, and analyzed from a linguistic point of view.

3.1   Psychological, anthropological, and sociological perspective

Shame is listed, by some scholars, as one of the basic, "universal" emotions (Izard, 1977; Buck, 1988; Ekman, 1992), consequently being considered an innate, prototypical emotion category, with a specific cross-cultural lexicalization and cross-cultural recognizable expressive (facial and behavioral) signals. However, linguistic and anthropological studies underline the salient cultural variability of this emotion concept, with respect to its elicitation, conceptualization, and lexical expression.

Shame is one of the emotions which genuinely reflect the *social* shaping of the affective appraisal and behavior, as, most of the times, it refers to the complying with/infringement of a certain in-group set of norms, which are culturally dependent. It is a *reflexive role-taking emotion* (Shott, 1979, beside *embarrassment*, *guilt*, *pride*, *vanity*) or *self-conscious emotion* (Tangney, 1999; Haidt, 2002; Lewis, 2008), given the fact that it implies not only putting oneself in someone else's position and taking that person's perspective, but also a self-orientation. Therefore, *shame* displays an ambivalent orientation (at the same time endocentric/exocentric), as it simultaneously activates the individual's inner and public face, both the *public self-consciousness* and the *private self-consciousness* (in Buss', 1980, terms).

In this regard, from a sociological perspective, a relevant typology of *shame* (among various others) – which shall be used in my analysis – was proposed by Barbalet (2001, p. 123), who, starting from the distinction previously made by Kemper (1978, pp. 59–62) between *introjected shame* and *extrojected shame*, demarcates four facets of *shame*, according to the agency factors involved (self vs. others as agent of excess status) and the external vs. internal standards of violation: (1) situational shame [*external default*; *self-agency*]; (2) aggressive shame [*external default*; *other-agency*]; (3) narcissistic shame [*internal default*; *self-agency*]; (4) deferential shame [*internal default*; *other-agency*]. This typology acknowledges the internal/external bivalence of *shame* and its salient social aspects.

In addition, in the Western literature, *shame* is currently distinguished from and discussed in comparison with *guilt* and *embarrassment*, perceived as different, yet akin and therefore connected emotions (Haidt, 2002; Shott, 1979; Tangney, 1999; Lewis, 2008). However, these distinctions tend to be Anglo-centric or Western culturally biased. Research on other cultural and linguistic spaces (Middle East or Orient) pointed out a different conceptualization of prototypical *shame*: with a more

complex, un-discrete content (overlapping *shame – embarrassment – guilt*, beside *shyness*, *modesty*) or conveying a different conceptual refined meaning, according to different culturally dependent relevant stimuli.[4]

From this perspective, *shame*, *embarrassment*, *guilt* should be discussed by taking into consideration certain cultural and anthropological variables to which they are directly sensitive. Two of them are particularly salient, as they can alter and shape the emotional appraisal (see Haidt, 2002, p. 53): (a) the independent vs. interdependent construal of the self; (b) a hierarchical vs. an egalitarian social structure (Boehm, 1999).

In a hierarchical culture, which promotes an interdependent construal of the self, emotions are elicited and governed by the constant consideration of the others' perception; the other takes a very important role in the self-definition (Markus & Kitayama, 2008).[5] Therefore, *other-focused emotions* or *self-conscious emotions* are prominent (vs. *ego-focused emotions*) (see Haidt, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 2008, p. 57). Moreover, *shame – embarrassment – guilt* are not mandatorily distinguished as such.

According to these general cultural features, important variations have been underlined in the *valuation*, *elicitors*, and *behavioral consequences* of shame and guilt (Wong & Tsai, 2007). Two of them are worth being mentioned here, as they also meet the case of Old Romanian:

a. *Valuation* (euphoric vs. dysphoric appraisal). Prototypically, *shame* is a highly negative emotion, as it reveals the self as being defective, by failing to conform with the personal and collective standards. Nevertheless, this feature can be altered within certain cultural settings, where the valuation of *shame* is ambivalent: basically negative, at the individual, strictly psychological level, but culturally positive, at the collective and social level. It can be perceived as a normal, expected, and socially validated feeling, an indicator of the compliance with the communal set of norms and values (in such cases, shame currently overlaps with associated emotions and social attitudes like *modesty*, *humility*, *shyness*, *decency*, *respect*, *deference*, etc.). By displaying shame, the individual acknowledges his/her in-group social (inferior) status, the adequacy of the group norms and social hierarchy, a benevolent and expected, socially validated submissiveness. Also, in a highly collectivistic and hierarchical society, *shame* can

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4. See the Indonesian case of distinction between *malu*, shame brought by one's own deeds, and *dipermalukan*, shame caused by someone else's deeds, Keeler, 1983, cf. also Abu-Lughod, 1986.

5. *A cultural framework of independence* (specific to *individualistic cultures*, see Hofstede, 1980) and *a cultural framework of interdependence* (specific to *collectivistic cultures*) (Markus & Kitayama, 1997, pp. 97–130) were differentiated accordingly.

be triggered by the presence of one's superiors in a dominance hierarchy (see the concept of *protoshame*, in Fessler, 1999). The presence of a high-ranking individual, people of higher status or a prestigious member of one's group entails the propensity to behave properly and to present a proper public "face." Hence, showing *shame* equals expressing respect for authority and for the group (see also Abu-Lughod, 1986). *Shame* is an expected emotion, positively valued, as it can serve self-improvement and adjustment to group standards (Wong & Tsai, 2007, pp. 212, 214); *shame* is a "socially constructive" emotion, a sign of societal "moral health."

b. *Elicitors*. In individualistic cultures, *shame* is exclusively triggered by the personal, individual's failure to comply with the existing societal norms; in collectivistic cultures, individuals define themselves as part of the entire group, therefore any in-group members' violation of a norm can be perceived as a personal failure; *shame* can be triggered not only by a personal action, but also by others' actions (Wong & Tsai, 2007, pp. 216–219).

3.2   Linguistic perspective

Shame was also tackled from various theoretical and methodological *linguistic* perspectives: a corpus-based lexical approach (Krawczak, 2014) as well as discourse analysis (Plantin, 2004) or cognitive linguistics, to mention but a few. Within the broad framework of the latter, three particular research paradigms are worth being mentioned, as they point out relevant conceptual-semantic features and also take into account the possible (cross-)cultural and intra-cultural diachronic variability of *shame*: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Palmer et al., 1999; Kövecses, 2004, pp. 32–33), the NSM paradigm (Wierzbicka, 1999, pp. 109–112) and the GRID paradigm (in a contrastive linguistic perspective; Silfver-Kuhalampi et al., 2013; Wong & Yeung, 2013; van Osch et al., 2013; Lewandowka-Tomaszczyk & Wilson, 2014).

The analysis of *shame* proposed in the present chapter will be mainly set within the componential theoretical framework (see Section 2), but also correlated with certain methodological tools of (cognitive) lexical semantics and textual semantics.

According to the componential approach, *shame* can be conceptually described in terms of a component-based prototypical semantic grid.[6] Starting from the basic parameters delineated within the above-mentioned studies, I propose the following conceptual grid of *shame*: *psychic energy*, *subjective – hetero-oriented*,

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6.   For an extent description of this theoretical and methodological proposal (with reference to emotion concepts in general), see Stoica (2012, p. 109; 2018, pp. 186–187).

awareness of the eliciting event, novelty, dysphoric, goal relevance, -force,[7] -control, -active-motivational, norm/self-concept incompatibility, awareness of the consequences, +expressive, high-maximum intensity, relative long term.

These semantic dimensions delineate a prototypical script of *shame*, which, however, can undergo important contextual (inter- and intracultural, historical) variations that may reconfigure the standard representation. Diachronically and diatopically, some dimensions can become central in the componential formula, whereas some others fade away.

Therefore, methodologically, the next step in analyzing the concept of *shame* is to connect the conceptual representation to the lexical meaning, hence, to its specific lexicon (see Section 2): the examination of the words denoting *shame* instantiated in a relevant corpus of texts. The lexical-semantic corpus analysis of the specific lexicon may validate, invalidate, or refine the prototypical grid and may also reflect the cultural and historical variation of the concept in discussion. Methodological tools of textual semantics can be used in a multileveled analysis: at the micro-textual level (lexical collocations); at the meso-textual level (affective isotopies);[8] at the macro-textual level (placing the emotional lexicon against the general background of the text and extra-linguistic context, see Rastier, 1994). As we shall see, in the concrete contextualization of the words, certain parameters tend to become focal or they may be altered.

My analysis is a qualitative one,[9] based on a representative corpus of texts (mainly folk literature and chronicles, original texts, and adapted translations) covering the period under consideration. The texts were carefully selected according to certain relevance conditions: the corpus had to be large and homogeneous enough,

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7. The conventional markers [−] / [+] indicate a lower or a higher degree of saliency of a conceptual-semantic dimension within the prototypical componential formula of *shame* (*shame* is an emotion low in force, control and active-motivational dimensions, and high in expressivity/ extroversion).

8. As one of the main concepts of textual semantics, *isotopy* refers to the reiteration of a semantic feature within a certain text setting, correlating various co-occurring lexemes and delineating in this way a net of semantic recurrences (see Rastier, 1994).

9. There are no public electronic corpora of Old Romanian texts that would allow for a quantitative analysis. All the examples for the present analysis were manually extracted from a large corpus of texts, selected according to their relevance for the Old Romanian time, culture, and language. Considering the above-mentioned cultural desynchronization of the Romanian context (compared with the Western European one, see footnote 1), the first written texts in Romanian are attested for fairly late, the 16th century, and they are mainly official documents and religious translations (the important texts – literary and historical, both original and translations, appear starting with the 17th century).

with a content that motivates the instantiation of emotions, with a language that reflects the common use of the time (apart from literary, stylistic deviations). Ideally, following these qualitative criteria, the corpus should map the affective lexicon that is normally used by individuals of a certain community (within a certain period of time and cultural setting), in order to verbally label and express emotions and their underlying conceptualizations.[10]

4.   Conceptualization and lexicalization of *shame* in Old Romanian

For Old Romanian culture certain basic social-anthropological parameters prove to be particularly salient (Stoica, 2012, 2016): *collectivism* (involving *a socio-cultural frame of interdependence*), *extroversion of self* (the emotional transparency), the importance granted to the *social-communicative hierarchy*, and the *religious dimension*. The lexical corpus analysis illustrates a cultural pattern that values the in-group emotional experience, the validation/invalidation (sanction) of the personal image, and the hierarchy of the interlocutors' roles within the social interactions (see Stoica, 2012, pp. 384–408). In this context, *shame* is a hyper-cognized, focal emotion, being frequently instantiated and lexicalized in the texts of the time.[11] Moreover, *guilt* and *embarrassment* are not distinguished and conceptualized as such. In Old Romanian, *shame* is perceived as a global, less refined social-moral emotion, yet focal within the cultural affective pattern.

The basic lexeme used in designation is *ruşine* 'shame' (of Latin origin) and, more rarely, *sfială* 'shame/fear/shyness,' *ocară* (polysemous, lexical borrowings from Old Slavic) (see examples in Sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 below). Etymologically, the basic lexeme reflects the emotional facial expression commonly associated with *shame*. The word is inherited from Latin *rosionem, rooted in Lat. *roseus* 'red,' lexically encoding the somatic-physiological response that accompanies the feeling of shame (the intense facial vascularization, hence, blushing) (the saliency of the physiological symptoms as part of emotion term semantics is, in this way, pointed out).

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10. For further discussions regarding the methodology used to delineate a corpus qualitatively, which are also relevant for a lexical-semantic analysis of emotion terms/concepts, see Picoche, 1976, and, more recently – within the theoretical frame of cultural history of emotions – Rosenwein, 2010, and Frevert et. al., 2014.

11. In a cultural-anthropological approach, Levy (1984, pp. 397–411) distinguishes between *hypercognized* and *hypocognized emotions*. A hypercognized emotion implies an elaborate cognitive configuration within the cultural cognitive model of a society, indexed as such by its frequent, constant instantiations, and by the complex and rich lexicon denoting the emotion in discussion.

The lexical-semantic corpus analysis of these terms, along with their reinforcing lexical collocations and isotopies, bring forward certain patterns of conceptualizing *shame*, given the variation of certain prototypical dimensions of meaning, which can alter their focality within the componential formula. As we shall see in the following examples, the dynamicity of emotional content is triggered by the various instantiations of particular salient prototypical parameters. In the case of *shame*, the most relevant of them seems to be the *eliciting event* parameter.

Russell (1991, p. 444) discusses the saliency of the *causal antecedent* in the emotional appraisal, arguing for its consideration as a dimension of meaning for an emotion word. As explained in 3.1 above, *emotional elicitors* are culturally bound. At the same time, they are also historically dependent and variable (see Ellsworth, 1997; Triandis 1997; Mesquita, Frijda, & Scherer, 1997; Ogarkova, 2013; Plamper, 2015; among others), consequently entailing changes in the conceptualizations of emotions and in the meaning of the emotion words over time. Various stimulus events (focal events, values, beliefs, etc.) are subject to different emotional appraisals across time and culture(s), according to the more general changes in the cultural life and mentality of a community.

Regarding *shame*, the *elicitor* is represented, generally, by a transgression/violation of a moral or a social-conventional norm (if the society under consideration makes this distinction), consequently entailing collective discredit and in-group sanction. The norms are connected to in-group values, reflecting the community system of shared meanings, and prone to cultural variation.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned prototypical conceptual grid as well as the sociological and anthropological descriptions and taxonomies of *shame*, the lexical-semantic corpus analysis has highlighted certain conceptual facets of *shame* that will be outlined in the following.

4.1   Prototypical *shame*

The corpus data brought forward cases of *shame* that I call *prototypical*, as they imply the instantiation of the standard componential formula (see 3.2): a dysphoric, strong emotion, based on a negative evaluation (of an external and internal instance) and elicited by a social-moral transgression/deficiency/fault. The core variable and salient dimension from the componential grid is the *cause/eliciting event* parameter.

Considering its variation, in what follows, I present possible conceptualizations of *prototypical shame*, illustrated as such by the (con)texts under scrutiny. In all cases, *shame* is triggered by the violation of two main types of norms, active within the community at that time: (a) norms of **physical** and **moral integrity**, on the one hand, and (b) norms of **social integrity**, on the other hand:

a.   *Violation of norms of physical and moral integrity*

As pointed out by the texts, there are various social behaviors that contradict the set of moral and religious rules, which are acknowledged and shared as such by the in-group members and deeply rooted in the collective mentality. Accordingly, disruptive conduct is sanctioned by the community. Explicit lexical collocations recorded in the corpus illustrate the specific *elicitors* of shame – as a triggered or expected emotion:

– Exposed nudity

   (1)   cum au văzut bărbat gol, nenădăjduit […], Hariclie să afunda la cele mai adânci a peșterii. Poate și sfiindu-să, dar cu adivărat mai mult *rușindu-să de fața cè goală*   (CP II, 33)
   ‘when he unexpectedly saw a naked man […], Hariclie went deeply inside the cave. Maybe being afraid, but more feeling **ashamed** of his nakedness’

   (2)   ceea ce *n-avem veșmântă noao*, nu ni-i *rușine* unul de altul (CVPC III, 61)
   ‘*we have no clothes*, we are not **ashamed** of each other’

Example (1) highlights a particular case of *aggressive shame*, triggered not by one’s own improper action, but by another person’s fault. This example can be perceived as a marker of an interdependent construal of self, pinpointing a culture in which one perceives the others’ moral deficiency as one’s self. The context also records the possible correlation of *shame* with *fear*, sometimes conceptually overlapping (see below, under 4.2., the religious shame), as well as the low *active-motivational* dimension of the prototypical shame: the tendency to withdraw or hide: *Hariclie să afunda la cele mai adânci a peșterii* ‘Hariclie went deeply inside the cave.’

– Sexual abuse / improper sexual relationships

   (3)   curvariul […] s-au culcat cu dinsa toată noaptea. Iar muiarea, *plângând* și *blestemând* de *rușine*, n-au mai spus nimănui   (CVPC I, 278)
   ‘the fornicator […] slept with her all night. And the woman, *crying* and *cursing* out of **shame**, said no word to anyone’

   (4)   fiiul tău […] nevoiia *să mă rușineaze* […] Iar de atâta *rușine spurcată* nu nădăjduiam nici dănioară să aib   (CVPC, 253)
   ‘your son […] tried to **disgrace** me […]. I have never expected to endure such a *filthy* **shame**’

Examples (3)–(4) point out cases of *aggressive shame* and, therefore, the *dysphoric* dimension is focused on by lexical collocations indicating the expressive associated behavior: crying (*plângând*), cursing (*blestemând*), or the negative evaluation of the emotion itself, in concrete terms: *filthy shame* (*rușine spurcată*). In Example (4) (and

in other contexts of the corpus), the basic word, in verbal transitive form, *a rușina* 'to dishonor/to bring shame on,' conveys a particular meaning, with a metonymical (euphemistic) semantic shift, denoting the abusive action itself and not precisely the feeling of *shame* (which can implicitly be identified).

– *Physical and affective relationships*, *banned by the social-religious norms* (*moral promiscuity*); in this case, shame is related with the religious idea of *vice/sin*.

(5) muma va închide fat în casă la curvie cu bărbați streini și nu *să vor rușina* unii de alții   (Cuv. 214–215)
'the mother will lock the girl inside the house for fornication with unknown men and they will not feel *ashamed* of each other'

(6) bărbații bătrâni ei vor luao fete, că *nu va fi rușine* în oameni   (Cuv. 185v)
'old men will take young girls, and there will be no *shame* among people'

(7) Cine face lucrure într-ascuns ca sodomleanii și ca tu, aceia sunt necuvioș. Și-i fu *rușine* smârdului Samon și *să mânie* cu mare *mânie* (CVPC, IX, 151)
'Those who commit hidden things like Sodomites and [you] yourself, are indecent. And Samon felt *ashamed* and got very *angry*.'

Example (7) highlights an atypical instantiation of the *active-motivational* parameter, usually unmarked in the case of *shame* (see 3.1 above, also illustrated with Example (1)). Nevertheless, *shame* can contextually be associated with *anger*, as an emotional reaction, which triggers a reparative, adaptive conduct, aimed at repairing/regaining the loss of status.

b. *Violation of norms of social integrity*
The various types of causal antecedents of *shame* listed below pinpoint the high importance granted to the individuals' social/public face within the Romanian cultural setting of the time, illustrating the existing dominant interdependent construal of the self. The social prestige attributes, the moral probity (for example, honesty in actions and in social interactions, sincerity, and discretion) constitute standards of in-group validation. Their transgression (poverty, being in financial debt, stealing, lying, defaming, etc.) are strictly condemned and they represent important elicitors of *shame*:

– Financial / wealth integrity (poverty; being in financial debt; stealing)

(8) că-mi este *rușine* a mă arăta așa gol, *făr de nici un ban*   (CP II, 23)
'I feel *ashamed* to appear like this, *without any money*'

(9) nu iaste la dânșii [leșii] *rușine* a fi *datoriu*   (GU 45v)
'for them [the Polish people] there is no *shame* in having *debts*'

(10)   Căutaţi *furul*, cum nu-i e *frică* de ***ruşine***   (CVPC I, 169)
       'Look at the *thief*, he's not *afraid* of **shame**'

–   Social-interactional integrity (faking sincerity in relationships)

(11)   Darul easte dar, cela ce se dă cu voie. E cela ce nu e cu voie dar nu se cheamă,
       numai ***ruşine***   (CVPC I, 151)
       'The real gift is the one willingly offered. And an unwillingly offered one is
       called a **shame**, not a gift'

–   Verbal integrity/conformity (verbal discredit/defaming/lying)

(12)   Nu ţi-e ***ruşine***, Isoape, a *minţi*?   (CVPC III, 143v)
       'Isoape, aren't you **ashamed** to *lie*?'

(13)   Lisa: […] ne aflăm înaintea unui judecătoriu care este îndestulat a cunoaşte
       dreptate mea şi *minciunile* tale. Aureliia: O, pământule, pentru ce nu te
       deşchizi să înghiţi pe această fără de lege, care cu *atâta* **neruşinare** *tăgădu-
       ieşte* lucrul meu   (CVPC III, 164)
       'Lisa: […] we are in front of a judge who is in the position to know that I'm
       right and that you *lie*. Aureliia: O, earth, why don't you open to take this one
       in, who *so* **shamelessly** *denies* my action'

(14)   aceia […] de cele ce nu ştiu şi cele ce nu cunosc, zic că cunosc, iaste a ***trufa-
       şilor*** şi a *deşerţilor*, părându-le că mai cu ***ruşine*** le iaste *a zice că nu ştiu*. […]
       mai mare iaste ***ruşine*** a zice *minciuna* că ştie   (CM I, 56)
       'those […] who say they know what they actually don't, are **arrogant** and
       vain, thinking it's more **shameful** *to admit they don't know*. […]. But it's a
       bigger **shame** *to lie* that you know'

Example (14) states the duality of *shame*; it focuses on the external vs. internal
standards that are perceived as being violated: in Barbalet's terms (2001, p. 123),
situational shame vs. *narcissistic shame*. In our example, *shame* is contextually as-
sociated with another salient social-moral emotion: *hybris pride*, also banned by
the in-group norms. On the one hand, strictly from the experiencer's point of view
(the subject of emotion), *narcissistic shame* – the less frequent type – is instanti-
ated (self-failure to meet self-imposed standards): the *shame* of admitting a lack
of knowledge/competence or one's ignorance/expertise. On the other hand, if the
emotional evaluation focuses on the transgression of the externally imposed norms,
the former type of *shame* is triggered (*the shame to lie that you know*).

4.2   Contiguous / hybrid *shame*

In other contexts, *shame* is contiguously associated with other emotions, such as (*dis*)*respect, (dis)honor, humiliation*, or *fear*. It remains a negative feeling, but it is elicited by a moral fault, which can entail another close emotion at the same time, overlapping it.

In most of these contexts, *shame* is related to a transgression of one's hierarchical authority. I could identify three levels of social hierarchy, which influence the emotional appraisal: *family/kin hierarchy* (having the male figure as the supreme authority: *father – son*; *husband – wife*); *community hierarchy* (with the noble man or the medieval ruler as the authority referent, against the people, servants, etc.), and *religious hierarchy* (God as the supreme divine authority). The social hierarchical configuration (the public acknowledgement of the strict social roles) and the high-power distance are extremely salient cultural dimensions that define the Old Romanian cultural space, entailing specific conceptualizations of emotions.[12]

The case of *shame* is exponential, as it arises whenever one of these three intertwined levels of social structures is infringed upon or under threat of being transgressed. In these contexts, *shame* can be interpreted also as *disrespect* or *dishonor*. When the transgression is conducted as a consequence of others'-imposed status or action, there are instantiations of *aggressive shame*.

Like in the previous case (the prototypical shame), we could delineate various subtypes of instantiation of *shame*, according to the authority level that is transgressed:

a.   *Violation / Loss of laic authority*
The violation of the laic authority is an important source of *shame* in Old Romanian society. Acknowledging one's authority in a socially stratified community is a sign of "social health," a guarantee of the in-group harmony and cohesion. Accordingly, the infringement of moral/social hierarchy, the disobedience and the defiance against high-ranking individuals are strictly sanctioned. *Shame* can be decoded, in these cases, as *disrespect* and can affect all the levels of laic authority, which are salient within the Old Romanian culture: the parents' or the husband's authority within the family structure; the master's/the ruler's authority within the larger social structure. In the Old Romanian culture under scrutiny, the community is perceived as a macro-social structure and is configured – also in terms of conceptualization

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12.   Fundamental emotions can take salient forms of conceptualization according to these features of Old Romanian culture. In the Old Romanian, highly stratified society, which follows preset social roles, one can identify, for example, the case of *hierarchical love* between medieval ruler/master and (his) people/servants (Stoica, 2012, pp. 357–360; Stoica, 2018, p. 193).

of emotions – similarly to the kinship micro-social structure (the family), which represents the core pattern (see Stoica, 2012, p. 357, 381).

– Violation of the parental authority/hierarchy (father-sons hierarchical relationship)

(15)   Vaţa-vor parinţii baiaţii sei lege buna, iei *vor face ris de* iei. Iei se **vor ruşina**
        şi vor tace   (CVPC VIII, 211)
        'the parents will teach their children the good things, but they [the children]
        will laugh at them [the parents]. And they [the parents] will feel **ashamed**
        and will be silent'

The example brings forward another case of *aggressive shame* induced by the actions of others, rather than being one's own fault (see also Example (1)): the parents feel ashamed by their children's (disrespectful) behavior. The interdependent construal of the self, as a broader characteristic of the Romanian cultural pattern of the time, is once again pointed out. The context also records the associated reactive attitude: the feeling of *shame* is accompanied by the act of being silent (no verbal response), which indicates the prototypically unmarked character of the *active-motivational* conceptual-dimension.

The next Example (16) falls into the same category of *aggressive shame*:

– Violation of marital authority/hierarchy (husband-wife hierarchical relationship)

(16)   tu, jupâneasă, fiind muiare filosofului, *nu iubi să fii slujită de voinici tineri şi
        frumoş*, ca să nu faci **ruşine** filosofului!   (CVPC III, 128v)
        'you, lady, being the philosopher's wife, don't agree *to be served by young and
        handsome men*, so as not to bring **shame** over the philosopher'

(17)   bărbatul ei numai s-au mirat de atâta *îndrăznire* ce au *îndrăznit* fără **ruşine**
        la dânsul şi au zis: – Ce ţi-e pohta de astăzi ce pohteşti, o, muiare?
                                                                      (CVPC I, 273)
        'her husband was surprised by her *daring*, that she *dared* **shamelessly** to come
        to him, and said to her: – What do you want today, woman?'

– Violation of interpersonal authority/hierarchy (ruler – people/subjects; master – servant hierarchical relationship)

(18)   Ghica vodă au ieşit la dânşii […]. Ce n-au avut cui dzice […], carii **nu s-au
        ruşinat** de chip de domnŭ, ce l-au împinsŭ de la puşci   (MC 306v)
        'Ghica vodă went out to them […]. But there was no one to talk to […], as
        they didn't feel **ashamed** *of him being the king*, and pushed him with their
        weapons.'

(19)   cum au deschis, puiul acela au şi zburat, iar ele au rămas atâta de *mâhnite* […], cât *nici capul nu pot să-l rădice în sus, nici pot să caute faţa Măriii tale* de *mare ruşine că au călcat porunca împărătească*   (CVPC III, 196)
'when they opened [the window], the bird flew away and they were so *distressed* […] that they *could not raise their heads and look at His Highness's face*, because they were *so **ashamed** of having disobeyed the royal order.*'

The context above illustrates the highly dysphoric dimension of *shame* (see the explicit association with another negative emotion, *distress/sadness*), as well as its common behavioral expressions: avoiding eye contact and the urge to withdraw: *nici capul nu pot să-l rădice în sus, nici pot să caute faţa Măriii tale* 'could not raise their heads and look at His Highness's face.' Furthermore, this lexical collocation illustrates the prototypical lack of *active motivational* character of shame (see also Examples (1) and (15)).

In other contexts, *shame* does not imply an infringement of a *hierarchical* authority, but a loss in the attributes of the *social* authority/prestige, which define one's public face and which are valued and validated as such by the community. Such social prestige values are – as reflected by the corpus – the marital status as well as the wealth/power/competence status. In these contexts, *shame* overlaps with *dishonor*, and, implicitly, with *humiliation*:

(20)   Menelau-împărat […] vădzu de totu ce i-au făcut Pariju, *cum i-au luat muiarea şi i-au luat avuţâia*, şi i-au făcut atâta **ruşine** de cătră toţ împăraţii (CP I, 120)
'Menelau emperor […] understood all that Paris did to him, that he *took his wife and wealth* and brought so much **shame** on him in front of all the emperors'[13]

(21)   el [Aron-vodă] căzu la mare pacoste […], că trimise Batîr Jicmon de-l legă cu doamnă-sa *şi-i luară toată averea, scoţându-l din ţară* cu *mare ruşine*

(LC 124)

'He [Aron-Vodă] got in big distress […], because Batîr Jicmon sent for him and his lady and *took his entire fortune, throwing him out of the country in big shame*'

(22)   Costandin-vodă Brâncoveanu au rămas **ruşinat**, *fiind el mijlocitoriu şi n-au putut isprăvi nimic*, după cum au vrut   (CM I, 473)
'Constantin-vodă Brâncoveanu felt **ashamed**, because *he was the mediator and he could not succeed* in anything the way he wanted.'

Many contexts display a particular type of *shame*, triggered by a failure of power/competition status. The elicitor is the *lack of courage/cowardice* (in *military actions*),

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13.   The example is from a folk story retelling and reinterpreting the classic episode of the Trojan War. The topic is rooted in the Ancient Greek literature/mythology, but the text is a local one.

or *military defeat*. In these contexts, which are recurrent in the corpus under analysis, *shame* implies a loss of status and power for high-ranking individuals, within an epoch and a culture that value the authoritarian, aggressive actions as a sign of social power. In this case, the meaning of *shame* can be decoded also as *dishonor* or even *humiliation*, being contextually associated with *patriotic pride* or *fear*. This semantic decoding is frequently pinpointed by explicit lexicalization of contiguous emotions (*cinste la război* 'honor in war,' *laudă* 'praise, honor,' *biruitoriu* 'in glory'), or implicitly, by lexical collocations (*fear/cowardice* – *a fugi* 'to run away,' *a se întoarce* 'to withdraw, to leave,' *a bate* 'to defeat,' *a birui* 'to win'), as illustrated with the Examples (23)–(25) below.

(23)   Theamul, pe o parte **rușinându-să** poate *a fugi* […] au întrat la vrăjmași
(CP II, 25v)

'Theamul, being **ashamed** to *run away* […], attacked the enemies'

(24)   Și mai bine să moară machidonenii *cu* **cinste** *la războiu* decât să trăiască cu **rușine**
(CVPC XII, 26v)

'It's better for the Greeks to die in **honor** in the *war* than live in **shame**'

(25)   numai sultanul cu puțini au scăpat […] *de s-au întors cu multă pagubă și perire* și **rușine** […] Iară Ștefan vodă s-au întorsu cu mare **laudă**   (GU 65v-66)

'only the sultan and few others escaped […] and *withdrew with great loss* and **shame** […]. And Ștefan-vodă returned in great **honor**.'

The examples highlight cases of *aggressive shame* that may imply an alteration of the conceptual-semantic *active-motivational* parameter, which is prototypically unmarked. Certain contextual lexical collocations illustrate its salient instantiation, as *shame* determines reparative, hostile actions, aimed at repairing one's damaged face (like revenge): *au întrat la vrăjmași* 'attacked the enemies' – Example (23), *să moară … cu cinste* 'die in honor' (implying a previous (re)action) – Example (24).

b.   *Violation of religious authority: Religious shame*
A particular facet of *shame* is instantiated in a religious context, like facing hierophany and acknowledging the supreme authority of the divinity. In these cases, the componential formula of *shame* becomes more complex. *Shame* can be decoded as an emotional blend of euphoric and dysphoric emotions, overlapping with *respect* and *religious fear* (sometimes explicitly lexicalized). As was underlined by Wierzbicka (1986), there is a conceptual contiguity between *shame* and *fear* (undifferentiated as such in some less refined cultures). *Religious shame* can be decoded as the fear of not transgressing the boundaries of the divine authority, the fear of religious hybris, the sacred being perceived as a supreme value in the collective mentality of the medieval time. The overlap with the positive emotion of

respect entails an alteration of the prototypical conceptual script of *religious shame*: the *valence* parameter becomes ambivalent, hedonically hybrid, both positive and negative. In all these contexts, in Barbalet's terms (2001), there is a single type of *shame*: *deferential shame*.

(26) 'Bucură-te, că te-ai spodobit a fi mumă lui Dumnezeu'. Și deacă auzi acest cuvânt necuratul Nestorie, el *să îngrozi* și *să rușină*   (CVPC, IX, 221)
'Rejoice, because you are the mother of God'. And hearing these words, Nestorius was **terrified** and **ashamed**'[14]

(27) tot […] *să mira* de frâmseațea *crucei*. Iudeii o văzură și *să spăriară*. Și să umplu fața lor de *rușine*   (CVPC, IX, 191)
'all of them […] were *amazed* by the beauty of the *cross*. The Jewish people saw it and got **scared**. And their face was full of **shame**'

(28) deacă văzură *crucea*, fața li se *întunecă* și *să rușinară*, plângea și suspina
(CVPC IX, 191)
'when they saw the *cross*, their face *darkened* and they felt **ashamed**, they *cried* and *sobbed*'

(29) …spurcații în curvie. Ci iată, ei **tremura** de fața Domnului și *să rușina*
(CVPC, IX, 211)
'…the fornicators. They were **trembling** in front of God and felt **ashamed**.'

In the case of *religious shame*, the contexts usually illustrate more complex affective isotopies, pointing out the conceptual association and contiguity between the two basic emotions: *shame* and *fear*, as well as the relationship with the particular emotion of religious *stupor* in front of hierophany (*să mira* – '[they] were amazed' – Example (27)); explicit lexemes are correlated (*să îngrozi și să rușinară* – '[he] was terrified and ashamed' – Example (26), *să spăriară* [….] *rușine* – '[they] got scared […] shame' – Example (27)). Moreover, a particular feature of the religious shame isotopies is the instantiation of an expressive behavioral conduct of high intensity: shame is accompanied by strong markers of emotional extroversion: tears, shivering, and so on, indicated as such by explicit words: *fața li se întunecă* 'their face darkened,' *plângea și suspina* 'they cried and sobbed' – Example (28); *tremura* 'they were trembling' – Example (29).

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14. The example is from a hagiographic and eschatological legend, *Viața Sfântului Vasile* [*Life of Saint Vasile*] of large circulation in Old Romanian time. It pictures God's judgment (and punishment) of sinners, among them Nestorius, Archbishop of Constantinople, accused of heresy by the Council of Ephesus in 431 AD. He contested the title "Mother of God" for Mary, the mother of Jesus – the context captures his final judgment in the presence of Virgin Mary.

4.3   Positive (honorable) *shame* – shyness/modesty/pudor

In some contexts, there is a shift of the prototypical dysphoric dimension. The subjective appraisal of the stimulus event remains negative, but is perceived as socially positive, with respect to the public instance of evaluation. In this context the *discredit* dimension is no longer instantiated, the feeling of *shame* being socially validated and possibly decoded as *shyness* or *modesty*. Moreover, in comparison with the prototypical script of *shame*, the *active-motivational* dimension tends to become focal: *shame* entails an impulse to perform a specific, reparative action, and no longer the urge to hide or withdraw. Hence, we are either dealing with *deferential shame* in front of a prestigious, high-ranking figure, as shown in Example (30) (see also, the religious shame, with the same conceptual feature), or with *narcissistic shame* (Examples (31)–(33)):

(30)   Oamenilor din casa ta poartă-le grija, ca *să să teamă de tine ca de un stăpân și să le fie rușine* a te învăța ce e mai bun   (CVPC III, 142v)
'Take care of the people inside your house, *so they will fear you as a master* and they will feel **shame/respect** in teaching you all the good things.'

Most frequently, the euphoric shame is associated with a romantic love context. *Shame* can be decoded as *shyness*, *delicacy*, *pudor*, positively validated as such by the collective and religious mentality. During the Middle Ages there is a high valuation of *pudor*, *honorable shame*, which is perceived as the guarantee of chastity and virtue (Orobitg, 2008). This conceptualization of *shame* is also valid for the Old Romanian time period and cultural setting, still medieval in its social and cultural configuration:

(31)   Însă Aritusa foarte *să rușina* și nu știè cum să înceapă a vorbi cu *preaiubitul* ei Erotocrit, di mari *dragoste* ce avé   (CP II, 57)
'And Aritusa was feeling extremely **ashamed** and did not know how to start talking to her *beloved* Erotocrit, because of the deep *love* for him'

(32)   Miligrina, lăsând toată *rușânea*, apropiindu-să de Poliționu, l-au luat de mână cu delicațâi   (CVPC VII, 2v)
'Miligrina, putting aside all the **shame**, got closer to Poliționu, and graciously took him by the hand'

(33)   Aritusa cu mari *smirenie* și foarte cătinel i-au răspuns […] și au rămas ca niști morți de mari *rușine* ce avè unul de altul   (CP II, 57)
'Aritusa answered him extremely **shyly** and slowly […] and stood lifelessly, like dead, so deeply **ashamed** of each other.'

The contexts above display specific emotional isotopies that point out the conceptual content of *shame* and help discriminate the particular type of *romantic shame* that is positively valued: terms labelling collateral, associated emotions or attitudes (such as *dragoste* 'love,' *preaiubitul* 'beloved' in (31), *cu…smirenie* 'shyly' in (33)); lexical collocations indicating the associated expressive conduct (lack of words / verbal reaction: *nu ştiè cum să înceapă a vorbi* 'did not know how to start talking' in (31), *foarte cătinel i-au răspuns* 'answered him extremely…slowly' in (33); the lack of a physical reaction, as a consequence of the intensity of the feeling: *au rămas ca nişti morţi* 'stood lifelessly, like dead' in (33); specific affective gestures: *l-au luat de mână* 'took him by the hand' in (32).

Beside the various contexts that illustrate explicit lexicalization of *shame*, the corpus data also record certain empirical definitions of *shame*, highlighting its folk conceptualization in Old Romanian time:

(34) când faci un lucru ce nu se cuvine. Şi aceaea easte ***ruşinea***   (CVPC I, 150)
'when you do something that is not proper. That is ***shame***'

(35) ***ruşinea*** easte ca să ***te temi*** de toate lucrurele făcute strâmb   (CVPC I, 180)
'***shame*** is ***to be afraid*** of all the bad things that you did.'

These genuine definitions are particularly relevant, as they shed light on – and thus confirm – some of the basic dimensions of the conceptual grid: the norm incompatibility: *do something that is not proper*, *bad things one did*; the highly dysphoric valuation, *shame* being perceived as a variant of *fear*: *shame is to be afraid of.…* SHAME IS FEAR (see also above, under 4.1., Example (1); under 4.2, the case of religious shame).

5.   Final remarks

In Old Romanian, *shame* is constantly a *hypercognized*, *focal emotion*, intensively conceptualized and lexicalized. It is perceived as a fundamental moral emotion, deeply rooted in the individuals' psychological structure and aimed at supporting the collective well-being.

The corpus data and the contextual-semantic analysis of the denoting words brought forward a complex componential grid. Certain types of *shame* could be outlined, configuring a certain cognitive-affective pattern,[15] specific to the period under consideration and illustrated as such by the textual data: (a) dysphoric *prototypical shame*, based on a negative evaluation, elicited by a social-moral transgression;

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15. See the concept of *cognitive model for emotions* in Russell (1991, p. 428).

(b) *contiguous/hybrid shame*, contextually intersecting or associating with *(dis)respect*, *(dis)honor*, *humiliation* or *fear*. Two specific facets are particularly salient, implying the alteration of the prototypical negative valence: the *religious shame*, hedonically hybrid, simultaneously euphoric and dysphoric, overlapping with *respect* and *fear*, and the *positive/honorable shame*, which is socially validated as such and possibly decoded as *shyness*, *modesty*, or, in a romantic love context, as *pudor*.

The words used to designate *shame*, with a high frequency in the corpus data, encode various forms of representations of emotions. The variation of the emotional meaning is triggered by the variation of prototypical conceptual-semantic dimensions. As pointed out in the analysis, within the conceptual frame of *shame*, the most instable semantic parameters, which contextually become salient or focal, are: *norm/self-concept incompatibility*, the *valence* (*dysphoric* vs. *euphoric* appraisal), the *active-motivational* dimension, and, especially, the *eliciting event* parameter.

In the case of *shame*, the various instantiations of the *cause* parameter mapped the system of values and beliefs which are sensitive within the Romanian cultural pattern of the time in question and are subject to emotional evaluation: physical and moral integrity/decency, moral and religious norms, respect for the hierarchical authority and for social roles. These instantiations convey two basic aspects: (a) the laic authority – father-son authority, husband-wife authority, ruler-people/subjects authority, and (b) the religious authority – God-humankind authority. Related to the laic authority, certain attributes of social prestige are of particular relevance. These include marital status, financial stability/wealth, honesty and (military) power.

The variation of the prototypical semantic parameters – configuring various patterns of conceptualization – is, hence, culture-dependent. Certain cultural dimensions proved to be relevant to the emotional appraisal and the conceptualization of *shame*: the prominent *interdependent construal of the self*, specific to the Old Romanian culture – highly collectivistic and highly emotionally extroverted –, and, especially, the *high power distance* cultural parameter (in Hofstede's terms), that is, the deeply hierarchical configuration of society, alongside the *religious dimension*, with the acknowledgement of the supreme sacred authority.

The interdependent collective dimension triggers various facets of prototypical shame (according to the relevant elicitors, (de)valued within the community norms). At the same time, the hierarchical and high-power distance dimensions usually entail the instantiation of a more complex *shame*, overlapping with other emotions or associated concepts (*dishonor*, *disrespect*, *humiliation*, or *fear*). Moreover, the interdependent construal of the self and the attention paid to (social) hierarchy can also alter the prototypical negative valence of *shame*. In some contexts, where the feeling of *shame* is expected as a sign of a normal public acknowledgement of an inferior status or submissiveness, with respect to an authoritarian figure – a high-ranking

individual or the divinity –, *shame* can be socially validated as positive. Displaying *shame* means knowing one's own place within the community structure, whereas the lack of *shame* is perceived as a social or a religious hybris: this is the case of *shame-respect*, *shame-shyness*, *shame-modesty*, *shame-pudor*.

If the suggested taxonomy of *shame* is considered, two basic types seem to be preeminently instantiated: *situational shame* (inconsistency with external standards and self-agency in the excess of status) and *aggressive shame* (inconsistency with external standards and others' agency in the excess of status). Among them, the most culturally and historically relevant type of instantiation is the *aggressive shame*. In the corpus under consideration, there are contexts recording a particular type of *aggressive shame*: the one elicited not by one's own deficient action, but by someone else's failure (e.g., member of family, community, etc.). Another person's moral/behavioral deficiency is perceived as one's self. This pattern of *shame* is, once again, an indicator of a cultural interdependent construal of the self.

The other two types seem to be instantiated in rather specific contexts: *deferential shame*, mostly in the religious context, in a hybrid form, overlapping with *respect* and *fear*, and *narcissistic shame*, mostly in the romantic context.

The exponential case of *shame* confirms the general characteristics of Old Romanian cultural-anthropological and affective pattern (not very much different from the present-day one):[16] being traditional, it values an interdependent, collective construal of the self, the social validation and the protection of personal image, the social hierarchy, and religious norms; it favors, as well, the uncertainty avoidance by constant reference to a firm set of social (laic and religious) rules. From this perspective, the Romanian cultural-affective pattern corresponds less to the Western (European) model of conceptualizing emotions, but rather to a more collectivistic, (South-)Eastern (European) one. According to this cultural model, emotion is, generically, individual, but socially dependent, as it implies default in-group validation.

The undertaken case study also validates the starting theoretical premise: *shame*, in particular, and emotions, in general, are complex cognitive and cultural phenomena, genuinely embedded in the individuals' genetic code, yet deeply shaped by the cultural-anthropological and historical context of their specific instantiation.

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16. Studies of intercultural communication have delineated the following profile (according to the cultural dimensions developed by G. Hofstede, 1980; see also Hofstede et al., 2010) for the present-day Romanian culture: "mostly collectivistic culture, displaying high distance power, mostly feminine, high uncertainty avoidance and short-term orientation" (Şerbănescu, 2007, p. 306).

Corpus (16th–18th centuries)

CM – *Cronicari munteni*, I-II (1961). Bucureşti: Editura pentru literatură.

CP – *Cărţile populare în literatura românească*, I-II (1963). Bucureşti: Editura pentru Literatură.

Cuv. – Cuvântul de vreame de apoi (2006). In Al. Mareş, *Cărţi populare din secolele al XVI-lea – al XVIII-lea. Contribuţii filologice* (pp. 325–331). Bucureşti: Fundaţia Naţională pentru ştiinţă şi artă.

CVPC – *Cele mai vechi cărţi populare în literatura română*, I-XII (1996–2004). Bucureşti: Fundaţia Naţională pentru Ştiinţă şi Artă.

GU: Grigore Ureche (1955). *Letopiseţul Ţărîi Moldovei*. Bucureşti: Editura de stat pentru literatură şi artă.

IN: Ion Neculce (1982). *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*. Bucureşti: Minerva.

MC: Miron Costin (1958). *Letopiseţul Ţărîi Moldovei de la Aron vodă încoace*. Bucureşti: Editura de stat pentru literatură şi artă.

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Cultural conceptualizations of *xejâlat* and *kamruyi*

Two *sharm*[1]-related emotion categories in Persian

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This chapter studies two *sharm*-related emotion categories, *xejâlat* and *kamruyi*, in Persian from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2011, 2017). Drawing on various sources of data, namely reflective and narrative questionnaires (*N* = 150), dictionaries and encyclopedias, and online data, the present study applies analytical and theoretical tools of Cultural Linguistics to delve into cultural conceptualizations, including cultural metaphors and schemas of *xejâlat* and *kamruyi*. Data analysis reveals that *xejâlat*, being an internal and a more self-oriented emotion category can be experienced and evaluated positively and negatively, while *kamruyi* is considered to be a negative emotion and a negatively evaluated personality trait.

Key terms: xejâlat, kamruyi, sharm, Cultural Linguistics, cultural conceptualizations, cultural schemas, cultural categories, cultural metaphors

1.   Introduction

Shame can be defined as a highly complex emotion. Strongman (2003, p. 145) describes shame as an emotion that "is by far the most important of the 'social' emotions that its importance as a mechanism of social control is growing and yet people in everyday life are less and less consciously aware of it."

A number of studies have been conducted by scholars on different languages to explore the conceptualizations of shame in languages including Danish (Dineen, 1990), English (Krawczak, 2014a, 2014b; Tissari, 2006; Fabiszak & Hebda, 2007; Wierzbicka, 1999), Aboriginal English (Harkins, 1990), Polish (Krawczak, 2015), Arabic (Al Jallad, 2009, 2010), and Persian (Afrashi, 2014).

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1.   *Sharm* is used as a general term referring to Persian "shame."

The majority of the studies mentioned focus on shame as an emotion term in various languages, mostly relying on the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (Wierzbicka, 1972) and approaches based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Regarding the Persian language, however, to the best of my knowledge, not many studies have been carried out so far with the focus on exploring the conceptualizations associated with shame using the framework of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2011; 2017). Therefore, the purpose of the present study is to adopt the analytical tools of Cultural Linguistics to investigate the conceptualizations underlying sharm in Persian.

2.   Cultural linguistics

Cultural Linguistics is a multidisciplinary field that "explores the relationship between language, cultural conceptualization (Sharifian, 2017, p. 2). It draws on analytical tools, namely 'cultural schemas,' 'cultural categories,' and 'cultural metaphors' that are collectively referred to as 'cultural conceptualizations,' all of which draw from the overarching cultural cognition (Sharifian, 2011).

"Categories include concepts that enter into *x is a kind of y association*" (Sharifian, 2011, p. 25, original emphasis). The process of categorization starts from the early stages of life and is shaped gradually and largely by the cultural and social environments where the individuals grow up. Different languages give their speakers the tools to label their cultural categories, which are often expressed through lexical items but also grammatical markers (Lakoff, 1987; Hercus, 1994). In Persian, for example, the categories associated with the wedding as an event schema include '*hana bandun*,' a small farewell ceremony for the bride, taking place before the wedding ceremony and '*baleh borun*, *mehr borun*,' a form of agreement between the families of both sides. These categories are different concerning the English or American wedding schemas, which is associated with 'bachelor party' or 'stag party' as categories mostly involving friends.

Abstract entities are often conceptualized through metaphors. In fact, conceptual metaphors refer to the conceptualizations of an abstract domain through a more concrete one (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This can be explained by the expressions such as 'he exploded' where anger is seen as a fluid in a container. Conceptual metaphors have been studied in terms of their universal aspect (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987; Yu, 1995; Munro, 1991; Matsuki, 1995). However, Cultural Linguistics has focused on a group of conceptual metaphors that are culturally constructed (Sharifian, 2011), and are termed *cultural metaphors* in Sharifian (2015). Several studies have

investigated the impact of culture on conceptual metaphors (Pasamonik, 2012; Lovick, 2012; Sharifian et al., 2008; Yu, 2007, 2009a, 2009b; Hu, 2002).

For example, Yu (2009a) investigated the cultural models underlying the Chinese conceptualizations of *xin* 'heart' in present-day Chinese with a discussion of their roots in ancient Chinese philosophy and traditional Chinese medicine. Yu (2009a) found that *xin* is fully associated with mental and intellectual life and is therefore the seat of emotion and memory, as demonstrated with the expression 'Xuexi jishu, bu **zou-xin** ke xue-bu-hao,' which means 'To learn skills, you won't learn them well if you are not mindful/conscientious (lit. if you don't learn them going through your heart).'

From the perspective of cognitive scientists, schemas address individual cognition rather than group cognition (e.g., Rice, 1980; Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). However, cultural schemas are abstracted from the collective cognition and are based on group experience rather than idiosyncratic experiences (Sharifian, 2011, 2015). Cultural schemas are "heterogeneously distributed" among members of a cultural community, as Sharifian (2015, p. 478) maintains:

> Individuals who belong to the same cultural group may share some, but not all, components of a cultural schema. In other words, each person's internalization of a macro-level cultural schema is to some extent collective and to some extent idiosyncratic.

3. Cultural Linguistics and emotion research

Numerous studies on emotions across cultures have applied Cultural Linguistics as a framework (see Sharifian, 2011; 2017; Wilson & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2017). According to Cultural Linguistics, emotions, since they are culturally constructed, are subject to the processes of categorization, schematization, and metaphorization (Sharifian, 2017b).

The following diagram by Sharifian (2017b) represents the different layers of the conceptualizations of emotion from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics.
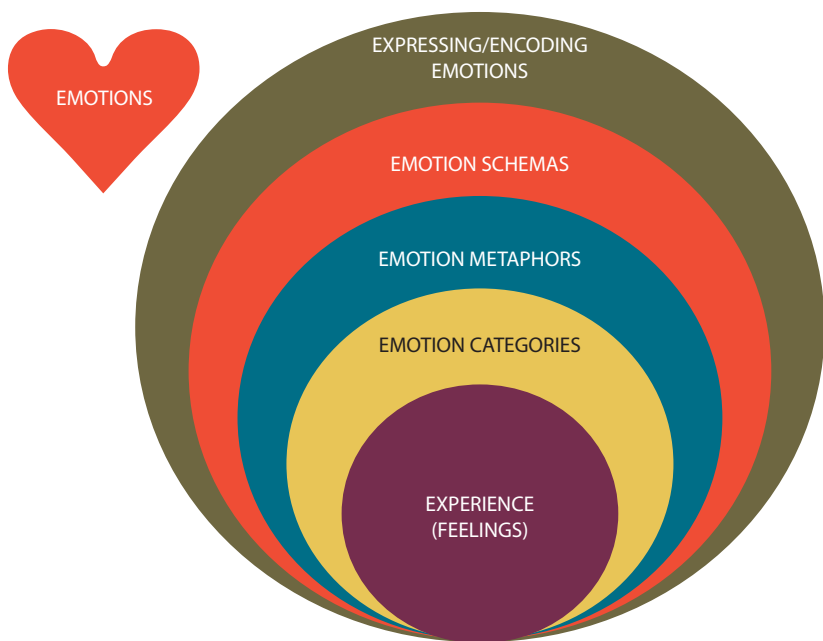
Figure 1. The analytical framework of emotion research
from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics

4.   Data and methodology

The participants of this study were 150 native Persian speakers, who were recruited from various age groups, educational, religious and socio-economic backgrounds, such as public and private organizations, universities and community groups in Iran.

This study relies on data obtained from dictionaries, encyclopedias, online sources, and a narrative and a reflective questionnaire (see Appendix 1 and 2).

Once all the narratives from the narrative questionnaire and online sources had been collected, a linguistic corpus was compiled and analyzed using the theoretical and analytical tools of Cultural Linguistics to identify the most frequent *sharm*-related categories. In the second stage of data analysis, the most frequent categories were analyzed to explore the cultural metaphors and schemas associated with them. The third stage of data collection and analysis dealt with the data obtained from the reflective questionnaire. The majority of the data contains information with regards to the relationships between the socio-cultural variables such as age and gender, and the cultural conceptualizations of *sharm* in Persian.

5. Results

Persian speakers use a large body of lexicon to express the emotion of shame. These lexical items include nouns such as *hayâ*, *sharm*, *xejâlat*, *kamruyi*, *sharmandegi*, *âzarm*, *âr*, *eyb*, and *nang*. Each of these words can generate derivatives in the form of adjectives, verbs, and compound-nouns, adding to the vastness of the Persian shame lexicon.

Figure 3 represents the Persian shame categories as identified in the corpus of the study. These categories were then analysed in terms of their occurrence in the corpus. For the sake of this study, two Persian shame categories and _xejâlat_, and *kamruyi_* are studied in detail due to the frequency of their occurrence in the corpus.
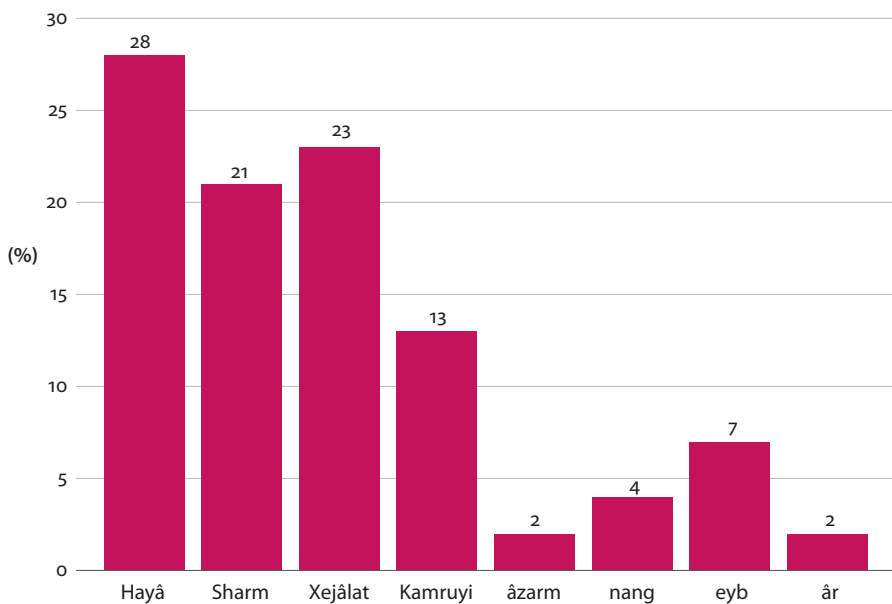
Figure 2. The frequency of shame categories in Persian

5.1 *Xejâlat* as an emotion category

Xejâlat can be seen as a more internal, personal and self-oriented emotion (Ghazi, 2020, p.156). For instance, most of the participants of the present study stated that failure to achieve a goal, having an unsatisfactory financial status, poor academic performance, and low degree of self-confidence triggers *xejâlat* (Ghazi, 2020, p.156). In other words, when experiencing *xejâlat*, the focus is usually on the self

rather than the action. Therefore, when someone experiences *xejâlat*, they question themselves for not being able to be accepted socially or achieving the standards of their social circles. The emotion category of *xejâlat* overlaps with several emotions in English. This overlap of meaning can be seen in bilingual Persian-English dictionaries, which gloss *xejâlat* as 'bashfulness,' 'shame,' 'shyness,' and 'embarrassment' (Aryanpour, 1972).

The following examples illustrate *xejâlat* as a shame-related emotion:

(1) چند هفته پیش اتفاقی یکی از همکلاسی های دوران دبیرستانم رو تو یه مهمونی دیدم. با هم مشغول گپ زدن و مرور خاطرات قدیم بودیم که ازم در مورد کارم پرسید. من خیلی خجالتم شد چون در حال حاضر بیکارم. مجبور شدم به دروغ بگم تو یه شرکت حقوقی مشغول به کار هستم و کلی هم پشت بندش دروغ بافتم.

A couple of weeks ago I met one of my high school classmates at a party. While we were chatting and reviewing all the good memories, he asked about my career and income. **I was so ashamed of myself for being unemployed** that I couldn't tell him. Instead, I lied and pretended that I work for a law firm.

In this example, the trigger for *xejâlat* is unemployment and dissatisfaction with oneself. However, what adds to the intensity of *xejâlat* in the informant response is revealing the unsatisfactory status to his interlocutor. In this situation, the existence of an external factor can highly affect the intensity of *xejâlat*.

(2) چند وقتیه که به همسرم مشکوکم و فکر میکنم که داره به من خیانت میکنه و با خانومی در ارتباطه. این شد که دقت کردم و رمز گوشیش روبرداشتم.دیروز سر یک فرصت مناسب رفتم سر وقت گوشیش و شروع کردم به سرک کشیدن داخل پیام ها و چت هایی که داشت. اما حالا از کاری که کردم خیلی خجلم و فکر میکنم که من حق نداشتم این کار رو با ایشون انجام بدم.

It has been a while that I have been suspicious about my husband having an affair with someone else and cheating on me, so I found his cell phone's password and waited for a proper time to check his messages. Yesterday, I unlocked his phone while he was away and started to check out his call log and chats. Now **I feel ashamed of what I did. I did not have the right to do so** and I feel bad about it.

The closest English equivalent that captures the meaning of *xejâlat* in this example is 'shame' and as Harré (1990, p. 199) argues, shame is widely regarded as a "moral emotion" often linked with the notion that "I have done something bad."

However, Example (3) reflects *xejâlat* as closest in meaning to 'embarrassment' in English:

(3) چند وقت پیش داشتم با تلفن حرف میزدم و اعصابم به فنا رفته بود سر یه موضوعی. همینجور که داشتم حرف میزدم یه فحش زشت به اون آدم پشت خط دادم از عصبانیت. بعد که قطع کردم دیدم همکارم تو اتاق نشسته بوده تمام مدت و حتما اون حرف زشت منم شنیده. خیلی خجالت زده شدم از حرفایی که زدم، هر چند که اون به روی من نیاورد..

A while ago, I was speaking on the phone and I was mad at the person I was speaking to. As we were speaking, I swore at him. **After I hung up, I noticed that my colleague had been sitting in the office the whole time and has heard the whole conversation. I felt embarrassed because of what I have said,** although he pretended that he did not hear anything.

The Persian adjectives خجالت زده/*xejâlat zadeh* (lit. *xejâlat* 'hit'), خجالت آور/*xejâlat âvar* (lit. *xejâlat* 'bring'), خجل/*xejel* and خجالتی/*xejâlati* ('shy'), and the verbs[2] خجالت دادن/*xejâlat dâdan* (lit. *xejâlat* 'to give') and خجالت کشیدن/*xejâlat keshidan* (lit. *xejâlat* 'to pull') are different derivatives of *xejâlat*.

The adjectives *xejâlat*, *zadeh* and *xejel* usually attribute to a person who has done a shame-raising action, as in the following examples:

(4) از این که به شوهرش دروغ گفته بود خیلی خجالت زده بود.
She was so **ashamed** of lying to her husband.

However, *xejâlat âvar* is usually used to describe an action which opposes cultural values. The following example illustrates the point:

(5) دروغ گفتن به شوهرت اونم تو روز روشن واقعا خجالت آوره.
Lying to your husband is **shameful**.

The adjective *xejâlati* can be considered as a negatively evaluated personal feature. *Xejâlati* can be translated to English as 'shy' and implies a similar meaning in most situations.

(6) من واقعا نگران پسر نوجوونم هستم. هیچ جا نمیره و تو هیچ مهمونی و دور همی شرکت نمیکنه. خیلی خجالتی و کمروه.
I am really worried about my teenage son. He never attends any party or gathering. He is very **shy**.

As mentioned earlier, being *xejâlati* is considered as a personal trait which is not praised and according to the narrator, raises worries. In Example (6), *kamru* is used synonymously to *xejâlati*. *Kamruyi* is also identified as a frequent shame-related category in Persian and is closer in meaning to "shyness" and "diffidence" (Ghazi, 2020, p.156). *Kamruyi* can be described as an emotion that rises to prevent a person from taking an action that is not in line with their values; however, the origin of the prevention is lack of self-confidence and anxiety, rather than violating social and religious values. For example, an individual can experience *kamruyi* making a speech in front of a large audience, which is not considered as a culturally and socially unaccepted action (Ghazi, 2020, p.156).

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2. It should be noted that *xejâlat* as a nominal preverbal element is combined with the light verb *dadan* 'have,' and *keshidan* 'pull' to express verbal meaning of *xejâlat*.

5.2   Cultural metaphors

The following subsections present the cultural metaphors pertaining to *sharm* identified in the data.

5.2.1   *XEJÂLAT IS HEAT*

According to the data, *sharm* is frequently conceptualized as heat. The idiom از
خجالت آب شدن *az xejâlat âb shodan* 'melting from *xejâlat*' is among famous Persian
phrases that represents the metaphor XEJALÂT IS HEAT.

> (7) با دوست پسرم دست تو دست داشتیم میرفتیم که یهو بابام دیدمون.وای از خجالت آب شدم. دلم میخاست
> زمین دهن وا کنه من برم زیر زمین. خیلی بد بود.
>
> My boyfriend and I were walking hand in hand when we ran into my dad. Man
> **I was melting from *xejâlat***. I wished the earth would have opened its mouth
> and swallowed me whole.

This excerpt from a young girl narrative depicts *xejâlat* as heat capable of melting
the person experiencing it. The emotion categories of SHARM can be accompanied
by other emotion categories such as FEAR in this situation. Generally, Persian girls
are either not allowed to have any relationships or friendships with boys unless they
are *mahram*,[3] and even if they have the permission, they are not openly able to or
tend to introduce their boyfriends and male friends to their parents, especially to
their fathers and brothers due to religious and cultural limitations.[4] In this excerpt,
the young girl is experiencing *xejâlat* and a fear of losing face. The emotion is so
strong that she cannot bear it and wishes the earth would swallow her, which is a
figure of speech for dying in Persian.

5.2.2   *XEJALÂT/KAMRUYI IS A PERSON*

In the metaphor XEJALÂT/KAMRUYI IS A PERSON, *xejâlat* and *kamruyi* are conceptualized as an individual who is capable of coming, going, and controlling the
physical and linguistic behavior of the experiencer, and can take many roles such
as a parent or an enemy.

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3. 'someone considered family before whom women are not required to cover up'

4. Not being allowed to do something does not necessarily mean that Persian girls do not do
that particular thing. They just pretend they do not and as a result cannot openly talk about it.
In some families, children and specially daughters are not able to openly introduce/talk about
their boyfriends/girlfriends, although parents know they exist.

(8)   نمیدونم چرا خجالت همیشه سر و کله اش پیدا میشه و نمیذاره حرفمو بزنم.

I don't know why *xejâlat* **always shows up and wouldn't let me say what I want to say.**

(9)   .این کمرویی لعنتی داره منو ازپا در میاره

This damn feeling of *kamruyi* **is knocking me down.**

Example (10) selected from a Persian weblog is another instantiation of the conceptualization of *XEJÂLAT/KAMRUYI* IS A PERSON in Persian. Here, *xejâlat* is metaphorically conceptualized as a spouse.

(10)   اگر اعتماد به نفستون رو بالا ببرید، می تونید برای همیشه خجالت رو طلاق بدید و زندگی بهتری داشته باشید.

If you boost your self-confidence, you can ***divorce xejâlat*** *and live a better life.*

(11)   متاسفانه بعضی از پسرا هنوز مثل بچه ها رفتار میکنن. با این که سنی ازشون گذشته ولی هنوز اسیر کمرویی هستن.

Unfortunately, some men still behave like kids. They are old enough not to be the **prisoner of** *kamruyi*.

Being a negatively evaluated emotion category in the corpus data, "*kamruyi* is often conceptualized in Persian as a person that can harm or destroy the individual who is experiencing it or possessing it as a personality trait" (Ghazi, 2020, p.162). The sub-metaphor *KAMRUYI* IS AN ENEMY, which is an instantiation of the metaphor *XEJÂLAT/KAMRUYI* IS A PERSON, is illustrated below:

(12)   تو نباید تسلیم کمرویی بشی. باید شکستش بدی تا بتونی از حقت دفاع کنی و تو زندگیت موفق باشی و هر روز رو به جلو بری.

You should not surrender to kamruyi. You should defeat it to keep what is rightfully yours, to succeed in life and to move forward every day.

In this example, *kamruyi* is perceived as an enemy that should be fought and defeated, in order for one to experience social success.

One synonym for *kamruyi* in the Persian language is *xejâlati budan* 'being shy,' which is also conceptualised as an enemy in specific situations such as the following:

(13)   یکی از بهترین و کاربردی ترین راه ها برای غلبه بر خجالتی بودن، بهبود حس اعتماد به نفس و عزت نفس است.

One of the most effective ways **to defeat being** *xejâlati* **('shy')** is to improve your self-confidence and self-esteem.

5.2.3   *KAMRUYI IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER*

Among Persian speakers, *kamruyi* is often figuratively perceived as a solid entity or fluid in a container. The container for SHAME can have an intellectual and spiritual nature such as one's essence, as well as a physical nature including body organs such as the eyes, heart, stomach, mouth, etc., which has been the focus of several studies (e.g., Sharifian, 2008; 2017a; Ponsonnet, 2014).

The following example is from the shame corpus:

> (14)   ارتباط بر قرار کردن با مردم اولش خیلی بر ام سخت بود ولی هر چی بیشتر با بقیه رفت و آمد میکردم،
> .کمرویی تو ذهنم کمتر و کمتر میشد
> At first, I had difficulties making conversations with others, but as I started to befriend other people, *kamruyi* started to become lower and lower in my mind.

This can also be considered as a manifestation of the metaphor *KAMRUYI IS A MEAS-URABLE SUBSTANCE*. The following excerpt is one of the most recurrent examples in the corpus:

> (15)   ازش خواستم من رو ببوسه. خواستم ببینم چقدر کمرویی داره
> I asked him to kiss me. I wanted to know how much kamruyi he has.

5.3   *RU-DAR-BÂYESTI* as a shame-related cultural schema

The cultural schema of *ru-dar-bâyesti* (*ru-der-vâysi* in colloquial Persian) can be translated as having shame, being shy, being embarrassed, standing on ceremo-nies, and self-restraint (cf. Ariyanpour, 1984; Moein Persian encyclopaedia, 1972). Persian speakers draw on the rules and values set by the schema of *RU-DAR-VAYSI* to avoid experiencing *xejâlat/sharm/kamruyi*. Dehkhoda (1994) defines *Ru-dar-bâyesti* as considering *hayâ/sharm* from saying or doing something in fear of being misinterpreted as not accounting for other persons' respect.

In fact, the notion of *RU-DAR-BÂYESTI* implies a distance which exists between people of different social and relational status. For instance, the newly introduced friends with a lower degree of intimacy will draw on this schema to behave in a more formal way. This means that people find themselves under pressure to practice shame and respect according to their distance with their interlocutors in order not to cause any imposition or contempt. This can also apply to family members. For example, the following excerpt from one of the online sources the cultural schema of *RU-DAR-BÂYESTI* can explain why the speaker has gone through a special prepa-ration for the party she is hosting:

(16) خواهر شوهرم اینا رو دیشب دعوت کردم برا اولین بار خونمون. خیلی تدارک دیدم، چهار مدل غذا
پختم ولی برنجم خراب شد. خیلی زشت شد آخه رو در وایسی داریم با هم هنوز.

The other night I invited my husband's family to dinner for the first time. I
prepared four different dishes for them but the rice was overcooked. It was a
total embarrassment because we still have *ru-dar-vâysi*.

In Example (17) the narrator, who recently got married, tends to show her respect
to her husband's family by her good hospitality in which she believes she failed.
She describes this as the reason for her embarrassment as she does not feel intimate
enough with her new family members and is worried that this failure would lead
to misjudgments from their side.

Shame and respect raised by *ru-dar-bâyesti* can be seen as *kamruyi* in some
situations such as (17). In general, individuals who draw more on the schema of
RU-DAR-BÂYESTI are more entitled *kamroo* or *xejâlati* ('shy') and are less able to act
in opposition to the will of the people they are interacting with. In the following
example, the narrator describes her husband's weakness in declining requests from
others:

(17) با این که خودمون در تنگنای مالی هستیم، شوهرم به همسایه پول قرض داده. تو رو در وایسی موند.
خجالت میکشه بگه پول نداریم یا این که به کسی نه بگه.

Although we have financial problems, my husband has lent our neighbor some
money. He has so much *ru-dar-bâyesti* with him that he could not tell him we
were broke. He just does not have the ability to say 'no' to others.

In the above example, what stopped the husband of the narrator from rejecting the
neighbor's request is *xejâlat*, triggered by rejecting a request and thereby revealing
his bad financial status.

The phrase تو رو در وایسی گیر کرد / *tu ru-dar-vâysi gir kardan* 'stuck in *ru-dar-
vâysi*' is often used by Persian speakers to describe the unwillingness to accept an
offer or a request which will eventually be accepted in order to avoid experiencing
xejâlat and *sharm*. For example, in the following excerpt, the narrator explains her
unwillingness to go to a wedding ceremony and describes how ignoring *ru-dar-
vâysi* and refusing the invite would cause *xejâlat*.

(18) همسایه رو به رویی دعوت کرده عروسی، منم تو رو در وایسی گیر کردم گفتم میایم با این که هیچ
کس رو نمی شناسیم و دلیلی هم نداره بریم. گفتم فردا پس فردا دلخور نشن چون چش تو چشیم باعث
خجالت نشه.

Our neighbor has invited us to her daughter's wedding. I am stuck in *ru-dar-
vâysi* and said we will go although we do not know them and I could not find
any logical reason to go. After all, we are neighbors. I did not want them to be
pissed off and us to be ashamed of refusing their invite.

5.4   *âberu* as a shame-related cultural schema

The term *âberu* consists of the morphemes آب/*âb* 'water' and رو/*ru* 'face.' The *Anvari Persian encyclopaedia* (2002) dedicates 14 pages to the definition of *ru* in Persian, with 'face' and 'appearance' as the first entries. The 'face' as a visible part of the body reflects an individual's social image, while 'water' denotes health and wellbeing in one sense and sweat caused by losing one's social image in another (Sharifian, 2011).

Similarly, Zabarowska (2014) defines *âberu* as "a veil covering the human face, protecting his [sic] personality from disclosure and guarding his [sic] moral character in the eyes of others" (p. 125) which is preserved by Persians.

As a dominant cultural schema, *ÂBERU* is associated with the ideas of honor, prestige, reputation, credit, or more specifically, 'face' (O'Shea, 2000; Sharifian, 2011). In general, the concept of *ÂBERU* reflects an individual's attempts to maintain a good social image of not only themselves but also of their family, relatives, and friends in society. The importance of *âberu* can be reflected in the following examples where it is conceptualized as a valuable commodity for individuals (*ÂBERU* IS A COMMODITY):

(19)   .یکی از بالاترین سرمایه های انسان آبروست

One of the **highest investments of human being is *âberu***.

(20)   با دوست پسرم تو خیابون راه میرفتیم که یهو گشت ارشاد اومد جلومون ظاهر شد میخواست مارو ببره. یه خانوم اومد گفت دخترمه. من اجازه دادم با ایشون بیرون بره و آشنایی پیدا کنن. من و خانواده ایشون در جریانیم. وای دستش درد نکنه واقعا آبرومو خرید وگرنه باید به بابام زنگ میزدم که خیلی خجالت آور بود.

I was walking on the street with my boyfriend when a moral police patrol turned up right in front of us and wanted to take us with them to the police station. A lady came and said I was her daughter. She said, "Both families know that these two are going out to get to know each other. I let my daughter go out with this guy." I can't thank her enough. **She bought my *âberu*.** They let us go; otherwise I'd have had to call my dad and I would have been utterly ashamed.

The above examples denote the worth and vulnerability of *âberu* for Persians. The attempt to maintain *âberu* can cause a great deal of pressure for individuals as it leads to a perpetual fear of being judged by others and "[l]oss of âberu is regarded as a great misfortune and makes it difficult to function in a group because it is associated with shame and embarrassment" (Zaborowska, 2017, p. 14).

To avoid misjudgments and misfortune caused by losing *âberu*, constant efforts are made by Persians to improve their financial status and behave in line with societal expectations, such as having friends of similar or higher status, dressing

appropriately, having high qualities of hospitality, speaking appropriately, and so on. However, the following example from the corpus of the present research manifests a different socio-cultural aspect of *âberu* and its significance among Persian speakers.

(21)   من با شوهرم خیلی مشکل دارم. اون آدم عصبی هست و هر دفعه دعوا میکنیم داد میزنه و پرخاش میکنه. من واقعا دیگه خسته شدم و دلم میخواد طلاق بگیرم اما خجالت میکشم از اینکه حرف بشنوم که بگن نتونست با شوهرش بساز ه و از ترس آبروم دارم تحمل میکنم.

I have so many problems with my husband. He is an aggressive person and whenever we have an argument he starts to yell at me. I'm really sick of him and want a divorce. I'm only putting up with him because **I am afraid of (losing) my *âberu***. If I got divorced, everyone would say it was my fault, that I wasn't able to keep my marriage together.

This excerpt touches upon a socio-cultural problem for women in Iran. Getting a divorce is a taboo for women and the shame caused by losing *âberu* leads a large number of Persian women to tolerating domestic violence and stay in their marriages. The narrator here depicts the *sharm* and *xejâlat* that divorce and misjudgments of the others would cause for a separated or divorced woman in society and among the relatives and close friends.

6.   Conclusion

This chapter has presented a study on *xejâlat* and *kamruyi* as two shame-related categories in Persian. Drawing on context-based analysis, the study demonstrates that *xejâlat* and *kamruyi* are associated with various cultural metaphors, namely *xejâlat* is heat, *kamruyi* is a substance in a container, and *xejâlat/kamruyi* is a person. The results of this study can be beneficial to the area of intercultural communication. As Sharifian (2017, p. 78) argues, a "lack of understanding of conceptualizations associated with emotions can lead to damaging cases of intercultural miscommunication." Therefore, analyzing the language of shame in Persian and the extent to which it is affected by cultural conceptualizations should provide the tools to help members of other cultural groups to better understand, and eventually, respond to it more appropriately. Such enhanced understanding could aid the speakers of different language groups communicate more meaningfully and more effectively with native speakers of Persian.

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Appendix 1. Narrative questionnaire (English version)

Personal information:
Gender: Age:
Years of Education:
If you are studying for a degree, or you have graduated, please state your major:
Usual Profession:
Marital Status:
Place of Birth: Current Residence:
Religion:
How religious are you? Please identify on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is the least and 5 is the most.
Description:
Please describe in as much detail as possible an experience in which you felt shame, within the last three months, or earlier (300–500 words).

Instructions
While describing, please consider the following general points when describing your experiences:
Use every day language, and try to describe your experience as if you are telling a story to someone who does not know all the people involved. If you cannot think of a recent experience, then please describe an earlier experience.
When you are recalling an incident when you experienced the emotion of shame, please include the following:

Where it happened?
Who was involved?
How it happened?
How long such feelings lasted?
Did you talk to anyone about it?
How the situation ended?

Describing feelings:
What words could best describe your feelings at that time?
How strong were your feelings at that time (please circle the appropriate intensity on a Scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is the weakest, and 5 is the strongest):
1   2   3   4   5
Did any verbal reactions at that time happen? (e.g., did you or the other people involved say anything to one another during the incident)
Where there any nonverbal reactions? (e.g., facial expressions, heart beat alteration, blushing, etc.)? Please ecall others nonverbal reactions, if possible.

Appendix 2. Reflective questionnaire (English version)

Personal information:
Gender: Age:
Years of Education:
If you are studying for a degree, or you have graduated, please state your major:
Usual Profession:

Marital Status:

Place of Birth: Current Residence:

Religion:

How religious are you? Please identify on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is the least and 5 is the most.

Please answer the following questions:

1. Please define shame.
2. What kind of emotion is shame in your opinion? Please elaborate on your answer. (You can choose more than one item.)
3. Do you think experience and expression of shame differs across generations?
4. Is there any link between shame and religion? If yes, please explain.
5. Do you think gender has any role in the experience of shame? Or, do you think there is a difference in the ways males and females express shame?
6. Do you think there is a link between education, media, family, and society with the experience of shame? If yes, please elaborate on your answer.

The following excerpts contain two sample responses given by one of the participants who took part in the instrument testing phase of the study:

Question 1:   What kind of emotion is shame in your opinion? Please elaborate on your answer. (You can choose more than one item.)

Be nazare man sharm mitoone ham mosbat bashe ham manfi, in bastegi be sharayet dare. Masalan vaghti kasi be pedaresh bi ehterami mikone ehsase sharm ye ehsase manfi mahsoob mishe ke be oon shakhsh dast mide, dar soorati ke vaghti eshghet harfaye romantic behet mizane ya az zibayit taarif mikone, ye ehsase khoob va ghashang behet dast mide ke hamoon sharme khoobe ya hamoon khejalate ke ba zogh va hayajan ghati shode va mosbate.

[In my opinion, depends on the situation, shame can be both a negative and a positive emotion. For instance, you have shame as a negative emotion when you disrespect your father, and you experience completely positive shame when your love gives you compliments, or talks about romantic things, and you feel shame, excitement, and joy altogether.]

Question 2:   Do you think religion could affect the attitudes and values of Persian speakers regarding the experience of shame? If yes, please explain how.

Bedoone shak bale. Be nazare man voroode elsam be Iran kheili dar raftar va bavarhaye mardom taasir dashte va aslan mafahimi mesle hojb va haya bad az voroode eslam naghshe gostardei dar ravabete ejtemaei va farhangie Iranian ifa karde. Eslam be lozoome dashtane sharm makhsoosan baraye banovan taakide besyar karde va ma az koodaki dar madares khandim va yad gereftim ke sharm va haya baraye dokhtaran az vajebate va bayad dar rafter va ravabete ejtemaei raayat beshe.

[Yes, of course it can. I think Islam has influenced the behaviors and beliefs of Persians in so many ways, and concepts like *hojb* and *haya* plays an important role in cultural and social relations of Persian speakers since Arabs invasion of Iran and the spread of Islam. Islam has emphasized *haya* especially for women, and we learned from childhood in schools about the necessity of having haya as we are girls.]

The above data taken from the reflective questionnaire show how the cultural schemas of this participant draw on different variables such as gender and religion. Such data can provide researcher with valuable information to more deeply analyze the underlying conceptualizations which affect the verbal construction of shame by Persian speakers.

Cross-cultural models of MENTAL HURT emotion clusters

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The main objective of this chapter is to construct models of conceptualizations of MENTAL HURT emotional clusters in a cross-cultural perspective, taking British English and Polish as the major areas of investigation. The materials and sources of the data are the GRID instrument, the online emotions sorting task and Polish and British English language corpora, particularly their collocational language-specific profiles. The concordances and collocations are generated from the British National Corpus and the National Corpus of Polish as well as monitor corpora of Polish and English. The analyses and discussion of HURT Emotion Event scenarios in terms of some of their cultural dimensions demonstrate a complex structure of HURT and the occurrence of multiple cluster members in each language, comprising derivatives of physical hurt and pain events, their presuppositions, causes, effects and conditioning. As opposed to a focus on single emotions, we posit a viewpoint that centers on emotion clusters, covering – in the case of HURT – SADNESS, FRUSTRATION, ANGER, and others, as well as PRIDE – the main target of hurt.

Keywords: ANGER, collectivism, collocations, corpora, culture, DISGUST, emotions, emotion clusters, Emotion Event, English, GRID, HURT, individualism, PRIDE, Polish, principle of proximity, online emotions sorting task

1.   Introduction

In general terms, hurt is elicited in response to the perception that others have caused psychological pain through an act that is deemed wrongful (Liao et al., 2012). The complexity of hurt centers on the interpersonal, interactional nature of the emotion (Vangelisti et al., 2005), which means that the experience of hurt is determined by appraisals within social contexts that include evaluating a partner's verbal and physical behavior on the security of one's attachment in that relationship and one's need to restore such a bond (Shaver et al., 2009). The specific elicitors

of hurt have been identified by Leary et al. (1998) in their analysis of hurt events as follows: active interpersonal separation (rejecting, ostracizing or abandoning one's partner), passive interpersonal separation (e.g., ignoring and social exclusion), betrayal, criticism, teasing, and lack of appreciation. It is notable that hurt has a possible restorative function as it is characterized by a desire to re-establish a valued interpersonal connection (Lemay, Overall & Clark, 2012).

2.   HURT Emotion Event

The presence of an emotion in an Experiencer is typically conditioned by a number of contextual parameters. We proposed in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Wilson (2013) that such Emotion Event scenarios involve the following constituents:

> **Context** (biological predispositions of Experiencer; social and cultural conditioning; on-line contextual properties of event: object, instrument, target, etc.) [**stimulus → Experiencer** {(internally and externally manifested) physiological and physical symptoms; affective state + (internally experienced) emotion} → possible **external reaction(s)** of Experiencer (blending; **language**: metaphor; emotion and emotional talk; **non-verbal** reactions)][1]

We conjecture that HURT arises in the context of an Emoter's painful reaction involving SADNESS, FRUSTRATION, and so on, on the one hand, and ANGER, etc., on the other, as a consequence of WOUND, HARM, and/or INJURY, inflicted by a Causer. What is injured and wounded is either the Emoter's physical body (PHYSICAL HURT) or his/her system of morality, integrity, feelings, or personal space (MORAL HURT). In our language data the most frequent targets of moral hurt are pride, ambition, dignity and honor, as well as feelings in general.

3.   Emotion clusters

A central question with respect to the relationship between hurt and other emotions concerns the architecture of the conceptual space of emotions. Opposing the position that emotions are separate, discrete entities, we alternatively support the viewpoint that the conceptual structure of emotions comprises clusters of emotions that have a closer or more distant proximity within conceptual space. For example, we have shown that both the Polish SELF-ACHIEVEMENT and HAPPINESS clusters have relatively high co-occurrence connections with the Polish LOVE cluster, resulting

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1.   The presentation format of the Emotion Event scenario shows listed factors which contribute to their particular conditioning role in the structure of events. Arrows indicate causal and circumstantial relations between given event stages.

in one LOVE/HAPPINESS/SELF-ACHIEVEMENT cluster in Polish compared with two clusters in British English – a LOVE cluster and a HAPPINESS/SELF-ACHIEVEMENT cluster (Wilson and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2019).

Hurt would appear to have a relatively higher potential to engage in the formation of such clusters. For example, although hurt was grouped with sadness-related emotions by Shaver et al. (1987), further analysis indicated that it could be a blend of anger and sadness. While we agree with Shaver et al. (2009) that hurt is a distinct emotion and that it is no more a blend than emotions such as guilt, sadness and fear (Lemay, Overall & Clark, 2012), we contend that it is equivalent to other emotions with respect to its propensity to form clusters of emotions.

Further insight into the nature of hurt can be gained from its possible cluster formations with the emotions outlined above, which are based on appraisals of hurtful events. A hurtful event is likely to cause the elicitation of anger in addition to feelings of hurt if it is deemed to be caused by the hostile actions of one's interlocutor (e.g., Weiner, 1986). Leary and Springer (2001) observe that anger is likely to be a consequence of a hurtful event that is appraised in terms of an unjustified attack. Further comparison and contrast between these two emotions reveals more nuanced differences. Specifically, Lemay, Overall and Clark (2012) performed studies showing that hurt is characterized by one's perception that a needed partner devalues oneself and the subsequent desire that one has to re-establish the relationship with the partner in order to restore the care and security that one receives from them. In this sense, hurt is a signal to the perpetrator that the victim cares about the relationship and can therefore make the perpetrator respond in a constructive way, often accompanied by feelings of empathy and guilt, which is likely to have a restorative effect on the relationship. In contrast, salient features of anger include control and independence, and this emotion exacerbates interpersonal conflict with increased aggression as the individual intimidates their partner to change their behavior. In terms of romantic relationships, one can see how such antagonistic coercion is consistent with a desire to change the behavior of a partner involved in betrayal, which is underscored by the finding that such infidelity often involves a blend of anger and hurt (Feeney, 2005). Peled and Moretti (2010) propose that such angry confrontation and accusations are characterized by retaliatory hurt, which is similar to anger rumination.[2]

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2.   The fact that the emotion of anger is related to and can be conditioned by retaliatory *hurt* might be relevant to the well-known *Pandemonium Principle* proposed by Gergen (1982), which considers psychological explanations to be open to an infinite number of logical and linguistic explanations. On the other hand, as argued by other scholars (e.g., Lutz, 1992, p. 185), some cultural elements such as the relationship between *hurt* and *anger* discussed here, have a more collective force than others and they should be considered more salient in particular communities.

If one's own incompetence is at the center of an appraisal of a hurtful event one might feel sadness (e.g., Shaver et al., 2009). In terms of introjective hurt, the possible self-criticism and self-blame of such incompetence has been deemed similar to sadness rumination (Peled & Moretti, 2010). Consistent with this, hurt is elicited in response to insult or criticism that is judged to be deserved (Beck, 1971, 1976). In contrast with hurt, however, which has more of a restorative function with respect to interpersonal relationships, sadness is characterized by a permanent sense of loss (Lazarus, 1991), less engagement in pursuing goals (Roseman et al., 1994), and not having the capability to control events (Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). In accordance with this, Leary and Springer (2001) note that sadness is a likely consequence of a hurtful scenario concerning the termination of a relationship. In a further examination of hurt in romantic relationships, Feeney (2005) showed that a mixture of sadness and hurt was elicited by a partner showing signs of a lack of approval or interest.

Given the vulnerability of pride to social threat, this emotion could be deemed central to hurt. Although the expression "hurt pride" is rather common, there is a lack of direct evidence pertaining to this potentially interesting event scenario. However, if the loss of pride is viewed in terms of a threat to one's ego (Tracy & Robins, 2007), on the basis of the hurtful nature of ego threat, one can deduce the possible salience of hurt in instances of deflated pride. Leary et al. (2009) observe that emotions such as anger and sadness are a direct consequence of ego threats. In these terms, it could be argued that it is hurt that is the initial response to the ego threat of the loss of pride, which can be subsequently appraised as anger or sadness on the basis of the proposals outlined above.

The question that arises in this context refers to the target of hurting events in various contexts as identified in language. Pride is not, as we propose, part of the HURT scenario in the same sense as, say, sadness or anger. Sadness, anger, frustration, and so on might be considered co-occurring negative components of HURT. However, PRIDE seems different as, together with its own cluster members such as honor, dignity, ambition, it is part of one's inner ego, characterized by an individual or communal sense of self-esteem, prestige, and morality. And any or all of them can be hurt, in different contexts, by an individual or collective agent, or by their deeds.

4.   Cultural influences

A major influence on the differences in the meaning of hurt in British English and Polish is the collectivism vs. individualism dimension (Hofstede, 1980). It was Hofstede's (1980) original work that led to the mapping of world cultures on the basis of individualism versus collectivism (in addition to other cultural dimensions).

In individualistic cultures one perceives oneself as an individual, autonomous entity with individualized goal construal designed to gain personal optimal achievement, self-fulfillment and accomplishments that differ to those of the in-group. In contrast, the fundamental feature of collectivism comprises the closer interpersonal relationships that are present within groups, which result in these groups being more cohesive with emphasis being placed on the maintenance of harmony.

Kowalski (2009) observes that individuals from collectivistic cultures are more likely to engage in self-blame in cases where they are rejected from a social group as they often believe that they deserve such ostracism, and that the probable outcome in terms of elicited emotions is a mixture of hurt and sadness. He concludes that "the potential for hurt feelings would seem to be greater in cultures that emphasize interdependent self-construals, but the practice and expression of hurt feelings in those cultures would be less than in those cultures with independent self-construals" (p. 465). In a further study, Mesquita et al. (n.d., cited in Mesquita, 2003) compared European American (Americans of European descent), Mexican and Japanese subjects in terms of their experience of emotional situations, including those eliciting humiliation and offense, which are directly related to hurt. It was shown that the European Americans were motivated to maintain individuality and responded with aggression, relational distancing and blaming others. The Mexicans blamed others, moved away and employed a distancing tactic in an attempt to hurt the perpetrator or reduce conflict. The main concern of the Japanese was to maintain relationship harmony and they tended to blame themselves and justify the perpetrator.

In the light of the comparison between HURT in British English and Polish in the present study it is important to narrow our focus on these two cultures. In cross-cultural research, Poland is often described as a collectivistic culture (e.g., Szarota et al., 2015). However, despite a score of 60 on the individualism-collectivism scale, which shows that Poland is clearly more collectivistic in relative terms than individualistic Britain with a score of 89 in Hofstede's dimensions, it can be questioned whether Poland should be deemed to have a collectivistic status that is on a par with countries typically considered in such terms, such as China with an individualism-collectivism score of 20 (Hofstede, 1980). However, the point to note here is that the individualism-collectivism scale allows the relative comparison of countries on this dimension and Poland is clearly more collectivistic in comparison to Britain on this scale.

5.   Aims of the study

The methods that we employ in the present chapter, discussed in the sections to follow, are designed to focus on the differences between British English HURT, its putative equivalent in Polish, POCZUCIE KRZYWDY, as well as on other members of the cluster and the Emotion Event scenario. The pertinent question is what one might expect from an individualistic versus collectivistic standpoint in comparative analyses on the respective meanings of HURT and POCZUCIE KRZYWDY. In terms of the above observations of Kowalski (2009) and Mesquita et al. (n.d., cited in Mesquita, 2003), one would expect sadness to be relatively more salient in POCZUCIE KRZYWDY and HURT to be characterized more by anger. A further question that can be formulated on the basis of the relative orientation of anger and sadness in terms of approach versus avoidance (i.e., moving towards versus away, respectively) is directly relevant to Frijda's (1986) proposal that all emotions are characterized by their engagement or disengagement with the environment. On the basis of the "approach-oriented motivational system" (Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009, p. 198) that characterizes anger, one would expect HURT to be associated with such an orientation due to its possibly closer conceptual proximity to anger. In contrast, one would predict, due to the possible closer conceptual proximity between POCZUCIE KRZYWDY and SMUTEK 'sadness,' the latter of which is characterized by avoidance and disengagement, a withdrawal orientation to be more salient in POCZUCIE KRZYWDY.

Another issue that needs to be accounted for in our study is the position and function of the emotion cluster of PRIDE and its members, which dominate in a number of the linguistic collocational patterns in the investigated materials.[3] Although not discussed in the relevant literature on HURT, PRIDE and its neighbors, as can be hypothesized, play a significant role in HURT scenarios.

6.   Research methodology

To investigate the meaning of HURT in a cross-linguistic setting as well as the cultural underpinnings of this concept, we resort to the following research approaches and methods: online emotions sorting task, GRID instrument, and corpus methodology.

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3.   Collocational combinations in the present study are generated by the HASK Collocation Browser (Pęzik, 2014), which gives access to lists of word combinations found in reference corpora of English and Polish. Potential collocates of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are also supported by relevant statistical measures. Compare http://pelcra.clarin-pl.eu/hask_en/

6.1   Online emotions sorting methodology

In the emotions sorting methodology, emotion terms are typically presented simultaneously on a desk in front of participants who are free to categorize them into as many or as few groups as they wish. In the online version the sorting takes place in an experimental GUI on a computer. In the only study employing the category sorting task in a cross-cultural perspective (to our knowledge), the conceptual structure of Dutch vs. Indonesian was investigated by Fontaine et al. (2002). The category sorting task has also been used to determine the conceptual structure of pleasure (Dubé & Le Bel, 2003).

In the present study we adapted the NodeXL (Smith et al., 2010) tool to provide information pertaining to the HURT cluster in British English and Polish and the relationship between each of these to their respective ANGER and SADNESS clusters. Although the most common use of NodeXL is to analyze relationships between individuals using online social media networks, we employ NodeXL to create graphical representations of the Polish and British English co-occurrence emotion matrices. The graphs created are similar to those produced by the synonyms rating methodology employed by Heider (1991) to compare and contrast emotion terms across three Indonesian languages. In Heider's (1991) study participants provided a synonym emotion for each target emotion term and in the maps of the emotion domains the nodes are represented by the individual emotion terms. For the sake of consistency, we adopt the same terminology as Heider (1991) where possible. The main difference is in the terms used to refer to the links that show the relationships between the nodes. Whereas for Heider connection strength refers to the between-subjects frequency with which an emotion term is given as the synonym for another, the connection strength in our NodeXL graphs represent the co-occurring frequency of the emotion terms in the online emotions sorting data and are hence either referred to as co-occurrence values or interconnections.

6.1.1   *Procedure*
Participants volunteered to take part in the study either through direct contact by one of the authors or in response to adverts placed on Internet forums. Each volunteer was sent a link to the experimental platform and was allowed to take part in the experiment at a time and location of their choosing, with the request that they do the experiment in seclusion. The first page presented the British and Polish flags and the participants clicked on these according to their nationality. Then the instructions page appeared in the appropriate language. Initially, there was a brief introduction outlining that the study was concerned with finding out about how people think some emotions "go together" and other emotions belong in different categories. More detailed instructions regarding the specific sorting task were as follows:

> You will be presented with 135 emotions on the computer screen. We'd like you to sort these emotions into categories representing your best judgement about which emotions are similar to each other and which are different from each other. There is no one correct way to sort the emotions – make as few or as many categories as you wish and put as few or as many emotions in each group as you see fit. This study requires careful thought and you therefore need to carefully think about which category each emotion belongs rather than just quickly putting emotions in categories without much thought.

Following this, participants watched a video (about 8 minutes) that demonstrated the procedure. This was followed by a practice session that involved the categorization of food items, and once this had been completed the proper experiment with emotion terms began. The following message appeared in a central window on the experimental page:

> You need to click on the "New Emotions Group" button and drag emotions to create your emotion groups. When you have finished creating your emotion groups, click on the orange "DONE" button and the experiment has been completed.

6.1.2   *Participants*

There were 58 British English participants (27 females, mean age = 42.7 years) with the following occupations: academic departmental manager, administrator (3), civil servant, cleaner, company director, IT (4), consultant (3), editor, events manager, executive coach, housewife (3), lecturer (5), manager, psychologist (2), radiographer, retired (6), tailoress, scientist, self-employed, student (11), supported housing officer, teacher (4), teaching assistant, unemployed, volunteer, while one participant did not state their occupation. There were 58 Polish participants (27 females, mean age = 35.8 years) with the following occupations: account manager, accountant, career advisor, cashier, cultural studies specialist, doctor, IT (3), lecturer (14), marketing employee, office employee (2), headmaster, project manager, psychologist, student (10), teacher (16), translator (3).

6.2   GRID

The GRID instrument (Scherer, 2005; Fontaine, Scherer & Soriano, 2013) employs a system of dimensions and components which bring about insight into the nature of emotion prototypical structures. The GRID project is coordinated by the Swiss Center for Affective Sciences at the University of Geneva in collaboration with Ghent University and is a worldwide study of emotional patterning across 23 languages and 27 countries. The GRID instrument comprises a Web-based

questionnaire in which 24 prototypical emotion terms are evaluated on 144 emotion features. These features represent activity in all six of the major components of emotion. Thirty-one features relate to appraisals of events, eighteen to psychophysiological changes, twenty-six to facial, vocal, or gestural expressions, forty to action tendencies, twenty-two to subjective experiences, and four to emotion regulation. An additional three features refer to other qualities, such as frequency and social acceptability of the emotion. Participants are asked to rate the likelihood of these features for the various emotions. This methodology is comprehensive in its scope as it allows the multicultural comparison of emotion conceptualizations on all six of the emotion categories recognized by emotion theorists (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Niedenthal et al., 2006; Scherer, 2005).

6.2.1   Procedure

British English and Polish participants completed the GRID instrument in a controlled Web study (Reips, 2002), in which each participant was presented with the hurt emotion term in their respective language[4] and asked to rate it in terms of the 144 emotion features. Each of the 144 emotion features was presented separately. Participants rated the likelihood that each of the 144 emotion features can be inferred when a person from their cultural group uses the emotion term 'hurt' to describe an emotional experience. A 9-point scale was employed that ranged from extremely unlikely (1) to extremely likely (9) – the numbers 2 to 8 were placed at equidistant intervals between the two ends of the scale, with 5 "neither unlikely, nor likely" in the middle, and participants typed their ratings on the keyboard. It was clearly stated that the participants needed to rate the likelihood of occurrence of each of the features when somebody who speaks their language describes an emotional experience associated with hurt.

6.2.2   Participants

The mean ages and gender ratios of the participants for each of the emotion terms were as follows: *hurt* (32 British English-speaking participants; mean age 20.4 years, 23 females); *poczucie krzywdy* (16 Polish-speaking participants; mean age 21.6 years, 8 females).

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4.   The procedure presented here focuses on hurt as the present study centers on this emotion. To gain a broader understanding of the full procedure involving the complete set of 24 emotion terms, it should be noted that each participant rated four emotion terms, which were randomly chosen from the 24 emotion terms, on the 144 emotion features. This means that all 24 emotion terms were rated on the 144 emotion features.

6.3 Corpus data

The language materials used in the present study come from large national corpora (British National Corpus (BNC) and the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP)). The BNC contains 100 million words and the NKJP includes 300 million units of balanced data. The concordance materials are supplemented from the data of phraseological units of typical collocational occurrence patterns (Pęzik, 2014) as well as Polish-to-English and English-to-Polish translation corpora and the tools of their alignment. The materials contained in the BNC and NKJP are structurally comparable to a large extent and contain language from similar domains, styles, and genres. The analysis of the quantitative data is completed by some cognitive linguistic instruments referring to the construal (Langacker, 1987; 1991) of the relevant Emotion Event scenarios and the use of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), the more so that the very concept of MENTAL HURT is a metaphor itself (THE MIND IS A PHYSICAL BODY) and it will be considered in respective cultural schemas in English and Polish.

The materials from the national corpora are enriched by the data from monitor corpora – English monitorcorpus.com (Monitor), and Polish monco.frazeo. pl (Monco), in terms of both concordancing materials as well as relevant collocational patterns. The monitor corpora are language news data, collected daily at the Corpus and Computational Linguistics Unit at the University of Lodz from selected Polish and English media websites. We examine discourse distribution and semantic relationships between relevant emotion terms and their contexts which appear in these materials. We adopt the Iconicity Principle of Proximity (Haiman, 1985; Givón, 1984, p. 970), which states that entities that are closer together functionally, conceptually, or cognitively are also placed closer together in language use.

6.3.1 *English and Polish* hurt *equivalence*

Although one of the closest equivalents to English *hurt* is, as used in the section above, Polish *(z)ranić/(z)raniony*, there is no strict one-to-one conceptual and linguistic correspondence between English *hurt* and possible Polish renderings of this form. Any Polish form which can contextually function as an equivalent to *hurt* involves smaller or larger meaning shifts, that is reconceptualization of the English meaning (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2010).[5] Firstly, the form *hurt*, functioning as a derived noun, can be translated literally as Polish *zraniony*, -a, -e (past participle of *zranić* 'to hurt physically or emotionally') and, as a nominal form, *zranienie* (verbal noun of the verb *(z)ranić* 'to hurt') or *urażenie/uraza* (used most frequently with reference to feelings 'insulting, hurting, offending' (from their verbal base *urazić*

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5. For a more thorough discussion of changes involved in the processes of reconceptualization in language and translation, see Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2010).

'physical or emotional hurt') or alternatively *dotknięcie* lit. 'touching' verbal noun of Polish *dotknąć/dotykać* 'to touch') in the metaphorical sense of harm. Some of these forms, particularly verbal nouns, are dispreferred in some contexts in Polish due to general stylistic preferences in the Polish language.[6] Possible equivalent forms would then involve either the verbal rendering of the meaning (*ranić/urazic/dotknąć dumę, ambicję, honor …* 'to hurt pride, ambition, honor …') or otherwise the use of more distant noun equivalents such as *krzywda* 'harm, injury' or 'sense of injury' – i.e., *poczucie krzywdy* (used as the equivalent in the GRID instrument and online emotions sorting task discussed in the present study), although these nouns put more focus on the consequences of hurt rather than on its nature.

6.3.2   *Parallel corpus equivalents*

The linguistic forms *hurt* 'zranienie, poczucie krzywdy,' *pain* 'ból,' *wound* 'rana,' *harm* 'szkoda/szkodzić,' and *suffering* 'cierpienie' form a cluster pattern, the members of which are used as language forms equivalent to English hurt in the translated parallel texts. The Paralela tool (Pęzik, 2014) generates the following set of most frequent English-to-Polish translational *hurt* equivalents (the forms listed in brackets represent all identified inflectional variants of the basic morphological form):

Table 1. Polish translational equivalents of English HURT
(numbers indicate frequencies of occurrence)

1	skrzywdzić 'to hurt'	[skrzywdzić, skrzywdził, skrzywdzi, skrzywdzę, skrzywdzisz, skrzywdziła, skrzywdzili, skrzywdzą, skrzywdzimy, skrzywdź, skrzywdzony, skrzywdzona, skrzywdzicie, skrzywdzono]*	3148
2	zranić 'to injure'	[zranić, zranił, zraniła, zranił, zraniony, zrani, zraniona, zranisz, zraniło, zranię, zranili, zrań, zranione, zraniono, zranienia, zranienie]	2031
3	boleć 'to pain'	[boli, bolało, boleć, bolało, bolą, bolały, bolała, bolał]	2339
4	krzywda 'hurt, injury (noun)'	[krzywdy, krzywdę, krzywda]	1604
5	ranny 'wounded'	[ranny, ranny, ranni, ranna, rannych, rannych, ranne, ranni]	1086
6	krzywdzić 'to hurt'	[krzywdź, krzywdzić, krzywdźcie, krzywdzi, krzywdzę, krzywdził, krzywdzisz, krzywdzą]	491
7	bolą 'hurt, pain'	[boli, bolą, boli]	417
8	zaboleć 'start paining'	[zaboli, zabolało, zaboleć, zabolało]	317

* Sets of the Polish equivalents include all inflectional forms of the relevant Polish verbs and participles identified in the parallel materials.

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6.   A preferred form would, for example, be a clausal version of the phrase *fakt, że mnie uraziłeś/zraniłeś* 'the fact that you hurt me' rather than its possible gerundial / verbal noun correspondence *fakt urażenia/zranienia mnie przez ciebie* 'the fact of you're hurting me.'

While the Polish equivalents of English *hurt* correspond both to physical and mental hurt, the most frequent set of English equivalents to Polish *zraniony* represents direct or indirect references to physical hurt (Table 2):

Table 2. English contextual equivalents to Polish *zraniony* 'hurt'
(adjectival past participle) – numbers indicate frequencies of occurrence

1	hurt	162
2	wound/-ed	51
3	injure/-d	6
4	harm	5
5	gore	3
6	shrapnel	3

For the sake of uniformity, we adopted the Polish equivalent of English *hurt* as *poczucie krzywdy* lit. 'sense of injury/harm,' as this is used in the GRID and online emotions sorting methodologies. However, analyzing wider contexts and richer patterns in the corpus materials and collocational data, we consider a larger range of equivalence options, which embrace, for example, ANGER, PRIDE or SADNESS clusters.

Due to the complexity of the concept of HURT in both languages, what can be observed is the occurrence of multiple cognitive prototypes forming culture-specific sets of radial HURT categories in each language.

7.   Results

In what follows, the results from the online emotions sorting, GRID, and corpus data analyses are presented.

7.1   Online emotions sorting results

It can be seen in Figure 1 that the co-occurrences between HURT and British ANGER cluster emotions (e.g., *hurt – anger* (16), *hurt – rage* (13), *hurt – fury* (14)) are higher than those between POCZUCIE KRZYWDY and Polish ANGER cluster emotions (e.g., *poczucie krzywdy – złość* 'anger 1' (10), *poczucie krzywdy – wściekłość* 'rage' (10), *poczucie krzywdy – furia* 'fury' (9)).

Figure 2 also shows that the interconnections between HURT and British SADNESS cluster emotions (e.g., *hurt – sadness* (18), *hurt – depression* (19), *hurt – despair* (18)) are lower than those between POCZUCIE KRZYWDY and Polish SADNESS cluster emotions (e.g., *poczucie krzywdy – smutek* 'sadness, sorrow' (31), *poczucie krzywdy – depresja* 'depression' (30), *poczucie krzywdy – rozpacz* 'despair' (24)).

Figure 1. HURT vs. POCZUCIE KRZYWDY: Co-occurrences with ANGER cluster emotions
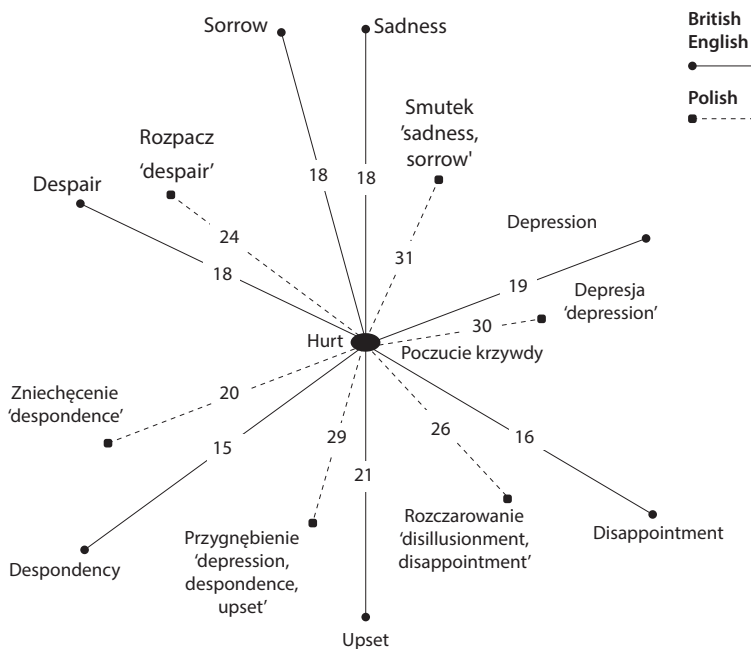
Figure 2. HURT vs. POCZUCIE KRZYWDY: Co-occurrences with SADNESS cluster emotions

Interconnections between hurt and pride were also determined for both languages. Although these values were relatively low in both languages, the interconnection between *hurt* and *pride* (6) was somewhat higher than that between *poczucie krzywdy* and *duma* (2), the Polish equivalent of *pride*.

7.2   GRID results

An analysis performed on the GRID data compared Polish *poczucie krzywdy* and British English *hurt* on the basis of GRID features pertaining to *desire to act* ('wanted to act,' 'wanted to tackle situation,' 'felt urge to be attentive,' 'felt urge to be active,' 'wanted to undo what was happening,' 'wanted to go on with what doing,' 'required immediate response') versus *desire not to act* ('lacked motivation to pay attention to what was going on,' 'wanted to do nothing,' 'lacked motivation to do anything,' 'wanted to submit to situation,' 'felt urge to stop what they were doing'). The mean values for these dimensions were computed for each participant. The 2×2 ANOVA that was conducted on these means had one between-subjects variable (*language group*: Polish *poczucie krzywdy* vs. British English *hurt*) and one within-subjects variable (*action*: *desire to act* vs. *desire not to act*).

There was a significant interaction between *action* and *language group*, $F(1, 45) = 6.14$, $p < 0.05$. This interaction was analyzed by contrasts. There was a significant difference between *desire to act* and *desire not to act* for *poczucie krzywdy*, $F(1, 45) = 10.27$, $p < 0.01$. Figure 3 shows that *poczucie krzywdy* was characterized by a higher *desire not to act* than *desire to act*. Additionally, it can be seen in Figure 3 that *hurt* was characterized by more of a *desire to act* than *poczucie krzywdy* ($F(1, 45) = 5.69$, $p < 0.05$). However, *desire to act* was not significantly different from *desire not to act* for *hurt* and *poczucie krzywdy* was not significantly different to *hurt* on *desire not to act*. To conclude, these results show that *poczucie krzywdy*
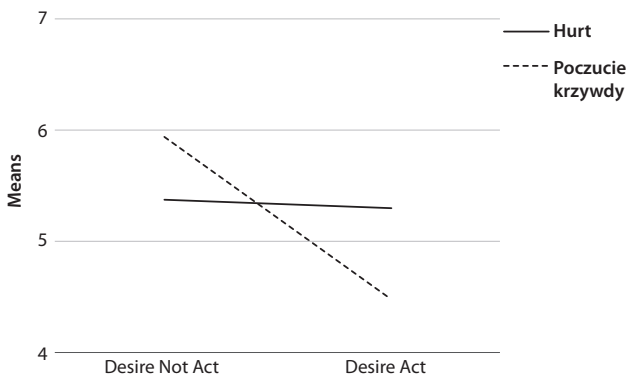
Figure 3. *Hurt* vs. *poczucie krzywdy* on *desire to act* vs. *desire not to act*

is characterized relatively more by a *desire not to act*, and that although there were no differences between *desire not to act* and *desire to act* in *hurt*, it was rated higher than *poczucie krzywdy* on *desire to act*.

7.3   Corpus data analysis and discussion

This section is dedicated to the presentation of the results from the corpus data analysis and their discussion.

7.3.1   HURT *Emotion Events in corpora*

In the collocation tables referring to the Polish verb form *ranić* (one of the closest equivalents of English 'to hurt'), the first position of *osoba* 'person' and further *ludzie* 'people,' *mężczyzna* 'male,' *kobieta* 'female' – and the more specific *policjant* 'policeman' – epitomize either the agent or the target of all hurting scenarios (intentional or involuntary). Further collocates portray details of the physical HURT scenario: knife Pol. *nóż* – as an instrument of hurt, as well as metaphorical senses (e.g., word – *słowo*, functioning as a hurting instrument). Body parts such as leg, head, hand, ear, as well as the body in general, can be considered subjects or objects of mainly physical hurt. Heart, on the other hand, is most often used metaphorically/metonymically[7] in the context of hurting one's heart, expressed also as *zranić uczucie* 'to hurt one's feelings,' and more specifically as *(z)ranić dumę, ambicję, godność*, etc., 'to hurt pride, ambition, dignity,' etc.

   The Polish form *zraniony* 'hurt (past participle)' mostly refers to physical hurt. The most frequent collocate of *zraniony*, (HASK noun collocates in Table 3), is *nóż* 'knife,' an instrument of physical hurting (*zraniony nożem* 'hurt with a knife'), while the only collocate linked to moral hurt is *godność* 'honor, dignity' (no. 46 Table 3), which is closely intertwined with *duma* 'pride.'

7.3.2   PRIDE, HONOR, DIGNITY

While the results of the GRID and online emotions sorting tasks show the relatedness between the HURT concept and other close cluster concepts such as SADNESS, ANGER, HUMILIATION, and so on, PRIDE (Wilson & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2017), HONOR, DIGNITY and AMBITION cannot be considered HURT cluster concepts

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7.   The concept of *metaphtonymy*, proposed by Goosens (2004), is a combination of metaphor and metonymy and is relevant in some examples (e.g., *ranią strasznie Serce Jezusa strzałami szyderstw* '(they) terribly hurt Jesus's heart with the arrows of mockery'). The figurative image refers both to the literal hurt of Jesus's body (heart) on the Cross as well as metonymic hurt in terms of mockery, all immersed in the metaphor of Jesus's hurt – offence – with human guilt, injury and ignorance.

Table 3. HASK ranić 'to hurt' noun collocates in Polish

#	Collocate	A	TTEST*	MI3**
1	osoba	78.0	8.03	16.04 'person'
2	nóż	43.0	6.52	18.43 'knife'
3	uczucie	35.0	5.81	16.16 'feeling'
4	ludzie	38.0	5.23	13.23 'people'
5	serce	26.0	4.89	14.02 'heart'
6	słowo	25.0	4.48	12.57 'word'
7	nikt	24.0	4.39	12.45 'nobody'
8	noga	21.0	4.36	13.16 'leg'
9	mężczyzna	20.0	4.05	12.06 'man, male'
10	głowa	21.0	4.04	11.88 'head'
11	kobieta	21.0	3.97	11.69 'woman'
12	policjant	16.0	3.76	12.08 'policeman'
13	ręka	18.0	3.52	10.90 'hand'
14	ucho	12.0	3.34	12.04 'ear'
15	ciało	13.0	3.27	10.84 'body'
46	godność	5.0	2.15	9.48 'honor, dignity'

* TTEST stands for t-test, a statistical measure used to determine the significance level between the means of groups and their features.

** MI3 (Mutual Information) is a statistical measure of the mutual dependence between the investigated variables.

in the same sense. Rather, they most often function as objects and targets of HURT, which is clearly demonstrated in Polish and English language corpus data.

The MONCO collocates of *duma* 'pride' (Table 4), on the other hand, include Pol. *urazić* 'hurt/harm' as the most frequent collocate (no. 6), with the characteristic salient position of *urażona męska duma* 'hurt male pride.'

Table 4. MONCO *urażona duma* 'hurt pride' collocates

	{urażona duma=55} 'hurt pride', {urażona męska duma=8} 'hurt male pride'
urazić 'to hurt'	
	{duma została urażona=2} 'pride was hurt'*

* Curly brackets indicate full corpus-generated collocations.

The English *hurt* form is used to a similar extent in physical and moral contexts, such as in *feet hurt* and *hurt pride*. The emotion collocates in the monitor corpus include *revenge* (no. 187) and *threaten* (no. 188) as a manifestation of anger, demonstrated in terms of the following phraseology:

Table 5. Monitor path frequency of *threaten* collocations

#	Paths	Frequency
1	threatened to hurt	8
2	threatened or hurt	2
3	threatening to hurt	2
4	threatens to hurt	2
5	threatened to kidnap and hurt	1
6	threatened you and has hurt	1
7	hurt one another … threaten	1
8	threaten to hurt	1
9	hurt brook, threatening*	1
10	hurt his campaign and threatened	1

* The opening 90 seconds of the fight demonstrated the size of the task he was facing. Powerful hooks to both head and body clearly hurt Brook, threatening an early finish and forcing him to cling on.

English collocates generated from the BNC (HASK) provide data (see Table 6) which demonstrate *pride* and *feeling* as the most frequent targets of hurt, while *pain* and *anger* are cluster members which accompany this emotion.

Table 6. HASK *hurt* noun collocates[8]

#	Collocate	A	TTEST	MI3
1	pride	20.0	4.43	15.65
2	pain	18.0	4.13	13.63
3	feeling	15.0	3.69	12.26
4	anger	8.0	2.76	11.46
5	eye	11.0	2.68	9.31
6	disappointment	6.0	2.41	11.16
7	look	6.0	2.17	8.33
8	love	6.0	2.11	8.05
9	people	15.0	2.05	8.90
10	injury	5.0	2.05	8.26
11	sense	6.0	1.96	7.49
12	child	10.0	1.94	8.02
13	confusion	4.0	1.91	8.58
14	damage	4.0	1.79	7.31

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8. These are 'raw frequencies of collocates,' i.e., words typically co-occurring with other ones more frequently than they would by chance; TTEST – measures significant differences; MI3 – measures the mutual dependence between two variables.

As mentioned above, the most frequent objects collocating with English *hurt* are presented in Table 6. *Hurt* primarily co-occurs with *pride* as well as with the superordinate noun *feeling*, and additionally with (physical and mental) *pain* and *anger*, the latter of which is also present in the online emotions sorting task co-occurrence data.

The most frequent Polish collocate of *urazić* 'to hurt' is, similar to English, *duma* 'pride' (Table 7). The phrase *hurting one's pride* in English and *ranić / urazić moją dumę* in Polish are close equivalents and demonstrate the main emotion, which functions as an object of moral hurt.

Table 7. HASK *urazić* 'to hurt' noun collocates

#	Collocate	A	TTEST	MI3
1	duma	94.0	9.66	21.36 'pride'
2	nikt	96.0	9.37	17.69 'nobody'
3	ambicja	78.0	8.79	20.68 'ambition'
4	ktoś	62.0	7.28	15.64 'somebody'
5	uczucie	44.0	6.48	16.39 'feeling'
6	pan	72.0	5.59	13.89 'sir'
7	godność	28.0	5.23	16.17 'dignity'

7.3.3   *hurt* and *anger* in English

As demonstrated in Tables 6 and 8, the English nominal and adjectival collocates of *hurt* are very frequently linked with *anger*, as in the sentence *She was silent, furious, angry, hurt*.

Table 8. English adjectival *hurt* collocates

#	Collocate	A	TTEST	MI3
1	angry	15.0	3.09	10.13
2	afraid	15.0	2.80	9.67
3	frighten(ed)	4.0	1.74	6.95
4	innocent	4.0	1.24	5.40
5	awful	4.0	0.91	4.88
6	poor	13.0	0.59	7.65

The finding that *angry* has the topmost frequency in the adjective-related collocational patterns and that *anger* also ranks highly among the nouns (see Table 8) is quite significant, as this closely coincides with the data obtained by the other methods used in the present study.

7.3.4 *hurt* and *sadness* in Polish

Both of the Polish forms *(z)ranić/(z)raniony*, used as equivalents to English *hurt* and discussed in the previous sections, as well as other Polish cluster concepts which center around the equivalents of *hurt*, such as *dotknięty* lit. 'touched (afflicted, affected, hurt),' are the focus of pain, suffering, failure and frustration, which all lead to rather passive reactions of Experiencers (Table 9, Examples (1)–(6)). The reasons for hurt are evident: failure, defeat, disease, and suffering. Together with adjectives signifying negative values such as *mean* and *evil*, they function as instruments of hurting.

Table 9. NKJP *dotknięty* 'touched' collocates[9]

			χ^2
1.	**klęska**	dotknięty___klęską (13), lit. 'touched by failure/defeat'	59,449
2.	**niemile**	niemile___dotknięty (6), 'unpleasantly touched'	42,895
3.	**głęboko**	głęboko___dotknięty (27), 'deeply touched'	33,418
4.	**boleśnie**	boleśnie___dotknięty (5), najboleśniej dotknięty (2), dotknięty___najboleśniej (1), 'most painfully touched'	16,663
5.	**choroba**	dotknięty chorobą (15), dotknięty chorobami (1), 'touched by disease(s)'	15,115
6.	**cierpienie**	dotknięty cierpieniem (5), 'touched by suffering'	9,839

The Polish equivalents of *hurt* (Examples 1–5) include a range of clustering meanings signifying 'touched,' 'injured,' 'hurt,' 'offended' with overtones of sadness and pain.

(1) Wczoraj czułaś się dotknięta, skrzywdzona Lit. 'Yesterday, you felt touched, injured/hurt'

(2) Marta poczuła się – urażona? dotknięta? Trudno jej było nazwać to uczucie Lit. 'Marta felt – harmed? Touched? It was difficult for her to name this feeling'

(3) Czułam się obrażona i dotknięta tym co usłyszałam Lit. 'I felt offended and touched with what I heard.'

(4) Tym razem czuła się dotknięta na honorze dobrej matki Lit. 'She felt this time her honor of a good mother was touched'

(5) Boleśnie dotknięta, złymi, podłymi słowami Lit. 'Painfully touched with evil, mean words'

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9. The numbers in brackets indicate frequencies of occurrence and the context of the form *dotknięty* lit. 'touched' in the NKJP corpus; in the final column the Chi Square ($\chi2$) probability value is given for the collocations.

7.3.5   *Collectivistic nature of Polish* HURT

The most frequent objects and properties that collocate with *krzywda* 'hurt, harm' in Polish are as follows:

Table 10. HASK *krzywda* 'hurt, harm' noun collocates in Polish

#	Collocate	A	TTEST	MI3
1	bliźni	9.0	2.67	9.55 'neighbor, fellow creature'
2	drugie	7.0	2.30	8.55 'the other'
3	poszkodowany	7.0	0.93	6.24 '(person) harmed, injured'
4	zwierzę	15.0	−0.62	7.59 'animal'
5	naród	7.0	−3.03	4.51 'nation'
6	ofiara	7.0	−3.45	4.40 'victim'

As demonstrated in Table 10, the more collectivistic Polish culture shows closer links with people from the same groups and nations.

8.   Conclusion

Hurt evokes contexts in which the general state of an individual's well-being appears compromised. Typically, one's pride, dignity, honor and general feelings are hurt. The emotions resulting as final outcomes in the scenario involve a whole range of major affective states in both languages: Eng. *resentment* and Pol. *obraza*, Eng. *bitterness* and Pol. *gorycz*, Eng. *dissastisfaction/disappointment* and Pol. *niezadowolenie/rozczarowanie*, Eng. *anger/hostility* and Pol. *złość/gniew, wrogość*, Eng. *sadness/frustration* and Pol. *smutek/frustracja*, Eng. *guilt/shame* and Pol. *wina/wstyd*. A number of other feelings, typically accompanying the sense of injustice (Pol. *poczucie niesprawiedliwości*), are also present such as Eng. *disgust, fear* and *surprise*, Pol. *wstręt/obrzydzenie, strach* and *zdziwienie*, respectively.

Furthermore, apart from the partly common metaphoricity patterning as well as similar metonymy (*my heart hurts – serce mnie boli*), the collocational profiles also uncover other interesting semantic regularities in the comparison between Polish and English. As discussed in this chapter, all verbal expressions of physical hurt can be metonymically and metaphorically represented as MENTAL HURT, such as PAINING – *to mnie boli* 'it hurts lit. pains me,' HURTING (my pride, honor, etc.) – *to mnie rani/rani moją dumę, honor, etc.*, INJURING (*to mnie krzywdzi* – 'it is harm/injury to me') or being INFRINGED ON (*to narusza moją godność* 'it infringes on my dignity'). However, Polish *dotykać* 'touch' (*to mnie (osobiście) dotyka*, Eng. lit. 'it touches/is touching me (personally)'), for instance, conveys the sense of infringing upon one's personal space in terms of the source domain of TOUCH, which stands

in contrast with English *touch*. The parallel Polish-English translational data reveal types of translational asymmetries concerning the linguistic expression of the cultural schema of HURT.

In accordance with the specific predictions based on the cultural dimensions pertaining to the present study, the online emotions sorting task results showed that HURT is characterized more by ANGER cluster emotions, while SADNESS cluster emotions are relatively more salient in POCZUCIE KRZYWDY. On the basis of the results of Mesquita et al. (n.d., cited in Mesquita, 2003), it could be reasoned that the meaning of *hurt* is influenced by the individualistic motivation to maintain individuality that is associated with blaming others, relational distancing and a more aggressive response.[10] In contrast, the relatively greater element of sadness in *poczucie krzywdy* is consistent with the observation of such a phenomenon in collectivistic cultures on the basis of a possible greater sense of self-blame. The GRID results have a direct relevance to the approach versus avoidance orientation that Frijda (1986) identifies as a fundamental feature of all emotions. Specifically, the orientation of *hurt* and *poczucie krzywdy* in this respect is consistent with the relative salience of anger, an emotion characterized by action, versus sadness, an emotion characterized by inactivity and disengagement, respectively, as the GRID results show a relatively more salient *desire to act* in *hurt* and more of a *desire not to act* in *poczucie krzywdy* relative to *hurt*.

The corpus data and the range of contexts together with the varying distribution of the Polish emotion terms from this domain have been juxtaposed to English *hurt* and a number of its Polish equivalents. The corpus materials also confirm the prevailing co-occurrence of hurt with distinct emotion clusters in English and Polish as their final reaction in such situations – ANGER and its cluster members for British English, and PAIN, SADNESS, and FRUSTRATION for Polish.

The online emotions sorting task results show only weak links between hurt and pride in both languages. In fact, this is not surprising because the methodology involves sorting and grouping similar emotions into categories and the two emotions do not share such categorial similarity. Pride and hurt show a different kind of relationship. Pride is an emotion which is an inner attribute of an individual, developing as a consequence of the person's satisfaction of their own or their group's achievements and their own self-esteem. Hurt is a consequence of a different Emotion Event scenario – it is triggered by an outside agent or cause (stimulus), targeted towards

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10. However, the complexity of the issue of other blame with respect to individualistic versus collectivistic cultures is highlighted by our finding that Polish individuals tend to blame others for their guilt or failure (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson, 2014). There is a clear need for further studies to provide a fine-grained analysis of how different emotions such as hurt and guilt are characterized by blaming others on this cultural dimension.

and attacking the Experiencer's self-esteem, dignity, honor – all of the emotions of the PRIDE cluster – to hit, compromise or destroy them. Therefore, the main finding in the language data refers to the most frequent co-occurrence of the emotion of pride with the linguistic forms denoting hurt in the relevant (pride – hurt) Emotion Event scenarios in both languages. The language data express human stories, narratives and reflection in diverse contexts while the GRID data and online emotions sorting task results express more prototypical de-contextualized meanings. Pride appears to be the most frequent target of hurt and, consequently, the most frequently affected emotion in such contexts. Next to pride, what is observed is the presence of the related notions of honor and ambition, which, together with pride, form a separate, though closely linked, emotion cluster in this context. They are furthermore not infrequently affected as the main target of actions intended to hurt or co-occur as additional consequences arising from them. In contrast with *hurt pride* in British English, it is the salient aspects of collectivism that are hurt in Polish *duma*, such as nation or community, rather than *individual pride*.

The contrasting indexes of the dimensions of collectivism/individualism are referred to in previous sections. Furthermore, the dimensions of masculinity/femininity as well as indulgence and restriction, as first proposed by Hofstede (1980) and modified by other scholars (e.g., Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997), may be relevant in further, more extensive investigations of the cultural schema of HURT in terms of its frequencies and conditioning of occurrence. Moreover, factors that appear pertinent to construing cultural models of HURT radial emotion clusters in a cross-cultural perspective include conditioning related to different causes and presuppositions of hurt and varying degrees of culture-specific sensitivity. Various culture-bound attributes are rooted, inter alia, in different historical, religious, ethnic, and political positions of particular cultures, and in what Nora (1996–1998) calls their relevant *lieux de memoire*, which contribute to distinct cultural profiles and include the feeling and manifestation of emotions.

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Corpora and corpus tools

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monitorcorpus.com (Monitor)
monco.frazeo.pl (MONCO)

Cultural-linguistic explorations into social identities and cultural concepts

Correspondences between Hungarian women's marital names and the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema

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A marital name makes a statement about women's cultural values with respect to their FAMILY schemas. In Hungary, adopting the husband's full name by marriage is no longer required, thus women have the opportunity to choose from seven different name structures. The paper aims to uncover the motivations behind women's preference for marital name structures as influenced by the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema that they maintain in their background. Data for this analysis is extracted from a questionnaire distributed to 533 women, which seek to obtain information on key elements of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. Results do not reveal a direct correlation between the selection of marital names and any single component of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema; however, overall the results of the survey outline a systematic correspondence between marital names and women's conformity or non-conformity to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. In conclusion, the various marital name structures reflect diverse FAMILY schemas, in particular, they are representatives of Hungarian women's different extent of adherence to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema.

Keywords: cultural conceptualizations, TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, Fuzzy Signature Model, marital name, name structure

1. Introduction

It has been substantially proved from linguistic, anthropologic and philosophic perspectives that the usage of proper names in social interactions are strongly culture-dependent (Kripke, 1980; Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn, 2006). A large number of studies have been conducted in an attempt to establish the relationship between women's marital names and the different aspects of their sociocultural background (Emens, 2007; Gooding & Kreider, 2010; Scheuble et al., 2012). However, the

surveys undertaken among Hungarian women have not yet revealed correspondences between their names after marriage and the cultural context that motivates their decisions, particularly the cultural conceptualizations of FAMILY that they are based on. At present, Hungarian women can choose from six different marital name options and they are also able to keep their maiden names; at the same time, people's perceptions about what kinds of cultural values the women's marital names represent with respect to their cultural conceptualizations of FAMILY are ambiguous and unexplored. Cultural conceptualizations reflect the shared beliefs and ideas of a cultural community (Sharifian, 2003), which manifest in various aspects of language, including linguistic structure (this volume). The present study gives examples that demonstrate how variance in name structures reflects the extent of the adherence to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. The pivotal questions of the study are twofold:

1. Are cultural conceptualizations of FAMILY represented in Hungarian women's marital names?
2. If yes, which marital names imply a Hungarian TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema and which ones can be linked to non-traditional family schemas as maintained by the participant?

Hence, using a mixed-method approach, this study examines the correlation between women's perceptions about the key elements of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema and their marital names. The starting point of the research is the premise that women's understanding of family is largely influenced by experiences in their own nuclear and extended families. I utilize data collected via a questionnaire administered to 533 married or divorced Hungarian women in October and November 2017. In the analysis of the results, based on studies on the characteristics of the traditional family, a structured hierarchical model is used to describe the key factors and related constructs of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema under one umbrella, and, by employing a simplified version of the Fuzzy Signature Model (Kóczy et al., 2019), the model is used to investigate the link between marital names and the participants' degree of conformity to the Hungarian TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. The basic tenet of the research is that while single-component analyses of the survey questions provide merely partial results of the linkage between name structures and the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, bringing various components of the schema under one umbrella reveals a strong connection between the two domains.

The chapter is organized as follows: First, I describe some aspects of marital name changing as presented in prior findings on the phenomenon in international and Hungarian contexts. Second, I introduce the notion of *cultural schema* and delineate the basic facets of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in Hungary. In the

third part, the research method and the results of the present study are described. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the results and some suggestions for further research.

2.   The practice of marital name changing

Personal names have been extensively investigated from an onomastic point of view, with a focus not only on their structural aspects, but also their function (Carroll, 1983; Hough, 2006). Research from both anthropological and sociological perspectives emphasizes that people's personal names significantly affect their everyday lives (e.g., Alford, 1988; Puzey & Kostanski, 2016). Naming is a cultural practice; i.e., its different aspects are essentially related to the cultural context (Kripke, 1980; Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn, 2006). Relevant aspects include the expression and communication of one's identity (e.g., Aleksiejuk, 2016; Alford, 1988; Emens, 2007; Smith, 1987), the nature of naming and nicknaming (Rymes, 1996), and the impact of one's name on other people's perceptions (Aleksiejuk, 2013). In many African societies, for example, naming is strongly linked to cultural knowledge. Personal names are "sometimes loaded with the knowledge of the history and culture of the family." They "therefore can be seen as a reservoir of knowledge and acts as a path way towards knowing the culture and tradition of a community," as Bubu and Offiong (2014, p. 140) observe in Ibibio naming patterns, which represent the emergence of the Ibibio culture and belief system.

As to marital names specifically, there are various reasons which influence women's decisions whether they want to legally change names at marriage or not (Emens, 2007; Gooding & Kreider, 2010; Scheuble et al., 2012). On the one hand, individualism motivates the maintenance of the birth name as a means of retaining personal identity and family ties. On the other hand, cultural norms related to marriage raise the expectation that women should unite themselves by name with their husband and children (Keels & Powers, 2013), because "perhaps more than anything else names emphasize family unity and continuity" (Alford, 1988, p. 55). Keels and Powers (2013) discuss how the socialization in a patriarchal society contributes to conformity with gendered traditions and adherence to cultural norms. According to them, women's perceptions of their family's expectations are a key reason motivating them to practice marital name changing. However, as confirmed by their samples of data, women express mixed and sometimes inconsistent reasons regarding marital name changing (Keels & Powers, 2013).

The cultural tradition of marital name changing is connected to a patriarchal social structure that includes gendered societal expectations (Kimmel, 2011). It is

a culturally constructed expectation that women will prioritize marriage over their personal identities, as displayed in their last name, and practice the tradition of marital name changing (Smith, 1987), which means that women's previously established single person identities are regarded subordinate to their new married status (Emens, 2007; Smith, 1987). In America, for example, married women can legally keep their birth name since 1975; however, current public records show that the majority of women take their husband's surname at marriage (Gooding & Kreider, 2010). The fact that most women follow the tradition of marital name changing does not only illustrate their great commitment to marriage, but it is also a clear evidence of imbalanced gender relations.

Blakemore et al. (2005) show that the main reasons for women's marital name changing are tradition, family values, and pressure from society (also see Scheuble & Johnson, 1993). They argue that women who express a strong drive to marry, who value the role of being a parent over a career, and who hold traditional values are more likely to change their name. Several studies provide evidence that marital name changing is more likely practiced by women with lower levels of education (Gooding & Kreider, 2010; Hoffnung, 2006; Scheuble & Johnson, 1993), with a Catholic background, or by women who state they want to have children early in their marriage (Hoffnung, 2006). Hoffnung (2006) also reported that respondents did not consider their personal identity tied to their birth name nor did they think that marital name changing hindered progress toward gender equality in society.

The review of some of the related literature shows mixed findings suggesting that marital name changing is a multifaceted issue that correlates with various facets of women's sociocultural background and ideas of family values, marriage, and gender roles.

2.1   Marital names in Hungary

The traditional marital name structure in Hungary is, for example, *Tóth Mihály+né*, which consists of the husband's full name and the suffix *-né*.[1] The derivative *-né* is a specific constituent of Hungarian female matrimonial names, now technically called 'wife-name derivative,' but originally it was an alternative variant of the noun *nő* 'woman' (Pais, 1951). For example, the wife of a man named *Tóth Mihály* would be referred to as *Tóth Mihály neje* 'woman/wife of Tóth Mihály' (Tóth Mihály woman-POSS.3SG). Its derivative function developed in the 16th

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1.   Note that the exemplary names *Tóth Mihály* for the husband (where *Tóth* is the family name) and *Kiss Mária* for the wife (where *Kiss* is the family name) will be used throughout the article.

century, when it was not only added to proper names (*Tóth Mihályné, Tóthné*) but common names as well: *kocsmárosné* 'wife of inn-keeper,' *molnárné* 'wife of miller' (B. Gergely, 1993, 1995; Szabó T., 1970, 1972). Such suffixed expressions often indicated a woman's social status and prestige, such as *papné* 'wife of priest,' *tanítóné* 'wife of teacher,' or *kántorné* 'wife of chorister.' The convention of naming and addressing women had unwritten rules, which reflected their position within society and how people of their community generally felt about them (Kegyesné Szekeres, 2015, p. 234).

Defining a woman's marital status in society is closely linked to her name structure in Hungary (Kegyesné Szekeres, 2015, p. 241). Many of the women living in the countryside still choose the traditional name form with matrimony, because they believe that the new period of life should begin with a new name. It is remarkable that several of them decide to keep their marital name even after divorce, and it is legally possible to do so (Zahuczky, 1997). The name *Tóth Mihályné* implies that a woman's name is completely unknown to the people outside her closest circle and she is represented officially as being her husband's dependent, which also means that her name identifies her by the role of 'wife.' Being identified by one's husband is so strong that in some villages, women refer to each other as *Mihályné* 'wife of Mihály,' adding the *-né* derivative after their husband's first name (Kegyesné Szekeres, 2015, p. 233).

Nevertheless, the possibilities of marital name changing in Hungary have undergone significant changes in the past decades. The research of Hungarian marital names goes back to the middle of the 19th century. The bulk of research focuses on systematically describing the names by which women are referenced in centuries-old scripts in Hungary (Papp, 1960; Fülöp, 1983; Szabó, 1970, 1972) and in Transylvania (B. Gergely, 1993, 1995). Fercsik (2005) takes an onomastic perspective on women names in 17–18th century scripts, particularly witch trial documents (Fercsik, 2002b). Some of her studies aim at finding correlations between professions and name changing (Fercsik, 2002a). Laczkó (1996) and Zahuczky (1997) shed light on regionally preferred marital name structures. However, there are relatively few studies that aim to reveal women's driving reasons to change their names by marriage and their perceptions about how their new names affect their self-image (Révész, 2001). Kegyesné Szekeres (2015, p. 233) emphasizes the cultural meaning of the various marital name structures in the following way: "the various forms of women's marital names encode the social value judgement related to the status of woman, wife, maiden and matrimony." The fact that 'birth name' in Hungarian is called 'maiden name' (and also in other languages like in German *Mädchenname*) also represents the traditional conceptualization that for women, marriage is the gate to entering adulthood.

Regarding the emergence of the official name structures that married women could adopt, Fercsik (2010) presents four successive periods based on legal regulation since the introduction of the state registration of names in 1895, represented in Table 1.

Table 1. The development of legally adoptable Hungarian marital name structures

Period	Name form	Comments
1895–1952	*Tóth Mihályné*	
1953–1973	*Tóth Mihályné*	It became legally possible to keep one's
	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	birth name.
	Kiss Mária	
1974–2003	*Tóth Mihályné*	The *Tóthné Kiss Mária*-type was introduced
	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	as the 'compromise' form.
	Kiss Mária	
	Tóthné Kiss Mária	
	Tóth Mária	
2004 onwards	*Tóth Mihályné*	Marital name changing became possible
	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	for men, e.g., *Kiss Mihály, Tóth-Kiss Mihály,*
	Kiss Mária	*Kiss-Tóth Mihály*.
	Tóthné Kiss Mária	
	Tóth Mária	
	Tóth-Kiss Mária	
	Kiss-Tóth Mária	

As Table 1 shows, the selection of adoptable name forms after marriage has substantially grown in the past decades, resulting in seven available variants of name structures for women that they can choose from at present. Among them, the names with the *-né* derivative represent that a woman is married while names connected by a hyphen like *Tóth-Kiss Mária*, may as well be inherited as birth names. For this reason, name structures with the *-né* derivative are referred to as 'traditional name forms,' where the 'Tóth Mihályné'-type is considered the prototypical one, while the 'Tóthné Kiss Mária' form was introduced as a 'compromise' name structure.

Despite a lack of available statistical data for all marriages in Hungary, it is clear that marital name preferences have changed considerably in recent years. The author of the present chapter managed to collect data for how marital name structure preferences in the city of Budaörs (located next to the capital city Budapest) have changed in the past decades.[2] The dominance of the 'Tóth Mihályné'-type in the 70's and 80's was first replaced by the popularity of the

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2.   I wish to express my thanks to the local government of Budaörs city for providing marital name registration data for me.

'Tóthné Kiss Mária'-type, and some decided to keep their birth names. By 2016, women in Budaörs decided not to change their names (39.8%) or preferred the name structures 'Tóth-Kiss Mária' (23%), 'Tóth Mária' (18.6%) or 'Tóthné Kiss Mária' (14.6%). The name structures incorporating the *-né* derivative are clearly becoming less and less attractive.

Table 2. Marital names in Budaörs city (data extracted from local government registration)

Year		Tóth Mihályné	Kiss Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Overall number of persons
					Name structure				
1977	Persons	88	0	8	0	2	0	0	98
	Rate within group	**89.8%**	–	**8.2%**	–	**2%**	–	–	**100%**
1988	Persons	58	12	30	0	8	0	0	108
	Rate within group	**53.7%**	**11.1%**	**27.8%**	–	**7.4%**	–	–	**100%**
2005	Persons	5	41	35	0	28	9	0	118
	Rate within group	**4.2%**	**34.8%**	**29.7%**	–	**23.7%**	**7.6%**	–	**100%**
2016	Persons	7	90	33	1	42	52	1	226
	Rate within group	**3.00%**	**39.8%**	**14.6%**	**0.5%**	**18.6%**	**23%**	**0.5%**	**100%**

3.   The TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in the Hungarian context

One of the key notions of Cultural Linguistics, *cultural conceptualizations* (Sharifian, 2011, 2017), capture beliefs, norms, and expectations of behavior as well as values relating to various kinds of group-level experience. From this perspective, 'culture' means a specific worldview (ideas and values) that characterizes a group of people who live together in a particular social, historical, and physical environment, and interpret their experiences in a more or less homogenous way. A certain subgroup of conceptualizations are so-called schemas, for instance event schemas (Mandler, 1984), emotion schemas (Sharifian, 2011, p. 11), image schemas, or role schemas (Nishida, 1999) – each of them reflecting script-like, packaged knowledge related to certain phenomena. The representation of the cultural schemas belonging to a

cultural group is rather varied as each cultural group develops their own kinds of 'vehicles' to convey their cultural schemas (Sharifian, 2011, p. 12). These schemas may appear in various linguistic or non-linguistic forms, such as proverbs, folk tales, folk songs, cultural events, rituals, nonverbal behavior, emotion, and so on, as well as *name structures*, as shown in this chapter.

The cultural schema of FAMILY amounts to the sum of ideas people have about the members, hierarchy, roles, maintenance, events, or societal expectations related to families. As these characteristics of family are culturally embedded and constructed, there are various cultural schemas of FAMILY, which define several cultural communities: "Cultural groups tend to organize their family life differently depending on traditions, religious beliefs, socio-economic background, immigrant or indigenous status, and historical experiences" (Baker & Bradbury, 2001, p. 5). Some of the distinctive features of cultural variations of family are nuclear versus extended families, monogamy versus polygamy, arranged versus free-choice marriage, patterns of authority (e.g., patriarchy versus matriarchy), naming traditions (see Baker & Bradbury, 2001, p. 10), and inheritance.

3.1   The background of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in Hungary

The basis of the Hungarian TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, called 'civic family' in sociology, developed in the early 19th century and lasted until the 1970's, when various forms of cohabitation took over the role that family fulfilled until then (Somlai, 2013). As part of that, the notion of FAMILY was reconceptualized and its functions reinterpreted, which resulted in several constructions of the MODERN FAMILY schema. The MODERN FAMILY schemas that emerged include numerous different schemas, sharing the fundamental characteristic of breaking up with the traditional frames of family life, in this way, they can be altogether referred to as 'NON-TRADITIONAL family schemas.' The Hungarian TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema emerged along the first demographical transition at the beginning of the 19th century, which meant better life expectations due to the improvement of health service. Traditional families were characterized by well-defined values and clear norms and expectations attached to certain family roles: within the family, the husband was the breadwinner, while the wife's responsibility was raising children and looking after the household. This schema was dominant not only in middle class families but in all social ranks (Somlai, 2013, p. 22). Traditional families were characterized by patriarchy, acknowledging the husband and the father as ruling members of the family. This was also reflected in a wife's form of address to her husband in Hungarian: *uram* 'my master' (Somlai, 2013, p. 39). The wife spent her day at home undertaking domestic work, and she was not concerned with political or economic

issues. On the other hand, the husbands were not responsible for helping their wives in household chores. As part of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, the number of children was rather high, often four or even more.

An important value in the family was authority, which characterized the children's attitude towards their parents and manifested in their obedient behavior (Somlai, 2013, p. 56). Civic families inherited of the idea of authority from its antecedent, the 'premodern family.' Premodern families (closely connected to feudal societies) lived for centuries as economic and production units where family life and work mingled together. The parents, especially the father, had a decisive role in their children's choice of marital partner, which was largely based on economic reasons. In civic families, the orienting function of the parents in marriage was less dominant and usually lasted until their children's adulthood, but to some extent it continued (Somlai, 2013, p. 27). Overall, from the perspective of women, the key elements of the Hungarian TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema are (a) the wife takes prime responsibility for housekeeping and the children; (b) the wife does not work; c) there is a large number of children (four or more); (c) authority is a central value, which manifests in the wife's obedience to her husband and parents; (d) marital status is considered more prestigious than non-marital or single status; (e) women conform to social and cultural norms.

Now let us observe the basic tenets of the NON-TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. The new schemas developed alongside the emergence of other forms of cohabitation, such as single-parent families, couples living together without marriage, patchwork families, and so on. "With the changes of women's positions [in society], primarily concerning their employment, family roles changed sufficiently in the 20th century, not only of married women and mothers, but also of husbands and fathers, furthermore, the position and upbringing of children also changed" (Somlai, 2013, pp. 69–70). As a result, two-income households emerged. One of the reasons was financial force, but among women, work has also become a major part of their identity and self-esteem (Somlai, 2013, p. 111). As women's education was extended by years, and most of them started working, gender roles within the family also changed significantly. In some modern families, husbands also take part in domestic work; however, men and women's share can be varied.

The family-related issue of the 'second demographical transition' in the 70's was having fewer children and giving birth at an older age (Somlai, 2013, p. 113). In Hungary, most families have only one child and some decide to have no children at all. The changing function of modern families is also related to the spread of individualism and the isolation of nuclear families from their relatives. As Somlai (2013) puts it, one of the economic reasons is that "market economy needs free and mobile citizens who do not depend on strong familiar bonds" (p. 70).

3.2   The TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in the Hungarians' present cultural cognition

The presence and core elements of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in the cultural cognition of the Hungarian community can be observed in both academic reference works as well as in various types of every day discourse, such as online magazines, blogs, comments etc. The notion 'traditional family' seems to have a widely accepted meaning across Europe, i.e., a specific perception about family roles, which more or less dominated the European communities until the beginning of the 20th century (Blaskó, 2005). This idea supported the male-as-breadwinner and woman-as-homemaker model, which is in recent Western European researches viewed in sharp dichotomy with the idea of 'modern family,' and observed almost exclusively along the dimension of employment and its impacts on the families' lives (Blaskó, 2005, p. 159). In this perspective, while 'modern' often means women's distancing from their traditional roles and their participation in the labor force, 'traditional' receives a basically negative evaluation. However, Blaskó also highlights that in the Hungarian context, due to specific cultural and historical circumstances, 'traditional family' has other connotations and needs to be observed in a different way. As she notes, a better understanding of 'modern' is a woman's free choice to create a family life according to her own preferences. The specifics of the Hungarian context are indicated by the fact that, for example, after the political transformation of the country from a communist rule to democratic regime in 1989, the attractiveness of the traditional gender roles increased considerably, which was "mostly due to the appearance of a massive unemployment in the early nineties. The re-valuated newly produced concept of the homemaker woman provided a new and attractive form of self-identity to many thousands of women losing their jobs in these years" (Blaskó, 2005, p. 159). Furthermore, even in the 21st century, Hungarian women show relatively less desire towards gender equality than women in the Western European countries. This can be explained by historical traditions as well as "the particularly demanding double pressure [of family and work duties] that the masses of Hungarian women were forced to endure under socialism" (Blaskó, 2005, p. 180).

  The folk conceptualization of the Hungarian "traditional family" (*hagyományos család/modell*) is described in the online magazine *Mindennapi pszichológia* (Everyday psychology, Czeglédi, 2017) in the following way:

(1) *A hagyományos modell szerint a család, a legkisebb társadalmi egység anyából, apából és legalább egy gyermekből áll. „Az apa a kenyérkereső és az anya otthon főz, takarít és felelős a gyermeknevelésért." – szól a jól ismert sztereotípia.*
 'According to the traditional model, the family, being the smallest social unit, consists of a mother, a father, and at least one child. 'The father is the bread-winner, while the mother is responsible for cooking, cleaning and raising the children', says the well-known stereotype [about family].'

Some recent ideas about the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema are elaborated in two comments (2, 3) on the article 'Hungarian Central Statistical Office: The majority of Hungarians still believe in the traditional family' (*KSH: A magyarok többsége változatlanul hisz a hagyományos családban*. MTI, 2017),

(2) *Három éves koráig a gyermeknek az édesanyja mellett a helye. Súlyos lelki zavarokkal jár később, ha elszakítják tőle. Több gyermek egy családban egészségesebb személyiséget teremt, mintha valaki egyedüli gyermek. Az apa a tekintély és szigor, az anya a melegség és megbocsájtás. Egy normális családban. Mióta világ a világ. Ennyi.*
'Until the age of three, a child is supposed to be with his/her mother. It may cause severe mental disorders later if he/she is torn away from her. Having more children in a family creates a healthier personality than being an only child. The father is authority and rigour, the mother is warmth and forgiveness. It's like that in a normal family. Since time began. That's it.'

(3) *Azt gondoljuk, hogy az anyák fő szerepe az élet egy szakaszában a gyerekek gondozása és nevelése. És a nők nagy része az élete egy szakaszában bizony vágyik is erre. És ez így normális.*
'We believe that, at a certain stage in their lives, the main role of mothers is looking after and raising children. And most women at some point in their lives certainly want that. And that's normal.'

These ideas reflect the positive evaluation of women who, at least when their children are young, choose to stay at home instead of working. This is also reflected in Blaskó's findings concerning Hungarians' opinions on whether mothers who have small children should take on work. Accordingly, those who have children under 7 are expected to stay at home (44/50%)[3] or take a part-time job (49/44%). Second, as expressed in (2), having more children has higher esteem than having only one. The connection between the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema and the number of children is also evidenced in the following extract from a magazine article which appeared in 2017 (Farkas, 2017).

(4) *Több, évtizedek óta kedvezőtlen tendencia is megtört tavaly, így például a gyermekvállalási kedv hosszú évek óta először a 30 év alatti korosztály esetében nőtt a legnagyobb mértékben.* […] *Egyértelműen megállapítható tehát, hogy erősödött és stabilabbá vált a hagyományos családmodell.*
'Several negative trends for the last decades were reversed last year, for example, the desire to have children increased the most among women under the age of 30 for the first time in many years. […] It can therefore be clearly concluded that the traditional family model has become stronger and more stable.'

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3. The first number indicates men's responses while the second number alludes to women's responses.

Apart from the core elements of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema discussed so far, such as clearly prescribed gender roles expectation from the parents in terms of work, and a preference for having more children, Example (2) also highlights a third important concept: With respect to the father's role, "authority" and "rigour" – closely connected to power and decision-making – are emphasized in opposition to the mother's qualities, "warmth" and "forgiveness." The constraint on women's decision making in the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema can be well captured in responses to one of the questions that was included in the present survey. Several respondents referred to their husbands (5–7) or their parents-in-law (8–13) as ones who determined their decisions in name choice. For the question *Why did you choose this name form with matrimony?* the following replies were submitted:

(5) *Mert kérte a férjem.*
'Because my husband asked me to.'

(6) *Mert férjem ragaszkodott ahhoz, hogy viseljem a nevét, különben nem vesz feleségül.*
'Because my husband insisted that I take his name, otherwise he would not marry me.'[4]

(7) *A saját nevemet is meg akartam őrízni, de a férjem ragaszkodott, hogy asszonynevet is vegyek fel.*
'I wanted to keep my own name, but my husband insisted that I also take a marital name.'[5]

(4) *Mert a szülők kívánsága volt.*
'Because it was the parents' desire.'

(5) *Anyós miatt.*
'Because of my mother-in-law.'

(6) *Követtük a szülők névválasztását.*
'We followed the parents' name choice patterns.'

(10) *Az apósom nagyon megdöbbent, hogy nem akarom felvenni az ő nevüket.*
'My father-in-law was extremely shocked that I didn't want to take their names.'

(11) *Családi nyomásra.*
'Due to family pressure.'

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4. This answer implies irony but still points to the husband's influence.

5. The respondent has a 'Tóthné Kiss Mária'-type name, therefore 'marital name' means a name which includes the *-né* derivative.

(12) *Mert az anyósom hanyatt esett, amikor megtudta, hogy meg akarom tartani a lánynevemet. Sőt, akkor is, amikor felajánlottam, hogy akkor az ő családnevüket veszem fel. Nem volt kedvem összeveszni vele.*

'Because my mother-in-law fell down flat when she found out I wanted to keep my maiden name. Even when I offered her to take their last name. I didn't feel like arguing with her.'

(13) *A két nászasszony nyomására :-) Megegyeztünk a vőlegényemmel, hogy megtartom a lánynevem, de a két anyós addig tömte a fejét, míg végül azzal állt elő, hogy nagyon rosszul esik neki, hogy nem akarom felvenni a nevét… hát beadtam a derekam, de csak a vezetéknevét vettem fel. X-né XY.*

'Due to the pressure of the mothers-in-law. We agreed with my fiancé to keep my maiden name, but the two mothers-in-law filled his head until he came up and said that it fell very badly for him that I didn't want to take his name. So I gave in but I only took his family name. 'X-né XY''.[6]

Although these statements reflect family members' influence on women's decision making only in terms of marital name choice, it can be observed that the respondents' initial preferences are often overruled by their husbands or senior family members.

Overall, based on the language data provided in this section, it is clearly shown that the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema is present in the minds of the Hungarians, it is anchored in their cultural cognition, and it is a matter of reflection and debate in the community.

4. The survey: Questions and methodology

Within the survey, by using a snowball sampling technique, 533 individuals were contacted and agreed to participate in the study. This effort resulted in a sample of 533 women whose age ranged between 20 to 74 years (20 of them did not tell their ages). The respondents were asked various questions concerning their background, education, religion, birthplace and so forth. Open-ended questions were asked to measure respondents' perceptions, motivations, and experiences of name changing.

The questions of the survey were formulated in accordance with the key components of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema as discussed in Section 3. It needs to be emphasized that those contrasting elements of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema were selected, which can be regarded as essential in describing and evaluating

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6. The respondent means that she did not opt for the highly traditional 'Tóth Mihályné'-type but instead, for the 'compromise' 'Tóthné Kiss Mária'-form.

married women's ideas about families, with special focus on the context of name changing. To make an example, the traditional cultural norm of "authority" was measured in terms of their husband/parents role in their name changing preferences. To accommodate the research questions, the questionnaire consisted of the following three sections: *family structure*, *division of labor*, and *motivation for marital name changing*. *Family structure* refers to having numerous versus few (up to two) children; *division of labor* alludes to whether household chores versus career are sharply contrastive for women; and finally, the *motivation for marital name changing* quests how the authority of family members influence one's decision in name changing and the adherence to societal and cultural expectations.

Questions considering *family structure* and their possible answers are displayed in Appendix 1. In the component *division of labor*, the questions concentrated on *work* (career) and *domestic work* (Appendix 2). Here in Q4 the answer option "other" offered various possibilities. The highest score was given to the answer "unemployed," as it may imply a conscious decision by wives to stay at home with the family, or at least it offers the possibility to work as a full-time housewife. "Flexible working," "entrepreneur," and "freelancer" were valued 2 points because they offer family-friendly working hours for women. Finally, those who acknowledged being on 'medical care' received 1 point as this situation is mostly independent of the respondent's decision, but women in such situation can to some degree contribute to maintaining the family at home. This is a somewhat similar case to retirement, which can be the person's own decision and the family benefits from it. Concerning the questions addressing the share of domestic work, husbands' work was counted by first normalizing and then subtracting it from 1, due to the fact that the more housework a husband does, the less traditional a family the wife assumes.

Finally, in the third branch, *motivation of name changing*, the questions included questions 15–18 (Appendix 3). In Q15 the answer option "other" offered again various possibilities. In the cases of responses like "nobody," or reasons mentioned as "profession" or the "bureaucratic process of name changing in official documents," 0 points were given, as tradition did not play a role in the respondent's decision. The optional response "friends" indicated some external influence; therefore, it was worth 1 point. Reference to a "common decision with the husband" was worth 2 points, and alluding to the family (like parents, parents-in-laws), traditions or the Bible were valued 3 points, indicating that they were the most traditional types of answers. Likewise, in the case of Q16, a respondent insisting on her own name, identity, independence, or giving practical reasons (no need to change official documents) or naming conventions of her profession received 0 points. Answers that emphasized equality or compromise were worth 1 point. 2 points were given to those women who either expressed their husband's influence in their name changing or explicated that they wished to represent unity with their husband and mark

belonging to a new family and life by marriage. Finally, the answers where the respondent claimed she was conforming to family (parents or parent-in-laws as idols), societal expectations, traditions or the aim to represent marital status were worth 3 points. Questions 17 and 18 were framed to reveal whether name patterns present in the family were followed by the respondent, which would also imply a traditional factor.

My approach was to apply a simplified version of the Fuzzy Signature Model (Kóczy et al., 2019), which constitutes the basic features of a FAMILY schema, including the hierarchical interdependencies of the components.

The TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema and its correspondent areas are represented in Figure 1.
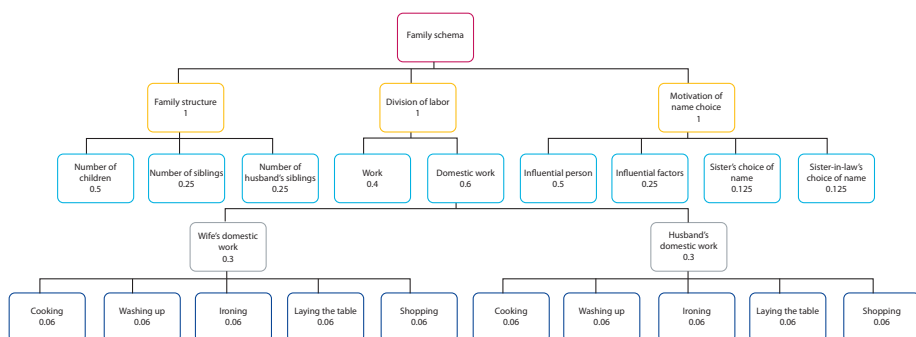
Figure 1. The basic components of the FAMILY schema in a simplified Fuzzy Signature Model

The FAMILY schema was made up of the three factors of equal importance (i.e., family structure, division of labor, and motivation of marital name changing), therefore, their components were assigned equal weights. Their substructures were assigned different values, according to their importance as indicators within the structure. In the case of the first substructure *family structure*, the number of children in the respondent's own family was asked, the number of her siblings, and her husband's siblings. Among these questions, the number of the respondent's children was ranked higher than the other two questions, as it reflects her own decision (normally, there are exceptional cases, when the number of children one has is affected by other, e.g., biological circumstances), while the other two are related to family background, a schema that influences one's decisions. Consequently, the values assigned to these questions were 0.5, 0.25 and 0.25, respectively.

The second component, *division of labor*, consisted of two basic components: *work* (career) and *domestic work*. Here, *domestic work* weighed slightly more than *work* (0.6 to 0.4), as it is a significant marker of one's conceptualization of family.

Domestic work share is a key aspect in revealing one's attitude towards traditional gender role schemas within the family. The node *domestic work* is assumed to consist of two equal importance nodes: *wife's domestic work* and *husband's domestic work*, and therefore both of them were assigned the same weight 0.3 but in the case of the husband, a negative value was given. Their substructure nodes, *cooking*, *washing up*, *ironing*, *laying the table* and *shopping* each received equal values, 0.06.

The third factor, *motivation for marital name changing*, has again three sub-components. Within the structure, the person who influenced the respondent's decision in marital name changing was considered as most important in her motivation, thus it was attributed a weight of 0.5.[7] Other influential factors in the decision (which was targeted by the generic question "Why did you choose this name structure?") were valued 0.25, as they do not indicate one's choice so clearly, but they add some refinement in the motivation schema. Sometimes practical reasons were given by the respondents). The other two questions, seeking the siblings' choice of name in the respondent's and her husband's family, were valued 0.125 and 0.125 both, as these questions relate to the respondent's decision in an indirect manner.

5.   Single component analysis of name structure vs. components of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema

In this section I analyze some of the components of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema within the single component analysis, in order to find out if they prove to be influential factors in themselves alone in marital name changing. In each table the results are represented by giving both the number of respondents and their rates within each sub-group. Obviously, there is no possibility to discuss each component of the schema, therefore two components are chosen from each of the three main factors.

The different name structures of the Hungarian women incorporate their husband's name to various degrees, which can be described on a scale starting with the "Kiss Mária"-type (not representing the husband's name at all) and ending with the "Tóth Mihályné"-type (fully representing the husband's name):

Kiss Mária ⇒ Kiss-Tóth Mária ⇒ Tóth-Kiss Mária ⇒ Tóth Mária ⇒ Tóthné Kiss Mária ⇒ Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária ⇒ Tóth Mihályné

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7.   In the traditional schema, women mostly rely on senior family members' opinion in their name choices, therefore the factor of the influential person seems to count more than the circumstance. According to the respondents, most of them reported that they deeply considered what their or their husband's family members say/think when they made their choices.

Table 3 displays the proportion of marital names among the questionnaire participants accordingly. As seen in Table 3, the "Tóthné Kiss Mária"-type is the largest group (39.4%), which is followed by "Kiss Mária" (26.1%), "Tóth-Kiss Mária" (8.8%), "Tóth Mihályné" (9.7%), and "Tóth Mária" (13.9%), while very few respondents have the name structure "Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária" (1.9%). As there is only one instance for the "Kiss-Tóth Mária"-type, it is not counted among the significant name structures. The totals of those names that include the -*né* derivative, and the ones which do not, are nearly the same, 49% and 51%, respectively.

Table 3. Proportion of marital names among questionnaire participants

	Name structure							
	Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	Number of respondents
Persons	139	1	47	74	210	10	52	533
Rate within group	26.1%	0.2%	8.8%	13.9%	39.4%	1.9%	9.7%	100%

5.1 Family structure

A. *Number of children*

One of the key elements of the family structure is the number of children in a family (Table 4). Accordingly, most of the respondents have 2 or 3 children (149 and 135 women, respectively) and nearly one-fifth of the sample have even more (111 respondents). The lowest rate, 58 women, acknowledged having no children, which is 10.9% of all respondents. The main tendencies to be observed are the following: in the "Kiss Mária" group, most women have only one child, and nearly one-third of them have no children at all. For the "Tóth-Kiss Márias," their rate is inversely proportional to the number of children. This result suggests that women who opt for the name pattern "Tóth-Kiss Mária" prefer a family with fewer children, untypical for the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. On the contrary, the number of children in the "Tóthné Kiss Mária" group is proportional to their rate within the group, except for the slight drop (with respect to both elements and rate) at the 3-children cluster. The fact that the percentage increase is 15.7% alludes to the preference of "Tóthné Kiss Márias" to have more children, which is a definitive feature of the concept of the traditional family structure. Likewise, 9 out of 10 women with the name "Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária" have 3 or more children, which again relates to the cultural preference for a traditional family.

Table 4. Correspondences of marital names and number of children

| Number of children | Name structure | | | | | | | Overall number/ percentage of respondents |
	Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	
Persons 0	18	1	13	8	16	0	2	58
Rate within group	31%	1.7%	22.4%	13.8%	27.6%	–	3.5%	10.9%
Persons 1	32	0	11	7	26	1	3	80
Rate within group	40%	–	13.8%	8.8%	32.5%	1.3%	3.6%	15%
Persons 2	30	0	12	21	66	0	20	149
Rate within group	20.1%	–	8.1%	14.1%	44.3%	–	13.4%	28%
Persons 3	35	0	9	21	54	4	12	135
Rate within group	25.9%	–	6.6%	15.6%	40%	3%	8.9%	25.3%
Persons More than 3	24	0	2	18	48	5	14	111
Rate within group	21.6%	–	1.8%	16.2%	43.3%	4.5%	12.6%	20.8%
Total								533 100%

B. *Number of siblings*

A somewhat less significant component in family structure is the number of women's siblings. As explained earlier, this is an important part of the cultural background they assume. The answers are displayed in Table 5. As for the number of siblings, 45% of the respondents have one brother or sister; 24.6% of the sample have more than two siblings, and approximately one-fifth of them have two siblings. Considering the correlations between name structures and their rates within the groups with a particular number of siblings, one notices the only pattern emerging in the results is some decrease in rate by the growth of the number of siblings within the "Tóth-Kiss Mária" group, which is characteristic of the NON-TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. In the case of other names structures, the results are varied. Moreover,

Table 5. Correspondences of marital names and number of siblings

	Number of siblings	Name structure							Overall number/ percentage of respondents
		Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	
Persons	0	13	0	8	10	22	3	2	58
Rate within group		22.4%	–	13.8%	17.2%	38%	5.2%	3.4%	10.9%
Persons	1	54	0	24	39	93	3	27	240
Rate within group		22.5%	–	10%	16.3%	38.8%	1.2%	11.2%	45%
Persons	2	30	1	10	7	44	4	8	104
Rate within group		28.8%	1%	9.6%	6.7%	42.3%	3.9%	7.7%	19.5%
Persons	More than 2	40	0	5	20	52	0	14	131
Rate within group		30.5%	–	3.8%	15.3%	39.7%	–	10.7%	24.6%
Total									533 100%

if we look at the overall results of the two clusters of names with or without the *-né* derivative, there are nearly the same numbers of respondents in each group, giving no convincing evidence of the influence of the number of siblings as an element of the FAMILY schema on name changing.

5.2   Division of labor

A.   *Women's share of housework*
Within the second component of the FAMILY schema, *division of labor*, perhaps the most relevant aspect is women's share of household chores, because in the traditional conceptualization of FAMILY, housework is exclusively done by women. Hence, a greater share of housework done by them assumes a traditional family, whereas doing little or equal share of housework suggests maintaining a NON-TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema.

Table 6. Correspondences of marital names and housework

House-work points		Name structure							Overall number/percentage of respondents
		Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	
Persons	14–15	8	0	4	5	29	2	9	57
Rate within group		14%	–	7%	8.8%	50.9%	3.5%	15.8%	10.7%
Persons	12–13	32	0	11	14	74	5	13	149
Rate within group		22.1%	–	7.4%	9.4%	49.7%	3.4%	8%	28%
Persons	10–11	47	1	18	41	67	2	18	194
Rate within group		24.2%	0.5%	9.3%	21.2%	34.5%	1%	9.3%	36.3%
Persons	8–9	42	0	11	11	32	1	10	107
Rate within group		39.2%	–	10.3%	10.3%	30%	0.9%	9.3%	20.1%
Persons	4–7	8	0	2	4	9	0	3	26
Rate within group		30.8%	–	7.7%	15.4%	34.6%	–	11.5%	4.9%
Total									533 100%

Table 6 shows that there is an inevitable correlation between the amount of housework undertaken by women and their choice of marital name. In some cases, there is a linear pattern that displays the correspondence between name structure and housework; however, in the case of women who undertake very little housework (4–7 points), this tendency seems to break. This group is admittedly a rather small one with only 26 members, which is 4.9% of the whole sample; however, their fall out of the pattern is remarkable. Apart from this group, among the "Kiss Mária" and the "Tóth-Kiss Mária" clusters thee share of work is inversely proportional to their rate within the sub-cluster, conforming to the NON-TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. Similarly, "Tóthné Kiss Márias" and "Tóth Mihályné Kiss Márias" tend to undertake relatively much work in the household. Also, the share of housework of the women with the "Tóth Mihályné"-type within highly busy women (14–15 points) is the largest. The results of the "Tóth Mária" cluster can be evaluated as being somewhere in the middle: their highest rate (21.2%) and number (41) is in the group of 10–11 points.

B. *Husbands' share of housework*

In traditional households, husbands are expected to do no housework at all; thus, the respondents' answers concerning their husbands' share in household chores would be expected to show an inverse pattern of the one represented in Table 6. However, the responses to the question about a woman's own and her husband's share of housework in the family may not always be consistent. For example, if one assumes that cooking is always a woman's task at home, she may, nevertheless, in another question "admit" that her husband cooks "rarely." Another point to mention is that it may be a normal reaction for divorced women to evaluate their ex-husbands' contribution to housework more negatively than those living in a marriage.

Table 7. Correspondences of marital names and husband's share of housework

	Husband's house-work points	Name structure							Overall number/ percentage of respondents
		Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	
Persons	11–15	2	0	0	1	3	0	2	8
Rate within group		25%	–	–	12.5%	37.5%	–	25%	1.5%
Persons	9–10	11	0	5	5	9	0	5	35
Rate within group		31.4%	–	14.3%	14.3%	25.7%	–	14.3%	6.6%
Persons	7–8	49	1	24	23	58	1	8	164
Rate within group		29.9%	0.6%	14.6%	14%	35.4%	0.6%	4.9%	30.8%
Persons	5–6	49	0	9	26	71	3	20	178
Rate within group		27.5%	–	5.1%	14.6%	39.9%	1.7%	11.2%	33.4%
Persons	3–4	18	0	10	14	52	5	12	111
Rate within group		16.2%	–	9%	12.6%	46.9%	4.5%	10.8%	20.8%
Persons	0–2	11	0	2	3	16	1	4	37
Rate within group		29.7%	–	5.4%	8.1%	43.3%	2.7%	10.8%	6.9%
Total									533 100%

The more points husbands received, the busier they are with work in the household, which also means that they maintain a modern division of labor in the family. Answer versions 'never' and 'rarely' are related to traditional gender roles, while responses like 'several times a week' and 'this is always his responsibility' assume a modern conceptualization of husbands' roles. Table 7 shows that only 43 participants (8.1%) have 9 points or more, which can mean that husbands generally do housework "several times a week" or "rarely." Most of the husbands are posited at 5 to 8 points (342 husbands or 64.2% of the answer types of "rarely" and "several times a week"). 148 participants (27.6%), on the other hand, received 4 points or less, doing no household chores or some of them rarely. Their cluster clearly represents the traditional conceptualization of FAMILY from the perspective of the division of labor.

As to the correlations between name structures and housework, the following observations can be made. In the cases of "Kiss Mária" and "Tóth Mária" types, the rates are quite balanced, resulting in 25% to 31.4% and 12.5% to 14.6%, respectively. Husbands of "Tóth-Kiss Márias" seem to be busy with housework – except that they are not represented in the highest rank. Within the group of the most traditional name, "Tóth Mihályné," the highest rate is found in the groups of the highest points (9 or more), which does not seem to support the presumption that the most traditional name would entail that maintenance of traditional gender roles in the family. However, names with -*né* derivative and a traditional type of husband's division of housework appear to correlate within the groups of "Tóthné Kiss Mária" and "Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária" to some extent, though they do not show a linear pattern.

5.3   Motivation of name changing

A.   *Influential factors*

Within the component of *motivation of name changing*, the question that concerns women's basic motivations for marital name changing is investigated. In their qualitative answers, women gave various reasons for opting for certain name patterns. In Table 8, the most noticeable result is that almost all women with 'Kiss Mária' name type received 0 points, expressing either their adherence to their name and their identity represented in it, or giving practical reasons (mostly the naming conventions within their profession) for their name choice. This answer was also given by the largest group of respondents. The results in the one-point-rank are interesting because these women responded that they wanted to express compromise or the equality of husband and wife by their name. The highest rate by far is occupied by the so-called "compromise" "Tóthné Kiss Mária" cluster (56.2%) and the second

Table 8. Correspondences of marital names and influential factors of marital name changing

	Influ-ential factors point	Name structure							Overall number/ percentage of respondents
		Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	
Persons	0	129	0	3	14	20	2	9	177
Rate within group		72.9%	–	1.7%	7.9%	11.3%	1.1%	5.1%	33.2%
Persons	1	3	1	22	14	59	5	1	105
Rate within group		2.9%	0.9%	21%	13.3%	56.2%	4.8%	0.9%	19.7%
Persons	2	2	0	14	40	56	1	8	121
Rate within group		1.7%	–	11.6%	33%	46.3%	0.8%	6.6%	22.7%
Persons	3	5	0	6	6	77	2	34	130
Rate within group		3.8%	–	4.6%	4.6%	59.2%	1.6%	26.2%	24.4%
Total									533 100%

in the row is the "Tóth-Kiss Mária" type (21%), which indeed structurally implies a balanced relationship. Within its rather small group, the largest share is taken by the "Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária"-type. It is concluded then that there are more names which are understood to represent equality. The two answers discussed so far may be considered as being consistent with a non-traditional conceptualization of MARRIAGE and FAMILY. The other two answers reflect the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema: 2 points were given to those who either mentioned their husband's influence in their name changing, or expressed they wished to represent unity with their husband and new family and life by marriage. Within this circle, "Tóthné Kiss Márias" receive the highest rate, though the "Tóth Mária"-type also has a considerable share (33%): for them, this factor seems to be the most typical. Finally, the influence of the extended family, parents, society, and cultural traditions are the most important factors for women of the "Tóthné Kiss Mária"-type (59.2%) and "Tóth Mihályné"-type (26.2%).

6. Linkage between marital name structure and overall TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema

After observing the results of single component analysis, we can conclude that in each table, there are some partial correlations and tendencies that can be detected; however, these patterns are not always the same regarding the linkage between name structure and the components of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. It is hence reasonable to inspect the answers within a FAMILY schema by bringing each of them under one umbrella and structure them by appropriate weight according to their importance within the schema (see Figure 1). By this, each respondent will get a 'FAMILY schema score' which indicates the extent to which she assumes a traditional conceptualization of family, see Table 9. Normally, the more points

Table 9. Correspondences of marital names and schemas of FAMILY

FAMILY schema points		Name structure							Overall number/ percentage of respondents
		Kiss Mária	Kiss-Tóth Mária	Tóth-Kiss Mária	Tóth Mária	Tóthné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária	Tóth Mihályné	
2–3	Persons	1	0	0	4	15	3	9	32
	Rate within group	3.1%	–	–	12.5%	46.9%	9.4%	28.1%	6%
1.5–1.99	Persons	18	0	11	16	66	1	21	133
	Rate within group	13.5%	–	8.3%	12%	49.6%	0.8%	15.8%	25%
1.25–1.49	Persons	28	0	14	20	57	2	11	132
	Rate within group	21.2%	–	10.6%	15.2%	43.2%	1.5%	8.3%	24.8%
1–1.249	Persons	37	1	12	18	34	2	8	112
	Rate within group	33%	0.9%	10.7%	16.1%	30.4%	1.8%	7.1%	21%
0.75–0.99	Persons	34	0	7	11	34	1	2	89
	Rate within group	38.2%	–	7.9%	12.4%	38.2%	1.1%	2.2%	16.7%
0.5–0.749	Persons	18	0	2	5	4	1	1	31
	Rate within group	58.1%	–	6.5%	16.1%	12.9%	3.2%	3.2%	5.8%
0–0.49	Persons	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Rate within group	100%	–	–	–	–	–	–	10.5%
Total									532 100%

one receives, the more traditional views on family she may have and the more traditional FAMILY schema she maintains in her life. This model successfully represents that a woman may adhere to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema even if she does not give 'traditional'-type answers to all of the questions. Likewise, it brings survey participants into the same group even if they give traditional answers to different types of questions.

The results of Table 9 show that not only the 'traditional' names like "Tóth Mihályné" and "Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária," but also the compromise "Tóthné Kiss Mária" cluster are proportional to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema points and constitute a nearly linear pattern (note that one participant did not respond to one of the questions; therefore, her overall results could not be evaluated). This also means that these participants assume a TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. If we compare the name forms with -*né* suffix and the other name patterns (Kiss Mária, Tóth-Kiss Mária, and Tóth Mária), we find that the two groups represent a traditional versus a non-traditional concept of FAMILY (Figure 2).
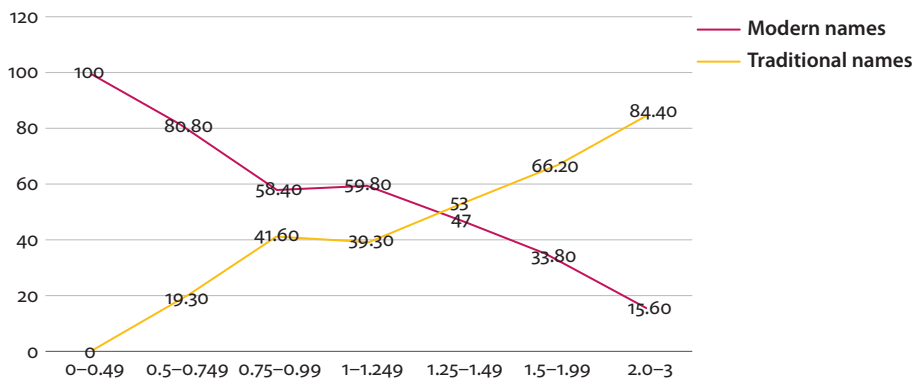
Figure 2. The overall share of the name structures (vertical axis) with the -*né* derivative (indicated by yellow) and other name structures (indicated by red) in terms of their total points of FAMILY schema (horizontal axis)

When looking at the results from the point of view of single name structures, we find a more diverse correspondence between name patterns and FAMILY schemas. All of the name structures that incorporate the -*né* derivative correlate with a TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, including the so-called "compromise" name pattern. On the other hand, the name form of "Kiss Mária" is inversely proportional to FAMILY schema points, which means that individuals with such name pattern prefer a non-traditional family set-up. As for "Tóth-Kiss Márias," the highest rate is in the intermediate clusters, 1–1.49 points, which means that they assume a "compromise"

FAMILY schema, conforming to some degree to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. Finally, those who choose the "Tóth Mária" name structure give a rather balanced result: they may as well embrace a "moderately traditional" FAMILY schema as a "moderately modern" or "compromise" family set-up (Figure 3).
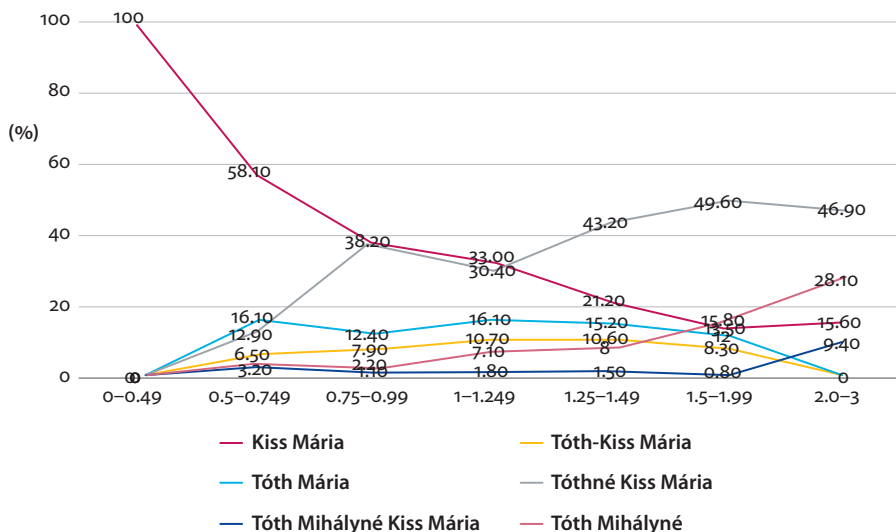
Figure 3. The share of the name structures (vertical axis) in terms of their total points of FAMILY schema (horizontal axis)

7.   Conclusion

Marital name changing and women's motivations for certain names are broadly studied issues across languages and cultures. Many women opt for representing family unity in their names due to adherence to social norm and cultural tradition. In the Hungarian language, there are basically seven different name patterns one may choose to adopt when getting married – one of them is preserving one's maiden (birth) name, while six other different name structures comprise the husband's name in part or in full, offering a variety of structures incorporating the husband's and the wife's name.

With the Hungarian society being a strongly traditional patriarchal one, a crucial question that concerns marital name changing is whether a linkage can be uncovered between a woman's name changing and the FAMILY schema she assumes. Based on the major characteristics of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, a questionnaire survey was conducted among 533 married or divorced Hungarian women,

focusing on three topics, which depict the main components of the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema in the context of marital name changing: *family structure, division of labor*, and *motivation for marital name changing*. In order to evaluate the results of the questions, a model was proposed, which was based on a simplified version of the Fuzzy Signature Model (Kóczy et al., 2019). In the model, the basic contrastive characteristics of traditional and non-traditional family schemas were represented as components in hierarchical interdependencies. The various components of the model were assigned different weights (values), according to their function as indicators within the structure. A major argument of the chapter is that, whereas single component analyses of the questionnaires do not provide enough and convincing results of the correspondences between name structures and FAMILY schema, the complex approach applied to them reveals cultural motivations behind particular name changes.

Overall, it is concluded that three name patterns (*Tóth Mihályné, Tóthné Kiss Mária* and *Tóth Mihályné Kiss Mária*) correlate with a TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, one is linked to a rather modern FAMILY schema (*Kiss Mária*), and the name structure "Tóth-Kiss Mária" can be viewed as a "compromise" version, chosen by women who embrace a FAMILY schema relying on a mixture of traditional and modern values. This finding has several novel implications: Firstly, it contradicts the traditionally-held idea that the "Tóthné Kiss Mária"-type represents a "compromise" construction, as opposed to the "Tóth Mihályné"-type, which represents traditional values. Rather, it is proven that all name forms that include the *-né* suffix involve a basically traditional attitude, even if the respondents of the "Tóthné Kiss Mária"-type claimed that their aim was to represent marital equality by their name structure. Secondly, the research unveils the degree to which the "novel" name types are linked to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. Thirdly, the analysis shows that the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema is maintained in the respondents' families in diverse ways. Finally, it is evidenced that there is one name structure which is independent on one's conformity to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema, namely, the name pattern in which a woman's first name is combined with the husband's surname (*Tóth Mária*), giving a balanced result with respect to women's traditional or modern family set-up. The results also show that a merely semantic analysis of Hungarian marital name structures does not predict one's attitude to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema. This is due to the fact that women choose their names by considering various cultural factors: most importantly, the role of their husbands' and their own family names in their nuclear and extended family and in the cultural community, or the cultural role of the *-né* suffix within and outside their family.

According to the study, women's name structures play a pivotal role in representing their adherence to the traditional FAMILY model which was present in

Hungary for centuries. The study of Hungarian marital names and FAMILY schemas behind them was motivated by the fact that in the past few decades there has been a constant change in women's preferences for certain name structures. Due to recent legal provisions for a wider range of name constructions, women are enabled to represent their family unity with their husband in various ways, each of them implying different forms of marital relationship and, consequently, ideas about family life in general. The present chapter aimed at unfolding such correspondences, having in mind that the results (which are not representative for the whole population) capture a snapshot of a constantly developing dynamic social process in today's Hungarian society. However, it has been established that linguistic structures, particularly different name structures, are prominent vehicles that reflect the degree to which Hungarian women conform to the TRADITIONAL FAMILY schema.

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Appendix 1. Questions and answer options concerning 'family structure'

Questions	Answer options	Points
Q1 How many children do you have?	one	1
	two	2
	three	3
	more than three	4
	I have no children	0
Q2 How many siblings do you have?	one	1
	two	2
	more than two	3
	I have no siblings	0
Q3 How many siblings does your (ex) husband have?	one	1
	two	2
	more than two	3
	he has no siblings	0

Appendix 2. Questions and answer options concerning 'division of labor'

Questions	Answer options	Points
Q4 Do you have a full job?	yes, I have a full job	0
	no, I have a 6-hour part time job	3
	no, I have a 4-hour part time job	3
	no, I am on child care at the moment	1
	no, I am a full-time mother	4
	no, I am retired	1
	other	varied
Q5 The next questions concern your share in housework. (If you are divorced or a widow please respond to the questions with respect to the period of marriage!) Do you take part in the following housework: cooking?	this is always my responsibility	3
	several times a week	2
	rarely	1
	never	0
Q6 Do you take part in the following housework: washing up?	this is always my responsibility	3
	several times a week	2
	rarely	1
	never	0

Questions	Answer options	Points
Q7 Do you take part in the following housework: doing the shopping?	this is always my responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q8 Do you take part in the following housework: laying the table?	this is always my responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q9 Do you take part in the following housework: ironing?	this is always my responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q10 The next questions concern your (ex)husband's share in housework. Does your (ex)husband take part in the following housework: cooking?	this is always his responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q11 Does your (ex)husband take part in the following housework: washing up?	this is always his responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q12 Does your (ex)husband take part in the following housework: doing the shopping?	this is always his responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q13 Does your (ex)husband take part in the following housework: laying the table?	this is always his responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*
Q14 Does your (ex)husband take part in the following housework: ironing?	this is always his responsibility	*3*
	several times a week	*2*
	rarely	*1*
	never	*0*

Appendix 3. Questions and answer options concerning 'motivation of name changing'

Questions	Answer options	Points
Q15 Who influenced you in the decision of name changing?	husband	*2*
	parents	*3*
	friend	*1*
	other	*varied*
Q16 Why did you choose this name form with matrimony?	open-ended question	*varied (0–3)*
Q17 In case you have sisters who are married/divorced/widows did they choose the same marital name form as yours?	yes	*2*
	no	*0*
	some of them did, some of them didn't	*1*
Q18 In case your husband has sisters who are married/divorced/widowers did they choose the same marital name form as yours?	yes	*2*
	no	*0*
	some of them did, some of them didn't	*1*

Innate or acquired?

HOMOSEXUALITY and cultural models of GENDER in Indian and Nigerian English

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In this chapter, some of the findings from sociolinguistic interviews with 25 speakers of Indian English and 26 speakers of Nigerian English are presented. Emanating from a larger research project concerned with conceptualizations of GENDER, the current analysis focuses on conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY and makes use of the analytical tools provided by Cultural Linguistics and Cognitive Sociolinguistics. In particular, the notions of "cultural conceptualizations" (e.g., Sharifian, 2011, 2017) and "cultural model" (e.g., Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009; also cf. Schneider, 2014) are addressed.

At the time of data collection, discriminatory legislation concerning homosexuality was in force in India and Nigeria. Opinion polls likewise echoed a negative stance towards homosexuality among the population of the two countries. This raised the expectation that similar conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY might be found in Indian and Nigerian English, both in terms of their negative connotation and of how HOMOSEXUALITY would exactly be conceptualized. However, this expectation was not fulfilled. Firstly, the acceptance among the Indian participants to this study was generally greater. Secondly, HOMOSEXUALITY was predominantly conceptualized as an INNATE CONDITION in the Indian English data, while it was prevalently understood as an ACQUIRED CONDITION by the Nigerian informants. Drawing from earlier findings within the context of the same project (Finzel, 2021; fc.), I suggest that these differences can be explained with culture-specific models of GENDER that lend their logic to conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY.

Keywords: Cognitive Sociolinguistics, Cultural Linguistics, cultural conceptualizations, cultural models, homosexuality, Indian English, Nigerian English

1. Introduction

At the beginning of the 1990s, the World Health Organization (WHO) no longer defined homosexuality as a mental disorder – a development which, from a contemporary perspective, seems oddly recent. Burton (2015) remarks that the understanding of homosexuality as a mental disorder had in the first place derived from Christian readings that regarded it as a sin, from where it underwent a conceptual shift in medicine and psychiatry in the course of enlightenment. While, as Burton (2015, website) continues, "concepts of mental disorder can be rapidly evolving social constructs that change as society changes," legislation concerning same-sex sexual acts is surely another factor which impacts on whether homosexuality is embraced or rejected.[1] In 2016, same-sex sexual acts were still penalized in 72 countries of the world, while same-sex couples were entitled to get married or enter into civil union in around 41 countries (Carroll, 2016). Since Indian (IndE) and Nigerian English (NigE) are in focus of this chapter, a few country-specific legal explanations and their conceptual implications will be briefly sketched out in what follows.

Until 2018 homosexuality was criminalized in India, where Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code prohibited "carnal intercourse against the order of nature" (Carroll & Mendos, 2017, p. 98), but this code then ceased to be applied to consensual homosexual conduct. In Nigeria, Section 214 of the Criminal Code, which is one of the provisions that serve as the basis for judgments concerning same-sex sexual behavior, up until today forbids "carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature" (Ayeni, 2017, p. 216). In 2013, the Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act complemented and reinforced Section 214 and basically made anyone in knowledge of same-sex sexual activity between two people legally liable (International Labour Organization, 2014).

The strikingly similar wording in the Indian Penal Code and the Nigerian Criminal Code is no coincidence, as Gupta (2008) explains in a much more detailed account: In Europe, the fear of sodomy has seen a long history that is deeply rooted in Christian belief. English law first mentioned "sodomy" in the medieval treatises *Fleta* and *Britton*, and the notion, which was considered an offense against God, encompassed a number of sexual acts, including buggery. This belief was based on a conceptual chain that assessed anal intercourse as sexual pleasure and gaining pleasure from sex was again understood as contamination if it did not serve procreational purposes, while in turn procreation was seen as pure.

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1. For instance, *The Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya* claims that such "laws create a misguided perception in society that LGBQ persons are criminal; a perception that is driven to further perpetuate human rights violation and acts of violence" (The Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya, 2019).

A few centuries later, these conceptualizations were exported into the colonies in the wake of measures concerned about "imperial hygiene" (Bashford, 2004, as quoted in Hinchy, 2014, p. 279). At the same time, Britain was seeking to improve its anti-sodomy laws and saw the Indian colony as a playground where legal texts could be tested "without being hampered by popular discussion" (Stephen, 1883, as quoted in Gupta, 2008, n.p.). Implementing anti-sodomy laws in the colonies seemed a pressing matter because the colonized men were considered to be less masculine than the colonizing men (Hinchy, 2014), sparking the fear of being polluted by presumed sodomitic practices among the colonized from which the colonizers had to be protected. In this endeavor, India was the first colony where such an anti-sodomy law was implemented in 1860. This law and related versions spread across the colonies, with Nigeria following suit in 1904. Provisions like these obviously aimed at "civilizing" the "uncivilized" inhabitants of the colonies, notions that persist until today.[2]

While the fear of sodomy was prevalent in medieval and early-modern Christian Europe, the question remains whether this was also the case in the territories into which this fear was brought later in the vein of colonialism. In fact, there is evidence against this possibility. In India, for instance, ambiguous gender and sexual identities had had a long tradition in Hindu culture,[3] as for example attested by the existence of the hijras, a third-gender community (see Finzel, 2021), or a certain social acceptance (or at least tolerance) of same-sex sexual practices throughout Indian history. The same holds true for West Africa, where wealthy Asante men had male slaves to please them, or where the Dagari believed that the reason for homosexuality in men was their capacity to mediate between the spiritual and human world (Appiah & Gates, 2010). Ironically, the conceptualizations that were brought into the colonies through British laws were then appropriated and are today still reflected in voices which claim that homosexuality is inherently "un-African" (cf. McKaiser, 2012) – or, in an even more perfidious twist of conceptualizations, that "the structure of Indian value system, Indian culture and traditions" is compromised by "blindly following the West" if homosexuality is judged favorably (Hunt, 2011, p. 322).

The impact of British colonial laws prevails until today, either since the laws are still in force or because the understanding of homosexuality that they advocate(d) has become entrenched in cultural cognition. Cultural cognition is described by Sharifian (2017, p. 4) as the "adaptive system" that "displays emergent

2. As, for instance, expressed by one of the Nigerian informants to this study: "Normally in Nigeria what we have it is the woman that'll do the house chores. But now that we're getting civilized, I think the husband too can share the chores to make her comfortable." (Inf-18; NigE; male)

3. Although Hunt (2011) mentions an equally long tradition of homophobia.

properties that result from the interactions between the members of a speech community across time and space." Accordingly, in a survey among Indians, 61% found same-sex relationships to be wrong (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2017). In a phone poll among 1,000 Nigerians, 90% stated that Nigeria would be a better country without homosexuals (NOIPolls, 2015). This trend was observed even before the passing of the Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act, with 98% stating that society should not accept homosexuality (Pew Research Center, 2013).

Starting from the aforementioned notion of cultural cognition, this chapter analyzes patterns of thought or, in cognitive-linguistic terms, "conceptualizations" pertaining to the domain of HOMOSEXUALITY. They can be considered *cultural* conceptualizations if they are "ways in which people across different cultural groups construe various aspects of the world and their experiences" (Sharifian, 2011, p. 38). Such non-linguistic conceptual structures are mirrored in language use, and this makes the varieties of English an access point to diverging culture-specific mindsets within the same language system. On the basis of the introductory observations concerning legislation and personal attitudes, it may be assumed that HOMOSEXUALITY, as a conceptual domain, has a similar and possibly negatively connoted set-up in the Indian and Nigerian context. However, analyzing language data of IndE and NigE speakers, the present chapter in fact shows that these expectations are only partly fulfilled and that conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY are different in the two varieties. These findings will be discussed against the backdrop of specific cultural models of GENDER which possibly motivate the different ways of understanding homosexuality.

2. Data

The data analyzed in this chapter stems from 51 structured sociolinguistic interviews with speakers of IndE (25 participants) and NigE (26 participants), collected in Delhi (India) and Ibadan (Nigeria) in 2017.[4] At the time of data collection, homosexuality was still criminalized in India, but the infamous Section 377 ceased to be applied to consensual same-sex sexual activity only a few months later. Among the broader catalogue of interview questions was one that particularly aimed to evoke a personal, affective response concerning the participants' evaluation of

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4.   The samples are relatively consistent in terms of age (19–33 years), education (university background) and gender ratio (female-to-male ratio: ~ 0.92 in IndE and ~ 0.73 in NigE, with 1 = equal balance). Major differences between the samples exist in terms of religion, with Hinduism among the IndE informants and Christianity among the NigE informants as the predominant religious orientations.

homosexuality: "Imagine one of your best friends tells you that he or she is homosexual. How would you react?"

The data was then transcribed and analyzed using the corpus tool ELAN.[5] From this question alone, a small corpus of 11,446 tokens was derived (IndE: 7,602; NigE: 3,844) on which the current analysis focuses. In the sociodemographic questionnaire the informants had to fill in prior to the interview, sexual orientation was not to be stated for the sake of not repelling the informants. The participants had nonetheless the opportunity to address their orientation during the interview, but all IndE and NigE speakers identified as either heterosexual or left it unspecified.

3. Word lists

With the data at hand, word lists were compiled in order to get a first impression of the lexical set-up of the corpus. In larger corpora, lexical frequency may be one indicator of what Wierzbicka (1997, pp. 15f) refers to as "cultural keywords," that is, "words which are particularly important and revealing in a given culture." The term is avoided in the present analysis due to the relatively small amount of data and the specificity of the corpus, but further investigations could take these word lists as a starting point. Table 1 displays the most frequent lemmas, with less notable lemmas not listed.[6]

The IndE list features a number of objectively connoted items that might be labelled "sociological" vocabulary, namely *society*, *India*, *sexual*, *relationship*, *heterosexual*, and *country*, which possibly reveal that the status of homosexuality in Indian society was a discursive focus taken by the IndE participants during the interviews. Similar can be stated for *female* and *male* as impersonal lemmas, whose occurrence furthermore implies that the interview question did not seem to provoke a particular gender bias among the IndE informants upon answering. *Problem* and *right* could be indicators of a personal account, but at the same time and in light of the entire list they might again point to a more socio-political rendering.

In contrast, the NigE word list reflects a more subjective stance that suggests a rather personal than socio-political treatment of the topic by the NigE informants. This claim is evidenced by the occurrence of the lemmas *try* and *feel*, as well as the evaluative adjectives *bad*, *good*, and *fine*. Against this notion of subjectivity stands *fact* as a lemma that triggers objectivity, but there is no considerable cluster

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5. Provided by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen (Netherlands) and available from https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/ (cf. Wittenburg et al., 2006).

6. This concerns *homosexual*, *friend*, *react* (all part of the question itself), *thing*, *person*, *people*, *make*, *tell*, *way*, and *want*.

Table 1. Word list of the most frequent lemmas in the two subcorpora normalized per 1,000 words (minimum normalized frequency $N_{norm} \geq 2.0$)

IndE		NigE	
Lemma	N_{norm}*	Lemma	N_{norm}*
society	7.6	*try*	6.5
India	6.8	*change*	3.6
sexual	5.7	*bad*	3.1
live	5.0	*feel*	3.1
come	4.2	*talk*	3.1
relationship	3.6	*God*	2.6
believe	2.4	*good*	2.6
heterosexual	2.4	*ask*	2.1
country	2.2	*fact*	2.1
problem	2.1	*fine*	2.1
female	2.0	*listen*	2.1
male	2.0	*time*	2.1
right	2.0		

* Normalized frequency was calculated with the formula $N_{norm} = N_{abs}$ / corpus size * 1,000.

of similar items, unlike featured in the IndE list. Certainly provoked by the interview question itself, *talk*, *ask*, and *listen* might be descriptions of actions that are taken when learning about the homosexual orientation of a close friend. The lemmas *change* and *time* possibly refer to a non-permanent state of homosexuality, an observation that will be confirmed in the subsequent conceptualization analysis. Eventually, with *God* there is an insinuation of a religious context that may provide entailments for the conceptual logic of the domain HOMOSEXUALITY in NigE.

It is, moreover, noteworthy that the lexical set-up of the most frequent words in the two lists is entirely unique, which implies that the foci of the informants' responses differed between the two research settings. As will be seen in what follows, this observation is confirmed throughout the data.

4.   Conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY

The subsequent conceptualization analysis was based on Stefanowitsch (2006) inasmuch as the corpus was searched for homosexuality-related vocabulary, and then the context of eight items before and after the concordances was coded for conceptualizations pertaining to this domain. Pronouns were also included as search terms in order to account for cases like Example (1) – an example that instantiates the conceptualization HOMOSEXUALITY IS A WRONG WAY OF LIFE while no homosexuality-related vocabulary is involved.

(1)   I will try to study the person, look at what the person is like, maybe based on his or her orientation or anything, you understand. So I will try to look at those aspects that, okay, what are *the things that this person does not understand about life*.   (Inf-25; NigE; female)

The conceptualizations found were also annotated according to their evaluative stance on homosexuality, differentiating between "neutral," "positive," and "negative." With the latter two it was additionally distinguished whether they reflected the informants' individual, or whether they reflected a general understanding. The conceptualization HOMOSEXUALITY IS A DANGER, for instance, produced verbal representations that reflected both a general (2) and an individual (3) understanding:

(2)   *The fear of being homosexuality* [sic] and other things are so much rampant in our society that, you know, if a teacher who is a homosexual is going to teach then what happens all the students will get corrupted.   (Inf-36; IndE; male)

(3)   *I was afraid of this homosexual kinds of* … like I don't know much about this like [in the] past.   (Inf-38; IndE; male)

Clearly, for more fine-grained conclusions this distinction is important in order to be able to differentiate between individually and societally motivated conceptualizations concerning HOMOSEXUALITY.

With actual neutral stances as well as uncertain cases coded as "neutral," Figure 1 illustrates that neutral connotation is rather infrequent in the data. The informants' responses thus mirrored an overall evaluative point of view. While homosexuality is positively connoted in almost half of the IndE conceptualizations, a favorable assessment of homosexuality is less salient in the NigE representations, with only 12.4% taking a positive stance. Also remarkable is the fact that, apart from one case in the IndE data, all positively connoted conceptualizations reflect an individual understanding, so the informants almost exclusively rendered their personal perspective in this regard during the interviews.

With regard to negative connotation, 43.0% of the IndE data show an adverse position towards homosexuality, but 32.6% of this share reflect a general understanding in Indian society rather than an individual attitude. This finding is compatible with the word list above, which already pointed into the direction of a more socio-political account of the assessment of homosexuality in India. In contrast, the data gathered from the NigE informants is particularly striking: Not only are almost 70% of the conceptualizations negatively connoted and thus point to a low standing of homosexuality in Nigeria, but the majority of them (64.0%) is furthermore connected to individual understanding and therefore most clearly reflect a negative evaluation on the individual level.
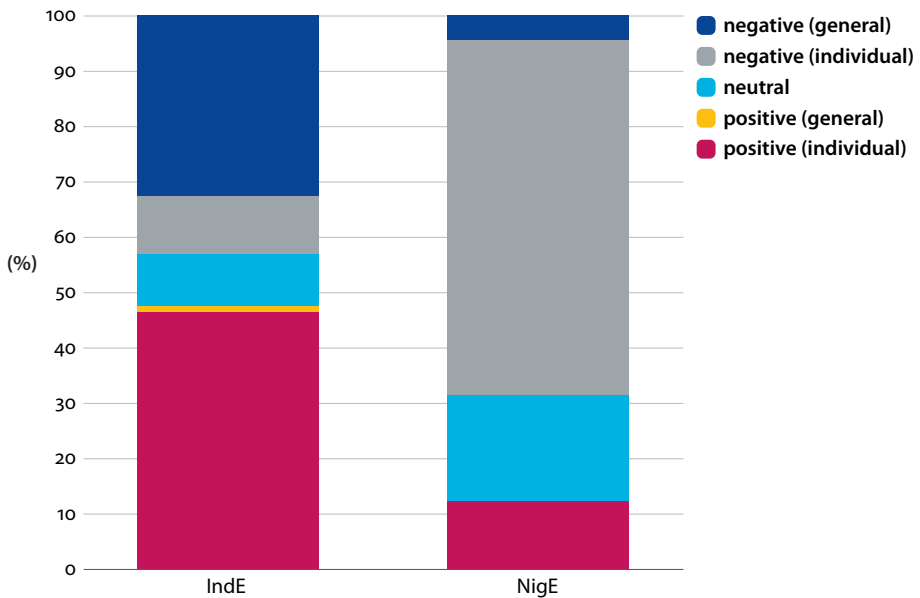
Figure 1. Connotation of conceptualizations pertaining to HOMOSEXUALITY in the two subcorpora

These findings are especially noteworthy in the light of legislation. Considering that same-sex sexual acts were penalized in India and Nigeria at the time of data collection, it could be expected that IndE and NigE would both echo a negative stance. However, this expectation is not fulfilled, in spite of similar legislation and outcomes of current opinion polls (see above). Whereas the NigE results generally correspond with the expectations, the rather positive view of homosexuality conveyed in the IndE data is somewhat surprising in this regard. This observation will be discussed later on. In what follows, conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY as evidenced in the interview data are presented in more detail.

4.1   HOMOSEXUALITY in Indian English

Illustrated in Table 2, the most frequent conceptualization in the IndE subcorpus with 16.3% is HOMOSEXUALITY IS A NATURAL CONDITION.[7] The understanding as a NATURAL CONDITION pertains to a notion of INNATENESS, thus something that one is born with:

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7.   The term 'condition' is used to refer to a state rather than a medical condition throughout this chapter.

(4) But we as individuals know that *biologically this is possible*. There are homo-
     sexuals. So what's wrong in it? […] I'm fine with it because it's his *biological*, I
     mean, *constraints* that has actually led him towards that. (Inf-40; IndE; male)

Inevitably, homosexuality is also conceived as an UNCONTROLLABLE CONDITION,
as the informant goes on to state:

(5) So and I have *no control over it* and neither does he or she has.

(Inf-40; IndE; male)

There were six instances that were distinctly annotated as HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN
INNATE CONDITION, but the following example demonstrates that they are quite
closely connected to HOMOSEXUALITY IS A NATURAL CONDITION:

(6) It is *inherent* I would say. *It comes from within.*   (Inf-29; IndE; male)

Pooled together with NATURAL CONDITION, these instances amount to a 23.3% of
conceptualizations that pertain to the notion of INNATENESS, which makes it rea-
sonably salient in the IndE corpus. In comparison, there is a smaller share in the
NigE data, where a mere 4.4% of the conceptualizations contribute to this notion.

    In juxtaposition to INNATENESS, the notion of ACQUISITION is instantiated by
14.1% of the conceptualizations, for instance in the view of HOMOSEXUALITY IS A
CHOICE:

(7) And even if the sexuality is taken into account, *it's just like their choice.*

(Inf-53; IndE; female)

Equally contributing to the idea that homosexuality is an orientation which is ac-
quired in the course of life is the conceptualization HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN ATTI-
TUDE, which occurs twice, as well as a couple of unique domains including DISEASE
and, relatedly, TRANSMITTABLE CONDITION. This furthermore applies to UNNATU-
RAL CONDITION as the counterpart to the abovementioned domain NATURAL CON-
DITION, and eventually also ACQUIRED CONDITION itself. But although the notion
of ACQUISITION is alluded to in the IndE data, it is not as dominant as it is in the
NigE subcorpus, as will be shown later.

    The dichotomy of ABNORMAL CONDITION (4.7%) versus NORMAL CONDITION
(3.5%) is interesting because it relates to questions of what is the norm in a com-
munity and what goes against this norm – in the sense of prescribed standards to
which the members of the community are supposed to live up. Seen in this light, it
is striking that a range of conceptualizations in Table 2 circle around society, which
is in line with the findings from the word list, where "sociological" vocabulary stood
out, and from the connotation analysis, where about a third of the positively and
negatively connoted conceptualizations reflected a general understanding rather
than a personal view.

Table 2. Conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY in the IndE subcorpus

Conceptualization	N	%	INN	ACQ
(1) HOMOSEXUALITY IS A(N) …				
(2) BEING (A) HOMOSEXUAL IS …				
(3) ACCEPTING HOMOSEXUALITY IS …				
(1) NATURAL CONDITION	14	16.3	yes	–
(3) SOCIETAL PROGRESS	7	8.1	–	–
(1) CRIME/OFFENSE	7	8.1	–	–
(1) CHOICE	6	7.0	–	yes
(1) INNATE CONDITION	6	7.0	yes	–
(1) IMPEDIMENT TO SURVIVAL	5	5.8	–	–
(1) UNPLEASANT CONDITION	4	4.7	–	–
(1) ABNORMAL CONDITION	4	4.7	–	–
(1) PART OF SOCIETY OR CULTURE / (2) BEING PART OF SOCIETY	4	4.7	–	–
(1) DANGER	3	3.5	–	–
(1) NORMAL CONDITION	3	3.5	–	–
(2) BEING DIRTY	2	2.3	–	–
(2) BEING A FEMININE MAN	2	2.3	–	–
(1) LIFESTYLE	2	2.3	–	–
(1) UNCONTROLLABLE CONDITION	2	2.3	–	–
(1) ATTITUDE	2	2.3	–	yes
(2) BEING A PREDATOR	1	1.2	–	–
(2) BEING AN OUTSIDER TO SOCIETY	1	1.2	–	–
(2) BEING UNTOUCHABLE	1	1.2	–	–
(1) DISEASE	1	1.2	–	yes
(1) FAULTY CONDITION	1	1.2	–	–
(1) PLEASANT CONDITION	1	1.2	–	–
(1) SIN	1	1.2	–	–
(1) TRANSMITTABLE CONDITION	1	1.2	–	yes
(1) ABSURD CONDITION	1	1.2	–	–
(1) ACQUIRED CONDITION	1	1.2	–	yes
(1) IMPEDIMENT TO PROCREATION	1	1.2	–	–
(1) UNETHICAL CONDITION	1	1.2	–	–
(1) UNNATURAL CONDITION	1	1.2	–	yes
Total:	**86**	**~ 100**	**~ 23.3**	**~ 14.1**

Instantiations that take a negative stance are among these society-related conceptualizations. With 8.1% the domain CRIME/OFFENSE is one example, although it is surely debatable whether it is a pattern of thought or a mere projection of the actual situation, considering that homosexuality was in fact criminalized in India

at the time of data collection. That there certainly is an interplay between actual and perceived reality is demonstrated in excerpt (8):

(8)   It would be a very normal reaction for me because *I don't think homosexuality is a crime*. I said in India or in many other countries *it has been criminalized*.
(Inf-29; IndE; male)

The informant clearly opposes the view of Homosexuality is a crime, thus countering this conceptual basis that interacts with legal matters. As a result of criminalization, Example (9) below draws from the underlying conceptualization Homosexuality is an impediment to survival in India:

(9)   Society will not approve it […], it's not legally allowed here. So *how will she survive*? Either she's very much independent, she'll have to leave India. Or […] she has to […] do what their parents are doing.   (Inf-31; IndE; female)

While it appears to be societal suicide to deviate from norms connected to romance and sexual orientation, the necessity of doing "what their parents are doing" also implies that continuing the family lineage is imperative, entailing that, vice versa, Homosexuality is an impediment to procreation:

(10)   Again the problem lies in […] *who will be the successor of the family*. So if you have a homosexual relationship, *how will you propagate*, *how will you have your child*? The people do not think about adoption, people do not think about various other things. People believe that *only through the womb a child can be produced*.
(Inf-36; IndE; male)

The concern of securing what is considered successful procreation is embedded in a wider system of culture-specific strategies of match-making and arranged marriage. The model of Marriage in Indian culture and its differences to the Western model are described in detail in Polzenhagen and Frey (2017). According to the authors, family plays a vital role in the Indian model of Marriage: in the traditional concept of the Arranged marriage as well as in a newly emerging modulation of the concept, the Arranged love marriage – a conceptual transformation that adapts to changing social realities. In both cases it is mainly upon the family to select a suitable candidate that ideally matches a number of sociodemographic and social criteria because "marriage is seen as gaining its stability from its embedding in the established networks of social and kinship ties" (Polzenhagen & Frey, 2017, p. 584). Important in the present context is the fact that marriage itself is of crucial significance in Indian culture, evidenced by well-elaborated norms, strategies, and procedures surrounding it – a fact which explains why same-sex alliances are (or were) legally and socially unwanted.

In the data at hand, this undesirability is ultimately reflected in the understanding that being a homosexual is being an outsider to society, expressed by one informant as follows:

(11) [I]n present time as well homosexuals are *not considered as a part of mainstream society*. People believe that they are […] *untouchable*. So you know *if you touch them, you get polluted*. So people do not want to interact with them, people do not want to sit with them, people do not want to share their food with them because there is certain kind of *alienation or pollution associated with them*.

(Inf-36; IndE; male)

This conceptualization, as carved out in (11), is linked by the same informant to notions of untouchability and pollution. These notions are deeply entrenched in Indian culture, as a reflection and outcome of a centuries-old societal division into hierarchically ranked castes. People from the lowest castes used to be considered "untouchable" and their main occupation involved so-called "dirty work" that was deemed unsuitable for members of the higher castes.[8] This not only led to the perception that the Untouchables themselves carried a sense of pollution, but subsequently also to a number of measures taken in order to prevent people of higher castes from "getting polluted." Mendelsohn and Vicziany (1998, p. 37), for instance, report on Southern practices of prevention:

> In many parts of the south Untouchables had previously had to maintain prescribed distances – they varied with the lowliness of the caste – from clean Hindus. Should the shadow of an Untouchable fall upon a Brahmin, major pollution had taken place. Sometimes Untouchables had had to ring a bell to announce their polluting arrival, and to wear spittoons […] so as to catch any polluting spittle that might drop from their lips […].

This notion of pollution may have lain the ground upon the arrival of the British colonizers who, as mentioned above, took up this understanding in the process of implementing anti-sodomy laws in India.

In contrast to such negatively connoted ways of understanding homosexuality, a number of society-related conceptualizations in the data express a visibly positive stance. With 8.1% on second position in Table 2, it is most notably the view that accepting homosexuality is societal progress which bears witness to presumably changing patterns of thought concerning homosexuality, evidenced in the recent decriminalization:

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8. The "Untouchables" still face discrimination nowadays, although their living conditions have improved with the help of government decisions.

(12)   The *society should learn how people can have different sexuality*, […] different sexual choice. […] And *how we need to evolve more as human beings* and we need to accept and be diverse. We should not restrict ourself [sic] with certain opinions […] we have been told since childhood that cannot be true, right? So we always need to discuss our things, we cannot be very sure that this is wrong and this is right.   (Inf-29; IndE; male)

The reasoning of welcoming different sexual identities as a benefit to society is based on the idea that HOMOSEXUALITY IS A PART OF SOCIETY OR CULTURE, another conceptualization that stands out with 4.7% in Table 2. Consequently, if homosexuality is natural and thus an integral part of a community, ending discrimination will lead to societal progress.

Other than these specifically society-related conceptualizations that are partly negatively, partly positively connoted, further findings reveal an unfavorable understanding of homosexuality. These include the domains UNPLEASANT CONDITION (4 occurrences), DANGER (3 occurrences), and, with one occurrence each, PREDATOR, FAULTY CONDITION, SIN, and UNETHICAL CONDITION.

Eventually, the conceptualization BEING A HOMOSEXUAL IS BEING A FEMININE MAN relates homosexual orientation to feminine behavior, as Example (13) indicates:

(13)   If you start *walking in a in a slightly feminine way then people start judging your sexuality as well*. […] [I]t has been taught to us […] *your voice […] should not be feminine*. Your voice should be little husky at the same time.
                                                                                                                              (Inf-36; IndE; male)

This understanding is not exclusively confined to the Indian context. Acting in an effeminate way may be a means of communicating one's homosexuality, and not necessarily only in cases where same-sex sexual orientation is either frowned upon or even prohibited (cf. Birke, 1981; Pillard, 1991). In the data at hand, conceptualizing homosexual men as feminine involves a categorization process with a clear conceptual downgrade along a GOOD-BAD scale.

This stands in correspondence with Example (11), in which the downgrade takes place against the measure of TOUCHABLE-UNTOUCHABLE. Using "femininity" and "masculinity" as indicators of quality can also be related to the view taken by the British colonizers mentioned before, namely that colonized men were seen as "inherently inferior" in the "hierarchy of manliness" (see Hinchy, 2014, p. 275).

Although this cannot be done within the limits of this chapter, from a culturally oriented cognitive-linguistic perspective it would certainly be fruitful to compare precolonial and postcolonial conceptualizations of the social hierarchy in Indian cultural cognition. Such an endeavor might provide further insights into

the extent of a possible conceptual change caused by the contact situation with British English.[9]

4.2 HOMOSEXUALITY in Nigerian English

As displayed in Table 3, by far the most frequent conceptualization in the NigE subcorpus with almost a third (32.6%) is BEING A HOMOSEXUAL IS BEING SOMEONE WHO NEEDS TO BE AVOIDED, for instance expressed in the following example:

(14) I will always try to *avoid that friend* and I would *break the friendship* and of course I will *not even allow him to know much about my movement* any more. If we are staying together before, I will always *back out of the house.*

<div align="right">(Inf-03; NigE; male)</div>

Apart from two cases (one "neutral," one "general understanding"), all instances of the conceptualization originated from a personal attitude (coded as "individual understanding"), rather than from a recount of the general opinion held in society at large. This pattern of thought is related to BEING A HOMOSEXUAL IS BEING AN OUTSIDER TO SOCIETY found in IndE, drawing on a sense of exclusion. But in contrast, all the more with their connection to UNTOUCHABILITY and POLLUTION, the findings in IndE refer to a general perception in society.

Apart from BEING A HOMOSEXUAL IS BEING SOMEONE WHO NEEDS TO BE AVOIDED, which clearly enunciates a feeling of unpleasantness, there are more conceptualizations that go in this direction: Where avoidance strategies are considered a plausible reaction, BEING A HOMOSEXUAL IS BEING A NUISANCE (4.5%) logically follows. One informant put it as is shown in Example (15):

(15) Where we may have conflict is where you would *start dragging me to do what I don't want to do* because of your behavior. Because of your stance on sexuality.

<div align="right">(Inf-16; NigE; male)</div>

Notwithstanding that the wider context into which Example (15) is embedded expresses a more tolerating and accepting stance, the fear of being associated with anything related to homosexuality still resonates in this concession. In the same vein and even more frequently, namely with a proportion of 9.0%, homosexuality is described as an UNPLEASANT CONDITION to those who are confronted with it:

(16) I would be *shocked*. […] We've been groomed into thinking it's not acceptable here, so I would be *taken aback*.   (Inf-12; NigE; female)

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9. On conceptual metaphor as a locus of conceptual contact, see Finzel and Wolf (2019). On Cognitive Contact Linguistics, see Zenner, Backus, and Winter-Froemel (2019).

Examples like (16) demonstrate that the NigE interviewees appeared to be generally astonished by the interview question through which the present data was collected, suggesting that homosexuality is a rather uncommon topic in public discourse. This is not only reflected in conceptualizing homosexuality as an ABNORMAL CONDITION, but also in the conceptualization HOMOSEXUALITY IS A REASON FOR JOKING:

(17) Initially *I would laugh*, but then […] if he is really serious I would go with it because […] I can't just neglect him as a friend. (Inf-08; NigE; male)

As is indicated in Example (17), it is the idea of someone's coming out itself that causes incredulity.

With only one occurrence, HOMOSEXUALITY IS A CRIME is also present in NigE, but not as frequent as in the IndE data – a surprising observation, given that same-sex sexual acts were subject to similar sentence and law enforcement in India and Nigeria at the time of data collection (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, 2017).

Table 3. Conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY in the NigE subcorpus

Conceptualization	N	%	INN	ACQ
(1) HOMOSEXUALITY IS A(N) …				
(2) BEING (A) HOMOSEXUAL IS …				
(2) BEING SOMEONE WHO NEEDS TO BE AVOIDED	29	32.6	–	–
(1) NORMAL CONDITION	11	12.4	–	–
(1) CHANGEABLE CONDITION	9	10.1	–	yes
(1) UNPLEASANT CONDITION	8	9	–	–
(1) CONDITION AGAINST THE WILL OF GOD	4	4.5	–	yes
(2) BEING A NUISANCE	4	4.5	–	–
(1) ACQUIRED CONDITION	4	4.5	–	yes
(1) WRONG WAY OF LIFE	4	4.5	–	yes
(1) ATTITUDE	3	3.4	–	yes
(1) ABNORMAL CONDITION	2	2.3	–	–
(1) CHOICE	2	2.3	–	yes
(1) TEMPORARY CONDITION	2	2.3	–	yes
(1) UNCHANGEABLE CONDITION	2	2.3	yes	–
(1) CRIME	1	1.1	–	–
(1) MENTAL DISORDER	1	1.1	–	yes
(1) NATURAL CONDITION	1	1.1	yes	–
(1) REASON FOR JOKING	1	1.1	–	–
(1) INNATE CONDITION	1	1.1	yes	–
Total:	**89**	**~ 100**	**~ 4.5**	**~ 32.7**

In comparison to the IndE findings, where conceptualizations pertaining to ACQUI-SITION are less discernible with 14.1% of the total amount of conceptualizations, the notion is much more foregrounded in the NigE findings with 32.7% (see Table 3). Among these conceptualizations is obviously HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN ACQUIRED CONDITION, with a share of 4.5%:

(18)   Probably *it might not be the person* [sic] *choice* to be an [sic] homosexual. Like maybe it's […] *social stuff*, it could be *environmental factor*, it could be *parental factor* as well.   (Inf-25; NigE; female)

Manifest in Example (18) is the point of view that homosexuality is not an inherent state, but rather a condition which is acquired in the course of life, in this case due to external factors (HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN ACQUIRED CONDITION). But internal, personal factors may likewise be seen as the trigger for an acquisition of homosexuality. In the data, these factors include the conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN ATTITUDE or CHOICE.

As a corollary of an acquirable state, it follows that this state is potentially a TEMPORARY CONDITION and therefore a CHANGEABLE CONDITION as well. With 10.1%, HOMOSEXUALITY IS A CHANGEABLE CONDITION is the third most frequent conceptualization in the NigE data. As one informant notes:

(19)   So if that person can pick up courage to walk up to you and speak to you, that okay, I'm homosexual, [you] have to calm down and tell the person, wow, this is interesting, how does it works [sic]. […] So over time, if you don't listen to people you won't be able to convince them, won't be able to *change their mind*, *change their perspective.*   (Inf-13; NigE; male)

A striking observation in Example (19) is the informant's positive reaction to the revelation of his homosexual friend, a reaction which he considers necessary in order to later dissuade the friend from continuing to be gay, tying in with the notion of ACQUISITION. This line of thinking relates to another perception evidenced in the data, namely that HOMOSEXUALITY IS A WRONG WAY OF LIFE (4.5%):

(20)   First I will advise such friend to *do away from such* … or try and *embrace the better lifestyle.*   (Inf-06; NigE; male)

While homosexuality is seen as a wrong lifestyle, there is evidence of what is understood to be the better lifestyle. In a more specific conceptualization, the good life seems to entail a life with God and this implies that HOMOSEXUALITY IS A CONDITION AGAINST THE WILL OF GOD:

(21) If God […] wants homosexual [sic] to occur, he would have create [sic] only one man and generate [sic] other man for a man. […] *He did not want anything like homosexual.* So this thing she is doing is *against the will of God.*

<div align="right">(Inf-10; NigE; female)</div>

Since the lemma *God* also featured in the NigE word list (see above), the role of religious beliefs in the Nigerian context should not be underestimated. In fact, religion-related vocabulary is eminently salient in the larger NigE interview corpus from which the dataset analyzed in this chapter stems. The whole NigE corpus is comprised of 76,866 tokens, and lemmas pertaining to the domain of RELIGION (such as *Sango* or *spiritual*) have a frequency of 6.23 occurrences per 1,000 words. In comparison, religious vocabulary in the entire IndE corpus (such as *temple* or *sacred*) has an occurrence of 5.25 per 1,000 words.[10] It is therefore not surprising that religion-based conceptualizations permeate the NigE data. Since the interviews were conducted in a Yoruba setting, Christianity is the predominant religious belief system from which these conceptualizations draw their logic.

In contrast to the higher number of conceptualizations that connect HOMOSEXUALITY to ACQUIRED CONDITION, those relating to ideas of INNATENESS are rather sparse in NigE with only 4.5%, especially compared to their larger share of 23.3% in the IndE subcorpus. Only three conceptualizations in the NigE data are categorized as pertaining to the notion of INNATENESS: HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN UNCHANGEABLE CONDITION, as opposed to the more frequent converse conceptualization mentioned above as well as the domains NATURAL CONDITION and INNATE CONDITION with one instantiation each. Hence, the view that homosexuality is a state with which one is born is a relatively uncommon conceptualization in the NigE data. The results from the phone poll referenced earlier, in fact, correspond with the findings from the interviews: Of the 1,000 surveyed Nigerians, 90% expressed the belief that homosexuality is not an innate condition (NOIPolls, 2015).

Eventually, homosexuality is understood as a NORMAL CONDITION in 12.4% of the conceptualizations, drawing on the understanding that homosexuality is neither conspicuous nor specifically noteworthy and therefore not a particular deviation from the norm. This finding may be indicative at least of an indifference towards homosexual practices, if not of a more accepting view.[11]

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10. The overall dataset of the project from which the present chapter stems furthermore contains a subcorpus of British English interview data. In this subcorpus, religious vocabulary is even less frequent with an occurrence of 2.95 tokens per 1,000 words.

11. While this issue will not be discussed in more detail, it is acknowledged that with regard to acceptance there might be differences concerning female versus male homosexuality.

5. Discussion[12]

Returning to the remarks made at the beginning of this chapter, legislation and opinion polls preliminarily suggested that conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUAL-ITY would convey a similarly negative stance in IndE and NigE. However, the findings from the connotation analysis do not fulfill these expectations for IndE. Conceptualizations in IndE were both negatively and positively connoted, with the former mainly reflecting the general view held in Indian society and the latter being expressions of the informants' personal attitudes. Opposed to this, the majority of conceptualizations in the NigE data was negatively connoted, mirroring mostly the informants' personal attitude. Admittedly, the passing of the Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act in 2013 might have influenced the NigE informants in answering the interview question.[13] What is more, variety-specific differences also existed in terms of quality, that is, in terms of the domains through which HOMOSEXUALITY was conceptualized. It is hence crucial to consider additional factors in order to explain the findings.

For instance, religious beliefs, as initially mentioned, also provide conceptual influences to culture-specific patterns of thought, so taking these into account widens the scope of interpretation. Among the Indian informants, Hinduism was the predominant confession, a religion in which non-binary and non-heteronormative identities have traditionally been part of the mythology. Several figures like Vishnu cross gender boundaries and the Kama Sutra, which was intended as a guide to finding pleasure, mentions homoerotic practices (cf. Hunt, 2011; also see Vanita & Kidwai, 2006; Nanda, 1986). It is therefore likely that such a cultural entrenchment of diverse gender and sexual identities is another explanatory linchpin to the findings from the IndE data. In contrast, Christianity was the prevalent belief system with which the NigE informants, mostly Yorubas, identified. As was stated in the interviews and other personal conversations in Ibadan, Nigeria is a deeply religious country and, in fact, Christian convictions were discernible throughout the NigE data. Example (21) particularly demonstrates that homosexuality is comprehended as incompatible with Christian beliefs.

There are of course more aspects to the formation of cultural cognition. Especially within postcolonial contexts, former colonial policies are vital factors that have acted upon culture-specific ways of perceiving reality. Polzenhagen, Finzel, and Wolf (fc.), for instance, explore how varying attitudes of the British colonizers

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12. Since the completion of this chapter, new insights within the larger project from which this chapter stems have arisen. They are discussed in the author's doctoral thesis.

13. However, earlier surveys testify an already existing negative stance on homosexuality in Nigeria (see Ajayi-Lowo, 2018).

towards Indian versus West African culture have affected cultural cognition, so embracing a diachronic perspective may furthermore counter shortcomings that a synchronic view entails.

A culturally oriented cognitive-linguistic analysis, as conducted in this chapter, allows for more fine-grained insights into the conceptual structures that underlie the ways reality is forged. These structures, in the form of cultural conceptualizations, assemble to cultural models, defined as "cultural systems of shared knowledge" (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, p. 63), that are "representations of culture-specific behavioural norms, which direct (but do not determine) actual social behaviour, including verbal behaviour" (Schneider, 2014, p. 127). In this sense then, language data sheds light on the conceptual structures from which linguistic representations derive.

It is argued that the conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY described before are connected to broader cultural models pertaining to the domain of GENDER. These models give sense to the understanding of HOMOSEXUALITY, a domain to which gender concepts are vital. In turn, conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY are themselves meaningful to the respective cultural models of GENDER.

These interrelations are illustrated in Figure 2, which sketches out how the occurrence of particular gender-related conceptualizations in the data can be explained by assuming a certain cultural model of GENDER.[14] Influenced by culture-specific norms, expectations, and beliefs, such a model hence qualitatively and quantitatively triggers culture-specific conceptualizations. At the same time, sexuality-related conceptual domains such as HOMOSEXUALITY are likewise considered a part of this wider network of gender-related conceptualizations, because GENDER and SEXUALITY are seen as domains that lend meaning to each other – not *per se*, but through interacting via the socio-cultural construction of these categories (cf. Butler, 1990).

Emanating from the same project as the current chapter, Finzel (fc.) describes the cultural models of GENDER that are assumed to be at work in the Indian and the Nigerian context. The models proposed there are based on an analysis of gender-related conceptualizations pertaining to the domains SPACE, TASK, ACHIEVEMENT, and PERSON. Despite sharing similarities, the two models diverge in their conceptual set-up. This divergence is particularly evident in (a) the central goal to which norms, expectations, and beliefs concerning gender roles align, and (b) the means of pursuing that goal. In what follows, the models are briefly summarized and then matched against the findings from the current chapter.

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14. These gender-related domains are represented as "CONCEPTUALIZATION X/Y/Z" in Figure 2.
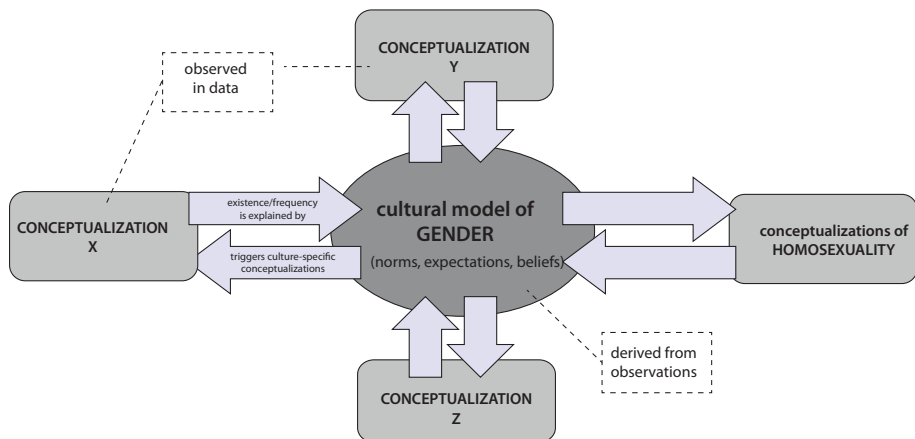
Figure 2. The interrelation between a cultural model of GENDER
and gender-/sexuality-related conceptualizations

In the Indian model introduced in Finzel (fc.), patterns of thought and behavior regarding gender seem to revolve around means of gender segregation, and the goal of this segregation is the maintenance of family honor. This is evidenced by an accumulation of conceptualizations in the data that emphasize the gendered nature of SOCIAL SPACE, inasmuch as people are assigned to social spaces based on their gender. These spaces are relatively impermeable to people of other genders and determinative of a person's mobility. Additionally, a number of conceptualizations in the data connect PERSON (i.e., WOMAN and MAN on a more specific level) to notions of VALUE and PROPERTY (e.g., EDUCATING A WOMAN IS A WASTE and A WOMAN IS THE PROPERTY OF A MAN), and this connection contributes to understanding people as more or less valuable goods.

The observation that segregational aspects are highlighted in understanding GENDER is also congruent with the aforementioned Indian model of MARRIAGE identified in Polzenhagen and Frey (2017). Where marital arrangements are oriented towards the preservation of family, honor, and status, and where match-making is a family matter, individual romance and thus contact between future spouses is less relevant. Given that social space is divided into gendered spaces even in the field of romantic relationships, where mixed-gender encounters are otherwise likely to be expected (at least from a Western perspective), it is not surprising that gender segregation stretches out to other areas of daily life. Instances of the prevalence of gendered spaces in Indian society are discussed in more detail in Finzel (fc.), but noteworthy examples are the relatively strict segregation in student accommodations (cf. Sahoo, 2018) and the early separation of girls and boys as childhood playmates. Moreover, Finzel (2021) argues that the gendered division of social space

appears to be valid even for identities beyond a female/male dichotomy. Focusing on the hijras, a third-gender community in South Asia, the study carves out their societal role inasmuch as they are tolerated when they remain within their assigned space at the margins of society.

All this suggests that social separation according to gender is perceived as key to a working society. In a highly patriarchal communal system like the Indian one, shielding off women from unwanted encounters with men thus secures family honor and especially male honor. Consistently, homosociality (i.e., spending a considerable amount of time with peers of the same gender) is strongly encouraged as a means of maintaining these patriarchal power relations (Gabriel, 2014). Whereas homosociality and homosexuality should not be equated, homosocial companionship still seems to leave some freedom for same-sex sexual activity, at least where men are concerned. As Asthana and Oostvogels (2001, pp. 711f.) state:

> Male and female identities are therefore sufficiently fixed in the Indian gender structure that […] [a man] may engage in 'homosexual' activity without compromising his masculinity. Indeed, far from challenging the dominant gender structure, male-male sexuality can be seen as a way of protecting prevailing gender relations. There is a tacit acceptance that men have sexual 'needs'.

The quote not only indicates that male homoerotic encounters are not necessarily a threat to prescribed gender roles, but additionally implies that sexual behavior is partly separated from sexual identity in the Indian context. For the Punjabi culture, this is confirmed by Kalra (2012, p. 122): "There is anecdotal evidence that men in Indian Punjab do not consider themselves homosexual if they are active partners in a homosexual contact. However, in the Western model of homosexuality, both of these men may be labeled as homosexuals." Differences to the Western model also become manifest in the public display of male-to-male physical signs of affection, for example with men holding hands: Whereas in a Western context such acts are likely to bear homosexual connotations, it should not be interpreted as an expression of same-sex desire in the Indian context.

At this point it becomes clear that it is crucial to understand HOMOSEXUALITY as a cultural concept. Although the interview question through which the data at hand was gathered did not yield answers that particularly addressed how homosexual identities are constructed, the conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY identified in the corpus still reveal culture-specific patterns of thought. These ways of understanding homosexuality are in line with the cultural models of GENDER proposed in Finzel (fc.), models which are capable of shedding more light on the attitudinal and conceptual differences observed in the present study. With regard to the IndE informants, this especially concerns the observation that their personal attitude was rather positive, in spite of a generally negative attitude towards homosexuality

in Indian society, as is attested in Example (11). This unexpectedly positive view among the informants can be explained by the second observation, namely that homosexuality was predominantly conceptualized as an INNATE CONDITION, because conceiving homosexuality as an inherent facet of sexuality facilitates its acceptance. Furthermore, Asthana and Oostvogels' (2001, p. 712) remark on the "tacit acceptance that men have sexual 'needs'" (see above) suggests that homosexual activity is a tolerable alternative for men if these needs cannot be met by women due to gender segregation. Hence, the conceptualization MALE SEXUALITY IS AN INNATE CONDITION which is at work here lays the ground for understanding male homosexual activity as NATURAL. Homosexual activity therefore does not constitute a categorical contradiction to the logic of the Indian model of GENDER, since the goal of maintaining family honor that is pursued by means of gender segregation is not at stake. From this point of view, it is presumably a small step to understanding homosexuality, that is, homosexual identity, as INNATE or NATURAL.[15] The potential influence of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, a colonial import that conceptualizes homosexuality as an UNNATURAL CONDITION ("against the order of nature"), is discussed in more detail in Polzenhagen, Finzel, and Wolf (fc.). The observation of positive attitudes among the informants as well as the recent decriminalization of consensual same-sex sexual activity are indicators of an ongoing conceptual shift (or even return) in the Indian discourse on non-heterosexual identities.[16]

For the Nigerian model of GENDER described in Finzel (fc.), it is suggested that the central goal towards which the understanding of gender is oriented is the maintenance of prospering, cross-generational communal structures and that this goal is pursued by means of cooperation between women and men. This claim derives from the observation that gender-related conceptualizations in the data are frequently linked to notions of NURTURE and CARE, as well as FAMILY and PROCREATION. The emphasis of cooperational aspects is disclosed in conceptualizations which elaborate in more detail the interplay between women and men in the community. Examples are the metaphors COUPLE/FAMILY/COMMUNITY IS A BODY (with MAN as HEAD and WOMAN as HELPING HAND and BACKBONE) and THE FAMILY IS AN OFFICIAL INSTITUTION (with MAN as CHIEF and WOMAN as DEPUTY). Wolf and Polzenhagen's (2009) analysis of the West African model of COMMUNITY is in line with the model of GENDER described in Finzel (fc.) inasmuch as "specific duties, in particular those of protection and nurture" (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, p. 75) are

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15. These implications may be a starting point for an investigation of how HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY is conceptually delineated from HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY in the Indian context and whether there are differences between FEMALE HOMOSEXUALITY and MALE HOMOSEXUALITY.

16. Also cf. Oppenheim (2018) on Prince Manvendra Singh Gohil, the first openly gay Indian royal.

highly important to communal identity. Moreover, Wolf (2006, p. 49) points out in an earlier study:

> Since life comes from *God/the gods*, *children* are *sacred*, because they perpetuate this link. As Musopole (1994: 11) puts it, '*procreation is a divine obligation*' (my emphasis). […] If a couple remains *childless*, childlessness may be understood as breaking the continuation of the sacred community and therefore as *sin*. […] Hence, in the African context, *community* and *family* are interchangeable terms.

Thus, the notion of PROCREATION is of central significance to the model of COMMUNITY and this is compatible with the model of GENDER discussed here. Drawing the connection to the present focus, Ajibade (2013, p. 976) confirms for the Yoruba context that female-male cooperation and procreation, as one form of such a cooperation, is key to understanding GENDER and HOMOSEXUALITY:

> [G]ender roles usually dictate that each gender is better at certain specific tasks necessary to run a happy household, and that same-sex couples or sexual relationship cannot function well or be as happy as heterosexual relationship. […] To the Yorùbá, all forms of sex that were not in the service of procreation are detested.

The suggested model of GENDER would thus explain the NigE informants' rather negative attitude towards homosexuality if it is understood as not serving procreational purposes. An article in a student magazine issued by the University of Ibadan, titled *Rewriting laws of nature: Same sex marriage and the future of human society*, gives further evidence:

> I could not help but wonder what the future of any society would look like if all its members were gays and lesbians – the extinction of the human race in a hundred years, no doubt! Same sex marriage brazenly flies in the face of one of the most important aspects of continuing human existence, that is, reproduction. What I find equally shocking is that gay couples are allowed rights of adoption in law courts, and because of this provision, many innocent children are plunged into the unnatural family setting of having two dads or mums instead of one each.
>
> (Abiola, 2016, p. 37)

The article expresses a vividly negative take on homosexuality through the conceptualization HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN EXTINCTION FACTOR TO HUMAN SOCIETY. It furthermore draws links to the current study regarding HOMOSEXUALITY IS AN ACQUIRED CONDITION, reflected in the expressions "unnatural" and "aberration in human behaviour" (Abiola, 2016, p. 37), the latter mentioned later in the article. Although the role of religion cannot be addressed in-depth within the limits of this article, it appears that a substantial contribution to this perception is rooted in the significance of Christian beliefs. As a somewhat anecdotal side note, on attending a Catholic service in Ibadan during data collection, the priest pointed out during the sermon that the Bible only mentions Adam and Eve, and not Adam

and Steve or Evelyn and Eve; an alleged case in point against homosexuality. Gupta (2008), too, notes:

> Archbishop Peter Akinola, head of the Anglican Church of Nigeria, has threatened to split his global denomination over some Western churches' acceptance of lesbians and gays. He acknowledges that the missionaries who converted much of Africa in colonial days "hardly saw anything valid in our culture, in our way of life." Yet he also interprets the most stringent moral anathemas of the missionaries' faith, along with an imported law against homosexuality, as essential bulwarks of true African identity.

Gupta argues that homosexuality is not inherently un-African, but that instead colonial policies have led to a conceptual shift in its assessment. The initially mentioned instances of homosexual practices among the Asante and the Dagari in West Africa bear witness of a more accepting view that the colonizers found upon their arrival. There are numerous other accounts that contradict the un-Africanness of homosexuality. Ajayi-Lowo (2018), for example, lists a number of forms of same-sex relationship types that continue to exist in Nigeria, including Igbo and Yoruba culture. She concludes that homosexuality is inherently African and sees acts of oppression as measures to reinforce patriarchy, while at the same time lamenting the fact that "the religions [sic] systems introduced by the colonizers have become the bedrock of Nigerian sociocultural values and it is increasingly hard to see homophobia as a colonial legacy" (Ajayi-Lowo, 2018, p. 79). For the Hausa culture, Gaudio (2005) reports about the *'yan daudu*, a "gay community" who fulfill their social duty by getting married and fathering children, a duty that they do not consider to clash with their sexuality which they often continue to live. Gaudio (2005, p. 49) observes:

> The sexual experiences of many 'yan daudu and other gay Hausa men, however, indicate that heterosexual marriage and homosexual behavior are in no way mutually exclusive in Hausaland. Like other Hausa men (gay and straight), married 'yan daudu take seriously their responsibilities as husbands and fathers, and expect their wives, children and other dependent kinfolk to show them due respect.

Gaudio's account supports an issue raised earlier: Just like in the Indian context, homosexual behavior and homosexual identity seem to be separated to some extent in the (traditional?) Nigerian context. Analyzing the concept of HOMOSEXUALITY in more detail would certainly shed more light on this matter. The findings of this study, however, suggest that this possibility was less foregrounded by the NigE informants. In a model of GENDER in which the central goal is the maintenance of cross-generational communal structures, pursued by means of female-male cooperation (most notably, procreation), negative attitudes towards homosexuality can be explained if it is seen as a sexual orientation that inhibits procreation.

Understanding homosexuality as an ACQUIRED CONDITION is compatible with its logic as well. The influence of Christian beliefs might have made a considerable contribution to the conceptualizations found in the data.

6. Conclusion

It was pointed out in the beginning of this chapter that legal circumstances and surveys on general attitudes concerning homosexuality would raise expectations of a similarly negative assessment among all the informants. However, the IndE participants' data reflected a rather welcoming attitude compared to the NigE informants.

As the data furthermore showed that homosexuality was understood differently, it was argued that wider networks of conceptualizations which derive from cultural models of GENDER may be responsible for these differences. With homosexuality predominantly conceptualized as an INNATE CONDITION in IndE and as an ACQUIRED CONDITION in NigE, the proposed cultural models of GENDER aimed at explaining these conceptual differences. The conceptualizations pertaining to HOMOSEXUALITY can therefore be considered cultural conceptualizations. Possibly, understanding homosexuality as an INNATE CONDITION increases acceptance, while understanding it as an ACQUIRED CONDITION has the opposite effect.

A few limitations shall eventually be pointed out. Obviously, in order to gain a broader picture, more data would have to be included. This would, for example, facilitate an analysis of how homosexual identities are actually constructed. Cultural conceptualizations of HOMOSEXUALITY are deemed crucial to culture-specific shapings of homosexual identities, which draw their logic from relevant cultural models. The inclusion of further data would certainly also reveal differences with regard to how female and male homosexuality is constructed.

Another issue that was raised is that at the time of data collection there might have been an ongoing conceptual shift amongst Indians that allowed for a more embracing stance, resulting in the decriminalization of homosexuality only little later. But the question remains as to why such a shift would be observable in IndE at all, while apparently absent NigE. Although Polzenhagen, Finzel, and Wolf (fc.) start tackling this question, the extent of conceptual contact with colonial British conceptualizations (with British English as a "carrier variety") still needs to be addressed in more detail.

Eventually, the question posed in the title of this chapter was never intended to be answered. Instead, the article aimed to show that the way reality is understood can differ across cultures and that in this sense there is no absolute truth of whether homosexuality is either innate or acquired. Analyzing language may serve as an access point to deeper, culture-specific patterns of thought.

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Culture-specific elaborations in cross-linguistic studies of metaphors

Comparing LIFE IS A JOURNEY in Chinese and British English

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Metaphorical mappings are often shaped by socio-cultural backgrounds of the speakers (Musolff, 2015; Su, 2002; Yu & Jia, 2016). In the present corpus study that compares Chinese and British English metaphors, the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY specifically – ubiquitous in both languages – is found to have different elaborations. The concepts of DIFFICULTY and PURPOSE are highlighted in Chinese metaphors, while CHANGE and PROGRESS are more salient in British English. From a cultural perspective, the preoccupation of Chinese societies with a goal-oriented life could have contributed to such differences. Beyond that, JOURNEY, the source domain from which ideas are drawn, is itself perceived in distinct ways in these two cultural contexts/speech communities. Discrete evaluations and attitudes are reflected in the metaphorical representations of LIFE, which are mapped according to culture-specific assumptions about JOURNEY. The inextricable relations between source-internal, target-induced, and context-dependent aspects have all contributed to the diversity of conceptual metaphors.

Keywords: Life metaphor, event structure metaphor, Chinese, British English, corpus linguistics, cultural model

1. Introduction

Metaphor, fundamental to human cognition, is "not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 208). Reflecting conventional ways of conceptualization or, to put it in anthropological terms, "shared understanding" in a community (Kövecses, 2005, p. 2), metaphors inexorably vary in accordance with human experience in larger cultural contexts (Gibbs, 1999; Kövecses, 2005; 2010; 2015; Yu, 2008). While this had originally been attested in studies of emotion

concepts and event structure metaphors (Kövecses, 2010; Yu, 1998), interests rose to attest cultural variations in other metaphors such as LIFE IS A SHOW (Yu & Jia, 2016) and TIME IS SPACE (Ahrens & C.-R. Huang, 2002; Boroditsky, 2011).

Underlying cross-linguistic research of metaphors is the ongoing debate of metaphor universality versus relativity. While researchers largely agree on cultural variations, the extent of and reasons behind differences are subject to scrutiny. This study focuses on LIFE IS A JOURNEY as a special case, aiming to verify the cultural motivations of metaphor relativity and explain how these variations may influence the interpretation of seemingly comparable metaphors in different speech communities.

2.   Cultural variations and their causes

Studies on metaphor have evidenced cross-cultural variations associated with the situational and socio-cultural environments the users are in (Kövecses, 2005; Musolff, 2015; Quan, 2014; Quinn, 1991; Su, 2002; Talebinejad & Dastjerdi, 2005; Yu, 1995; 2008). Yu and Jia (2016), for instance, stress that LIFE IS A SHOW is ostensibly comparable in both Chinese and English, but Chinese speakers draw ideas from CHINESE DRAMA, with subtle differences from English plays. Social history has a part in contributing to variations of linguistic metaphors. As convincingly argued in Kövecses (2005, p. 246), some bodily experience could be universal, but it "is not utilized in the same way or to the same extent in different languages and varieties." Specifically, the way a metaphor is realized is influenced by contextual factors (Charteris-Black, 2003; Deignan, 2003; 2014; Kövecses, 2005; Yu, 2008; Zhao, 2014), which may include the physical environment, social settings, and cultural contexts (Kövecses, 2015).

To account for cultural variation of metaphorical conceptualizations, Kövecses (2010, p. 215) suggests three possibilities of variations: (1) variations in the range of a given target, (2) variations in the particular elaborations for a given target, and (3) variations in the emphasis on metaphor versus metonymy associated with a given target, or the other way around. The first possibility pertains to the sources available with reference to the target. For example, Yu (1998) discovered that HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART is used in Chinese but not available in English. The availability of the source PLANT for the expression of emotion is influenced by differing life experiences and cultural expectations of displaying positive emotions such as HAPPINESS. The second possibility refers to more subtle aspects of conceptual mappings: the same mappings found in both cultures could be elaborated differently. A case in point is Zulu emotion metaphors, which, just like in English,

also map ANGER in terms of FIRE, but Zulu speakers can "extinguish" anger by watering it while English speakers do not elaborate this mapping (Kövecses, 2010, p. 217). Finally, the third possibility of variation involves preferred cognitive styles, specifically, the preference for metaphorical or metonymic framing (cf. Kövecses, 2005, p. 231). For example, Isbukun Bunun, an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan, prefers metonymic over metaphoric expressions of TIME (S. Huang, 2016). Instead of employing spatial concepts, speakers of Isbukun Bunun more often opt for an event-oriented model for temporal expressions compared to English and Mandarin Chinese speakers. This conceptualization is metonymic in that the same spatial-motion domain activities (e.g., going to bed) come to stand for time in a day (e.g., night).

One finding of metaphor relativity is that differences are usually expected at more specific, lower levels of conceptual mapping. For example, the correspondence of LIFE and JOURNEY is fundamental in most, if not all, human languages, motivated by our daily experience of physical paths and goal-oriented activities (Grady, 2005). Underlying LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a more general "event structure metaphor" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 220ff.), from which LIFE IS A JOURNEY inherits its mapping from SPACE (change in location) to EVENT (change in state) (Lakoff, 1993). Special cases can be further instantiated: Any purposeful action may well be conceptualized as a sequence of motions towards a destination, for example, LOVE and CAREER. In view of this, metaphors at different levels of abstraction are structured in an "inheritance hierarchy," illustrated as in Figure 1 below.

Level 1   The event structure metaphor
Level 2   A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY
Level 3   LOVE IS A JOURNEY; A CAREER IS A JOURNEY

Figure 1. The inheritance hierarchy of the event structure metaphor (Lakoff, 1993, p. 222)

For studies of metaphors from a cross-linguistic perspective, this hierarchy carries implications not just for schematicity, but also cross-cultural ubiquity, as Lakoff (1993, pp. 224–225) suggests in the following statement about the connection between the level of abstraction and metaphor universality:

> So far we have found that the metaphors higher up in the hierarchy tend to be more widespread than those mappings at lower levels. Thus, the event structure metaphor is very widespread (and may even be universal), while the metaphors for life, love, and careers are much more restricted culturally.

In Hungarian (Kövecses, 2005), Chinese (Yu, 1998), and Arabic (Riddle, 2008), the first-level EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor is attested. STATE, CHANGE, PROCESS, ACTION, CAUSE, PURPOSE, DIFFICULTY, and MEANS are expressed and reasoned via spatial concepts such as LOCATION, MOTION, and FORCE. Going lower down this hierarchy, we come upon more cultural variations. Riddle (2000), for example, finds that Hmong expresses LIFE in terms of strings, which supports the conceptualization of life as an object that can be cut and broken. Even for likely-universal primary metaphors,[1] "combinations of primary metaphors may be language-specific" (Kövecses, 2005, p. 4).

This established hierarchy has sparked my interest in further investigating metaphorical expressions of LIFE IS A JOURNEY in Chinese and British English by means of a comparative corpus study. Questions are raised as to whether LIFE IS A JOURNEY, a prevalent level-2 metaphor, shows cultural variations expounded in Kövecses (2010) and, if this is the case, to what extent the source, target, and cultural contexts factor in.

3. LIFE IS A JOURNEY in Chinese and British English

LIFE and its various aspects can be portrayed by different source domains, including BUILDING, GAMBLING GAME, JOURNEY (THROUGH TIME), MACHINE, PLAY, PRECIOUS POSSESSION, STORY, SPORTING GAME, FIRE, and LIGHT (Kövecses, 2010). Among them, LIFE IS A JOURNEY – basic, ubiquitous, and allegedly universal – is perhaps one of the most widely studied metaphors in the existing literature. First scrutinized in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), LIFE IS A JOURNEY has later on been discussed extensively in numerous studies (Gibbs, 1994; Katz &Taylor, 2008; Kövecses, 2005, 2010; Winter, 1995; Zhao, 2014). At the conceptual level, a unified way of viewing LIFE in terms of JOURNEY is recognizable through corresponding elements in these two domains. Some of these mappings of elements have been laid out in a number of studies. In Figure 2 below, I summarized the mappings drawn from some of them (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Winter, 1995).

In Chinese, lexical studies revealed similar findings as in British English; among various source domains available for expressions of LIFE, JOURNEY is predominant (Zhang, 2016; X. Huang, 2013). This is confirmed in corpus investigations. For example, Tie (2016) identified the most frequent source domains as MOTION

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1.   Primary metaphors are metaphors which derive from basic bodily experience and hence "are more likely to be universal" (Yu, 2008, p. 248)
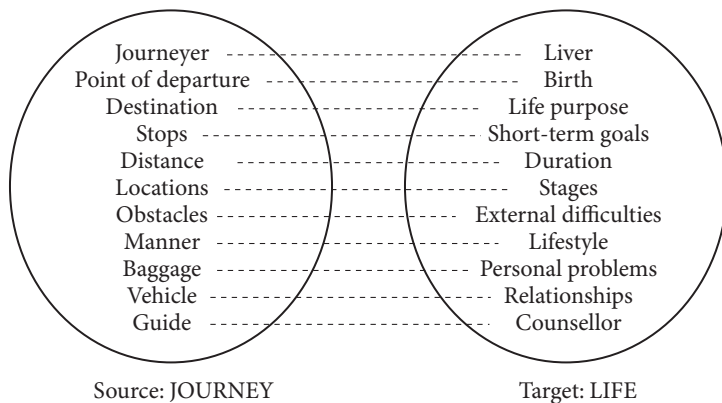
Figure 2. The conceptual mapping of LIFE IS A JOURNEY

and TRANSPORTATION (38.2%), ECONOMY and BUSINESS (12.5%), EMOTION and FEELING (11%), and other domains (10.3%) including EDUCATION, ART, CULTURE, and SPORTS. The first category, MOTION and TRANSPORTATION, roughly equates to JOURNEY. Selected examples are listed in (1):

(1)   a.   人生如旅行，每一个经过的车站都会留下一些淡淡的痕迹和令人回味的故事。   (H. Huang & Wu, 2005, p. 110)
'Life is like a **journey**; at every **station** we **come across** we leave **traces, no matter how faint**, and stories worth remembering.'

b.   既然人生是一个有限的过程，我们每个人也都如握了一张人生的门票。   (H. Huang, 2013, p. 113)
'As life is a limited **procedure**, each of us is holding a **ticket** to life.'

c.   导航菁英人生，规划未来之路。   (Tie, 2016, p. 54)
'**Navigate** for an elite life. Plan **the road** for the future.'

d.   在人生的旅途上，没有人能永不回首一路奔向终点。 (Tie, 2016, p. 54)
'On the **journey** of life, no one can **run all the way toward the end** without **looking back**.'

Fundamental and prevalent in both languages, LIFE IS A JOURNEY invites intriguing questions regarding the debate of universality and relativity, which serves as a good point of departure to look for culture-induced realizations. According to Kövecses (2017), lexical approaches to metaphor base their analyses on available resources in dictionaries, idioms, and collections of expressions, such as glossary books. While such investigations are effective for discovering conventional, de-contextualized metaphorical meanings stored in our long-term memory, they may not faithfully reflect usage-based characteristics such as frequency or collocations.

Metaphorical expressions of LIFE IS A JOURNEY may be available in many languages, but culture-specific varieties of metaphorical expressions demonstrating these usage-based characteristics are to be expected in real use. Corpus data can help us in this respect.

4.   Methodology

In my study, Sketch Engine[2] was employed for the keyword search. Two corpora, BNC (British National Corpus) for British English and TaiwanWAC for Chinese, were chosen for comparison. The selection of the corpora is based on their comparable size and balanced data. In BNC, the keyword "life" has 62,926 tokens; in TaiwanWAC, the lexical unit *rengsheng*, meaning "the period of time when someone is alive or in a specific state," yielded 44,526 hits. Out of the overall frequency, 4,000 tokens were randomly sampled for each language, and manually analyzed following the Metaphor Identification Procedure (henceforth MIP) (Pragglejaz Group, 2007).

For each token, the entire paragraph was extracted for the analysis, in order to make sure that the sentence meaning was fully grasped and to avoid misinterpretations. The scope of the analysis extends from two clauses preceding and following the respective keyword. In other words, for each item, although the entire paragraph was read, only 5 clauses were examined for metaphorical expressions. If a linguistic unit in these five clauses had a contemporary reading in the JOURNEY domain (e.g., The car *moved on*), but was used to refer to concepts of LIFE (e.g., forget about the past and *move on*), it was marked as metaphorical and further categorized.[3]

Among the 4,000 sampled items in each corpus, I found 826 metaphorical instances in Chinese and 612 in British English. They were further categorized into several groups according to the domain aspects highlighted. Specifically, the groupings reflect six aspects: STATE, CHANGE/PROCESS, CAUSE/ACTION, PURPOSE, MEANS, and DIFFICULTY. These elements have been discussed in previous studies of EVENT STRUCTURE metaphors (Lakoff, 1993; Yu, 1998); in other words, they are inherited from the level-1 metaphor. Still, LIFE IS A JOURNEY is lower on the conceptual hierarchy: the role of the journeyer, his or her belongings, and companions

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2.   https://www.sketchengine.eu/

3.   It is to be noted that in British English "life" is polysemous as illustrated with the definitions below.

    (1)   the period when someone is alive (e.g., he ended his short *life* at the age of 39)

    (2)   a specific state (e.g., his career/married *life*)

    (3)   the time during which an electronic device is functioning (e.g., the *life* of the battery)

    (4)   living beings (e.g., alien life forms)

Prior to compiling the corpus, I excluded meanings as found in (3) and (4) because they are irrelevant to the topic of HUMAN LIFE.

are highlighted, which are not EVENT STRUCTURE mappings but are rather more specific, level-2 elaborations. These specific elements are categorized into the seventh aspect: ROLE. Therefore, there are seven categories in total in our classification of metaphorical expressions.

It is to be noted that the classification of the highlighted aspects is not always clear-cut. Yu (1998, p. 159) holds that "various aspects of the event structure are correlated and cannot be separated." Because they are indeed inseparable, we accept the combinatory effects by categorizing them in both (or all) categories. For example, in (2a) below, three metaphors are mixed: DIFFICULTIES ARE BLOCKAGE, MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION, and EVENTS ARE OBJECTS ON THE ROAD. In Chinese, such instances are also common, as shown in (2b), which mixes MEANS ARE VEHICLES, GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION, and STATES OF LIFE ARE LOCATIONS. All the aspects profiled in each instance are counted; in other words, both examples in (2) highlight multiple aspects.

(2) a. In a **bottlenecked** life cycle, every fresh generation **marches through** approximately the same **parade of events**.   (BNC_1713)

b. 有些人的人生是直達車，有些人卻是慢車，中間總要經過許多站。
(TaiwanWAC, blog.citytalk.tw)
'Some people's lives are **direct cars**, but others' are **slow cars**; there are always **many stations** in the middle.'

Another noteworthy point in our classification is that CHANGES and PROCESS are combined as one aspect though they are distinguished in Lakoff (1993). The same combination applies to CAUSES and ACTIONS. They are combined as one category in our study because it is improbable to distinguish them in our corpus data: CHANGES, when continuous, are naturally associated with a PROCESS reading. The same applies to CAUSES and ACTIONS; their difference lies majorly in extraneous/neutral forces motivating an event, but in our corpus data, the source of motivation is usually underspecified.

5. LIFE IS A JOURNEY in Chinese and British English

Table 1 lists our classification of the metaphors in seven categories. The table also provides the mapped features from the source to the target, mainly based on Lakoff (1993) and Yu (1998), as well as some "metaphoremes"[4] identified in each language for every aspect.

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4.   Defined as "stabilities of form, content, affect, and pragmatics" (Cameron & Deignan, 2006, p. 675), "metaphoremes" are believed to be the key to better understanding of the cognitive aspects of metaphors in discourse studies (Semino, Demjén, & Demmen, 2018).

Table 1. Categorization of LIFE AS JOURNEY metaphors

Categories	Definitions and Chinese/English metaphoremes
STATE	*Location version: States are locations on a journey. Life stages are stops or stations a traveler passes or temporarily stays. These states may be good or bad, just like bright and dark places one travels to.*
	Object version: States are objects. An individual comes across or things to see on the journey.
MEANS	*Means are paths or vehicles to be chosen, found, or created. Individuals have to make their choice just like a traveler chooses his path/vehicle.*
PURPOSE	*Location version: Life-long goals are destinations; short-term goals are temporary stops. Success is reaching these destinations and stops. Failed life is a failure to reach the destination. Life without goal is aimless wandering.*
	Object version: Goals are objects we find, or run after, on the road. Life is fulfilling if those objects are obtained.
DIFFICULTY	*Difficulties in life are impediments to motion (Lakoff, 1993). Solving difficulties is/means moving the blockages or going around them.*
CHANGE/ PROCESS	*Changes in life are changes in location. The changes, if good, are perceived as forward/upward movement, while bad changes are backward/downward movements. No progress or changes are no movement.*
ACTION/CAUSE	*Aids to actions or life motivations are extraneous forces that cause motion, and active actions are self-propelled motions. Manners of actions are manners of motions: failures are described as tripping on the road while success as strides.*
ROLE	*Life is described in a general sense of journey. Elements of life are objects or people on the road.*

Table 2 lists the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphors found among the sampled items, categorized in accordance with the aspects highlighted.

Table 2. Aspects and raw frequency of LIFE IS A JOURNEY in Chinese and British English

Aspects	Metaphors	Frequency	
		Chi.	Eng.
Generic	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	95	84
STATE	STATES ARE LOCATIONS (l-version)*	111	77
	START/END OF LIFE IS START/END OF A JOURNEY (l-version)	39	83
	UPS AND DOWNS ARE TERRAINS ON THE ROAD (l-version)	17	4
	THE SOLUTION IS A WAY OUT OF A REGION (l-version)	3	3
	STATES/EVENTS ARE OBJECTS WE MEET (o-version)	27	14
	EXPERIENCES ARE VIEWS ON THE ROAD (o-version)	27	7
MEANS	DIFFERENT MEANS IS DIFFERENT PATH	86	99
	MEANS ARE VEHICLES	10	1
	ALTERNATIVE MEANS IS CROSSROAD	7	2
	CORRECT/WRONG CHOICE IS THE RIGHT/WRONG WAY	12	1
	ADVICE IS GUIDE/MAP/COMPASS	16	7

Table 2. (*continued*)

Aspects	Metaphors	Frequency	
		Chi.	Eng.
PURPOSE	SUCCESS IS REACHING THE END OF THE PATH (l-version)	85	29
	LACK OF PURPOSE IS LOSS OF DIRECTION (l-version)	9	3
	SUCCESS IS AN OBJECT TO OBTAIN (o-version)	23	8
DIFFICULTY	DIFFICULTY IS BLOCKAGE/COUNTERFORCE	81	8
	OVERCOMING DIFFICULTY IS GOING AROUND BLOCKAGE	4	5
	EASY LIFE IS AN EASY ROAD	18	2
CHANGE/	CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS IN OR OUT A REGION	9	4
PROGRESS	PROGRESS IS FORWARD/UPWARD MOVEMENT	26	35
	UNDOING PROGRESS IS BACKWARD/DOWNWARD MOVEMENT	5	11
	LACK OF PROGRESS IS NO MOVEMENT	5	7
	AMOUNT OF PROGRESS IS DISTANCE COVERED	4	1
	PAST IS ROAD BEHIND, FUTURE IS ROAD AHEAD	15	12
	DURATION OF LIFE IS DISTANCE TRAVELED	10	17
ACTION/CAUSE	STARTING A NEW ACTION IS STARTING A NEW JOURNEY	22	27
	ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION	3	4
	AID TO ACTION IS AID TO MOTION	13	4
	CAUSES ARE FORCES	3	16
	MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION	23	28
	FAILURE IS TRIPPING	3	1
ROLE	INDIVIDUAL IS JOURNEYER	4	2
	RESPONSIBILITY IS BAGGAGE	3	4
	FRIEND/SPOUSE IS COMPANION	8	2
TOTAL		**826**	**612**

* There are two models of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (and LIFE IS A JOURNEY). The location version (l-version) views a specific phase of life as locations, while the object version (o-version) conceptualizes life as sequences of objects. Please refer to Lakoff (1993), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), and Yu (1998) for details about "object-location duality" of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor.

Note that 95 Chinese and 84 British English instances are categorized as "generic metaphors." They describe a generic sense of LIFE in analogy with JOURNEY, as shown in (3) without a definite mapping element specified.

(3) a. … as you **journey through this life**, you will come to form your own ideas about what is to follow. (BNC_1400)

b. 我很希望在人生的旅途上，儘量沒有遺憾。 (TaiwanWAC, mmweb.tw) 'I do hope, **on my life journey**, that there are only minimum regrets.'

Despite showing similarities in the generic metaphors, Chinese and British English have different preferences when it comes to linguistic realizations: British English speakers usually depict LIFE as the sentential subject that *continues* or *goes on*, and travelers *lead* the life. In Chinese, on the contrary, JOURNEYER is usually the subject

on a journey (*lücheng* or *lütu*), and low-agency verbs such as *walk* or simply *be on* it are employed.

The following sections will focus on the seven aspects that are of interest. Examples are provided to illustrate each aspect with a special focus on the scenarios created by each conceptual mapping in the two languages. The ordering of sections roughly corresponds to the frequency in the corpus, which is hoped to show their relative elaboration in real usage.

5.1   STATES ARE LOCATIONS/OBJECTS

In both languages, STATES is the most predominant aspect highlighted. A large number of STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphors is found in the Chinese corpus, particularly featuring the individual "in or out of states," such as (4a); British English metaphors typically compare different stages of life to stages of a journey, such as (4b).

(4) a. 我們正走在人生的春天。   (TaiwanWAC, host.zjes.tyc.edu.tw)
'We are walking in the spring of life.''

   b. An extract from the story telling how Hazel, the leader of a group of rabbits, comes to the end of his life, was read by the Rev Phillip.   (BNC_3488)

When combined with other metaphors that carry positive or negative evaluations, STATES ARE LOCATIONS can form complex metaphors that indicate specific attitudes toward a state. For example, GOOD IS UP and GOOD IS BRIGHT are two predominant orientational metaphors, and they form complex metaphors such as BETTER STATES ARE HIGHER/BRIGHTER LOCATIONS: Staying at a high and bright position carries a conventional meaning of success, whereas low and dark places connote despair, as in (5a). Similar examples, although not as frequent, can also be found in British English, such as (5b).

(5) a. 當我們處于人生的黑暗時，最好永遠不要指望靠他人的同情和唏噓。
                                      (TaiwanWAC, blog.sina.com.tw)
'When we are **in the darkness of life**, it is best not to expect sympathy and sighing (for you) from others.'

   b. Then comes the train journey to Chicago, **the low life amid the bright lights**, and the dawning of wisdom in the form of the Civil Rights. (BNC_1741)

Another similarity in these two languages is a strong preference for the "location model" (see footnote 5). While in the object model (o-version), states and events are conceptualized as places a traveler visits, in the location model (l-version), they are entities or objects that a journeyer comes upon. Examples are shown in (6) and (7):

(6) location model

   a. 讓我順利養大這兩個優秀的孩子，人生至此應是了無憾事了。

   <div align="right">(TaiwanWAC, ym.edu.tw)</div>

   '(Fate) allows me to successfully raise these two outstanding children, and I should have no regret **at the current point of life**.'

   b. As all things in life fade and **come to an end** the poet realises so must he.

   <div align="right">(BNC_1087)</div>

(7) object model

   a. 在人生當中我們可能遇到的，有些是逆境，有些甚至是一些考驗…

   <div align="right">(TaiwanWAC, web2.mksh.phc.edu.tw)</div>

   'In life, some things we might **encounter** are adversities, and some are even ordeals…'

   b. It was the very access of consciousness – **life's arrival** at the moment where it might contemplate and shape its own existence.　　　(BNC_861)

In British English, STATES are mostly conceptualized as locations where individuals stop by, which accounts for 164 items (87.2%) as opposed to 24 o-version instances (12.8%). This preference is also strong in Chinese, with 167 instances (74.5%) conceptualizing time as location. Nevertheless, the o-version is slightly stronger in Chinese when compared to the British English data, amounting to 57 items (or 25.5%).

5.2 MEANS ARE PATHS

Ways to reach the end of the life journey vary, and the choice may be made by the traveler alone or advised by wise ones. In both Chinese and British English, MEANS is one of the most frequently highlighted aspects. *Ways of life* is a common English idiomatic expression based on the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, meaning different fashions to lead one's life. Similarly, in Chinese, *zou shang … de lu* 'walk on a … road' is also very frequent.

(8) a. 此後，她們走上不同的生活道路，經受了不同的人生遭遇。

   <div align="right">(TaiwanWAC, haixiainfo.com.tw)</div>

   'Since then, they have **embarked on different paths of life** and have experienced different life events.'

   b. Nobody questioned her right to flaunt **her way of life**.　　　(BNC_1153)

Nevertheless, the two languages differ in the emphasis on the "correct" or "righteous" path of life. Remarkably, in the Chinese expressions, the "normal" track is usually considered the best means to achieve the goal, such as (9a), and choosing

alternative ways to lead a life can be neutrally referred to as "going off track" as in (9b) or negatively portrayed as "derailment," shown in (9c).

(9) a. 能研究明白，才能得着人生的正道…

(TaiwanWAC, homepage19.seed.net.tw)

'If we can study (this issue) and understand, we can **get the right path** of life.'

b. 我想，自己真的是走上了一條不得了的路，人生開始超乎常軌…

(TaiwanWAC, buy.yahoo.com.tw)

'I think that I really have embarked on an extraordinary path, and my life is **beyond the normal track**.'

c. 這兩個顯赫而招人注目的身份，都容不得她有脫軌的人生。

(TaiwanWAC, sogi.com.tw)

'These two prominent and conspicuous identities do not allow her to have a **derailed** life.'

Such a "right or wrong" attitude is rarely exhibited in the British English data. Although British English speakers also use expressions such as "right track," their frequency is much lower than in Chinese (See Table 2); most of the instances only depict the paths as "being different," and evaluations are less likely attached. In line with this difference, the Chinese data is found to emphasize GUIDES: Decisions are not always made by the traveler alone; advice from authorities is resorted to, and *guides, compass, beacons*, and *maps* are there to direct a person to the "right path." In the British English data, the individual's choice plays a more important role in finding a path and moving on.

Furthermore, the two languages also differ in terms of the way individuals travel. In the Chinese corpus, vehicles or ways of transportation are elaborated: the journeys are made by *boats, trains*, or even *airplanes*, as in (10a). On the contrary, vehicles of traveling are usually not elaborated in the British English corpus and only a very small amount of the instances use *voyage* or *steer*, which implies sea travel, as shown in (10b).

(10) a. 自知人生列車即將抵達終站；他做好一切準備…

(TaiwanWAC, catholic.org.tw)

'Knowing that the **train** of life is about to arrive at the terminal, he is ready for all of it.'

b. … but a strange and capacious metaphor of life itself – of man's lonely **voyage on a 'wide wide sea'**… (BNC_1971)

In Chinese, "train" (*lieche* or *huoche*) is the most preferred vehicle for a life journeyer, especially since a train journey takes a long time, stops now and then, and provides window views – all these features resemble various aspects of experiencing

life. "Train" has become a metaphoreme that carries a "bundle" of subjective judgments: Life is long, indirect, discontinuous, and rich with experience. Consequently, "stops of life" – a typical conceptualization of LIFE STATES ARE LOCATIONS, is often mixed with the MEANS aspect; for example, in (10a), the train of life arrives at the terminal station, that is, the end of life.

5.3   PURPOSE OF LIFE IS REACHING THE END OF THE PATH

For PURPOSE, the most frequent metaphoreme in Chinese is *fangxiang* 'direction,' as shown in (11a). In British English, *direction* or *goal* is used to talk about the purpose of life, as in (11b).

(11)   a.   他的話值得凡夫的我們，好好靜心去思考自己未來的人生方向。
(TaiwanWAC, acc.org.tw)
'His words encourage us, as ordinary people, to calm down and think about our future **life direction**.'

   b.   Woman[*sic*] in the 90s are positive, tolerant and determined to **reach their life goals** in their own way.   (BNC_2341)

In Section 5.1 I discussed the preference of the l-version in reference to STATES in both Chinese and British English. This trend can also be observed in the aspect of PURPOSE, which is considered as the final stage of life and where a stronger location view of life goals is found. In both Chinese and British English, the goal is preferably represented as a final destination to reach, as in (12). Occasionally, less frequent o-version examples can be found, which depict the goal as an object that awaits our possession, as shown in (13).

(12)   a.   在起跑點贏了 (功課名列前茅，獲得高學位)，卻不見得於人生的過程與終點也能獲得勝利。   (TaiwanWAC, acc.org.tw)
'Winning at the starting point (being successful academically or getting a high degree) does not necessarily guarantee the success **in the process and at the end of life**.'

   b.   Woman[*sic*] in the 90s are positive, tolerant and determined to **reach their life goals** in their own way.   (=(11b), BNC_2341)

(13)   a.   而實際上三個流浪者也在付出追尋的過程，找回屬於自己人生的目的與意義…   (TaiwanWAC, mypaper.pchome.com.tw)
'In fact, the three wanderers, by in the process of contributing and searching, also **found the goal** and meaning of their own lives.'

   b.   He decided to walk from Italy to Paris, to **search for** the real meaning of life.   (BNC_1701)

A notable frequency disparity can be found in the aspect of PURPOSE. In Chinese, PURPOSE is profiled in 117 clauses (14.2%) out of the 826 metaphorical expressions in total: finding a direction and following it to the end of the path has been mentioned far more frequently than in British English (6.5%).

LIFE IS A JOURNEY meets the defining characteristics of a "complex metaphor" in that it does not just involve bodily experience of actions and motions, but also propositional elements, particularly "cultural models, folk theories, or simply knowledge or beliefs that are widely accepted in a culture" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 60). Yu (2008) holds that A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY is complex because it is composed of two primary metaphors – PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS – and another two culture-specific propositions: people should have purposes in life and people should act so to achieve their purposes.

In line with Yu's postulations, the present corpus data supports the idea that different cultures have distinct views on the obligation to set a goal and achieve it. In addition, the ways to get to the destination also differ in the two cultural models. As indicated above, in many Chinese instances of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, following the right path to an established goal is imperative. In the BNC, the English metaphorical expressions, on the other hand, feature multiple alternatives that could bring a journeyer to the end of the path, which may or may not be part of the travel plan.

This finding is consistent with the life experience and worldview of the Chinese people in general. In previous studies, Chinese speakers are found to emphasize more on the moral lessons in their oral narratives (Erbaugh, 1990; Wang & Conway, 2004). Wang and Conway (2004), for example, report that when Chinese speakers are asked to recall their life stories, they are more likely to refer to moral messages than American participants do; 6-year-old speakers of Chinese drew on more moral correctness in their storytelling than the American children. In another study (Yau & Smetana, 2003), Chinese-speaking children in Hong Kong also told their stories with more emphasis on the seriousness of the moral transgression, and the emphasis grew with age. This could be accounted for by a general Confucian doctrine influencing the Chinese culture; parents feel obliged to use morally charged content to give children the standards to become engaged in their social commitment and interpersonal responsibilities (Miller, Wiley, & Fung, 1997). Stories and narratives are believed to mirror speakers' beliefs, attitudes, and social values (Chang, 2004; Gee, 1991), and in this vein, being morally flawless is imposed upon members of the society as a virtue. Chinese narratives stress the necessity of a purpose – which is often collective happiness rather than personal fulfillment – and the befitting means to arrive at the goal.[5]

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5.   I would like to thank Dr. Ying-hsueh Hu for pointing out this correspondence between the conceptual metaphor in question and narrative tradition.

5.4 DIFFICULTIES ARE COUNTERFORCES

In addition to PURPOSE, the Chinese data shows a higher percentage in references to DIFFICULTIES (12.5%) when compared with British English LIFE metaphors, where only 2.5% refer to DIFFICULTIES in my data. In Chinese, these difficulties are conceptualized as counterforces against forward movement, and elaborated in terms of *weather* (*wind, storm, rain, fog*, etc.), tough road conditions (*rugged, steep, narrow, twisted*, etc.), *tides* and *waves, hurdles, traps*, and even *horoscopic omens*. Some examples are provided in (14).

(14) a. 所幸沒有在人生的波浪中滅頂，現在看起來還有機會在高度的競爭中全身而退。 (TaiwanWAC, books.com.tw)
'Fortunately, (he was) not **submerged in the waves of life**, and now it seems there is still a chance to find a way out of this competition.

b. 她幫助過許多人，深入過許多人的心靈，而她自己的人生故事也是曲折起伏，充滿許多考驗。 (TaiwanWAC, kingstone.com.tw)
'She has helped many people, got deep into people's hearts, and her own life story is also **twisted and with ups-and-downs**, full of many tests.

c. 總認為人生遭遇的挫折，就是這顆「截路星」在搞鬼。

(TaiwanWAC, myfate.com.tw)

'(People) always think that life is full of setbacks because this "**road-blocking star**" is haunting us.'

Life journeys in British English are of course not without obstacles. In (15), for example, difficulties are referred to as wretched weather conditions.

(15) There are still **those tempests that hit my life** and would not be around, and would almost swamp me! (BNC_2758)

Other metaphoric linguistic expressions include *trap* and *bottleneck*, but the instances featuring difficulties are not as recurrent and elaborate as in Chinese. In light of it, life in the Chinese language is presumably challenging, obligatory, and self-actualizing; a eudaimonic definition of life, featuring the fulfillment of virtues, is more suitable in the Chinese context than hedonic happiness, i.e., the fulfillment of personal pleasure (Bagozzi, Wong, Yi, 1999; Lu & Gilmour 2004, Schimmack, Oishi, & Diener, 2002).

Furthermore, Chinese expressions of JOURNEY reveal a more serious, somber view when compared with the British English data. Remarkably, with a closer examination, it becomes apparent that the concepts of JOURNEY, with which the target domain LIFE is mapped, also differ in these two speech communities. To examine whether the source domain factors in the mapping structure, I launched a word sketch inquiry in the modifiers of JOURNEY using the same databases, BNC and

TaiwanWaC. English "journey" and Chinese "lütu" are employed as the keywords for the search. Using frequency and the MI (mutual information) score, a word sketch provides the words which are most likely to collocate with the keywords in various grammatical positions. Here I only focus on adjective modifiers (*the X journey*) and adjective predicates (*the journey is X*). Table 3 shows the collocations for each keyword. Those that highlight DIFFICULTIES are boldfaced.

Table 3. Word sketch for "journey" in BNC and TaiwanWaC (first 12 collocating adjectivals)

Keyword: 'journey'			Keyword: lütu 'journey'		
Modifier	Freq.	MI	Modifier	Freq.	MI
return	158	10.39	勞頓 **wearying**	**19**	**10.49**
train	80	9.55	漫漫 endless*	4	9.02
outward	27	8.30	漫長 lengthy	18	8.60
long	274	8.14	顛簸 **bumpy**	**4**	**8.39**
homeward	20	8.09	風塵僕僕 **travel-worn**	**2**	**8.27**
mile	24	7.85	疲勞 **tiring**	**8**	**7.87**
epic	18	7.80	來世 after-life	3	7.82
hazardous	**16**	**7.55**	勞累 **tiring**	**3**	**7.72**
bus	24	7.40	匆匆 quick	2	7.64
rail	21	7.37	見聞 see and hear	3	7.37
arduous	**12**	**7.29**	疲憊 **tiring**	**3**	**6.90**
grueling	**12**	**7.29**	艱辛 **arduous**	**2**	**6.25**

* "漫漫" and "漫長" are treated as separate lexemes because they have different frequencies and MI. The current translations of these two lexemes are from Linguee (https://cn.linguee.com/). When collocated with "nights," these two lexemes generate the figurative meaning of "long suffering" (as in Linguee) or "dark period without hope or enlightenment" (as in the Chinese-English dictionary of modern usage (http://humanum. arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/Lindict/). I currently consider them as neutral, but these two lexemes arguably carry the sense of DIFFICULTIES.

Collocations, or the "company" a word keeps, manifest not only the language in use but also lexical concepts (Deignan, 2008; Sinclair, 1991). While most words collocating with "journey" describe the means and directions of travel, "lütu" has more collocating adjectives that highlight the difficulties and exhaustion journeys bring about. My findings imply that differences in the metaphorical representation of LIFE are already inherent in the source domain JOURNEY. By talking about LIFE in terms of JOURNEY, speakers map not only the structure, but also the attitudes and evaluations embedded in the meaning base: Compared with a neutral and progressive view of life in the British English data, LIFE is difficult and goal-oriented in the Chinese corpus. In addition to the preservation of the cognitive topology of the source domain, as stated by the Invariance Hypothesis (Lakoff, 1990; 1993),

metaphorical mappings are congruent with the cultural models of LIFE as well as JOURNEY. In support of Yu (2017, p. 83), who claims that "how conceptual metaphors are manifested in a particular language has a great deal to do with the culture with which the language is coupled, as the result of the interaction between language and culture," the current study finds culture as a ground which provides an experiential basis for metaphorical expressions.

Words meaning 'journey' are, of course, not limited to "journey" in English and "lütu" in Chinese; further studies can be conducted to confirm whether the concept is consistent with British English, "voyage," "trip," "passage," "cruise," and Chinese "lüxing," "lücheng," "nilü," etc.

In his study of bodily-based metaphors, Yu (2008) suggests that a better understanding of metaphors should be sought at the interaction between the source domain and the cultural background. While the source domain provides knowledge bases that are available for the description of the targets, "culture serves as a filter that only allows certain bodily experiences to pass through so that they can be mapped onto certain target-domain concepts" (Yu, 2008, p. 249). The current study shows that metaphorical conceptualizations are resonant with cultural beliefs, and consistent across the three levels suggested by Yu (2017, p. 82): the linguistic, conceptual, and experiential level. The Chinese concept of HAPPINESS, which involves "goal-orientedness," "social commitment," and "righteousness," implies heavier social burden and sacrifice of personal gratification in search of the collective benefits. This cultural background is required for an understanding of the source-induced sense of DIFFICULTIES and PURPOSE, which in turn predicts the mapping elements that shape a challenging and goal-fulfilling LIFE. In a similar manner, a "process-oriented" and "self-fulfilling" attitude in the Western culture could have shaped a more progressive view of JOURNEY, and accordingly an emphasis on the impetus of LIFE and the value of life in itself, as evidenced in our data with higher attention to ACTION/CAUSE and CHANGE/PROGRESS as well as less attention to a predetermined goal. In sum, the cultural influence on metaphor production and understanding (Musolff, 2016; Sharifian, 2017; Yu, 2009) has been upheld in this case study.

5.5   CHANGES AND PROGRESS ARE MOVEMENTS

CHANGES and PROGRESS are closely related to the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS. Movements from location to location on the life journey can be understood as changes of states, which, if continuous, lead to progress. Theoretically, these three aspects are hard to differentiate; thus, instances that feature apparent movement are categorized in this group. Examples in (16) show such construal.

(16)   a.   人生要像車輪的轉動一樣，永遠向前。   (TaiwanWAC, ebusa.org.tw)
             'Life is like the spinning of the wheel, always **moving forward**.'
        b.   His life has a sense of purposive **onward movement**. This is the heart of
             the matter.   (BNC_2227)

Consistent with STATES ARE LOCATIONS, making progress is not just "moving forward," but moving into a higher and brighter location, resulting in complex metaphors with images of BRIGHTNESS and HEIGHT as exemplified with (17).

(17)   a.   調整好體能狀態及做好心理準備，繼續攀上另一座人生的山峰。
                                            (TaiwanWAC, andropause.com.tw)
             'After improving your physical fitness and preparing yourself, you will
             continue to **climb another mountain in life**.'
        b.   Reforming in feeling is the **highest state** in this life that a soul may **come
             to**, but the **climb towards it** is gradual.   (BNC_794)

British English has slightly more instances focusing on the orientation of movement: *upward/forward* as making good progress and *downward/backward* as falling behind. Compared with the Mandarin Chinese speakers, British English speakers' place more attention on the happenings on a life journey (CHANGES/PROGRESS 14.2%) than to the destination (PURPOSE 6.5%). In the following section, we will see that a similar aspect, ACTION/CAUSE, is also more salient in British English, inviting us to think about the crucial role of motion and impetus in the life view of British English communities.

5.6   ACTIONS AND CAUSES ARE FORCES

ACTION and CAUSE are both related to the motivation of moving. Starting an action is often described as "taking a step." Extraneous forces may push a person forward on the life journey, but sometimes the motion comes from inward drives, as in (18).

(18)   a.   學習新事物，是我人生最大的動力之一。
                                            (TaiwanWAC, mychannel.pchome.com.tw)
             'Learning new things is one of my biggest **propulsions** of life.'
        b.   Everyone has a purpose in life, he thought. It's what **keeps them going**.
                                                               (BNC_400)

One interesting characteristic of the Chinese FORCES is that they are usually expressed in terms of weathers – in most cases favorable *winds* and *tides*, as in (19).

(19) 將來能有足夠的智慧及能力承受失敗與成功，在人生旅途上能一一乘風
破浪，克服難關。   (TaiwanWAC, blog.joy.com.tw)
'In the future, (we) will have enough wisdom and capability to withstand fail-
ures and successes, and we will be able to **ride the wind, break the waves**, and
overcome the difficulties in our life journey.'

Such force may be positive, as already shown in (18) and (19), but the journeyer
may also be carried away or pushed involuntarily to some place, meaning being
forced to move on, as in (20).

(20) a.   妳真的一生都在忙妳眉毛耶！人生整個被牽著走！
                                                    (TaiwanWAC, m.cts.com.tw)
'You have been busy with shaving eyebrows in your life! (Your) whole life
is **being dragged around**!'
      b.   Thus stage by stage we **get carried ever further away** from real life. In real
life Labour had no chance of winning.   (BNC_1553)

Be it positive or negative, force/motivation plays a more salient role in the British
English data (13.1% as opposed to 8.1% in Chinese). This shows that British English
speakers tend to put more emphasis on the impetus of life that causes an individual
to change directions or the speed of motion, while the Chinese data are less likely
to reflect the motivation of movement.

5.7   ROLES IN LIFE ARE ROLES ON A JOURNEY

Unlike other aspects that emphasize structural similarities between two domains,
the ROLE aspect compares the roles, or the ontological elements, of JOURNEY with
those of LIFE. Previous studies (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson,
1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Winter, 1995) on LIFE IS A JOURNEY only mention the
role of the LIVING INDIVIDUAL (or LIVER as in Figure 2) being described as JOUR-
NEYER, but there are actually other roles related to JOURNEY that are commonly
employed to talk about LIFE, including *companions* and *baggage* in addition to the
journeyers themselves, as in (21).

(21) a.   一直到唸大學，出社會，人生的行囊裡不會沒有書相伴的。
                                                    (TaiwanWAC, kcta.org.tw)
'Until I went to college, entered society, **my baggage of life** always contained
books.'
      b.   she had **carried forward into adult life** the single-minded ruthlessness of
the young…   (BNC_759)

These metaphorical expressions are chosen because they indicate significant "relations" to the journeying individual. Although these relations seem to help or hinder the journeyer and fit the ACTION/CAUSE category, their support or hindrance is not as clearly stated. For example, in (21b), what has been carried, presumably the baggage, refers to the personality of the traveling individual, which often makes the ROLE aspect hard to interpret in de-contextualized situations.

6.   Conclusion

I have shown that the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, prevailing in both world languages under investigation, reveals variety- and culture-specific manifestations. Despite the similarities, the Chinese data highlights DIFFICULTIES and PURPOSES, while British English foregrounds more ACTION/CAUSE and CHANGE/PROGRESS. Preferences and elaborations vary in these two languages in accordance with distinct cultural views: The Chinese society finds satisfaction in goal-achievement, social obligation, and intellectual challenges, whereas the British English society values personal willpower, forward movement, and alternative choices instead of a pre-determined destination on the life journey. Such difference influences not just the concept of LIFE but may have also shaped distinct views toward JOURNEY. Metaphorical mappings are constrained not only by the target domain but by cultural models in particular societies. Kövecses (2005, p. 4) states that "[c]ultures greatly influence what complex conceptual metaphors emerge from the primary metaphors." LIFE IS A JOURNEY is based on the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, or the fundamental bodily experience of moving around to complete tasks; however, as correctly predicted by Yu (2008), culture has filtered the ideas made available (or possible) for the respective mappings.

The current study is nevertheless limited in some respects. First, I used a keyword search and analyzed the sampled items via concordance lines, where contextual clues could have been neglected. Although I manually expanded the search width to five clauses, the possibility of missing information cannot be completely eliminated. Also, many metaphorical expressions of LIFE may not contain the keyword "life" or "rensheng." For example, an expression such as *Look how far we've come* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 45) can be a metaphor of LIFE in the appropriate context but the word "life" is not explicitly stated. These two limitations could be lifted if metaphors were studied in complete, coherent texts. Texts could be selected from self-help books or magazines to compile a small-size corpus for studies of metaphors in discourse.

With the proliferation of cross-linguistic studies on metaphors, more case studies have helped unravel the interaction of source and target domains under the

influence of culture. To further the study of metaphors beyond simple source-target connections, future studies should be conducted to find the types and extents of cultural influences. Comparative studies of metaphors are promising in this respect and could also have significant implications for intercultural communication.

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ESSENTIALS and VALUABLES

Cultural conceptualizations of Cantonese rice idioms

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Rice has a long history of being the staple grain for the Cantonese communities. The prominence of rice is also captured in the abundance of rice-related idioms in the Cantonese vernacular. Within the theoretical and analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017), this chapter examines the cultural conceptualizations underlying Cantonese food idioms that contain the rice-related keywords *mai*, *faan*, and *zuk*, and discusses the extent of idiomaticity of these idioms from a Cantonese speakers' perspective. The analyzed idioms are collected from eight dictionaries and reference books of Cantonese colloquial expressions mostly published within the last two decades and screened through an online survey participated by 147 Cantonese speakers from Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau. The study discovers that Cantonese speakers often conceptualize various types of essentials and valuables through the domain of RICE. Specific-level elaborations of these conceptualizations are embedded in distinctive rice idioms. Furthermore, through exploring the speakers' degree of consciousness about the identified cultural conceptualizations, the extent of idiomaticity the speakers perceive of the idioms is discussed. In all, the chapter concludes that Cantonese rice idioms are instantiations of a complex and dynamic system of culturally constructed conceptualizations that reflect both the Cantonese worldviews and the rhetorical creativity of the Cantonese speakers.

Keywords: Cantonese rice idioms, cultural conceptualizations, conceptual processing, idiomaticity, Cantonese worldview

1.   Introduction

Food preparation and consumption are some of the most fundamental human activities. The Cantonese communities are known for their passion and skills in culinary art, which is also linguistically reflected in the abundance of food expressions including food-related idioms in the Cantonese vernacular spoken in Guangzhou,

Hong Kong, and Macau. Among the collection of Cantonese food idioms, there is an outstanding number of rice-related idioms. Rice has a long history as the sole staple grain in the diet of Southern Chinese. The earliest record of Southern Chinese planting rice as the leading crop dates back to 770 BC.[1] Rice provides the main source of carbohydrates for the Cantonese communities and rice foods are prevalent on the Cantonese menu. Linguistically, *mai [米]* and *faan [饭]* are two fundamental lexical morphemes in the rice-related vocabulary. The former is the generic term for 'rice' in Cantonese and also refers to the uncooked rice grains. The latter refers to the cooked rice grains and also has an extended meaning of a whole meal. Additionally, *zuk [粥]* also appears frequently in the rice-related lexicon as it is the name for rice congee, one of the most common Cantonese rice foods.

This chapter studies Cantonese rice idioms within the theoretical and analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017). Particularly, the chapter explores cultural conceptualizations relating to rice through examining Cantonese food idioms that contain the rice-related keywords *mai*, *faan*, and/or *zuk* introduced above. Firstly, the study investigates the semantic meanings and pragmatic functions of the rice idioms used by Cantonese speakers with authentic speech data, collected by means of a linguistic ethnographic approach (Copland & Creese, 2015b, 2015a). Subsequently, the study explicates the cultural conceptualizations underlying the rice idioms focusing on the respective elaborations of conceptualizations of ESSENTIALS and VALUABLES through *MAI*. Lastly, the study looks into the speakers' consciousness about the identified conceptualizations underlying the target idioms and how it affects the speakers' perception of the idiomaticity in the target idioms.

2.   Research of food metaphors and their linguistic instantiations

Conceptual metaphors with food and food-related behavior (e.g., eating, drinking, and cooking) as source domains[2] are often instantiated in food-related expressions and food idioms. Following the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999, 2003), some of these metaphors have been comprehensively explored and analyzed (e.g., Jaggar & Buba, 2009; Newman, 1997; Song, 2009; Wierzbicka, 2009; Yamaguchi, 2009). Many of the discussed food

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1.   As recorded in *Chou li-Chih fang shih* (770 BC): *the southeast is called Yang Chou…its grain is tao* [the Chinese term for the rice crop].

2.   There are also a few studies that explore metaphors in which particular food and food-related activities are the target domain. For example, Caballero (2007, 2009) analyzes conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the target domain of wine jargon ("winespeak") in wine advertising and wine tasting contexts.

metaphors are considered universal across human speech communities. For example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 47) identify IDEAS ARE FOOD as a near-universal general metaphor that finds its instantiations across languages. Kövecses (2002, pp. 18, 72–74) argues that the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor reflects basic mappings in the human mind that facilitate the perception of structural similarities between an abstract and a concrete concept. Moreover, Lakoff (1993) applies the Conceptual Metaphor Theory to dream analysis and demonstrates how general food metaphors such as RESOURCES ARE FOOD and ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS EATING help interpret dreams.

There has also been a growing awareness among researchers that conceptual mechanisms like metaphors and metonymies, especially those embedded in conventional figurative expressions such as idioms, are often culturally constructed. For example, Boers (2003) argues that conceptual metaphors underlying figurative expressions are often culture-dependent resulting from the culture-dependent complex experiential domains that underlie the metaphors (see also Boers et al., 2004). Charteris-Black (2003) emphasizes that different cultural attitudes and stylistic preferences between two speech communities may result in different tendencies to metaphoric or metonymic "conceptual keys" employed in figurative expressions in the two languages.

Among the abundant cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies of conceptual metaphors, a significant number of them focus on food metaphors. For example, Emanatian (1995, 1996), Maalej (2007), Pham (2016), Spang (2011), and Tsang (2009) investigate the linguistic representations of the SEX IS EATING metaphor in Chagga, Tunisian Arabic, Vietnamese, Caribbean English, and Cantonese respectively. Some researchers have explored the cultural motivation behind food metaphors. For instance, Liu (2002) elaborates extensively on the important role eating events play in Chinese culture. He contends that the abundance of food and eating metaphors in Chinese is sourced from extra-linguistic cultural practices guided by the Chinese worldviews. Furthermore, there are also studies of multimodal food metaphors that look at food metaphors beyond simply their linguistic instantiations, such as the ones by Silaški and Đurović (2013) and Tseng (2017), the latter also placing the study in an intercultural context.

By investigating the relationship between language and *cultural conceptualizations* (Sharifian, 2011, pp. 38–39, 2017, pp. 2–3, 18), Cultural Linguistics has provided a culturally-oriented approach that contributes to many studies that investigate culturally-specific conceptualizations including the studies of food metaphors. For instance, Wolf and Polzenhagen (2007, 2009) explicate how WITCHCRAFT, LEADERSHIP, WEALTH, and the cultural model of COMMUNITY are conceptualized through a culturally-specific conceptual network of FOOD and EATING metaphors in African varieties of English. Cummings and Wolf (2011) identify a series of cultural

conceptualizations with FOOD and FOOD CONTAINER as source domains in linguistic items of Hong Kong English. Studies on figurative expressions such as idioms and proverbs have also yielded fruitful findings with this approach (e.g., Fiedler, 2017; Khajeh & Ho Abdullah, 2012; Lu, 2017; Yu, 2017).

3. The study: Analytical framework, data and materials

This section makes notes of the suitability of Cultural Linguistics as the analytical framework in this study and elaborates on the data and materials used for the analysis.

3.1 Analytical framework

The present study takes advantage of the strengths of the Cultural Linguistics framework to investigate cultural conceptualizations underlying common Cantonese rice idioms. It employs analytical tools such as *cultural schema*, *cultural category*, and *cultural metaphor* to analyze the conceptual processing of the target idioms. The analysis also includes cases of culturally constructed metonymies. Moreover, the study adapts Sharifian's notion of *cognitive processing continuum* (2017, pp. 21–22) to explore the idiomaticity of the rice idioms from the Cantonese speakers' perspective through examining their consciousness about the embedded cultural conceptualizations.

Sharifian (2017) speculates that "cultural metaphors are best viewed along a continuum" (p. 18) and argues with examples in Aboriginal English that "what appears to be a cultural metaphor from the *etic* perspective of an outsider to Aboriginal English may actually be an entirely non-metaphorical conceptualization originating in the Aboriginal worldview" (p. 21); metaphors as such "do not qualify as metaphoric from the *emic* perspective… they provide a cognitive frame used by the speakers for making sense and organizing their cultural experiences… as such are understood as literal statements not involving any figurative language" (p. 21). He proposes to term these conceptualizations "worldview metaphors" (p. 22). Worldview metaphors are situated at one end of the cognitive processing continuum, opposite to creative conceptualizations situating at the other end, which represent the speakers' conscious and creative rhetorical use of figurative language.

Idioms are types of conventional figurative expressions that are often instantiations of conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies (Gibbs & Colston, 2012). The meaning of an idiom is considered conceptually constructed rather than composed of the combined meanings of its linguistic constituents (Kövecses, 2002, 2010; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Lakoff, 1987). However, if we follow Sharifian's (2017) argument and look at idioms of a language from the speakers' perspective,

the speakers may not always fully acknowledge the idiomaticity in these expressions. Depending on their degree of consciousness about the underlying conceptualization, the speakers may perceive an 'idiom' as from completely non-idiomatic (i.e., literal) to highly idiomatic (or highly figurative). As shown in Figure 1 below, a conceptual processing continuum adapted from Sharifian's (2017) cognitive processing continuum works as a spectrum to posit the identified cultural conceptualizations in the present study. This continuum incorporates the rice idioms' extent of idiomaticity perceived by the speakers corresponding to the speakers' consciousness about the underlying cultural conceptualizations. By positing the identified cultural conceptualizations and their linguistic instantiations along the continuum, it aims to present an overall tendency of Cantonese speakers' conceptual processing of the target idioms and the degrees to which the underlying conceptualizations are harnessed in the speakers' worldview.
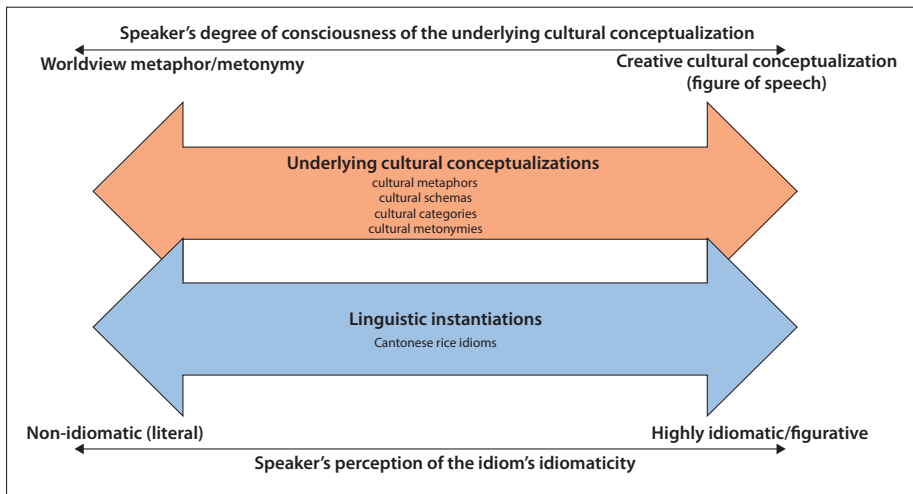
Figure 1. The conceptual processing continuum of Cantonese rice idioms

3.2   Cantonese rice idioms and data collection

The definitions and classifications of an idiom vary in the literature, and idioms in different languages may also have different linguistic representations. Therefore, it is seemingly impossible to give a single and mutually agreed upon definition of the term *idiom*. Nevertheless, despite the diverse viewpoints in idiom definition and classification, there are some commonly addressed features. Liu (2008) reviews and compares major views on the syntactical and semantic criteria of idiom in the literature, and provides a synthesis of some of these commonly addressed features, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. A summary of major scholars' views on criteria for idioms
(Liu, 2008, p. 14 with modification)

Scholars	Mono-morpheme (free or bound)	Polymorphic Word (Semantically Unpredictable)		Multi-word (Phrase) (structural variance restricted)			Clause/Sentence (proverbs, sayings, etc.)
		1 free + bound morphemes	Minimally 2 free morphemes	Literal	Non/semi-literal	Totally opaque (excluding figurative/ non-literal)	
Hockett	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Katz		Yes			Yes		
Makkai			Yes	Yes (idioms of encoding)	Yes (idioms of decoding) (including phrasal verbs)		Yes
Weinreich					Yes		
Fraser			Yes		Yes (including phrasal verbs)		
Wood			Yes		Yes		
Fernando				Yes	Yes (including phrasal verbs)		Yes
Moon					Yes		
Grant & Bauer						Yes	Yes

As outlined in the table, an idiom usually consists of two or more lexical constituents; is usually rigid in structure and allows no or very limited variance; and its idiomatic meaning cannot be derived from a simple combination or word-by-word interpretation of the meanings of its constituents. In addition, scholars such as Makkai (1972), Fernando (1996), and Murar (2009) also consider pragmatic functions in idiom classification. Taking into account the above perspectives and the linguistic features of Cantonese figurative expressions, Figure 2 provides an operational model for defining and classifying Cantonese rice idioms in the present study.

The model defines rice idioms from three inter-related perspectives. Formatively, the rice idioms should be fixed and conventionally accepted colloquial
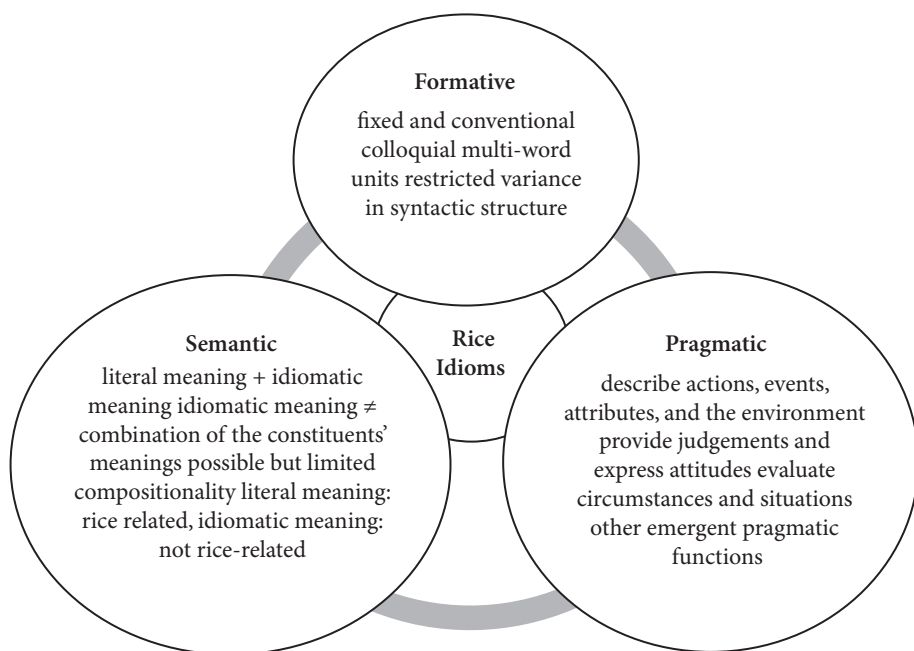
Figure 2. An operational model of Cantonese rice idioms

multi-word units and may have certain but restricted variance in syntactic structure. Semantically, all selected rice idioms should have a literal meaning and an idiomatic meaning, and the idiomatic meaning is not a simple combination of the meanings of the idiom's constituents. Nonetheless, it is possible that an idiom has a limited degree of compositionality with which the literal meanings of some constituents may contribute to facilitating the overall idiomatic meaning. Moreover, the literal meaning of a rice idiom should be rice-related while the idiomatic meaning should be non-rice-related. Pragmatically, a Cantonese rice idiom can be used to describe actions, events, attributes, and the environment; provide judgements and express attitudes, evaluate circumstances and situations; and may obtain other emergent pragmatic functions wherever possible and appropriate in use under the emic judgement of the speaker. This operational model provides a set of criteria for the data collection process in the present study, and it also serves as a reference for data analysis.

The study aims to identify and examine cultural conceptualizations instantiated in Cantonese speakers' current use of rice idioms and hence, the target data should be rice idioms that are commonly known and actively used by Cantonese speakers. Taking this factor into consideration, rice idioms collected for analysis are sourced from eight dictionaries and reference books of Cantonese colloquial expressions

composed or revised within the latest two and a half decades (i.e., Hutton & Bolton, 2005; Kwan, 2010; Lo & Tam, 1996; Lo-Tam, 2007; Ouyang et al., 2009; Rao et al., 2009; So, 2002; Zeng, 2008). The collected idioms were then screened through an online questionnaire surveying the speakers' knowledge and frequency of use of the idioms. 147 Cantonese L1 speakers born and residing in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau participated in this survey. In the survey, the primarily sourced rice idioms were presented one by one, and the participants were first asked to identify whether they know the idiom presented and then asked to identify the frequency of use of the idiom (if they know it) by selecting one of the five frequency choices. These choices are given a hidden value from 1 to 5 in ascending accordance with the frequency of use (see the original Cantonese questionnaire excerpt presented in Appendix 1 with English translation). Subsequently, the mean value that reflects both the speakers' average knowledge and frequency of use of each rice idiom was calculated. Rice idioms with a mean value higher than 3, which signifies an above-average knowledge and frequency of use of the idiom among the speakers, were selected as target data.

3.3   Materials for analysis

The selected rice idioms were analyzed with sample materials collected by means of a linguistic ethnographic approach (Copland & Creese, 2015b), where no a priori presumptions are involved in terms of what an idiom means, how it is used, and what underlying conceptualizations are to be identified. Following the linguistic ethnographic approach which encourages researchers to collect materials from a wide and unrestricted range of sources (Copland & Creese, 2015a), primary materials for analysis in this study include verbal and non-verbal discourse containing the target idioms collected from various sources in both digital and printed forms. Major sources of materials include online articles, online forums and chatrooms, social media platforms, audio and video databases, printed materials, pictures and images, and the researcher's personal communication with cultural informants who are first language Cantonese speakers from Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau. Each sample presented in this chapter is given a referencing code that reflects the source type. Moreover, all collected materials were produced within a time frame of the last two decades (i.e., 2000 until the present) in consistence with the aim of the study.

4. Cultural conceptualizations of Cantonese rice idioms

Rice, or *mai* in Cantonese, is the sole staple grain in the Cantonese diet and this distinguishes MAI as a separate cultural category in the Cantonese communities from other categories of grains such as WHEAT and MAIZE. Within the generic cultural category of MAI, there is the uncooked subcategory MAI with *mai* itself as an instance and the cooked subcategory FAAN within which *faan* and *zuk* are among the most commonly seen instances on the Cantonese dining table.[3] The above three instances are also frequently found as the main constituents in the Cantonese rice-related idioms.

The Cantonese cultural category of MAI lays a conceptual foundation for a more elaborated system of cultural conceptualizations underlying the Cantonese rice idioms.

The most salient sets of cultural conceptualizations identified from the target idioms are the conceptualizations of various types of essentials and valuables through the generic domain of MAI. These cultural conceptualizations are respectively analyzed in the following sections.

4.1 Cultural conceptualizations of ESSENTIALS

The knowledge and beliefs of *mai* and *faan* are often mapped onto the conceptualizations of a wide range of target domains relating to an essential element of an entity or construct. Some of these target domains, such as BASIC LIFE NECESSITIES and LIFE EXPERIENCES, are more concrete; while others, such as THE SOURCE OF INTELLIGENCE and THE ESSENCE OF A CONSTRUCT, are associated with more abstract concepts. In this study, these essential elements are all regarded as instances of a cultural category ESSENTIALS. *Essentials* here refers to "the fundamental elements or characteristics of something" ("Essentials," n.d.). The conceptual mapping between ESSENTIALS and MAI can be either metaphoric or metonymic depending on the specific target domain.

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3. Here the cooked subcategory of the generic category MAI is labeled as FAAN, as *faan* is the most common and prominent instance under this category. This subcategory includes all the instances of rice foods made of the rice grains. Other than *faan*, *zuk*, the rice congee, is also a popular instance. There are also other instances such as *zung [粽]*, a type of sticky rice pudding, *fan [粉]*, a type of rice noodle made of rice flour, and *mai wu [米糊]*, a type of thick rice paste usually used as baby food or nursery food for the sick and the elderly.

4.1.1   *MAI FOR BASIC LIFE NECESSITIES*

It is common that Cantonese speakers perceive basic commodities that sustain the fundamental routine of life through *mai*. As the staple food of a Cantonese household, *mai* assumes a symbolic role that stands for all basic necessities crucial for survival, instantiating a metonymy MAI FOR BASIC LIFE NECESSITIES. This is a culturally-constructed elaboration of the conceptual metonymy SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC (Radden & Kövecses, 2007). Rice idioms instantiating this metonymy often describe life activities that involve the possessing and handling of basic necessities and reflecting the attitude towards these related activities. For example, the idiom 柴米油盐酱醋茶 ('firewood, *mai*, oil, salt, sauce, vinegar, and tea') includes seven basic items Cantonese people consider fundamental and essential for making the simplest meal. The expression is often used as a generic term standing for all products needed to fulfill the basic physiological needs of life. Idiomatically, it has also extended to refer to a down-to-earth routine of practical and materialistic living contrary to ways of living that prioritize spiritual cultivation or ideological development. Example[4] (1) below presents this contrast.

(1)   我所关心嘅只不过系**柴米油盐酱醋茶**，至于乜嘢'普世价值'，乜嘢'天下大同，人人平等'，我并唔知道
I only care about **the worldly routine of life**, but regarding things like 'universal value' and 'a world in harmony and all men being equal,' I have no idea.

(FC01)

The idiom 食饱无忧米 ('eat worriless *mai* till full') on the other hand, is often used to criticize a person, who is living a comfortable life with stable and sufficient life supplies, for not having understanding and empathy for the hardship of other people, as shown in Example (2).

(2)   周永康，只能显示他自己无后顾之忧，**食饱无忧米**，不食人间烟火，与社会脱节的一面，至于...... '同理心'，笔者却从不认为周永康具有这项优点
Zau-wing-hong only showed himself as someone who did not have to look over his shoulder, **who had been living a worry-free life,** who was oblivious of the plights of the ordinary people, and who had been detached from the society. As for 'empathy,' the author has never thought Zau-wing-hong had this virtue.

(OA01)

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4.   All examples in this paper are presented as the original Cantonese text with an equivalent English translation. The target idiom and its idiomatic translation are both marked in bold. The present study does not include a morpheme-by-morpheme linguistic analysis of the examples and therefore, the examples are not glossed.

If an individual consumes the supplies of a household or an organization without making any contribution, they may be called with contempt a 蛀米大虫 ('big *mai* borer'), such as the boomerang kid referred to in (3), the title of a Hong Kong newspaper article.

(3)　做足*8*年蛀米大虫唔做家務　紐約父母入稟法院逐无业子
　　　Son having been 8 years of **a boomerang kid** and not doing housework, New York parents file to court to banish unemployed son from home.　　(OA02)

The conceptual connection between basic life necessities and *mai* is established through the cultural schema of *MAI*, which captures the essential cultural status of *mai* in the Cantonese worldview. Embedded in the cultural schema of *mai* is the belief that *mai* is the most fundamental and essential substance in a household because *mai* feeds the family, fuels the family with energy that yields productivity, and thereby sustains its livelihood. Therefore, an important criterion to evaluate the stability and sustainability of a household is if the household is stocked with sufficient *mai*. Resultatively, also incorporated in the *MAI* schema is the moral value that *mai* should not be wasted and a consumer of *mai* in the household should contribute to the household. Accordingly, someone who wastes or consumes *mai* but makes no contribution is perceived with disapproval as a pest on the basis of an image schema A PEST EATING INTO *MAI* Cantonese speakers develop through their experience that pests may bore the *mai* and make it inedible if it is not stored properly.

4.1.2　*AN ELEMENTAL/COMMON LIFE EXPERIENCE IS MAI*

The cultural status of *mai* as the indispensable staple can also assist Cantonese speakers in conceptualizing elemental-level common life experiences. The idiom 食盐多过你食米 ('have eaten more salt than you have eaten *mai*') reflects this cross-domain conceptualization. In interactions between interlocutors with significant age differences and hence difference in life experience, this idiom is uttered when a more experienced and usually older/senior interlocutor intends to gain authority in decision making vis-à-vis a less experienced and usually younger/junior interlocutor, as shown in Example (4).

(4)　我食盐多过你食米啦!使你教我?
　　　I have more experience than you do! Do you think I need your lecture/advice?
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(OA03)

This idiom instantiates the conceptualization of LIFE EXPERIENCE through the cultural schema of a regular CANTONESE MEAL, which includes the staple food *mai* and dishes seasoned with Cantonese condiments. The indispensable *mai* shares

conceptual similarity with the elemental-level common experience every individual inevitably gains, while the more advanced or rarer experience is perceived through *salt*, a condiment frequently but not heavily used in Cantonese cooking. The counter pair of cultural metaphors instantiated are AN ELEMENTAL/COMMON LIFE EXPERIENCE IS *MAI* and AN ADVANCED/RARE LIFE EXPERIENCE IS SALT. As Cantonese speakers see *mai* as indispensable while salt as simply supplementary, the comparison of *mai* intake and salt intake between the two interlocutors represented by the literal composition of the idiom allows the utterer to clearly convey their condescending tone of superiority.

4.1.3 *THE SOURCE OF INTELLIGENCE IS MAI*

Apart from facilitating the conceptualizations of basic life necessities and life experience, *mai* is also a source domain for the conceptualization of human intelligence. 食塞米 ('eat jamming *mai*') is often uttered when a Cantonese speaker casts a stern and harsh accusation of an individual's lack of knowledge and skills due to foolishness. Example (5) is transcribed from the video recording of a Hong Kong Panel on Constitutional Affairs meeting where a speaker aggressively accuses staff members from an affiliated bureau of being incompetent in their job.

> (5) 你哋嗰啲內地辦事處做咩啊，**食塞米**，通報唔到嘅，咩事都未知嘅
> What were those Mainland offices doing? (The staff were) **foolish and incompetent**, they failed to file a report, (they) did not even know what had happened.
> (AV01)

The literal meaning of the idiom elicits the cultural schema of INDIGESTION, in which the eaten *mai* is visualized as getting jammed in the digestive system and thereby presumably the human body fails to obtain the nutrients from the jammed *mai*. Mapping this cultural schema onto the domain of HUMAN INTELLIGENCE, Cantonese speakers construct a conceptual connection between the consumption and digestion of *mai* and the development of intelligence. The possibility of this conceptual mapping results from the Cantonese cultural belief of intelligence as having developed from a source outside the human body and as needing to be acquired and internalized. Accordingly, the process of acquiring intelligence can be either a success or a failure, as analogically represented in the outcome of digestion and indigestion. The idiom 食塞米 ('eat jamming *mai*') entails the cluster of the cultural conceptualizations THE SOURCE OF INTELLIGENCE IS *MAI*, INTELLIGENCE IS NUTRIENTS IN *MAI*, ACQUIRING INTELLIGENCE IS EATING *MAI*, INTERNALIZING INTELLIGENCE IS DIGESTING THE EATEN *MAI*, and LACKING INTELLIGENCE IS THE RESULT OF FAILING TO DIGEST THE EATEN *MAI*.

4.1.4   *THE ESSENCE OF A CONSTRUCT IS MAI IN A ZUK PRODUCT*

The essential role of *mai* in the Cantonese meal routine also brings Cantonese speakers to conceptualize the essence of a construct in general as *mai* in a rice product. One typical idiom that reflects this cross-domain conceptualization is 冇米粥 ('*zuk* without *mai*'). The fundamental sense of the idiom centers on the lack of the essential element in a certain entity or social construct, and the specific idiomatic connotation varies. Depending on the context and communicative setting, 冇米粥 can refer to a business deal with no anticipated profits, a proposal that is not put into action, an empty promise without realization, or a piece of fake news (with no encoded truth). Example (6) is where 冇米粥 is used to stand for a rumor.

(6)   Stephy 结婚冇米粥
       Stephy getting married (is) **a rumor**.   (OA04)

Despite its polysemy, one central cultural conceptualization consistently entailed in the idiom is THE ESSENCE OF A CONSTRUCT IS *MAI* IN A *ZUK* PRODUCT. The cross-domain connection is built through the Cantonese conventional knowledge of *zuk* making. *Mai* is the essential ingredient in a Cantonese *zuk* product. A *zuk* product is hardly complete or qualified without *mai* in it. This knowledge is captured to conceptualize the indispensable determining factor or intrinsic nature of a construct. If the determining factor or the intrinsic nature ceases to exist in a construct, the construct itself ceases to maintain its character or is stuck at a vague and incomplete stage, as an unformed or incomplete *zuk* product would be.

4.1.5   *A (WELL-CONSIDERED) DECISION IS FAAN*

Despite the fact that *MAI* is the major source domain in the conceptualization of various essential elements, *FAAN*, another subcategory of the generic *MAI*, is also occasionally captured as the source domain for similar conceptualizations. An idiom from the selected data instantiating this cross-domain conceptualization is 睇餸食饭 ('watch the dishes to eat *faan*'). The idiom originated as a Cantonese table manner which advises an individual to be aware of the portion of dishes they can consume along with the staple *faan* during a meal and to adjust the amount of *faan* intake accordingly, so that other people sharing the meal can have a sufficient amount of the dishes to eat with their *faan*. Idiomatically, Cantonese speakers use the idiom to indicate decision making that takes into consideration the available resources and the immediate circumstances. Example (7) below reflects the idiomatic use of the expression.

(7)   我哋剩返好少钱，阵间买嘢要睇餸食饭
       We have little money left and will have to **make well-considered decision** when shopping later.   (OA05)

The major cultural schema embedded in the idiom is that of DECISION MAKING. This cultural schema encompasses the knowledge that in decision making, the circumstances should be carefully considered, and it is important to make flexible adjustments according to the circumstances. In this idiom, the decision maker is conceptualized through the role schema of THE MEAL EATER. The embedded cultural metaphors of decision making are A DECISION IS *FAAN* and MAKING A DECISION IS EATING *FAAN*. On the other hand, the conditions that require consideration during decision making are conceptualized via the cultural schema of DISHES AVAILABLE AT THE DINING TABLE. Implicitly incorporated in the DISHES schema is the dynamics that the dishes are continuously being consumed during a meal and thereby the meal eaters have to constantly adjust the food amount they consume to maintain sufficient food for everyone. This pattern mapped onto the domain of decision making entails the conceptualization of flexibility and justice in decision making, initiating the cultural metaphor CONSIDERING THE CIRCUMSTANCES IS WATCHING THE DISHES.

4.2   Cultural conceptualizations of VALUABLES

Another set of salient cultural conceptualizations identified from the Cantonese rice idioms is the conceptualizations of valuables. Here, valuables can be concrete substances or abstract entities that have an incorporated value. Subcategories of valuables conceptualized through the Cantonese staple food *mai* and *faan* vary from the more general types, such as money and practical benefit in general perceived through *mai*, to the more specific ones, such as occupational remuneration and personal possessions perceived through *faan*. Particularly, information is also categorized as a type of valuable entity and is conceptualized via the cultural knowledge of *faan*.

4.2.1   *MONEY IS MAI*

The cultural importance of *mai* is often brought to conceptualize various types of monetary assets. A financially wealthy individual is commonly labeled or commented on as 有米, someone that 'has *mai*.' Example (8) shows how a speaker makes a statement about someone's financial status with the idiom.

(8)   佢平时好悭嘅，大家都睇唔出佢其实好有米
        He is very frugal; no one can tell he is actually **very wealthy**.   (OA06)

The cultural metaphor underlying the idiom is MONEY IS *MAI*. The motivation at work for the cross-domain conceptualization is the previously discussed conventional belief of *mai* as a criterion for evaluating the status of livelihood captured in the *MAI* schema. The importance of *mai* reflected in the proposition schema *MAI*

IS AN IMPORTANT ASSET OF THE HOUSEHOLD facilitates the conceptual perception of money in regard to its significance or value. Furthermore, the conceptual connection between money and *mai* is also motivated by the Cantonese cultural schema of WORLDLY LIFE. 'Worldly' here takes the sense "of or concerned with material values or ordinary life rather than a spiritual existence" ("Worldly," n.d.). The Cantonese WORLDLY LIFE schema prioritizes the practical and materialistic way of living, where working in exchange for money to obtain basic life necessities is the main focus of daily routine, among other purposes or goals of life. Therefore, an individual's abundant possession of *mai* is a direct symbol of their abundant possession of wealth.

Moreover, the entailments of the MONEY IS *MAI* metaphor have been enriched along the economic and societal development. Contemporary Cantonese speakers often regard financial assets and symbolic items of wealth as extended instances of the cultural category MONEY. Example (9) below indicates this conceptual development.

(9) 今天说有米，米可以系别墅和豪华房车嘅锁匙，亦可以系储蓄卡同保险柜嘅密码。

Talking about **having *mai*** today, *mai* can be keys to a mansion and a luxurious limousine, and it can also be the passwords of a bank account and a safe.

(OA07)

4.2.2   *REMUNERATION IS FAAN*

Besides the general conceptualization of money and benefit through the generic *MAI*, more specific categories of valuables, such as occupational income and benefit, are often conceptualized through the subcategory *FAAN*. As a more specific elaboration of the MONEY/BENEFIT IS *MAI* metaphors, the cultural conceptualization REMUNERATION IS *FAAN* is instantiated in a set of rice idioms. The idiomatic connotations of these idioms are in different fashions associated with the job-related domain and thereby reflect different cultural conceptualizations associated with the REMUNERATION IS *FAAN* metaphor. For example, the idiom 铁饭碗 ('iron *faan* bowl') refers to a stable and well remunerated governmental job such as a civil servant position, and the idiom 大镬饭 ('big wok *faan*') is a derogatory reference to an egalitarian employment system where all employees in an enterprise receive the same job remuneration and benefits despite their individual differences in abilities.[5] One cultural conceptualization entailed in these two idioms is A JOB IS A

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5.   Although some of these idioms such as 铁饭碗 ('iron *faan* bowl') and 大镬饭 ('big wok *faan*') are not unique to Cantonese as they are symbolic linguistic products of an era of political and social change in China which involved most Chinese communities (i.e., the Planned Economy Era of China between the 1950s and the early 1980s), the connotations of these idioms in Cantonese

FAAN CONTAINER, the source of which in the former idiom is a bowl, while in the latter it is a wok. On a different note, the crucial personnel or institution that has manipulative power over the remunerational or financial funding system is portrayed as the master figure in control of rice in the idiom 米饭班主 ('*mai-faan*[6] master'), which instantiates the cultural metaphor THE PERSONNEL/INSTITUTION DECISIVE OVER THE REMUNERATION/FINANCIAL FUNDING SYSTEM IS THE MASTER IN CONTROL OF *MAI-FAAN*.

Some idioms present a more sidetracked aspect in the job-remuneration domain by illustrating a domestic relationship less conventional in Cantonese societies, where a male member lives on the income of his female partner. 食软饭 ('eat soft *faan*') and 食拖鞋饭 ('eat slippers *faan*') are two idioms with this connotation. These two idioms are exclusively used to describe a male figure, and the users of the idioms usually convey a tone of sarcasm and disapproval. Underlying the idiomatic meaning and pragmatic function of the idioms are two sets of conceptual mechanisms. Firstly, the connotation of 'living on the income from work' is motivated by the cross-domain conceptualization SPENDING (EARNED) INCOME IS EATING *FAAN*, a culturally constructed elaboration of the conceptual metaphor USING UP RESOURCES IS EATING FOOD (see Lakoff, 1993). Secondly, the sarcasm and tone of disapproval toward the male referent are facilitated through eliciting cultural conceptualizations conventionally associated with women. The first idiom entails the schema of SOFTNESS, which illustrates traits and properties commonly associated with female figures. And the second idiom evokes the cultural category of SLIPPERS, a type of domestic footwears in the Cantonese household, inferring the image of a domestic family member, who is also stereotypically female. With these two sets of conceptual mechanisms at work, the two idioms vividly portray an image of a kept man who is financially supported by his female partner.

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compared to those in other Chinese vernaculars such as Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua) reflect a certain extent of cultural specialness. 铁饭碗 ('iron *faan* bowl') in the Cantonese context appears to have gone through a special semantic narrowing and occurs more restrictedly as a synonym of *a governmental job* or *a civil servant position* other than the more general connotation of a *long-term stable and high-income job* in for example, Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua). 大镬饭 ('big wok *faan*'), on the other hand, has gone through a partial semantic broadening in the Cantonese context with which it has extended its connotation to critique not only the egalitarian remuneration package in the workplace but also other aspects of the social system such as the non-differential execution of social welfare policies, especially regarding the provision of financial benefits and assistance for members of society.

6. *Mai-faan* is a more formal synonym of *faan*.

4.2.3   *A BENEFIT IS MAI*

Other than monetary assets, Cantonese speakers also conceptualize various types of practical benefit through *mai*. *Benefit* here is a label for different forms of value generated from purposeful human actions. Some instances of benefit can be yielded financial profits, achieved goals, or secured advantages.

Cantonese speakers often describe an individual's success in achieving their goal or fulfilling their purpose through hard work as 得米, literally meaning 'have got the *mai*'. This usage also implies the forthcoming benefit the individual can gain from the success. Example (10) is the title of an advisory article on workplace relationship where the idiom infers the benefit of an effortful management of interpersonal relationship at the workplace.

(10)   搞好人际你就得米
       Handling interpersonal relationship well **you will get what you want**. (OA08)

Another idiom, 倒米, literally meaning 'to pour *mai*', has an opposite connotation, to 得米. Cantonese speakers often use the idiom to express criticism or disapproval of an individual's action that causes loss of benefit of another party involved. Example (11) presents an instance of the idiom in use. In this example, the speaker specifies the parties involved by inserting the loss bearer between the two idiom constituents, which reflects a certain extent of syntactic flexibility of the idiom.

(11)   呢个经理讲嘅嘢好似喺度倒佢老闆米
       It seems what the manager said **is not in his boss' best interests**.   (PM01)

Embedded in the two idioms are the cultural conceptualizations structured around the acquiring and processing of *mai*. With the important cultural status of *mai* at work, the cultural schema of MAI incorporates the understanding that *mai* represents the core value of the household properties. This understanding facilitates the perception of the beneficial/valuable aspects of an action or entity through the cultural metaphor A BENEFIT IS MAI. This cultural metaphor then has its specific-level instantiations in the two idioms, which are based on the cultural conceptualizations GAINING AND SECURING A BENEFIT IS ACQUIRING AND POSSESSING *MAI* and CAUSING A LOSS OF BENEFIT IS REDUCING THE POSSESSION OF *MAI*, respectively. Particularly in the idiom 倒米, the action that causes the loss of benefit is envisioned through the image schema of POURING *MAI* OUT OF THE *MAI* CONTAINER, which implies the knowledge that the poured *mai* is contaminated and has lost its edible value.

4.2.4   *POSSESSIONS ARE FAAN*

Other than the specific valuables earned from one's occupation, possessions in general can also be perceived through *faan*. 隔篱饭香 is a Cantonese idiom that shares similar connotations with the English saying *the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence*. Literally translated as 'the neighbor's *faan* is fragrant,' the idiom conveys sentiments such as envy, jealousy, and admiration towards properties and belongings under possession of an individual other than the speaker or in another location other than where the speaker is. In Example (12), the Hong Kong Cantonese narrator is rebuked for desiring products from places other than Hong Kong.

(12)   一个女人多次斥责我，常常赞**隔篱饭香**，不好好珍惜香港自己所有的
A woman rebuked me many times for **praising things of other places** without cherishing dearly what I have in Hong Kong.   (OA09)

The idiom reflects a cross-domain conceptualization of properties and belongings an individual possesses through the *faan* a person eats. Underlying the idiom is the cultural metaphor POSSESSIONS ARE *FAAN*, which is likely a culturally constructed specification of the near-universal RESOURCES ARE FOOD metaphor. Furthermore, THE OWNERSHIP OF THE POSSESSIONS is perceived through THE OWNERSHIP OF *FAAN*, and the emotional aspects encoded in the idiomatic expression are conceptualized through a synesthetic perception of the fragrance of *faan*.

4.2.5   *INFORMATION IS FAAN*

Information defined as 'what is conveyed or represented through various means or media and incorporates diverse sorts of value and significance evaluable by the recipients' is also found to be perceived through *faan*. Cantonese speakers often express their annoyance caused by actions such as reposting outdated news and messages or reproducing and re-promoting old products without new valuable input by referring to the actions per se as 炒冷饭 ('to stir-fry cold *faan*'). Example (13) presents an instance where the idiom is used.

(13)   呢篇古仔年几两年前出过啦喎，而家玩**炒冷饭**呀?
This story was posted about a year or two ago, is **reposting old stories** what we are playing at now?   (FC02)

冷饭, or 'cold *faan*' in this idiom, is the Cantonese word for left-over rice. The adjective 冷 ('cold') not only refers to the temperature of the rice but also implies the staleness or un-freshness of the rice. The information as valuable assets is conceptualized through *faan* in the idiom, instantiating the INFORMATION IS *FAAN* cultural metaphor. Specifically, the outdated status of information is emphasized

through highlighting the cold property of *faan* in the idiom, initiating the metaphor STALE/OLD INFORMATION IS COLD *FAAN*. Moreover, the reproduction of old information is visualized through the schema of STIR-FRYING, a common way of cooking Cantonese dishes. The stir-frying motion allows the ingredients to be evenly heated but without being overcooked. The STIR-FRYING schema captures the repetitive motion of stirring and flipping the ingredients in a wok during the cooking process. Through the image schema of FLIPPING UP THE BOTTOM INGREDIENTS, Cantonese speakers elicit the conceptualization of bringing up outdated information or digging up and re-presenting buried stories and old productions.

5. Cantonese speakers' perception of the idiomaticity of Cantonese rice idioms

The cultural conceptualizations identified and analyzed above motivate the production of rice idioms. To the Cantonese speakers, however, the idiomaticity of the expressions may not always be overt. In other words, the speakers may not always consider a rice idiom as part of figurative speech. How Cantonese speakers perceive the extent of idiomaticity in these idioms may be associated with their degree of consciousness about the cultural conceptualizations embedded in the idioms.

Some cultural conceptualizations are part of the speakers' worldview and can be perceived as utterly non-metaphorical to the speakers. The speakers are likely to be unconscious about these conceptualizations and thus do not tend to identify the idiomaticity from the linguistic instantiations. For example, MAI FOR BASIC LIFE NECESSITIES is very likely a worldview metonymy. Cantonese speakers appear to literally consider *mai* as the fundamental element for a stable life sustenance and the sufficiency of *mai* as an important criterion to evaluate the sufficiency of basic life necessities and, qua semantic extension, to the basic quality of life. A common Cantonese expression that denotes concern about basic life quality is 忧柴忧米, literally meaning 'to worry about firewood and *mai*.' This expression frequently co-occurs in discourse with the idioms 柴米油盐酱醋茶 ('firewood, *mai*, oil, salt, sauce, vinegar, and tea') and 食饱无忧米 ('eat worriless *mai* to full'). Moreover, Cantonese advertisements of *mai* products also commonly relate the advertised product with a good quality of life. Example (14) is the package of a bag of *mai* sold in a Hong Kong supermarket.

(14)   (PI01, image used with the owner's consent)

The idiom 食饱无忧米 ('eat worriless *mai* to full') is presented along with the image of the Happy Buddha, a Buddhist idol symbolizing worry-free happiness, and the English phrase *Blissful Rice*.

The combination implies a cultural metaphor A SPECIFIC BRAND OF RICE IS HAPPINESS. In this example, this metaphor is not only instantiated linguistically in Cantonese and English, but is also embedded in the image of the Happy Buddha. The rice package design here demonstrates that the manufacturer's marketing strategy caters to Cantonese customers' cultural belief of *mai*.

The MAI FOR BASIC LIFE NECESSITIES metonymy is also widely reflected in Cantonese parenting. Cantonese children are commonly taught to cherish the *faan* they are given during mealtime. Children wasting *faan* or leaving *faan* in their bowl are often scolded by parents as not cherishing what they have been provided. Moreover, a common punishment Cantonese parents give to misbehaving children is 冇饭食 ('no *faan* to eat'), that is, cutting off the food sustenance represented by the staple *faan*. The narrative in Example (15) records the narrator's experience of being punished by his mother through 冇饭食 for not completing school assignments.

(15)   我阿妈为咗要我做功课，就话唔做功课冇饭食，结果真系自己出街食自己嗰份唔买我嗰份，又唔煮饭。我开头会走落街同朋友借钱食面包，有时仲会走去同学屋企食饭，但到最后我都系自己死死地气嘅做完功课先有饭食

To make me do my homework, my mom would say if I did not do my homework, I **would not be fed**. She would actually go out to eat her own meal without buying one for me, and she would not cook. At first, I would go and borrow money from friends to buy bread, and sometimes I would even go eat at my classmate's home. But eventually, I had no choice but to finish my homework so I could have a proper meal.   (FC03)

MAI FOR BASIC LIFE NECESSITIES metonymy reflects the Cantonese philosophy of life and Cantonese speakers are rarely conscious about the metonymic processing. Resultatively, when using idioms such as 柴米油盐酱醋茶 ('firewood, *mai*, oil, salt, sauce, vinegar, and tea') and 食饱无忧米 ('eat worriless *mai* till full'), Cantonese speakers hardly regard them as idiomatic.

Similarly, the speakers' explanations, the informant responses, and the relating cultural activities about the idiom 有米 ('to have *mai*') demonstrate a multifaceted understanding of the cultural implication of *mai* as wealth from various perspectives, including the historical tradition of occupational wages given in the form of *mai* (PC01), the representation of wealth as large household storage of *mai* (AV02), and a popular Cantonese philanthropic gesture of the wealthy giving away *mai* to the poor. These interpretations and cultural manifestations represent the Cantonese worldview on wealth and its relation to *mai*. Therefore, the MONEY IS *MAI* metaphor is also likely to be a worldview metaphor and the speakers may not consciously acknowledge the idiomaticity of the idiom 有米 ('have *mai*') when it is in use.

For some idioms, there can be discrepant perceptions or acknowledgement of their idiomaticity among Cantonese speakers. This may result from the speakers' different degrees of consciousness about the underlying conceptualizations. For example, for the idiom 食塞米 ('eat jamming *mai*'), some speakers are clearly aware that there is a metaphorical connection between eating *mai* and gaining intelligence, but some other speakers believe that eating *mai* and developing intelligence has a causal relation, in which developing intelligence is the expected natural outcome of *mai* consumption. These variations are reflected in the following two excerpts from my respective communication with two different informants.

Researcher: Does that mean if the digestion and absorption of nutrients are good after eating a meal, then a person will not be dumb?
PDW [Female, age 59, Guangzhou]: (laughing) We can't say it like that! This is just a metaphor! (PC02)
WSC [Female, age 55, Guangzhou]: your parents have fed you with so much *mai* but you are still dumb, isn't this a waste of food? Isn't this because the eaten *mai* has all been jammed (in your stomach)? (PC03)

On postulation, the SOURCE OF INTELLIGENCE IS *MAI* conceptualization is partially rooted in Cantonese speakers' cultural belief in the development of intelligence. Although Cantonese speakers have different degrees of consciousness about this conceptualization, it is clear that it is not a purely rhetorical creation.

There are also cross-domain conceptualizations that bear evidence of Cantonese speakers' creative use of language and hence, the speakers are highly conscious about the conceptual mapping and perceive the linguistic expressions as highly

idiomatic or figurative. An example is the INFORMATION IS *FAAN* metaphor. The idiom 炒冷饭 ('stir-fry cold *faan*') is often used in discourse of humor and irony, which reflects the speakers' high degree of consciousness about the cross-domain conceptualization between information and *faan*. Example (16) below is an excerpt of a movie commentary, where the literal and idiomatic connotations of 炒冷饭 are exploited simultaneously to create an intensified effect of sarcasm by which the commentator casts criticism at the discussed movie. From this example, we can see that the speakers are not only highly conscious of the INFORMATION IS *FAAN* metaphor, but also actively elicit the cross-domain mapping in their language use to fulfill their pragmatic purpose, i.e., inducing sarcasm. This high degree of consciousness about the cross-domain conceptualization and creative manipulation of the linguistic representation represents the type of cultural conceptualization sitting at the 'figure of speech' end of the conceptual processing continuum.

(16) 炒冷饭唔系问题，周星驰都话自己系炒冷饭，但系一餐饭要食十碟唔同味嘅炒饭，真系会好想反枱

      Re-presenting the old gags (lit. stir-frying cold *faan*) is not a problem, even Zau-sing-ci (a famous HK director) said he would **repackage old gags (lit. stir-fry cold *faan*)**; but if I had to eat ten plates of **stir-fried *faan*** of different flavors at one meal, I would really want to flip the table.   (OA10)

Despite the cases discussed above, the more common findings from the materials and informant responses are that the speakers are likely to be conscious about the cultural conceptualizations underlying the rice idioms, but the consciousness is built on the speakers' tacit cultural knowledge or understanding embedded in the collective worldview. For instance, the conceptual connection between life experience and *mai* and salt consumption reflected in the idiom 食盐多过你食米 ('have eaten more salt than you have eaten *mai*') is established first on the deeply rooted Cantonese cultural value of acknowledging the seniority of age as the symbol of richness in experience and wisdom, and then on the logical deduction that the amount of *mai* a person consumes is in direct proportion to the person's age. Likewise, the conceptualization of DECISION MAKING through 睇餸食饭 ('watch the dishes to eat *faan*') is directly motivated by the Cantonese norms of table manners. Even though this idiom is often used as a rhetorical device, the rhetorical creativity is more a result motivated by the speakers' cultural routine than an entirely creative use of rhetorical language. Similarly, although the speakers are conscious about the conceptual establishment between *mai* and *benefit*, their cultural evaluation of the value of *mai* is the cornerstone that facilitates the cross-domain conceptualizations A BENEFIT IS *MAI* underlying the idioms 得米 ('have got the *mai*') and 倒米 ('pour the *mai*'). Drawing from combined cultural anchors of the MONEY IS

MAI and A BENEFIT IS *MAI* metaphors, the REMUNERATION IS *FAAN* metaphor and its specific elaborations are overt to the speakers but at the same time significantly culturally-moored. In a like manner, the speakers are conscious about the POSSESSIONS ARE *FAAN* and THE ESSENCE OF A CONSTRUCT IS *MAI* IN A *ZUK* PRODUCT conceptualizations and understand the idiomaticity of 隔篱饭香 ('the neighbor's *faan* (is) fragrant') and 冇米粥 ('*zuk* without *mai*') because they have the cultural knowledge about *mai* and *zuk* making.

In all, the cultural conceptualizations underlying the Cantonese rice idioms are the products of a culturally constructed conceptual model centered on the Cantonese cultural worldview of the generic *MAI*. Cantonese speakers show different degrees of consciousness about these conceptualizations which results in their distinctive perceptions of the idiomaticity of different rice idioms. Figure 3 presents a synthesis of the identified cultural conceptualizations along with the conceptual processing continuum corresponding to the extent of idiomaticity Cantonese speakers perceive in the related rice idioms. The positions of the cultural conceptualizations are relative to each other and determined on the basis of the materials analyzed and the informants' feedback.
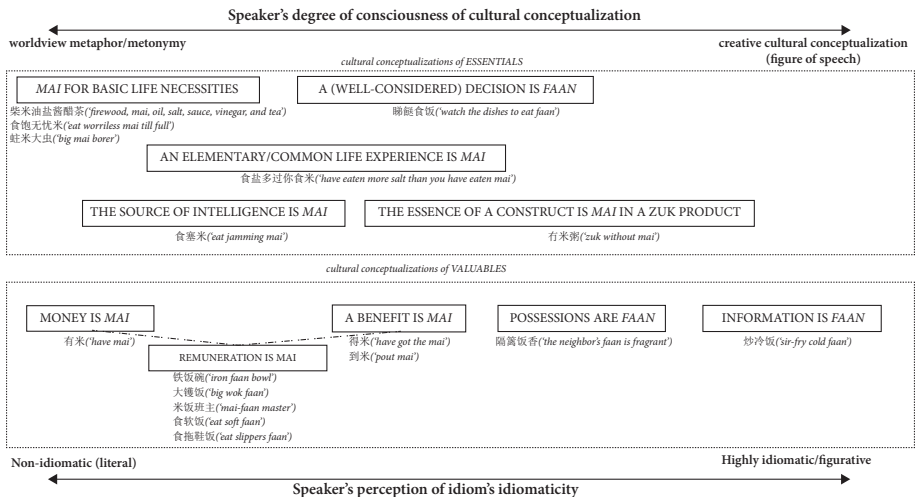
Figure 3. A cultural-conceptual model of cultural conceptualizations underlying Cantonese rice idioms

6. Conclusion

In the present study, I examined the cultural conceptualizations underlying frequently used Cantonese rice idioms on the basis of authentic data in which such idioms were used. Various cultural conceptualizations of ESSENTIALS and VALUABLES were found that draw on the cultural beliefs pertaining to the domain of MAI. I also examined and discussed Cantonese speakers' various degrees of consciousness about the identified cultural conceptualizations and the idiomaticity the speakers perceived in the rice idioms in which these conceptualizations are expressed. I argued that the extent of idiomaticity Cantonese speakers perceive or acknowledge in a rice idiom is relevant to the speakers' degree of consciousness about the cultural conceptualizations embedded in the idiom. Some cultural conceptualizations are entirely rooted in the Cantonese worldview, and the speakers may not be conscious about the conceptual processing and thereby may not identify the idiomaticity in the related rice idioms. Some conceptualizations, on the other hand, are the result of the speakers' conscious and creative use of figurative language and the related rice idioms are highly figurative to the speakers. More commonly, Cantonese speakers are conscious about the cultural conceptualizations and acknowledge the idiomaticity in the related rice idioms, but the consciousness and acknowledgement are likely to be culturally motivated and can vary among individuals. The findings reflect the heterogeneous distribution of the Cantonese cultural cognition among the members of the Cantonese speech communities, and lead to the conclusion that the Cantonese cultural cognition is a complex and dynamic system. Moreover, the speakers' use of idioms is the result of the interaction between the speakers' cultural worldview and their rhetorical creativity.

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Appendix 1. An excerpt of the online questionnaire on speakers' knowledge and frequency of the use of Cantonese rice idioms with English translation

1. 您知道熟语'搵米路'的意思吗？[单选题] *
○是（指熟语的隐喻意义）○否（指熟语的隐喻意义）
在谈论符合该熟语语义的话题时，您会使用熟语'搵米路'吗？*[单选题]* *
　　○完全不使用（隐藏赋值：*1*）
　　○用得比较少（隐藏赋值：*2*）
　　○一般（隐藏赋值：*3*）
　　○比较常用（隐藏赋值：*4*）
　　○十分常用（隐藏赋值：*5*）

1. Do you know the idiomatic meaning of the idiom 'find the route to mai'?
   [single choice]

　□ Yes 　□ No

Under relevant conversational settings, do you use the idiom 'find the route to mai'?
[single choice]

1. I don't use it at all (hidden value: 1)
2. I seldom use it (hidden value: 2)
3. I use it neither frequently nor rarely (hidden value: 3)
4. I use it quite often (hidden value: 4)
5. I use it very frequently (hidden value: 5)

Appendix 2.   Material sources

Online articles:

OA01 retrieved from http://paper.wenweipo.com/2014/12/31/PL1412310005.htm

OA02 retrieved from http://hk.on.cc/int/bkn/cnt/news/20180524/bknint-20180524060217620-0524_17011_001_cn.html

OA03 retrieved from https://topick.hket.com/article/1911636/%E9%84%AD%E4%B8%B9%E7%91%9E%EF%BC%9A%E9%A3%9F%E9%B9%BD%E5%A4%9A%E9%81%8E%E4%BD%A0%E9%A3%9F%E7%B1%B3%E5%B7%B2%E4%B8%8D%E7%AE%A1%E7%94%A8

OA04 retrieved from http://hittt.blogspot.com/2014/01/stephy-stephy.html

OA05 retrieved from http://big5.xinhuanet.com/gate/big5/www.gd.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2018-05/22/c_1122864894.htm

OA06 retrieved from http://m.xinhuanet.com/gd/2018-01/04/c_1122204105.htm

OA07 retrieved from http://jane-0406.blog.163.com/blog/static/93374422008049251549/

OA08 retrieved from https://www.edigest.hk/workplace/%E6%90%9E%E5%A5%BD-D%E4%BA%BA%E9%9A%9B%E4%BD%A0%E5%B0%B1%E5%BE%97%E7%B1%B3-5%E5%A4%A7%E6%9D%9D%E9%80%9A%E7%82%BA%E7%8E%8B%E4%B8%8A%E4%BD%8D%E7%B5%95%E6%8B%9B/

OA09 retrieved from https://hk.lifestyle.appledaily.com/lifestyle/realtime/article/20170729/57011974

OA10 retrieved from https://medium.com/@chaaak/gung-hei-bitch-fc9c6d5143f9

Online forum and chatroom posts:

FC01 retrieved from http://tieba.baidu.com/p/3288859862?traceid

FC02 retrieved from https://www.discuss.com.hk/viewthread.php?tid=25561514&extra=page%3D1&page=6

FC03 retrieved from http://ladies.discuss.com.hk/viewthread.php?tid=13727471&extra=&page=2

Printed materials:

PM01 cited from page 40, Zoeng, L., & Zoeng, M. (2014). *Jyut-pou faai jik tung [Cantonese-Mandarin swift translation]*. Hong Kong, China: Chung Hwa Book Co.

Audio and video materials:

AV01 (00:00:22–00:00:30) 噉你哋嗰啲内地办事处做咩啊，食塞米，通报唔到嘅，咩事都未知嘅。[What were those Mainland offices doing? The staff were eating jamming *mai*, they failed to file a report, they did not even know what had happened.] Retrieved and transcribed from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DkBLcTWk9bQ

AV02 (00:00:07–00:00:25) 喺广东，米饭係最主要嘅粮食，所以'米'可以话係旧时每家每户嘅重要财富，又因为唔係每家人都买得起米或者好多米，所以屋企'有米'嘅人就属于有钱人啦。[In Guangdong, *mai-faan* is the major grain, so in the past, '*mai*' was an important treasure for every household; and since not every household can afford *mai* or a lot of *mai*, those who 'have *mai*' at home belong to the group of rich people who have money.] Retrieved and transcribed from http://www.ximalaya.com/jiaoyu/4011068/17871502

Picture and image:

PI01 retrieved from http://riceear.com.hk/index.php/blog/4484/%E9%A3%9F%E9%A3%BD-D%E7%84%A1%E6%86%82%E7%B1%B3/

Personal communication:

PC01 informant response (male, age 59, Guangzhou)

以前嘅官员俸禄唔系按钱，系按几多石米嚟计噶嘛，可能引申到钱同米嘅关联囖，所以而家广东话有钱就系有米囖。 The wages of the imperial officials in the past were not calculated by money, but by how many *daams* <unit of measurement> of *mai*, this probably extends to associating money with *mai*, so now in Cantonese having money is having *mai*.

(Transcribed and translated from personal communication with the informant via Chinese multi-purpose messaging mobile app WeChat at 13:25, AEST, June 12, 2018.)

PC02 informant response (female, age 59, Guangzhou)

唔系嗽讲嘅！呢个系比喻嚟咋嘛！ We can't say it like that! This is just a metaphor! (Transcribed and translated from personal communication with the informant via Chinese multi-purpose messaging mobile app WeChat at 21:31, AEST, June 7, 2018)

PC03 informant response (female, age 55, Guangzhou)

即系老窦老母摞咁多米嚟养你，食埋咁多你都唔识你都咁蠢，嗽系咪浪费粮食吖？系咪食塞米吖？ your parents have fed you with so much *mai* but you are still so dumb, isn't this a waste of food? Isn't this because the eaten *mai* has all been jammed (in your stomach)?

(Transcribed and translated from personal communication with the informant via Chinese multi-purpose messaging mobile app WeChat at 21:08, AEST, June 7, 2018.)

Conceptualizations index

(also see subject index)

Names index

Subject index

(also see conceptualizations index)

This book offers Cultural-Linguistic explorations into the diverse *Lebenswelten* of a wide range of cultural contexts, such as South Africa, Hungary, India, Nigeria, China, Romania, Iran, and Poland. The linguistic expedition sets out to explore three thematic segments that were, thus far, under-researched from a cultural linguistic perspective – spirituality, emotionality, and society.

The analytical tools provided by Cultural Linguistics, such as cultural conceptualizations and cultural metaphors, are not only applied to various corpora and types of texts but also recalibrated and renegotiated. As a result, the studies in this collective volume showcase a rich body of work that contributes to the manifestation of Cultural Linguistics as an indispensable paradigm in modern language studies.

Being a testament to the inseparability of language and culture, this book will enlighten academics, professionals and students working in the fields of Cultural Linguistics, sociology, gender studies, religious studies, and cultural studies.

John Benjamins Publishing Company