

## Chapter 2

# Folk Conceptualizations Across Languages

**Abstract** This chapter gives an overview on the nature of folk conceptualizations and the related literature, with the aim of showing how the present research connects to the studies on similar issues across languages and to underline its significance in complementing the already existing results. The research reflects on the approaches to emotion concepts and metaphors of emotions. It argues that while a range of studies explore how the body is used across various cultures as the locus of conceptualizing feelings, there is less attention paid to how nature and landscape are utilized in the conceptualization of emotions. Nature metaphors across cultures represent a cultural group's attitude, beliefs and ideas towards its natural environment. As discussed in the final section of the chapter, the research of the book primarily relates to the most recent studies on folk literature of languages (in terms of riddles, idioms, folk stories, etc.) outside the Europe-centered and Anglo-centered families, which are based on oral tradition and require a different methodology from that in written literature.

**Keywords** Embodiment • Emotion metaphor • Folk conceptualization • Folk literature • Nature metaphor

### 2.1 Preliminaries

This chapter aims at anchoring the research to be presented in this book, its foci and results in the context of current research on folk conceptualization. The study of folksongs is related to several areas, three of which I give a brief overview on: the cross-cultural variation of the conceptualizations of emotions in terms of metaphors, the role of nature and landscape in the conceptualizations of emotions, and finally folk conceptualizations as they are apparent in various types of discourse. Finally I also reflect on the studies that pertain to Hungarian folk cultural conceptualizations to date, giving a brief summary on Széld's cognitive and cultural linguistic inquiry into Csango folksongs, a unique subgroup within the Hungarian folksongs (Széld 2007, 2010b; Széld and Geeraerts 2008). The term *folk* is used here to refer to

traditional peasant communities and their culture, which has now disappeared from its original form in most European regions but still has a major role in the expression of cultural identity and it is also incorporated to some extent in the cultural cognition of modern societies.

## 2.2 Conceptualization of Emotions Across Cultures

### 2.2.1 *Emotion Metaphors*

In the past years much of the research in linguistics has focused on the cultural diversity of metaphors and metaphorical thought (e.g., Díaz Vera 2014; Dobrovolskij and Piirainen 2005; Goddard 1996; Kövecses 2005; Sharifian 2003; Sharifian and Palmer 2007; Sharifian et al. 2008; Yu 2009). While they focused on different aspects of metaphor variation, they all agreed on the fact that a large number of metaphors do not derive from universal concepts but they are grounded in the culturally determined understanding of the world that belongs to the community of its language users.

A balanced view on metaphor creation is proposed by Kövecses, who claims that both universality and variation can be captured in the use of metaphors (Kövecses 2000, 2005, 2015, 2017). Giving evidence in relation with emotion metaphors, particularly, those conceptualizing ANGER, he argues that the conceptualization of emotions is, to some degree, universal (or near-universal) (Kövecses 2015: 93). In the case of ANGER, several researches have been conducted mainly on the metaphorical language of English, Chinese, Japanese and Hungarian, and a metaphor was discovered that was common in each language was identified: THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Matsuki 1995; Yu 1995; Bokor 1997). The reason for this is that emotion concepts are characterized by a solid bodily-physiological basis and this basis leads to a certain degree of (near-)universality in the conceptualization of emotions (he labels it as “body-based constructionism,” see Kövecses 2000). Kövecses claims that there is equal weight of both universal (bodily) and relativistic (cultural) factors in the conceptualization of meaning, as demonstrated for the conceptualization of emotions. The embeddedness of metaphors can be thought of “as a gradient with bodily basis at one end, cultural basis at the other, with doubly motivated cases of conceptual metaphors in the middle” (Kövecses 2015: 96). However, as he points out in his recent studies, the notion of *culture* can be captured in (at least) two basically different ways: on one hand, as a global context that roughly means the conceptual system shared by the members of a cultural group including the bodily, situational, discourse, and conceptual-cognitive contexts, or on the other hand, as a local context that mostly refers to the situational context of metaphor creation (Kövecses 2017: 322). The former interpretation is similar to the understanding of culture in Cultural Linguistics.

In Kövecses's view, metaphors may vary along several cross-cultural and within-cultural types of dimensions (Kövecses 2005). The cross-cultural variation derives from e.g., how a cultural group chooses source and target domains and how they pair them to constitute a metaphor. Another kind of difference is how a generic schema is instantiated or specified by a cultural group. He also considers the notion of *main meaning focus* as a key part of metaphor to show "culture-sensitivity." As he defines it, "the main meaning focus of a metaphor is the culturally agreed-on conceptual material associated with the source that it conventionally imports to its targets" (Kövecses 2002: 118), while a conceptual metaphor may have more than one meaning foci. In other words, a source domain is used to capture a major theme or themes to some abstract ideas. An example that he gives is that HEAT as a source is typically applied to INTENSITY, hence in the well-known SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT metaphor in English, which is considered universal (Lakoff 1987), HEAT maps onto the intensity of DESIRE. However, as the research undertaken by Emanatian evidences (1995), HEAT in the Chagga language does not apply to the intensity of sexual desire, instead, it maps onto the desirable qualities of the female partner.

A further reason for cross-cultural metaphor variation is *differential experiential focus* (Kövecses 2005: 246, 286–287). This is reflected in Yu's study (1995) on the conceptualizations of ANGER, where he gives evidence that the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor is less prevalent in Chinese than in English, instead, they conceptualize ANGER in terms of PRESSURE rather than HEAT. This also leads to another cause of cultural differences of metaphors. Research undertaken by Köves (2002) explored the preferences for metaphors of LIFE by comparing Hungarians' and Americans' choices of metaphorical expressions when elaborating on their ideas about life in written compositions. Based on the linguistic data, while the majority of Hungarians preferred the LIFE IS A WAR/FIGHT and the LIFE IS A COMPROMISE metaphors, the Americans used the LIFE IS A PRECIOUS PROPERTY and the LIFE IS A GAME metaphors for the most part. The reason of the significant difference in the conceptualizations can most likely be explained by the stormy historical past of the Hungarian nation and its impact on their gloomy view of how they can get on in life. Recently, Benczes and Ságvári (in press) conducted a representative research (involving 2594 teenagers) on the dominant conceptualizations of life among Hungarian youths. They reported that there is a profound shift toward positive conceptualizations of life, which are more similar to American English preferences of metaphorical usage. This analysis highlights the fact that the preferences for certain metaphors also reveal basic differences in the cultural cognition of the two communities.

Within metaphors, there is a wide array of approaches to emotion metaphors, sharing some parts of the methodology and findings in their research (Lakoff 1987; Emanatian 1995; Kövecses 2000). The different views highlight a range of important characteristics about emotion concepts and metaphors (Kövecses 2000: 7–19). Some of the research argues that there are certain shared properties that hold for a bulk of metaphors of emotions across cultures. One view emphasizes the bodily basis of emotion concepts by claiming that metaphors of emotions (e.g., ANGER IS A HOT FLUID) are motivated by human physiological, behavioral, and expressive reactions (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987), which can be captured in the

conceptual metonymies associated with emotion concepts, such as happiness, anger, love, pride, and so forth. However, Kövecses also points out that emotion metaphors do not only derive from bodily experience, as they are “*both* motivated by the human body *and* produced by a particular social and cultural environment” (Kövecses 2000: 14, original emphasis).

Another aspect of emotions is that their conceptualizations strongly rely on scenarios (Kövecses 1990). The five-stage scenario that characterizes emotions is the following: cause → emotion → control → loss of control → behavioral response. Metaphorical expressions of emotions (and also the metaphorical images of folksongs) focus on some segment of this pattern. A third property of emotions in general is that they can be conceptualized in the framework of the force schema (Kövecses 2000: 61–63), which was elaborated on by Leonard Talmy in his theory on force-dynamic interactions (Talmy 1988). A further characteristic of emotion metaphors highlights that since they are conceptualized as events, they connect to EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a; Lakoff 1993), which means that events in general are understood metaphorically in terms of physical movement, physical force, and physical space, e.g., STATES ARE LOCATIONS, CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS, CAUSES ARE FORCES OR PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. Kövecses observes that “metaphors of emotion overlap with the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor; many sub-metaphors of EVENT STRUCTURE are applicable to emotions as well” (Kövecses 2000: 55).

### 2.2.2 *Conceptualization of Emotions Across Languages*

Meanwhile, there are considerable differences in the cross-cultural conceptualization of emotions. Here just a few of them are referred to. To highlight the cultural differences of the general view on emotions, an important observation is that the different emotions per se do not have the same *meaning* from culture to culture. A representative of this view, Shweder interprets *meaning* as “what it entails, implies, or suggests to those who understand it,” i.e., the connotative meaning (Shweder 1991: 244). He concludes the following:

Emotions have meanings, and those meanings play a part in how we feel. What it means to feel angry [...] is not quite the same for the Ilongot, who believe that anger is so dangerous it can destroy society; for the Eskimo, who view anger as something that only children experience; and for working-class Americans, who believe that anger helps us overcome fear and attain independence (Shweder 1991: 245).

Secondly, emotions in some cultures are social-cultural constructions, where the properties of certain emotions, as in the case of the Ifaluk emotion *song* (‘anger’), depends on the characteristic traits of their culture (Lutz 1987). While in English *anger* is attributed to individuals, the Ifaluk *song* has a social nature and is interpreted within social scenarios: the Ifaluk “define, explain, and understand emotions primarily by reference to the events or situations in which they occur” (Lutz 1987:

292). Emotion concepts may be instantiations of certain schemas, as Palmer puts it, “emotions are complex conjurations of goal-driven imagery that govern feeling states and scenarios, including discourse scenarios” (Palmer 1996: 109). Emotions are therefore understood in terms of *emotion schemas* (Sharifian 2003: 196–197). Emotion schemas in folksongs can be identified in scenes depicting love desire like a bird kept in a cage or watering a horse. Other more structural kinds of patterns include the woman represented as a stationary entity and the man as a dynamic subject trying to approach her in various forms. In fact the way to express emotional states and situations via nature imagery is itself a form of culturally defined emotional schema in Hungarian folksongs. A reason for that is the underlying concept that emotions are personal issues to be concealed from the community and they should not be represented in a direct way.

A range of studies investigate the interface between body, language and culture, i.e., how the body is used across various cultures as the locus of conceptualizing feelings, thinking and knowing (Athanasiadou and Tabakowska 1998; Enfield and Wierzbicka 2002; Idström and Piirainen 2012; Pasamonik 2012; Sharifian et al. 2008; Sharifian 2013; Sinha and de Lopez 2000; Yu 2003, 2008, 2009, 2015). A remarkable example against Lakoff and Johnson’s proposal that metaphors have a common physiological grounding, is Ibarretxe-Antuñano’s empirical research on metaphors in the Basque language (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2012). She concludes that metaphorical differences between Basque and English arise from various reasons. One is that some body parts have different meanings in Basque than in English (i.e., they have different categories). Secondly, some apparently similar metaphorical expressions are not grounded on the same concepts. A further difference is due to the fact that although some body parts might convey similar meanings, these meanings can have richer connotations in some languages than in others. Ibarretxe-Antuñano also makes the observation that while Basque has had contact with other languages and cultures, it still contains specific words, such as *gogo*, that give rise to metaphors that are deeply entrenched in the traditional Basque worldview. Hence her claim is strongly relevant to the theory of Cultural Linguistics:

If we aim to discover the grounding of conceptual metaphors, the cultural background in which these metaphors are embedded needs to be dug out; otherwise, all we will have is a distorted picture of what really happens in a language (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2012: 268).

It is emphasized in Sharifian et al. (2008) that cultural models and cultural schemas have a strong impact on a group’s cultural cognition. Therefore the major research questions of body–mind relation should be to explore the ways in which body (including internal body organs) is employed to conceptualize human experiences in different languages and also search the cultural models that appear to be responsible for the differences in the conceptualizations. The empirical analyses demonstrate that the motivation for associating the body organs with certain cultural models can be traced back to different cultural systems, such as ethnomedical and religious traditions, or philosophical doctrines.

### 2.3 Conceptualization of the Natural Landscape

As opposed to the high interest in the physiological aspects of bodily basis of emotion metaphors, it seems that there is much less attention paid to how nature and landscape are utilized in the conceptualization of emotions (Basso 1996; Arntzen 1997; Knight 2006). According to the anthropological observation, *landscape* and *nature* are not as clear-cut and chiseled terms as they are generally believed. In Evernden's view *nature* is as much a human/social entity as a physical one. There is no universal agreement on what is understood by 'nature' and 'wilderness' because they were identified and named so by humans and the characteristics of human–nature relationship are also different from culture to culture, and also from time to time. (Evernden 1992) The conceptualizations of nature derive from a complexity of human experiences:

When examining nature, myriad processes related to three geographical fundamentals are evident, namely, ecological interactions, historical and present-day distributional patterns, and human–environment impacts. Some people (as with traditionally-based indigenous peoples around the world) see humans as part of nature, while other people (especially in Western urban-industrialized states) see humans as standing apart from nature (Knight 2006: 6).

Landscape therefore is basically “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring and symbolizing surroundings” (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988: 1). Knight proposes the term *cultural landscape* that incorporates its cultural, conceptual and dynamic aspects. “The term *cultural landscape* refers to the landscape that is the result of long- and short-term human (intentional or accidental) decision making, which, in varying ways, changes the physical environment or changes thoughts about the physical environment” (Knight 2006: 5).

The culture-specific attitude of humans to nature gives a primary reason for why the metaphors that are based on perceptions about it are also different across cultures. Nature metaphors are employed in poetry and other artifacts in various ways but the point of interest here is how they reflect on a cultural community's relation to their natural environment. A remarkable approach to nature metaphors is Arntzen's paper (1997) in which she investigates nature images in classical Japanese poetry. The study is relevant because, as she points out, although the data she observes is not collective poetry, the metaphorical images in them are communal and conventional ones from the tenth to twelfth century societies. She observes that the use of natural metaphors in the poems display an assumption of intimate relationship between the natural and the human and that nature and the human realm are joined in a specific way, without necessarily privileging the 'human' metaphorical meaning. Nature is presented as immanent, and “the human access to an immanent nature is through sensory experience which may be then translated into metaphor” (Arntzen 1997: 54).

There is strong sense of immediate, sensory experience in the images, which seems to be a distinctive feature of nature representation in Japanese poetry, arguing

that metaphors in Western poetry lean towards transcendental meanings, while Eastern metaphors never erase the concrete image. In the metaphor interpretation process “the perception of the natural object and the emotional state come into being simultaneously” (Arntzen 1997: 61). Concrete experience also gives rise to a range of potential metaphorical meanings, a network of associations, in a way that the nature images oscillate between several possible meanings offering no particular mapping (Arntzen 1997: 58). Sensory experience, referred to as ‘perceptuality’ is also a key notion in the construal schemas of Hungarian folksongs (see Chap. 8), while the oscillating effect of nature images can be captured, e.g., in the case of ungrounded nominal phrases (Chap. 9).

The distinctive feature regarding the representation of nature in Japanese poems is that it is displayed in deep interconnectedness between humans and nature, instead of forming two independent, separate worlds. This means that in the traditional Japanese culture nature was regarded as part of the human (Arntzen 1997: 64), which is an observation that may be partially applied to traditional Hungarian folk communities, who lived in natural symbiosis with nature. Here ethnographer Tomori’s summary on the attitude of peasantry towards nature can be conjured up, she frames their relationship in the following way: “The relation of peasants towards the environment<sup>1</sup> can be briefly characterized by unconscious ‘being-in,’ one manifestation of which is their growing into and becoming attached to nature. The elements of unconscious ‘being-in’ are resignation, conformity, situation-boundedness, and the polarity of the rhythm of life” (Tomori 1935: 87). This observation corresponds to the abovementioned basic distinction in the standpoint of different cultures towards nature: viewing themselves as being part of nature or as standing apart from nature (Knight 2006).

The peasant societies’ interconnectedness with nature is captured in that the agricultural people’s lives were fully dependent on land as it provided nutrition for them. This meant that they did not carry a ‘romantic’ attitude towards nature (in contrast with the prevalent tendency that can be observed in European culture since the Medieval times), which entails making a clear distinction between their proximal (everyday) environment and distant environment (nature). Rather, they viewed natural phenomena (including the physical characteristics and dynamic processes of nature) as ambiguous: either benevolent or malicious from the perspective of their own management and survival in life. The different phenomena of nature were immediate perceptual experiences for them, and they directly suffered from their effects in terms of their homes or food, either positively or negatively. Also, a significant part of that experience derived from the fact that most peasants lived all their lives in their home villages and never left it even for a short trip, therefore nature was not only the immediate but also the exclusive context of their lives.

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<sup>1</sup>Tomori alludes primarily the social and physical environment here.

## 2.4 Folk Conceptualizations

### 2.4.1 *Folk Conceptualizations Across Languages and Cultures*

Many of the researches that have been referenced in this chapter highlight the importance of extensive empirical research of the cultural conceptualizations of languages outside the European-centered and Anglo-centered families, including minority and endangered languages. Their underlying claim is that the research of linguistic diversity should avoid the view of so-called “linguacentrism” (Palmer 2003), and should also explore the metaphors “others live by,” according to Mühlhäusler’s playful reference to Lakoff and Johnson’s title in his critique on culture-neutral metaphor approaches (Mühlhäusler 1995). An impressive collection of the papers on the metaphorical thought of less-known languages, *Endangered metaphors* (Idström and Piirainen 2012) substantially proves that conceptual metaphors that have been established and documented with Western languages in mind cannot account for the meaning of the expressions of many languages. The term *endangered language* is defined as “a language without safe transmission to new generations” (Idström and Piirainen 2012: 15), which also entails the disappearance of the culture it reflects. This premise partly bears on the issue of Hungarian folksongs. From the point of view of the present research, Hungarian is not a language that is endangered but the cultural conceptualizations apparent in the folksongs, and the culture they are grounded in, have literally vanished in the past decades. The general prediction held among ethnographers is that there is only short time left for them to collect new and yet unknown pieces of folk literature, as the informants in the villages are elderly people. Similar to endangered languages, folk culture has been threatened by the impacts and changes of modern society and globalization, and there is less and less access to discover authentic texts. In this sense, ‘endangerment’ in relation to folk literature means that their transmission to new generations is projected to come to an end within short time. It has been noted, though, that these conceptualizations still have a special role in the Hungarian people’s cognition to some extent.

The empirical researches on folk conceptualizations add important observations on the view of metaphor systems, as they have been illustrated in the previous parts of this chapter. An example for this is Idström’s paper (2012) where she investigates human–animal relationships in the conceptual system of Inari Saami by analyzing idioms. She observes that in the metaphor PERSON IS A REINDEER there is no evidence that people construe the concept of a HUMAN in terms of the concept of a REINDEER. Instead, Idström proposes the experiential basis for this metaphor, which means that in this region the people have in-depth knowledge on reindeers by frequent exposure to them and in this way reindeer becomes an easily accessible source domain for the conceptualization of human beings. According to Idström, repeated experiences are responsible for the construction of image schemas, which

form the basis of communication, and it follows that the different environmental impacts will result in different schemas, respectively.

The folk conceptualizations of traditional communities have not been extensively studied, which most importantly derives from the fact that they were typically passed on to the next generations through oral tradition. In the case of endangered languages, the difficulty is that there is not enough accessible material (including spontaneous discourses) that provides insight into the metaphor system of these languages. In the case of folk literature in different cultures, attempts have been made with varying efforts to document their cultural heritage: folk stories, ballads, folksongs, idioms, riddles and so forth. They have been studied, however, with a limited scope of research and few of them consider conceptualizations (Lovick 2012; Montes de Oca Vega 2012; Mihás 2012).

### 2.4.2 *Hungarian Folk Conceptualizations*

Hungarian folk conceptualizations have also been a rather neglected field so far, especially from a linguistic perspective. Most of the research undertaken has employed an essentially ethnographic perspective (see also Chap. 1) with little reference to language use. One of the most prominent works is *The shapes of the Hungarian soul* by Lükő (1942), who explores the ranges of meanings of a number of symbolic universal concepts like FIRE, WATER, STAR, WIND, etc., pointing out their universal meanings and, how they appear in folksongs and other artifacts within the Hungarian folk culture. He also gives cross-cultural examples of how the concept is apparent in the folk products of other cultures. Another two influential books were written by Bernáth (1986, 1987) in which he argues that Hungarian folksongs, proverbs, nursery rhymes and other genres, even those that convey seemingly entirely different ideas, hide erotic meanings. Some of the analyses, however, seem to be ad hoc and the ideas presented need further evidence to provide a sufficient explanation.

#### **LOVE-Metaphors in Csango Folksongs<sup>2</sup>**

The research most closely related to the present book is Szelid's extensive study on the conceptualizations of LOVE in Csango folksongs and language usage from a cognitive and cultural linguistic perspective (Szelid 2007, 2010b, 2012; Szelid and Geeraerts 2008). The Csango people are a small group of Hungarians who have lived in relative isolation ever since they settled in Moldavia and have spoken an archaic Hungarian dialect known as Csango. Csango folksongs are believed to have preserved the archaic conceptualizations of Hungarian folksongs, therefore their

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<sup>2</sup>Csango folksongs are also included in the basic corpus (Ortutay and Katona 1975) of the present research.

analysis is assumed to provide insight into an ancient layer of Hungarian folksongs. In her research, Szelid investigates the metaphors and metonymies related to the target concept LOVE based on texts of 160 Moldavian Southern Csango folksongs, which were compiled from several collections (Domokos 1941; Domokos and Rajeczky 1956; Faragó et al. 1954; Faragó and Jagamas 1974; Kallós 1996; Paksa 1999; Seres and Szabó 1991). Szelid reveals that the Csangos have a specific model of love, which is represented in their preference for certain metaphors of LOVE, and employment of source domains (AGRICULTURE, HOUSE). Some of the major findings of Szelid's research are summarized in this section.

The Moldavian Csango communities exist in a specific cultural environment: they live on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, comprising of an approximately 80,000 population. They migrated to Moldavia from Transylvania in the 13th century, and their present settlement has never belonged to the territory of Hungary. The Csangos have preserved their archaic language, a dialect of Hungarian, which was not affected by the influences that had an impact on other dialects of Hungarian (among others, the Language Reform in the early 19th century), due to their confined location in a Romanian-speaking and Orthodox Church environment. The Csangos are Roman Catholics by religion and they still lead an agricultural and stockbreeder's way of life that used to characterize other Hungarian folk communities in the past. The Csango dialect is presently regarded as *endangered*, due to assimilation attempts by Romanian authorities.

In her research, Szelid explores the Csangos' folk model of LOVE by capturing the metaphors and metonymies in the folksongs and discovering the naturally evolving system ("cognitive mechanisms," Szelid 2007: 15) behind them. Hence, it is the target concept in the focus of her research, unlike the methodology presented in this book, where the attention is drawn more onto the source conceptualizations (nature).

First of all, she observes that *nature images* are frequently employed in the conceptualization of emotions, which is supported by Küllös's research on comparing the repertoire of a Csango woman (38 songs), who left her home village and lived in Hungary for more than two decades, to 42 original Csango folksongs (Küllös 1976). Küllös observes that in Csango folksongs the imagery of nature is more dominant than in the songs known by the woman who lived far from the Csango cultural community. She also adds that, on the other hand, the topic of 'love' is less frequently touched in Csango texts. The two claims, as Szelid notes (Szelid 2007: 66), might mean the same if the 'theme of love' refers to its literal representation. Nature imagery is therefore even more recurrent in the archaic Csango folksongs than in Hungarian folksongs (in general), which points to the fact that nature metaphors are ancient conceptualizations in folksongs.

Secondly, in Csango folksongs, LOVE as a relationship is most frequently manifested in the LOVE IS A UNITY metaphor (Szelid 2010a: 226), which consists of several related sub-metaphors, such as THE TWO LOVERS ARE PARTS OF A BIGGER ENTITY, see folksong (1).

|     |                                                                 |                                                         |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>Úgy megvállunk mi egymástul,<br/>mind a level az ágátul.</i> | We part from each other<br>Like a leaf from its branch. |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|

In this conceptualization the **BRANCH** represents the **MAN** and the **LEAF** stands for the **WOMAN**, who are parts of the **RELATIONSHIP**, which is manifested by the **TREE**. This conceptualization is discussed in Chap. 6 in the image schema of **THE WIND BLOWING OFF THE LEAF**. Another sub-metaphor is **THE TWO LOVERS AS TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS**, where the **STEM** is the **MAN** and the **FLOWER** is the **WOMAN**.

|     |                                                                                                 |                                                                              |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>Hervad az a ruza,<br/>kinek töve nincen,<br/>ien isz hívadozok,<br/>had szeretém nincen.</i> | The rose withers<br>Without a stem,<br>Like I wither<br>For having no lover. |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

There is also a range of metaphors that present the sub-conceptualizations of the metaphor **THE TWO LOVERS ARE PARTS LIVING IN SYMBIOSIS**:

SEX IS AGRICULTURE  
FEMALE BODY IS LAND (FERTILE OR NOT)  
UNMARRIED WOMAN IS A FIELD  
MARRIED WOMAN IS A GARDEN  
SEX (THE ACTIVE WORK THAT MAKES THIS BODY FERTILE) IS ANY AGRICULTURAL WORK ON THE LAND (PLOUGHING, SOWING, ETC., AND EVEN RAIN)  
CHILD/FRUIT OF LOVE (THAT WILL LATER BECOME A NEW OBJECT OF LOVE) IS PLANT

A major point in Szelid’s argument is that the overall conceptualization of **LOVE**, i.e., **LOVE IS A UNITY**, is represented in Csango communities as a **RELATIONSHIP** rather than an **EMOTION**: a relationship that leads to the unity of two halves in the frame of marriage. Hence, the values that a relationship is believed to be characterized by are presented in folksong (3).

|     |                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>... pedig az a malom<br/>háromkeví legyen;<br/>A legelső keve<br/>bélagyengyet járjon,<br/>A másodík keve<br/>aprópénzt hullasszon<br/>Sz a harmadík keve<br/>Szeretetet járjon.</i> | ...but that mill<br>should have three stones.<br>The very first one<br>should produce white pearls,<br>The second one<br>should produce coins,<br>And the third one<br>should produce love. |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In Szelid’s interpretation the **WHITE PEARL** symbolizes **PURITY** based on the metonymies **COLOR OF THE OBJECT FOR THE STATE OF THE OBJECT**: **WHITE** FOR **PURITY** AND **THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT**, the symbol of money stands for rationality, while the third is literally love (Szelid 2010a: 230). However, Szelid’s interpretation can be corrected if we take into account the cultural customs related to wedding: according to the explanation provided in Chap. 7, the *bélagyengy* ‘white pearl’ is a metonymical reference to a **BRIDE’S WREATH**, hence to **WEDDING**, which itself might

mean PURITY as a secondary meaning but only through evoking folk customs in cultural traditions. Furthermore, MONEY is suggested to be taken as a metonymy referring to WEALTH, that is, the sufficient conditions of a decent living of the couple. These interpretations do not relate the Csango metaphors to conceptual generic metaphors exclusively but also reflect on the cultural context, tradition and customs, and culturally determined attitude to life as they have been described in Chap. 1.

Szelid makes important observations on the general model of LOVE as they appear in Csango folksongs. Although there is a prevalent conceptualization of LOVE in Western societies, framed as LOVE IS FORCE (a specification of the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES metaphor, see Kövecses 1988, 2000), Szelid notices that in Csango folksongs the LOVE IS FORCE metaphor is completely absent. On the other hand, the force-dynamic interactions (Talmy 1988) can be captured in the saliently present MORALITY IS FORCE metaphor.

The values of a love relationship are constantly under attack by EVIL FORCES that need to be defeated by the moral self. The fight here is not between emotion and rationality like in the romantic model of love but rather between the tempting evil forces (both internal and external) and the moral self (Szelid 2010a: 231).

It is therefore MORAL FORCE that fights against the devil, which is clearly presented in folksong (4).

|     |                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                            |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4) | <i>Túl a vizen rakottya,<br/>az alatt van botoska<br/>Házasodik a diák,<br/>kell-e botoskavirág.</i>    | Over the water there is a broom.<br>Under that there is a marigold flower.<br>The lad is about to marry,<br>Do you want a marigold flower? |
|     | <i>Nem kell botoskavirág,<br/>Mert az nagyon szép virág.<br/>Leveliben haj,<br/>fehér fuszukavirág.</i> | I don't want marigold flower,<br>Because that's a very beautiful flower.<br>In its leaves hey,<br>There is a white bean flower.            |

In Szelid's explanation, the entity in focus is the marigold flower on the other side of the river, which stands for the sexually experienced woman. The man resists temptation (i.e., evil force) by choosing the white bean flower, which is hidden in the leaves: not as beautiful but more precious (this metaphor can be related to the CROSSING THE RIVER WATER schema, see Chap. 5). Szelid also adds that morality is primarily based on religious doctrines of the Old-Testament, which is reflected in morality metaphors (Szelid 2010a: 234): RELATIONSHIP IS BUILDING and MORALITY IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE BUILDING.

Szelid arrives at several results that seem to support the findings of the present book. The Csangos speak about love metaphorically (Szelid 2010a: 224), which Szelid calls "cover stories" (Szelid 2010a: 224). Her idea is similar to the broader notion used in connection with Hungarian folksongs throughout the book, 'indirectness.'

These pictures of nature distract the attention of the outsiders from the real meaning and provide them with a credible scene. In this special environment there are many colorful flowers, trees and bushes, fertile earth, fields, gardens and woods, animals of different sizes and properties, and people who are most often caught at work (Szelid 2010a: 224–225).

Szelid's approach to folksongs is different from the Cultural Linguistic approach presented in this book. She applies a cognitive linguistic methodology, emphasizing that abstract concepts are basically motivated by both our physical experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a) *and* the cultural background that surrounds us (Kövecses 2005). However, the analyses of Csango folksongs provided do not seem to incorporate the social-cultural aspects of love and marriage, including courting/wedding traditions or dealing with the complex issue of premarital sexual intercourse. Morality is an important aspect of how love is presented in folksongs, but not an exclusive one. Implementing the complexity of cultural aspects gives a more refined view on the cultural metaphors reflected in the images than interpreting them and tracing them back to universal conceptual metaphors and metonymies.

On the other hand, the interconnectedness of nature images is clearly formulated in Szelid's discussions.

It is rather difficult to come across a song in which the planting scene can be encountered in its totality. Much more typical is to discover texts that contain only some parts of it, highlighting different aspects of the target domain. However, in order to understand them, we have to put the mosaic together and analyze the texts in relation to each other (Szelid 2010a: 228).

This statement strongly correlates with the Cultural Linguistic notion *heterogeneous distribution*, which is a definitive feature of cultural conceptualizations as they are manifested in the minds of the members of a community.

Szelid's research on Csango folksongs provide insight into an archaic layer of Hungarian folksongs and their conceptualization system. What is highlighted, as a specificity of the Csangos, is the absence of the EMOTION IS FORCE schema, substituted by a prominent MORALITY IS FORCE metaphor. This can be interpreted as evidence of the assumption that the Csango conceptualizations reflect even more archaic views than the rest of Hungarian folksongs, where the conflicts of love arise in an emotion-morality-cultural traditions nexus. The merit of Szelid's influential research resides not only in a bulk of observations that are highly relevant to the issue presented in this book but in that it bears great achievement in its sole attempt to unfold the conceptual system of a specific group of Hungarian folksongs.

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