

STUDIA NEOFILOLOGICZNE. ROZPRAWY JĘZYKOZNAWCZE

XXI

WIELOZNACZNOŚĆ POJĘCIOWA W PRAKTYCE DYSKURSYWNEJ

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UNIwersytet JANA DŁUGOSZA W CZĘSTOCHOWIE

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pod redakcją
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WSTĘP

Dwudziesty pierwszy tom czasopisma „Studia Neofilologiczne. Rozprawy Językoznawcze”, zatytułowany *Wieloznaczność pojęciowa w praktyce dyskursywnej (Conceptual Polysemy in Discursive Practice)*, zawiera różnorodne i inspirujące artykuły, w których autorzy badają dynamiczne procesy konstruowania, negocjowania, tłumaczenia i interpretacji znaczenia w kontekstach językowych, poznawczych i multimodalnych. Skupienie się na wieloznaczności pojęciowej odzwierciedla rosnące zainteresowanie tym, w jaki sposób pojęcia abstrakcyjne i konkretne są reprezentowane poznawczo, mediowane społecznie i osadzone kulturowo. Wyniki badań zawarte w artykułach dowodzą, że wieloznaczność nie jest jedynie zjawiskiem leksykalnym czy semantycznym, lecz fundamentalnym aspektem komunikacji, który wpływa na to, jak pojęcia są eksponowane, strukturyzowane, a czasem ukrywane w dyskursie. Ponadto w aktualnym wydaniu czasopisma akcentuje się znaczenie multimodalności, interakcji międzykulturowej oraz praktyk komunikacji profesjonalnej jako kluczowych czynników w procesie konstruowania znaczenia, z jednoczesnym zwróceniem uwagi na to, iż wieloznaczność manifestuje się w różnych modalnościach – językowej, wizualnej, kinestetycznej i audiowizualnej.

Część artykułów koncentruje się na poznawczych i ucieleśnionych warunkowaniach znaczenia. W pracy zatytułowanej *On the Embodied and Adaptive Origins of the Concepts GOOD and BAD* ukazano, w jaki sposób pojęcia ewaluacyjne *GOOD* i *BAD* mają swoje źródło w somatycznych doświadczeniach przyjemności i bólu. Autor pracy wskazuje, iż pojęcia te należą do kategorii „podstawowych pojęć adaptacyjnych” oraz podkreśla ich centralną rolę w strukturyzowaniu zarówno ocen afektywnych, jak i predykatów wartości. Artykuł *From Record Highs to New Lows: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of the Figurative Language of Economic Indicators* analizuje mechanizmy konceptualizacji abstrakcyjnych zjawisk ekonomicznych (np. inflacji czy cen) przez użytkowników języka angielskiego, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli schematów obrazowych i struktur metaforycznych. Analiza ujawnia współdziałanie metafor konceptualnych i wzorców gramatycznych, podkreślając, w jaki sposób poznanie kształtuje rozumienie złożonych pojęć. Praca *‘Image Schema’, ‘Domain’, ‘Frame’ and ‘Mental Space’ – Taxonomy or an Inter-twining Network?* bada organizację struktur poznawczych, wykazując, że schematy obrazowe funkcjonują zarówno autonomicznie, jak i integracyjnie, wspierając tworzenie znaczenia w ramach domen, ram i przestrzeni mental-

nych. Te badania łącznie podkreślają kluczową rolę poznania i ucieleśnienia w powstawaniu wieloznaczności.

Problemy leksykalnej i międzyjęzykowej wieloznaczności omawia artykuł *Polysemy of the Lexeme BANK from the Frame Semantics Perspective*, pokazując, że różne znaczenia słowa *bank* – takie jak ‘instytucja finansowa’, ‘brzeg rzeki’ czy ‘miejsce przechowywania’ – są powiązane poprzez wspólną ramę konceptualną. Podobnie praca *Positive and Negative Qualities of E-Cigarettes Based on Metaphorical and Idiomatic Linguistic Structures* stanowi analizę metaforycznych i idiomatycznych wyrażeń występujących w niemieckojęzycznej prasie, z uwzględnieniem wpływu czynników poznawczych i kulturowych na kształtowanie znaczeń ewaluacyjnych. Oba badania pokazują, że wieloznaczność jest zjawiskiem dynamicznym, uwarunkowanym przez poznanie, kontekst i kulturę.

W innych artykułach zwraca się uwagę na istotność multimodalności i integracji języka z elementami wizualnymi. W pracy *Lingua Franca of the 21st Century* analizowana jest komunikacja w wielojęzycznych zespołach technicznych, co pokazuje, jak język angielski, gesty i diagramy współpracują, aby umożliwić ich wzajemne zrozumienie. W tekście *The Dialogue of Word and Picture – Polysemy in Audiovisual Translation of Songs from Animated Films* autorka analizuje polskie wersje tłumaczeń piosenek Disneya, zwracając uwagę na to, jak wieloznaczność wizualna wpływa na decyzje podejmowane przez tłumaczy. Artykuł „*Usta pięknie harmonizują z nosem*”. *Przykłady użycia metonimii w języku winiarskim* bada przykłady metonimii w języku polskim wykorzystywanej do opisu aromatów i smaków wina, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem trzech terminów: *nos*, *usta* i *owoc*, ukazując ich wieloznaczność oraz rolę metonimii jako procesu poznawczego i podstawowego elementu komunikacji codziennej. Wyniki przedstawionych badań podkreślają, że znaczenie powstaje w interakcji zasobów językowych i pozajęzykowych.

Tradycyjna sekcja *Nowe głosy: prace młodych naukowców* prezentuje prace badające dyskurs, multimodalność i procesy konceptualne. Artykuł *Polarization in American Digital Political News* analizuje wpływ elementów tekstowych, wizualnych i interaktywnych na kształtowanie percepcji publicznej oraz polaryzację polityczną. Z kolei praca *What Do Metaphors of Understanding Hide?* pokazuje, w jaki sposób metafory konceptualne ukrywają pewne aspekty pojęć, identyfikując sześć powtarzających się elementów w konceptualizacji *understanding*. Przedstawione badania ilustrują innowacyjność metodologiczną i dostarczają wglądu we współczesne praktyki dyskursywne.

Podsumowując, artykuły w niniejszym tomie ukazują bogactwo i złożoność wieloznaczności pojęciowej w dyskursie. Autorzy pokazują, jak powstaje znaczenie w interakcji czynników poznawczych, językowych, kulturowych i multimodalnych. Od ewaluacji ucieleśnionej i leksykalnej wielo-

znaczności międzyjęzykowej po komunikację profesjonalną, procesy metaforyczne i metonimiczne oraz tłumaczenie audiowizualne, artykuły prezentują kompleksowy obraz tego, jak wieloznaczność kształtuje rozumienie w różnych dziedzinach, gatunkach i kontekstach komunikacyjnych. Przedstawione przez autorów prace dostarczają zarówno wglądu teoretycznego, jak i wskazówek metodologicznych dla badaczy zainteresowanych dynamicznymi procesami powstawania znaczenia we współczesnym dyskursie.

Redaktorki tomu

FOREWORD

The twenty-first volume of the *Studia Neofilologiczne. Rozprawy Językoznawcze*, appropriately entitled *Conceptual Polysemy in Discursive Practice (Wieloznaczność pojęciowa w praktyce dyskursywnej)*, brings together a diverse and thought-provoking collection of studies that explore the dynamic ways in which meaning is constructed, negotiated, translated, and interpreted across linguistic, cognitive, and multimodal contexts. The focus on conceptual polysemy reflects a growing interest in understanding how abstract and concrete concepts are cognitively represented, socially mediated, and culturally situated. The contributions illustrate that polysemy is not merely a lexical or semantic phenomenon, but a fundamental aspect of human communication, influencing how concepts are highlighted, structured, and occasionally obscured in discourse. Moreover, the issue emphasizes the importance of multimodality, cross-cultural interaction, and professional communicative practices in shaping meaning, demonstrating that polysemy operates simultaneously across language, images, gestures, and audiovisual texts.

Several articles investigate the cognitive and embodied foundations of meaning. *On the Embodied and Adaptive Origins of the Concepts GOOD and BAD* examines how these evaluative concepts arise from human experiences of pleasure and pain. The study proposes that they belong to a category of “basic adaptive concepts” and demonstrates their centrality in structuring both affective judgments and value predications. In a related vein, *From Record Highs to New Lows: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of the Figurative Language of Economic Indicators* shows how English speakers conceptualize abstract economic phenomena such as *inflation* and *price* using image schemas and metaphorical constructions. By revealing the interplay between conceptual metaphors and grammatical patterns, this study highlights how cognition shapes the understanding of complex concepts. *‘Image Schema’, ‘Domain’, ‘Frame’ and ‘Mental Space’ – Taxonomy or an Intertwining Network?* analyses the organization of cognitive structures, demonstrating that image schemas function both autonomously and integratively, supporting meaning-making across frames and mental spaces. These studies together underscore the central role of cognition and embodiment in the generation of polysemy.

The problems of lexical and cross-linguistic polysemy are addressed in *Polysemy of the Lexeme BANK from the Frame Semantics Perspective*, which demonstrates that multiple senses of *bank* - such as ‘financial institution,’ ‘river edge,’ and ‘storage place’ - are linked through a common conceptual

frame. Similarly, *Positive and Negative Qualities of E-Cigarettes Based on Metaphorical and Idiomatic Linguistic Structures* shows how metaphorical and idiomatic expressions in German-language journalism convey evaluative meaning, illustrating the influence of cognitive and cultural factors on lexical interpretation. These studies reveal that polysemy is a dynamic phenomenon, shaped by cognition, context, and culture.

Numerous studies explore multimodality and the interaction of language with visual resources. *Lingua Franca of the 21st Century* examines communication in multilingual technical teams, highlighting how English, gestures, and visual diagrams work together to achieve understanding. *The Dialogue of Word and Picture – Polysemy in Audiovisual Translation of Songs from Animated Films* analyses Polish translations of Disney songs, showing how visual polysemy informs translation choices. *‘The Mouth Harmonises Beautifully with the Nose’: Examples of Metonymy in the Wine Language* investigates how metonymic expressions convey sensory experience, bridging cognition, language, and perception. These studies highlight that meaning is often constructed jointly across linguistic and non-linguistic modalities.

Finally, the traditional section *New Voices: Contributions from Young Scholars* presents papers, examining discourse, multimodality, and conceptual processes. *Polarization in American Digital Political News* demonstrates how textual, visual, and interactive elements shape public perception of political polarization. *What Do Metaphors of Understanding Hide?* explores how conceptual metaphors conceal aspects of target concepts, identifying six recurrently hidden features in the conceptualization of *understanding*. Together, these studies illustrate methodological innovation and provide insights into contemporary discursive practices.

In essence, this issue reveals the richness and complexity of conceptual polysemy in discourse. The scholars show how meaning emerges from the interaction of cognitive, linguistic, cultural, and multimodal factors. From embodied evaluation and cross-linguistic polysemy to professional communication, metaphorical and metonymic processes, and audiovisual translation, the contributions offer a comprehensive view of how polysemy shapes understanding across domains, genres, and communicative contexts. Through the collaboration of our authors, the volume provides both theoretical insight and methodological guidance for researchers interested in the dynamic processes underlying meaning in contemporary discourse.

Volume editors

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ON THE EMBODIED AND ADAPTIVE ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPTS GOOD AND BAD

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Abstract

This paper in an attempt to explain the bodily motivation of the basic evaluative terms GOOD and BAD in terms of human experiences (sensations) of pain and pleasure, based on the findings and theory of human emotions and feelings proposed by A. Damasio (1999). It is argued that the concepts GOOD and BAD may belong to a larger category of “basic adaptive concepts”, which developed from basic human needs and adaptations. The basic evaluative opposition GOOD – BAD is shown to be one of the crucial parameters of the domains of human emotions and values, which constitute two bases of evaluative predications, called, respectively, affective and value predicates. It is suggested that the domain of values has the structure of a hierarchy of values with each value represented as a scale showing bi-polar valences and their intensities.

Key words: embodiment, evaluation, adaptive concepts, pain, pleasure, emotion, affective predication, value predication, hierarchy of values, profiling.

Introduction

According to Evans (2019), there two central assumptions of the cognitive linguistics approach to conceptual structure. Evans formulates these assumptions as follows:

- i) conceptual structure is embodied;
- ii) semantic structure reflects conceptual structure. (p.201)

Assumption (i) means that basic human concepts can be derived from bodily experiences. These experiences include the sensory perception of the external world, known as exteroception, and the perception of the internal world of bodily experiences, known as interoception. Thus, to quote Evans again, “the concepts we form, and the ways in which they become organised, arise as a direct consequence of the nature of our bodies, as we act in and interact with the world around us” (p.202).

The second main assumption of cognitive linguistics, formulated in (ii) above, says that semantic structure of language refers to concepts in the minds of speakers rather than to objects in the external world. This assumption has the important implication that conventional meanings of words and more complex expressions are equated with concepts symbolized by those words and expressions. In short, “meaning is conceptualization” (Langacker, 1987). An important part of most of those concepts is their evaluative good-bad load: based on our needs and system of values, we usually consider the entities, properties, and events in our world as good or bad. These evaluations are parts of conceptualizations but they are not parts of referents of those conceptualizations.

1 Embodied conceptual structure

The cognitive linguistic thesis of the embodiment of conceptual structure does not mean that all concepts are necessarily embodied or that they are all embodied to the same extent. A lot of abstract concepts like politics, infinity, proof, falsehood are not embodied, although they may be and usually are construed in terms embodied categories. In this section, we shall focus on the basic embodied concepts, which do not need such additional construing operations.

1.1 Minimal concepts

One set of such concepts are what Langacker (2008, p. 33) calls “minimal concepts”, which are profiled in specific experiential domains, e.g. LINE, ANGLE, and perhaps some basic shapes like STRAIGHT, CIRCLE, TRIANGLE, SQUARE, CUBE AND SPHERE in n-dimensional space, focal COLOURS in vision, PRECEDENCE and SIMULTANEITY in time, as well as “configurational concepts”, such as BOUNDARY, CONTACT, CONTINUITY, PROXIMITY. Based on bodily experiences, these concepts are used to think and talk about more abstract domains, e.g. the concept of STRAIGHT means ‘proper’ or ‘conventional’ in the domain of MORALITY (Cienki, 1998; Bierwiazzonek, 2004; Bierwiazzonek & Tamezoujt, 2010), while the concepts of PROXIMITY is used to denote INTERPERSONAL emotional RELATIONS, as in expressions *close friend* and *close relationship* (Kövecses 2000).

1.2 Image schemas

Another set of embodied concepts are so-called image schemas (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Cienki, 1997), i.e. imagistic representations of interactions between the human body and various categories of entities in space. For instance, the image schematic concept of CONTAINMENT is based on the common experience of a body moving into or out of a container, e.g. a room, and a common perception of objects or substances located inside or outside a container, e.g. milk being poured into or out of a bottle. However, the image schema of CONTAINMENT serves to construe non-physical entities as well, e.g. psychological states or situations, and thus makes it possible to talk about being *in/out of love*, *in/out of trouble*, *in/out of debt*. Another image schematic opposition is the opposition between UP and DOWN, based on perceptual experiences of objects situated in different points of the vertical axis and bodily experiences of rising and falling due to the force of gravitation.

Other image schemas discussed in the literature include FORCE, PATH, LINK, CENTRE-PERIPHERY and SCALE. The schema of SCALE is particularly important for evaluation because each evaluative predication and, hence, each value judgment may be located on the scale of GOOD or BAD. As Johnson (1987, p. 113) observes, “SCALARITY does seem to permeate the whole of human experience, even where no precise quantitative measurement is possible. Consequently, this experientially basic, value-laden structure of our grasp of both concrete and abstract entities is one of the most pervasive image-schematic structures in our understanding”.

1.3 Conceptual archetypes and event schemas

In addition to image schemas, there are a number of other concepts that arise from universal human perceptual, motor, and interpersonal experiences, which Langacker calls “conceptual archetypes” (Langacker, 2008, pp. 33–34). Examples of embodied conceptual archetypes are a physical object, the human body, the human face, holding something, seeing something, exertion of force, a face-to-face social encounter, etc. Those conceptual archetypes seem to be motivated by their perceptual and kinaesthetic commonness and universality and in this sense they are just another aspect of embodiment.

It seems that Langacker’s tentative list of conceptual archetypes may be extended to include what is known in cognitive syntax as “participant roles” and “event schemas” (Radden & Dirven, 2007; Bierwiazzonek, 2024).¹ Although the definite list of participant roles has not been established yet, it would have to comprise such roles as AGENT, THEME, PATIENT, RE-

¹ While participant roles and event schemas are possibly universal, their syntactic representations, sometimes called “argument structure constructions” (cf. Goldberg 1995), but which could be also called and “basic event schema constructions” are language specific.

CEPIENT, BENEFACTIVE, INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, PROPERTY, and CATEGORY. The basic event schemas defined by those roles are certainly all the event schemas which Radden and Dirven ascribe to the Material and Force-Dynamic Worlds, as well as their Psychological World and the Social World, added by Bierwiaczonok (2024). The schemas are listed below:

The Material World

A. Occurrence schemas:

States: THEME — PROPERTY/ CATEGORY/ IDENTITY/ REFERENCE POINT, e.g., *The story is be true, Joe is an actor, Joe resembles his father.*

Processes: THEME — (PROPERTY), e.g., *The plan has gone wrong, The sun is shining, It rained again.*

B. Spatial schemas: THEME — LOCATION, e.g., *Eve is in Warsaw*

C. Reference Point schema

Possession schema: POSSESSOR — THEME (POSSESSION), e.g., *Joe has a new car, He acquired his car in Sweden.*

WHOLE – PART, e.g., *The car has four wheels*

KINSHIP RP – RELATIVE (- THEME), e.g., *Bill has a cousin brother, This guy is Bill's brother.*

The Force Dynamic World

A. Action schema: AGENT (DOER) — THEME, e.g., *Joe often breaks plates.*

B. Self-motion schema: AGENT (MOVER) — SOURCE/PATH/GOAL, e.g., *Eve went to Paris.*

C. Caused-motion schema: AGENT — THEME — GOAL, e.g., *Joe sent his books to New York.*

D. Transfer schema 1: AGENT — RECEIVER — THEME, e.g., *Eve often gives her kids presents.*

Transfer schema 2: AGENT — BENEFACTIVE — THEME, e.g., *Joe wrote a poem for Eve.*

The Psychological World

The schemas involve different kinds of EXPERIENCER: SENSOR, EMOTER, PERCEIVER, AND COGNIZER

A. Sensation schema 1: SENSOR/SENSOR'S BODY PART, e.g., *My back is hurting.* Sensation schema 2: SENSOR — SENSATION, e.g., *Bill is sleepy, Bill feels disgust.*

B. Emotion schema 1: EMOTER — CAUSE, e.g., *Joe likes frogs, Frogs frighten Eve.*

Emotion schema 2: EMOTER — PROPERTY (EMOTION), e.g., *I'm furious, Eve is happy.*

- C. Perception schema: PERCEIVER — STIMULUS, e.g., *Eves sees her dog now, Joe heard that song before.*
- D. Cognition schema 1: COGNIZER — THEME (SUBJECT MATTER), e.g., *Eve still remembers that day, I'm dreaming of the white Christmas.*
Cognition schema 2: COGNIZER — CONTENT, e.g., *Eve hopes Joe wins, Joe believes that his dad never lies.*

The Social World

- A. SPEAKER – MESSAGE, e.g., *Eve said she was ill, Joe complained that he'd been cheated.*
- B. SPEAKER – ADDRESSEE – MESSAGE, e.g., *Eve told us that she was ill, Joe warned us that it might rain*

1.4 Basic domains

In cognitive semantics meanings of symbolic units construed as nominals, adjectives or verbs are represented as profiles in conceptual domains (Langacker, 1987). These conceptual domains form a network of domains linked by various relations and degrees of specificity, analysability, and internal complexity. The most general, unanalysable, and the simplest of those domains are considered to be “basic domains”. In fact, it is those basic domains that constitute the basis for all the concepts we have discussed so far, i.e. the minimal concepts, image schemas, and conceptual archetypes. As opposed to non-basic domains, which are often quite abstract, such as ALPHABET, CUISINE or DEMOCRACY, basic domains are all embodied. The “partial inventory of basic domains” proposed by Evans (2019, p. 405) include SPACE, TIME, COLOUR, PITCH, TEMPERATURE, PRESSURE, PAIN, ODOUR, EMOTION. Given that PAIN and ODOUR are sensations, it seems reasonable to distinguish a basic domain of SENSATION (analogously to the general domain of EMOTION), which serves as basis for more specific concepts such as PAIN, PLEASURE, ODOUR, and TASTE, at least some of which may be classified as basic adaptive concepts discussed in the next section.

1.5 Basic adaptive concepts

Beside conceptual archetypes, there seem to be a number of fairly complex and fairly specific embodied concepts whose rise is motivated by the same force which actually motivated adaptive changes and modifications in human body itself. It is the well-known force of evolution of the human species empowered by two fundamental values of survival and procreation. In his discussion of the principles of evolutionary psychology, David M. Buss (2006/2015) pointed out that as the human body has thousands of organs with special functions, e.g. the heart for pumping blood or the lungs for inhaling oxygen, so the human mind has formed thousands of highly specific

mental mechanisms which in the long run enabled the homo sapiens to survive and expand. Although the rise of these mechanisms also depended on a bodily organ – the brain, its products were no longer physical. They involved what neuroscientists often call “the mental trilogy”, i.e. the interaction and integration of cognition, emotion and motivation (LeDoux, 2002: Ch.7). Although the processing of cognition, emotion and motivation is by and large unconscious, we are conscious of our thoughts and knowledge, of our emotions and feelings, and of our values and goals, which motivate our decisions. Since these systems as well as language which used them as concepts are adaptations,² they are not arbitrary but, like the bodily organs, they also serve, or at least used to serve, our survival and procreation. This means that there is a class of conceptual and lexical categories motivated by our evolutionary development and goals. These “basic adaptive concepts” (or, possibly “adaptive archetypes”), as I suggest to call them, have to do with our species specific needs and values. If we assume that Maslow (1943, 1970) was in general right in his analysis of basic deficiency and growth needs and agree that phylogenetically the deficiency needs, because of their role in biological survival, were conceptualized earlier and were more universal, because they were motivated by the universal aspects of the human organism, it is the concepts associated with those deficiency needs which are the primary adaptive concepts. In their final Maslow’s formulation (1970), these needs include: biological physiological and safety needs, and psychological belonging and esteem needs. These needs caused adaptations both on the biological, psychological and conceptual level. For instance, Buss (2006/2015) points out that in the early years of human life nothing was more important than the ability to distinguish properly what may be eaten from what may not and should be avoided. Consequently, adaptations to this fundamental activity include the ability to identify bad food by smell and taste, the basic emotion of disgust, and, in more extreme cases, vomiting, which prevents humans from digesting harmful substances.

The concepts that probably developed from those basic deficiency needs are HUNGER, THIRST, SLEEP, DANGER, SEXUAL DESIRE, along with their related activities, such as HUNTING (KILLING?), EATING, DRINKING, SLEEPING, FIGHTING, RUNNING and COPULATING, and related nominal categories, such as PREDATOR, FOOD, WATER, HOME, MATE, OFFSPRING, along with basic sensations like PAIN, PLEASURE, ODOUR, TASTE, emotions of HAPPINESS, SADNESS, FEAR, ANGER, SURPRISE and DISGUST, and basic oppositions like PRESENT – ABSENT, DEAD – ALIVE, BIG – SMALL, GOOD – BAD, DARK – LIGHT, QUICK – SLOW, STRONG – WEAK, COLD – WARM, etc.

² The idea that language may be conceived as an adaptation was first formulated by Pinker and Bloom (1990) and then further developed by Pinker (1994) and (2003). Discussions of controversies and various versions of this thesis can be found in the papers in Christiansen and Kirby (2003).

1.6 Embodiment of GOOD and BAD

Damasio (1999) pointed out that there are two evolutionary functions of emotions. The first one is “the production of a specific reaction to the inducing situation” (p.53).³ In animals, depending on “the inducing situation”, the reaction is to run, to freeze, to fight or to engage in some sort of pleasurable activity. The second function of emotions is to prepare the organism for the specific kind of reaction by regulating its internal state. Thus, emotions allow us to behave reasonably from the point of view of survival, i.e. to avoid or get rid of dangerous stimuli and to cherish valuable stimuli. To quote Damasio again:

At their most basic, emotions are part of homeostatic regulation and are poised to avoid the loss of integrity that is a harbinger of death or death itself, as well as to endorse a source of energy, shelter, or sex. And as a result of powerful learning mechanisms such as conditioning, emotions of all shades eventually connect homeostatic regulation and survival “values” to numerous events and objects in our autobiographical experience. Emotions are inseparable from the idea of reward and punishment, of pleasure or pain, of approach or withdrawal, of personal advantage and disadvantage. Inevitably, emotions are inseparable from the idea of good and evil” (pp. 54–55).

The only change that I believe should be made in the above quote is that the basic emotional evaluative distinctions are inseparable not only from the idea of good and evil, which restricts them to the moral domain, but from all kinds of axiological distinctions based on the scalar opposition of GOOD and BAD. Before we try to consider the possible development of this opposition, let us first see how Damasio views emotions and their evolution on different levels of life regulations.

Damasio distinguishes four such levels and what is crucial for our considerations is that at the level of “basic life regulation” there are no emotions but only “Relatively simple, stereotyped patterns of response, which include metabolic regulation, reflexes, the biological machinery behind what will become pain and pleasure, drives and motivations” (p.55). So the basic opposition is the opposition of “what will become” pain and pleasure, which categorize the inducing stimuli into “good” and “bad” ones, which are as Damasio argues, “intimately related to emotion”, in such a way that “While pain is associated with negative emotions, such as anguish, fear sadness, and disgust (...), pleasure is associated with many shades of happiness, pride and positive background emotions” (p.76). Beside their bi-polarity, what emotions inherit and share with the sensations of pain and pleasure is their scalarity: they are both gradable from low to high intensities. However, pain and pleasure “are not mirror image of each other”. Damasio remarks that, metaphorically, pain is like “putting a *body-guard* in front of the house while you

³ LeDoux (2002, p. 206) defines emotion as “the process by which the brain determines or computes the value of a stimulus.”

repair the broken window” (original italics, p. 78) – it informs of the damage inflicted in the past and allows it to be repaired. By contrast, pleasure “is all about forethought. It is related to the clever anticipation of what can be done not to have a problem” (original italics, *ibid.*). In other words, pain is avoided, while pleasure is sought.

Damasio argues that, gradually, the original sensations develop into emotions, conceived as “complex, stereotyped patterns of response”, such as six primary emotions, namely, happiness, sadness, fear, anger, surprise and disgust,⁴ secondary (social) emotions, such as embarrassment, jealousy, guilt and pride, and, finally, background emotions, e.g. well-being or malaise, calm, and tension. That is the second level of life regulation. On the third level, as Damasio says, “sensory patterns signaling pain, pleasure, and emotions become images” (p.55), which may be interpreted as unconscious feelings. On the fourth level, i.e. the level of consciousness stemming from “a sense of self in the act of knowing” (p.282), these images and feelings become conscious and enable organisms to formulate complex and flexible plans of response which may be executed as behaviour.⁵

We may add that it is at this final stage of conscious feelings that the emotion and feeling concepts emerge, which constitute the basis for lexical categories associated with the sensations of pain and pleasure and more complex emotions as well as evaluations of various categories of stimuli causing those sensations and emotions. When coupled with cognitive representations of those categories of stimuli, the evaluations make it possible to behave adequately when confronted with those stimuli. It follows from Damasio’s theory that the basic evaluations are based on the binary opposition of plus (=causing pleasure) and minus (=causing pain) conceptualized as GOOD and BAD. As I already mentioned, the two oppositions of pleasure – pain and GOOD – BAD share their bi-polarity is: both pleasure and GOOD on the positive side, and pain and BAD on the negative are gradable.

As we pointed out above, most emotions are associated with pain or pleasure, therefore, these emotions are intrinsically evaluative. In the simplest and, perhaps, phylogenetically earliest terms, HAPPINESS is the emotion accompanying the sensation of pleasure, SADNESS is the emotion accompanying the loss of sensation of pleasure, FEAR is the emotion accompanying an-

⁴ The theory of six basic emotions was first proposed by Ekman et al. (1969). Over the years the list was often expanded, both by Ekman himself (1999), who added contempt, and other researchers, e.g. Plutchik (1980) added acceptance and anticipation. A short but clear and competent survey of those theories can be found in Kowalska and Wróbel (2017).

⁵ The neural mechanism of the shift from emotion to feeling in terms of brain emotion-inducing sites, first -order neural maps, second order neural structures and changes in proto-self is discussed by Damasio (1999, p. 283).

ticipation of pain, ANGER is the emotion accompanying the sensation of pain directed at the inducer of that pain, and DISGUST is the emotion accompanying the sensation of the intense opposite of pleasure, particularly in the domain of TASTE.

2 Embodied concepts GOOD and BAD in the semantic structure of lexical units

The second main assumption of cognitive linguistics, formulated in (ii) above, says that semantic structure of language refers to concepts in the minds of speakers rather than to objects in the external world. This assumption has the important implication that conventional meanings of words and more complex expressions are equated with linguistic concepts symbolized by those words and expressions rather than objectively existing entities or categories of entities. In short, “meaning is conceptualization” (Langacker, 1987).⁶ An important component of conceptualization is evaluation of the object of conceptualization in terms of one of the two basic evaluative concepts: GOOD or BAD.

2.1 GOOD and BAD in linguistics

The basic evaluative concepts of GOOD and BAD have been implicitly assumed in most linguistic semantic considerations and theoretical proposals. However, it was only in componential semantics and cognitive grammar that they found their place as fully explicit theoretical constructs.

2.1.1 Componential semantics

Before the era of cognitive linguistics in the eighties and nineties of the 20th century, at the time of componential semantics, GOOD and BAD, along with ANIMATE, MALE, YOUNG, CAUSE, HAVE, etc. were considered as semantic components of meaning used in so-called semantic decomposition, i.e. representation of meaning of semantically complex expressions by means of increasingly more simple units of sense, referred to as “semantic markers”, “semantic primes” or “semantic primitives” (cf. Geeraerts, 2010 for a survey of those theories).

Fillmore’s analysis of the “verbs of judging” (1969) was one example of using evaluative components in lexical semantics. In particular, Fillmore

⁶ The cognitive approach to values put forward here is compatible with famous Wittgenstein’s quote “In the world everything is as it is and happens as it does happen. In it, there is no value, - and if there were, it would be of no value.” (*Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*) because it too implies that values are purely conceptual.

showed that the evaluative assessment of the situation in terms of GOOD or BAD is necessary in semantic representations in order to account for what he called “illocutionary level” of verbs like *criticize*, *scold*, *praise*, etc., in which the evaluation is asserted, and the “presuppositional level” of verbs like *accuse*, *apologize*, *credit*, etc., in which evaluation is presupposed.

According to Wierzbicka (1972, 1996, Wierzbicka & Goddard, 2004), the concepts of GOOD and BAD have lexemes in all languages in the world and, therefore, should be included in the universal “natural semantic meta-language”. GOOD, BAD, BIG, and SMALL are the only adjectives in the domain of EVALUATION and DESCRIPTION. For instance, in her critique of Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) linguistic semantics, Wierzbicka (1986) represents the meaning of *love* as follows:

- (1) X loves (person) Y =
 when X thinks of Y, X feels good feelings towards Y
 X feels that he wants to be with Y
 X feels that he wants to cause good things to happen to Y...

Another example of how GOOD is used in Wierzbicka’s explications is her representation of the meaning of *X feels happy* (Wierzbicka & Goddard, 2004):

- (2) “X feels happy” =
 sometimes a person thinks something like this:
 something good happened to me
 I wanted this
 I don’t want anything else
 because of this, this person feels something good
 X feels like this

Beside componential semantics, the concepts GOOD and BAD were also used extensively in studies of linguistic persuasion, esp. in the semantics and use of euphemisms and dysphemisms. For instance, Hayakawa (1947) proposed that there are “purr-words”, which are inherently positive, e.g., *golden*, *delightful*, *clean*, *save*, *success*, and there are “snarl-words”, which are inherently negative, e.g. *harmful*, *sick*, *dirty*, *mess*, *failure*, etc. Bolinger, in this classic *Language – the Loaded Weapon* (1980), distinguished several ways in which language expresses its users’ evaluations. The first one is the inherent evaluation of various aspects of the denoted concept, e.g., he explicates the meaning of the verb *to improve* as ‘to change in a direction *that is good*’ and the verb *to succeed* as ‘to have an outcome *that is good*’ (p. 80, emphasis original).⁷ Another class of cases has to do with the form of performing a designated activity, e.g. protesting may be positive, while complaining expresses a negative evaluation because it implicates ‘protesting in a disgruntled way’.

⁷ The corresponding negative verbs would be, respectively, *deteriorate* and *fail*.

Bolinger discussed also the degree to which the speaker identifies with the expressed attitude. For instance, in sentence (1) below the proposition *she is not well* is “BAD from ‘his’ viewpoint”, but not necessarily the speaker’s, while sentence (2) can only be construed as conveying the speaker’s positive judgment of the fact that the addressee could come.

- 1) He is sorry that she is not well
- 2) How nice that you could come

Finally, Bolinger points out that the evaluative load may also derive from what I called “axiological models” (Bierwiazzonek, 1990), i.e. socially approved stereotypes and prejudices, ranging from size, e.g., BIG IS GOOD, through race, e.g., BLACK IS BAD, to sexism, e.g. WOMAN IS BAD or WOMAN IS WORSE THAN MAN. For instance, he notes that most of the words for the concept of UNTIDY PERSON in Roget’s Thesaurus denote women – *slut, stattern, frump, drab, dowdy, draggletail, trollop, bitch* (p. 91).

2.1.2 Cognitive Linguistics

With the advent of cognitive linguistics, the objectivist semantics gave way to anthropocentric, experiential and embodied view of linguistic meaning, represented by Fillmore, Lakoff, Langacker and their students and followers. One of the important consequences of that change was emphasis on the viewpoint and construal as crucial aspects of linguistic meaning. Consequently, in opposition, to logic and formal semantics based on the concept of truth-conditions, Krzeszowski (1997, p. 12) proposed that “ ‘positive-negative’ rather than ‘true-false’ should be the most central opposition on which linguistic semantics ought to be based”. He adduced five arguments in support of his thesis. First, Osgood et al.’s (1957) studies of semantic differential revealed that the largest part of general variance between words is associated with the GOOD-BAD scale. Second, the distinction between GOOD and BAD is the first opposition that infants learn and communicate. Third, while the true-false distinction applies only to propositions, good-bad valuations may be predicated of individual entities or categories of things as well. Fourth, as shown by Coleman and Kay (1981), even in the meaning of the verb *lie* it is ‘the intention to deceive’, which is normally considered as morally bad, that is more important (central) than the falsehood of the proposition. Fifth, the concepts of GOOD and BAD are the most general hypernyms of other evaluative adjectives such as *beautiful* or *true*. Although Krzeszowski does not explicitly refer to the embodiment of the concepts of GOOD and BAD, he hints at it saying that “in English (and other languages) there is conventional possibility of referring to all pleasant qualities as *good* and to all unpleasant ones as *bad*” (p.14). For instance, he argues that the adjective *beautiful* describes “what pleases our sense of vision or hearing”

(ibidem). It follows that the concepts of GOOD and BAD originate in the bodily sensory sensation of pleasure.

Krzeszowski's proposal is appealing and intuitively attractive, but it should be modified in the light of the findings of modern neuroscience and evolution we discussed above: GOOD and BAD derive from the sensations of pleasure and pain and are further elaborated in the development of emotions and conceptualisations of values. Consequently, there are two kinds of evaluative predications: affective predications, based on emotions, and value-predications, based on different categories of values.

2.2 Evaluative predications

If evaluation may be based either on emotional reactions or on more rational judgments based on conceptualized human needs and values, it comes as no surprise that language has developed two groups of evaluative predications: affective predications (a-predications) denoting emotional attitude to the object of evaluation, e.g. verbs *like* – *dislike*, *love* – *hate*, etc. and adjectives *pleasant* – *unpleasant*, *enjoyable* – *depressing*, etc., and value-predications (v-predications) denoting evaluations based on particular categories of values, e.g. nouns *wiseman* – *fool*, and adjectives *clever* – *stupid* in the domain of COGNITIVE values, nouns *beauty* – *ugliness*, adjectives *pretty* – *ugly* in the domain of AESTHETIC values, etc. The two categories of predications are discussed in greater detail below.

2.2.1 Affective predications

As pointed out above, most basic emotions have a relatively fixed evaluative charge and are often used to convey attitudes in the form of verbs, deverbal adjectives or causative verb + adjective construction, as in the BNC examples (3) – (9) below.

- 3) The topless Duchess **enjoys** a kiss and a cuddle with her Johnny
- 4) They were all very **enjoyable** and useful seminars.
- 5) The very idea of taking drugs **disgusted me**.
- 6) He would almost certainly have **felt disgusted** and perhaps angry, but would he have felt insulted?
- 7) The Eighties were a real musical void, it was **disgusting**.
- 8) But when you feel perfectly **happy** with something why change it?'
- 9) Small things would make **her happy**; one harsh word would send her into the depths of despair.

In a more recent attempt to analyse affective predicates in English, Martin and White (2005) also consider Affect, which is broadly synonymous with emotion and feeling, as one of the ways of expressing evaluation, along with

Judgment and Appreciation. However, contrary to standard psychological typologies, they suggest that four kinds of Affect should be distinguished: DESIRE, UN/HAPPINESS, IN/SECURITY, DIS/SATISFACTION. Interestingly from the point of view of conceptual and linguistic analysis, they describe each type of Affect in terms of the g-b polarity, basic emotional state, typical form of behaviour (“surge”) and “dispositions”, which are often linked to other more specific emotions and attitudes ordered according to their intensity from low, through median, to high. For instance, they represent the emotion of HAPPINESS and its opposite UNHAPPINESS as presented in Table 1.

Table 1
The emotion (“affect”) of UN/HAPPINESS

UN/HAPPINESS	Surge	Disposition	Intensity
UNHAPPINESS			
Misery [mood ‘in me’]	whimper	down	low
	cry	sad	median
	wail	miserable	high
Antipathy [directed ‘at you’]	offend	dislike	low
	abuse	hate	median
	revile	abhor	high
HAPPINESS			
Cheer [mood ‘in me’]	chuckle	cheerful	low
	laugh	buoyant	median
	rejoice	jubilant	high
Affection [directed ‘at you’]	shake hands	be fond of	low
	hug	love	median
	embrace	adore	high

Source: adopted from Martin and White (2005, p. 49).

A note on SURPRISE

The only intrinsically non-evaluative primary emotion is SURPRISE, which seems to have developed relatively late in evolution as, according to the most influential psychological theory of SURPRISE, known as Expectancy Violations Theory (EVT, cf. Burgoon & Jones, 1976; Burgoon, 2015), it presupposes “expectancy” concerning socially accepted norms of social, interpersonal, and personal behaviour. In cognitive terms, these norms are best described as Idealized Cognitive Models (Lakoff, 1987) or more specific mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1985) activated by the context. The fact that there is no constant evaluative valence for SURPRISE as such does not mean that violations of norms and expectations are not evaluated. The uniqueness of SURPRISE lies

in the fact that its evaluative valence always results from the context. Thus, as other forms of behaviour, a surprising behaviour is always considered, or rather felt, as positive or negative and often described as, respectively, *nice* or *great*, or *bad* or *nasty surprise*, as in the BNC (10) – (13) sentences below:

- 10) She fanned herself with a magazine.' What a **nice surprise**. We didn't expect you back yet.
- 11) He seemed to respond and even, to her **great surprise** and encouragement, took the first active part he had taken in any event for six months, preparing for the feast.
- 12) ... the dictatorship of Ceausescu has made so many mistakes that it may get a **bad surprise** in the parliamentary and presidential elections on May 20th.
- 13) So, do you want to keep your eyes shut while I get you up to the roof, or open them now and get a **nasty surprise** when you and all your millions of fans see where you are?"

2.2.2 Value-predications – GOOD and BAD in axiological domains

Beside emotions, the concepts of GOOD and BAD are immanently associated with the domain of human values: by definition, values are GOOD, while opposites of values are BAD. Minimally, satisfaction of values enables people to survive and procreate, maximally, satisfaction of values makes people feel satisfied or even happy. In cognitive semantics different categories of values provide access to domains which serve as conceptual bases of evaluative predications (Bierwiazzonek, 1993). There have been numerous attempts by philosophers, psychologists and linguists to specify those values. We shall discuss them in turn.

3 Values in philosophy and psychology

Because of their importance in human individual and social life and culture, values have been studied from a variety of perspectives. It seems that in order to understand the conceptual basis of evaluation in language, it is best to consider those perspectives which have studied values most systematically and proposed the most convincing categories and hierarchies of values. We find them in philosophy and in results of experimental research carried out by psychologists. Both these disciplines have provided valuable contributions to the typology and hierarchy of values in linguistics discussed in Section 4.

3.1 Values in philosophy

Probably the best known hierarchy of values in philosophy was proposed by Scheler (1913-16/1973) and adopted by Tischner (1984). The hierarchy distinguishes the following four types of values:

- a) SENSIBLE (HEDONISTIC) values⁸ – based on such sensory dichotomies as pleasant v. unpleasant, comfort v. discomfort, etc.;
- b) VITAL values – centered around physical life and health such as strength and fitness, virility and pugnacity, etc., but also ability to cope with cold, strain and hardships, sturdy common sense, simple pragmatism, etc.;
- c) SPIRITUAL values– having to do with truth, goodness and beauty, presupposing the human subject's (i.e. "the person's") ability to make conscious decisions and choices, i.e. to be just or unjust, honest or dishonest, merciful and sympathetic or cruel;
- d) HOLY values – the domain of what is perfect, highest, absolute and eternal.

For Scheler and Tischner, the hierarchy is ordered from the lowest, most superficial and temporary HEDONISTIC values to the highest, most durable and profound, eternal HOLY ones (for most believers, Paradise is a place of eternal happiness). Note that the category of SPIRITUAL values comprises different areas of human mental activity, ranging from the search for the truth, decision-making, as well as the sense of beauty and morality.

3.2 Values in psychology

In psychology, values are usually defined as desirable goals which motivate decisions and action. Two prominent theories of values used in psychology are so-called Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) and Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.

3.2.1 Rokeach Value Survey (RVS)

In Rokeach's system, known as the Rokeach Value Survey (1973), human values are divided into two groups of values: TERMINAL values and INSTRUMENTAL values. The 18 TERMINAL values specify the most fundamental desirable goals a person tries to achieve during their lifetime. The list of TERMINAL values consists of the following:

- | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1) TRUE FRIENDSHIP | 2) MATURE LOVE | 3) SELF-RESPECT |
| 4) HAPPINESS | 5) INNER HARMONY | 6) EQUALITY |

⁸ In what follows I will use big capitals for main categories of values and small categories for particular terminal or absolute values.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 7) FREEDOM | 8) PLEASURE | 9) SOCIAL RECOGNITION |
| 10) WISDOM | 11) SALVATION | 12) FAMILY SECURITY |
| 13) NATIONAL SECURITY | 14) A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT | 15) A WORLD OF BEAUTY |
| 16) A WORLD OF PEACE | 17) A COMFORTABLE LIFE | 18) AN EXCITING LIFE |

As the name suggests, INSTRUMENTAL values specify means of achieving TERMINAL values. Surprisingly enough, Rokeach's INSTRUMENTAL values consist exclusively of modes of behaviour, abilities and personality traits. Here is the complete list:

- 1) cheerfulness 2) ambition 3) love 4) cleanliness 5) self-control 6) capability
 7) courage 8) politeness 9) honesty 10) imagination 11) independence
 12) intellect 13) broad-mindedness 14) logic 15) obedience 16) helpfulness
 17) responsibility 18) forgiveness.

What seems strange is that Rokeach's list of INSTRUMENTAL values leaves out those natural categories of entities which are used by humans to achieve their values, e.g. mountains, rivers, forests, etc. which may be considered as valuable because they enable people to achieve a number of terminal values such as INNER HARMONY, PLEASURE, A WORLD OF BEAUTY and AN EXCITING LIFE, to name a few. Furthermore, there are also non-natural categories that have been ignored, which have been created by humans precisely because they helped to achieve their values. The two main categories in this area are artefacts and institutions. To give just two examples, in the category of ARTEFACTS, the main function of tools is to serve the value of A COMFORTABLE LIFE and a few others like PLEASURE, A WORLD OF BEAUTY or AN EXCITING LIFE, while in the category of INSTITUTIONS, the university has been created in order to promote such values as WISDOM, A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, AN EXCITING LIFE, etc. These brief comments show that while the division of all values into TERMINAL and INSTRUMENTAL ones seems to be justified, Rokeach's account of INSTRUMENTAL – values should be considerably extended.

3.2.2 Schwartz Theory of Basic Values

In the first version of his Theory of Basic Values,⁹ Schwartz (2012, 2016) distinguished ten “motivational types of values” divided into four groups reflecting four psychological tendencies, or, rather, two pairs of psychological oppositions, namely, OPENNESS TO CHANGE vs. CONSERVATION, and SELF-ENHANCEMENT vs. SELF-TRANSCENDENCE. Each value is defined in terms of its main goal. The particular categories of values and their goals as specified by Schwartz, are presented below:

⁹ An extended version of the theory, consisting of 19 values, was proposed in Schwartz (2017) and discussed in Schwartz and Cieciuch (2022).

OPENNES TO CHANGE:

SELF-DIRECTION

Goal: independent thought and action – choosing, creating, exploring

STIMULATION

Goal: excitement, novelty, and challenge in life

HEDONISM

Goal: pleasure or sensuous gratification of oneself

SELF-ENHANCEMENT:

ACHIEVEMENT

Goal: personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards

POWER

Goal: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources

CONSERVATION:

SECURITY

Goal: safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self

CONFORMITY

Goal: restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms

TRADITION

Goal: respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion provides

SELF-TRANSCENDENCE:

BENEVOLENCE

Goal: preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the "in-group")

UNIVERSALISM

Goal: understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature

In the discussion of his theory and results of studies of value priorities, Schwartz (2012) observes that values are ordered by importance and it is the relative importance of different values that guides our decisions and actions. One of the most interesting findings of those studies is that, although there is a lot of individual and cultural variation, "there is surprising consensus regarding the hierarchical order of the values. In particular, BENEVOLENCE, UNIVERSALISM, and SELF-DIRECTION are most important, while POWER

and STIMULATION are least important". Trying to explain this "pan-cultural hierarchy of values", Schwartz suggests that "it probably derives from the adaptive functions of values in maintaining societies and from our common human nature" (p.14). He argues that they function by, firstly, serving as "internalized guidelines for individuals" and, secondly, by defining particular behaviours as socially appropriate and eliciting, thereby, desirable behaviours which lead to survival and prosperity. This indicates that the universally most important values of BENEVOLENCE, UNIVERSALISM, and SELF-DIRECTION should be included in the repertoire of basic adaptive concepts discussed in section 1.5. above.

The weakness of Schwartz's theory and typology for the purposes of linguistic description lies in that his values are defined in terms of their motivational content and, naturally, most of them are based on the basic human needs based on the biological need to survive as an individual, society and species. Thus the main difference between Schwartz and Scheler's values is that while Schwartz system is limited to survival or, using Maslow's terms, deficiency values, philosophical systems, like Maslow's, allow also for growth values, such as COGNITIVE, AESTHETIC, and TRANSCENDENT values. Since all sorts of values are represented as lexical categories, for linguistic purposes, the broader philosophical system is preferable, although, as Puzynina (1992) discussed below pointed out, for descriptive purposes, Scheler's and Tischner's category of SPIRITUAL values should be divided into experientially three separate domains, namely, COGNITIVE, AESTHETIC, and MORAL values.

4 Values in linguistics

There are two relatively recent systems of values used in linguistic descriptions. One was proposed by Puzynina (1992)¹⁰ and the other by Krzeszowski (1997).

4.1 Puzynina's typology of values

Based both on psychological and philosophical traditions, particularly those of Rokeach (1973), Ingarden (1966) and Scheler (1913-1916/1973), Puzynina distinguished the following types of values: TRANSCENDENT, COGNITIVE, AESTHETIC, MORAL, CULTURAL, VITAL, AND SENSORY, where each category is defined in terms of its conceptual centre:

- a) TRANSCENDENT VALUES – TRANSCENDENT GOOD, SACREDNESS
- b) COGNITIVE VALUES – TRUTH

¹⁰ Puzynina discusses other systems as well, e.g. that of Zillig (1982).

- c) AESTHETIC VALUES – BEAUTY
- d) MORAL VALUES – GOOD OF OTHER HUMAN BEINGS
- e) CULTURAL VALUES – TRADITION
- f) VITAL VALUES – ONE’S OWN LIFE
- g) SENSORY VALUES – ONE’S PLEASURE, HAPPINESS

These categories were further divided into two broad categories, namely INSTRUMENTAL and ULTIMATE on one hand, and POSITIVE and NEGATIVE on the other. Thus, the final form of Puzynina’s typology looks as follows:

- 1. POSITIVE values
 - 1.1. INSTRUMENTAL
 - 1.2. ULTIMATE
- 2. NEGATIVE values
 - 2.1. INSTRUMENTAL
 - 2.2. ULTIMATE (p.39)

In the light of Schwartz’s Theory of Basic Values (Schwartz, 2011), it seems that Puzynina’s category of CULTURAL values is too narrow and I suggest it should be extended and include the subcategory of personal values alongside more general social values and renamed as PERSONAL/ SOCIAL values. Furthermore, as we will see below, the need for distinguishing POSITIVE and NEGATIVE values disappears if particular kinds of values are construed as conceptual domains structured by the image schema of scale with different intensities of pluses and minuses.

4.2 Krzeszowski’s cognitive account of values

Krzeszowski (1997) based his hierarchy of values on The Great Chain of Being (henceforth GCB) - a model of the world as it is perceived and experienced by humans, which goes back to Plato and Aristotle’s *History of Animals*, which finally led to its medieval Christian version, on the one hand, whereby the chain descends from God to angels, humans, animals, plants and minerals, and to Linnaeus’ division of the physical world into three kingdoms of minerals, plants and animals, on the other, more “scientific”, hand.¹¹ In order to account for unique human attributes and beliefs, Krzeszowski used the “extended” version of the GCB, which includes God and argued that each level of the chain has its own defining characteristics linked to particular categories of values based on human experiences. Thus, the GCB may be interpreted as the conceptual basis for Scheler’s and Tischner’s hierarchy of values. As Krzeszowski put it “all values are derived from the existential properties at various levels of the Chain through various kinds of experience at

¹¹ An extensive history of the GCB in European philosophy from classical antiquity to the nineteenth-century romanticism is discussed in considerable detail by Lovejoy (1936).

the corresponding levels" (p.72). Table 2 below shows the relations between the five levels of the GCB and their properties, as well as the existential and experiential values associated with each level.

Table 2

The Great Chain of Being in relation to values viewed existentially and experientially

The GCB	Unique properties	Values viewed existentially	Values viewed experientially
God	absolute	DIVINE	RELIGIOUS
Humans	reason, higher emotions, moral judgements, self-awareness	HUMAN	SPIRITUAL
Animals	instincts, lower emotions	ANIMATE	EMOTIONAL
Plants	life	VITAL	BODILY, MOTOR
Physical	material substance	PHYSICAL	SENSORY

Source: based on Krzeszowski 1997:74.

What is interesting about Krzeszowski's model is that it links values to evolution, and thus it explains why particular kinds of values can only apply to certain ontological categories, e.g. why we can predicate fast growth of grass but not of stones, moral evil of people but not of fish, etc. What is less convincing is that the column "Values viewed existentially" indicates that values have some sort of objective autonomous existence, whereas they are just human concepts derivable from human needs and the embodied ability to distinguish between good and bad for the human survival and growth. Therefore, some of the lower ontological categories, i.e. physical entities, plants, and (unfortunately) animals may only be viewed as UTILITARIAN (or INSTRUMENTAL) values helping humans to achieve their ABSOLUTE values. For instance, stones and trees are used as building materials or weapons for the sake of the value of SECURITY, plants and animals are used as food for the sake of the values of LIFE, but also HEDONISM, STIMULATION, and even POWER, as in the war in Ukraine. Another weakness of Krzeszowski's proposal is that, except for mentioning the broad concept of MORALITY, it ignores the social aspect of life, which appears on the animal level being and becomes one of the key domains of human and religious levels. The values which are rooted in the needs of belonging, love and esteem are nearly all SELF-TRANSCENDENCE and CONSERVATION Values of Schwartz system, i.e. UNIVERSALISM, BENEVOLENCE, CONFORMITY, TRADITION, AND SECURITY.

4.3 A compromise proposal

The hierarchy of values I propose, which brings together the proposals of philosophers, psychologists and linguists, is shown below as Fig.1. Most of

the basic values in Schwartz system are included in the PERSONAL & SOCIAL category of values, except for ACHIEVEMENT and STIMULATION, which may also apply to AESTHETIC, COGNITIVE and even SPIRITUAL & RELIGIOUS values, and HEDONISM, included in SENSORY values.

Although it is represented as a hierarchy, it may also be interpreted as flexible and interconnected framework, which each person may arrange in a different way depending on their culture, upbringing, education, sensitivity, interests and current needs. There are also obvious links and fuzzy areas between particular categories of values which Fig.1 fails to show, e.g. the link between SENSORY and AESTHETIC values, the links between MORAL values and RELIGIOUS values, on the one hand, and PERSONAL&SOCIAL values, on the other. Some of these problems are discussed by Puzynina (1992) and Bierwiazek (in preparation).

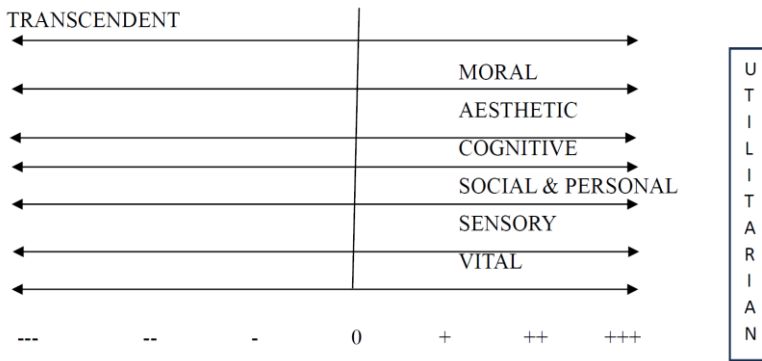


Fig. 1

My own proposal representing the structure and basic categories of values, combining the insights of philosophers and linguists and empirical results of psychologists.

Table 3 below shows a few more-or-less prototypical simple examples of negatively and positively loaded predications, B-predications and G-predications, respectively, based on particular categories of values and their corresponding UTILITARIAN values.

Table 3

Examples of B- and G-predications based on particular categories of values and corresponding UTILITARIAN values

Category of values	B-predications	G-predications	UTILITARIAN
TRANSCENDENT	<i>sin, hell, temptation</i>	<i>grace, heaven, blessing</i>	<i>church, temple, prayer</i>
MORAL	<i>evil, pervert, murder</i>	<i>honest, decent, charitable, loyal</i>	<i>reward, punishment, court of law</i>
AESTHETIC	<i>ugly, disharmonious, unbalanced</i>	<i>beautiful, harmonious, balanced</i>	<i>museum, gallery, concert hall</i>

Table 3 (cont.)

Category of values	B-predications	G-predications	UTILITARIAN
COGNITIVE	<i>false, wrong, stupid</i>	<i>true, right, intelligent</i>	<i>school, university, library, laboratory</i>
PERSONAL & SOCIAL	<i>failure, irresponsible, unreliable, violent, selfish</i>	<i>success, family, responsible, reliable, friendly</i>	<i>home, work, holiday, tradition</i>
SENSORY	<i>pain, smell, noise, delicious</i>	<i>pleasure, delicious, comfortable</i>	<i>furniture, restaurant, dessert</i>
VITAL	<i>death, disease, sick, weak</i>	<i>life, healthy, strong, safe</i>	<i>food, drink, house, farm, hospital</i>

4.4 Values as profiles in conceptual domains

In Bierwiazzonek (1990, 1993) I suggested that particular categories of values serve as conceptual domains, called also “axiological domains”, for evaluative predications, construed as profiles in those domains. In the cases when evaluative predications denote more specific aspects of values, their concepts may be represented as profiles in one of the dimensions of the particular axiological domain. For instance, while *evil* should be represented as a profile in the negative side of the domain of MORAL values, the predicate *pervert* profiles a region in the negative side of the dimension of SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR. What is crucial for our considerations is that all axiological domains and dimensions have the bipolar scalar structure of the most general and schematic axiological domain profiling the concepts of GOOD and BAD based on the embodied bi-polar scales. In fact, this most general AXIOLOGICAL domain serves as the base for a number of predications with an unspecified kind of value, such as e.g. *success* vs. *failure* or *improvement, progress, amendment*, etc. vs. *deterioration, decline, degeneration, throw-back*, etc. (cf. Bierwiazzonek, 1993). Consequently, the schematic representation of the meaning of the nominal *success* is shown in Fig.2 below.

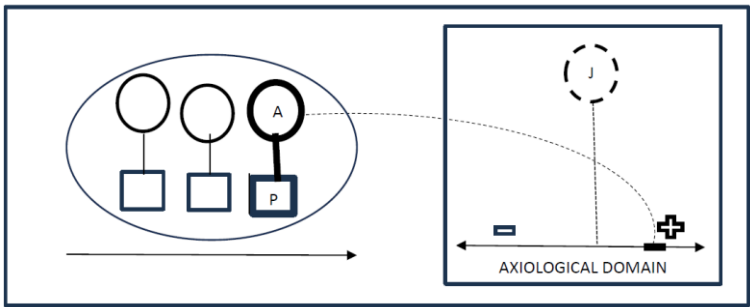


Fig. 2
Representation of the meaning of the nominal *success* construed as a process with a positive result. The letters A, P, and J stand respectively for Agent, Patient, and Judge responsible for the evaluation

Of course it must be borne in mind that the axiological domain is usually one of other conceptual domains in the domain matrix of particular predicates and predications (cf. Langacker, 1987). For instance, one of the meanings of the noun *beauty* in English profiles regions in the domain of LIVING THINGS and the axiological domain of AESTHETIC values, illustrated by the BNC sentences below and represented in Fig.3.

- 14) Barry is the first to admit that most movie stars are a bit of a letdown in the flesh. But **beauties** like Sophia Loren and Michelle Pfeiffer bring a sparkle to his baggy eyes.
- 15) If you don't have a pond you may have missed out on our series on waterlilies. But in a conservatory of large fishtanks you could be keeping your own tropical **beauties**.

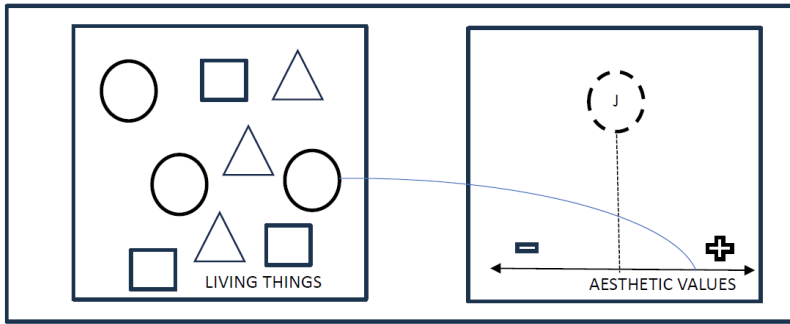


Fig. 3

Semantic structure of the nominal *beauty* in the sense of 'beautiful living thing, where the geometric shapes in the domain of LIVING THINGS may be interpreted as various categories of LIVING THINGS, such as PLANTS, ANIMALS and PEOPLE

Concluding remarks

My purpose in this paper was to propose bodily motivation of the basic evaluative terms GOOD and BAD in terms of adaptive human experiences (sensations) of pain and pleasure and the related emotions, based on the findings and theory of human emotions and feelings proposed by A. Damasio (1999). What this fundamental axiological opposition has inherited from the bodily experiences of pain and pleasure are bi-polarity and scalarity, which both determine the structure of two more specific evaluative systems: emotions and values. I tried to show that emotion concepts and values are two fundamental sources of evaluative predications, called respectively affective and value predications, i.e. a-predications and v-predications. A-predications predications derive their evaluative valence and intensity from the emotions they denote, e.g. the adjective *annoying* derives its negative charge

from the negativity of ANGER, while v-predications derive their axiological charge from the values they refer to, e.g. the positive charge of the adjective *pretty* is motivated by the positive value of BEAUTY in the domain of AESTHETIC values. The proposed new hierarchy of values, conceived as the general AXIOLOGICAL domain may serve as the basis for profiling lexical concepts in more specific axiological domains and dimensions and may be used in further studies of evaluative aspects of language.

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POLYSEMY OF THE LEXEME BANK FROM THE FRAME SEMANTICS PERSPECTIVE. AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED EXAMPLES IN ENGLISH, POLISH AND SLOVAK

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Abstract

This paper investigates the polysemy of the lexeme *bank* through the framework of Frame Semantics, with a comparative focus on its usage in English, Polish, and Slovak. Contrary to Lyons (1977), who classifies *bank* as a case of homonymy, this study argues for a polysemous analysis, demonstrating that the various senses of the word are systematically related and conceptually unified. The analysis draws on data from etymological sources, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, and FrameNet, supplemented by insights from cognitive linguistics, particularly prototype theory. The findings show that the different meanings of *bank*, such as 'financial institution', 'river edge', and 'storage place', are linked through a common conceptual frame centered on the notion of "keeping something safe in a designated location". This frame accounts for the structured and non-arbitrary nature of the semantic extensions observed across the three languages. The study contributes to ongoing debates on lexical ambiguity by providing cross-linguistic evidence for a frame-based approach to polysemy and offers a refined understanding of how semantic networks are cognitively and linguistically organized.

Keywords: frame, Frame Semantics, polysemy, homonymy, prototype, conceptualisation, cognitive linguistics.

1 Introduction

Polysemy, the phenomenon where a single lexeme has multiple related meanings, is prevalent in both general and specialised vocabulary. Lexical items such as BANK function across different domains and registers, with meanings that are often systematically related through cognitive processes like metaphor and metonymy.

The present study examines BANK across three languages (English, Polish, and Slovak), proposing that despite their varying semantic ranges, the meanings can be unified under the conceptual frame KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE. This view is grounded in Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1982; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992) and supported by prototype theory (Rosch, 1975; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987; Taylor, 2003).

2 Prototype theory and Frame Semantics

2.1 Categorisation in Prototype Theory

The concept of prototype theory originated in the psychological research of Eleanor Rosch (1975), who demonstrated that human categorisation does not rely on rigid boundaries defined by necessary and sufficient conditions but instead graded and organised around cognitively salient exemplars, or prototypes. This insight challenged classical view of categorisation that treated categories as homogeneous and symmetrical.

In linguistics, George Lakoff (1987), Ronald Langacker (1987), and John R. Taylor (2003) built on Rosch's ideas into full-fledged models of semantic structure. According to this view, lexical categories are not fixed sets of meanings but dynamic, context-sensitive networks structured around central, most typical senses. As Taylor (2003, p. 43) argues, "A prototype is the best example or the most representative member of a category," and other members are included to varying degrees depending on their resemblance to the prototype. This organisation gives rise to what Lakoff (1987) calls radial categories. In other words, they are webs of interconnected senses radiating from a core meaning. Prototype-Based Categorisation can be characterised via centrality (some senses are more central or typical than others), motivation (peripheral senses are systematically related to the prototype through cognitive mechanisms such as metonymy, metaphor, and image-schema transformations), and cognitive salience (prototypes tend to be frequent in use, learned early, and easily accessible in memory).

In the case of the lexeme BANK, the financial institution sense functions as the prototype. It is the most commonly used, culturally salient, and cognitively dominant sense across all three languages, i.e. English, Polish and Slo-

vak. From this prototype, peripheral senses develop through motivated extensions, e. g.,

Riverbank – spatial containment,

Snowbank – mass accumulation,

Banking a plane – maintaining safe orientation,

Blood bank – secure storage.

These meanings are not random but exhibit structured relationships rooted in human conceptualisation. For example, the metaphor ABSTRACT ACCUMULATION IS PHYSICAL CONTAINMENT helps explain how BANK comes to mean both a place for storing money and a pile of snow or blood.

Taylor (2003) also stresses that polysemous senses form semantic networks, and the boundaries between them are often fuzzy. Instead of discrete word meanings, there are interconnected sense nodes, some closer to the prototype than others. This explains why polysemous words like BANK remain a single item in speakers' mental lexicons, even though they serve different semantic functions.

Thus, prototype theory provides a cognitive explanation for how the meanings of BANK are learned, structured, and used, supporting the argument that the lexeme is polysemous rather than homonymous.

2.2 Frame Semantics

Frame Semantics, developed by Charles Fillmore (1976, 1982), proposes that the meaning of a word is best understood in terms of a semantic frame, being a structured representation of a particular type of situation, event, or experience, along with the participants and relations involved in it. A frame is not merely a collection of features; it is a cognitive model that organises background knowledge and expectations. When a word is used, it activates a corresponding frame in the mind of the speaker or hearer, allowing the listener to interpret the word within the relevant context. For example, the word *buy* evokes a COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame, which includes roles such as buyer, seller, goods, money, or exchange. The meaning of the word in relation to this larger scenario. The core ideas of Frame Semantics are:

- (i) Meaning is encyclopaedic – understanding a word involves accessing a rich body of background knowledge.
- (ii) Words evoke frames – the meaning of a word cannot be isolated from the scenario it presupposes.
- (iii) Frame elements (FEs) – specific roles or participants within a frame, e.g., BANK evokes frames involving depositor, account, funds, etc.
- (iv) Contextual flexibility – the same word can evoke different frames depending on usage.

2.3 BANK in FrameNet

The FrameNet project ([<https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>]), which builds on Fillmore's theory, catalogues how English words evoke specific frames and frame elements. FrameNet classifies BANK as a financial institution, within the BUSINESSES frame which is a part of the larger COMMERCE SCENARIO. Also, in the FrameNet, BANK as a river edge appears in the RELATIONAL NATURAL FEATURES frame, involving geographic and environmental relations. While FrameNet identifies distinct frames for the different senses of BANK, this division does not preclude a unified cognitive analysis. On the contrary, a deeper investigation shows that all these senses can be viewed as instantiations of a more abstract conceptual frame, which is labeled as KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE. Many meanings extend into aviation, sports storage, and mechanical contexts. All these senses can be cognitively related to the idea of maintaining control or safekeeping within a bounded space.

Fillmore and Atkins (1992) argue that polysemy should be recognised in the cases when:

- (i) multiple senses can be traced back to a common experiential or conceptual frame,
- (ii) these senses are linked through motivated cognitive processes, such as metaphor or metonymy,
- (iii) the understanding of one sense depends on the knowledge of the other.

It can be observed that in the case of BANK, all major senses, whether institutional, physical, functional, or metaphorical, share a core frame structure involving protection, containment, safekeeping, and stability. And thus, a financial bank keeps money safe, a river bank keeps water within bounds, a snow bank holds snow in one place, a bank of machines keeps technology ordered and accessible, a plane that banks maintains safe spatial orientation. These are all variations on a central scenario of stabilising or safeguarding something within a defined boundary, thus fulfilling the conditions for frame-based polysemy.

Both prototype theory and frame semantics offer complementary insights into the semantics of BANK. Prototype theory explains how the financial sense is central and how related meanings radiate outwards in a structured way. Frame semantics on the other hand, explains how the various uses of BANK are united by shared conceptual structures, especially the cognitive frame of KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE. Together, these approaches reinforce the conclusion that BANK is a polysemous lexeme with an internally coherent semantic network, not a set of unrelated homonyms.

3 The lexeme BANK in English, Polish and Slovak

3.1 BANK in English

In English, BANK exhibits extensive polysemy. Its prototypical meaning is that of a financial institution, a place where money is kept and managed, closely tied to the etymological root *banca* (Italian – bench or moneylender's table). Additionally, other senses include:

- (i) natural features – riverbank (raised land along river),
- (ii) masses or collections – snowbank, blood bank,
- (iii) machine clusters – bank of computers,
- (iv) sport and aviation – to bank a ball or plane (positioning safely or precisely)
- (v) verb forms – to bank money, to bank a shot, to bank snow, etc.

These senses appear in dictionaries like Cambridge and Collins and are arranged, as can be concluded, by semantic domains, suggesting underlying conceptual coherence.

3.2 BANK in Polish

While in English the lexeme BANK is highly polysemous across a range of contexts and grammatical categories, its counterparts in Polish, as well as in Slovak, demonstrate a more restricted but revealing semantic range. In both languages, BANK, primarily denotes a financial institution, and this meaning remains strongly prototypical. Nevertheless, a closer linguistic and lexicographic analysis reveals important nuances regarding polysemy, grammatical category, metaphorical extension, and potential for productivity in these Slavic languages. In Polish, the noun BANK is defined as: *bank* (noun, masculine) – instytucja zajmująca się gromadzeniem i przechowywaniem pieniędzy oraz udzielaniem kredytów (“an institution that collects and stores money and offers loans”).

This core definition aligns with the prototype identified in English and other languages – a financial institution that functions within the commercial and economic domain. As in English, Polish speakers conceptualise a *bank* as a place for safekeeping, particularly of money and financial assets.

Polish dictionaries such as Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN provide relatively limited polysemy for *bank*. Unlike English, where the term appears as both a noun and a verb with multiple metaphorical extensions, Polish *bank* is attested mainly as a noun in standard registers. However, specialised or colloquial contexts show some creative, possibly emergent extensions. One notable example is the slogan used in a commercial campaign: “Bankujesz – zyskujesz” (“you bank – you gain”), where *bankujesz* is a rather non-standard, verbalised form of *bank*, meaning roughly “to use banking services”.

While not formally accepted in standard grammar, this usage reflects a trend toward verbalisation and echoes patterns found in English (e.g., to bank online). It also demonstrates how language for specific purposes, especially marketing, can foster semantic innovation. Polish also features compound nouns and derivative constructions that reflect domain-specific polysemy (but not broad metaphorical extension), e.g., bank krwi (“blood bank”), bank danych (“data bank”). These collocations extend the idea of secure storage or centralised accumulation, consistent with the KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE frame. While these are technically compound constructions rather than separate dictionary entries, they show that Polish accommodates some semantic flexibility through compounding and nominal modification.

3.3 BANK in Slovak

In Slovak, the noun *BANKA* (feminine) denotes the same primary concept; *banka* – finančná inštitúcia, ktorá spravuje peniaze, poskytuje úvery a zabezpečuje platby (“a financial institution that manages money, provides credit, and ensures payments”).

The core/ prototypical sense is nearly identical to its Polish and English equivalents. Slovak likewise treats *banka* as a monosemous or minimally polysemous noun in general use, registered largely to financial domain.

As in Polish, *banka* is not used as a verb in Slovak. It is morphologically and semantically constrained to function as a noun, and dictionaries such as Slovenský národný korpus and Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka provide no attested verb forms or broader polysemy in general use. Nevertheless, Slovak allows some noun-noun constructions or prepositional phrases that echo the extensions observed in English, i.e., krvná banka (“blood bank”), dátová banka (“data bank”). These examples again reflect domain-specific usage that metaphorically extends the BANK concept to contexts of controlled storage, access, and safekeeping, in line with the proposed cognitive frame.

Despite their restricted grammatical behaviour, Polish *bank* and Slovak *banka* reflect the same core conceptual schema found in English. The notion of a secure, centralised place for valuable content, whether money, data, or blood is clearly present and productive at the level of compounding and domain extension. Thus, while English more fully realises the polysemous potential of the lexeme BANK, Polish and Slovak share the same conceptual prototype and support the view that BANK, across these languages, functions within the frame of safekeeping and containment. The variations are differences in lexical realisation and grammatical flexibility, not in core semantics.

The analysis of BANK in Polish and Slovak reinforces the cross-linguistic salience of the prototype (financial institution) and indicates that even when surface level polysemy is limited, deeper conceptual unity can still be observed. Through compounding, semantic extension, and specialised domain

usage, these languages participate in the same frame-based network that characterises English. This affirms the argument that BANK is a polysemous lexeme, with language-specific realisations of a shared semantic frame, namely KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE.

4 Etymology and the prototypical frame

The origin of *bank*, in the sense of a financial institution, can be traced to the Old Italian *banca* or *banco*, meaning “bench” or “table”, which was used by moneylenders to conduct financial transactions in public marketplaces (Etymonline, n.d.). This bench was not merely a physical object; it symbolized a secure, controlled location for handling and storing valuables, thus anchoring the modern association between *banking* and safekeeping (Wikipedia, 2025).

Parallel developments can be found in the geographical sense of *bank* (e.g., *riverbank* or *snowbank*), which originates from Proto-Germanic *bankiz*, meaning “shelf”, and Old Norse *banki*, meaning “ridge or embankment” (Etymonline, n.d.). In this spatial sense, the *bank* functions as a boundary or container, physically enclosing water, snow, or sediment, which reinforces the metaphorical link to containment and order.

These historical roots support the argument that the multiple senses of *bank* are not homonymous but rather polysemous, grounded in a shared conceptual frame. Termed here KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE, this frame encompasses financial security (*banking institution*), physical containment (*riverbank*, *snowbank*), regulated movement (*banking a plane*), functional order (*banks of switches*), and secure storage (*blood bank*). The consistent metaphor of safekeeping across domains points to a structured, cognitively motivated semantic network rather than arbitrary lexical divergence.

5 Polysemy vs. homonymy. Revisiting the case of bank

A critical point in lexical semantics is the distinction between polysemy and homonymy, both of which involve multiple meanings associated with a single form, but differ in origin, structure, and mental representation.

a) Defining polysemy and homonymy

Polysemy occurs when a single lexeme develops multiple related meanings, typically through metaphorical, metonymical, or functional extensions of a core sense. These meanings share an underlying conceptual structure and often form part of a cognitive network anchored in a prototype (Lakoff, 1987; Taylor, 2003; Cruse, 2000). Polysemous senses are not merely similar

in form but are systematically and meaningfully connected. By contrast, homonymy refers to cases where two or more unrelated meanings share the same phonological or orthographic form but have distinct etymologies and no semantic or conceptual link. These are considered separate lexical entries in the mental lexicon. For example, the lexeme HEAD as body part, leader, top of a table, top of a page is considered polysemous as all the meanings are conceptually linked to the idea of "top" or "foremost". On the contrary, the lexeme BAT is homonymous because *bat* as a flying mammal and *bat* as sports equipment represent unrelated meanings and different etymological roots.

Cruse (2000) posits that polysemy forms a semantic network, where meanings exhibit systematic variability and often rely on a prototypical sense, whereas homonyms are separate lexical items.

b) Lyons's classification of BANK

Lyons (1977) presents the lexeme BANK as a case of homonymy, arguing that meanings such as *bank*, a financial institution and *bank*, the side of a river are semantically unrelated and derive from different etymological sources (Old Italian *banca* vs. Old Norse *banki* or Old English *benc*). On the surface, this analysis proves to be justified as one meaning relates to commerce, the other to geography. Traditionally, such words are treated as separate homonyms due to their distinct historical developments.

c) A cognitive linguistic reassessment

However, a cognitive linguistic perspective questions this strict distinction, emphasizing that synchronic meaning is not solely determined by etymology but also by conceptual coherence, metaphorical motivation, and mental representation (Lakoff, 1987; Taylor, 2003; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992). From this perspective, the various senses of BANK, whether financial, geographical, physical, or abstract, can be traced back to a shared schematic core, i.e., the notion of containment, accumulation, and safekeeping in a bounded space. This aligns with the KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE frame proposed in this article.

d) Applying Fillmore & Atkins' polysemy criteria

Fillmore & Atkins (1992) establish three criteria for identifying polysemy over homonymy. These are: (i) traceability – all senses can be conceptually traced to a common source or prototype, (ii) network structure – meanings are interconnected through recurring semantic or cognitive processes (e.g., metaphor, metonymy), (iii) cognitive asymmetry – understanding of extended senses is facilitated by knowledge of the core/prototypical sense.

Applying these to *BANK*, (i) traceability – all senses, financial, riverbank, snowbank, machine bank, banking in sports or aviation, relate to the conceptual function of containing, holding, or protecting something in a bounded or structured space, (ii) network structure – radial categories and metaphorical extensions (e.g., “a blood bank stores blood” parallels “a bank stores money”; “a riverbank holds water” parallels “a bank account holds funds”), cognitive asymmetry – speakers’ knowledge of the prototypical “money bank” supports understanding of other senses (e.g., storage, protection, accumulation). These insights validate the view that bank is not a case of homonymy but of structured polysemy.

e) Context and specialisation

Another argument for polysemy comes from usage in specialised domains. For instance, in finance, banking refers to managing money securely; in aviation, banking a plane involves maneuvering it into a stable, controlled tilt – a metaphorical extension of safety and positioning; in sports, banking a ball involves rebounding it off a Surface to land it accurately, again implying control and containment. These meanings are not random but motivated by functional analogies rooted in the concept of security, control, and safe placement. This kind of polysemy is particularly prevalent in language for specific purposes, where general terms develop domain-specific applications without losing their conceptual origin.

f) Beyond etymology to conceptual integration

While Lyons’s (1977) etymological argument highlights important diachronic distinctions, it underestimates the conceptual integration of meanings in the speaker’s mind. Modern cognitive linguistics, particularly work by scholars such as Langacker (1987, 1991), Lakoff (1987), and Evans and Green (2006), shifts the focus from historical form to semantic motivation and mental representation. Thus, even though *BANK* may originate from multiple sources, its current usage patterns demonstrate a polysemous structure, where diverse meanings are unified by a central conceptual schema such as *KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE*. This supports the polysemy hypothesis and demonstrates the value of Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1982; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992) and prototype theory (Rosch, 1975) in modern lexical analysis. Including such perspectives helps move beyond etymology toward a cognitively grounded understanding of meaning.

6 The semantic network of BANK. A radial category

One of the most powerful tools for analysing polysemy in cognitive linguistics is the concept of the radial category, first developed by Lakoff (1987) and further elaborated by Taylor (2003). Radial categories are non-arbitrary, structured networks of senses organised around a central prototype, from which other senses radiate through motivated extensions, especially metaphorical, metonymic, and functional mappings. This model is particularly appropriate for the lexeme BANK, whose diverse senses, although seemingly disparate, are cognitively interconnected and traceable to a core conceptual structure.

a) Central prototype – BANK as financial institution

At the centre of the radial network lies the prototype: a bank as a financial institution, understood as a place where money or valuables are kept securely, managed, and accessed. This prototype is deeply entrenched in both everyday and specialised language use and is culturally and cognitively salient across languages, especially in English, Polish, and Slovak. The above-mentioned sense embodies the indicated key features, i.e., containment (money is kept within the institution), security (protection against loss or theft), management (access, withdrawal, transfer), physical place (building, location), social institution (involving participants such as bankers, clients, and systems). From this prototype, multiple peripheral meanings develop through semantic extensions.

b) Metonymic extensions

Several senses of BANK arise through metonymy, where an aspect of the prototype stands for a related concept. For example, the conceptual metonymy THE BUILDING FOR BANKING SERVICES which is present in the linguistic realisation *She went to the bank*. Another metonymy i.e., THE INSTITUTION FOR A SERVICE PROVIDER is detectable in the sentence *The bank proved my loan*, or still another one, simply THE ACT OF BANKING reflected in the sentence *He banks with HSBC*. These uses exemplify contiguity-based meaning shifts, where the core concept remains intact but different facets are foregrounded.

c) Metaphorical extensions

Other meanings arise through metaphorical mappings, where the structure of one conceptual domain is applied to another.

(i) Riverbank (geographical metaphor)

The term *bank* as the edge of a river or body of water metaphorically extends from the idea of a structure that contains and restricts flow, analogous to how a financial bank contains and manages monetary flow. A conceptual metaphor that reflects the above analogy is PHYSICAL STRUCTURE IS CONTAINER FOR NATURAL FLOW (e.g., Riverbanks hold water as banks hold money).

(ii) Snowbank, sandbank, cloudbank (mass/accumulation metaphor)

Here, *bank* refers to a pile or accumulation of a substance in one place. These usages metaphorically derive from the idea of gathering and holding valuable matter in a bounded area. The following conceptual metaphor represents the meaning:

VALUABLE ACCUMULATION IS BANKED MASS (e.g., snow is accumulated and held in a snowbank, like funds in a financial bank).

(iii) Bank of machines/switches/monitors (organisation metaphor)

A *bank* as a row or series of similar items (e.g., computer bank, switch bank) metaphorically extends from the idea of systematic storage and access, evoking structure, reliability, and control, in a similar way as a financial bank. Conceptual metaphor sanctioning this meaning is SYSTEMATIC ORDER IS BANKED ARRANGEMENT.

d) Functional/action-derived extensions

Some verb uses of *bank* emerge through functional metaphor and image-schema transformation. They demonstrate how language extends meaning through metaphorical projection and embodied experience. These extensions reflect what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), where abstract or unfamiliar experiences are understood in terms of more concrete and familiar ones.

(i) To bank money

This phrase arises through straightforward conversion of noun to verb, a common morphological process in English. Its meaning remains transparent, namely depositing money into a financial institution. This usage maintains close ties to the prototype of a bank as a place for storing and safeguarding funds, reflecting what Rosh (1978) calls prototype theory, in which meaning radiates out from a central, typical instance. Simultaneously, the container schema (Johnson, 1987) is activated. One of the basic image schemas where things are kept safely within boundaries underlies the conceptualisation. The action implies the safe, institutionalised containment and management of value.

(ii) To bank a ball (e.g., in basketball, billiards)

In this sense, *banking* a ball refers to using a surface (like a backboard or cushion) to redirect the ball toward a desired location. This action relies on

a physical understanding of trajectory and controlled redirection. Metaphorically, it maps onto the idea of achieving goals through indirect or mediated means, encapsulating the conceptual metaphor GUIDED CONTROLLED MOVEMENT IS BANKING. The action of banking a ball draws on embodied experiences of motion, intention, and redirection, aligning with the Force Dynamics framework proposed by Talmy (1988), where forces act upon entities to direct movement toward an end.

(iii) To bank an aircraft

In aviation, *to bank* refers tilting an aircraft to one side to facilitate a turn. This use reflects an embodied understanding of balance and stability while moving dynamically through space. It metaphorically extends the idea of safe directional control under changing conditions. Conceptual metaphor sanctioning this sense is STABLE ORIENTATION IN DYNAMIC SYSTEMS IS BANKING.

The aircraft bank is not merely a physical maneuver but represents a broader cognitive structure where tilt and control signal precision, stability, and adaptability, concepts crucial to both financial and physical forms of banking. This aligns with Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) discussion on metaphors of balance and orientation in conceptual reasoning.

e) Schematic frame KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE

Across its diverse senses, whether geographic (riverbank), financial (money bank), or physical-actional (banking a plane or ball), *bank* consistently activates a schematic frame rooted in safety, containment, and strategic positioning. This can be defined using the KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE conceptual frame. This overarching schema integrates several image schemas (Johnson, 1987), i.e., CONTAINMENT schema, present in riverbanks and money banks, where something valuable is held securely; PATH and TRAJECTORY CONTROL schema, observed in sports and aviation uses, where movement is guided toward a goal via calculated manipulation; ORDERED ARRANGEMENT found in usages like "a bank of machines" or "a bank of switches", where items are systematically positioned for optimal functionality.

This synthetic perspective is consistent with Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1982), which holds that word meanings are embedded in broader cognitive structures. These frames help explain why such semantically diverse uses of BANK still feel intuitively related. They all draw on the conceptual core of secure spatial organisation, whether literal or metaphorical.

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that the lexeme BANK exemplifies structured polysemy rather than homonymy. Drawing on Frame Semantics (Fillmore,

1982; Fillmore & Atkins, 1999) and Prototype Theory (Rosch, 1975; Lakoff, 1987; Taylor, 2003), the analysis revealed a unifying conceptual frame KEEPING SAFE IN ONE PLACE, underlying the various meanings of BANK across English, Polish, and Slovak.

From a cognitive linguistic perspective, what appear on the surface to be semantically unrelated meanings (e.g., *bank* as financial institution vs. *riverbank*) are in fact conceptually integrated. This integration is made possible by recurrent image schemas such as containment, path, and accumulation (Johnson, 1987), and by metaphorical and metonymic extensions that systematically connect central and peripheral senses. The notion of BANK as a secure, bounded, and functional space recurs across domains, from geography to sports to aviation and digital technology.

While etymological arguments like those posed by Lyons (1977) suggest that BANK consists of homonyms with different historical roots, this diachronic perspective fails to account for the synchronic cognitive coherence experienced by language users. Instead, the meaning network of BANK is best understood as a radial category (Lakoff, 1987), with a prototype (the financial institution) anchoring a constellation of conceptually motivated extensions. Moreover, the cross-linguistic comparison revealed that despite grammatical and lexical differences, Polish and Slovak share the same cognitive prototype and frame structure as English. This supports the hypothesis that conceptual frames are universal in scope, though their linguistic realisation varies by language.

Ultimately, this study reinforces the cognitive linguistic position that word meaning is not a list of discrete senses, but rather a web of interrelated concepts, grounded in human experience and cognitive structure. The lexeme BANK serves as a compelling example of how semantic diversity can be unified through conceptual, rather than merely formal, analysis.

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POSITIVE UND NEGATIVE EIGENSCHAFTEN DER E-ZIGARETTEN ANHAND METAPHORISCHER UND IDIOMATISCHER SPRACHSTRUKTUREN

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Positive and negative qualities of e-cigarettes based on metaphorical and idiomatic linguistic structures

Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the metaphorical terms used in journalistic texts regarding e-cigarettes, such as the verb dampfen, which has a different connotation from the verb smoke. The study examines linguistic structures found in German-language newspapers from Germany and in the German-language newspaper ADZ für Rumänien, analysing how these metaphorical elements are used to describe the health effects of e-cigarettes and the intended consumer manipulation by the industry. The author adopts a pragmatic linguistic approach in the evaluation and investigation of linguistic means of expression.

Keywords: discourse analysis, journalistic discourse, metaphorical expressions and idiomatic expressions, consumer intended manipulation.

1 Vorbemerkungen

Die E-Zigarette¹, elektronische oder elektrische Zigarette, ist ein kleines elektronisches Gerät, das zwei Bestandteile hat: einen wiederaufladbaren

¹ <https://www.bfr.bund.de/fragen-und-antworten/thema/e-zigaretten-alles-andere-als-harmlos/> Bundesinstitut für Risikobewertung 05.07.2025.

Akkumulator, der den Strom liefert und einen Liquidtank mit Verdampfer, auch Clearomizer oder Pod-Kartusche genannt. Das Liquid wird in den Tank hineingetropft. Danach kommt es zum Verdampfen der Flüssigkeit, die inhaliert wird und dann als weißer, geruchloser Dampf ausgeatmet wird.

Die E-Zigarette wurde am Anfang in der Industrie und in der Werbung als bessere Alternative zu der klassischen Tabakzigarette präsentiert, weil sie keinen Tabak verwendet und daher angeblich weniger gesundheitliche Risiken habe und somit sie sogar zur Rauchentwöhnung beitragen könne. Aber in den letzten Jahren gab es viele kritische Kommentare, die die E-Zigaretten als besseren Ersatz für alte Zigaretten in Frage stellten.²

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel, metaphorische Bezeichnungen für E-Zigaretten zu analysieren, die in journalistischen Texten verwendet werden. Die Untersuchung konzentriert sich auf die Analyse von Bezeichnungen und Formulierungen, die in ausgewählten deutschsprachigen Zeitungen aus Deutschland und in der deutschsprachigen Zeitung *ADZ für Rumänien* vorkommen. Dabei wird untersucht, wie anhand dieser metaphorischen Sprachelemente die Auswirkungen der E-Zigaretten auf die Gesundheit dargestellt werden.

2 Theoretische Grundlage

Laut Helmut Glück (1993, S. 368) ist die Metapher „die Übertragung eines Wortes in eine uneigentliche Bedeutung, bildlicher Ausdruck. (...) [Sie] setzt eine Ähnlichkeit zweier Begriffe voraus, die eine Ersetzung des eigentlichen Wortes (*verbum proprium*) durch ein Wort ermöglicht, das einen ähnlichen Begriff (*immutatio*) bezeichnet.“

Metaphern sind nicht nur bildhafte Ausdrucksformen mit dekorativer Rolle, sondern haben auch eine kognitive Funktion, weil sie unser Denken organisieren und abstrakte Sachverhalte mit konkreten bekannten Bildern erklären. Metaphern spielen auch eine wichtige Rolle in der Kommunikation, indem sie neue Bedeutungen schaffen und dadurch bestimmte Perspektiven auf das soziale Umfeld eröffnen können (siehe Elgamel, 2017, S. 32–34). Ein ausführliche Darstellung zur Metapherntheorien in Rhetorik und Sprachwissenschaft liefert Elgamel in seiner Arbeit *Metaphorik in der politischen Pressesprache* (2017), in der er „die Vielfalt der Metaphernansätze“ im deutschen Sprachraum feststellt, „die von verschiedenen Erkenntnisinteressen ausgehen und daher nur ‘verwendungsunfähige Bausteine für eine abschließende Metapherntheorie’ (Köller, 1975, S. 1) darstellen“ (Elgamel, 2017, S. 40).

² <https://www.aerzteblatt.de/archiv/phaenomen-e-zigarette-87698dab-23d8-4622-ac01-096ef9f50f49> 8.07.2025.

Sprache ist ein machtvolles Mittel, um verschiedene Sachverhalte in der Wirklichkeit zu konstruieren und zu vermitteln. Konzepte und Begriffe besitzen eine „erkenntnisformende Kraft“ (Felder, 2006, S. 1) und setzen sich aus Teilbedeutungen zusammen. Felder hebt hervor, „in den spezifischen Konzept- und Begriffsausprägungen vermögen sich die referierten Sachverhalte zu unterscheiden. Solche Unterschiede können über Teilbedeutungen als Bedeutungsaspekte bzw. Akzentuierungen identifiziert werden“ (Felder, 2006, S. 18).

Wörter, darunter auch Metaphern, sind häufig mit Emotionen und Ideologien verbunden und werden im öffentlichen medialen Diskurs strategisch eingesetzt, um eine spezifische Perspektive auf die Wirklichkeit in den Vordergrund zu bringen und auf diese Weise gesellschaftliche Bedeutungen zu prägen. Durch einen bestimmten Sprachgebrauch werden Macht und Kontrolle in einer Gesellschaft ausgeübt und Wahrnehmungen, Meinungen und Entscheidungen beeinflusst (siehe Elgamel, 2017, S. 45–46; Felder, 2006, S. 13–46).

3 Metaphorische Sprachstrukturen und idiomatische Redewendungen mit Bezug auf das Rauchen von E-Zigaretten

Es wurden Texte zum Thema E-Zigaretten gesucht, zunächst aus der deutschsprachigen Zeitung *ADZ für Rumänien*, der Zeitung der rumänien-deutschen Minderheit in Rumänien, und dann, da sich insgesamt drei Texte ergaben, wurden sechs andere Texte aus der Zeitung aus Deutschland *rnd* (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland) herangezogen, der größten und meistzitierten Mediennetzwerke in Deutschland mit überregionalen Inhalten. Bei der Lektüre dieser Texte sind mir viele Metaphern aufgefallen, die sich auf E-Zigaretten und Raucher beziehen und ich habe auch metaphorische Verben bemerkt, die die Tätigkeit des Rauchens beschreiben.

Durch den Einsatz von Sprachmitteln mit metaphorischer Funktion in einem bestimmten medialen Kontext werden den E-Zigaretten und den Konsumenten dieser Produkte verschiedene positive oder negative Eigenschaften zugeschrieben. Die Journalisten versuchen dabei auch eine kritische Perspektive auf die E-Zigaretten zu bieten und dadurch Einfluss auf das Verhalten der Konsumenten zu nehmen und ihre Wahrnehmung von diesen Genussmitteln zu lenken.

3.1 Neutrale Ausdrucksformen für E-Zigaretten

In den untersuchten Texten³ wurden neutrale Ausdrucksformen für E-Zigaretten ermittelt, und zwar:

³ siehe Primärliteratur am Ende

- (1) **die elektronische oder elektrische Zigarette, kurz E-Zigarette** genannt (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)
- (2) **Die E-Zigarette** könnte das Rauchen wieder gesellschaftsfähig machen, befürchten deren Kritiker (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

Es wurden aber auch nominale Strukturen identifiziert, die verschiedene Arten von E-Zigaretten bezeichnen, wie z.B.

- (3) **Einweg-E-Zigaretten** sind mit Preisen ab etwa 5 Euro aufwärts in der Anschaffung günstiger als **Mehrweg-E-Zigaretten**, die ab etwa 20 Euro aufwärts erhältlich sind. Daher sind sie auch bei Jugendlichen besonders beliebt. Einweg-E-Zigaretten, deren Liquid kein Nikotin, sondern nur Aromen enthält, nennt man **E-Shishas**. / und rund 3 Prozent [Schulkinder nutzten] **Wasserpfeifen**. / Eine unsachgemäße Entsorgung **der batteriehaltigen Geräte** (Wie gefährlich sind Einweg-E-Zigaretten? Und wie umweltschädlich? von Irene Habich, Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland; Rubrik Gesundheit), 09.04.2024, 12:07 Uhr)

Mit Hilfe der Adjektive mit positiver Bedeutung *weniger gesundheitsschädliche* (Variante) und *sicherer als* werden diese Produkte als bessere Konsumalternativen präsentiert.

- (4) (...) womöglich **weniger gesundheitsschädliche Variante zur klassischen Zigarette** (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)
- (5) Grundsätzlich gelten Vapes als **sicherer als normale Zigaretten**, da es sie auch ohne Nikotin gibt. (Einfuhr von Vapes wird verboten (Titel) *Kampf dem Dampf: Wie Australien gegen E-Zigaretten vorgeht* von Barbara Barkhausen, rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 31.05.2023, 11:49 Uhr)

3.2 Metaphorische Bezeichnungen für E-Zigaretten

In den Belegen zu E-Zigaretten werden unterschiedliche Metaphern gebraucht, um bestimmte Eigenschaften dieser Produkte zu verdeutlichen.

3.2.1 Substantivische Wortgruppen

Die metaphorische Nominalgruppe *der elektronische Glimmstängel* (siehe Beleg 6) signalisiert einerseits die Ähnlichkeit zum Rauchen von Tabakzigaretten durch das Wort *Stängel*, wobei das Verb *glimmen* auf eine Art von Verbrennung hindeutet, obwohl es bei den E-Zigaretten keinen Verbrennungsprozess stattfindet. Dieses Determinativkompositum könnte symbolisch auf die Gefahr anspielen, die den Verbrauch von E-Zigaretten bei den Konsumenten mit sich bringen kann. Andererseits enthält die Nominalgruppe das Adjektiv *elektronisch*, das den technischen Aspekt der E-Zigarette hervorhebt.

- (6) *Schadstofffrei sei der elektronische Glimmstängel aber nie (Schadstoffe und Suchtgefahr: Wie gefährlich ist die E-Zigarette?*, Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland), Rubrik Gesundheit 02.01.2020, 13:00 Uhr)

Die substantivischen Formen *Vapes* und *Vaping-Produkte* (Belege 7-9) leiten sich vom englischen Nomen *vaporiser* (Verdampfer) ab⁴ und deuten darauf hin, dass der Konsum von E-Zigaretten durch das Inhalieren von Dampf erfolgt. Sie betonen dadurch den Unterschied zu dem klassischen Verbrennungsprozess der herkömmlichen Zigaretten und könnten metaphorisch die Vorstellung von der Flüchtigkeit des E-Zigaretten-Konsums vermitteln.

- (7) **Vapes (elektronische Zigaretten)** („Es ist unglaublich, dass Rauchen in Rumänien als normal betrachtet wird“ (Untertitel) *FreshAir4Life, ein internationales Projekt im Kampf gegen das Rauchen* von: Laura Căpățână Juller, ADZ für Rumänien, Freitag, 12. Juli 2024)
- (8) Wer **die** kostenlosen **Vapes** bekomme, will Westminster in die Hände der Kommunen legen. (Bis 2030 soll das Land rauchfrei werden (Titel) *Großbritannien verschenkt E-Zigaretten an eine Million Raucher*, Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 11.04.2023, 15:36 Uhr)
- (9) **Künftig dürfen nur noch verschreibungspflichtige Vaping-Produkte importiert werden.** (Einfuhr von Vapes wird verboten (Titel) *Kampf dem Dampf: Wie Australien gegen E-Zigaretten vorgeht* von Barbara Barkhausen, rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 31.05.2023, 11:49 Uhr)

Die metaphorische Struktur *elektronische Nikotingeräte* (Beleg 10) deutet auch auf die technologische Eigenschaft der E-Zigaretten hin, aber durch das Wort *Nikotin* wird die Tatsache betont, dass diese Geräte Nikotin enthalten, also einen Stoff, der suchterzeugend wirkt. Dadurch werden die E-Zigaretten als gesundheitsschädlich dargestellt.

- (10) „**Elektronische Nikotingeräte** müssen besser reguliert werden“, verlangte WHO-Chef Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. (*WHO warnt vor E-Zigaretten: Hersteller versuchen Rauchen wieder salonfähig zu machen*, Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland), Rubrik Gesundheit, 27.07.2021, 18:49 Uhr)

Das nächste Kompositum (Beleg 11) setzt sich aus zwei nominalen Bestandteilen zusammen: dem Substantiv *Dampf*, das auf die technische Neuigkeit der E-Zigaretten hinweist, und zwar auf den Ersatz des Rauches durch das Inhalieren und Ausatmen von Dampf - und aus dem Nomen *Zigaretten*, das auf die visuelle Ähnlichkeit mit den herkömmlichen Zigaretten verweist.

- (11) In Großbritannien greifen bereits rund neun Prozent der Schulkinder im Alter zwischen elf und 15 Jahren zu **Dampf-Zigaretten**. (Bis 2030 soll das Land rauchfrei werden (Titel) *Großbritannien verschenkt E-Zigaretten an eine Million Raucher*, Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 11.04.2023, 15:36 Uhr)

⁴ <https://www.bfr.bund.de/fragen-und-antworten/thema/e-zigaretten-alles-andere-als-harmlos/> Bundesinstitut für Risikobewertung 05.07.2025.

3.2.2 Verben mit metaphorischer Funktion

Die metaphorischen Bezeichnungen, die die Tätigkeit des Rauchens von E-Zigaretten beschreiben, geben nicht nur die typischen Merkmale dieser Geräte wieder, sondern vermitteln auch ein Bild von dem sozialen Verständnis des Konsums von E-Zigaretten.

Das Verb *dampfen* in den Belegen 12 und 13, das die Tatsache andeutet, dass bei einer E-Zigarette kein Rauch kommt, sondern Dampf entsteht, klingt freundlicher als das Verb *rauchen* und suggeriert, dass das Inhalieren von Dampf weniger gesundheitsschädlich als das Rauchen von Tabak ist.

- (12) *Laut Statistiken haben **Leute, die dampfen**, ein dreifach höheres Risiko, später auch Zigaretten zu rauchen* („Es ist unglaublich, dass Rauchen in Rumänien als normal betrachtet wird“ (Untertitel) *FreshAir4Life, ein internationales Projekt im Kampf gegen das Rauchen* von: Laura Căpățână Juller, ADZ für Rumänien, Freitag, 12. Juli 2024)
- (13) *In der Tat war der Schwarzmarkt für illegales **Dampfen** bisher groß* (Einfuhr von Vapes wird verboten (Titel) *Kampf dem Dampf: Wie Australien gegen E-Zigaretten vorgeht* von Barbara Barkhausen, rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 31.05.2023, 11:49 Uhr)

In den Analysetexten wurde auch das umgangssprachliche Verb *paffen* identifiziert (siehe Beleg 14), das humorvoll oder salopp die Tätigkeit des Rauchens beschreibt und die entspannte, genießerische Seite des Rauchens von E-Zigaretten betont. In Verbindung mit dem Adverb *elektronisch*, mit Anführungszeichen markiert, wird die Innovation und Fortschrittlichkeit im Bereich des Rauchens signalisiert und dadurch einen gewissen Abstand zu dem altüberlieferten Image des süchtigen Tabakrauchers geschafft.

- (14) *musste ich selber und mit Internet-Ratschlägen ausprobieren, wie das ist, „**elektronisch**“ zu paffen* (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

Im Beispiel 15 *an solch einem Gerät „zuzeln“* kommt ein anderes Verb aus der Umgangssprache vor, das metaphorisch zur Beschreibung der Tätigkeit des Rauchens von E-Zigaretten gebraucht wird. Diese Metapher könnte zeigen, dass der ADZ-Journalist das Dampfen als eine einfältig naiv wirkende, unnützliche Beschäftigung wahrnimmt, wie das Lutschen an etwas Sinnlosem.

- (15) *weil sie nicht verstehen können, weshalb man **an solch einem Gerät „zuzeln“** muss.* (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

Die Formulierung *mein „neues Rauchen“* (Beleg 16), ein substantiviertes Verb, zeigt die Tendenz dahin, dass die E-Zigarette mehr und mehr Terrain gewinnen und bringt dabei eine bewusste Distanzierung des ADZ-Journalisten von den alten Tabakzigaretten und seine Hinwendung zu einer aktuellen

modischen Wahlmöglichkeit zum Ausdruck. Diese Metapher legt aber auch eine Neuausrichtung der elektronischen Zigaretten in der Gesellschaft nahe.

- (16) *Zuhause hatte ich ausprobiert, ob **mein „neues Rauchen“** die Umwelt spürbar belastet (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

Die Wörter *Vaping* und *vapen* in den Belegen 17 und 18 stammen aus dem Englischen, leiten sich vom Substantiv *vapor* (Dampf) ab und beziehen sich explizit auf den Konsum von E-Zigaretten. Es handelt sich um Strukturen, die modern und international klingen und die englische Sprache lässt die Tätigkeit des Rauchens von E-Zigaretten cool und jugendlich wirken, was auf eine Kategorie von Konsumenten hinweist, die sich von dem herkömmlichen Raucher-Image abgrenzt.

- (17) *die Industrie präsentiert **Vaping** als („Es ist unglaublich, dass Rauchen in Rumänien als normal betrachtet wird“ (Untertitel) FreshAir4Life, ein internationales Projekt im Kampf gegen das Rauchen* von: Laura Căpățână Juller, ADZ für Rumänien, Freitag, 12. Juli 2024)
- (18) *Kinder unter vier Jahren sollen bereits **vapen** (Einfuhr von Vapes wird verboten (Titel) Kampf dem Dampf: Wie Australien gegen E-Zigaretten vorgeht* von Barbara Barkhausen, rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 31.05.2023, 11:49 Uhr)

Es wurde auch eine gängige idiomatische Redewendung festgestellt, die im übertragenen Sinne darauf hindeutet, dass jemand raucht. Die Wortverbindung *zur Zigarette greifen* in den Belegen 19 und 20 ist eine alltägliche idiomatische Wendung, die die Handlung des Rauchens beschreibt.

- (19) *Derzeit **greift** in Großbritannien den Angaben zufolge noch fast jede zehnte Frau während der Schwangerschaft **zur Zigarette**. (Bis 2030 soll das Land rauchfrei werden (Titel) Großbritannien verschenkt E-Zigaretten an eine Million Raucher,* Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 11.04.2023, 15:36 Uhr)
- (20) *vor allem für jene wichtig ist, die **zur E-Zigarette** als Entwöhnungsstrategie **greifen**. (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

3.3 Bezeichnungen für Raucher

Es wurden auch nominale Strukturen zur Bezeichnung für Konsumenten von E-Zigaretten und herkömmlichen Zigaretten identifiziert (Beleg 21). Es geht zunächst einmal um Nominalgruppen, die neutral wirken, wie z. B. *Konsument der E-Zigarette*, *die Konsumenten von E-Zigaretten* aber auch um Komposita wie *Rauchergemeinde*, *dieser spezielle Raucherkreis*, *die Tabakfreunde*, die durch die enthaltenen Grundwörter *Gemeinde*, *Kreis*, *Freunde* die Raucher als eine zusammengeschlossene Gruppe erscheinen lassen und so-

mit wird eine bewusste Abgrenzung von der anderen Kategorie der Nicht-Raucher signalisiert. Mit dem Substantiv *Freunde* werden der Gruppe der traditionellen Raucher positive Eigenschaften zugeschrieben, wie durch Freundschaft und Kameradschaft gebunden. Auch die Struktur *das Zubehör, das ein „zivilisierter“ klassischer Raucher benötigt* trägt zur Aufwertung der Tabakraucher bei, indem man die Adjektive mit positiver Bedeutung „zivilisierter“ klassischer gebraucht.

- (21) **Konsument** der E-Zigarette / **die Konsumenten** von E-Zigaretten / **Rauchergemeinde** / Dieser spezielle **Raucherkreis** / Die „**vapers**“ / die **Tabakfreunde** / ein „zivilisierter“ klassischer **Raucher** / (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

In dem Beleg unten wird ein negatives Bild von den Rauchern vermittelt, wobei diese Darstellung durch verschiedene sprachliche Ausdrucksformen erfolgt, die abwertende Eigenschaften der Gruppe der Raucher zuschreiben. Und zwar, die Formulierung *starke Raucher* deutet auf Personen hin, die nach Zigaretten süchtig sind. Die Wortgruppe „Dual-User“, aus dem umgangssprachlichen Sprachgebrauch stammend (wie es auf Neudeutsch heißt), bezieht sich in diesem Kontext sowohl auf die Konsumenten von traditionellen Zigaretten als auch auf die E-Zigaretten-Nutzer und hat eine ironische Bedeutung, weil sie unmittelbar ein Image von dem wechselhaften Verhalten der rauchenden Individuen vermittelt. Auch der Begriff „Pyromanen“, in den Internetforen von dem ADZ-Journalisten gefunden, vermittelt ein negatives Bild von den *klassischen Rauchern*. Das Wort *Pyromane* bezeichnet üblicherweise eine Person mit krankhaftem Drang nach Feuerlegen, was hier ironisch auf die Tabakkonsumenten übertragen wird. Das erweckt den Eindruck von irrationalen Menschen, die sich in übertriebener Weise über das Rauchen von Zigaretten freuen.

- (22) Das mögen **starke Raucher** überhaupt nicht - und weil diese Zigarettenkomponente austauschbar ist, halten sie einen funktionsfähigen Reserve-Akku griffbereit. Oder sie greifen zurück zu Feuerzeug und Zigaretenschachtel und werden zum „**Dual-User**“ wie es auf Neudeutsch heißt. In den Internetforen werden übrigens die klassischen Raucher auch als „**Pyromanen**“ ironisiert. (Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen (Untertitel) Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015)

In dem Zitat über Mundbakterien (siehe Beleg 23) finden wir eine Klassifizierung der Raucher, die aus fünf ähnlich großen Gruppen besteht. Diese Klassifizierung deutet darauf hin, dass das Rauchen im gesundheitlichen medizinischen Diskurs als gesundheitsschädigend angesehen bzw. als aktuelles gesellschaftliches Problem erörtert wird. Es wird dabei suggeriert, dass der Konsum von Tabak und E-Zigaretten gesundheitliche Risiken mit sich bringt und gravierende Effekte haben könnte.

- (23) **Dampfer** haben mehr Bakterienarten im Mund / die aus fünf ähnlich großen Gruppen bestanden: **Raucher**, **Nichtraucher**, **Dampfer**, **dampfende Ex-Raucher** und **dampfende Raucher**. / bei allen **Nutzern von E-Zigaretten** vertreten. (Alternative zum Rauchen? Auch Dampfen verursacht Entzündungen im Mund, Rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland), Rubrik Gesundheit, 27. Mai 2020, 21:00 Uhr)

Das unten angeführte Beispiel (Beleg 24) enthält zwei Bezeichnungen für Raucher – *Langzeitrauchern* und *eine neue Generation von Nikotinsüchtigen*, die die Zigarettenkonsumenten in einem schlechten Licht erscheinen lassen. Das Beispiel verdeutlicht einen Widerspruch in der Wahrnehmung der E-Zigaretten: zunächst wird erwähnt, dass die E-Zigaretten als therapeutisches Produkt in vielen Ländern verkauft wurden, *um Langzeitrauchern beim Aufhören zu helfen* (positive Vorstellung der Vaping Produkte), und dann kommt die Position des Gesundheitsministeriums, dass elektronische Zigaretten Jugendliche zu *einer neuen Generation von Nikotinsüchtigen* gemacht haben (abwertende Vorstellung der E-Zigaretten). Dadurch wird auch eine dramatische Verschlechterung der Lage der E-Zigaretten-Raucher suggeriert.

- (24) „Vaping wurde Regierungen und Gemeinden auf der ganzen Welt als therapeutisches Produkt verkauft, um **Langzeitrauchern** beim Aufhören zu helfen“, sagte Butler. / Vapes dagegen haben es vor allem bei Jugendlichen zu so großer Beliebtheit geschafft, dass das Gesundheitsministerium **eine neue Generation von Nikotinsüchtigen** befürchtet. (Einfuhr von Vapes wird verboten (Titel) Kampf dem Dampf: Wie Australien gegen E-Zigaretten vorgeht von Barbara Barkhausen, rnd (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland); Rubrik Gesundheit, 31.05.2023, 11:49 Uhr)

4 Fazit

Die Sprache bietet die Mittel an, Werte, Denkweisen und Haltungen zu formulieren. Durch den Gebrauch bestimmter metaphorischer Strukturen im konkreten medialen Verwendungskontext wird ein gewisses Bild über die mit E-Zigaretten verbundenen Werten und Vorstellungen vermittelt, wobei die metaphorischen Formulierungen kontextspezifische und situative Bedeutungen aktualisieren.

In den untersuchten Belegen widerspiegeln sich sowohl positive Wertvorstellungen als auch kritische Inhalte, die auf das Rauchen von herkömmlichen und elektronischen Zigaretten zutreffen. Die positive Perspektive ist in dem ADZ-Artikel *Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen* (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* zu finden und könnte dadurch erklärt werden, dass der Text 2015 geschrieben wurde, als die E-Zigaretten noch im Trend waren.⁵ Die negative Perspektive erscheint in den anderen Texten aus 2024, wenn Experten und Vertreter verschiedener politischen und medizi-

⁵ *Vom Rauchen zum Dampfen* (Untertitel) *Die E-Zigarette als Ersatz zum klassischen Glimmstängel* von: Ralf Sudrigian, ADZ für Rumänien, Samstag, 07. Februar 2015.

nischer Organisationen zu Wort kommen und vor der Gefahr der E-Zigaretten warnen.

Die gebrauchten Metaphern für die Tätigkeit des Rauchens, wie z.B. *dampfen*, *vapen*, *mein neues Rauchen* betonen den modernen technischen Aspekt der E-Zigaretten und präsentieren sie als Innovation durch den Einsatz von Dampf und als weniger schädliche Alternative zum herkömmlichen Rauchen. Sie verweisen aber auch auf die Verwandtschaft zu den klassischen Zigaretten, z.B. im Begriff *Glimmstängel*.

Andere metaphorische Strukturen vermitteln ein negatives ironisches Bild von E-Zigaretten und ihren Konsumenten. Durch das Verb *zuzeln* z.B. wird die Tätigkeit des Rauchens von E-Zigaretten auf verspottende Weise dargestellt und dadurch abgewertet. Nominale Strukturen wie *Pyromane*, *Dual-User* lassen die Raucher als süchtig und inkonsequent erscheinen. Zudem wird der Nikotinkonsum als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung dargestellt.

In den Analysetexten wurde auch eine bewusste Abgrenzung der Raucher von anderen sozialen Gruppen festgestellt, um dadurch eine soziale Neupositionierung der Rauchergruppe zu signalisieren.

Primärliteratur (Analysekorpus)

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LINGUA FRANCA OF THE 21ST CENTURY: THE MULTILINGUAL AND MULTIMODAL DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL PROJECTS IN THE CAUCASUS

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Abstract

The article examines the multilingual and multimodal challenges of international hydroengineering projects in the Caucasus region where English serves as a lingua franca among professionals with diverse native languages. Based on the case study, the analysis reveals the strategies employed by the team members. The findings suggest that, beyond ELF, to reach mutual understanding and manage tasks, they employ code-switching, intercomprehension, focusing on the Slavic languages, and multimodality, specifically visual mode (e.g., technical drawings, diagrams, and gestures). The study also highlights how linguistic functions correlate with the members' professional roles and how their cross-cultural characteristics influence the choice of communication strategies.

Keywords: Lingua franca, multimodality, business communication strategy, cross-cultural teamwork, technical project, the Caucasus.

Introduction

In today's globalised and digitalised world, English occupies a vital role in a range of spheres, from the education to energetics, facilitating communication among participants in multinational technical projects. English has

become a necessary tool for many businessmen because many international companies have made it their official corporate language, often completely replacing their local native language. Such a decision is supported by the European Union documents (the European Commission, 2008). It can be explained by the primary goal of any business to achieve its purpose in a short time, which presupposes the necessity for negotiations in the clear, unambiguous language.

The history shows that since the end of World War II, the English language has been gaining significance (Hoffmann, 2000; Seidlehofer, 2011), so it has become widely used as the primary lingua franca not only in Europe. As A. Mauranen indicates “even though North America in particular plays a role in maintaining interest in English as lingua franca has taken on a life of its own. Most of its use today is by non-native speakers and the number of people speaking it as a foreign language or second language has surpassed the number of its native speakers” (Mauranen, 2005, p. 1).

Recently, international technical projects have become a good platform for collaboration among workers from many countries, creating a specific linguistic environment. When crafting job advertisements, the international employers consider “the ability to articulate technical concepts accurately in English is pivotal for avoiding misunderstandings and ensuring seamless collaboration within multinational teams” (Gonchar, 2024, p. 145). Although there has been an increasing interest in the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF), however, far too little attention has been paid to the problem of coexisting with two or more shared languages that can be used as a lingua franca. Additionally, nowadays international business communication cannot be studied without considering multimodal resources, primarily visual ones, such as technical drawings, charts, diagrams, and presentations.

The aim of the study is to explore multilingual and multimodal practices in international technical projects in the Caucasus, focusing on the simultaneous functioning of several shared languages, and their functioning as lingua franca resources within a multicultural engineering environment. The research could contribute to the broader theoretical understanding of ELF communication within the framework of multimodal technical discourse. The main questions addressed in this paper are: a) to analyse the role of English as a global lingua franca in multinational technical projects across the Caucasus region; b) to examine the use of other languages as a regional lingua franca; c) to identify multilingual communication challenges and strategies from the multimodal perspective used to compensate for limitations in linguistic competence; d) to assess the implications of multimodal communication for international teamwork.

Research methodology

According to the aim and objectives of the study, it employs a case-study analysis, examining the international Uch-Kurgan HPP rehabilitation project, which involves engineers from different countries, including Poland, France, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, and China, none of whom are native speakers of English. The importance of this research lies in highlighting the dynamic communicative oral and written practices (technical documentation, correspondence, PowerPoint presentations, transcriptions of online meetings, and short offline conversations) within the framework of an intercultural technical environment. To describe the data collection, it is essential to mention all the participants' profiles that cover key team positions:

- Project Manager (France) – oversees the entire project, monitors deadlines, ensures coordination across team members;
- Site Manager (Ukraine) – is responsible for all daily on-site activities, implementation of technical plans, and time management;
- Chief Engineer (Poland) – ensures engineering standards are met, provides technical solutions and leads technical planning;
- Local Engineer (Kyrgyzstan) – mediates the international teamwork;
- Technical Specialist (Kyrgyzstan) – develops technical designs, collaborates with the chief engineer, and provides the technical specifications;
- Technical Specialist (China) is responsible for services essential to the technical project related to the delivered equipment and technical specifications;
- Administrative Coordinator (Kyrgyzstan) – handles project documentation and scheduling;
- Supplier (China) – is responsible for providing materials and equipment;
- Health & Safety Officer (Georgia) – ensures all the operations meet safety standards and procedures.

From this perspective, the data will be analysed using an integrated framework combining multimodal discourse analysis, cross-cultural and sociolinguistic analysis. The research is also grounded on Edward Hall's typology to gain a deeper understanding of the features of intercultural communication within the multinational technical project.

This study meets the strict ethical standards, including obtaining the informed consent from all the participants, and respecting for workplace confidentiality and professional boundaries during data collection and analysis.

Theoretical overview

A) Defining language as a lingua franca in multinational technical projects across the Caucasus region

The concept of a lingua franca has been traced to early colonial times. However, the broad use of the term “a lingua franca” is equated with the definition given by the experts in the report in the UNESCO meeting about the use of vernacular languages, where it is characterized as “a language used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them” (UNESCO, 1952: 689). Although later, many attempts were made to precise the notion of a lingua franca, the generalizability of much published research on its definition is problematic.

Referring to Firth’s theory (1996), a lingua franca is defined as a “contract language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common national culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication” (Firth, 1996, p. 240).

Another point of view was presented by B. Seidlhofer and Kirkpatrick. Seidlhofer defined a lingua franca as “a way of referring to communication in English between speakers with different first languages (Seidlhofer, 2005, p. 339). In her article “*Closing a conceptual gap. The case for a description of English as a lingua franca*” (2001), B. Seidlhofer claims that this term is “understood in the strict sense of a word, i.e. an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either – a language which has no native speakers” (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 146). The scholar focused on the fact that “ELF interactions often include interlocutors from the Inner and Outer Circles” (Seidlhofer, 2004, p. 211–212).

As Hulmbaur et al. state, ELF is more often analysed and defined functionally by its use as a medium of intercultural communication rather than formally (Hulmbaur et al., 2007, p. 27).

A. Mauranen states that English “has established itself as the global lingua franca, that is, a contact language between people who do not share a native language. Such spreading of one originally ethnic language over the world is unprecedented” (Mauranen, 2005, p. 1). The scholar points out its “globalizing culture, a heterogeneous mixture of cultures and cultural encounters” (Mauranen, 2005, p. 2).

J. Jenkins, in her book *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitudes and Identities* (2007), examines the use of English in international communication and turned to the study of how non-native speakers adapt the language in a way that meets practical communicative needs in a multicultural context. This

analysis shifted the focus from considering English as a standardized system to understanding it as a flexible tool that can be modified by its users when used.

In her seminal study *English as a Lingua Franca, Bilingualism and Multilingualism: How Do These Areas of Studies Relate?* (2019), Jane Helen Gomes de Lima discusses the evolution of the ELF concept and its relationship with bilingualism and multilingualism. The scholar traces the development of ELF research, from its initial focus primarily on language form, in line with World English research, to an understanding of ELF as a multilingual practice, where English functions as one of many language options available in the repertoire of multilingual users, rather than as the only choice. The author mentioned a developed linguistic awareness of the bilingual or multilingual users of English as a lingua franca. She states that it is much easier to find a way to express their ideas clearly. They feel when in their conversation they should simplify their speech or change their vocabulary, or, for instance, speak more slowly. This makes communication in English as a lingua franca more effective (Gomes de Lima, 2019).

It plays a crucial role in business, where English is widely used as a lingua franca because, as Ellis and Johnson consider, English satisfies the main condition for successful business: “a sense of purpose”. Furthermore, Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) provide three primary factors relevant to the use of Business English as a lingua franca: the shared special field of expertise; the shared business domain with profit-oriented principles goal-base genres, and time-constrained processes; and the length of the relationship with the communication partner (Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010, pp. 394–398). The mentioned features form the specificity of the professional discourse.

Within the regional context, as in the territory of the post-Soviet space, the reality is more complex. In our research, the analysis of hydroenergetics brings its own peculiar features because this sphere is considered a priority sector for international collaboration development in Central Asia. For example, Kyrgyzstan is a country in Central Asia where hydropower resources are concentrated. In Kyrgyzstan, “there are large rivers, such as Naryn, Chu, Talas, Sary-Zhaz, Karydarya and others, which are flowing in the basins of Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya. Natural resources have a significant impact on the socio-economic development of the state. At the present stage of economic development, sovereign Kyrgyzstan pays more attention to the study and rational use of water and hydropower resources (Urmambekova, et.al., 2017, p. 60). This region, including five countries – the former republics of the Soviet Union – the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, is a geopolitical and unified cultural and spiritual space, in which more than 100 million people live” (Babazhanova et al., 2017; Kaliakparova et al., 2017). Although Russian has remained the primary language of technical documentation in this re-

gion since the Soviet era, today's situation has changed. Nowadays, most local engineers from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan are proficient in English due to their extensive experience working in the multilingual environments of international projects, which allows all documentation to be written and handled in English.

B) Engineering-specific multimodal analysis

This study shows that each member of the engineering team plays a distinct communicative role within their job description, employing a range of communication strategies to ensure mutual understanding and overcome language barriers.

Besides verbal strategies, team members use multimodal communication tools, including technical drawings, sketches, diagrams, maps, physical demonstrations, and gestures. These multimodal resources are essential but not optional or complementary because accurate interpretation of technical information is critical.

According to G. Kress, the term multimodality refers to "an individual's use of different modes (i.e. channels of communication) to convey meaning. Such modes can consist of those that are linguistic, visual, aural, gestural, or spatial in nature" (Kessler, 2022, p. 1). From the multimodal perspective, Kress & van Leeuwen defined "meaning" as one "made in many different ways, always, in the many different modes and media which are co-present in a communicational ensemble" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 111).

The integration of multilingual and multimodal strategies reflects the adaptive and collaborative nature of communication in international engineering teams. In today's digital age, it is not uncommon to see engineering meetings where participants literally rely on visualization to "build understanding" - not only in a metaphorical sense but also in a visual-spatial sense. During the discussion, it has become a tradition to present project ideas in the form of presentations, where all the main elements are visualized, and this is already an integral part of communication. In this regard, modern researchers (Goodwin, 2000; Norris, 2004) conclude that any engineering interaction is a multimodal process by its nature. In particular, Goodwin, in his work, introduces the concept of "professional vision" as the ability to see and interpret the surrounding world of objects through specialized symbolic systems, such as drawings and technical diagrams. According to him, such "vision" is formed through the collective use of multimodal resources. The scholar suggests that "professional vision is the socially organized ways of seeing and understanding events that are answerable to the distinctive interests of a particular social group" (Goodwin, 1994, p. 606). Additionally, in his study, S. Norris highlights the hierarchy of modalities, in which language often gives way to actions, gaze, spatial arrangement of participants and in-

teraction with material artefacts. The scholar argues that “meaning in interaction is made through the coordinated use of multiple semiotic modes, including language, gestures, gaze, posture, and the manipulation of physical objects. These modes are not merely add-ons to talk but fundamental components of the communicative process (Norris, 2004, p. 4).

Case study

A case study analysis of multilingual communication challenges from the multimodal perspective aims to reveal the strategies used to compensate for limitations in linguistic competence. As was mentioned, according to their positions, each team member plays a distinct communicative role, employing different strategies to enhance effective communication. The choice of the set of strategies – such as, for example, code-switching, paraphrasing, simplifying technical jargon, or translanguaging – is usually explained with the various communicative goals, the level of the interlocutors’ linguistic competence, their cultural peculiarities, and the specificity of professional environment. To identify the peculiar challenges of communication within the international technical project comprehensively, it is worth analysing the multilingual and multimodal practices based on the following real-life dialogues.

Dialogue 1 represents a brief conversation between Chief Engineer (Poland), Site Manager (Ukrainian), and Local Engineer (Kyrgyzstan) on the site, based on their recollections:

Chief Engineer (PL): *Zobacz (points to the drawing) [Will you see], this elbow ... here needs 45°, but not even 50°, and not 60°. Could you check the original specs? You have them.*

Site Manager (UA): *Ага, бачу [Got it. I see]. OK. I have looked at it. On the drawing was written 45-50°, but in fact смонтували [have assembled] 45°.*

Chief Engineer (PL): *OK. But... let's update the As-Built drawing, and mention this in the deviation report. I guess it would be a good decision.*

During this conversation, the Chief Engineer demonstrates a bright example of intrasentential code-switching. Knowing both English and Slavic roots well, he starts with the clear for both of them word “*Zobacz*”, which have the same Slavik root [bacz] meaning and sounding practically similar in the Polish and Ukrainian languages. The Site Manager naturally inserts a Ukrainian verb “*бачу*” (*Engl., I see*) using the same root. In his English utterance he adds the Ukrainian verb “*смонтували*”. He pronounces the verb “*смонтували*” [zmontuwaly] (*Engl., “have assembled”*) purposefully for the pragmatic economy and as domain-specific because contextually the term

meaning a precise engineering action cannot be easily replaced with a short and exact English equivalent. It shows that the Slavic roots (“*zmontowali*”) remain a technical register understood for the people speaking Slavic languages, namely Polish and Ukrainian. Additionally, the short Ukrainian interjection “*Aza*” that means “*Got it*” serves as a natural signal of understanding and is used as a transition to the following English phrase. The Chief engineer clearly understood this interjection because the similar interjection “*Aha*” exists in his native Polish. The dialogue indicates one more strategy – linguistic intercomprehension (Meisel, 1994). This phenomenon means understanding without direct translation based on the typological similarity of closely related languages within the Slavic language group.

Both participants of the conversation use English as a *Lingua franca* effectively in the professional context. The fluency and functionally appropriate code-switching demonstrated the hybrid nature of workplace *lingua franca* usage (Seidlhofer, 2011). When discussing the technical question, the Chief Engineer pointed to a technical drawing, using it as another tool for explanation. The appeal to the visual mode is an important action that helps both economise the time and provides a reliable source of information used to confirm a correct understanding of the discussed technical problem.

The second dialogue represents the Morning Coordination online meeting, to which are all the members of the international project engineering team are invited.

Project Manager (France): *Good morning everyone! Can we start? Let's begin with a brief update from the site?*

Site Manager (Ukraine): *Yes, I'm ready to inform. Morning. Yes ... so... equipment from China not arrived on Monday as expected. The problem is on the border. We all know that we wait two more days already. And technical works on hold (showing both the Gantt chart and timelines). Maybe our Chinese partner need look through the charts ..., do you have them?*

Technical Specialist (China): *No, I don't have the charts because I have read the Contract terms. Yes, yes, yes ... Maybe not so good situation ... We had logistic delay – sorry. The port problems plus delay with border questions. We send confirmation, no?*

Administrative Coordinator (Kyrgyzstan): *Yes, but only tracking. No customs paper. Without this, we cannot register on site. Such situation we have got now...*

Chief Engineer (Poland): *If we won't receive equipment by Monday, we will ... must change full installation schedule. I suggest we prepare the supporting Plan. Also maybe change drawings. You can see it in these drawings (showing the drawings).*

Technical Specialist (Kyrgyzstan): *Should I modify the wiring layout? Because if we move units B and C, the specs must update.*

Safety Officer (Georgia): *Sorry, excuse me ... минуточку ... I would like us to be careful! New layout means new risk assessment. I would like two days minimum for this.*

Project Manager (France): *Yes, we must be careful! It is clear. So – please prepare the following today. I ask Site Manager to send photos of unloading area, for customs. And.. Chinese specialists, your group should check with your office and customs. You must do everything to push for faster delivery.*

Site Manager (Ukraine): *Photo OK... You mean now, yes, OK.*

Project Manager (France): *Yes please. Just informal, not official, yes?*

Site Manager (Ukraine): *OK. OK. I'll send. But let's return to our technical situation?*

Chief Engineer (Poland): *Let me add a few comments (showing the drawings). To make my idea clear, I'll show everything using the drawings and graphs.*

The linguistic analysis reveals the range of peculiar features associated with the use of English as a lingua franca. The omission of auxiliaries (e.g., *equipment from China not arrived on Monday as expected*), verb aspect (e.g., *'We wait two more days' instead 'has not arrived'*), and elliptical structure (e.g., *'No customs paper'*), and reduced phrasing (e.g., *'Photo, OK'*) are the widely used errors of simplified syntax. Another common ELF feature is overextending the use of “will” for emphasis (e.g., *If we won't receive equipment by Monday...*) or blending modalities (e.g., *“we will ... must change full installation schedule”*) that do not block understanding. One more characteristic feature is connected with misuse of articles (e.g., missing *the*: *“full installation; Let's begin with update from site”*) and prepositions (e.g., *we wait (for) two more days. Send (art) photo of (art) unloading area*). The cases of lexical approximations are *“push for faster delivery”* instead of *“expedite”* or *“two days minimum”* instead of *“at least two days”*.

The specific use of grammar is connected to the expressiveness of politeness or impoliteness, and cultural sensitivity. The dialogue demonstrates a range of typical ELF strategies. For instance, the participants rarely use modals like “can, could or would” in their phrases, which are typical for ELF but sound a bit rude for the native English speakers. The phrases such as *“maybe”* and *“it is possible”* are characteristic mitigations for ELF in Western business communication. For example, the Chinese representative uses it (*'May be not so good situation...'*) to avoid a direct confrontation and personal discomfort. Meanwhile, repetition (*“yes, yes, yes”*) is considered a usual ELF pragmatic marker used to express emotionally coloured agreement. Additionally, the use of *“I suggest ...”* demonstrates another typical strategy, aiming to shift to problem-solving and move forward. Clarification (*You mean ...*) is often used to confirm timing or clear understanding the instructions. The reformulation (*If we don't receive equipment...*) lays out implications clearly. Additionally, the tag question (*'yes'*) put by the Project Manager, aims to clarify the task, deadline, or procedural step. It is worth noting that the interlocutors do not use idioms or complex phrases, which points out the ELF tendency to prioritize clarity over grammar nativeness.

Interestingly, the single brief code-switching example (the Slavic-root word (RU: "Минуточку", PL., "Minuta", Engl. Minute (Engl.: *Just a moment! / One Minute!*")) serves as the Health & Safety engineer's request to catch the participants' attention to his information and interrupt them politely. This example illustrates the case of intercomprehension, which can be explained by the use of the Slavic-root word (which is understandable for the Ukrainian and Polish participants) in emotional situations addressed to those who share one of the Slavic languages. It allows us to conclude that English is used as the official and task-focused language, while the Slavic-root words appear covering the informal sphere.

The team staff is distinguished from the participants who belong by birth to different cultures. Some of them represent the high-context cultural type (China, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan), but the other demonstrate low-context communication (Poland, Ukraine). For instance, the high-context cultural type representatives' phrases (*'I would like us to be careful!; 'I would like to have two days minimum'*) are relational, indirect, tending to politeness.

The example of a code-switching strategy is used to reflect interpersonal warmth and soften interruption of the dialogue. This word based on the Slavic root is clear for both Ukrainian and Polish team members, and is employed as a marker of the low-contest style of communication.

The Chinese traditional cultural style model '*apology followed by a factual explanation and a rhetorical question*' is brightly represented in the dialogue (e.g., "*We had logistic delay – sorry. The port problems plus delay with border questions. We send confirmation, no?*"). And on the contrary, Ukrainian and Polish people's speech (e.g., "*We must change...*", *We must be careful! 'We wait two more days...*') tends to be direct, concise and task-oriented. The use of the modal verb "*must*" demonstrates a strict goal-driven style. It brings one more difficult task for the Project Manager to find a balanced communication type bridging both styles.

It is essential to consider the strategic use of multimodality, namely a visual mode. The dialogue shows the desire of many its participants to refer to a photo or technical drawing in their speech. The analysis indicates that for many engineers of Slavic and Central Asian cultural context countries whose English proficiency is quite limited, multimodal tools such as technical drawings, maps, sketches, diagrams serve multiple aims, namely, to overcome the lack of vocabulary, to clarify, to explain in detail, and to save time. However, according to the Chinese (in East Asia engineering cultural context) practice, they prefer using written documents, explanations, instructions or formal schemes to the spontaneous use of visuals. In addition, it is important to note that the Chinese engineering standards for technical drawings and charts differ significantly from those in Europe.

Dialogue three is interesting from the perspective of Slavic language intercomprehension and linguistic inference. The conversation during a technical site inspection between the Chief Manager (Poland), Site Manager (Ukraine), and Local Engineer (Kyrgyzstan) represents an example of effective communication due to the mutual intelligibility of the Slavic languages (Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian). In order to illustrate it on the phonological level clearly, in this study we use the method of transliteration.

Chief Engineer (says in Polish, pointing to the hydro facility): *Czy beton już związał? Bo potrzebujemy cztery dni.* (Engl., “Has the concrete cure yet? We need at least four days”).

Site Manager (says in Ukrainian): *Так, треба ще чотири дні, ми робили пробу. Але міцність добра.* [It sounds like: *Tak, treba czotyry dni, my robily probu. Ale micnist' dobra*]./ (Engl.: Yes, we need at least four days more. We have done the test. The strength is good.).

Chief Engineer (says in Polish): *Dobra? OK, super! A czy był robiony test ciśnieniowy?* (Engl.: Good? OK, great! And has a pressure test been done?)

Site Manager (says in Ukrainian, while holding the diagram in hand and they all are looking at it closely): *Так. Ми подавали воду – тиск тримав стабільно. Тут, дивись, маю діаграму.* [It sounds like: *Tak. My podawaly wodu – tisk trymaw stabilno/ Tut, dyvys', maju diagramu*]. (Engl.: Yes, we filled it with water – the pressure held steady. Look here, I have got the diagram.)

Local Engineer (speaks English inserting Russian words): *I haven't caught every word, but understand the main idea about pressure. Тест был и все OK.* (Engl.: I haven't caught everything, but you spoke about the pressure test. The test was done and everything was OK).

Chief Engineer (says in Polish): *OK. W takim razie możemy zacząć izolację hydrauliczną.* (Engl.: All right. In that case, we can start the hydraulic isolation).

Local Engineer (says in Russian): *Изоляцию? Можем.* (Engl.: Isolation? We can.)

As the analysis demonstrates, the Chief Engineer uses his native language, Polish, assuming intelligibility with Ukrainian and Russian. Meanwhile, the Site manager, whose mother tongue is Ukrainian, gives spontaneous answers in Ukrainian without switching to ELF. The Local Engineer, who speaks Russian a little, uses it to interpret the main idea and code-switches to confirm his understanding of the discussed problem. Such a conversation is possible due to the range of key factors. First of all, it is shared Slavic lexical roots: “[dobry] (PL)/ *dobra* (UA)”, “[chtery dni] (PL)/ [chotyry dni] (UA) “*tak* (PL)/ */tak* (UA)”, “[trzeba] (PL)/ */treba* (UA)”, “[my(PL)/ */my* (UA)/ *my* (RU)”, “[mozhe] (PL)/ */mozhe* (UA)/ *mozhem* RU)”, “[izolacja] (PL)/ *izolyatsiia* (UA) / *izolyatsiya* (RU)”, etc. The second factor is the use of the English-based international terms (e.g., “*Super, OK, test, diagram, hydraulic, isolation*”) within the professional context. And the third key factor is connected to the multimodal character of communication. The use of surrounding visual ob-

jects at the site, technical diagrams and drawings help them to understand the context clearly.

Let us analyse one more dialogue, presenting a brief exchange of views.

Site Manager (Ukraine): *I think let's upgrade the schedule at the end of the week.*

Administrative Coordinator (Kyrgyzstan): *Так, тогда я проверю drawings and hop on a call for Zoom on Friday? Yes?* [Engl. transl.: *Yes, then I'll check the technical drawings and hop on a Zoom call for Friday, yes?*].

Site Manager: *Так, ще одно важливо. Check, what about winding isolation.* [Engl. transl.: *Yes, one more essential thing. Check if there is any delay with the winding isolation work*].

Chief Engineer (Poland): *To jeszcze ... rzeczywiście jest ważne! That is important!*

Administrative Coordinator: *Там все OK.* [Engl. transl.: *Everything is OK there*].

This brief dialogue illustrates the natural adaptation of the participants to the multilingual project reality. In this case, English is used as a lingua franca for professional communication. English integrating technical terms ("*drawings, Zoom call, winding isolation*") serves as the primary means of communication to support understanding within all the international team members. Meanwhile, the participants relying on lexical intercomprehension through the Slavic-root words (Engl., "*essential*": PL., "*ważne*"- UA., "*важливо*" [*vazhlyvo*]; Engl., "*Yes*": PL., "*Tak*" – UA., "*Tak*" – RU, "*Так, да*"; Engl., "*one more*": PL., "*jeszcze*" – UA., "*ще*" [*shche*]) employ them to technical clarification and as routine statements. All the interlocutors belong to the same professional and linguistic community. In the dialogue the use of short confirming forms ("*Tak, Yes?, OK*") is a universal feature of multilingual interaction, reducing the risk of misunderstanding and helping to maintain the workflow of professional communication. The Administrative Coordinator switching between the languages uses an English business idiom, "*hop on a call*" which cannot easily be replaced in Polish or Ukrainian. Here, there is also the typical for ELF communication error ("*hop on a call*" vs a correct option "*hop on a Zoom call on Friday*"). The pragmatic function of intrasentential code-switching specifies using technical terms that do not have a full equivalent in the first language. The use of code-switching demonstrates the specific ELF role in promoting communicative efficiency and cultural comfort. Engineers with experience working in an international professional environment often use simple sentences or tenses to support mutual understanding among non-native speakers.

It is also essential to note that in ELF contexts, the imperative mood (e.g., "*Check this*", "*Hop on a call*") is commonly used as a pragmatic strategy and never interpreted as rude, but instead, it is understood functionally and contextually. Imperative forms expressing instructions or orders are direct with simple grammar, and require minimal conjugation that helps avoid mis-

understanding and confusion. It proves the low-context and utilitarian function of ELF in the professional environments, where clarity, professionally-oriented goals prevail the Standard English norms, namely forms of traditional politeness.

Discussion

The analysis of the language practices and multimodal strategies in the dialogues indicates the crucial role of the cultural diversity of the project participants. From this perspective, the application of Edward T. Hall's theory of low-context and high-context culture allows us to interpret the style and nuances of expressions (Lewis, 2006).

According to E.T. Hall (1976), people may often expect the other interlocutor to "guess" meaning from the context, as not everything can be expressed directly in words (Hall, 1976). The continuum of contextual communication styles, as outlined in Hall's theory, is presented in Figure 1.



Figure 1

Continuum of contextual communication styles

French people are considered to be representatives of a medium-to-high-context culture with an emphasis on the subtlety of languages and style of expression. They take proud of their ability to understand the hidden meaning. However, their style of communication is more explicit and direct than in the Caucasus. Kyrgyzstan represents a high-context culture characterized by strong family traditions and ties. In their culture, interpersonal relationships are highly significant, with a focus on deep respect for hierarchy and elders. Georgia also tends to be a high-context culture, where people are very hospitable and devoted to their family values and hierarchy. That is why directness in speech is often perceived as impoliteness and even rudeness. R. Lewis mentions that it is essential in communication with Georgians to monitor emotions and true intentions in the situation (Lewis, 2006).

Polish and Ukrainian cultures are closely related, and both peoples value direct communication, but interpersonal relations and the private sphere are also significant for them. The Poles consider the tone and manner of communication, while the Ukrainians emphasise trust more than precise wording (Hall, 1976).

On the other hand, China is a notable representative of high-context culture, characterised by a collective approach, where the ability to avoid conflicts and maintain harmony is highly appreciated. Using ELF, they prefer to use polite forms of confirmation, agreement, or apologising. They traditionally often use tag-questions to seek confirmation and approval, while representatives of low-context culture countries utilise them to coordinate teamwork and clarify task requirements. The analysis has shown the more frequent use, among others, of code-switching and intercomprehension.

According to the aim of the study, it is worth noting that code-switching is a crucial pragmatic tool. Numerous scholars have attempted to define various perspectives on how this phenomenon occurs. For example, Charlotte Hoffman's approach is based on motivations rather than structural types (Hoffman, 2000). Sh. Poplack focused her investigation on the structural typology of code-switching, differentiating between intrasentential (within a sentence) and intersentential (between sentences) code-switching, as well as tag-switching (inserting fixed phrases from another language) (Poplack, 1980). In his study, J. Gumperz highlighted its pragmatic functions, such as managing relationships and expressing solidarity or group identity (Gumperz, 1982). The analysis has shown that in ELF contexts, English plays a primary role that reflects the emotional solidarity and ethnic identity of the interlocutors, very often filling lexical or conceptual gaps.

The analysis of the interactions between international project team members has revealed a correlation between their professional roles and the linguistic functions and strategies they employ. Project Manager and Chief Engineer, who are responsible for planning, coordination, and scheduling, tend to use ELF consistently. Their speech is an example of low-context communication, focusing on explicitly, clarity and goal-driven statements. The participants often employ code-switching between English and their native languages (Ukrainian, Polish, etc.). They switch to English for formal instructions, enhancing understanding in a multinational context, while using Slavic languages for clarification and local interactions. Technical specialists from China and Kyrgyzstan employ special constructions characteristic of high-context communication and visual modalities (e.g., technical drawings, diagrams, sketches). Health & Safety Officer emphasizes clear and procedural language and tends to be linguistically conservative.

In the analysed case, intercomprehension is used as a valuable strategy, shared among the participants who have one more common language. According to F.-J. Meißner (Meißner, 2008, p. 1) the term of intercomprehension "has widely been discussed as a method of acquiring receptive skills in various languages (Meißner, 2008; Lutjeharma, 2006). In the leading documents of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, the idea of intercomprehension is interpreted as the central one to European citizen-

ship (Beacco & Byran, 2003; Council of Europe, 2001; European Commission, 1995).

S. Santos Alves and L. Mendes suggest that intercomprehension “happens in multilingual contexts in which speakers produce discourse in their parent tongues and understand others in different languages” (Santos & Mendes, 2006, p. 213). F. Capuch & A. Oliveira (2005) define it as the process of meaning co-construction in the context of simultaneous use of different languages for pragmatic function in an actual communicative situation (Capucho, 2004). It is essential that “intercomprehension involves the active use of linguistic knowledge and skills, together with awareness of, and open attitudes towards cultural diversity. Relying on the mobilisation of previous knowledge and skills, intercomprehension depends on the interaction and building of relationships between languages” (Santos & Mendes, 2006, p. 216).

The analysis has demonstrated that in the technical environment, the project team members in their professional communication rely on the shared lexical roots (common for the Slavic languages and international words, grammatical structures, subconscious and conscious linguistic inference, and the same professional context with the crucial role of multimodal modes use (technical drawings, diagrams). Such a form of mutual understanding, without resorting to another meditative language (ELF), enhances efficiency and fosters solidarity, especially during informal exchanges or problem-solving situations. Through the strategic use of a combination of intercomprehension with a multimodal approach, the engineers successively implement several pragmatic functions, such as overcoming the vocabulary lack, saving time, clarification, detailed explanation, and building mutual trust and emotional comfort.

Thus, all the mentioned reduce the risk of misunderstanding. From the cultural perspective, code-switching to the shared Slavic languages points out shifts to informal and trust-oriented communication. And on the contrary, English is used as a marker of official style, observance of hierarchy and power distance. Additionally, multimodal resources serve as a bridge between the communicative norms within the technical project. The analysis has shown that in Slavic and Central Asian cultural contexts, the use of visuals (technical drawings, diagrams, hand gestures) is a reliable traditional practice during engineering discussions. However, in Eastern Asia (China), the use of such visuals does not play a leading role. They prefer verbal detailisation and written instructions.

The analysis of the dialogue participants' nationality allows stating that this aspect impacts switching between verbal explanations, code-switching, showing visuals, and predetermining the choice of a situationally adaptive strategy to reach mutual understanding.

Conclusions

The study has demonstrated that the members of the international technical project team working in a multilingual professional environment reach a mutual understanding by using English effectively as a primary lingua franca. The Case Study has indicated a shift away from Russian as the regional Lingua franca towards the dominance of ELF, accompanied by the use of lexemes with common Slavic roots that are easily interpreted in the professional context by project participants who are speakers of any Slavic language. The analysis has revealed the principles of selecting the priority strategies, including code-switching, intercomprehension, and a multimodal approach. The findings from this study provide additional evidence that the combination of linguistic intuition, technical context, and multimodal support helps build a strong communication ecology that encompasses much more than Standard English norms. That highlights the flexible, versatile, multimodal nature of professional communication within the framework of multinational technical projects of the XXI century.

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FROM RECORD HIGHS TO NEW LOWS: A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF ECONOMIC INDICATORS

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Abstract

This paper investigates how English uses the economic indicators *inflation* and *price* figuratively to describe broader economic phenomena, drawing on authentic data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Adopting the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the study examines how metaphor and image schemas structure our understanding of economic processes. Five morphosyntactic patterns are analysed: *Inflation + Verb*, *Verb + Inflation*, *Price + Verb*, *Verb + Price*, and the Caused Motion construction. The analysis reveals that abstract economic entities are consistently reified and metaphorically construed in terms of motion, spatial configuration, force dynamics, and agency. Image schemas such as UP/DOWN, PATH, and CONTAINMENT motivate expressions of scalar change, while conceptual metaphors (e.g., INFLATION IS A KILLER, HIGH PRICES ARE BURDENS) frame inflation and price as agentive or manipulable forces. Special attention is given to the interaction of grammatical construction and metaphorical content, particularly in the Caused Motion pattern, where non-volitional economic causes metaphorically initiate movement toward reified scalar goals. The study concludes that metaphor and grammatical structure work in tandem to conceptualise economic indicators, confirming the central claim of cognitive linguistics that metaphor is a foundational mechanism of thought.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, image schema, reification, Caused Motion construction, economic discourse, inflation, price.

1 Introduction

The language of economics is not merely descriptive – it is profoundly figurative. Economic indicators such as inflation and price are frequently framed in metaphorical terms that conceptualise abstract processes through embodied, physical experiences. Expressions like *inflation is eating away at savings*, *prices shot through the roof*, or *prices plunged* exemplify the metaphorical density of economic discourse. Such language is not ornamental but cognitively foundational: it reflects the way we understand, evaluate, and communicate complex economic phenomena. It is impossible to understand economic processes without metaphor. Abstract and dynamic systems such as markets, interest rates, and value are regularly made intelligible through conceptual mappings grounded in bodily experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003).

The paper focuses on two core economic indicators, *inflation* and *price*, with the aim of demonstrating that their linguistic representation in discourse is not incidental but systematically metaphorical. The central premise advanced here is that verbs collocating with these nouns, when used figuratively, give expression to deeply entrenched conceptual structures. Many of these structures are motivated by image schemas and/or structural metaphors, which provide the cognitive scaffolding for the way economic processes are understood and communicated.

The figurative construal of these two indicators is investigated as they appear in contemporary usage. The analysis is grounded in naturally occurring linguistic data drawn from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)¹. Nevertheless, the study is not to be regarded as strictly corpus-based. Rather, it should be seen as corpus-informed: the corpus functions as a rich empirical resource from which illustrative patterns and representative linguistic evidence are extracted. These examples serve not as statistical proof, but as a means of supporting and illuminating a theoretical, cognitively grounded account of metaphor, one that seeks to uncover the systematicity underlying figurative representations of economic phenomena.

The study is informed by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), especially as developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), Lakoff (1993), and expanded by Dancygier and Sweetser (2014). A key component of the theory is the role of image schemas – recurring spatial and force-dynamic patterns derived from embodied experience (Johnson, 1987). For example, schemas such as UP / DOWN, PATH and MOTION, and CONTAINMENT structure the way we conceptualise abstract domains such as QUANTITY or QUALITY,

¹ Davies, Mark (2008-). The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): One billion words, 1990-2019. Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>.

CHANGE, and CONTROL, respectively. Thus, *inflation rises* invokes the UP schema to metaphorically express an increase in quantity, while *prices fall* maps vertical descent onto economic loss. Similarly, *contain inflation* draws on CONTAINMENT to suggest boundedness and imposed CONTROL.

Although previous work – such as Charteris-Black (2005) – has explored the persuasive function of metaphor in economic and political discourse, the present study offers a more linguistically grounded and morphosyntactically precise contribution. By integrating constructional patterning with CMT-based metaphor analysis, it reveals how verbs encode metaphorical thought and how grammatical structure shapes conceptualisation in English economic language.

The paper examines five morphosyntactic patterns involving *inflation* and *price*, outlined in table 1.

Table 1
Morphosyntactic patterns

Pattern	Description
1. Inflation + Verb	Inflation in subject position
2. Verb + Inflation	Inflation in object position
3. Price + Verb	Price in subject position
4. Verb + Price	Price in object position
5. Caused Motion	Directional causation involving inflation or price (e.g., <i>push inflation down</i>)

Each of these five patterns is analysed in a dedicated section. In Section 3.1 (Inflation + Verb), examples are grouped according to their metaphorical motivation – either primarily grounded in image schemas (e.g., UP, DOWN, PATH) or predominantly structured by conceptual metaphors (e.g., INFLATION IS AN AFFLICTION, PRICES ARE LIVING ORGANISMS). This distinction is not maintained in subsequent sections, as there is naturally too much overlap between the two groupings. In each case, the verbs are examined individually in terms of their non-figurative and figurative meanings, and metaphorical implications. Moreover, consideration is given to both the speed and the manner of motion.

In Section 3.2 (Verb + Inflation), the analysis focuses on metaphorical constructions in which *inflation* appears in object position. Special attention is given to conceptual metaphors that depict inflation as a hostile entity, such as INFLATION IS AN OPPONENT, INFLATION IS A DESTRUCTIVE FIRE, or INFLATION IS AN ANGRY BEAST, etc. Section 3.3 (Price + Verb) examines constructions in which *price* occupies the subject position. The focus here is primarily on motion verbs metaphorically describing increases or decreases in price. These are often motivated by image schemas such as UP / DOWN

and PATH. Section 3.4 (Verb + Price) investigates cases where *price* functions as the syntactic object. Many of the verbs here involve control, manipulation, or causation. While image schemas are still relevant, this section places more emphasis on agency and metaphorical causation. Finally, Section 3.5 (Caused Motion) isolates a specific construction in which verbs of forceful movement (e.g., *push*, *drag*, *drive*) cause inflation or price to move in a particular direction.

2 Theoretical framework

As outlined in the introduction, this study adopts Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as its analytical foundation, drawing on the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), Lakoff (1993), and subsequent refinements by scholars such as Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), and others. In general terms, conceptual metaphor is defined as a set of unidirectional mappings that project conceptual material from one discrete domain onto another. It enables speakers to understand and structure abstract domains such as TIME, EMOTION, or ECONOMY in terms of usually more concrete, embodied experiences. Central to this theory is the idea that metaphor operates through systematic mappings from a source domain (typically a more concrete or more intersubjectively accessible domain) to a target domain (typically more abstract and thus less intersubjectively accessible). These mappings are not arbitrary; they reflect entrenched conceptual associations grounded in bodily experience and sensory-motor patterns.

Complementary to conceptual metaphor, this study draws on the notion of conceptual metonymy, understood as a 'domain-internal mapping in which one of the domains involved provides a point of access to the other' (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2007, p. 33). In contrast to metaphoric mappings, which are typically domain-external – involving correspondences between distinct conceptual domains – metonymic mappings operate within a single domain, based on the relation of contiguity.

Within CMT, image schemas are schematic cognitive structures, originally proposed by Mark Johnson (1987). These schemas serve as schematic patterns of embodied experience, and some of them reflect preconceptual spatial organization, e.g., UP / DOWN, PATH, BALANCE, FORCE, or CONTAINMENT. Image schemas are not metaphors in themselves, but they provide the cognitive scaffolding for metaphorical mappings. Orientational metaphors organize abstract concepts in relation to spatial image schemas, such as UP / DOWN, IN / OUT, or FRONT / BACK. In contrast, structural metaphors involve mapping a more complex and detailed structure from one conceptual domain onto another, allowing us to understand and reason about

a less intersubjectively accessible domain in terms of a more intersubjectively accessible one (e.g., INFLATION AS AN ANGRY BEAST).

The cognitive power of image schemas lies in their schematicity – their ability to structure a wide variety of abstract domains without being semantically rich themselves. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014, p. 23) define them as: ‘basic, skeletal conceptual structures emerging out of the spatial and force-dynamic sense of our bodies. They are not fleshed out with propositional content, but participate in the construction and emergence of more elaborate concepts, (...)’. In this respect, the present study gives special weight to image schemas, not merely as part of metaphor theory, but as essential conceptual tools for understanding the figurative structure of economic discourse.

Complementing image schemas is the broader and more abstract framework of the Event Structure Metaphor (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014), also rooted in CMT. The Event Structure Metaphor allows speakers to understand complex changes and states in terms of physical motion and spatial configuration. It consists of several entrenched sub-mappings, including CHANGE IS MOTION, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, and CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION. These conceptualisations enable speakers to describe economic developments in terms of spatial events, such as movement (*prices moved higher*), location (*inflation is back*), or directional change (*inflation climbed to new highs*). Although the Event Structure Metaphor is not always explicitly foregrounded in analyses of economic language, it underlies many of the constructions examined in this study – especially those that involve image-schematic verbs of motion.

Another key theoretical construct is the ontological metaphor, which allows abstract entities to be reified and treated as if they were physical objects or substances. In economic discourse, this is particularly relevant for abstract nouns such as *inflation* and *price*, which are conceptualised as entities capable of acting, changing, or being acted upon. The cognitive process of reification allows grammatically inanimate subjects, such as *inflation*, to take verbs like *rise*, *erode*, *eat away*, or *plague*, which typically imply animate or agentive behaviour.

In image-schematic construals, *inflation* and *price* typically function as trajectors (TRs), e.g., the focal entities whose movement is profiled against a landmark (LM) background (Langacker, 1987). Though both are abstract, they occupy this role through reification via an ontological metaphor that allows dynamic processes or states to be conceptualised as entities (Radden & Dirven 2007, p. 82). More specifically, they may be construed either as objects or substances, thereby licensing metaphorical motion expressions. For present purposes, it is sufficient to treat *inflation* and *price* as reified entities, capable of metaphorical movement within spatial schemas such as PATH or VERTICALITY.

Yet another interpretive distinction in this study concerns the axiological profile of the indicators themselves (Krzeszowski, 1997). While inflation is conceptually and evaluatively negative both in absolute terms (its prototypical semantic load) and in actual terms (contextual interpretation) – price is more ambivalent. The evaluation of price depends heavily on context and construal: a soaring share price may be good for investors, whereas soaring fuel prices are typically framed as undesirable. This asymmetry plays a significant role in the metaphorical patterns observed, particularly in how the UP and DOWN schemas are valued and reversed depending on the entity involved.

Finally, the study is also informed by Cognitive Construction Grammar, particularly the view of constructions as form-meaning pairings (Goldberg, 2006, p. 5). This perspective is relevant not only to metaphorical verbs in subject-verb or verb-object pairings, but also to larger constructions such as the Caused Motion construction, in which an agent causes a theme to move along a path (e.g., *The central bank pushed inflation down*). These constructions are not purely grammatical but encode metaphorical content that aligns with the image-schematic and / or structural metaphors at play. While not all examples in this study rely on Caused Motion, those that do are analysed separately in a dedicated section.

In a nutshell, the theoretical framework for this study draws on several key strands of cognitive linguistics: the metaphorical structuring of abstract domains through Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the foundational role of image schemas, the explanatory value of the Event Structure Metaphor, the ontological process of reification, the trajectory-landmark distinction in figure-ground alignment, and the interpretive potential of Cognitive Construction Grammar. Together, these perspectives allow for a nuanced, semantically rich analysis of how *inflation* and *price* are metaphorically constructed in contemporary English.

3 Corpus-informed analysis of inflation and price construals

This section presents a corpus-informed analysis of how the economic indicators inflation and price are metaphorically construed in contemporary American English. Drawing on authentic examples from COCA, the analysis focuses on five key morphosyntactic patterns: *Inflation + Verb*, *Verb + Inflation*, *Price + Verb*, *Verb + Price*, and the Caused Motion construction. Within each pattern, examples are grouped and interpreted according to their underlying metaphorical motivation: either image-schema based and / or structural metaphor based.

3.1 Inflation + verb

In this section, I analyse expressions in which *inflation* functions as the grammatical subject of a verb. The verbs it collocates with reflect two main types of metaphorical motivation: (a) primarily image-schema-based, where inflation is construed as an entity in motion – a trajector (Langacker, 1987); and (b) predominantly structural-metaphor-based, where it typically functions as a damaging and often uncontrollable agent.

(a) Image-schema based motivation

These expressions are grounded by image schemas such as UP, DOWN, and PATH, which structure motion along a vertical path. Crucially, manner of motion – whether fast, slow, abrupt, or steady – adds interpretive nuance and often reflects metaphors MORE IS FAST and LESS IS SLOW. These two metaphors are experientially grounded in the observed correlation between the speed of motion and the distance traversed: greater speed typically entails a longer distance covered, whereas slower movement corresponds to reduced displacement within the same temporal span. The orientational metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN, alongside MORE IS FAST and LESS IS SLOW, motivate the use of the verbs in bold below:

- (1) *As the economy declined, inflation **rose** beyond money issuance.* (COCA ACAD 2019)
- (2) *As inflation **soared**, food prices rose, and ensuing shortages led to widespread rioting.* (COCA ACAD 2013)
- (3) *The Kenyan shilling dropped 18 percent as foreign investors fled, inflation **jumped**...* (COCA MAG 1997)
- (4) *Inflation **crept up** to 8.3% in 1937 while unemployment was at 14%.* (COCA BLOG 2012)
- (5) *Inflation **climbed** from 25 percent to 50 percent per month...* (COCA ACAD 1998)
- (6) *Inflation **skyrocketed**, with food prices rising by 30 percent.* (COCA SPOK 2018)

In examples 1 – 6, *inflation* is the trajector undergoing upward motion. The verbs differ in manner: *skyrocketed* in 6), *jumped* in 3), and *soared* in 2) encode rapid, forceful increase – reflecting MORE IS FAST and high volatility. *Climbed* in 5) implies effortful but steady movement, while *crept up* in 4) suggests gradual, subtle increase – an instance of LESS IS SLOW. *Fell* in 7) below signals downward motion, intensified by the modifier *a bit faster*, reinforcing MORE IS FAST and conveying a sharp drop in inflation levels.

- (7) *Yes, it's true that inflation **fell** a bit faster than markets expected during the 1980s.* (COCA BLOG 2012)
- (8) *The inflation **grew** at an unbelievable pace.* (COCA FIC 2006)
- (9) *By the time inflation **peaked** at 13.5% in 1980.* (COCA MAG 1992)
- (10) *...either the recovery continues and inflation **picks up** again, or the E.C.B. will have to act.* (COCA NEWS 2014)

The use of *grew* in 8) appears to be primarily motivated by a conceptual metaphor in which inflation is conceptualized as a living entity – such as a plant or organism – that can develop, expand, or increase in size over time. Accordingly, it should be classified under section (b) below. However, it also conveys an increase in magnitude and is accompanied by an adverbial phrase emphasizing rapidity, thereby exemplifying the MORE IS FAST metaphor as well. The verb *peaked* in 9) draws on the PATH schema, like all other verbs in (a), but it involves a trajectory with a bounded endpoint, which is both profiled and emphasised. It is also motivated by the UP schema. *Picks up* in 10) suggests resumed upward motion, indicating renewed acceleration. These examples consistently portray inflation as a reified entity that moves or grows, with metaphorical direction and speed mapping onto economic value and urgency.

(b) Structural metaphor based motivation

In this group, inflation is conceptualised not as a moving entity, but as an agent, force, or affliction. Each verb is primarily motivated by a structural metaphor, in which source domains such as crime, disease, violence, or uncontrolled force are mapped onto the target domain of inflation. Due to space constraints, each corpus example below is directly accompanied by a single identified conceptual metaphor underlying the verb in bold.

- (11) *Even with inflation **eating away** at the buying power of his savings...* (COCA NEWS 1996)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A DEVOURER / DESTROYER. Inflation is personified as an agent that gradually destroys value. The verb *eating away* highlights slow but relentless erosion, with metaphorical roots in consumption and decay.

- (12) *Inflation **robs** you of what you have now by destroying your savings.* (COCA NEWSWEEK 2009)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A ROBBER. This metaphor maps a criminal agent onto inflation. The verb *robs* presupposes intention, agency, and violation of ownership, emphasising inflation's perceived injustice.

- (13) *Inflation **kills** an economy, and it's a key item The Fed watches.* (COCA WEB 2012)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A KILLER. Here, inflation is framed as a lethal force. *Kills* attributes the capacity for total systemic destruction, reinforcing high affective intensity and policy urgency.

- (14) *The result there was immediate shortages of goods and a black market, where inflation **raged**.* (COCA NYT 1994)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A FORCE OF NATURE. The verb *raged* construes inflation as an uncontrollable natural phenomenon. It suggests intensity, unpredictability, and damage on a large scale.

- (15) *Even as inflation **buffeted** the American economy...* (COCA NEWS 2019)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A VIOLENT EXTERNAL FORCE. *Buffeted* evokes repeated impact or blows, mapping weather or conflict metaphors (e.g., winds, waves, attacks) onto inflation. The economy is thus the patient under assault.

- (16) *We've seen the market trading down on the fears of inflation **crushing** the world-wide economic recovery.* (COCA BLOG 2012)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE. *Crushing* conveys overwhelming power. This metaphor imagines inflation as a physical force that incapacitates growth, combining elements of violence and mass.

- (17) *Hyperinflation is when inflation **feeds on itself** and takes off beyond control.* (COCA MAG 2010)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A SELF-PERPETUATING SYSTEM. This reflexive construction casts inflation as autonomous and cyclical. The metaphor suggests runaway feedback, portraying inflation as dangerously self-sustaining.

- (18) *Inflation **inflicts** many harms, but it can be particularly brutal in eroding the value of bonds.* (COCA FORTUNE 2008)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS AN AFFLICTION. The verb *inflicts* draws from the domain of punishment or suffering. Inflation is conceptualised as a harmful agent that causes damage, especially in financial domains.

- (19) *When Reagan arrived in Washington, sky-high inflation **plagued** the economy.* (COCA NEWS 2004)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A DISEASE. *Plagued* reflects sustained suffering and systemic harm. The metaphor draws on epidemiological framing and suggests inflation as chronic and hard to eliminate.

- (20) *With inflation threatening to **overtake** negotiated wage increases of 5.5 percent.* (COCA NYT 2000)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A PURSUER. This metaphor maps a chasing entity on inflation – fast, menacing, and closing in. It implies competition, danger, and pressure on wage growth.

- (21) *As inflation **gallops** along at 3 percent a day...* (COCA BLOG 1992)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A FAST-MOVING ANIMAL. *Gallops* encodes speed and lack of control, activating the metaphor MORE IS FAST. Inflation is construed as a powerful, living force in rapid motion.

Together, these expressions portray inflation as an agentive, destructive, or volatile force. The metaphors range from human agents (robber, killer), to diseases and afflictions (plague, affliction), to uncontrollable systems (self-feeding), and to forces of nature (storm, animal). Each verb carries specific metaphorical entailments – intentionality, violence, autonomy, or threat – which influence how inflation is framed in public discourse. What unites these examples is that primarily inflation acts rather than moves. It exerts pressure, causes harm, or accelerates autonomously. This stands in contrast to image-schematic construals and reflects a foregrounding of metaphorical agency while backgrounding motion. Such structural metaphors highlight danger, justify intervention, and evoke emotional urgency in economic communication.

3.2 Verb + inflation

In this section, I analyse expressions in which *inflation* functions as the **direct object** of a verb – the **Verb + Inflation** pattern. Although inflation is an abstract phenomenon, it is metaphorically reified as an entity that can be controlled, fought, triggered, or influenced. The verbs in these constructions typically reflect metaphorical motivations grounded in **structural metaphors**, many of which imply agency, danger, or volatility. Unlike in Section 3.1, the distinction between image-schematic and structural metaphor-based motivations is downplayed here; instead, the examples are grouped according to shared conceptual metaphors. Each example is discussed individually.

A) INFLATION IS AN OPPONENT / ENEMY

This set includes verbs that construe inflation as an adversary in a fight or war. Verbs such as *fight*, *combat*, *attack*, *defeat*, *counterattack*, *battle*, *bash*, *stamp*, *knock*, and *stomp* reflect the metaphor INFLATION IS AN OPPONENT or more specifically, INFLATION IS AN ENEMY IN A WAR or BATTLE. The metaphor attributes volition, threat, and destructiveness to inflation and casts the subject (often the Fed or government) in a protective, controlling role.

- (22) *Well, what I'm saying is we want the Fed to **fight** inflation.* (CNN COCA 2018)
The verb *fight* evokes a direct, possibly prolonged conflict. Inflation is construed as an adversary that must be resisted by an institutional agent (the Fed).
- (23) *To prevent such an eventuality, the state began adopting policies designed to **combat** inflation in basic food commodities.* (ACAD COCA 2002)
Combat reinforces the framing of inflation as a hostile force. The term has military connotations and implies strategic opposition.
- (24) *The interest paid on Treasuries doesn't even **beat** inflation.* (BLOG COCA 2012)
Beat implies competition and measurable superiority. Inflation is conceptualised as a rival in a performance-based contest.
- (25) *The Fed would raise rates this year to **attack** inflation.* (NEWS COCA 2007)
Attack is strongly aggressive and violent in tone. It assigns intentionality to the subject and danger to inflation.
- (26) *...who raised interest rates to record heights in order to **defeat** inflation.* (WEB COCA 2012)
The verb *defeat* frames inflation as an opponent in a conflict scenario. It presupposes a struggle with a clear winner and loser, with the ultimate goal being the eradication or subjugation of inflation.
- (27) *A tightening policy package implemented to **counterattack** inflation.* (ACAD COCA 2003)
Counterattack implies retaliation against a prior threat, deepening the war metaphor. It frames inflation as the initiator of hostilities.
- (28) *The former Fed chairman who **battled** inflation in the 1980s.* (NYT COCA 2008)
Battled conveys long-term, difficult struggle. It implies a sustained, policy-driven effort over several years – not a single act – which aligns with historical

facts (e.g., Paul Volcker's multi-year anti-inflation campaign). The metaphor places the Fed in a heroic or combative role.

- (29) *Greenspan's determination to keep **bashing** inflation by holding rates high...* (MAG COCA 1996)

Bashing is violent, informal, and repetitive. It conveys both frustration and moral justification for punitive action.

- (30) *Well, if they stamp on the brakes to **kill** inflation, they will push us back into a recession.* (SPOK COCA 2011)

Kill presupposes that inflation is alive and destructive. The metaphor intensifies urgency and casts policy as lethal force. Interestingly, the expression *stamp on the brakes* draws on the driving metaphor, ECONOMIC POLICY IS DRIVING, where the economy is conceptualised as a vehicle and policy as the act of controlling its speed and direction.

- (31) *He believes in **stomping** inflation when the economy is strong enough to take it.* (MAG COCA 1999)

Stomping suggests overpowering with force. It implies dominance and physical suppression.

- (32) *One sure way to **knock** inflation down: a recession.* (CNN COCA 1990)

The verb *knock down* is prototypically associated with **boxing** or **hand-to-hand combat**. It invokes a physical combat scenario, specifically one of striking and toppling an opponent. While it fits within the broader metaphor INFLATION IS AN OPPONENT, one can offer a more specific metaphor that captures the embodied nature of this action, that is, INFLATION IS A BOXER / FIGHTER IN A RING.

This cluster of verbs consistently constructs inflation as a hostile agent that must be neutralised through deliberate, often violent intervention. The metaphor motivates public and policy responses framed as combat, reinforcing high stakes and the moral legitimacy of aggressive countermeasures.

B) INFLATION IS A DESTRUCTIVE FIRE

The set comprises verbs such as *ignite*, *spark*, *stoke*, *rekindle*, *reignite*, and *fan*. These verbs construe inflation as a destructive or flammable substance that can be triggered, fuelled, or reignited. The metaphor INFLATION IS A DESTRUCTIVE FIRE highlights inflation's volatility, potential for sudden spread, and need for containment.

- (33) *China worries that such rapid growth could **ignite** inflation.* (NEWS COCA 2004)

Ignite suggests the initial spark of an uncontrollable blaze. The metaphor presupposes high sensitivity to external triggers (e.g., growth), framing inflation as latent danger.

- (34) *Japanese and German products don't have enough market share to **spark** inflation.* (NEWS COCA 1995)

Spark implies a small stimulus capable of producing a larger, spreading phenomenon. The metaphor presents inflation as something flammable, needing only minimal fuel.

- (35) *And all this has happened without **stoking** inflation, which has hovered below 2%. (MAG COCA 2013)*
Stoking refers to feeding a fire. The metaphor suggests that economic actions can intensify inflation unless controlled.
- (36) *For instance, if interest rates are pushed too low, that could **rekindle** inflation. (NEWS COCA 1991)*
Rekindle presupposes that inflation construed as fire had previously died down. The metaphor implies resurgence and return of danger after apparent control.
- (37) *...he fears that rising labor costs will **reignite** inflation. (MAG COCA 1998)*
Reignite closely mirrors *rekindle* but with a slightly more abrupt connotation. The metaphor frames inflation as flaring up again from dormant embers.
- (38) *Mr. Bernanke has **fanned** inflation and contributed to the decline of the dollar. (NYT COCA 2008)*
Fanned implies making a fire grow by increasing air supply. The metaphor construes inflation as something already burning, made worse by external action.

These verbs consistently evoke the image of inflation as a flammable, destructive force – something that may lie dormant but can be reignited or exacerbated by economic policy or market behaviour. The metaphor adds connotations of urgency, volatility, and the need for fire prevention or suppression strategies.

C) INFLATION IS A WILD ANIMAL / AN ANGRY BEAST

This set encompasses verbs such as *tame*, *unleash*, and *feed*, all of which construe inflation as a wild, potentially dangerous creature – something that needs to be restrained, controlled, or feared when released. The metaphor INFLATION IS A WILD ANIMAL or AN ANGRY BEAST projects volatility, autonomy, and latent aggression onto inflation, especially in contexts of economic intervention.

- (39) *Vietnam, which had struggled to **tame** inflation and stabilize its currency, is seeing a surge in foreign investment. (NEWS COCA 2015)*
Tame implies domestication of a dangerous or unruly creature. Inflation is construed as something that resists control and must be subdued through sustained effort.
- (40) *The Fed's zero-interest-rate policy would **unleash** inflation. (MAG COCA 2015)*
Unleash presupposes that inflation has been held back (like a leashed dog or beast) and that its release could lead to destructive consequences. The metaphor captures threat, loss of control, and explosive power.
- (41) *But the Fed also warned that the spike in gas prices will **feed** inflation. (SPOK PBS 2012)*
Feed implies that inflation is alive and capable of growing stronger when nourished. The metaphor suggests indirect encouragement of inflation's power and spread.

In this set, inflation is metaphorically animate and forceful. It cannot be negotiated with or managed passively; instead, it must be restrained, tamed, or kept hungry. These construals resonate with public fears of economic instability and the difficulty of containing inflation once it escapes control.

D) INFLATION IS A VEHICLE / FORCE IN MOTION

The set includes verbs such as *outpace*, *cool*, *brake*, *derail*, and *slow*, all of which construe inflation as a moving object or system – often one that must be decelerated or stopped. The metaphor INFLATION IS A VEHICLE / FORCE IN MOTION conceptualises inflation as something with momentum, trajectory, and speed, often threatening to run out of control unless actively regulated.

- (42) *Tuition increases have **outpaced** inflation for years.* (USAToday COCA 1995)
Outpaced treats inflation as something that moves forward along a measurable path. The metaphor allows for economic comparison in terms of speed.
- (43) *Investment when times are bad and when times are good it is used to **cool** inflation.* (BLOG COCA 2012)
 More specifically, the underlying metaphor is INFLATION IS AN OVERHEATED ENGINE. The verb *cool* evokes regulation of temperature or mechanical systems. The metaphor presents inflation as something whose momentum must be reduced through policy intervention.
- (44) *Partly to **brake** inflation, by making imports cheaper, the Chinese authorities...* (WEB COCA 2012)
Brake presupposes motion and the need for deceleration. The metaphor suggests that inflation is speeding forward and must be slowed or stopped.
- (45) *If we fall into recession it will likely **derail** inflation for a while.* (BLOG COCA 2012)
Derail invokes a train leaving its tracks. The metaphor implies that inflation follows a predictable course unless disrupted, often violently.

These expressions construe inflation as a dynamic force moving along a path. The agent (often the Fed or policy tools) acts as a regulatory mechanism – applying brakes, cooling systems, or creating disruptions to stop inflation from advancing further. This metaphor foregrounds inflation's momentum, and the necessity of external intervention to interrupt or redirect its course.

E) OTHER METAPHORS

This loose cluster comprises metaphors that construe inflation in terms of disease, interpersonal relations, and uncontrollable forces. While these mappings are less frequent, they offer insight into diverse ways of conceptualising inflation's threat, spread, and manipulability.

- (46) *Reagan **cured** inflation.* (CNN COCA 1990)
 Metaphors: INFLATION IS A DISEASE and ECONOMY IS A PATIENT.
Cured presupposes an ailment. The sentence *Reagan cured inflation* frames inflation as an abnormal, harmful condition requiring expert intervention and

healing. At first glance, this expression evokes the metaphor INFLATION IS A DISEASE, with *cure* as the metaphorically extended verb. However, a closer look at the syntactic structure reveals that *cure* takes *inflation* – conceptualised as a disease – as its object, which is atypical, since we normally cure a patient, not a disease. This suggests the presence of the metonymy DISEASE FOR PATIENT, whereby the disease, as a conceptualisation of inflation, stands for the entity afflicted by it – the patient. The patient serves as the source in the ECONOMY IS A PATIENT metaphor, an instantiation of the more general mapping ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM. The metonymy DISEASE FOR PATIENT appears to provide a conceptual link between the two metaphors INFLATION IS A DISEASE and ECONOMY IS A PATIENT.

- (47) *While central banks are still **courting** inflation by pumping up cheap credit...* (MAG COCA 2012)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A ROMANTIC PARTNER. *Courting* implies intentional attraction or seduction. The metaphor ironically reverses the usual adversarial frame and highlights inflation as a target of economic policy that may later become dangerous.

- (48) *GOP Tax Cuts Could **Revive** Inflation, White House Says.* (MAG COCA 1994)

Metaphor: INFLATION IS A LATENT FORCE. *Revive* treats inflation as something dormant that can be brought back to life. The metaphor implies inflation is cyclical and responsive to political or economic stimuli.

The expressions in this cluster portray inflation as something that can be healed (*cured*), reawakened (*revived*), or even seduced (*courted*). Such metaphors expand the range of framing from violent or kinetic models to more experiential and socially grounded scenarios, engaging with bodily, interpersonal, or life-cycle domains.

In the *Verb + Inflation* pattern, inflation is consistently metaphorically reified as a patient of human or institutional action. The verbs reflect different ways of construing this entity: as an opponent, a destructive fire, a wild animal, a vehicle in motion, or a disease. These metaphorical construals frame inflation as something that must be fought, tamed, cooled, derailed, or healed. Each framing imposes its own logic of control, urgency, and policy intervention, shaping how economic actors and the public interpret the threat and management of inflation.

3.3 Price + verb

This section examines expressions in which *price* functions as the grammatical subject followed by a verb. As with *inflation* in previous sections, *price* – an abstract economic measure – is metaphorically reified as an entity in motion or a force undergoing change. The conceptual metaphors that motivate these expressions typically involve vertical motion schemas (UP / DOWN), often further specified by the manner of motion (e.g., sudden, gradual, extreme), which, at a more schematic level, also reflects metaphors such

as MORE IS FAST and LESS IS SLOW. All examples are drawn from COCA and analysed individually.

- (49) *The price **drops** to \$50 if you're a farmer.* (COCA MAG 2012)

The verb *drops* profiles the price as a trajector undergoing vertical descent, motivated by the orientational metaphor LESS IS DOWN. At the same time, the metaphor construes the decrease as relatively rapid and perceptible, thereby invoking the MORE IS FAST.

- (50) *If you're willing to be just outside city limits, the price **falls** very steeply.* (COCA WEB 2012)

Very steeply intensifies the DOWN schema. As an adverbial modifier, it adds a sense of suddenness and extremity, reinforcing the metaphor MORE IS FAST and highlighting the economic significance of the change.

- (51) *In Armenia, the gas price **rose** from \$65 to \$70 in 2005 to \$110 in 2006.* (COCA ACAD 2010)

The verb *rose* construes *gas price* as a trajector moving upward along a vertical path, mapping physical elevation onto scalar economic increase. This reflects the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP, reinforced by the PATH schema: the price moves from a source (\$65), through an intermediate point (\$70), to a goal (\$110). The motion is unmarked for manner, suggesting a steady, uninterrupted change. This pattern aligns with the Event Structure Metaphor, in which a change in numerical value is conceptualised as motion along a path, while a change of state is construed as a change of location. The upward trajectory thus represents a continuous and measurable transformation in economic terms.

- (52) *Once anyone slaps the word 'collectible' on something, the price **jumps** substantially.* (COCA WEB 2012)

Here, MORE IS UP and MORE IS FAST work in conjunction.

Jumps encodes rapid and abrupt upward motion. The metaphor implies a sudden re-evaluation of value. The adverb *substantially* adds weight to the increase, both in speed and in magnitude.

- (53) *... just before the price **plummeted**.* (COCA SPOK 2018)

In this example, as in many others, the metaphors LESS IS DOWN and MORE IS FAST operate in conjunction, suggesting a compounded metaphorical interpretation – namely, that a faster and more dramatic downward movement corresponds to a greater degree of loss, which could be expressed as MORE OF LESS IS FAST DOWN. The verb *plummet* suggests a dramatic, uncontrolled fall, and evokes both a rapid downward motion and a sharp decrease in value, mapping spatial and speed-related schemas onto the abstract domain of economic loss.

- (54) *..., bitcoin's price **plunged** by almost 10 percent.* (COCA MAG 2019)

Plunged reinforces the metaphor of vertical free fall. The verb suggests not only steep decline but also a lack of control – possibly activating the LOSS OF CONTROL IS A DOWNWARD MOTION mapping. As with the verb *plummet*, the metaphors LESS IS DOWN and MORE IS FAST interact here, jointly reinforcing the conceptualization of rapid and significant decline.

- (55) *The company's stock price **soared** this week after much better than expected earnings.* (COCA SPOK 2013)

Soared evokes fast, effortless upward motion, often associated with unexpected or impressive growth. The metaphor highlights positive valuation and strong market momentum.

Together, these expressions portray price as an abstract entity through reification, capable of metaphorical motion along a vertical axis, with verbs encoding not just direction (UP or DOWN) but also speed, force, and evaluative intensity. While *rose* and *fell* are relatively neutral in tone, verbs like *plummeted*, *soared*, and *jumped* convey strong emotional or financial salience, with their figurative power grounded in embodied experiences of movement and gravity.

3.4 Verb + price

This section examines metaphorical constructions in which *price* appears in object position, focusing on the verbs used to describe its manipulation. While image schemas may still be present in the background (e.g., verticality in *raise*), the majority of examples reflect structural metaphors involving control, manipulation, or causation. Each example is analysed individually, with attention to the verb's basic literal meaning and its metaphorical projection in the economic domain.

- (56) *Tobacco companies agreed, behind the scenes, to **raise** prices by 50 cents per pack.* (COCA BLOG 2012)

The verb *raise* typically means to lift something upwards physically. In this context, it is metaphorically applied to *prices*, projecting from the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP. The use of *raise* also implies deliberate agentive control, suggesting that price is treated as an object whose vertical movement can be manipulated. Reinforced by MORE IS UP, the underlying conceptual metaphor in this context is RAISING PRICES IS MOVING OBJECTS TO A HIGHER LEVEL. This metaphor also motivates the use of verbs such as *lift*, *elevate*, *push up*, *move up*, and *drive up*, and implies that PRICES ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE CONTROLLED.

- (57) *By reducing expenses, companies can maintain profits and even **cut** prices in a intensely competitive global economy.* (COCA MAG 2019)

The verb *cut* denotes a physical act of severing or reducing material. When applied to prices, it activates the metaphor PRICES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REDUCED OR TRIMMED. This metaphor frames prices as manipulable entities, subject to deliberate intervention. Notably, QUANTITY in this context is not necessarily conceptualized in terms of VERTICALITY. Instead, the use of *cut* is motivated by the mapping LESS IS SMALLER, or QUANTITY IS SIZE.

- (58) *It just seems unconscionable that you would **inflate** prices by such an extraordinary amount.* (COCA SPOK 2019)

The verb *inflate* derives from the physical act of expanding something with air, such as a balloon. Metaphorically, it reflects the mapping MORE IS BIGGER, supported by the ontological metaphor PRICES ARE CONTAINERS THAT CAN BE EXPANDED. Here, *price* is conceptualised as a bounded space or object capable

of inflation, often implying artificial or unjustified increase. The evaluative stance is explicitly negative, highlighting the unethical manipulation of an economic variable.

- (59) *Low supply is **boosting** prices higher and higher.* (COCA MAG 2017)

The verb *boost* originates in the physical act of lifting or propelling something upwards. Metaphorically, it suggests both agency and positive force. In this case, the metaphor MORE IS UP is again active, but *boosting* also implies intensification, drawing on the metaphor INTENSITY IS FORCE. Ontologically, price is treated as an object that can be driven upward by external factors, in this case *low supply*, suggesting a causal chain framed by PRICES ARE ENTITIES THAT RESPOND TO FORCES.

- (60) *The White House on Friday left the door open to tapping the country's oil reserve to **ease** prices.* (COCA WEB 2012)

The verb *ease* means to reduce strain, pressure, or burden. When applied to *prices*, it metaphorically frames them as burdens that can be lightened through external intervention. This reflects the metaphor HIGH PRICES ARE BURDENS, which is a specific instantiation of the broader metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS. The intervention (*tapping the oil reserve*) is construed as an attempt to relieve this economic pressure, reinforcing the conceptualisation of price as a weight or strain on consumers or the economy.

These examples demonstrate that when *price* functions as the object of the verb, it is typically construed as a manipulable entity – something that can be raised, cut, inflated, boosted, or eased through intentional action or external force. The dominant mappings – PRICES ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE CONTROLLED and PRICES ARE BURDENS THAT CAN BE RELIEVED – are made possible by the operation of ontological metaphor. While orientational metaphors (e.g., MORE IS UP) and primary metaphors (Grady, 1997) (e.g., MORE IS BIGGER) remain relevant, they are frequently embedded within larger causal or agentive frameworks. In each case, the choice of verb reveals not only the direction or manner of change, but also the underlying conceptualisation of price as an object of economic agency.

3.5 Metaphoric extensions of the Caused Motion construction

The Caused-Motion construction, as originally defined by Goldberg (2006) and cast in Hilpert's (2019, pp. 35 – 36) wording, expresses the meaning 'X causes Y to move along or toward Z'. It denotes an event in which an agent causes a theme to move along a path or toward a goal. Prototypical realisations involve physical motion verbs such as *throw*, *kick*, or *pull*, which already entail both a theme and a trajectory (Hilpert, 2019: 35):

- (61) *John threw the ball over the fence.*

- (62) *Franz kicked the ball into the goal.*

- (63) *She pulled a handkerchief out of her pocket.*

As Hilpert (2019: 35 – 36) notes, the Caused Motion construction is subject to two key constraints. First, the subject must be an agent, not an instrument (e.g., **The key allowed John into the house*). Second, the movement of the theme must be a deliberate outcome of the agent's action. Sentences such as **John chopped the carrots onto the floor* or **Bob poured milk next to his glass* are unacceptable because the resulting paths are unintended and pragmatically implausible. However, if the verb itself denotes involuntary action, as in *sneeze*, the requirement for an intentional path is relaxed. This explains the acceptability of metaphorical extensions like: *He sneezed his tooth right across town*. (Goldberg, 2006, p. 6). Here, the involuntary nature of *sneeze* aligns with an unintended yet vivid trajectory, making the construction pragmatically coherent.

In metaphorical economic usage, the subject of the Caused Motion construction rarely functions as a prototypical volitional agent. Rather, it is more accurately characterised as a cause (Bierwiazek, 2016, p. 17) – a participant that initiates change directly or indirectly. Such causes include different market phenomena, policies, trade tensions, or more specifically limited availability, supply gluts, or competitive pressures. They are metaphorically conceptualised as forces, consistent with the conceptual metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES, which underlies all examples analysed in this section. This metaphorical force (the cause) acts upon an abstract economic theme (price), initiating metaphorical motion along a path typically expressed by a preposition (e.g., *to, through, below, down*) and directed towards a goal realised as a noun phrase (e.g., *a record high, new lows, marginal cost*). These noun phrases often involve converted adjectives used as nouns, such as *a record high* or *new lows*, reflecting the reification of abstract scalar endpoints into bounded conceptual targets. The acceptability and coherence of this metaphorical extension rely on the metaphoric mapping STATES ARE LOCATIONS (BOUNDED REGIONS IN SPACE), which enables abstract economic conditions (such as high or low prices) to be treated as fixed destinations in a conceptual landscape. The structure of the Caused Motion construction is thus preserved while being metaphorically extended into the domain of economic change.

- (64) ..., *limited availability of arabica coffee sent prices to a record high in April* (COCA NEWS 2012)

Argument structure: CAUSE (*limited availability of arabica coffee*) – THEME (*prices*) – PATH (*to*) – GOAL (*a record high*). This example instantiates the metaphorical extension of the Caused Motion construction, with a non-volitional economic phenomenon (*limited availability of arabica coffee*) acting as the CAUSE. The verb *sent* encodes the causation of metaphorical motion. The THEME (*prices*) is set in motion along a PATH (*to*) towards a GOAL (*a record high*), which functions as a reified scalar endpoint in conceptual space. The metaphors CAUSES ARE FORCES and STATES ARE LOCATIONS are central here,

supported by the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP. The GOAL phrase, *a record high*, features a converted adjective (*high* used nominally), reflecting the reification of a scalar endpoint into a bounded conceptual target.

- (65) *..., which has sent prices through the roof* (COCA)

Argument structure: CAUSE (unspecified antecedent) – THEME (*prices*) – PATH (*through the roof*) – GOAL (implicit, an extreme high). In this idiomatic expression, *through the roof* functions as an intensified metaphorical PATH, structured by the image schemas of CONTAINMENT and VERTICALITY. The PATH evokes violent upward motion breaching an upper boundary, but the construction lacks an explicit GOAL expressed by a distinct noun phrase. Instead, the GOAL is implicitly understood as an extreme or uncontrolled high point on the price scale – a scalar endpoint that is pragmatically inferred rather than syntactically realised. The metaphors involved are CAUSES ARE FORCES, MORE IS UP, and STATES ARE LOCATIONS. The image-schematic structure centres on a forceful upward trajectory that breaks the container boundary (the roof), signalling not only vertical movement but the surpassing of a conceptual limit. While no noun phrase functions overtly as a GOAL, the sentence still implies a destination beyond the upper limit, highlighting how some figurative Caused Motion constructions vividly encode PATH while leaving the GOAL inferential and pragmatically recoverable.

- (66) *The Treasury sold a large amount of gold earlier than expected, which sent prices plummeting* (COCA NEWS)

Argument structure: CAUSE (gold sale) – THEME (*prices*) – PATH (*plummeting*) – GOAL (implied lower state). Here, the verb *sent* again expresses caused motion. The PATH is encoded in the verb *plummeting*, which evokes the image-schema metaphor LESS IS DOWN, in conjunction with MORE IS FAST. The GOAL is not overtly expressed but implied as a low or otherwise undesirable price state. The Treasury's sale of gold functions as the abstract CAUSE. The relevant metaphors include CAUSES ARE FORCES and STATES ARE LOCATIONS. Since STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGE IS MOTION (with motion understood as change of location, as expressed by *plummeting*), we arrive at the metaphor CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION, which here frames price as moving between identifiable states in economic space.

- (67) *We need more free market pressure to bring prices down* (COCA)

Argument structure: CAUSE (market pressure) – THEME (*prices*) – PATH (*down*) – GOAL (lower state). This example uses *bring* to realise the Caused Motion construction, encoding deliberate causal movement. The CAUSE (market pressure) is metaphorically a force acting on the THEME (*prices*), and the PATH is realised by *down*. The GOAL is a conceptual low-price state, once again being motivated by STATES ARE LOCATIONS and LESS IS DOWN. The motion is metaphorical and follows the constructional template 'X causes Y to move towards Z'. CAUSES ARE FORCES is the primary conceptual metaphor framing market pressure as an agentive force.

- (68) *The problem is that competition drives prices to marginal cost* (COCA ACAD)

Argument structure: CAUSE (*competition*) – THEME (*prices*) – PATH (*to*) – GOAL (*marginal cost*). Here, *drives* implies both direction and exertion of force. The PATH (*to*) guides the THEME (*prices*) toward the GOAL (*marginal cost*), a bounded economic endpoint. *Competition* is metaphorically construed as

a CAUSE exerting pressure. The metaphors CAUSES ARE FORCES and STATES ARE LOCATIONS apply, with the GOAL (*marginal cost*) functioning as a precise state in conceptual space.

- (69) *That price area may act as a magnet to drag prices slightly lower from here.* (COCA BLOG)

Argument structure: CAUSE (*that price area*) – THEME (*prices*) – SOURCE (*here*) – PATH (*from*) – GOAL (*slightly lower*). The verb *drag* encodes slow, resistant downward motion, typically involving effort and carrying negative connotations. The CAUSE (*that price area*) is metaphorically conceptualised as a gravitational force (*magnet*), activating the metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES. Crucially, *drag* activates the downward direction due to its inherent negativity, in accordance with BAD IS DOWN, and simultaneously triggers LESS IS DOWN through its scalar endpoint (*slightly lower*). The expression *drag prices up* would be metaphorically incoherent, as it violates the verb's negative axiological profile. In absolute terms, this reflects the broader conceptual opposition GOOD IS UP vs BAD IS DOWN, reinforcing the evaluative framing of the price movement. In addition to its directionality and negativity, *drag* also encodes slowness of motion, which further contributes to the construal of undesirable price change. This slow, reluctant movement reflects the metaphor LESS IS SLOW, the inverse of MORE IS FAST, adding a temporal dimension to the scalar reduction.

The construction profiles a Caused Motion event in which the THEME (*prices*) moves from a SOURCE (*here*), with the PATH formally realised by the preposition *from*, toward an explicitly stated GOAL (*slightly lower*). Although a *to*-phrase is absent, *slightly lower* functions unambiguously as a scalar endpoint, metaphorically construed as a location. This spatial construal is licensed by the metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION, which enable economic values to be understood as entities occupying and transitioning between distinct metaphorical states. Overall, the construction integrates force dynamics, scalar motion, tempo, and evaluation, with *drag* serving as the central lexical trigger for both orientational metaphors and the image-schematic structure.

- (70) *An anticipated glut of DRAM memory chips this year had pushed prices to new lows* (COCA MAG)

Argument structure: CAUSE (*an anticipated glut of DRAM memory chips*) – THEME (*prices*) – PATH (*to*) – GOAL (*new lows*). This example clearly instantiates the Caused Motion construction with the verb *pushed*. The CAUSE (*an anticipated glut of DRAM memory chips*) is an economic condition metaphorically framed as a causal force. The THEME (*prices*) moves along a PATH (*to*) toward the GOAL (*new lows*), a scalar endpoint reified as a bounded location. The image schemas PATH and VERTICALITY are active, while the metaphoric mappings include CAUSES ARE FORCES, LESS IS DOWN, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, and CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION. The noun phrase *new lows* involves a converted adjective functioning nominally, exemplifying the reification of scalar states as discrete objects.

The examples analysed in this section demonstrate how the Caused Motion construction is systematically and productively extended into the metaphorical domain of economic discourse. Although the construction originates from prototypical physical actions involving volitional agents and concrete trajectories, its metaphorical applications rely on abstract economic phenomena acting as causal forces. These metaphorical causes – such as competition, market pressure, or limited availability – lack intentionality but retain the ability to initiate change, which aligns with the broader metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES. The affected participant is consistently *price* or *prices*, reified and construed as a theme moving along a conceptual path toward a scalar goal.

The image-schematic structure of the construction is preserved across all examples, with PATH, VERTICALITY, and occasionally CONTAINMENT serving as the underlying schema. Directional prepositions (e.g., *to*, *through*, *from*) and motion verbs (e.g., *send*, *bring*, *push*, *drive*, *drag*) encode metaphorical trajectories within economic space. The resulting goal states, such as *a record high* or *new lows*, are conceptually understood through the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS. These abstract endpoints are often realised syntactically through converted adjectives functioning as reified nouns, underscoring the ontological metaphor that allows scalar qualities to be treated as bounded locations.

Crucially, orientational metaphors such as MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN anchor the directional dimension of the construction. In some cases, as with *drag*, additional metaphoric mappings emerge – such as BAD IS DOWN and LESS IS SLOW – which enrich the construal of economic movement with evaluative and temporal dimensions. While most examples overtly specify a goal phrase, others (e.g., *through the roof* or *plummeting*) rely on intensified PATH expressions that imply the goal inferentially. These examples demonstrate the flexibility of the construction, allowing the GOAL to be syntactically present or pragmatically recoverable. Overall, the metaphorical extension of the Caused Motion construction in economic contexts is both structurally consistent and conceptually motivated. It enables abstract, scalar economic change to be expressed in concrete, spatial terms, integrating concepts of force, motion, direction, speed, and evaluation. This reflects not only the cognitive power of metaphor but also the robustness of constructional meaning across domains.

4 Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that the figurative language used to describe the economic indicators *inflation* and *price* is conceptually systematic,

semantically motivated, and structurally grounded in both metaphor and grammatical patterning. Drawing on authentic examples from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), the analysis has shown that these abstract economic phenomena are regularly construed through spatial, force-dynamic, and agentive schemas, which enable speakers to reason about complex processes in concrete and experientially accessible terms.

The five morphosyntactic patterns examined – *Inflation + Verb*, *Verb + Inflation*, *Price + Verb*, *Verb + Price*, and the Caused Motion construction – reveal that specific verbs encode metaphorical agency, causation, directionality, manner, intensity, and evaluation. These metaphorical mappings are underpinned by both image schemas (e.g., UP / DOWN, PATH, CONTAINMENT, FORCE) and/or structural metaphors (e.g., INFLATION IS A DESTROYER, PRICE IS A BURDEN, INFLATION IS AN OPPONENT, etc.). The consistent presence of these mappings confirms that metaphor in economic discourse is not ornamental but conceptually foundational.

Orientational metaphors such as MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN are central to the figurative construal of inflation and price, often interacting with MORE IS FAST, LESS IS SLOW, or BAD IS DOWN, depending on the verb's manner of motion and evaluative load. These metaphors do not occur in isolation but form part of broader conceptual systems in which abstract entities are metaphorically reified as moving objects, substances, agents, or forces. The notion of reification, grounded in ontological metaphor, plays a crucial role in licensing these constructions, allowing inflation and price to behave grammatically and conceptually like physical participants.

Particularly in the Caused Motion construction, metaphorical extensions are highly productive. Economic causes and conditions (e.g., supply shortages, competition, policy changes) are metaphorically construed as forces that move prices along a conceptual path toward a scalar goal (e.g., *new lows*, *a record high*). These goals are often expressed as converted adjectives functioning as nouns, reflecting the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS and the cognitive process of understanding scalar endpoints as bounded regions in economic space.

In sum, this study has provided a cognitively grounded and constructionally precise account of the figurative structure of economic language. It demonstrates that metaphor and constructions interact dynamically. Both metaphor and constructions – such as the Caused Motion construction – motivate the choice of verbs and the conceptual framing of economic change. The findings underscore the central claim of Conceptual Metaphor Theory: that metaphor is not a matter of linguistic decoration, but of fundamental conceptual organisation.

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„USTA PIĘKNIE HARMONIZUJĄ Z NOSEM”. PRZYKŁADY UŻYCIA METONIMII W JĘZYKU WINIARSKIM

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“The mouth harmonises beautifully with the nose”. Examples of metonymy in the wine language

Abstract

Describing wine’s aromas and flavours is a significant linguistic challenge. To verbalise sensory impressions, wine experts often embrace linguistic tools such as metaphors and metonymies. This paper focuses on the use of metonymy in Polish wine language on the example of three terms: *nos* (*nose*), *usta* (*mouth*), and *owoc* (*fruit*). The study highlights the polysemy of these terms and demonstrates that one metonymy can have multiple referents. In the cognitive linguistics, which presents a theoretical framework for this research, metonymy is understood as a mental process and a fundamental part of everyday communication. The analysis of metonymic expressions aims to present examples of metonymies in the wine-tasting domain. The linguistic material analysed was excerpted from the Polish wine magazine *Czas Wina*.

Keywords: metonymy, wine language, wine-tasting domain, sensory impressions, *Czas Wina*.

Wstęp

W XXI wieku nastąpił rozwój produkcji wina w Polsce. Tak naprawdę można mówić o jej odrodzeniu, gdyż historia polskiego winiarstwa sięga po-

czątków polskiej państwowości¹. Coraz większą popularnością cieszą się kursy wiedzy o winie, degustacje, targi, festiwale takie jak Międzynarodowe Dni Wina w Jaśle czy Warszawski Festiwal Polskiego Wina. Winobranie w Zielonej Górze, odbywające się corocznie od XIX wieku, już dawno przestało być „tylko cepeliowskim jarmarkiem” (Gogoliński, 2017a, s. 16), jak miało to miejsce w czasach PRL, rozrastając się do największego polskiego święta wina.

Wśród przyczyn wzrostu zainteresowania kulturą winiarską w Polsce można wskazać zmiany klimatyczne, przemiany społeczno-kulturowe związane ze wstąpieniem Polski do Unii Europejskiej, w tym większą mobilność ludzi i wynikającą z niej otwartość na nowe doświadczenia, zafascynowanie innymi kulturami kulinarnymi i odmiennym stylem życia (Pink, 2015, s. 38). Należy zaznaczyć, że Polacy konsumują głównie wina zagraniczne, choć od niedawna rośnie również zainteresowanie winami rodzimej produkcji. Są to zazwyczaj trunki wysokiej jakości, nietanie², serwowane w ekskluzywnych restauracjach, zdobywające uznanie polskich i zagranicznych enofilów. Wraz ze wzrostem popularności wina w Polsce rozwinął się język winiarski, służący do opisywania właściwości organoleptycznych napoju.

Werbalizacja smaków i zapachów wina stanowi prawdziwe wyzwanie dla naszej mentalności „wizualno-akustycznej” (Cavalieri, 2009), nieprzystające do szczegółowego opisywania odczuć smakowych i olfaktorycznych. Problem z werbalizowaniem smaków, a zwłaszcza zapachów, pozwala nam przypuszczać, że stoimy przed obszarem wymykającym się, przynajmniej częściowo, możliwości językowej ekspresji. Ponadto, degustacja, czyli ‘próbowanie małych porcji potraw lub napojów w celu określenia ich jakości i smaku’ (WSJP), jest doświadczeniem niezwykle subiektywnym, co dodatkowo utrudnia ujęcie odczuwanych wrażeń w językowe ramy. Należy zaznaczyć, że ze względu na tematykę niniejszego artykułu, używając terminu *degustacja* lub jego derywatu przymiotnikowego *degustacyjny*, będziemy odnosić się tylko do degustacji wina.

Z subiektywnością degustacji łączy się wieloznaczność pojęciowa używanych słów: na przykład, to co jedna osoba uznaje za *przyjemnie kwasowe*, druga uważa za *zbyt cierpkie*. Temat wieloznaczności w dyskursie degustacyjnym podejmuje Lehrer, która prowadzi badania nad językiem wina od lat 70. Eksperymenty przeprowadzone przez Lehrer (1975, 2009 [1983]) pokazują, że ludzie często używają tego samego określenia w odniesieniu do innego desygnatu, czyli w przypadku degustacji wina, innej jego cechy:

My study of wine words has shown that people do not apply words to things in the same way (Lehrer, 1975, s. 922).

¹ Więcej na temat historii polskiego winiarstwa zob. Wawro (2015 [2011]) oraz Pink (2015).

² W większości sklepów winiarskich cena butelki polskiego wina wynosi minimum 75 zł.

Ze względu na powyższe trudności, opisując smaki i zapachy wina, chętnie korzystamy z narzędzi takich jak metafora czy metonimia, które ułatwiają wyrażenie tego, co może wydawać się niewyraźne. Niniejszy artykuł poświęcony jest zjawisku metonimii w języku winiarskim na przykładzie użycia trzech terminów: *nos*, *usta* i *owoc*. Wybór tych terminów wynika z ich częstego występowania w języku degustacyjnym. Podejmujemy temat wieloznaczności pojęciowej tych terminów, wykazując, że metonimia w ich wypadku może mieć więcej niż jedno znaczenie. Naszym celem jest przedstawienie przykładów użycia metonimii w degustacyjnych opisach win.

Artykuł składa się z czterech rozdziałów. Pierwszy rozdział porusza zagadnienie języka winiarskiego. Drugi rozdział poświęcony jest metonimii w ujęciu retorycznym oraz kognitywnym. W trzecim rozdziale zostaje przeprowadzona analiza przykładów wyekscerpowanych z trzech numerów czasopisma „Czas Wina”. Czwarty rozdział stanowi podsumowanie wyników analizy.

1 O języku winiarskim

Język winiarski jest pojęciem niezwykle szerokim, niełatwym do ujęcia w definicyjne ramy, na które składa się wiele kontekstów komunikacyjnych, różniących się pod względem treści, formy i profilu odbiorcy. Nie zagłębiając się w złożone kwestie terminologiczne, na potrzeby tego artykułu definiujemy język winiarski (ang. *wine talk* lub *winespeak*) jako „the specific jargon used by wine experts to discuss wine” (Cabellero, Suárez-Toste, 2010, s. 265).

Temat heterogeniczności języka winiarskiego podejmuje Gilardoni (2007, s. 34). Włoska badaczka wyróżnia trzy główne kategorie komunikacji w branży winiarskiej:

1. Komunikację ekspercką, realizującą się w takich gatunkach tekstu, jak akty prawne regulujące zasady produkcji wina, czasopisma naukowe z zakresu enologii;
2. Komunikację popularyzatorską, obecną w czasopismach branżowych i przewodnikach winiarskich;
3. Komunikację promocyjną, skupiającą się na opisach win wytwarzanych w danej winnicy lub sprzedawanych w danej winotece.

Należy również wprowadzić rozróżnienie między naukowym językiem enologicznym, który jest językiem specjalistycznym *sensu stricto* w rozumieniu Berruto (2016 [1990], s. 178), a językiem degustacyjnym, odznaczającym się znacznie mniejszym stopniem sformalizowania. Gilardoni (2007, s. 32) podkreśla, że w języku degustacyjnym występują zjawiska typowe dla języka ogólnego, takie jak resemantyzacja, polisemia i synonimia. Warto także pamiętać, że sam język degustacji nie jest monolitem, gdyż składa się na niego wiele gatunków tekstu: podręczniki dla sommelierów, noty degustacyjne, recenzje winiarskie, etykiety i kontretykiety win itp.

Polski język degustacyjny jest zjawiskiem stosunkowo nowym. Powszechnie występują tu zapożyczenia strukturalne, czyli tzw. kalki (Grochowski, 1982), głównie z języka angielskiego i francuskiego (Zawisławska, Falkowska, 2017). Są to takie wyrażenia jak np. *ciało wina* (ang. *wine body*, franc. *corps du vin*), *nos wina* (ang. *nose of wine*, franc. *nez du vin*), *delikatne dotknięcie dębu* (ang. *a delicate touch of oak*). Polscy znawcy wina nie mają łatwego zadania, gdyż – jak sygnalizuje Zawisławska (2015, s. 80) – polski język ogólny oferuje dość skromny zestaw wyrażen opisujących smak wina. Podstawowe określenia właściwości smakowych wina to *wytrawne*, *półwytrawne*, *półsłodkie*, *słodkie*, *ciężkie*, *lekkie* (Zawisławska, 2015, s. 80). Należy mieć również na uwadze fakt, że werbalizowanie smaków, a zwłaszcza zapachów, samo w sobie stanowi duże wyzwanie, o czym wspomnieliśmy we wstępie. Opisując smaki potraw, użytkownicy języka dysponują określeniami tzw. smaków podstawowych (*słodki*, *słony*, *kwaśny* i *gorzki*) oraz przymiotnikami zapożyczonymi z innych domen percepcji zmysłowej (np. *ostry*, *świeży*). Charakteryzowanie smaków za pomocą terminów odnoszących się do innych zmysłów, zwłaszcza dotyku, świadczy o tym, że smakowanie potraw i napojów jest doświadczeniem polisensorycznym. Innym sposobem nazywania smaków jest, jak podaje Zawisławska (2015, s. 81), derywacja od rzeczowników (np. *owocowy*, *czekoladowy*) lub wykorzystanie konstrukcji z rzeczownikiem w dopełniaczu w funkcji przydawki (np. *smak truskawek*, *imbiru*, *pieprzu*).

Jak widać, koneserzy wina nie mają do dyspozycji zbyt rozbudowanej leksyki, która pozwoliłaby im mówić o smaku trunku. Nie zaskakuje zatem, że aby oddać wrażenia wzrokowe, zapachowe i smakowe, są oni zmuszeni sięgnąć po metaforę

– pisze Zawisławska (2015, s. 81).

Metaforyka języka winiarskiego jest przedmiotem wielu publikacji, zwłaszcza w języku angielskim (np. Cabellero, 2009; Caballero, Suárez-Toste, 2010; Suárez-Toste, 2007; Demaecker 2017). Dla języka polskiego należy wspomnieć cytowany już kilkakrotnie artykuł Zawisławskiej (2015) oraz Zawisławskiej i Falkowskiej (2017). W przytoczonych pracach badacze i badaczki, korzystając z narzędzi językoznawstwa kognitywnego, wyróżnili wiele metafor pojęciowych, takich jak np. WINO TO OSOBA, WINO TO TKANINA, WINO TO OBIEKT TRÓJWYMIAROWY, SMAK WINA TO MUZYKA. Badania nad metonimią w języku winiarskim należą natomiast do rzadkości. Kwapiszewska (2020) podjęła to zagadnienie w ujęciu porównawczym, analizując przykłady metonimii we włoskich i polskich kontretykietach win. Negro Alousque (2015) i Hsu (2023) dokonały analizy metafor i metonimii wizualnych odpowiednio w hiszpańskich reklamach wina oraz w japońskiej serii komiksów *Drops of God*. W polskim językoznawstwie badania nad metonimią prowadzone były już w innych kontekstach komunikacyjnych, takich jak rozrywkowe programy telewizyjne (Bogusz, 2018), tygodniki społeczno-

-polityczne (Maćkiewicz, 2020; Kujawiak, 2019), język migowy (Linde-Usiekiewicz, Mostowski, 2022), język używany przez osoby w spektrum autyzmu (Boksa, Kominek, 2023).

2 O metonimii

Źródło pojęcia metonimii, jak podaje Bierwiaczonek (2006, s. 227), należy upatrywać w teorii metafory Arystotelesa, „która stała się podstawą włączenia metonimii do obszaru badań klasycznej retoryki” (Bierwiaczonek, 2006, s. 228). W ujęciu retorycznym metonimia, zwana także zamiennią, definiowana jest jako

podstawienie leksykalne polegające na użyciu zamiast nazwy właściwej innej nazwy skojarzonej, ale zawsze na zasadzie obiektywnego związku między pojęciami, a nie tylko dowolnie odczutej, często odległej, jak przy metaforze, podobieństwa (Sierotwiński, 1986, s. 142–143).

Przykłady metonimii to, jak podaje Sierotwiński (1986), użycie nazwy miejsca zamiast zdarzenia (*Grunwald* zamiast BITWA POD GRUNWALDEM) czy nazwiska twórcy zamiast jego dzieła (czytać *Mickiewicza* zamiast DZIEŁA MICKIEWICZA).

Wraz z wyodrębnieniem się językoznawstwa jako samodzielnej dyscypliny naukowej, metonimia stała się przedmiotem badań lingwistów. Językoznawstwo strukturalistyczne (Jakobson, Halle, 1964 [1956]) traktuje metaforę i metonimię odpowiednio jako związki „w dziedzinie podobieństwa”, czyli paradygmatu i „w dziedzinie przyległości”, czyli syntagmy. Warto przytoczyć strukturalistyczną definicję metafory i metonimii autorstwa Karolaka (EJO, s. 364): „W wypadku metonimii dokonuje się przesunięcie na osi syntagmatycznej, w wypadku metafory – na osi paradygmatycznej”. Karolak (EJO, s. 364) twierdzi, że metonimia zachodzi

[...] w wyniku niewypełnienia pozycji syntaktycznej przez jakieś wyrażenie semantycznie zgodne (kompatybilne) z wyrażeniem pozycję tę otwierającym i przesunięcia do niej innego wyrażenia, które z wyrażeniem brakującym wchodziłoby w tym samym ciągu w relację syntaktyczną (zajmowałoby przy nim pozycję).

Sprowadzenie metonimii do kryteriów syntaktycznych budzi wątpliwości niektórych badaczy. Bierwiaczonek (2006) i Czelakowska (2024) zwracają uwagę m.in. na fakt, że syntagmatyczne podejście do metonimii nie znajduje pełnego zastosowania w przypadku wyrażen werbalnych oraz całych zdań.

Współczesna teoria metonimii, pisze Bierwiaczonek (2006, s. 230), początkami sięga publikacji Nunberga (1978), Lakoffa i Johnsona (1988 [1980]) i Norricka (1981). Pierwszym, który podniósł kwestię referencjalności metonimii, był Nunberg (1978); zwrócił on również uwagę na jej funkcję pragmatyczną. Lakoff i Johnson (1988 [1980]) podkreślają, że metonimia

oprócz desygnacji służy efektywniejszemu komunikowaniu się. Używając jakiegoś pojęcia „tak, aby zastąpiło inne” (Lakoff, Johnson, 1988 [1980], s. 59), skupiamy uwagę na tym aspekcie zastępowanego pojęcia, które uznajemy w danej sytuacji komunikacyjnej za najważniejsze. Dla przykładu, użyjemy wyrażenia *dobre głowy* w odniesieniu do grupy osób, gdy koncentrujemy się na ich zdolnościach intelektualnych (Bierwiaczonek, 2006, s. 230).

Norrick (1981) wyróżnił sześć głównych kategorii metonimii. Są to:

1. PRZYCZYNA – SKUTEK;
2. CZYNNOŚCI – GŁÓWNI UCZESTNICY;
3. CZĘŚĆ – CAŁOŚĆ;
4. POJEMNIK – ZAWARTOŚĆ;
5. DOŚWIADCZENIE – KONWENCJA;
6. WŁAŚCICIEL – WŁASNOŚĆ.

W ramach powyższej typologii Norrick (1981) proponuje bardziej szczegółowy podział; łącznie wyróżnił on osiemnaście relacji metonimicznych. Kilka lat później klasyfikacja Norricka (1981) została rozszerzona o kolejne trzydzieści jeden rodzajów metonimii przez Kövecsesa i Raddena (1998).

Współczesna teoria metonimii ewoluowała wraz z rozwojem kognitywnych badań nad językiem. W drugiej połowie lat 80. Lakoff (2011 [1987]) sformułował teorię Idealizowanych Modeli Poznawczych (ang. *Idealized Cognitive Models* – ICM). Pojawienie się nowego modelu teoretycznego w paradygmacie kognitywnym sprawiło, że – jak podaje Bierwiaczonek (2006, s. 231) – zaistniała potrzeba opracowania nowej koncepcji metonimii, którego podjęli się wymienieni wcześniej Kövecses i Radden (1998). Definiują oni metonimię jako

[...] proces poznawczy, w którym jeden element pojęciowy, nośnik, umożliwia mentalny dostęp do innego elementu pojęciowego, elementu docelowego, w obrębie tej samej domeny lub Idealizowanego Modelu Poznawczego³.

Kövecses i Radden (1998) wyróżniają trzy główne rodzaje metonimii:

1. CAŁY ICM ZA JEGO CZĘŚĆ, np. *Ameryka* za STANY ZJEDNOCZONE AMERYKI;
2. CZĘŚĆ ICM ZA CAŁY ICM, np. *scena* za TEATR;
3. CZĘŚĆ ICM ZA INNĄ CZĘŚĆ TEGO SAMEGO ICM, np. „wyrażenie *ford* desygnujące produkt procesu produkcyjnego, dokonującego się w zakładach należących do człowieka o nazwisku Ford” (Bierwiaczonek, 2006, s. 233).

Kövecses i Radden (1998), nawiązując do typologii Norricka (1981), proponują również znacznie bardziej szczegółową klasyfikację metonimii (liczącą łącznie 49 relacji metonimicznych), która jednak nie jest przedmiotem naszych rozważań.

³ Tłum. Bierwiaczonek 2006, s. 232.

Kluczowym aspektem w postrzeganiu metonimii w kategoriach językoznawstwa kognitywnego jest to, że uważa się ją za jedną z podstawowych cech poznania (Lakoff, 2011 [1987], s. 75). Według Lakoffa i Johnsona (1988 [1980], s. 60) metonimia, podobnie jak metafora, jest nie tylko kwestią języka, lecz stanowi „część naszego zwyczajnego, codziennego myślenia, działania i mówienia”. Jak pisze Maćkiewicz (2020, s. 34), funkcjonowanie metonimii i metafory związane jest „z istnieniem w umysłach ludzkich struktur czy modeli pojęciowych, stanowiących zsubiektywizowaną i uproszczoną interpretację świata”. Modele pojęciowe są pewną, mniej czy bardziej uporządkowaną wewnętrznie, porcją wiedzy o świecie, odnoszącą się do jakiegoś wydzielonego przez człowieka fragmentu rzeczywistości (Maćkiewicz, 2020, s. 34). Zarówno w przypadku metafory, jak i metonimii – kontynuuje Maćkiewicz (2020, s. 34) – istotny jest proces podświetlania (ang. *highlighting*), który polega na uwypukleniu niektórych aspektów modeli pojęciowych, a pominięciu innych.

Pomimo licznych podobieństw, metafora i metonimia stanowią dwa oddzielne pojęcia, choć – jak zauważa Bierwiaczonek (2006, s. 242) – wiele badań wskazuje na problematyczność tego podziału (Lakoff, Kövecses, 1987; Goossens, 1990; Barcelona, 2000; Radden, 2000). Zasadniczą różnicą między metaforą a metonimią jest to, że metafora stanowi odwzorowanie międzydomenowe, łączące elementy różnych ICM-ów, natomiast metonimia ogranicza się do jednego ICM (Bierwiaczonek, 2006, s. 232). Ponadto metonimia, w przeciwieństwie do metafory, ma naturę referencyjną, gdyż dotyczy takiego użycia języka, które precyzyjnie wskazuje na obiekty, jakie mamy na myśli (Evans, 2009, s. 74). Co więcej,

metafora opiera się na rzutowaniu pomiędzy domenami systemu pojęciowego, natomiast metonimia wiąże się z rzutowaniem w obrębie pojedynczej domeny lub matrycy domen (Evans, 2009, s. 74).

I tak na przykład w języku degustacyjnym termin *łyż*, oznaczający „eksrakt wodny, który spływa po ściankach kieliszka na skutek wyparowania alkoholu i tym samym utraty przyczepności” (Falcó, 2002, s. 195) jest metaforą, natomiast termin *dqb* na określenie dębowej beczki jest metonimią.

3 Metonimia w języku winiarskim

W tej części artykułu przyjrzymy się zjawisku metonimii w języku winiarskim. Przykłady, które będziemy omawiać, pochodzą z polskiego magazynu winiarskiego „Czas Wina”. Jest to dwumiesięcznik wydawany od 2001 roku, znany wcześniej pod nazwą „Kurier Winiarski”. Magazyn adresowany jest do enofilów: zarówno koneserów, jak i osób dopiero zapoznających się z kulturą wina. Pod uwagę wzięliśmy trzy numery z roku 2017. W oznaczaniu przykładów będziemy stosować następujące skróty:

CW 3 = „Czas Wina”, nr 3, czerwiec–lipiec 2017;

CW 4 = „Czas Wina”, nr 4, sierpień–wrzesień 2017;

CW 5 = „Czas Wina”, nr 5, październik–listopad 2017.

Zgodnie z założeniami Kövecsesa i Raddena (1998, zob. 2), analizowane wyrażenia metonimiczne traktujemy jako nośniki umożliwiające mentalny dostęp do elementu docelowego, w obrębie tej samej domeny pojęciowej, czyli w przypadku naszych rozważań domeny degustacyjnej.

3.1 Termin *nos*

Analizę rozpoczniemy od terminu *nos*, bardzo chętnie używanego przez sommelierów i dziennikarzy winiarskich. W podstawowym znaczeniu *nos* to ‘wystająca część ciała u człowieka i niektórych zwierząt, z dwoma otworami służącymi do oddychania i wąchania, usytuowana nad ustami’ (WSJP).

Zmysł powonienia odgrywa kluczową rolę podczas degustacji wina:

Gdy smakujemy wino, tak naprawdę je wąchamy. Język jest w stanie rozróżnić tylko cztery⁴ podstawowe smaki – słodki, kwaśny, gorzki i słony – a nos wyczuwa ponad 10 000 zapachów! Nos wygrywa w tej konkurencji, ponieważ wina zawierają około 200 znanych składników zapachowych! (Kitowski, Klemm, 2014, s. 115)

W domenie degustacyjnej leksem *nos* może być używany w trzech znaczeniach:

1) poprzedzony przyimkiem *w* oznacza narząd powonienia, np.:

(1) W nosie wyczuwalne obowiązkowe dla cabernet sauvignon aromaty czarnych porzeczek oraz malin ładnie połączone z subtelnymi nutami korzennymi i dębowymi (CW 4).

2) w związku składniowym *przymiotnik + nos* jest równoznaczny z zapachem wina, np.:

(2) Intensywnie owocowy nos roztaczający aromaty czarnych owoców przemieszanych z nutami czarnego pieprzu i eukaliptusa (CW 5).

3) *sam* lub poprzedzony przymiotnikiem oznacza osobę posiadającą wybitne zdolności wyczuwania i rozpoznawania zapachów:

(3) A za stołem zasiadł kwiat jedenastu wyłącznie francuskich (sic!) nosów i podniebień [...] (CW 5).

O dwóch pierwszych znaczeniach leksemu *nos* wspominają Rolla i Corveddu (2014, s. 129). Nie wyróżniają oni natomiast trzeciego znaczenia tego słowa.

Poniższe dwa fragmenty ilustrują pierwsze znaczenie terminu *nos*.

(4) W nosie eksplozja aromatów przywodzących na myśl świeże, dojrzałe w południowym słońcu, czerwone owoce (CW 3).

⁴ Ostatnio mówi się także o piątym smaku – umami.

- (5) W nosie uderzają wyraźne nuty balsamiczne i mineralne, dojrzałych czerwonych owoców oraz czarnych oliwek (CW 3).

W tych przykładach wyrażenie w *nosie* stanowi również przykład metafory przestrzennej. Nos konceptualizowany jest jako zamknięte miejsce, w którym rozgrywają się różne zdarzenia (*eksplozja aromatów, uderzenie nut zapachowych*).

Przyjrzyjmy się przykładom od (6) do (10), w których termin *nos* występuje w drugim znaczeniu.

- (6) W efekcie tych zabiegów mamy do czynienia bardziej z winem statecznym i poważnym niż zwiewnym i niezobowiązującym. W moim odczuciu – zdecydowanie gastronomicznym, gdyż jego cechy takie jak czystość, równowaga i elegancja oraz dość neutralny nos i blada, łososiowa barwa czynią je z lekka niewidzialnym (CW 4).

W terminologii winiarskiej przymiotnik *neutralny* oznacza wino „przyjemne, ale bez charakteru”⁵. W przykładzie (6) autorka opisu sugeruje, iż recenzowane wino jest trunkiem o niezbyt charakterystycznych, niewyróżniających się nutach zapachowych.

Zwróćmy teraz uwagę na opis wina o całkowicie odmiennych cechach organoleptycznych.

- (7) Potrzebujący dużo czasu na osiągnięcie pełnej dojrzałości bordoski petit verdot doskonale odnajduje się w specyficznym klimacie La Manchy. W tym konkretnym przypadku uwodzi bogatym nosem złożonym z aromatów jagód, lukrecji i nut balsamicznych (CW 3).

Wyrażenie *bogaty nos* oznacza mnogość zapachów wydobywających się z kieliszka.

Tak zaś opisane zostały walory zapachowe białego wina z hiszpańskiego regionu Almansa:

- (8) Przyjemny, rześki nos roztaczający aromaty owoców tropikalnych i cytrusów subtelnie wzbogaconych o nuty ziołowe (CW 3).

W powyższym przykładzie „nos” wina scharakteryzowano za pomocą przymiotnika wartościującego *przyjemny* oraz przymiotnika *rześki*, który wskazuje na orzeźwiającą kwasowość wina, „jak smaczne, soczyste jabłko”⁶. Warto zaznaczyć, że terminowi *nos* często towarzyszą określenia wartościujące, takie jak *piękny* czy *fantastycznie owocowy*, co obrazują przykłady (9) i (10).

- (9) Piękny, wyrazisty nos roztaczający aromaty czerwonych i czarnych owoców oraz przypraw, którym towarzyszą nuty eukaliptusowe i dębowe (CW 5).

⁵ <http://www.nasze-wina.pl/nw/pages/wielki-slownik-terminow-degustacyjnych/> (dostęp: 29.06.2025).

⁶ <https://www.nasze-wina.pl/nw/pages/wielki-slownik-terminow-degustacyjnych/> (dostęp: 11.08.2025).

(10) Fantastycznie owocowy nos, wzbogacony o nuty przypraw (CW 5).

Należy podkreślić, że wśród przymiotników wartościujących występują prawie wyłącznie te o konotacji pozytywnej, co wynika ze specyfiki analizowanego materiału językowego. Wina opisywane na łamach magazynu „Czas Wina” są poddawane selekcji przez redakcyjny panel degustacyjny, w którego skład wchodzi sędziowie konkursów Mundus Vini, International Wine and Spirit Competition oraz Concours Mondial de Bruxelles. Prezentowane wina to trunki wysokiej jakości o punktacji oscylującej zazwyczaj między 85 a 90 punktów⁷. W analizowanych tekstach powszechnie występują określenia wartościujące pozytywnie, takie jak *świąteczna równowaga, pięknie dojrzałe taniny, wspaniały bukiet, bardzo dobra, odświeżająca kwasowość*.

Wróćmy jeszcze do przykładu opatrzonego numerem (3). Jest to fragment artykułu *Wielka Rewolucja Paryska*, poświęconego słynnej Degustacji Paryskiej z 1976 roku. Dla wygody Czytelnika pozwolimy sobie na ponowne zacytowanie przykładu:

A za stołem zasiadł kwiat jedenastu wyłącznie francuskich (sic!) nosów i podniebień [...].

Obserwujemy tu klasyczny, wręcz podręcznikowy przykład metonimii, analogiczny do tego, który znajduje się u Lakoffa i Johnsona (1988 [1980], s. 61): *Na uniwersytecie jest wiele mądrych głów (= inteligentnych ludzi)*. Kwiat *nosów i podniebień* to sommelierzy cieszący się znakomitą opinią w środowisku winiarskim. W cytowanym fragmencie słowo *nos* oznacza osobę, która posiada niezwykły talent do wyczuwania i oceniania zapachów. Analogicznie, słowo *podniebienie* wskazuje na kogoś, kto potrafi w ponadprzeciętny sposób rozróżnić niuanse smakowe.

Degustacja Paryska uznawana jest za jeden z przełomowych momentów w światowym winiarstwie. Była to degustacja porównawcza win francuskich i kalifornijskich, podczas której najlepsi francuscy kiperzy oceniali „w ciemno” 20 win z obu krajów, po 10 białych i 10 czerwonych. Butelki zostały oklejone, a kolejność podawania utajniona przed członkami komisji.

Większość ekspertów pukała się w czoło. O większym nonsensie nikt nie słyszał. Po co kopać leżącego, po co porównywać cordon bleu z hamburgerem? (Gogoliński, 2017b, s. 97).

Wynik degustacji zaskoczył wszystkich: w obu kategoriach (win białych i czerwonych) wygrały wina z Kalifornii.

⁷ Skala punktowa stosowana przez panel degustacyjny magazynu „Czas Wina”:

95–100 – wielkie wina kolekcjonerskie;

90–94,5 – wina wyjątkowe;

86–89,5 – wina bardzo dobre;

84–85,5 – wina dobre, bez najmniejszych błędów;

80–83,5 – wina przyzwoite, bez większych błędów;

75–79,5 – wina przeciętne, z pewnymi niedociągnięciami;

50–74,5 – wina słabe i niepijalne.

Winem, które w 1976 roku wstrząsnęło światem by S.L.V. Cabernet Sauvignon 1973 Warrena Winiarskiego. Pokonało m.in. bordoskich gigantów Château Mouton Rothschild 1970 i Château Haut-Brion 1970. [...] Mike Grgich, wówczas winiarz w kalifornijskiej firmie Château Montelena, którego wino wygrało w kategorii win białych, wspomina: „Myślałem, że to jakiś głupi żart, kiedy do mnie zadzwoniono. To niemożliwe, ale Francuzi dali złapać się na francuskie beczki, których używaliśmy w Montelenie, podobnie jak Warren w Stag’s Leap” (Gogoliński, 2017b, s. 98).

3.2 Termin *usta*

Usta to ‘osłonięty wargami otwór, za którym znajduje się jama wraz z zębami i językiem’ oraz określenie warg u człowieka (WSJP). Utrwalone w języku polskim związki frazeologiczne, jak np. *nie mieć nic w ustach*, *odejmować sobie od ust*, *nie brać czegoś do ust* czy *coś rozpływa się w ustach*, świadczą o tym, że w naszym językowym obrazie świata usta jako narząd kojarzone są z przyjmowaniem płynów i pokarmów oraz z ocenianiem ich walorów smakowych. Równie, o ile nie bardziej, rozpowszechnione są zwroty, w których słowo *usta* funkcjonuje jako metonimia mowy. Możemy przytoczyć tu związki frazeologiczne, jak np. *być na ustach wszystkich*, *zatkać komuś (czymś) usta*, *nabrać wody w usta* czy *komuś usta się nie zamykają*. Zważywszy na temat artykułu, skupimy się na smakowym wymiarze znaczeniowym leksemu *usta*, pomijając wymiar związany z komunikacją werbalną.

W domenę degustacyjnej leksem *usta*, może być używany w dwóch znaczeniach:

- 1) poprzedzony przymiotnikiem w oznacza narząd, dzięki któremu odczuwamy wrażenia smakowe, np.:

(11) W ustach bardzo wyraziste, o smaku przywodzącym na myśl czarną porzeczkę, mango i grapefruit wzbogaconym o nuty ziół i soli morskiej (CW 3).

- 2) w związku składniowym *przymiotnik + usta* lub *usta + przymiotnik* jest równoznaczny z zespołem wrażeń zmysłowych, zarówno smakowych, jak i dotykowych, odczuwanych podczas przełykania wina, np.:

(12) Eleganckie, aksamitne, pięknie zbudowane usta o smaku przywodzącym na myśl czarne owoce leśne (CW 3).

Rolla i Corveddu (2014) nie rozróżniają znaczeń leksemu *usta*, gdyż analizują oni terminy odwołujące się do zmysłu wzroku i zapachu. Trzeci etap degustacji, część smakowa, nie stanowi przedmiotu ich badania.

Warto zaznaczyć, że osoby posiadającej wybitne zdolności wyczuwania i rozpoznawania smaków nie określa się metonimicznie słowem *usta*, lecz słowem *podniebienie*, co zaobserwowaliśmy w przykładzie (3) w poprzednim podrozdziale.

W analizowanym przez nas materiale językowym termin *usta* w pierwszym znaczeniu występuje w dwóch konstrukcjach składniowych: w *ustach*

+ rzeczownik wskazujący na smakową cechę wina (13) i w *ustach* + przymiotnik określający smakowe cechy wina (14).

(13) *W ustach* świetna równowaga między kwasowością i taničnością oraz wyraźny smak czerwonych owoców okraszony delikatną kwiatową nutą (CW3).

(14) *W ustach* żywe i rześkie, dobrze zbalansowane, o przyjemnej kwasowości wyczuwalnej w długiej końcówce (CW 5).

Podobnie jak w przypadku terminu *nos* (zob. 3.1) również w powyższych fragmentach obserwujemy metaforę przestrzenną. W przykładzie (13) usta konceptualizowane są jako pojemnik, w którym mieszczą się cechy smakowe wina – równowaga między kwasowością i taničnością oraz wyraźny smak czerwonych owoców – postrzegane jako obiekty. Natomiast w przykładzie (14) usta konceptualizowane są nie jako pojemnik, lecz jako przestrzeń, w której uwidacznia się charakter danego wina.

Przykłady (15) i (16) ilustrują użycie leksemu *usta* w drugim znaczeniu.

(15) *Usta* wibrująco świeże i harmonijne, o zrównoważonej kwasowości, czystym owocowym smaku i długiej, zabarwionej goryczką końcówce (CW 3).

Jak już wspomnieliśmy, w języku degustacyjnym terminem *usta* określa się zespół wrażeń zmysłowych zarówno smakowych, jak i dotykowych odczuwanych podczas przełykania wina. Możemy zatem stwierdzić, że smakowe cechy opisywanego wina to: świeżość powodująca mrowienie na języku, równowaga pomiędzy kwasowością a słodyczą, owocowość oraz goryczkowy posmak.

Wrażenia smakowe zestawiane są z wrażeniami zapachowymi; szczególnie cenione są wina, w których zachowana jest harmonia:

(16) Dojrzałe czarne czereśnie i aromatyczne nuty kwiatowe wzbogacone o niuanse przypraw i kawy. *Usta pięknie harmonizują z nosem*; w smaku także wyczuwa się dojrzałe ciemne owoce okraszone nutą świeżo palonej kawy (CW 3).

W powyższym przykładzie *usta* są nośnikiem metonimicznym smaku, a *nos* zapachu. Wyrażenie *usta pięknie harmonizują z nosem* oznacza, że wrażenia smakowe są spójne z wrażeniami olfaktorycznymi.

Warto podkreślić, że podobnie jak w przypadku terminu *nos*, również terminowi *usta* często towarzyszą określenia wartościujące pozytywnie (np. *pięknie zbudowane, dobrze zbalansowane*), co związane jest – jak już wspomnieliśmy (zob. 3.1) – ze specyfiką analizowanych tekstów.

3.3 Termin *owoc*

Trzecim przykładem metonimii w języku degustacyjnym, któremu poświęcimy uwagę, jest termin *owoc*. *Owoc* to w podstawowym znaczeniu

jadalna część rośliny zawierająca miąższ różnej twardości, a także nasiona w postaci pestek, współcześnie pozyskiwana przez człowieka masowo przez celową uprawę drzew lub krzewów określonego gatunku (WSJP).

W domenie degustacyjnej obserwujemy dwojakie znaczenie tego terminu:

1) dosłowne, zgodne ze słownikową definicją, np:

(17) Aromatyczne i świeże młode wino o przejrzystej, słonecznej barwie z miedziastymi przeblaskami. Dość intensywny nos roztacza zapach przywodzący na myśl egzotyczne owoce oraz polne kwiaty wzbogacone o nuty mineralne (CW 5).

2) zespół wrażeń zapachowych lub smakowych przywodzących na myśl zapach lub smak owoców, np.:

(18) Rubinowoczerwone wino z fioletowymi refleksami, świeże, intensywne, o pięknym bukietie złożonym z aromatów suszonych śliwek, wiśni, jeżyn i czarnych porzeczek wzbogaconych o nuty lukrecji i goździków. Usta dość skoncentrowane, pełne soczystego owocu, o miękkich taninach, świetnej kwasowości i długim zakończeniu (CW 5).

Metonimia jest wygodnym narzędziem, które umożliwia autorowi opisu pominięcie wszystkich nazw owoców – suszonych śliwek, wiśni, jeżyn i czarnych porzeczek – wymienionych w poprzednim zdaniu. Z podobnym zabiegiem spotykamy się w poniższych dwóch przykładach:

(19) Głęboka rubinowa barwa. W nosie eksplozja aromatów czerwonych owoców i dojrzałych jeżyn okraszonych nutą orientalnych przypraw i niuansami skórzanym. Na podniebieniu krągłe, o mocnej budowie i świetnie zbalansowanych taninach oraz świeżości wyczuwalnej w bardzo długiej, pełnej owocu końcówce (CW 5).

(20) Powstające z najlepszych winogron, tylko w wyjątkowych rocznikach wino roztacza mocny bukiet złożony z bujnych aromatów dojrzałych ciemnych owoców przemieszanych z nutami czekoladowymi. Na podniebieniu mocarne, wręcz gęste, zachwyca skoncentrowanym owocem wzbogaconym o gorzką czekoladę oraz aksamitnymi, choć wyraźnie zaznaczonymi taninami i doskonałą kwasowością (CW 4).

4 Podsumowanie

Przedstawiliśmy przykłady użycia trzech terminów będących nośnikami metonimii w domenie degustacyjnej: *nos*, *usta* i *owoc*. Przeprowadzona analiza umożliwiła nam wyodrębnienie następujących metonimii charakterystycznych dla języka winiarskiego:

- 1) *Nos* za ZAPACH WINA;
- 2) *Nos* za OSOBE POSIADAJĄCĄ WYBITNE ZDOLNOŚCI WYCZUWANIA I ROZPOZNAWANIA ZAPACHÓW;
- 3) *Usta* za ZESPÓŁ WRAŻEŃ SMAKOWYCH ODCZUWANYCH PODCZAS PRZEŁYKANIA WINA;
- 4) *Owoc* za ZESPÓŁ WRAŻEŃ ZAPACHOWYCH LUB SMAKOWYCH PRZYWO-
DZĄCYCH NA MYŚL ZAPACH LUB SMAK OWOCÓW.

Badanie wykazało wieloznaczność pojęciową analizowanych terminów, pokazując, że wyrażenia metonimiczne mogą mieć więcej niż jedno znaczenie. W przypadku terminu *usta* mówimy o dwóch znaczeniach, w przypadku zaś terminu *nos* aż o trzech. Ciekawy jest przypadek terminu *owoc*, który funkcjonuje w domenie degustacyjnej także w znaczeniu dosłownym.

Zdajemy sobie sprawę, że niniejszy artykuł nie wyczerpuje podjętego tematu. Terminów będących nośnikami metonimii jest w domenie degustacyjnej znacznie więcej (np. *beczka*, *dąb*, *bąbelki*). Warto zastanowić się, czy powszechne występowanie metonimii w polskim języku winiarskim jest efektem naśladownictwa zagranicznej terminologii degustacyjnej, czy też raczej wynika ono z faktu, że metonimia, jak twierdzi Bierwiaczonek (2006, s. 238), „jest podstawą wszelkich procesów semantycznych”. Według Bierwiaczonka (2006, s. 238) metonimia stanowi pojęciowy odpowiednik „procesów neurologicznych centralnego układu nerwowego, które leżą u podstaw wszelkiej ludzkiej działalności poznawczej, w tym również działalności językowej”. To zagadnienie pozostawiamy otwarte, traktując je jako zachętę do dalszych dociekań lingwistycznych.

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‘IMAGE SCHEMA’, ‘DOMAIN’, ‘FRAME’ AND ‘MENTAL SPACE’ – TAXONOMY OR AN INTERTWINING NETWORK?

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Abstract

This paper deals with the question of whether the conceptual structures: ‘image schema’, ‘domain’, ‘frame’ and ‘mental space’ constitute a taxonomy with ‘image schema’ at the top (as the highly schematic item) and ‘mental space’ at the bottom (as the highly specific one) or if they rather defy such classification creating an intertwining network of constructs. It is shown here that depending on contents: (i) ‘domain’, ‘frame’ and ‘mental space’ may fulfil the restrictions of such taxonomy, (ii) only ‘two of them may meet the restrictions, (iii) ‘domain’, ‘frame’ and ‘mental space’ may present the same level of schematicity/specificity, (iv) only two of them may present such equal level. It is argued for a dual nature of the ‘image schema’ which as autonomous and separate structures at the same time, are capable of being incorporated in every domain, frame and mental space as their background, rather than a construct containing them. This theoretical issue is discussed in relation to the concept SUCCESS and processes of mental integration involving image schemas like OBJECT, CONTAINER, PATH, LINK, PART-WHOLE.

Keywords: image schema, domain, frame, mental space, taxonomy, network.

Introduction

The starting point for discussing the titular question is the fact that, in the subject literature, all four conceptual structures: ‘image schema’, ‘do-

main', 'frame' and 'mental space' tend to be used interchangeably, although apart from some common conceptual content, they significantly differ in meaning. 'Image schemas' refer to preconceptual, highly schematic gestalts (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Talmy, 1988), 'domains' to areas of knowledge necessary for characterising/understanding semantic units) (Langacker, 1987, 2008), 'frames' to "specific unified frameworks of knowledge" and "coherent schematizations of experience" (Fillmore, 1985, p. 223) and 'mental spaces' to cognitive constructs, partial assemblies appearing during discourse enabling local understanding and acting (Fauconnier, 1985; Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002). What becomes even more interesting in this context is the taxonomy of the aforementioned structures proposed by Kövecses (2020), which is another reason to consider the mutual relations between them. Both views on the structures in issue, in terms of their synonymity on the one hand and hierarchical organisation on the other, reveal the processual character of concepts¹ (and conceptual structures), their status as dispositions, undergoing changes and being dynamic in nature as pointed by Bartsch (2002).

As processing "occurs simultaneously in various dimensions and at multiple levels of organisation" (Langacker, 2008, p. 501), it will be argued that conceptual structures in issue are rather a dynamic network of constructs (Langacker, 1987, 2008), and their taxonomic arrangement (Kövecses, 2020, p. 52) appears as only one of the possible constellations in this network.

In the taxonomy (Kövecses, 2020, p. 52) 'image schema' is viewed as the most schematic conceptual structure and 'mental space' as the least schematic one. Schematicity is discussed in terms of "a series of inclusions" where the 'mental space' is included in the 'frame', 'frame' in the 'domain' and 'domain' in the 'image schema' (Sullivan, 2013, in Kövecses, 2020, p. 54).

While the highest schematicity of image schemas is undisputable, the assumptions concerning the all-encompassing role of image schemas (including domains, frames and mental spaces) and the hierarchical relation between them is debatable. Therefore, in this paper it is argued that 'image schemas' as preconceptual structures serving as a foundation for the conceptual ones (domains, frames and mental spaces) are dual in nature, autonomous and separate, and at the same time incorporated in them. In connection with this, the hierarchical relation of the analysed structures (gradually decreasing schematicity of the 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces', respectively) is discussed as well. 'Domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' are shown as structures creating an intertwined network, and 'image schemas' as structures functioning both outside of and inside this network. While discussing the mutual relations between all four structures the role of concep-

¹ mental units that organise and store knowledge about the world (Schwarz, 1992, p. 87).

tualisation² (e.g. Langacker, 1987, 2008; Noordzij et al., 2005) is taken into consideration.

The research material is related to the concept SUCCESS including a ChatGPT creation of the domain matrix of SUCCESS and the frame SUCCESS, entries excerpted from Sketch engine to the question of what the SUCCESS is, as well as historical and psychological insights. The choice of the concept SUCCESS is related to a story quoted often during Kamala Harris' 2024 presidential campaign involving Kamala Harris herself and pertaining to SUCCESS. This story also constitutes a part of the research material discussed in this paper.

Section 1 deals with the status of 'image schemas' viewing them both as autonomous, separate constructs and as integrated parts of the 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces'. Section 2 focuses on the conceptual structures 'domain', 'frame' and 'mental space', their mutual relation and their relation to 'image schema'. Section 3 deepens theoretical considerations explaining the relations between the structures in issue on the example of the concept SUCCESS. Section 4 is specifically devoted to the 'image schemas' elaborating on the image schemas OBJECT, CONTAINER, PATH, LINK and PART-WHOLE and showing how they underly the processes of mental integration on example of the concept COCONUT leading to the conceptualisation of SUCCESS.

1 A separate status of 'image schemas'

'Image schemas' as experiential/embodied preconceptual gestalts (Hampe 2005), among them SURFACE, CONTAINER, PATH, PART-WHOLE, LINK, NEAR-FAR, CONTACT, OBJECT, CENTER-PERIPHERY, UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, FORCE, BALANCE, CYCLE, PROCESS, SCALE (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987), are viewed as the basis for organising and structuring of knowledge and experience from various areas, modalities and levels of abstraction.

Considering the question of the relation between 'image schemas' and the remaining structures in issue in terms of the all-encompassing role of the former ones as proposed by Kövecses (2020), according to which conceptual structures are included into the 'image schemas', an opposing view is proposed below. In this conception 'image schemas' are assumed to be dual in

² Conceptualisations are "(1) both novel and established conceptions; (2) not just "intellectual" notions, but sensory, motor, and emotive experience as well; (3) apprehension of the physical, linguistic, social, and cultural context; and (4) conceptions that develop and unfold through processing time (rather than being simultaneously manifested)" (Langacker 2008: 30). Conceptualisations are dynamic, interactive, imaginative, include metaphors, blends, mental space constructions (Langacker, 2008, p. 43).

nature, being both, autonomous and separate from the 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces', and also incorporated into them as given image schemas become the foundation of given domains, frames and mental spaces.

To illustrate the above, domains like [SURFACES], [CONTAINERS], [PATHS], [PART-WHOLE RELATIONS] and others, instead of being included in the respective image schemas SURFACE, CONTAINER, PATH, PART-WHOLE, arise on the basis of the particular autonomous image schemas that become their foundation and integral part. Diverse surfaces, containers, paths, part-whole relations and so on can be understood on the basis of the respective image schema capable to function separately as well as an inherent part of them. The presented assumption about the dual nature of image schemas can be supported by the following fact demonstrating their ability to function outside of and inside a given conceptual structure. The same image schemas, e.g. OBJECT, CONTAINER, VERTICALITY, can serve for understanding different concepts like BODY and BUILDING, at the same time more than one image schema serve for understanding of one concept (like BODY or BUILDING), and, as mentioned by Langacker (1987), various image schemas apply to different aspects or dimensions of a domain matrix. Thus, as follows from the above, although 'domains' are less schematic than 'image schemas' (Kövecses, 2020, p. 53), they are rather not included in them. On the contrary, 'image schemas' (as the experiential/embodied basis for concepts and experiences, and highly schematic *gestalts*) are immanent parts of the 'domains' being present in the background of them, most often as unconscious knowledge that can become conscious at any time. Language users do not necessary activate the image schemas underlying meanings while processing concepts (e.g. BODY or BUILDING). They may, however, recall them, especially when pointed to, while considering individual domains of the domain matrix from which the meaning emerges.

For example, the meaning of the concept BUILDING³ emerges from the domain matrix including [ARCHITECTURE], [ENVIRONMENT], [BUILDING MATERIALS], [MEASUREMENT], [SECURITY], [APPEARANCE], [SHAPE], [SIZE], [TYPE], [APPLICATION], [ECONOMY] and so on resting not only on the image schemas OBJECT, CONTAINER, VERTICALITY but FORCE, BALANCE, FRONT-BACK, UP-DOWN as well.

The ideas of OBJECT, CONTAINER, VERTICALITY, FORCE, BALANCE, FRONT-BACK, UP-DOWN and so on can be conceptualised as domains, individual entries in the particular domains and as image schemas underlying

³ The choice of the concept BUILDING as example used for the considerations is related to the fact that BUILDING STRUCTURE is one of the conceptions underlying conceptualisations of SUCCESS, see section 3. What is more, both BUILDING and SUCCESS are based (among others) on the image schema OBJECT. This fact explains the choice of the concept OBJECT for the considerations too.

them. Figure 1 illustrates the status of 'image schema' as background knowledge in relation to the 'domain' in the case of a domain that arises from the corresponding image schema on example of OBJECT. The dashed line symbolises the image schema involved.

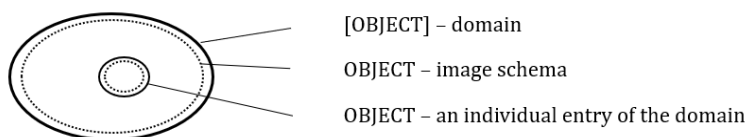


Fig. 1

Image schema OBJECT as background knowledge included in the domain [OBJECT]

Figure 2 illustrates the status of the 'image schemas' as background knowledge in relation to the 'domain' matrix when the domain matrix bases on various image schemas on example of BUILDING. The solid line symbolises all domains of the matrix and the dashed line all image schemas involved.

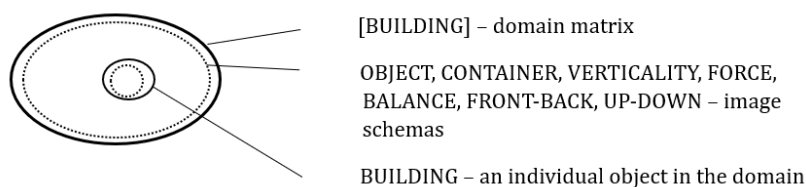


Fig. 2

Image schemas OBJECT, CONTAINER, VERTICALITY, FORCE, BALANCE, FRONT-BACK, UP-DOWN as background knowledge included in the domain [BUILDING]

While one could accept as plausible that domains which correspond to the particular image schemas like in Figure 1 could be viewed as included in the image schemas, such assumption could hardly be applied to domains which are based on more than one image schema like in Figure 2. Just the idea that a domain matrix like BUILDING should be included in all the image schemas which the domains of the matrix involve seems to be implausible and contrary to the psychological reality, going beyond the capacities of human mind.

2 'Domain', 'frame', 'mental space', their relation to each other and to 'image schema'

As mentioned in the Introduction, terms like 'domain', 'frame', 'mental space' are often used interchangeably although they are not equal. 'Domains' are coherent areas of knowledge and experience that, when recalled during

the processing of an expression, create sets of domains called domain matrix enabling the understanding of the expression. Domains are characterised by a varying degree of schematicity/specificity and conceptual complexity. Thus, any conceptualisation or conception⁴ can create a (nonbasic)⁵ domain. Domains of a domain matrix differ in the degree of reference to the entity they characterise. Central domains are those that are invariably called to mind by a given expression while peripheral domains are invoked only in specific contexts. The domains of a domain matrix are open-ended sets (Langacker, 2008, pp. 44–48). ‘Frames’ are defined as “any system[s] of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available” (Fillmore, 1982, p. 111). ‘Frame’ as a general term refers to “the set of concepts variously known, in the literature on natural language understanding, as ‘schema’, ‘script’, ‘scenario’, ‘ideational scaffolding’, ‘cognitive model’, or ‘folk theory’” (Fillmore, 1982, p. 111).

‘Mental spaces’ as “small conceptual packets constructed when we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action [...] [undergoing modifications] as thought and discourse unfold” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 40), “partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained partitioning of our discourse and knowledge structures” (Langacker, 2008, pp. 50–51) can be “structured by frames” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 40) or “incorporated as part of a matrix” (Langacker, 2008, p. 51). In the first case, ‘mental spaces’ can be viewed as more specific than ‘frames’ and included in them. The last case, however, indicates that the degree of specificity of ‘mental spaces’ can be different according to different degrees of schematicity/specificity of the particular domains in the matrix. Thus, mental spaces, being elaborated on by the information from the unfolding discourse, incorporating “the current discourse space” (Langacker, 2008, p. 59), may “borrow their structure from frames” (Kövecses, 2020, p. 54). But, they can also be viewed as parts of bigger conceptualisations considering that they [mental spaces, JMS] “compris[e] everything presumed to be shared by the speaker and hearer as the basis for discourse at a given moment” (Langacker, 2008, p. 59) or emerge in the mind of one of them during the discourse. In contrast to the ‘domains’ ‘mental spaces’ are conceptual discontinuous, partial, fragmentary appearing dynamic during discourse for the purpose of local understanding (Fauconnier, 1985; Fauconnier & Turner, 2002; Langacker, 2008, p. 51).

⁴ The terms: ‘concept’, ‘conception’ and ‘conceptualization’ differ due to their dynamics, both first are more or less static and the last is dynamic, however the last “is also employed as a fully general term” (Langacker, 2008, p. 46).

⁵ Basic domains are „cognitively irreducible, neither derivable from nor analyzable into other conceptions [...] space, time [...] color space [...], pitch [...], temperature, taste and smell, and so on” (Langacker, 2008, p. 44).

Regarding the mutual relationship between 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces', the phenomenon of conceptualisation comes to the fore and becomes even more important, because as mentioned above, every conceptualisation can function as a domain (Langacker, 2008). Bearing the nature of conceptualisation in mind, it becomes apparent that domains of a lower degree of schematicity can be equal to frames, and more specific domains can be less schematic than frames. This fact contrasts with the generalisation that frames "are less schematic" and "involve more conceptually specific information than domains" (Kövecses, 2020, p. 52, 54). Thus, the inclusion of the frames in the domains as in the quote "[t]he frames elaborating a domain consists of roles and relations between the roles and the roles can be filled by particular values" (Kövecses, 2020, p. 54), appears as only one of the possible relations between both conceptual structures.

Summing up, 'domains' emerge not only as the most general conceptual structures if compared with 'frames' and other ones, but as very flexible as well. This is visible in the varying conceptual complexity of the domains, the various degrees of their schematicity/specificity, and their ability to cross and overlap each other.

It should be mentioned that depending on the conceptualisation not only a 'domain' may meet 'frame' but both may meet a 'mental space' if presenting the same level of specificity.

Therefore, assuming that 'image schemas' are immanent parts of 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces', bearing in mind the conceptualisation processes and taking into consideration again the taxonomy proposed by Kövecses (2020), it is to be stated that the restrictions of such taxonomy may but do not have to be fulfilled, depending on the conceptualisation of the schematicity/specificity and conceptual complexity of the domain, frame and mental space. What is more, the restrictions can be fulfilled by (i) 'domain', 'frame' and 'mental space', (ii) 'domain' and 'frame' or (iii) 'domain' and 'mental space' only. At the same time, however, any or none of them have to fulfil these restrictions when 'domain', 'frame' and 'mental space', 'domain' and 'frame' or 'domain' and 'mental space' present equal level of schematicity/specificity and complexity.

Some possible relations between 'domains', 'frames', 'mental spaces' and 'image schemas' are discussed below in regard to the aforementioned example of the BUILDING.

Focusing on the relation between the 'image schemas' and 'frames' on the example of the frame BUILDING "contain[ing] words which name permanent fixed structures forming an enclosure and providing protection from the elements" (FrameNet)⁶, the relation between 'image schemas' and 'frame' can be like illustrated above by Figure 2.

⁶ Related lexical units are: "acropolis.n, airport.n, arena.n, auditorium.n, bar.n, barn.n, barracks.n, basilica.n, blockhouse.n, building.n, bungalow.n, bunker.n, cabin.n, campanile.n, car-

The relationships between 'image schema(s)', 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' when domains, frames and mental spaces reveal the same level of schematicity/specificity and complexity are illustrated by Figure 3.

The solid line symbolises schematically domains or frames or mental spaces, and the dashed line the image schema(s) which are immanent parts of domains, frames and mental spaces present in background of them.

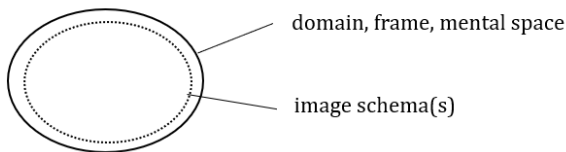


Fig. 3

Relationship between domains, frames, mental spaces of equal status and the image schema(s)

The relationships between image schema(s), domains, frames and mental spaces when mental spaces are included in frames and frames in the domains illustrates Figure 4. The dashed lines symbolise the image schema(s) as preconceptual gestalt(s) in the background of the conceptual structures.

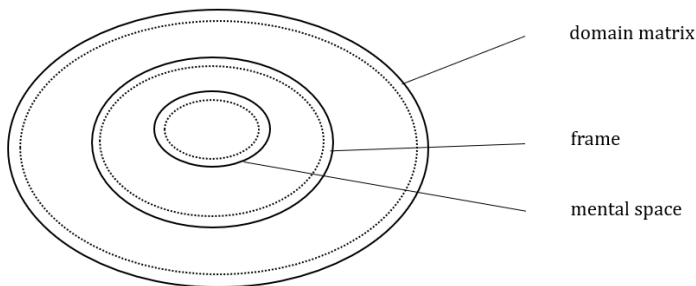


Fig. 4

Relationships between domains, frames, mental spaces (hierarchical relation) and the image schema(s)

avan.n, caravanserai.n, castle.n, chalet.n, chateau.n, church.n, citadel.n, city hall.n, condominium.n, conservatory.n, cottage.n, dacha.n, disco.n, discotheque.n, dormitory.n, dwelling.n, farmhouse.n, fort.n, fortification.n, fortress.n, garage.n, gazebo.n, greenhouse.n, hacienda.n, hall.n, hangar.n, high-rise.n, hippodrome.n, home.n, homestead.n, hospital.n, hostel.n, hotel.n, house.n, houseboat.n, housing.n, hovel.n, igloo.n, inn.n, kennel.n, kiosk.n, library.n, light-house.n, lodge.n, maisonette.n, mall.n, manor.n, manse.n, mansion.n, monastery.n, mosque.n, motel.n, outbuilding.n, outhouse.n, pagoda.n, palace.n, palazzo.n, pavilion.n, pension.n, pent-house.n, pub.n, pueblo.n, pyramid.n, quarters.n, residence.n, rotunda.n, shack.n, shanty.n, shebang.n, shed.n, shelter.n, skyscraper.n, stable.n, stadium.n, structure.n, supermarket.n, synagogue.n, tabernacle.n, tavern.n, temple.n, tenement.n, tent.n, tepee.n, terminal.n, theater.n, tower.n, triplex.n, villa.n, warehouse.n, wigwam.n" (FrameNet, 27.01.2025).

The varying degrees of schematicity/specificity of the domains and mental spaces are shown in Figure 5. The solid lines symbolise domains and mental spaces (the thin solid line symbolises bigger degree of schematicity, thick solid line bigger degree of specificity). Dashed lines symbolise the image schema(s) in background.



Fig. 5

Various degrees of schematicity/specificity of the domains and mental spaces (image schemas in background)

Thus, regardless of the relation constituted by 'domain', 'frame' and 'mental space', 'image schemas' are present in each of them. Figure 6 shows the dual nature of 'image schema' as an autonomous and separate construct and incorporated in a conceptual structure (domain, frame, mental space) as their foundation.

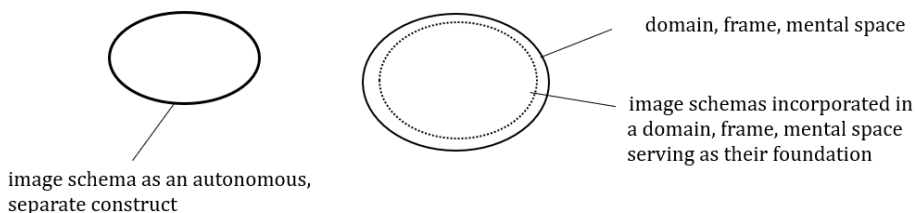


Fig. 6

The dual nature of image schemas

3 'Domain', 'frame', 'mental space' and the concept SUCCESS

The theoretical considerations presented above are explained below on the example of the concept SUCCESS.

First, the differences between 'domains' and 'frames' are discussed with the example of the domain matrix of SUCCESS and the frame SUCCESS created by ChatGPT. In this regard, the differences concerning the flexibility of both, their schematicity/specificity and conceptual complexity are highlighted. The dynamic variability of the schematicity/specificity and complex-

ity depending on the conceptualisation is addressed further to the relation between ‘domains’ and ‘mental spaces’.

The domain set constituting the domain matrix of SUCCESS includes i. a.: [PERSONAL GROWTH], [CAREER and FINANCE], [HEALTH and WELLBEING], [RELATIONSHIP and SOCIAL], [SPIRITUAL and PURPOSE], [IMPACT and LEGACY] (ChatGPT).⁷ The conceptual content of these domains is shown in Table 1. Viewed separately, every entry in Tab. 1 can be seen as ‘domain’ or ‘frame’. Viewing these entries integrally, columns: Definitions, Key Indicators and Examples of success appear as subdomains of lower and lower levels.

Tab. 1

*Domain matrix related to SUCCESS (ChatGPT)*⁸

Domain	Definition	Key Indicators	Examples of Success
Personal Growth	Self-improvement, learning, and emotional intelligence	Skills, mindset, self-awareness	Mastering a new skill, overcoming fears
Career & Finance	Professional achievements and financial stability	Income, job, satisfaction, recognition	Getting promoted, achieving financial independence
Health & Wellbeing	Physical and mental wellbeing	Fitness, mental clarity, work-life balance	Maintaining a healthy lifestyle, managing stress
Relationships & Social	Strong personal and professional relationships	Family bonds, friendships, networking	Building a happy family, having strong support system
Spiritual & Purpose	A sense of meaning, values, and inner peace	Fulfilment, values alignment	Practicing gratitude, contributing to society
Impact & Legacy	Contributions to society and long-term influence	Community service, mentorship	Philanthropy, inspiring others

The frame SUCCESS involves:

- Agent (The individual or group striving for success, e.g. *she*),
- Goal or Desired State (The objective or standard that defines success, e.g. *winning the championship*),
- Obstacle or Challenge (The difficulties or barriers that must be overcome, e.g. *financial struggles*),
- Effort or Strategy (The actions taken to achieve success, e.g. *hard work*),
- Outcome or Achievement (The final result recognized as success, e.g. *success in the tech industry*),

⁷ access: 02.02.2025

⁸ access: 02.02.2025.

- Recognition or Evaluation (Social or personal validation of success, e.g. being celebrated),
- Temporal Aspect (Success can be short-term or long-term, e.g. *early success* vs. *long-term sustainability*) (ChatGPT).⁹

The frame SUCCESS appears as a GOAL that an Agent aims to achieve when the outcome of their action matches their intent. It includes Circumstances, Containing event, Explanation, Place, Means, Time and Re-encoding (presenting the SUCCESS as an “integral part of a larger conceptualisation expressed by another frame” (FrameNet).¹⁰

The comparison of the domain matrix and the frame of SUCCESS mentioned above, reveals (illustrated by the listed domains of higher and lower level in the domain matrix) the generality of the domains and, at the same time, their varying degree of schematicity/specificity. The flexibility of the ‘domains’ also concerns ‘mental spaces’ and explains why ‘domains’ and ‘mental spaces’ can be equal to ‘frames’ that while referring to systems of concepts, roles and relationships strictly necessary for understanding meaning, are less flexible and more stable.

Below, conceptions related to SUCCESS, regarding the question of what the success is in the historical and psychological perspective, as well as based on the corpus analysis are presented. They are listed in the hierarchical order, divided into domains, subdomains and mental spaces, where the mental spaces are included in the subdomains and subdomains in the domains, in line with the idea proposed by Kövecses (2020).

Considering the concept SUCCESS from the historical point of view the domains [MATERIAL PROSPERITY] and [HIGH SOCIAL STATUS] appear as the central ones through centuries until the late 20th century. As the ways to achieve this kind of success have changed over time in different periods different subdomains emerged and came to the fore, e.g. [[BELOGNING TO THE ARISTOCRACY]], [[POSSESSING TITLES]], [[OWNING LAND]] in the Middle Ages, [[BECOMING RICH]] in the 16th-17th centuries, [[WORKING HARD]] in the 19th century, [[BELOGNING TO THE CONSUMER SOCIETY]] in the 20th century. In the 21st century material prosperity and high social status are perceived as success too evoking the subdomain [[CAREER ACHIEVEMENT]]. Parallely [HEALTH] becomes one of the central domains (if not the most central one) bringing subdomains [[CAREER, HEALTHY AND BALANCED LIFESTYLE]], [[DEVELOPMENT OF AWARENESS]] and [[PERSONAL GROWTH]] to the forefront. This tendency is consistent with the psychological perspective on success highlighting the domain [NEEDS] with three subdomains: [[AUTONOMY]], [[COMPETENCE]], [[FEELING CONNECTED WITH OTHERS]] (Beishenova et al., 2024, pp. 2–5).

⁹ access: 02.02.2025.

¹⁰ access: 02.02.2025.

Additionally, corpus research conducted using the software Sketch engine¹¹ reveals the reference to the following domains: [ACTIONS] (e.g. success is performance, participation, accomplishment, engagement), [SOCIAL INTERACTION] (e.g. success is team work, team effort, revenge, support, communication), [EVENTS] (e.g. journey), [CREATIVITY] (e.g. success is innovation, reflection, creation, inspiration, strategy), [GOALS and RESULTS] (e.g. success is medal, victory, proof, reward, outcome, product), [PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPETENCES] (e.g. success is ability, attitude, willingness, determination, passion), [EMOTIONAL WELLBEING] (e.g. success is happiness, confidence, balance), [STATISTICS and PROBABILITY] (e.g. success is measure) as well as [BUILDING STRUCTURE] (e.g. success is function of, combination of, integration of) evoking the concept of a whole composed of parts. Bearing the hierarchical order in mind, conceptions in round brackets are supposed to be treated as ‘mental spaces’.

However, as argued above, the taxonomic, hierarchical order of the ‘domains’, ‘frames’ and ‘mental spaces’ is only one of the possible relations between them. As shown above, depending on conceptualisation of the schematicity/specificity and complexity of a given conception, ‘domains’, ‘frames’ and ‘mental spaces’ may exhibit equal status.

4 The image schemas underlying SUCCESS, and the concept COCONUT

Conceptions mentioned above reveal the following image schemas underlying SUCCESS: SOURCE-PATH-GOAL considering e.g. career achievement, becoming rich, personal growth, journey; FORCE, LINK, BALANCE, GOAL – actions, interactions, CONTAINER – emotions, OBJECTS – results, CONTAINER, LINK, CENTER-PERIPHERY, BALANCE –competences, PART-WHOLE, CONTAINER – building structure, SCALE – measure.

The following considerations focus on the ‘image schemas’ (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Hampe, 2005) exemplifying their role in the process of mental integration (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002) as autonomous and separate constructs. The analysis is related to the expression often invoked during presidential campaign in the year 2024:

“You think you just fell out of a coconut tree? You exist in the context of all in which you live and what came before you”¹²,

¹¹ access, 08.07.2025.

¹² a story, told by Kamala Harris (May 2023), the vice president of the USA, after being nominated to run for president, at a swearing-in ceremony of commissioners for the White House Initiative on Advancing Educational Equity, Excellence, and Economic Opportunity

leading to the conceptualisation of SUCCESS and its further evaluation.

Considering (1) *to fall out of a coconut tree*, a three-dimensional object as conceptualisation of the LM_P, *a coconut tree*, emerges on the basis of the embodied experience related to the image schema CONTAINER evoked by the verb *fall out* due to the particle *out* enhanced by the preposition *of*. In an individual conceptualisation this three-dimensional object (*out of* which someone/something can *fall*) may take the form of a BUILDING and more specifically the metaphorical image of a SHELTER. It is worth mentioning that such conceptualisation can be motivated by the symbolics of the 'coconut'.

'Coconut' symbolizes God, good fortune and prosperity (Ahuja et al., 2014, p. 239), and 'coconut palm' – the tree that provides all the necessities of life (India, Malaysia) (each part of the tree is useful to sustain the life: household utensils, baskets, cooking oil, furniture, cosmetics are made from the coconut palm, Ahuja et al., 2014, p. 222), the tree of life or heaven (Philippines), of abundance or three generations tree (Indonesia).

In a conceptualisation of the *coconut tree* based on the aforementioned symbolics the *coconut tree* is imagined as a perfect environment which provides everyone who comes from it with luck, good fortune and prosperity. In this case, the expression *someone falls out of a coconut tree* means a person who lost good fortune and prosperity because of lost LINK to the environment guaranteeing it.

Considering (2) *You think you just fell out of a coconut tree?* that sounds like an allegation due to the initial part *You think you just ...* enhanced by the comment *You exist in the context of all in which you live and what came before you* that sounds like a reproach on what the person to whom the allegation is addressed does not notice but should, the LM_P, *coconut tree*, receives the metaphorical meaning of a 'SPACE NOWHERE', resulting in the metaphorical BUILDING/SHELTER losing its function of a perfect environment, and the image schema of CONTAINER losing boundaries. Because of that, the conceptualisation appears to be of a person who thinks they owe everything (position and success) to themselves only, without any support (contribution of earlier generations, closer and further surroundings, roots and so on).

Examples (1) and (2) are based on the image schemas OBJECT, CONTAINER, PATH and LINK. In (1), however, additionally, the PART-WHOLE image schema is active too.

The implicit Trajector of the verb (TR_V), someone/something who/what falls out of something, is a part of the LM_P, *a coconut tree*, perceived on the

for Hispanics. <https://www.today.com/popculture/news/kamala-harris-coconut-tree-meme-rcna163005>, 24.07.2024. Kamala's mother used to say it to remind her daughter in the childhood that she should remember to be the product of her surroundings and people who came before her. <https://www.today.com/parents/kamala-harris-parents-rcna162641?search=kamala%20harris>, access: 24.07.2024.

basis of the image schema of CONTAINER conceptualised as the environment including people, circumstances and opportunities.

The unique colour (black) in Figure 6 symbolises the integrity of the TR_V as a PART and the LM_P as the WHOLE.

Both objects, the TR_V and the LM_P, are related to each other by the PATH based on the corresponding PATH image schema (underlying the meaning of the verb, *fall out*, and the preposition *of*) symbolised by the dashed line. The LINK between both objects becomes broken (following the action of *falling out*) which is symbolised by the broken thick line (Fig. 7).

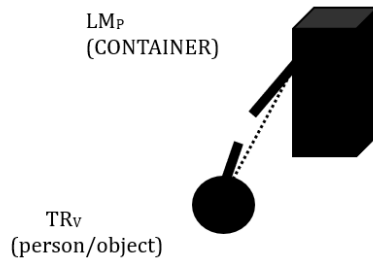


Fig. 7

Image schemas underlying the meaning of the expression (example 1)

In (2), the TR_V, *you*, and the LM_P, *a coconut tree*, are related by the PATH as well (the dashed line, Fig. 8). However, there is no LINK between them. Due to the context, contained in the comment *You exist in the context of all in which you live and what came before you*, the symbolic content of 'coconut' remains inactive, the LM_P loses its function of a perfect environment, the LINK becomes backgrounded and both objects remain delinked. Bringing in relation practically unrelatable objects (the TR_V, a person and the LM_P, a coconut tree) with no LINK emerging between them, contributes to the conceptualisation of the allegation that the TR_V does not appreciate the role of its (her) surroundings in its (her) position and success. Different colours (black and white) of the objects in Figure 8 symbolise the autonomy of the objects.

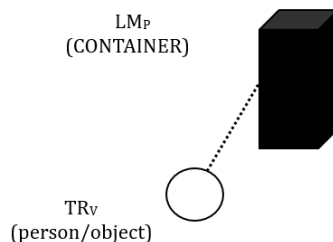


Fig. 8

Image schemas underlying the meaning of the expression (example 2)

However, despite the lack of the symbolic content of the 'coconut' and the lack of LINK between the TR_V and the LM_P, the reproach contained in the comment *You exist in the context of all in which you live and what came before you* to the allegation *You think you just fell out of a coconut tree?* contributes to the conceptualisation of the TR_V as a successful person. Furthermore, the foregrounded PATH image schema underlying the relation between the TR_V and the LM_P and the backgrounded LINK image schema (no connection between the TR_V and the LM_P) contribute to the meaning of the whole expression the allegation against the TR_V to become successful and thinking that it happened without any support or help. Still, this meaning undergoes (in line with the theory of conceptual integration, Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002) further elaboration resulting in mental spaces of 'being independent', 'being on your own' appearing together with mental spaces of 'good wishes'. And, the mental space SUCCESS starts becoming active too, often together with good wishes for the election, incorporated in the 'coconut', well seen in many memes at that time.

As stated by Fauconnier and Turner (2002, p. 47) "[b]lends arise in networks of mental spaces".¹³

Conceptualisation of 'coconut' in terms of 'enthusiasm' and 'success' and of the 'coconut tree' as the 'space nowhere' is to trace back to a multistage process of conceptual integration with two input spaces: (1) KAMALA HARRIS' STORY AND HER RUN FOR PRESIDENT (incorporating time and space related to the content of the story and to the story), (2) ALLEGATION AND REPROACH (incorporating the relation of intentionality). The allegation concerns the conceptualisation of coming from nowhere, and the reproach concerns dissatisfaction that the TR_V doesn't appreciate the role of its (her) surroundings (Fig. 9).

Both input spaces are connected by the relation of property. The notion of 'success' is implicitly present in the allegation, indirectly confirming TR_V as being successful. The mapping of the generic space (with concepts related to 'body language', 'appearance', 'voice' and 'tone') onto both input spaces causes the emergence of the blend in which (i) 'coconut' contributes conceptualisations of 'enthusiasm' and 'success', (ii) 'coconut tree' conceptualisation of a 'space nowhere' and (iii) 'ignoring of the surrounding' (combined

¹³ There are at least two input spaces with a partial matching between them. "At any moment in the construction of the network, the structure that inputs seem to share is captured in a generic space, which, in turn, maps onto each of the inputs. A given element in the generic space maps onto paired counterparts in the two input spaces. (...) In blending, structure from two input mental spaces is projected to a new space, the blend. Generic spaces and blended spaces are related: Blends contain generic structure captured in the generic space but also contain more specific structure, and they can contain structure that is impossible for the inputs (...)" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 47).

with (i) and (ii)) brings up the conceptualisation of ‘independence’ and ‘being on one’s own’ and its further elaboration including ‘support’ and ‘wish for success’ (Fig. 10).

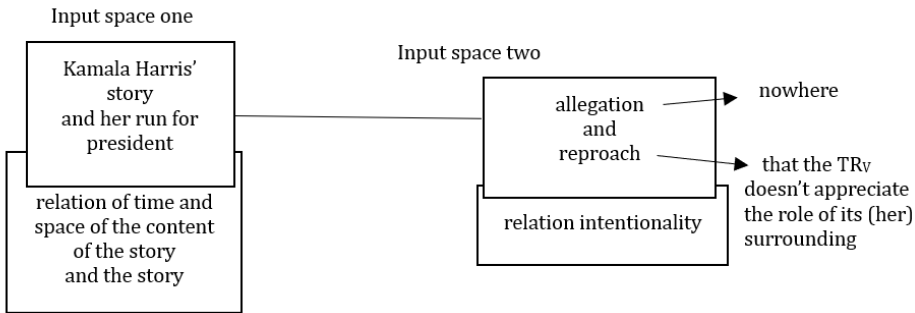


Fig. 9

The input spaces and relations working inside of them in the network related to example (2)

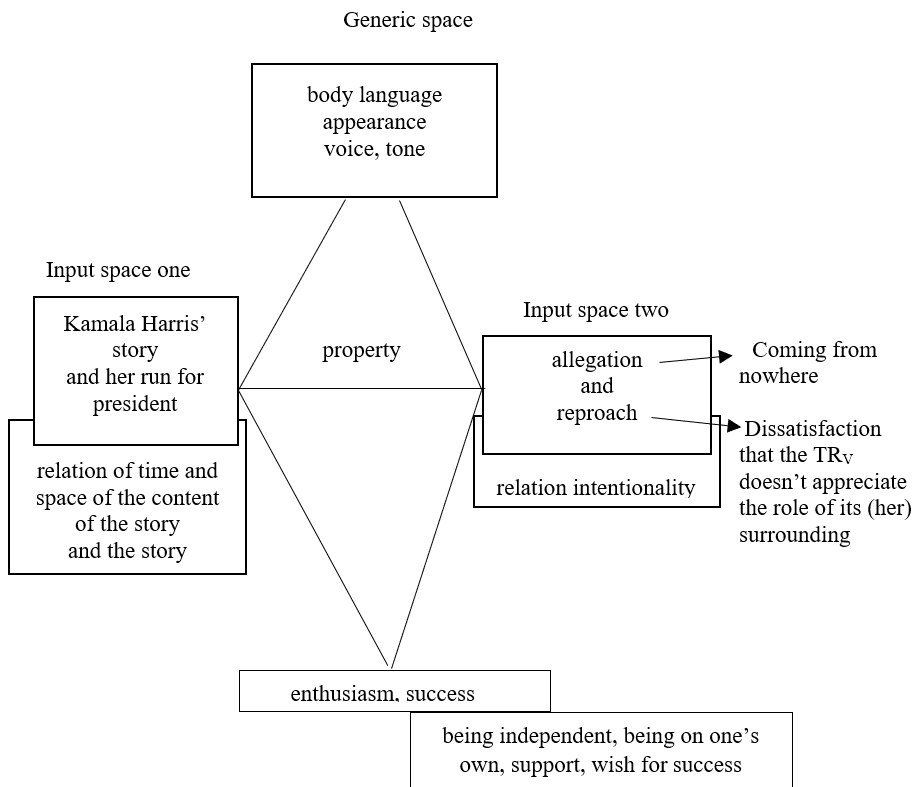


Fig. 10

The network of conceptual integration related to example (2)

Conclusions

In relation to the research question of whether the structures in issue should be viewed as a taxonomy or a network, first of all the following differences are to be taken into account:

- (i) the difference related to the flexibility: 'image schemas' as gestalts are stable, and domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' are dynamically changeable,
- (ii) the difference related to the impact of conceptualisations: 'image schemas' remain unaffected while 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' differ in their schematicity/specificity and conceptual complexity depending on conceptualisation,
- (iii) the difference related to the dual nature of the image schemas: 'image schemas' are autonomous and separate constructs, at the same time incorporated in the 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' constituting the foundation for them.

Because of these differences establishing one unique taxonomy is difficult due to the dual nature of 'image schemas' as well as to the rather relational than gradable organisation of the 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces'.

Thus, a taxonomy as discussed above inspired by Kövecses (2020) appears as an option, but as shown, it is only one possible arrangement among other constellations 'image schemas', 'domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' may form in the network. 'Domains', 'frames' and 'mental spaces' create an intertwined dynamic network, where particular structures can be larger, smaller or equal if compare to each other, and 'image schemas' function both outside of and inside the network.

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NEW VOICES: CONTRIBUTIONS FROM YOUNG SCHOLARS

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POLARIZATION IN AMERICAN DIGITAL POLITICAL NEWS: MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF ONLINE MEDIA AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

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Abstract

Although extensive studies have explored the political polarisation phenomenon in American digital news media and social networks, there has been little discussion about the multimodal analysis across online media platforms and social networks that synthesises linguistic, visual, and interactive elements. The article defends the relevance of investigating the mechanisms of political polarisation in English-language (American) digital political news through a comprehensive multimodal analysis of journalistic content and user interaction across online media platforms and social networks. To address the aim of the study, the paper: 1) reviews and synthesizes the existing scientific works on political polarization in digital media, focusing particularly on the multimodal approach; 2) evaluates the methodological advantages of the integrated multimodal approach in political communication research; and 3) demonstrates the scientific novelty by analysing journalistic content and user commentary through journalistic textual news and user commentaries. Such an approach advances interdisciplinary understanding, linking linguistics, media studies, and political activities. The results of the study are supposed to highlight the significant role of political polarization in shaping public discourse.

Keywords: multimodal analysis, polarization, digital political news, social networks.

Introduction

We live in a modern society in which the circulation and consumption of information have the power to shape reality, influence opinions, and actively construct individual and collective perceptions. In this context, information is not merely a passive reflection of events but an active force that constructs social meaning, shaping beliefs, and reinforcing specific worldviews.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore that, in the era of digitalization, traditional methods of disseminating political information are giving way to online news platforms. These platforms are becoming the primary sources of news for a broad audience, especially in English-speaking countries, where digital media is forming a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013). It is worth emphasizing that the media—particularly digital and social platforms—play a central role in mediating this process, as they selectively frame content, and filter narratives through exact mechanisms of influence. As a result, the boundaries between objective reality and media representations of the present become increasingly unclear, leading to the emergence of polarized perceptual frameworks. In recent years, the development of digital platforms has changed not only the mechanisms of news interpretation but also how political ideology is constructed.

Therefore, there has been an increasing interest in the language of polarisation, which is explained by the stable tendency of the American public to become polarised (Simchon, A., Brady, W.J. & Van Bavel, J.J., 2022; Klein, 2020; Mason, 2018). The scholars argue that on social media, “polarization is often defined as emerging clusters of like-minded individuals who engage in confirmation bias and curate narratives congruent with their beliefs” (Simchon, A., Brady, W.J., & Van Bavel, J.J., 2022; Del Vicaro, M., et al., 2016). Natalie Jomini Stroud (2010, 2011) found that people tend to consume news that aligns with their views, reinforcing partisan divides. Robert Entman (2004) showed how media framing amplifies ideological bias. At Harvard, R. Faris, Y. Benkler, and H. Roberts (2018) argued that fragmented media ecosystems amplify polarization. J. Settle (2018) found that even subtle political signals on social media can intensify polarization. Consequently, such an unacceptance of opposing ideological views is widely known as “affective polarisation” (Iyengar, Lelkes, Levendusky, Malhotra, Westwood, 2019; Finkel, 2020; Simchon, Brady, Van Bavel, 2022).

Though there are many scientific works devoted to the phenomenon of political polarization in American digital news media and social networks, however, far too little attention has been paid to the integrated, multimodal approach to analysing of political polarization in digital communication. Unlike traditional studies that focus on textual or quantitative content analysis, this research synthesizes linguistic, visual, and interactive elements. Fur-

thermore, it provides professional journalism and user commentary content, offering a comprehensive view of how polarization is constructed across media.

This article aims to defend the relevance of research on the mechanisms of political polarisation in English-language digital political news through a comprehensive multimodal analysis of journalistic content and user interaction across online media platforms and social networks.

The findings provide insight into the discursive, visual, and interactive strategies that contribute to the construction and reinforcement of political polarization in digital media environments. They reveal how multimodal elements - such as language choice, imagery, and user interaction—function together to frame political events, shape public opinion across both journalistic platforms and social networks.

The research focuses on the communicative, linguistic, and multimodal strategies employed in online political discourse. To achieve the defined objectives, the study will pursue the following tasks:

- 1) to review and synthesize the existing scientific works on political polarisation in digital media, with a particular focus on the multimodal approach;
- 2) to evaluate the methodological advantages of the integrated multimodal approach in political communication research;
- 3) to illustrate the scientific novelty by analysing journalistic content and user commentary through journalistic textual news and user commentaries.

Theoretical overview

The study of polarization in American digital political news is grounded in an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that brings together insights from political communication and media studies. It is worth noting that political polarization refers not only to ideological distance but also to the emotional dimensions of political identity, including distrust toward political opponents. In recent decades, this polarization has deepened due to transformations in the media and the structure of online information environments.

Modern digital media employ multimodal means of delivery, including text, images, infographics, and other visual components, which affect the user through multiple modes of perception simultaneously (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Contemporary media linguistics research emphasizes the analysis of multimodal communicative resources that enable the creation of complex and emotionally charged texts, which contribute to the construction of specific ideological stances. These elements not only convey information but also participate in the construction of frames

and ideological interpretations of political events (Entman, 2007). The visual rhetoric of news can both enhance neutrality and provoke polarisation of opinions (Caple, 2013). Caple and Bednarek (2016) emphasize that vocabulary, layout, and visual imagery work together to shape meanings and influence reader perception. In addition, the selection of information sources often reflects the ideological preferences of the media (Druckman, 2005; Groeling, 2013).

At the same time, there has been an increase in political polarisation in society, particularly in the United States of America. It manifests itself not only in the editorial policies of the media but also in the reactions of the users themselves - in comments, discussions and digital activism (Iyengar & Westwood, 2015; Lelkes, 2016). These interactive spaces have not become just specific places for ideological polarisation but also a digital and accessible place for their reproduction and amplification. A considerable amount of literature has been published on verbal political news and media discourse (Fairclough, 1995a; Richardson, 2007) and the analysis of user practices (Papacharissi, 2015; Freelon, Wells & Bennett, 2020). In studies of political rhetoric and media discourse, the focus is on rhetorical strategies that shape audiences' perceptions, construct in-group and out-group identities, and convey ideological positions (Fairclough, 1995b; Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2011).

The latest studies demonstrate that user comments not only reflect but shape the modern discourse (Coe, Kenski & Rains, 2014; Rowe, 2015). Personalized content delivery and platform algorithms enhance the perception of selective information and deepen the impact of "information bubbles" (Pariser, 2011; Flaxman et al., 2016; KhosraviNik, 2018). The multimodal approach reveals how textual and visual elements interact to create political meanings (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

However, no research has been found that investigates the interplay between the form of news information presentation and its interpretation by the audience in the framework of the multimodal approach, with a specific focus on how this interaction contributes to the political polarization formation.

It is worth noting the basic hypothesis that English-language digital political news and user commentaries employ distinct but closely connected linguistic, visual, and semiotic strategies, focusing on discourse polarisation. Journalistic news texts are supposed to employ more formal and ideologically coloured multimodal digital resources, reflecting editorial positioning.

In contrast, user commentaries are expected to be more informal, emotionally charged, and rhetorically confrontational, which intensifies polarisation. Additionally, from a multimodal perspective, user-created content is distinguished by a more varied range of multimodal options used to express affective evaluation and ideological stance both explicitly and implicitly.

Hence, the interaction between news content and audience reaction creates a kind of a discursive arena in which meanings are not only perceived by readers but also their polarisation is formed and reinforced in the process of communication between professional journalism and active user comments on digital platforms.

Thus, the highlighted gaps support the hypothesis that a multimodal analysis of political news and user comments is intended to enable a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms of formation and reproduction of political polarisation in English-language digital discourse.

Research methodology

As it has already been mentioned despite the increasing interest in political polarization and digital communication, far too little attention has been paid to the role of multimodal strategies, including linguistic, visual, and semiotic ones, inter-playing in journalistic texts and user comments that reinforce polarization. Furthermore, in contemporary studies, commentary discourse is rarely analysed from a comparative point of view.

Hence, the defended research is supposed to focus on the comparative characteristics of the official journalistic materials and user commentaries of the same political events. The analysis has to explore the lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, and multimodal strategies used to express ideological evaluation. It covers the investigation of stylistic devices (for example, metaphors, ironies, repetitions, etc.), manipulation, and tone changes in formal and informal discourses.

To achieve the mentioned purposes, the study requires a comprehensive approach that combines the methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) to study the mechanisms of discursive polarisation in the digital political space.

Critical discourse analysis aims at studying how ideological positions in language shape assessment and its polarisation. CDA enables researchers to uncover ideological positioning through discourse features such as lexical choices, grammatical and pragmatic constructions. This approach is rooted in the work of Norman Fairclough (1995, 2001), who emphasized the role of language in the reproduction of social power, and Teun A. van Dijk (1998), who focused on the cognitive and social dimensions of political and media discourse.

The multimodal approach is intended to study the interaction of verbal and non-verbal resources such as imagery, layout, video, and graphic symbolism in creating variants of event interpretation. Scholars such as Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2001) have pioneered this approach, arguing

that meaning-making in modern media is inherently multimodal. MDA enables the study to explore how images and visual arrangements reinforce ideological content in digital news.

Comparative and pragmatic analysis enables the determination of the communicative intentions of the participants by comparing the strategies of journalistic and user discourses according to thematic and lexical-stylistic parameters. The analysis aims to explore the lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, and multimodal strategies used to express ideological evaluation. It covers the investigation of stylistic devices (for example, metaphors, ironies, repetitions, etc.), manipulation, and tone changes in formal and informal discourses.

This approach enables an understanding of how political polarization is linguistically and visually constructed in American digital political media.

Political polarization in American digital news environments is shaped by the interplay of multimodal discourse, media ideology, and rhetorical strategies. At the core of this analysis is recognized that news content today is rarely communicated through text alone. Visuality plays a key role in shaping audience perception. Caple (2013) argues that visual elements such as photographs and layout function rhetorically to guide interpretation and construct meaning. These elements, when combined with vocabulary and structural features, form an integrated multimodal system that affects audience reception (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). This approach is followed with multimodal discourse analysis, which investigates the interaction between semiotic modes such as text, image, and design in the processes of meaning (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Media organizations frequently engage in selective sourcing that reflects their political ideologies. As noted by Groeling (2013), media outlets make deliberate editorial choices about whom to quote, which experts to consult, and what narratives to prioritize. Druckman's study (2005) investigates how the selection of information sources in media texts often reflects underlying ideological preferences, shaping the interpretation of news content.

Iyengar and Westwood (2015) argue that political identity has become a dominant social divide, shaping how individuals interpret news, engage with opposing viewpoints, and participate in online discussions. This phenomenon is becoming increasingly visible in online comment sections and social media interactions. Lelkes (2016) points out digital spaces serve not only as reflections of division but as active sites for the intensification of conflict.

Moreover, the rise of participatory media has shifted the dynamics of political communication. As the observations suggest, political discourse is now actively shaped by users. Papacharissi (2015) notes that digital platforms enable citizens to become co-creators of political narratives, while Freelon, Wells, and Bennett (2020) emphasize the role of user engagement, such as commenting, sharing, and tagging, in the framing of political content.

User comments in particular have been found to influence discourse and shape interpretation (Coe, Kenski, & Rains, 2014; Rowe, 2015).

Summarising up, these theoretical perspectives highlight the complexity of digital political communication. Polarization is a dynamic process shaped by ideological framing, rhetorical construction, and user participation. Understanding this process requires an integrated approach that accounts for both the content and the context in which political discourse operates.

To substantiate the scientific novelty of the proposed research, it is important to demonstrate the potential of the chosen methodological framework. For this purpose, the paper presents a case study – multimodal analysis of journalistic news texts and user commentaries – which serves as an illustrative example of how the mechanisms of political polarisation can be studied in English-language (mainly American) digital political news across media.

Case study

Digital news articles employ a range of words, images, layouts, and interactive features to guide readers' understanding of the news. Headlines often include strong connotations to shape people's perceptions. Pictures highlight emotions or symbols to draw readers' attention to the information, and interactive features guide interpretation and credibility. It is worth noting that user comment sections also serve as dynamic spaces where readers contest and even reframe journalistic narratives. Comments are marked by informal, emotive language, emoji, and multimodal expressions, often resisting or challenging dominant frames by introducing alternative viewpoints.

To explore the dynamics of political polarization in American digital political news driven by journalistic discourse and audience comment interaction, this study analyses both media and user-generated commentary. Specifically, it focuses on selected sentences from *The Washington Post* article titled "6 takeaways from Trump's inaugural address" (January 20, 2025), alongside user responses posted on Reddit and the X (renamed from Twitter) platform.

For example, the sentence from *The Washington Post* article "6 takeaways from Trump's inaugural address", "Trump's speech wasn't focused on score-settling and attacking his political foes as his usual fare. He made more false and dubious claims," uses lexical choices that frame Trump as regularly aggressive and dishonest. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) shows how terms like "score-settling" and "false claims" delegitimize the speaker.

From a lexical perspective, the vocabulary used is overtly evaluative. Words such as "score-settling", "attacking", "false", and "dubious" are loaded with negative connotations. These lexical items are definitely not neutral de-

scriptors but ideologically charged terms that imply emotional reactivity (*"score-settling"*), aggression (*"attacking"*), and dishonesty or manipulation (*"false and dubious claims"*). The phrase *"his usual fare"* also plays a crucial role in lexical framing. It categorizes Trump's discourse as combative, normalizing this behavior through repetition and familiarity.

Grammatically, the use of negation in *"wasn't focused"* is significant. Rather than affirming what the speech *was* about, the sentence emphasizes what it *was not*, thereby presupposing that Trump's previous speeches usually *are* focused on personal attacks. This use of negative polarity not only highlights deviation from a norm but also implicitly reinforces that norm. Additionally, the second sentence, *"He made more false and dubious claims,"* uses a declarative structure that presents judgment as fact.

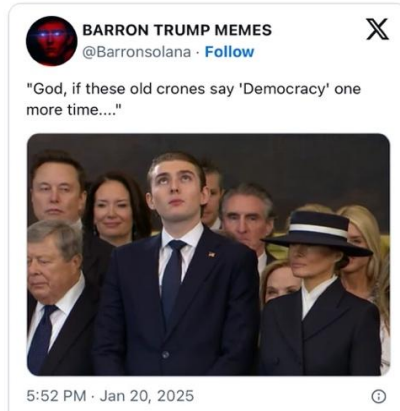
From a pragmatic point of view, the utterances perform more than a simple reporting function. They are expected to serve as speech acts of criticism. The statement presupposes that Trump typically engages in dishonesty, and by declaring that he continued making *"false and dubious claims,"* it positions the speaker as untrustworthy. This indirectly guides the reader toward a specific interpretation.

Similarly, the phrase that was taken from the Reddit platform *"This is a hell of a speech"* carries layered meaning dependent on tone and context. The use of the intensifier *"hell"* reflects strong emotion. Lexically, the sentence contains informal and idiomatic elements. *"Hell"* is a slang term functioning as an intensifier, used to emphasize how noteworthy the speech is. The phrase *"a hell of a"* is a fixed idiomatic expression that means "very impressive". Grammatically, the sentence *"This is a hell of a speech"* is a simple declarative clause. The subject of the sentence is *"This"*, a demonstrative pronoun that refers to a specific speech currently being discussed. Pragmatically, the sentence expresses an evaluation of the speech. It acts as praise for the speech's quality or impact. The word *"hell"* adds emotional intensity, so listeners must rely on tone, facial expressions, and context to understand the speaker's true attitude. It also assumes the speech is noteworthy enough to deserve such a strong reaction.

The tweet *"God, if these old crones say 'Democracy' one more time...."* uses sarcastic language. (Picture 1)

The phrase *"old crones"* is a negative term used to describe political opponents. The quotation marks around *"Democracy"* suggest irony. This lexical choice targets a group perceived negatively and seeks to belittle their arguments or views. From the point of grammar, the unfinished conditional sentence and ellipsis create a tone of frustration. This structure invites the audience to imagine the consequences, adding tension and emotional charge to the statement. Pragmatically analysing, the tweet mocks critics, encouraging solidarity by expressing shared annoyance. The image reinforces this

with Barron Trump looking upward, symbolizing exasperation, while Melania Trump's serious expression adds to the solemn mood. Elon Musk's presence adds political weight. The photo's formal setting contrasts with the sarcastic tone, creating irony.



Picture 1

X (Renamed Twitter) platform user commentary on Donald Trump's inaugural speech

From the multimodal discourse perspective, Barron's upward gaze can be seen as a visual representation of the phrase "*God, if these old crones...*," suggesting a moment of silent frustration or prayer. Melania Trump's formal attire and serious facial expression contribute to a tense atmosphere, while Elon Musk's neutral but concerned look adds another feeling of seriousness. However, the formal setting and the serious expressions of the individuals contrast with the sarcastic tone of the text. The author uses this image to amplify the meaning behind the phrase, making the emotional state of the people in the photo central to the overall message.

Summing up, a text and image convey political frustration on the inauguration day of January 20, 2025, emphasizing the speaker's weariness with repeated calls to "*Democracy*." The combination of language and visuals strengthens the overall critical and mocking message.

Overall, these examples demonstrate how political communication in digital media relies on an intricate interplay of verbal and visual modes to frame, contest, and co-produce meaning in the public sphere.

Conclusion

This article has justified the novelty of examining political polarisation in English-language digital political news through a comprehensive multi-

modal analysis of journalistic content and user interaction across online media platforms and social networks.

This study has demonstrated that digital news platforms and social networks significantly contribute to the formation and intensification of political polarization in the United States. Information in contemporary media does not merely reflect reality; it helps shape people's perception of the world. Digital media often selectively presents news, leading to divergent worldviews.

This research uses a combined approach that looks at language, images, and user interactions to understand better how political divisions are built and maintained online. The findings reveal that both professional news and user comments collaboratively influence political attitudes and reinforce polarized interpretations.

The results underscore the significance of examining political events in digital media by considering all these elements together. Understanding how language, visuals, and social interactions connect can help us better grasp how political polarization grows. This knowledge can also help find ways to reduce division and encourage more open and respectful discussions in online spaces.

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THE DIALOGUE OF WORD AND PICTURE – POLYSEMY IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION OF SONGS FROM ANIMATED FILMS

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Abstract

The paper presents a comparative textual analysis of Polish audiovisual translations of songs from Walt Disney Animation Studios' animated films: *Surface Pressure* from *Encanto* (2021), *You're Welcome* from *Moana* (2016), and *Everything Is Honey* from *Winnie the Pooh* (2011). The study aims to identify the translation methods and procedures applied in the translation process, based on Newmark's (1988) classifications, and to examine the relationships between the English and Polish lyrics of the songs and their accompanying pictures. Conclusions from the analysis allow us to determine how the polysemy of the visual layer of a film can be utilised in the process of audiovisual translation.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, animated films, song translation, polysemy.

The following paper aims to analyse and assess Polish translations of three songs coming from Walt Disney Animation Studios' animated films, in order to determine how meanings contained in the visual layer of the movies express themselves in different variants of the lyrics. Dubbed versions of the films will be examined in terms of translation methods and procedures applied, as well as relations between the textual and the visual layer of the songs and differences in how both language versions refer to the accompa-

nying pictures. Before that, certain terms related to the subject of the analysis will be discussed.

1 About translation

Translation is, as Newmark (1988, p. 5) defines it, “rendering the meaning of a text into another language in a way that the author intended the text”. Translation is “a science”, “a skill”, “an art” and “a matter of taste” (Newmark, 1988, p. 6). It is never fully accurate, for there are no two identical languages. It can be said, therefore, that a translation is always a certain form of commentary (Nida, 2012, p. 141). It can be seen as an action, which has a purpose and which leads to a certain result, a “new object”, namely a “target text” (Vermeer, 2012, p. 191). Since translation is a mutual act of communication via two disparate codes, certain factors may disturb this link (Brisset, 2012, p. 281). Nida (2012, p. 142) enumerates among them the following determinants: “(1) the nature of the message, (2) the purpose or purposes of the author and (...) of the translator, and (3) the type of audience”. Translation relates to meanings generated in different cultural contexts, involves understanding “what language is and how it comes to function for its users” (Baker, 1992, p. 4) and, as Spivak (2012, p. 312) puts it, demands from the translator to facilitate the “love between the original and its shadow”.

1.1 Newmark’s translation methods

Based on the intention of a translator to put emphasis either on the source language (SL), or on the target language (TL), Newmark (1988, p. 45–47) distinguishes a number of translation methods, which he understands as “products rather than processes, i.e., as they appear in the finished translation” (Newmark, 1988, p. 51). He illustrates relations between the methods in a form of a diagram (Newmark, 1988, p. 45):



Figure 1
Translation methods (Newmark 1988, p. 45)

a) SL emphasis:

- i) Word-for-word translation – “the SL word order is preserved and the words translated singly by their most common meanings, out of context” (Newmark, 1988, p. 45–46);
 - ii) Literal translation – “the SL grammatical constructions are converted to their nearest TL equivalents but the lexical words are again translated singly, out of context” (Newmark, 1988, p. 46);
 - iii) Faithful translation – it “attempts to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures” and “to be completely faithful to the intentions and the text-realisation of the SL writer” (Newmark, 1988, p. 46);
 - iv) Semantic translation – it not only retains the assumptions of faithful translation but also takes “more account of the aesthetic value (that is, the beautiful and natural sound) of the SL text, compromising on ‘meaning’ where appropriate” (Newmark, 1988, p. 46);
- b) TL emphasis:
- i) Adaptation – “the ‘freest’ form of translation”, in which “the themes, characters, plots are usually preserved, the SL culture converted to the TL culture and the text rewritten”; “used mainly for plays (comedies) and poetry” (Newmark, 1988, p. 46);
 - ii) Free translation – it “reproduces the matter without the manner, or the content without the form of the original” and usually is “a paraphrase much longer than the original”, an “intralingual translation” (Newmark, 1988, p. 46–47);
 - iii) Idiomatic translation – it “reproduces the ‘message’ of the original but tends to distort nuances of meaning by preferring colloquialisms and idioms where these do not exist in the original” (Newmark, 1988, p. 47);
 - iv) Communicative translation – it “attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensive to the readership” (Newmark, 1988, p. 47).

Newmark (1988, p. 47) states that only semantic and communicative translation fulfil the main aims of translation, namely accuracy and economy. Semantic translation is used mainly to translate expressive texts, while communicative translation is applied towards informative and vocative ones. “[A] semantic translation has to interpret, a communicative translation to explain” (Newmark, 1988, p. 47–48).

1.2 Newmark’s translation procedures

Unlike translation methods, in Newmark’s conception pertaining to a text as a whole, translation procedures are applied to smaller units of lan-

guage (Newmark, 1988, p. 81). Newmark (1988, p. 68–93) differentiates among them:

- a) Literal translation – the basic procedure, which may take the forms from “one word to one word”, through “group to group”, “collocation to collocation” and “clause to clause”, to “sentence to sentence” (Newmark, 1988, p. 69–70);
- b) Transference – transferring names of cultural objects and concepts from the source language to the target language (Newmark, 1988, p. 81–82);
- c) Naturalisation – transference combined with adapting the source language word to the normal pronunciation and morphology of the target language (Newmark, 1988, p. 82);
- d) Cultural equivalent – an approximate translation of a source language cultural word by a target language cultural word (Newmark, 1988, p. 82–83);
- e) Functional equivalent – usage of a culture-free word, optionally with a new specific term; “the most accurate way of translating i.e. decultur-alising a cultural word” (Newmark, 1988, p. 83);
- f) Descriptive equivalent – combining description and function of a given word (Newmark, 1988, p. 83–84);
- g) Synonymy – applying a near target language equivalent to a source language word when a clear equivalent does not exist or when the word is not important in the text (Newmark, 1988, p. 84);
- h) Through-translation – also known as “calque” or “loan translation”; the literal translation of common collocations, names of organisations, phrases, as well as the components of compounds; this procedure ought to be used only when the translation is already a recognised term (Newmark, 1988, p. 84–85);
- i) Shifts or transpositions – “a translation procedure involving a change in the grammar” from the source language to the target language, so that the translation is grammatically correct and sounds naturally (Newmark, 1988, p. 85–88);
- j) Modulation – change of perspective, which may include “positive for double negative”, “part for the whole”, “abstract for concrete”, “cause for effect”, “one part for another”, “reversal of terms”, “active for passive”, “space for time”, “intervals and limits”, or “change of symbols” (Newmark, 1988, p. 88–89);
- k) Recognised translation – usage of “the official or the generally accepted translation of any institutional term” (Newmark, 1988, p. 89);
- l) Translation label – a provisional translation of a new institutional term, put in inverted commas (Newmark, 1988, p. 90);

- m) Compensation – compensating for loss of meaning, metaphor, sound-effect or pragmatic effect in another part of the text (Newmark, 1988, p. 90);
- n) Componental analysis – “the splitting up of a lexical unit into its sense components, often one-to-two, -three or -four translations” (Newmark, 1988, p. 90);
- o) Reduction and expansion – translating a source language adjective of substance plus general noun by target language noun, as well as a source language adjective for target language adverb plus past participle, or present participle plus object (Newmark, 1988, p. 90);
- p) Paraphrase – “an amplification or explanation of the meaning of a segment of the text” (Newmark, 1988, p. 90);
- q) Couplets, triplets and quadruplets – combining two, three or four procedures for a single case (Newmark, 1988, p. 91);
- r) Notes, additions and glosses – insertion of additional information in the translation, which may take the form of notes or glossary at the bottom of a page, at the end of a chapter, or at the end of a book (Newmark, 1988, p. 91–92).

1.3 Audiovisual translation

What differentiates a literary text and the textual layer of a film is that the latter consist almost solely of spoken parts – mainly dialogues, but monologues and off-screen lines as well. Moreover, film translation is closely related to translation of spoken language, since there is a strong pursuit of naturalness of language in films (Belczyk, 2007, p. 6–7). Spoken words, however, are only one of the elements of audiovisual message, among which are spoken and written text, movable and immovable pictures, as well as sounds and music. The sense of the message results from relations between those elements (Tomaszkiewicz, 2006, p. 102). Another significant factor is respecting the time code, which means fitting lines of the target text in the appropriate time and context. In order to achieve this, the original is often paraphrased and compressed, which results in eliminating usually about 30–40% of the source text (Adamowicz-Grzyb, 2013, p. 22, 36). Beside competence characteristic for translators in general, an audiovisual translator ought to possess such extratranslatory qualities and abilities as ingenuity, flexibility, responsive linguistic hearing and sensing of verbal word, as well as riddle solving skills (Belczyk, 2007, p. 6). Belczyk (2007, p. 7–9) distinguishes three primary ways of translating films:

- a) dubbing – a recorded version of dialogues in the target language substitutes the original soundtrack;
- b) subtitling – the translation has the form of subtitles in the lower part of the screen;

c) voice-over – a single lector reads all the characters' lines while the original soundtrack is muffled but remains hearable.

For the needs of this paper, the technique of dubbing will be discussed more closely.

1.3.1 The technique of dubbing

"Dubbing is an attempt to create an illusion" (Ranzato & Zabalbeascoa, 2022, p. 13). It is an audiovisual translation technique which consists of adding a recorded voice in the target language to the original actors visible on the screen (Tomaszkiewicz, 2006, p. 106). It is particularly widespread in countries of Western Europe, such as Germany, Italy, Spain and France. In Poland, due to high costs and habits of Polish viewers, it is not a specially popular technique – mainly children and family movies are dubbed (Adamowicz-Grzyb, 2013, p. 18, 138). Although assumptions of dubbing might appear simple, an audiovisual translator preparing the target text needs to take numerous aspects of actors' performance into consideration, including length of mouth's opening and its shape, as well as intonation, gestures and facial expression (Tomaszkiewicz, 2006, p. 106–107). The audience expects naturalness and authenticity of language, which involve such elements as lexical and dialectical choices, prosody and vagueness of conversation (Ranzato & Zabalbeascoa, 2022, p. 11, 15). Dubbing demands also factoring in such elements as onomatopoeia, exclamations, sighs and lines of middle distance. Such precise requirements make dubbing the most laborious audiovisual translation technique (Adamowicz-Grzyb, 2013, p. 139–140).

1.3.2 Synchronisation

An essential factor of creating illusion in dubbing is lip-synch. It requires the target language voices to be heard in the same intervals as the respective characters' lips move. The sounds ought to fit the shape of movements of the lips as well (Ranzato & Zabalbeascoa, 2022, p. 14). Therefore, the agreement of rhythm of lines, the length of syllables and types of vowels is crucial (Adamowicz-Grzyb, 2013, p. 139). Synchronisation of the translated text may be achieved by adjustment of time of utterance – to that end, the translator can either omit certain words or add new elements, such as short words and connectors, which impart a proper rhythm of speech. Minor discrepancies in number of syllables may be handled by regulating pace of speaking. Another aspect of synchronisation is the agreement of sounds. The main factors are the extent of opening of mouth and the place of articulation. When it comes to consonants, essential is identification of bilabial and labiodental ones, while in vowels, the opposition between rounded and spread ones is crucial. An audiovisual translator needs to pay special attention to

sounds that occur in initial or final part of the sequence and are prolonged or accented. Advantageous moments for the process of synchronisation are those when the lips of the currently speaking character are not visible, therefore, the translator does not have to regard the agreement between sound and picture to such a high extent (Tomaszkiewicz, 2006, p. 109–111).

2 Song translation

A translator may be commissioned a song to translate by theatres, as a part of a film or for publications containing cited lyrics (Franzon, 2008, p. 373). In such situation a translator may apply one of a number of strategies (Franzon, 2008, p. 376–386):

- a) “Leaving the song untranslated” – when the lyrics are not important, or when preserving the original version serves retaining authenticity (Franzon, 2008, p. 376–378);
- b) “Translating the lyrics but not taking the music into account” – applied in subtitling or when the translation is a supplement to the original lyrics; in this choice the emphasis is on the sense of the lyrics (Franzon, 2008, p. 378–379);
- c) “Writing new lyrics to the original music with no overt relation to the original lyrics” – when the music is more important than the lyrics; the new version may be influenced by the original or contain certain parts of it (Franzon, 2008, p. 376, 380);
- d) “Translating the lyrics and adapting the music accordingly” – introducing slight modifications of the melody, for instance “splitting, merging or adding notes and splitting or creating melismas”, when the lyrics are more relevant than the music (Franzon, 2008, p. 381, 384);
- e) “Adapting the translation to the original music” – used when the music cannot be changed; the translator has to approximate and paraphrase the source lyrics (Franzon, 2008, p. 386).

The choice of a particular strategy should be based on the context, function and performance; for instance, in dubbed films neither the music nor the performance can be changed (Franzon, 2008, pp. 388–389).

Songs in films often have great significance since they play special role in creating emotional message. Furthermore, as Aminoroaya and Amirian (2016, pp. 44–45) state, “songs have the power of making long stories short and reveal a lot of information in a very short time. In some genres, such as film musicals and animated movies, songs serve as narratives and have a plot-furthering function” (Aminoroaya & Amirian, 2016, pp. 44–45).

2.1 Singability

Regarding song translation, Franzon (2008, p. 397) uses the term of “singability” understood as “a practical term to sum up everything that makes words and music function together in a song”. Adamowicz-Grzyb (2013, p. 182) states that a song translation is singable when its rhythm is similar to the original, which is related to such factors as the number and length of syllables, accents and caesuras. Franzon (2008, pp. 390–391), in turn, differentiates “three layers of singability”:

- a) prosodic match – rhythm, stress, intonation and phonetic suitability;
- b) poetic match – relation between lyrics and harmonic structure of a song;
- c) semantic-reflexive match – “word-painting”, “the musical depiction” of words and ideas (Franzon, 2008, pp. 390–391).

Franzon (2008, p. 391) states that prosodic match is the most essential requirement for the lyrics to be sung, while the need for the remaining layers may vary based on the character of the song and is subordinate to the translator’s choice.

3 Translating for children

Translating for children as the intended readers/viewers is characterised by certain traits, among which Alvstad (2010, pp. 22–25) enumerates:

- a) Cultural context adaptation – children might have difficulty understanding cultural context of the source text, which requires from translators to adapt it to the target audience’s frames of reference; it may result in loss of a part of pedagogical role of the text;
- b) Ideological manipulation (purification) – adaptation involves plot’s or stylistic changes aiming at promoting a particular set of values;
- c) The child-adult dual readership – adult translators, teachers, librarians or parents are familiar with content intended for children and make it available for them;
- d) Features of orality – such elements as sound, rhythm, rhymes, nonsense and word-play may lead to translators’ choices between sound and content, or familiar and foreign;
- e) Text and image – “the coexistence of a verbal and a visual code” and relations between these codes (Alvstad, 2010, pp. 22–25).

Fostering values perceived positively in a particular cultural context is critical for content intended for children since young people learn from what they read and see, which makes the role of a translator of such texts especially significant (Alvstad, 2010, p. 26).

4 Animated films

According to Yalavarthy et al. (2021, p. 5515), animation is “a collection of pictures played at a very rapid rate” and “an artwork”. Animated films are characterised by rich expression and colours, as well as “unique character depictions”, which make the story presented in them more comprehensive and memorable. This genre is particularly popular among children since it is easily understandable and pleasing to the eye (Putri 2023, p. 844). Animations give unrestricted space for expression and allow to create pictures impossible to accomplish in real world (Yalavarthy et al., 2021, p. 5508). Moreover, they may have contribution to development of children’s characters (Putri, 2023, p. 844).

A special brand of animated films are those produced by Walt Disney Animation Studios, which has a long history and wide collection of established pictures, starting from *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* from 1937. It was founded in 1923 as Disney Brothers Cartoon Studio. Its productions apply a range of animation techniques, among which are traditional animation, computer animation and animation combined with live-action scenes.

5 The analysis of the lyrics

For this analysis three songs were chosen: *Surface Pressure* from *Encanto* (2021), *You’re Welcome* from *Moana* (2016) and *Everything Is Honey* from *Winnie the Pooh* (2011). The reason for such a selection was that in all of these three songs there is a strong connection between the lyrics and the picture that accompanies them, which entails certain constraints on the translator, who is, actually, the same person in all these three cases. Translation procedures applied in chosen fragments of the songs will be examined, as well as differences between both language versions, after which, in the conclusion section, it will be assessed which translation methods could have been adopted in the process of translation. The lyrics were transcribed based on the author’s subjective reception, and chosen parts of Polish versions were adapted into English.

5.1 *Encanto* – *Surface Pressure*

Encanto is an animated musical fantasy film from 2021, directed by Jared Bush and Byron Howard and produced by Walt Disney Animation Studios. Its soundtrack was composed by Lin-Manuel Miranda and Polish lyrics were written by Michał Wojnarowski. The song *Surface Pressure* was performed by Jessica Darrow originally and by Anna Szymańczyk in Polish version.

The film tells a story of a Colombian family Madrigal whose members are gifted with magical powers and use them to serve people from their village. The only member who has no gift is Mirabel. When the girl discovers that the family's magic is in danger, she struggles to save it and confronts iniquitous expectations set by her grandmother, the family's matriarch. The song *Surface Pressure* takes place during Mirabel's conversation with her older sister Luisa, gifted with superhuman strength, who shares her concerns about the family's future and her being overwhelmed by the pressure pushed on her.

Table 1

Examples from *Surface Pressure*

No.	English lyrics	Polish lyrics
1	<i>I'm the strong one, I'm not nervous I'm as tough as the crust of the Earth is I move mountains, I move churches, And I glow, cuz I know what my worth is</i>	<i>Jestem silna, nie nerwowa Jestem twardsza od skał, daję słowo Noszę góry i kaplice Swoją wartość potrafię policzyć</i>
2	<i>But under the surface, I feel berserk as a tightrope walker in a three-ring circus Under the surface, was Hercules ever like, 'Yo, I don't wanna fight Cerberus'? Under the surface, I'm pretty sure I'm worthless if I can't be of service A flaw or a crack, the straw in the stack That breaks the camel's back, what breaks the camel's back?</i>	<i>Lecz pod tym pancerzem, jak na spacerze po linie w cyrku trochę strach mnie bierze Pod tym pancerzem, jak tamten Grek pół-bóg, pół-człek, z bestią lęku się mierzę Pod tym pancerzem, wiem to, że każdy wie, że jak przegram raz, to leżę Niepewność jest i strach, i stres że spotka mnie tu kres, przerasta mnie ten test</i>
3	<i>It's pressure like a drip, drip, drip that'll never stop, whoa Pressure that'll tip, tip, tip 'til you just go pop, whoa-oh-oh Give it to your sister, your sister's older Give her all the heavy things we can't shoulder Who am I if I can't run with the ball? If I fall to Pressure like a grip, grip, grip, and it won't let go, whoa Pressure like a tick, tick, tick 'til it's ready to blow, whoa-oh-oh Give it to your sister, your sister's stronger See if she can hang on a little longer Who am I if I can't carry it all? If I falter</i>	<i>Bo presja drąży kap, kap, kap, idzie za mną w trop, whoa Nie wypuszcza z łap, łap, łap, nie zna słowa stop, whoa-oh-oh Siostra się tym zajmie, jest starsza przecież Zrzućmy na nią ciężar, ten co nas gniecie To mój los, że muszę świat sama nieść Jak to znieść, gdy Czuję presji chwyt, chwyt, chwyt, czy przeżyję to, whoa Czy usłyszę tik, tik, tik, zanim pękne jak szkło, whoa-oh-oh Siostra się tym zajmie, jak nic da radę Pośle się ją tam, gdzie nie może diabeł Co się stanie, gdy doczekam się dnia Że się złamię</i>
4	<i>Under the surface, I hide my nerves and it worsens, I worry something is gonna hurt us Under the surface, the ship doesn't swerve Has it heard how big the iceberg is? Under the surface, I think about my purpose, can I</i>	<i>Bo w mojej głowie rozterek kłębi się mrowie I nerwów, że krzywdę nam tu zrobię Bo w mojej głowie są góry lodowe A kursu zmienić nie mogę Bo w mojej głowie bez przerwy myślę sobie</i>

Table 1 (cont.)

No.	English lyrics	Polish lyrics
	<i>somehow preserve this?</i>	<i>Gdzie cel mój, kto mi powie?</i>
4	<i>Line up the dominoes, a light wind blows</i> <i>You try to stop it topplin', but on and on it goes</i>	<i>Domino wali się, huragan dmie</i> <i>Nic na to nie poradzę, zaraz będzie bardzo źle</i>
5	<i>Watch as she buckles and bends, but never breaks,</i> <i>No mistakes</i>	<i>Choć się ugina, nie pęka ciągle, nie</i> <i>Nie myśl se</i>
6	<i>No cracks, no breaks</i> <i>No mistakes, no pressure</i>	<i>Bez słów i już</i> <i>Na pięć plus, bez presji</i>

A word that appears repetitively in the lyrics is *pressure*, which resounds in the background in certain parts of the song. Polish translation retains this element using its direct equivalent *presja*, by which it preserves the phonetic effect made by a fricative consonant as well.

Some parts of the translation are more or less equivalent to the original. In example 1, the first and the third verse are faithful, only with “churches” replaced by chapels in Polish version. The remaining verses use different conceptualizations: *Jestem twardsza od skał, daję słowo* (“I give my word I am tougher than rocks”)¹ in the second and *Swoją wartość potrafię policzyć* (“I can count my value”) in the fourth one, but convey the message of the original. In example 4, the notion of dominoes is preserved in the translation so that the lyrics are in accordance with the picture, where this theme is also present. Concurrently, in other fragments (for instance three final lines of example 3) the depictions from both versions differ, although the general idea of pressure, anxiety and downfall remains. A similar situation has place in example 2, where *I’m pretty sure I’m worthless if I can’t be of service* is translated as *wiem to, że każdy wie, że jak przegram raz to leżę* (“I know everybody knows that if I lose once, I fall”).

In example 2, there are two usages of functional equivalent: *Hercules* is translated as *tamten Grek, pół-bóg, pół-człek* (“that Greek, half-god, half-man”) and *Cerberus* as *bestia lęku* (“beast of fear”). At the end of the example, the translation does not retain the idiom *the straw that breaks the camel’s back* and simply refers to uncertainty, fear and stress.

A part of example 3, *who am I if I can’t run with the ball?* is accompanied by picture of Luisa carrying the globe. The Polish version, in this particular case, might be more accurate, or rather literal, since it says *to mój los, że muszę świat sama nieść* (“it’s my lot to carry the world on my own”).

There is a number of recurring phrases in the original text, which are not always present in the translation. The first parallel occurs in examples 2 and 4. In the source lyrics, the phrase *under the surface* initiates subsequent

¹ The brackets contain backtranslation of Polish lyrics into English, performed by the author.

verses. In the Polish version, in example 2, the initial phrase is translated roughly accurately into *pod tym pancerzem* ("under this armour"), while in example 4, it is changed into *bo w mojej głowie* ("because in my head..."), which allows to change the final sound of the verse and, therefore, retain the rhymes. Next, in example 3, there are three repeated phrases: the first one is *pressure*, which in the original occurs four times, while in the translation the word *presja* appears only two times; the second one is *give it to your sister, your sister's...* – in the Polish lyrics, only first part of this phrase is translated, into *siostra się tym zajmie* ("[your] sister will have it covered"); finally, there is the phrase *who am I if...*, which is not preserved in the translation. Another parallel takes place at the end of the song (examples 5 and 6). In the source lyrics, there is repetition of the phrase *no mistakes*, as well as of the notion of breaking; those lyrics are twice accompanied with similar pictures of Luisa carrying the house/village on her back. However, in the translation those two fragments are not related at all (Polish version says "although she buckles, she still doesn't break, don't say it to yourself" in example 5 and "no words, that's all; with flying colours, no pressure" in example 6).

Another type of repeated phrases may be found in example 3 where four different words from distinct verses appear thrice sequentially. In the first verse, where English *drip* occurs, the translation refers to the equivalent of a saying *constant dripping wears away a stone* and applies Polish onomatopoeia for dripping (*kap*). The second verse in the target lyrics significantly diverges from the original in respect of meaning ([*pressure*] *doesn't let [me] slip from its mitts, mitts, mitts, doesn't know the word "stop"*) but fits accurately the original final sounds (*pop, stop*). In the third verse both versions use the word *grip* (*chwył*) and in the fourth one, both use the onomatopoeia *tick* (*tik*), although the rest of the fourth verse differs from the original by applying modulation ("will I hear tick, tick, tick, before I blow like glass?" in Polish version).

Other occurrences of modulation appear in example 4, where *something is gonna hurt us* is changed into *I will hurt us*, while *iceberg* and *ship* are relocated in the translation into the character's mind ("there are icebergs in my head and I can't change the course").

In conclusion, although recurring phrases constituting the framework of the song were sometimes lost or preserved only partially, the general message and purport of the original lyrics were retained in the translation which faithfully depicts the character's emotions and inner world using analogical figures of speech in accordance with the visual layer of the film.

5.2 *Moana – You're Welcome*

Moana is an animated musical fantasy action-adventure film directed by John Musker and Ron Clements and produced by Walt Disney Animation Stu-

dios in 2016. *You're Welcome* was written by Lin-Manuel Miranda and translated by Michał Wojnarowski. It was performed originally by Dwayne Johnson and by Igor Kwiakowski in Polish version.

The film tells a story of a Polynesian princess Moana who leaves her native island and struggles to avert its destruction by returning a magical stone to the goddess of nature. To achieve that, she searches for Maui, a demigod who has stolen the stone. When she meets him, he attempts to steal her boat and diverts Moana's attention by singing about all the things that he has done for humanity.

Table 2
Examples from *You're Welcome*

No.	English lyrics	Polish lyrics
7	<i>I see what's happening, yeah</i>	<i>Hej, kotku, weź nie martw się</i>
	<i>You're face to face with greatness and it's strange</i>	<i>Bo wielkość zawsze peszy, co tu kryć</i>
	<i>You don't even know how you feel</i>	<i>I nie wiesz, co czuć teraz masz</i>
	<i>It's adorable</i>	<i>To słodkie, mała</i>
	<i>Well, it's nice to see that humans never change</i>	<i>Nie zmieniają się nic ludzie, nic a nic</i>
	<i>Open your eyes, let's begin</i>	<i>Nie bój się tak, śmiało chodź</i>
	<i>Yes, it's really me, it's Maui</i>	<i>To naprawdę ja, to Maui</i>
	<i>Breathe it in</i>	<i>Mam tę moc!</i>
8	<i>I know it's a lot, the hair, the bod</i>	<i>I to żaden pic, ten fryz, ten bic</i>
	<i>When you're staring at a demigod</i>	<i>No i jeszcze ten ruchomy cyc</i>
9	<i>Hey, it's okay, it's okay, You're welcome</i>	<i>Hej, jest okej, jest okej - drobnostka!</i>
	<i>I'm just an ordinary demiguy</i>	<i>Bo jestem zwykły półbóg, tata-brat</i>
	<i>What has two thumbs and pulled up the sky</i>	<i>Kto kciuki dwa miał by unieść świat</i>
	<i>When you were waddling yay high? This guy</i>	<i>Gdy byłeś takie dzidzi? No ja!</i>
	<i>When the nights got cold</i>	<i>W chłodną noc to kto</i>
10	<i>Who stole you fire from down below?</i>	<i>Po ogień zszedł na piekła dno?</i>
	<i>You're looking at him, yo</i>	<i>Uśmiechnij się weź, no!</i>
	<i>Oh, also I lassoed the sun</i>	<i>O! Raz to na lasso za twarz</i>
11	<i>You're welcome</i>	<i>Drobnostka</i>
	<i>To stretch your days and bring you fun</i>	<i>Złapałem słońce w letni czas</i>
	<i>So what can I say except you're welcome</i>	<i>I co mam powiedzieć, prócz: drobnostka!</i>
	<i>For the islands I pulled from the sea</i>	<i>Za te wyspy złowione z mórz dna?</i>
12	<i>There's no need to pray, it's okay, you're welcome</i>	<i>Nie dziękuj mi, gdyż to był przyszc - drobnostka!</i>
	<i>Ha, I guess it's just my way of being me</i>	<i>Ha! To właśnie cały ja, ten typ tak ma</i>
13	<i>Well, come to think of it</i>	<i>Lecz i nie mała rzecz</i>
	<i>Kid, honestly I could go on and on</i>	<i>Wiesz, mogę tak gadać i gadać</i>
	<i>I could explain every natural phenomenon</i>	<i>Aż w końcu wyjaśnię ci cały ten entourage</i>
	<i>The tide, the grass, the ground</i>	<i>Po wodę, trawę, grunt</i>
	<i>Oh, that was Maui just messing around</i>	<i>Maui to stworzył i zrobił to w punkt</i>
	<i>I killed an eel, I buried its guts</i>	<i>Ryba nie piła - no to ją w piach</i>
13	<i>Sprouted a tree, now you got coconuts</i>	<i>Z tego kokosy, że och i że ach</i>
	<i>Hey, it's okay, it's okay, you're welcome</i>	<i>Ej, jest okej, jest okej - drobnostka!</i>
	<i>Well, come to think of it, I gotta go</i>	<i>Lecz, jakby rzecz to - ja już znykam stąd!</i>

Translation of the title of the song, which regularly recurs throughout the lyrics, is interesting in itself. In order to retain the number of syllables, the translator did not use the direct equivalent of *you're welcome*, which could be *nie ma za co* or *proszę bardzo*, but instead applied its colloquial, more rarely used one, namely *drobnostka* ("it's nothing", literally: "a small thing").

The translation is relatively faithful in many cases, since the lyrics are accompanied by pictures of Maui and his tattoos illustrating his achievements (examples 9, 10, 11, 12). However, some verses of Polish version diverge from the original in various extent; in examples 7, 11 and 12, verses *nie bój się tak, śmiało chodź* ("don't be afraid, go ahead, come up"), *nie dziękuj mi, gdyż to był pryszcz* ("don't thank me because it was a cakewalk") and *Maui to stworzył i zrobił to w punkt* ("Maui created it and did it on target") vary only remotely from, respectively, *open your eyes, let's begin, there's no need to pray, it's okay* and *oh, that was Maui just messing around* in respect of meaning. In other cases the message is not retained, but those particular verses are not especially meaningful for the whole lyrics: in example 7, *I see what's happening, yeah* is translated as *hej, kotku, weź nie martw się* ("hey, sugar, don't worry"); in example 9, *you're looking at him, yo* changes into *uśmiechnij się weź, no!* ("come on, smile!"). Sometimes an element of humour, inexistent in the original, occurs in the translation: in example 7, the verse *breathe it in* is replaced with *mam tę moc* (literally: "I have this power"), which is the Polish translation of *let it go* from *Frozen's* song, while *when you're staring at a demigod* is substituted with *no i jeszcze ten ruchomy cyc* ("and this moving boob"), which refers to Maui parading his musculature and is a continuation of the preceding phrase *i to żaden pic, ten fryz, ten bic* ("and it's not some puffery, this hairdo, this biceps").

In example 11, the verse *Ha, I guess it's just my way of being me* is translated using fixed expressions, namely *to cały ja* ("that's me all over") and *ten typ tak ma* (a collocation meaning approximately "it is typical of him"), which roughly preserves the original message. In example 12, in turn, the translation of the verse *sprouted a tree now you got coconuts* contains onomatopoeias *och* i *ach* ("ooh" and "aah") which do not occur in the original and refer to impressiveness of the said coconuts.

Compensation may be observed in example 8, where in the original the word *demiguy*, opposed to *demigod*, indicates Maui's closeness with humanity; the translation uses the word *półbóg* ("demigod"), but is followed by an inverted collocation *brat łąta* meaning "somebody somehow close" or "a good friend", which compensates for the idea of closeness. In example 10, in turn, shift and expansion were applied: the word *lasso* functions in Polish only as a noun, not a verb, therefore it is changed into "catch with lasso". In result, only the first part of the sequence *also I lassoed the sun (...)* *to stretch your days and bring you fun* is translated, as *raz to na lasso za twarz*

(...) *złapałem słońce w letni czas* ("once I caught the sun's face with lasso during summer time"). The translator's choice in example 12 may be contentious since Polish version of the verse *I can explain every natural phenomenon* contains the word *entourage* which is not very popular or frequent in colloquial Polish and therefore might be unclear for the target audience, especially for children.

Moreover, in example 7, the translation contains hypocoristic forms of address, namely *kotku* (roughly *sugar*, literally: *kitty*) and *mała* (roughly *babe*, literally: *little one*), which do not occur in the original. Simultaneously, the word *kid* from example 12 is replaced in the target text with neutral *wiesz...* ("you know..."). Finally, in examples 12 and 13 there is a repeated phrase *well, come to think of it*, which is, however, not preserved in the translation, where the two occurrences are translated differently, respectively *lecz i nie mała rzecz* ("but it's not a small thing") and *lecz, jakby rzec to...* ("but, shall I say...").

To sum up, Polish lyrics retain the general message of the original faithfully, but contain more colloquial expressions than the source text. This change, however, stays in accordance with the character's playful personality and humoristic atmosphere of the scene, and therefore does not disturb reception of the song.

5.3 Winnie the Pooh – Everything Is Honey

Winnie the Pooh is a 2011 animated musical comedy film based on stories from the A. A. Milne book series. It was directed by Stephen Anderson and Don Hall and produced by Walt Disney Animation Studios. Songs featured in the film were written by Kristen Anderson-Lopez and Robert Lopez, and translated by Michał Wojnarowski. *Everything Is Honey* is performed by Jim Cummings in the original and by Maciej Kujawski in Polish version.

In the film, Winnie the Pooh and his friends from the Hundred Acre Wood embark on a venture to save Christopher Robin who, as they believe, was kidnapped. Meanwhile, after the whole day of fruitless attempts to find some honey to eat, Pooh starts to see the world turning into his 'favorite snack'.

Table 3
Examples from *Everything Is Honey*

No.	English lyrics	Polish lyrics
14	<i>Everything is honey</i>	<i>Wszędzie widać miodek,</i>
	<i>Everywhere I see</i>	<i>Świat się miodkiem stał</i>
	<i>Everything is honey</i>	<i>Wszędzie widać miodek,</i>
	<i>And that's quite alright with me</i>	<i>Lecz czy tym bym gryźć się miał?</i>
15	<i>I am a bear of little brain</i>	<i>Skąd taki cud, albo szczęścia tutaj</i>
	<i>I can't explain</i>	<i>Że wszędzie miód aaa</i>

Table 3 (cont.)

No.	English lyrics	Polish lyrics
15	<i>Why everything will be changing to The favorite snack of Winnie the Pooh Can you?</i>	<i>I jak to wszystko zmieniło się W to coś, co miś bez przerwy tak je? Ktoś wie?</i>
16	<i>Of lots and lots of pots and pots Of sticky, licky stuff</i>	<i>Niech płynie miód wśród słodkich nut Tych mych cudownych złud.</i>
17	<i>Swimming in the honey Swimming far and wide Open up my mouth And let the honey flow inside</i>	<i>Pływać sobie w miodku, Pływać tu i tam Zjadać go, niech płynie sobie Już na brzuszka dno</i>
18	<i>Ooey and gooey and very sweet Eat and eat then repeat</i>	<i>Słodycz tę odę mi każe wznieść, Tę na cześć miodu pieść.</i>
19	<i>'Cause everywhere is honey There's a honey Pooh He's just made of honey So I guess I'll eat him too</i>	<i>I wszędzie widać miodek Z miodu misie trzy A może nawet cztery, Więc kto misia nie zjadłby?</i>

The title of the song, which appears repetitively in the lyrics, is relatively faithfully translated into *Wszędzie widać miodek* ("honey-DIM is seen everywhere") and occurs in appropriate parts of Polish lyrics as well (examples 14 and 19). As can be seen in example 14, as well as in examples 15, 17 and 19, there are diminutives used in the translation that are absent in the source text, namely *miodek* ("honey-DIM") in examples 14 and 17, *miś* ("bear-DIM") in examples 15 and 19, and *brzuszek* ("tummy") in example 17. On the other hand, the verse *I am a bear of little brain* in example 15, which is a phrase often echoed by Pooh, is absent from the translation; the respective verse in Polish is connected with the subsequent one: *skąd taki cud, albo szczęścia łut, że wszędzie miód?* ("from where came such a wonder, or a stroke of luck, that everywhere [is] honey?").

The name of the character, which appears twice in the source lyrics (examples 15 and 19), is replaced in the translation with its functional equivalent, namely *miś* ("bear-DIM"), since Polish versions of *Winnie the Pooh* ("Kubuś Puchatek") and *Pooh* ("Puchatek") are longer than the original forms, especially when they are inflected, which would pose problems with according the number of syllables. In example 15 also descriptive equivalent is used, when *the favorite snack of Winnie the Pooh* is translated as *to coś, co miś bez przerwy tak je* ("this thing that the bear-DIM eats on end"). Shift occurs in this example as well: *can you?* is changed into *ktoś wie?* ("anybody knows?"), which results from the preceding verses: *I jak to wszystko zmieniło się w to coś, co miś bez przerwy tak je?* ("and how did it all change into this thing that the bear-DIM eats on end?").

In example 14, there is a modulation of the verse *And that's quite alright with me*, which is translated as *Lecz czy tym bym gryźć się miał?* ("but should I worry about it?", literally: "but should I bite with it?"), where positive *alright* is substituted with negative *worry*. At the same time, *gryźć* ("to bite") from Polish version corresponds with the picture of Pooh eating a honey coconut. The translation is more consistent with the visual layer in example 19 as well, where the translation *z miodu misie trzy, a może nawet cztery* refers to *three, or even four honey bears-DIM* visible on the picture.

In examples 16 and 18, Polish versions differ significantly from the source lyrics, but at the same time they introduce the theme of singing, which is absent from the original: *niech płynie miód wśród słodkich nut tych my cudownych złud* ("let the honey flow among sweet notes of those wonderful illusions of mine") in example 16 and *słodycz tę odę mi każe wznieść, tę na cześć miodu pieśń* ("sweetness makes me raise this ode, this song in honour of honey") in example 18.

It may be concluded that Polish lyrics deviate from the original significantly in terms of meaning, but do not interfere with the visual layer, and retain the general message and climate of the song as well. They also contain more diminutives than the original, which is in accordance with the target audience. They probably have more poetic character than the source lyrics, which may counterpose with unsophisticated character of Winnie the Pooh. Moreover, certain passages might turn out to be complicated and unclear for younger viewers.

6 Conclusions

In general, the songs under analysis were translated into Polish faithfully – all of them retain the overall message, purport and character of the original. Polish versions stay in accordance with the visual layer as well; it might be said that in some cases they are even more accurate in this respect than the source lyrics. There are, however, certain losses, which may concern the underlying framework of the song, or its register of language. The translator applied such procedures as: functional equivalent, modulation, compensation, shift, expansion and descriptive equivalent. When it comes to translation methods, in all the cases the emphasis was put on the target language, which is not surprising since the target audience consists mainly of children. It can be said that in *Surface Pressure* and *You're Welcome* the method applied was idiomatic translation, as in most fragments the meaning of the translation is very similar to the original, although the linguistic nuances and expressions are closer to the target language. In *Everything Is Honey*, however, the meaning is significantly different in some parts,

although the general message and atmosphere are preserved; it can be stated, therefore, that the method applied in this case was free translation. Regarding Franzon's strategies for song translation (see section 2), the one adopted in all three cases was 'adapting the translation to the original music,' for the music could not be changed. It may be observed that polysemy of the visual layer of the songs was creatively utilised to overcome technical limitations related to audiovisual translation and achieve satisfactory effects in the form of Polish lyrics of the songs.

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WHAT DO METAPHORS OF UNDERSTANDING HIDE?

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Abstract

Many previous studies on the conceptual function of metaphors have focused on their function of highlighting aspects of target concepts. From the beginning of this research, it was known that conceptual metaphors also hide aspects of the target concept; however, this aspect has been less studied. This study builds upon the idea that the hiding aspect of a specific metaphor should be identified in relation to other metaphors for the same concept. A method is presented to detail this relation based on the theory of semantic frames and the FrameNet resource to identify the hidden aspects and apply it to a corpus of 298 elicited metaphor texts on the target concept of understanding. The analysis revealed that certain conceptual aspects are consistently hidden by a majority of metaphors, pointing to patterns in conceptualization. Using this approach, six aspects frequently hidden by metaphors were identified: Sociality, Transfer, Ownership, Perception, Foundation and Duration.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, hiding, highlighting, frame semantics, understanding.

1 Introduction

Is understanding seeing a light, a process of transmission, a journey traveled, or a building erected? These metaphors do more than decorate lan-

guage – they offer an insight into human cognition, they show how individuals conceptualize or *understand* understanding (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). They do so by highlighting certain aspects of the target concept, for instance the subjective clarity that goes along with understanding or the fact that others may facilitate understanding. This highlighting of some aspects goes along with the hiding of other aspects. Hiding might be helpful if it draws attention away from aspects that are of little relevance for understanding a target concept. However, it may also be problematic if important aspects of a target concept are hidden. In this paper, a structured method of analyzing hidden aspects of metaphors by using frame semantics is presented, and applied to a corpus of metaphors on understanding.

The following example is analyzed in detail. One metaphor for understanding is *gaining*, as in “our understanding is constantly changing as we *gain* new information and insights.” According to the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, *gaining* means to “get or achieve something, usually a result of a lot of effort.” This metaphor thus highlights that understanding is an intentional activity that needs effort. (Using a dictionary to identify the basic meaning of a metaphorically used word is a method that has been recommended by Steen et al. (2010); this method will be revisited later.)

Following the implications or entailments of the metaphor a bit further, *getting* and *achieving* imply a short action. *Gaining* can furthermore be interpreted as goal-directed and intentional (which would be in line with the mentioned effort and the achieving), but it also can occur partly incidentally (you can get things without intending to). It implies a rather fixed entity or fixed entities (something that one can own) as the object of understanding, and this object seems to preexist the action.

The conceptual frame of GETTING¹ can be defined as follows:

“A RECIPIENT starts off without the THEME in their possession, and then comes to possess it. Although the SOURCE from which the THEME came is logically necessary, the RECIPIENT and its changing relationship to the THEME is profiled” (<https://frame-net.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Getting>)

The core elements of the GETTING frame – conceptual structures of types of events, relations, entities, and their participants that can be used for semantic descriptions (Ruppenhofer et al., 2010) – are the RECIPIENT and the THEME. (This description stems from frame semantics, a theory of meaning; more will follow below.) But what does this metaphor hide?

In principle, an infinite number of possible properties of understanding are *not* emphasized by a specific metaphor. Many of these would be irrelevant to the understanding of understanding. In this case, it is advisable not

¹ In the following text, conceptual structures, including conceptual metaphors, domains, frames along their associated frame elements, are written in small capitals.

to speak of hiding. It is argued that an element should be identified as hidden only if this property concerns a central element of the target concept that disagrees with the metaphor or if it is clearly emphasized in other metaphors for the same target concept. Thus, to elaborate the properties hidden by a metaphor, an overview of the set of metaphors used for it or a definition and description of the target concept are needed. The first of these possibilities will be addressed in the following sections.

Preliminarily, the necessity or relevance of hiding some elements may arise from the context of a particular discourse. This may arise if a dialogue participant misunderstands a metaphorically explained issue. This constitutes an interesting case for metaphor research. However, the present study focuses exclusively on the conceptual aspect; the rhetorical or discourse aspect, as well as the linguistic one, will have to complement this at a later stage of research (see Steen, 2008, 2011).

To analyze which aspects are highlighted or hidden, this study draws on Lakoff and Johnson's *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (1980). *Conceptual metaphors* are defined as "understanding and experiencing one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (Kövecses, 2002, p. 4). They consist of a more concrete source domain whose elements are mapped onto an abstract target domain. An example for the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING is "I see what you're saying. It looks different from my *point of view*" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 48).

As already mentioned above, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp. 10–13) reasoned that metaphors highlight, but also hide aspects of the target to which they are applied. Through *highlighting*, metaphors focus attention on certain aspects of the issue in question, put them into the foreground, and thereby influence understanding and action. They simultaneously also *hide* some aspects of the target because the systematic mapping is necessarily partial (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 10). Aspects of source domains that are mapped onto the target domain are highlighted, while non-mapped aspects of source domains are hidden (Kövecses, 2002). That hiding is an unavoidable consequence of highlighting is often, but not necessarily, a bad thing, because the selective highlighting and hiding inherent in metaphors can promote misunderstanding at times (Taylor & Dewsbury, 2018). However, when explaining an abstract concept, a metaphor may be helpful if it hides features that correspond to common misunderstandings of the target. In this case, hiding would serve a learning or understanding function.

While the hiding aspect was recognized early in *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, it was less clearly spelled out than highlighting in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theorizing and has been less in the focus in further studies. As an example, the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING has been extensively analyzed with several methodological approaches, for instance

corpus linguistics methods (Deignan & Cameron, 2009) and frame analysis (Gemmell, 2015, also including Conceptual Integration Theory; Sullivan, 2013, 2016). All these studies focused on the highlighting function. As one of many examples, Sullivan (2013) shows how the frame elements associated with the semantic frame *LIGHT_MOVEMENT* are systematically transferred to the target concept *UNDERSTANDING*. To the best of current knowledge, no earlier study within *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* on the domain of understanding has targeted hiding (Danesi, 1990, 2001; Deignan and Cameron, 2009; Gemmell, 2015; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff et al., 1991; Sullivan, 2013).

The present research proposes a systematic approach to addressing the hiding aspects and test them on metaphorical notions of understanding. This approach is based on the assumption that hiding might best be understood by analyzing different source domains for the same target concept and by comparing which mappings appear only in some of them and not in others (Kövecses, 2002). As all mappings are partial, there will be a multitude of candidates for hidden elements that will subsequently be organized and structured.

Kövecses (2017, 2021, 2022, 2023) argues that conceptual metaphors can be differentiated between the levels of image schemas, domains, frames, and mental spaces and that the methodology of analysis differs with each structure. Frames and domains are relevant for the present research because they provide a systematic possibility to describe mappings of metaphors and allow a data-based categorization of metaphorical expressions to conceptual structures.

According to Sullivan (2023), frames can be differentiated into cognitive, communicative, and semantic frames; the latter is used in this study to analyze the conceptual structure of metaphors. Ruppenhofer et al. (2010, p. 5) define frames as “a script-like conceptual structure that describes a particular type of situation, object, or event along with its participants and props.” This conceptual structure and the corresponding content are evoked when lexical units associated with that particular frame are used (Fillmore, 2014). These “participants and props” are frame elements, which can be classified as either core or non-core. The core elements, or participants of a frame, are essential to the frame structure, whereas the non-core elements, the props, are optional and enrich the conceptual structure with further information (Sullivan, 2023).

The differentiation between domains and frames is controversial (Cienki, 2007). According to Langacker (1987, p. 488) the conceptual structure of domains is defined as “a coherent area of conceptualization relative to which semantic units may be categorized”. According to Kövecses (2017), both domains and frames are conceptual structures in long-term memory and can be differentiated based on schematicity and specificity. In contrast

to frames, domains are more schematic and less specific. Kövecses (2017) offers conceptual metaphors as examples that are based on domains: COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, or IDEAS ARE PERCEPTIONS. Following Sullivan (2013), it is argued that conceptual domains can be structured through semantic frames. The elements of these domains, however, are not clearly defined as in the semantic frames. Frames from FrameNet were created by analyzing grammatical constructions from large corpora and assigning them to conceptual structures. Therefore, they are supported by a substantial body of data (Ruppenhofer et al., 2010). Domains do not have specific elements to analyze the mappings, because they are more schematic and superordinate in nature (Kövecses, 2017). Accordingly, the level of semantic frames, together with the data provided by FrameNet, is employed to analyze the mappings between the source frames and the target concept of understanding.

Based on the Invariance Principle (Lakoff, 1993) and the Extended Invariance Principle (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1998), Sullivan (2013, 2017) argues that the conceptual structure of frames also preserves its structure in metaphorical mappings. When a semantic frame is used metaphorically, all frame elements that are in accordance with the inherent structure of the target domain are mapped onto the target concept.

Once again, the example of GETTING will be used for illustration. In FrameNet, the core elements of the GETTING frame are RECIPIENT (“the RECIPIENT indicated the entity that ends up in possession of the THEME”) and THEME (“the THEME is the object that changes possession”). These core elements are mapped onto the target concept of understanding if the lexical units that evoke this particular frame are used metaphorically. In this context, the RECIPIENT is the understanding person, and the THEME is knowledge, insight, an explanation, or understanding itself. Understanding is conceptualized as an act of transmission, whereby the understanding person comes into possession of an object.

In order to answer the research question about which elements of understanding are hidden by common metaphors for understanding, a study was conducted in which participants were explicitly asked to produce a metaphor about understanding (Elicited Metaphor Analysis, Low, 2015). A total of 298 metaphor texts in English were collected (Porwol & Scharlau, 2025). This paper focuses on the hiding inherent in the mappings by different conceptual metaphors. The analysis of the mappings employed the FrameNet analysis introduced above. A companion paper will complement this work by comparing the mappings to the definitions of the target concept of understanding.

2 Methods

Participants were first-language speakers of English obtained via the online platform Prolific. They were at least 18 years old. No other demographic data were recorded. All participants gave written informed consent to the terms of the study and data processing. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of Paderborn University, Germany.

Materials. The participants were explicitly asked to produce metaphorical expressions about the target concept understanding in response to the following prompts:

1. Imagine you meet a peer who, for some reason, has no understanding of what “understanding” means.
2. Please choose an image/analogy/metaphor for “understanding” and use it to explain to your peer what “understanding” is like.
3. Write your explanation in the box below. Start your text with the sentence “Understanding is like ...”.
4. What about your image/analogy/metaphor fits your concept of “understanding” and what doesn’t?

There is no right or wrong when answering these questions. We are simply interested in what you imagine “understanding” to be like in as much vividness as possible.

The participants had to write at least 1000 characters in their metaphor text.

Procedure: The metaphors in the texts were identified with a standardized method for metaphor identification (*MIPVU*, Steen et al., 2010). The meaning of every lexical unit is compared to the basic meaning in a dictionary. The *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell, 2007), which was also used in the testing of *MIPVU*, and in cases where the *Macmillan* did not provide a conclusive answer, the *Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, n.d.) were used. If the meaning of a lexical unit used in a text differed from the basic dictionary definition, the word was identified as a metaphor. In this study, only metaphorical lexical units that related to the target concept of understanding were identified.

With the help of the frame-evoking elements listed in FrameNet², the metaphorical lexical units were allocated to and checked against the semantic frames. For example, the lexical units *acquire*, *gain*, *get*, and *obtain* were identified as metaphors for understanding. According to FrameNet, these lexical units evoke the frame GETTING and its corresponding frame elements. These frames were coded using Label Studio (Tkachenko et al., 2020). Highlighted aspects of understanding were worked out based on the semantic frames, the metaphorical mappings, the LUs, and their corresponding defi-

² The lexical unit index can be found at: <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/luIndex>

nitions. These aspects were then used to analyze all identified semantic frames. The corpus, which assigns elicited understanding metaphors to semantic frames, is made openly available at the Open Science Foundation³.

3 Results

In the present paper, 298 English texts were analyzed. The texts had a mean length of 192 words. Two coders coded the material; interrater agreement was 86% and Cohen's $\kappa = 0,86$, which is an almost perfect agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Overall, 91 different metaphorical expressions were identified that evoke 44 semantic frames in total according to the lexical unit index in FrameNet, which can be found in Table 1.

Other metaphorical expressions that were not listed in the lexical unit index were assigned to individual present frames on the basis of the Macmillan definition and the definition of the semantic frames, which are in brackets: *come on* (LIGHT_MOVEMENT); *go on, enlighten* (LOCATION_OF_LIGHT); *marry together* (BUILDING); *unlock* (CLOSURE); *further, broaden, deepen* (CAUSE_EXPANSION); *attain* (ACCOMPLISHMENT); *integrate, take in* (CAUSE_TO_BE_INCLUDED); *evolve* (PROGRESSION).

In the following, the results of the FrameNet analysis are presented. Firstly, in Table 1 the semantic frames are presented in rows with all aspects of the target domain that could be inferred from the semantic frames of the data. As already described, most of these elements are explicitly listed in the descriptions of the frames, the mappings of the elements, or the definitions of lexical units. Generally, the elements are binary. For instance, a shift either exists (as in a CHANGE_OPERATIONAL_STATE in *turning on* or *switching off*) or does not exist. Only the aspect modification summarizes several related elements. In general, modification indicates that an object is modified by an agent. As examples, *opening, creating, filling, extending* or *shaping* an object would highlight the modification aspect. Location changes were not coded as modifications because they do not change the object's inherent structure.

Secondly, individual mappings of the core elements are described for selected semantic frames in order to illustrate the highlighting. For the sake of brevity, the analysis focuses on the most frequent frames in the data.

³ <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/Y6SMX>.

Table 1

Semantic frames in rows, aspects of the target domain in columns. An X indicates that an aspect is highlighted by a frame, a hyphen that it is hidden. A tilde indicates the few cases where an element can be present in some LUs, but is absent in others or that the element can be optionally filled with a non-core element. The numbers after the frames represent the number of texts in which the semantic frame was evoked. The list of lexical units shows the metaphorical expressions from the data that were assigned to the semantic frames.

	<i>Transfer</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Intentionality</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Dynamism</i>	<i>Modification</i>	<i>Foundation</i>	<i>Sociality</i>	<i>Completion</i>	<i>Progress</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Shift</i>	<i>Perception</i>	<i>Lexical Units</i>
GETTING (53)	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	~	X	-	-	X	-	<i>acquire, gain, obtain, get</i>
RECEIVE (3)	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	X	-	<i>receive</i>
POSSESSION (129)	-	X	-	~	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	<i>have, possess</i>
RETAINING (3)	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	<i>retain</i>
ARRIVING (19)	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	~	X	X	-	-	-	<i>approach, reach, come, get</i>
SELF_MOTION (8)	-	-	X	~	X	-	~	~	-	X	-	-	-	<i>climb, walk, go</i>
COTHEME (4)	-	-	X	~	X	-	~	X	-	X	-	-	-	<i>guide, lead</i>
MOTION_DIRECTIONAL (5)	-	-	-	-	X	-	~	-	-	X	-	X	-	<i>fall</i>
RIDE_VEHICLE (2)	-	-	X	~	X	-	~	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>sail, ride</i>
FLUIDIC_MOTION (3)	-	-	-	-	X	-	~	-	-	-	-	X	-	<i>rush</i>
DEPARTING (1)	-	-	-	-	X	-	~	-	-	X	-	-	-	<i>disappear</i>
ATTACHING (15)	-	-	X	~	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	<i>attach, connect, link</i>
MANIPULATION (3)	-	-	X	~	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	<i>grasp, hold</i>
CLOSURE (12)	-	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	-	<i>open, unlock*</i>
CAUSE_TO_BE_INCLUDED (11)	-	-	X	-	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>add, include, integrate* take in*</i>
GATHERING_UP (6)	-	-	X	~	X	-	-	~	-	X	X	-	-	<i>collect, gather</i>
ARRANGING (1)	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>arrange</i>
BUILDING (36)	-	-	X	~	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	<i>build, construct, fit/marry*/put/piece to- gether</i>
INTENTIONALLY_CREATE (78)	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	~	X	X	X	-	-	<i>create, develop, make, synthesize</i>
FILLING (6)	-	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	-	<i>fill, flood, plant</i>
RESOLVE_PROBLEM (14)	-	-	X	~	X	-	-	~	X	X	-	-	-	<i>solve</i>

Table 1 (cont.)

	<i>Transfer</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Intentionality</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Dynamism</i>	<i>Modification</i>	<i>Foundation</i>	<i>Sociality</i>	<i>Completion</i>	<i>Progress</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Shift</i>	<i>Perception</i>	<i>Lexical Units</i>
ACTIVITY_FINISH (8)	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	<i>complete, finish</i>
CAUSE_EXPANSION (7)	-	-	X	~	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	<i>broaden*, deepen*, expand, further*, widen</i>
CHANGE_OPERATIONAL_STATE (19)	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	<i>flick*, turn on, switch on</i>
GETTING_TRIGGERED (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	<i>go off</i>
CREATE_PHYSICAL_ARTWORK (3)	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	<i>draw, paint</i>
CAUSE_MOTION (8)	-	-	X	~	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>draw</i>
RESHAPING (9)	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	<i>form</i>
SOAKING_UP (3)	-	X	-	~	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	<i>absorb, soak up</i>
REMOVING (5)	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	<i>clear, remove</i>
CAUSE_TO_FRAGMENT (1)	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>break down</i>
SEPARATING (1)	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>separate</i>
PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE (52)	-	-	-	~	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	<i>experience, hear, perceive, see</i>
PERCEPTION_ACTIVE (12)	-	-	X	~	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	<i>listen, look, observe, view, watch</i>
LIGHT_MOVEMENT (6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	<i>come on*, shine</i>
LOCATION_OF_LIGHT (15)	-	-	-	~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	<i>bright up, enlighten*, go on*, illuminate, light up,</i>
LOCATING (8)	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	<i>find</i>
SUITABILITY (15)	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>fit</i>
MAKE_NOISE (8)	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	<i>click</i>
CAUSE_IMPACT (2)	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	<i>crash, strike</i>
ENTER_AWARENESS (6)	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	<i>come to</i>
BECOMING_AWARE (18)	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	<i>discover, find out, recognize, pick up</i>
DIFFERENTIATION (2)	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	<i>collate*, sort</i>

Table 1 (cont.)

	<i>Transfer</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Intentionality</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Dynamism</i>	<i>Modification</i>	<i>Foundation</i>	<i>Sociality</i>	<i>Completion</i>	<i>Progress</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Shift</i>	<i>Perception</i>	<i>Lexical Units</i>
READING_ACTIVITY (1)	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	<i>read</i>
INGESTION (2)	-	-	X	~	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	<i>eat</i>
ACCOMPLISHMENT (11)	-	-	X	~	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	<i>achieve, attain*</i>
EXPANSION (10)	-	-	-	~	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	<i>grow</i>
PROGRESSION (17)	-	-	X	~	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	<i>evolve*, develop, progress</i>
OBVIOUSNESS (25)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	<i>clear</i>

The following sections analyze the most common semantic frames.

POSSESSION

The semantic frame POSSESSION, which is evoked by the lexical units *have* or *possess*, was most frequent in the data (it occurred in 129 out of 298 texts). It involves the core elements OWNER (understanding person) and POSSESSION (knowledge, insight). The frame highlights the acquisition and persistent storing of understanding. The duration of the possession is not clearly defined by the semantic frame and can be filled, because DURATION is a non-core element. Possessing the object, the owner has control over the entity. The frame further highlights that the understanding process is finished, and that the understanding only needs to be stored. However, possessing the understanding does not indicate a pre-existing system. Concerning hidden elements, the social aspect is excluded. Possessing an object is neither an intentional nor a dynamic process. The POSSESSION is not modified in any meaningful way by the agent. The semantic frame does not highlight that there is a shift or that there is a development. In contrast to POSSESSION, RETAINING highlights the duration of the action, and it can also be further specified. Similarly to POSSESSION, the act of perceiving is also not emphasized in this particular frame.

INTENTIONALLY_CREATE

The frame INTENTIONALLY_CREATE (78 texts) is evoked by the lexical units *create*, *develop*, *make* as well as *synthesize* and contains the core elements CREATOR, which is filled by the understanding person and the CREATED_ENTITY

understanding. Similarly to BUILDING, this frame highlights the agency of the understanding individual, who intentionally creates new entities and, in doing so, significantly transforms an object. Throughout this highly dynamic process, the creator maintains control over the understanding. Furthermore, this particular frame highlights the longer developmental aspect of the understanding process, showing different levels of understanding. However, there is no sudden shift in the understanding. Other frames of the target concept highlight the transfer of knowledge and the acquisition of understanding. This particular frame does not highlight the social aspect which is for instance highlighted by RECEIVING, but it can be optionally included. Further, there is no pre-existing system; the entity is newly created.

GETTING

The semantic frame GETTING was present in 53 texts, being evoked by *acquire*, *gain*, *get* and *obtain*. It involves the core elements of the RECIPIENT and the THEME, which are mapped as the understanding person and the knowledge, insight, or as an explanation. The frame thus highlights an intentional transfer in which a defined object changes its location, which leads to the possession of the theme. This also highlights the completion of a shift from one state to another. At the same time, the acquisition of an object is not a dynamic process, in which an object merely changes its location or structure, as shown in INTENTIONALLY_CREATE for instance.

In contrast to INTENTIONALLY_CREATE or BUILDING, GETTING does not highlight the developmental aspect of understanding or the aspect of control over an entity. The foundational aspect, which is for instance highlighted by FILLING, is also hidden. GETTING also does not highlight the social aspect of understanding, whereas the closely related RECEIVING does. The aspect of perception is not highlighted by GETTING, but is emphasized by the following frames.

PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE

PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE (52), which includes the lexical units *experience*, *hearing*, *perceiving*, and *seeing*, contains the core elements BODY_PART, PERCEIVER_PASSIVE and PHENOMENON. The frame-element PERCEIVER_PASSIVE is the understanding person, the PHENOMENON is the information or insight and the BODY_PART is the mind. This frame highlights the sudden shift from not understanding to understanding. The process is further highlighted as a finished experience, in which perception is essential. All other aspects are hidden. The passive perceiver does not act intentionally, in contrast to PERCEPTION_ACTIVE, which is, for example, evoked by *look*. There is no social aspect, no transfer, and no possession involved in this semantic frame. The develop-

mental aspect, which is especially highlighted in the semantic frames of motion, is also not covered. The perceiver neither controls nor alters the phenomenon.

The degree of understanding can be influenced, for instance, by the light, which was frequently mentioned in the data: "I see it as a lightbulb in my head which lights up". There are also frames that address the usage of light like `LIGHT_MOVEMENT` and `LOCATION_OF_LIGHT`. The lexical units *illuminate* and *light_up* evoke the frame `LOCATION_OF_LIGHT` (15 texts). Similarly to the other visual frames, this frame highlights the sudden feeling of understanding. All the other aspects are hidden. Enabling the act of seeing, the usage of light undermines that understanding is associated with visual perception. In the data, either a place near the agent is illuminated, which allows perception of the room, or the agent's mind is lit up, which depicts understanding.

Unsurprisingly, each metaphor hid at least some aspects – the hyphens in Table 1. What is more important is that some aspects were hidden by more metaphors than others, and some were even hidden by most of the metaphors (compare the columns of Table 1).

The aspects hidden most often are (in descending order):

- *Sociality*, which highlights that understanding occurs or is constructed in interaction with other sentient entities (as for instance in most, if not all, learning situations),
- *Transfer*, which is the metaphorical conceptualization of acquiring objects from other entities,
- *Ownership*: Closely related to Transfer, acquisition conceptualizes that an object is possessed, indicating ownership,
- *Foundation*, which emphasizes the presence of an existing structure that is extended upon or modified,
- *Duration*, in which understanding is seen as extended and gradual,
- *Perception*: Here, understanding is conceptualized through perception. Understanding is not acquired or constructed, but revealed or seen.

These aspects were absent in most of the understanding metaphors. To give an example, few frames present understanding as an extended process (an example is `RESHAPING` with the lexical unit *form*), many others hide its duration (e.g., frames `GETTING`, `MAKE_NOISE` or `PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE`). This is in strong contrast to actual understanding processes which often take a long time. Although sudden "aha moments" can occur and a subjective sense of understanding may develop quickly, the cognitive effort required for deep understanding takes time. In semantic frames evoked by understanding metaphors, understanding is rarely presented as related to social embeddedness, possession of knowledge, a pre-existing structure, extension or gradualness, or a sudden moment of perception. Interestingly, three of these aspects are common when speaking about understanding and learning. In

this context, these are, as Sfard (1998) has argued, transfer and ownership, and, quite generally in Western culture, perception. It is debatable whether these aspects are hidden in actual usage. Social embeddedness, the structure of understanding, and the gradual und slow development of understanding, which lack the advantage of frequent and common usage, are features that might truly be hidden by the available metaphors. Common metaphors rarely refer to understanding as a social occurrence or its internal structure. More often than not they present understanding as sudden and brief.

Least often hidden were (in ascending order):

- *Control*, highlighting the ability to contain or control entities,
- *Progress*, that is a gradual development towards understanding,
- *Dynamism*, the process as evolving and changing rather than being understood as a fixed state,
- *Intentionality*, i.e. a goal-directed process driven by conscious effort

To detail a feature that is rarely hidden, few frames present a nonintentional case. Most frames highlight that deep understanding requires intentional effort and some frames highlight that understanding comes without conscious action or without high effort. Few frames like SOAKING_UP, PERCEPTION_EXPERIENCE (*hear* and *see*) and light-related frames lack intentionality.

4 Discussion

Although there is a large body of research on metaphors for understanding, hidden aspects were not identified and problematic implications were not in the focus. Based on elicited metaphor texts, in which participants were asked directly to produce metaphors for the target domain of understanding, the semantic frames invoked by metaphors for understanding were identified and the highlighted and hidden aspects were analyzed.

In summary, the frames inherent in common metaphors of understanding hide the aspects *Sociality*, *Transfer*, *Ownership*, *Duration*, *Foundation*, and *Perception*. These aspects fall into two categories: frequent and rare metaphors. Perception, especially *seeing*, is a very common metaphor of understanding in Western culture, as indicated by tits extensive study in metaphor research (see, for instance, Deignan & Cameron, 2009). Similarly, acquisition is prominent in discussions about learning (Sfard, 1998). Elements of foundation are present, among others, in learning taxonomies (e.g., Krathwol et al., 1969). The actual frequency of usage of these elements would have to be taken into account before making statements about what is hidden.

On the other hand, understanding is rarely seen as a social process or one that includes social elements. This aspect of understanding appears to be hidden, as it can only expressed through very few common metaphors. Also,

few metaphors describe understanding as a longer, more complex process. Both features – social embeddedness and extended processes – have high face validity. However, a definite answer would require mapping the metaphors to theories of understanding in order to evaluate their appropriateness.

5 Conclusion

To sum up, the present study expanded the range of metaphors about the target domain of understanding with the help of elicited-metaphor data. It has been demonstrated that semantic frames can be used to identify highlighted and hidden aspects, thereby expanding the methods that can be used for their identification and analysis. The notion of frames was used to systematically identify the highlighted and hidden aspects of the target concept.

All metaphors are partial. No metaphor perfectly describes the process of understanding (or any other target domain). However, the structured analysis may help identify misconceptions caused by certain metaphors, especially when used in isolation without other metaphors or literal explanations of understanding.

One limitation of the present study is that it uses only one language. It may be said that the German metaphors collected in the same study were quite similar (Porwol & Scharlau, 2025), but this may not be the case for other languages. Another limitation is the omission of metaphor usage in the analysis. This pertains not only to the frequency with which metaphors are used (as previously discussed, perception metaphors appear to be quite frequent, even though they are among the few frames that highlight perception), but also to the question of whether combinations of metaphors, or combinations of metaphors with literal descriptions might compensate some of the lopsidedness of single frames.

Taken together, the findings suggest that, although metaphors offer valuable insights into how people conceptualize understanding, they may also constrain this process by systematically hiding certain aspects. Recognizing which aspects are marginalized – such as social interaction or progress – can inform both theoretical models of understanding as well as practical applications for communication, education and AI development. Another important question is whether understanding metaphors elicit framing effects (Flusberg et al., 2024), or, influence how people perceive and shape comprehension processes and their contexts (e.g., learning or explanatory situations), and how this in turn affects their understanding. Furthermore, cross-cultural comparisons are needed to determine whether the identified patterns are universally applicable or are culturally specific. By doing so, we may move closer to a more nuanced grasp of what it means to understand.

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EXTERNAL LEXICAL INFLUENCES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FROM ANTIQUITY TO MODERN TIMES

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Abstract

This article aims to explain this process through discussing it and the related issues, such as delineating the distinctions between Old, Middle, and Modern English and offering detailed descriptions of notable external lexical influences that have shaped the English language. This article furnishes essential insights into the extent to which foreign words, now considered quintessentially English were contributed by diverse groups, including, Romans, Vikings, Native Americans, Spanish or Jews. Examples of lexical influence were selected based on their attestation in historical sources, dictionaries, and linguistic studies covering different stages of English (Old, Middle, and Modern). The analysis focused on etymology, semantic fields, and the socio-historical context of borrowing to illustrate patterns of external impact on English vocabulary.

Keywords: borrowings, external influences, linguistics, English, language change.

1 Explaining language change

1.1 Process of language change

Kida (2010, p.7) defines language as a phenomenon that is constantly evolving. It not only affects verbal or non-verbal communication, but essentially every branch of society and human existence. Due to the fact that peo-

ple who communicate with one another are often representatives of similar generations and on that basis the evolution of language cannot be observed, because it is such a short period of time.

According to Fitch (2010, p.390) cited in Araki (2017, p.7) language origin is described in the Bible for the first time in the Western tradition. Fischer (1999 p.11) on the other hand provides a simpler, yet more practical definition of a language, saying it is a “medium of information exchange”. Chomsky¹ (2015) challenges those previously mentioned definitions. He describes it as being a system of thought that can be used as a means of communicating

Traugott (1972 p.9) notices that the change may come from children and their perception of grammar which often differs from the status quo. Often grammar which they learn in the first ten years of their lives stays and is used throughout the rest of it. She further describes this process and remarks that a child in the earliest stages of life learns structures like nouns and verbs. However, for example tenses (e.g. present *He walks* and past *He walked*), these notions are learned later and tend not to get fully assimilated as opposed to those language elements that were learned early. These concepts are more likely to change in the history of a language. Inflections are a great example; those vary and change in all languages. She later remarks that even though change may seem gradual, because of the quantity of users that acquire a certain pattern of speech during a period of time. However, when talking about an individual, the change is instantaneous. Once the pattern of speech is in one's competence, to a degree that pattern is new it changes the performance of the speaker.

Sapir (1921, p.150/154/5), as cited in Kida (2010, p.7) remarks that many changes in language fit into a certain pattern, which he names a “drift”. He states that, language flows with the current of time, and that is a drift. He later notes “the drift of a language is constituted by the unconscious selection on the part of its speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction”. Meaning of “drift” by Sapir is explained as a long-term directed movement of a language or a family of one. He also names some tendencies of the term he references: loss of case marking, stabilisation of word order, and the drift toward the invariable word.

McMahon (1995, p.175) remarks that semantics is the area of grammar that is more susceptible to change, the meaning of words changes quite often and with ease. Native speakers can notice such changes during their lifetime. She provides an example in the word *gay*, in the 1960s it meant “cheerful and happy” and nowadays this term refers to being homosexual. McMahon later describes the conditions that are necessary for semantic change to oc-

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KEmpRtj34xg>

cur. First of all, the fact that words are generally polysemic, which means they often have a wide range of meaning or are connected to many fields of its understanding. Due to their “elastic nature” words can acquire or lose meanings. She later references Hermann Paul, who suggests that each word have its core meaning and other less usable, marginal meanings and states that semantic change takes place when the word starts being reinterpreted by the marginal meaning as the core one. Another condition McMahon (1995, p.177) states is the fact that children do not get fully-formed grammar from their parents, they build it themselves instead. This leads to grammar being imperfect, provided examples are the relation between the Old English *(ge)bed* and Modern English *bead*. First word means “prayer” and later a wooden ball in a rosary. In the mind of a child these two actions (holding a rosary and praying) may be interpreted wrongly and lead to a transformation of a meaning.

Anderson (1973, p.86-90) speculates on the notion of the external theories of the language change. He presents a theory that is called a *Substratum Theory*. Anderson makes assumptions that some features of a language are transferred over into a target language when learned by adult people. He provides an example that Germans who speak for example Spanish, they speak this language with a distinct accent from other countries. One can often establish the nation of origin of the speaker simply by listening to them speak. We refer to the influence of the linguistic substratum as occurring when a language group learns a new language and the new language is shaped by linguistic patterns passed over from the native language. Similar to how people’s foreign accents are based on their native languages and not only the consequence of chance associations, a whole speech community will reconstruct a new language in a certain way. The degree to which one approaches speaking the new language flawlessly will be greatly influenced by personal desire. The Substratum Theory asserts, for instance, that Latin was spoken with an Iberian accent in Spain and as a result, differed from Latin spoken with a Gaulish accent in Gaul. It is concerned with those features that are not well learned (likely due to interference from the native language). In some regions of Italy, Latin was spoken with an Oscan or Umbrian accent, whereas in other regions, it was pronounced with an Etruscan or Greek accent. The Balkan languages and dialects had an impact on Romanian pronunciation of Latin and other languages. The role of the substratum influence in language change is the subject of much controversy, mainly because the cases discussed are often the language in which the substrate may be present is unclear. For example, very little is known about the structure of pre-Roman languages in Europe. Although some of their descendants survive today, such as Gaelic and Basque, their structural features in the distant period of initial contact with Latin are quite clear. The necessarily speculative charac-

ter of the explanation due to the influence of a class in such situations has, in extreme cases, led to the complete negation of this kind of influence. A few examples suffice to show that the substrate is produced when studying contact structures or is specially applied. Pronounced vowels in French are thought to have a Celtic influence, but they occur in other Romance languages such as Portuguese in an area where Celts are quite rare. The rounded French *f* vowels, /ü/ and /ö/, are generally attributed to the Celts of Gaul but they also appear in Old Latin, (*decima* < *decumus*> and *libet*<*lubet*) in which /u/ > /i/ via / ü/. Greek too-without the benefit of the Celts-the /u/ sound seems to occur due to a change in the internal structure of the language. If there is no significant structural reason easily observable for a change, the change is often attributed to “something” in the cascade, otherwise the theory is useful when there is some basis for determining the specific effect of. In the following examples, Latin /f/ becomes Spanish /h/ and eventually disappears except for the spelling.

Farīna > *Harina* /arína/

Fīlius > *Hijo* /íxo/

Fābulat > *Habla* /ábla/

These changes and others like them have been credited to the impact of Basque speakers in northern Spain. Basque speakers are supposed to have modified the sound (f) while learning the Iberian-Romance language, which gradually encroached upon their territory. This innovation then propagated across Castilian Spanish. The influence of the substrate extends beyond phonological characteristics. The native French in the Brittany district of Léon have picked up the Bréton principles of stress, quantity, and syllabification. The local English dialect has distinct Irish traits in grammar and syntax as well as phonology in recently anglicised areas of Ireland. In contrast to the common perfect tense statement, “I am after doing,” or the usage of the article in “I am perished with the cold,” The lexicon-semantic level of language is where substratum influences language the most obviously, but even here, to make the entire idea explicit and meaningful requires an explanation based on seminal gaps in the target language’s vocabulary in relation to items in the environment (names of places, plants, and animals, etc.), or the social and structural reasons why a specific word, already in the target language, was rejected for a substratum. Celtic words have replaced Romance words in Gallo-Roman and English, while Celtic names have been retained for things that don’t have English names. The French numeral system, which appears to have been preserved from the Celtic system and partially reflects multiples of twenty, e.g., *vingt* ‘twenty’, *quatre-vingt* ‘eighty’, *quatre-vingt-dix* ‘ninety’. Place names with Celtic roots can be found in English, including *Thames*, *Avon*, *Dover*, *Stour*, *Kent*, *Devonshire*, and *Cumberland* (the land of the Cymry). *Binn* (for basket), *cumb* (for valley), *dun* (for dark), and *crag* (for

strait or channel) are a few other Celtic words. One sort of substratum effect that affects. The following examples show how lexical items happen when words from both languages combine to generate a new word:

Latin <i>rugire</i> +Celtic <i>brag</i>	> French <i>braire</i>	(to bray)
Latin <i>tremere</i> + Celtic <i>crit</i>	> French <i>craindre</i>	(to fear)

Therefore, the term "substratum" designates a particular direction of influence, i.e., traits in Language A impact Language B, not the other way around. To make this idea clearer, it must be demonstrated that the language structures under discussion have perceptual issues that contributed to variances in the substratum population's speech. A larger view of these issues would need to specify the socio-cultural influences at play in each circumstance in addition to the structural and perceptual elements. For any linguistic change brought about by learning a new language, certain aspects, such as the degree and type of contact between the cultures, as well as the learning motives, are relevant. These are obscure factors even now. They can only be thoroughly studied considering the present. Numerous studies in this area may provide answers as to what structural characteristics are more likely to be present in a given situation and whether or not these characteristics can be ranked according to their relative strength as innate human conceptual features. (Anderson, 1973).

2 The genesis of English

2.1 Language and categories of internal and external history

Yule (1996, p.213) characterises Proto-Indo-European as the "great-grandmother" of many modern languages and describes a previously pictured method of establishing connections between languages as using what are called "cognates". He states that Among the group of related languages, similarities in particular sets of words can be found. A cognate of a term in one language (e.g. German) is a word in another language (e.g. English) that has either similar form or meaning. Therefore, the German words *Vater*, *Mutter* and *Freund* are cognates to the English *Father*, *Mother* and *Friend*. Due to the fact that previously mentioned sets of cognates are similar, we can propose that modern English and German have a common ancestor which has been named the Germanic branch of Indo-European. Yule remarks that the same process can be used in the cases of the Spanish and Italian language on the basis of similar sets, Spanish, *padre*, *madre*, *amigo*, and Italian *padre*, *madre*, *amico*. That experiment concluded these close cognates also must point to a common ancestor in the Italic branch.

Ramat and Ramat (2015, p.29) describe the term “Indo-European” as the name of a large and well-defined genetic family that spans from Europe, across Iran to the northern half of the Indian subcontinent. Later they describe the time period and appearance of the Germanic family. Ramat and Ramat (2015, p.29) explain that the earliest representative of the Germanic branch is the obsolete Gothic language, the knowledge of its existence comes from the fact, that in the fourth century came the version of the Bible that was translated into Gothic. Additionally, Gothic, together with elements of such languages as, for example, Vandalic or Burgundian form the East Germanic. As for the other types of Germanic, the northern type can be traced to the runic inscriptions that come from the third century AD, it is primarily derived from the Old Norse language, as for West and East Germanic languages, the first one includes elements of norwegian and Icelandic, and the latter elements of Danish and Swedish. The earliest monuments of West Germanic origin are visible in Old English, Old Saxon and Old High German. Later, those evolved into forms of English, Frisian, Dutch, Low German and High German.

Denham and Lobeck (2012, p.91) say that throughout the Middle English period, the seven tense vowels of the preponderant dialect underwent a transformation that is now referred to as the Great Vowel Shift. From the time of Geoffrey Chaucer in the 14th century to the time of William Shakespeare in the early 17th century, it was a process that continued over time. The fact that this vowel shift had a significant impact on English phonology and occurred at the same time as the invention of the printing press is one of the main reasons it has come to be called as the “Great” Vowel Shift.

In 1476, William Caxton issued the first printing press with mechanical components to England. Words in the handwritten writings had been spelled before the invention of mechanical printing essentially whichever each individual scribe wished, according to the scribe’s personal dialect. But even after the invention of the printing press, the majority of printers continued to employ the spellings that had already become commonplace without understanding the importance of the vowel changes that were happening. Hundreds of books had been printed by the time the Great Vowel Shift was finished in the early 1600s using a spelling system that reflected the pronunciation prior to that time. For instance, the word *goose* used two “o”s to represent a lengthy “o” sound, or “o:”—a phonetically accurate spelling of the word. But because the vowel had changed to /u/, words such as *goose*, *moose*, *food*, and others that we now spell with a “oo” sound wrong when spoken the way they are written or spelt.

When discussing the development of a language, the sociological aspects need to be mentioned. As Fisiak (2005, p.17) states, the rise and development of any language is inseparably connected with the relation of its users

with the environment in which they function. He further details that besides the evolution of the structure of a language one ought to take into consideration also the external forces, i.e., political, economic, social and spiritual, which notably influence this evolution. Therefore, The distinction between the internal and external history of the English language has to be made. Internal history refers to the historical development of linguistic structure i.e., phonology, grammar, morphology, vocabulary and semantics. The external history of English focuses on other aspects that are not structural, or linguistic. These aspects are of varied nature, he also distinguishes a couple of them. Beginning with the political factor (wars, invasions and the formation of states or borders), social (changes in social movements, revolutions, industrialisation), scientific (naming new inventions using often foreign terms) and ending with cultural (including religion, mainly the effect of Christianisation, literature, cultural movements or consequences of the introduction of printing), Contribution of the external factor cannot be simply defined, it varies from one age to another and the impact is also different based on the area of usage and influence. Undoubtedly the most affected sphere of a language is vocabulary, hence the existence of various dialects and regionalisms is dependent on where the speaker either grew up or lived for some time (Fisiak, 2005).

3 Examining the English language

3.1 Old and middle English

Crystal (2003, p.7) provides reasons due to which England and its language is called by these names. He starts by answering where the name “Welsh” comes from: During the Anglo-Saxon invasion Germanic dubbed the native Celtic people “wealas” which meant foreigners. Celts on the other hand called their invaders “Saxons” despite them being from various tribes. Around the end of the 6th century the term *Angli* (derived from Angles, the name of one of the tribes) was widely used. Records show that in 601, Kentish king Æthelberht was referred to as *rex Anglorum*, which translates from Latin to King of the Angles, and by the 7th century *Anglia* or *Angli* became the Latin names for the land. The Old English word *Engle* comes from use of aforementioned terms, and the language name that was found in the Old English scripts where it is called *Englisc* (sc letters signify the “sh” sound). Later appeared the name *Englaland* and the name *England* did not show until the 9th century (year 1000).

Durkin² (2012) explains that scientific perspectives on the Middle English period extends are divided, making a clear definition difficult. OED3

² <https://public.oed.com/blog/middle-english-an-overview/>

(third edition of the Oxford English Dictionary) has decided on the years 1150–1500. The Old English period predating 1150 and the early modern English period following 1500. As far as ‘external’ history is concerned, Middle English is framed at its beginning by the effects of the Norman Conquest of 1066, and at its end by the arrival of printing in Britain in 1476 as well as by the significant social and cultural effects of the English Reformation (from the 1530s onward) and of the ideas of the continental Renaissance.

3.2 Most important lexical influences in the English language

The original settlers of England created the mere base of the grammatical area and are responsible for a great amount of its vocabulary. However, during the centuries, England came in contact with many foreign visitors that greatly changed the English language. The most notable influences that can be identified are Celtic, Roman, Latin, Scandinavian and foremost French.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988, p.74–76) cited in Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009, p.373) provides a table of the Donor languages to the English language and the degree of borrowings with characterization of the nature of these loanwords, a scale with 1 representing the least amount of borrowing (lexicon-only) and 5 being the most. Old English was omitted in this list since it is the source of modern English’s most essential vocabulary and morphology.

Table 1
The degree of influence that other languages had on the English language

donor language	degree of borrowing	characterization
Pre-Celtic (substrate language/s)	1	only place-name elements
British Celtic (substrate language)	1?	only lexicon and place-name elements, but the impact of British Celtic syntax on earlier English is undergoing reexamination at the present time
Latin (adstrate language)	3	lexicon including some relexification of OE lexicon, many bound derivational morphological elements, some spreading through the lexicon
French (adstrate language)	3–4	lexicon including much relexification of OE lexicon, much cultural lexicon, some new phonemes created through introduction of minimal pairs in borrowed lexical items, many bound derivational morphological elements and some free grammatical elements
Norse (adstrate language)	4–5	lexicon, mostly relexification of items of OE lexicon, some free grammatical words including some prepositions and the they-paradigm

Table 1 (cont.)

donor language	degree of borrowing	characterization
Dutch/Low German (adstrate languages)	1–2	lexicon, –kin diminutive
all other languages (all of them adstrate languages)	1	pre-eminently items of lexicon, and specifically items which hardly ever replace earlier lexical items

3.3 Celtic elements in English

Due to the conquest of the Celtic population of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons and therefore mixing those two peoples, it is rational to assume that their languages would become to some degree intertwined with each other. Words that Anglo-Saxons heard in the native population's speech they adopted and may be found in the Old English language. Because it is clear that, except for certain areas, the Celts were not entirely wiped out and that, over much of England, a sizable portion of them gradually integrated into the new culture of their conquerors.³

Crystal (2018, p.8) acknowledges, that there are only a handful of Celtic borrowings, and only a few stood the test of time into temporary English, also a couple of the Celtic words actually derive from Latin, some of them are *assen* (Modern English *ass*), *ancor* (Modern English *hermit*) and *stær* (Modern English *history*).

Lovis⁴ provides more insight about the topic of Celtic borrowings, by deconstructing English place names. She states that The Celtic influence on the English language primarily manifests itself through place names, reflecting the historical presence of Celtic-speaking populations in what is now England. Traditionally referred to as 'British,' the Celtic language was spoken by the Britons, the indigenous inhabitants of the region. Many of these linguistic remnants persist in the names of geographical features and settlements. Prominent examples include river names like the Thames and the Yare, as well as significant Roman towns such as London, York, and Lincoln. Some place names are the result of a fusion of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon elements, illustrating the coexistence and interaction of these linguistic traditions. Two Celtic terms, *bre* and *pen*, both signifying "hill," appear in various place names. For instance, *Brill* in Buckinghamshire is a combination of *bre* and the Old English *hyll*. "Breedon on the Hill" in Leicestershire combines *bre* and *dun*, both of Celtic origin, while *Brewood* in Staffordshire is coupled with Old English *wudu*. *Pensax* in Herefordshire signifies "hill of the Anglo-Saxons,"

³ <https://people.umass.edu/sharris/in/e412/BC%204%20Influences%20on%20E.pdf>

⁴ <https://cpercy.artsci.utoronto.ca/courses/6361Lovis.htm>

hinting at the geographical proximity and coexistence of Celtic communities with the incoming Anglo-Saxons. The term *Combe* or *Coombe* in numerous place names derives from the Celtic *kumb*, meaning "valley," and was incorporated into Old English. Similarly, the term *tor*, mainly employed in the southwest of Britain, signifies "rock" and is frequently associated with granite peaks on Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor, as seen in place names like *Hay Tor* and *Hound Tor*. This term also contributed to the name of the coastal town "Torquay." "Bodmin" itself is a compound of Cornish words, with *bod* meaning "dwelling" (which may have evolved into the English term "abode") and *monegh* signifying "monks." The name "Cornwall" is an Anglicized rendition of the original name for the inhabitants of the far southwest of Britain, possibly derived from *kern*, which may have functioned as a tribal name or meant "rock." The term "wall" is derived from Old English *weahlas*, though its application to the region's inhabitants as "foreigners" might seem somewhat inappropriate.

Furthermore, parallel names are prevalent in the southwest, such as "St. Ives," also known by its Cornish name "Porthia." These place names serve as valuable linguistic artefacts, bearing witness to the historical interplay between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon languages and cultures in England. (Lovis, 2001)

3.4 Roman elements in English

Prior to the Anglo-Saxons, Celtic people also came in contact with the Roman Empire because of the Gallic Wars and Julius Caesar's invasions of Britain in 55 and 54 B.C. However, Fisiak (2005, p.27-31) remarks that actually these two incidents did not cause any significant consequences, due to the fact that they weren't followed by a political occupation. The real process of influencing the language of the indigenous people of the British Islands began around the time of Claudius in 43 A.D when more systematic conquest of the Celts took place. After a series of relentless battles that resulted with establishing Roman rule over the southern region of Britain. Through the constant fights especially in the north and subjugation of the native people. The romanization of the British area is noticeable through use of Latin in the names of places. There is indirect evidence that around 80 A.D British inhabitants began to use the language of the invaders. In accordance with that fact, one might correctly presume that bilingualism was extensive among upper class and city dwellers. The most visible and important sign of romanization is apparent in the place names e.g, *Portsmouth* (L. *Portus* and OE *mūþ*), *Foss* (L. *Fossa*) etc.

Crystal (2018, p.8) provides a list of Latin derived words that were adopted into Old English, most of them relate to different day-to-day terminology. The author further enumerates terms present in such areas as food, drink, animals, plants, household appliances, as some examples there are

words such as *cat*, which comes from the Latin *cattus* and later changes in Old English into *catte*, same with *cheese* (Latin *caseus* and Old English *cȳse*) and *plant* (Latin *planta* and Old English *plante*).

Other fields that are affected by such process are clothing and building. As the prime examples Crystal uses words such as *city* (Latin *castra* and Old English *ceaster*), *wall* (Latin *vallum* and Old English *weall*) and *shoemaker* (Latin *sūtūra* and Old English *suture*)

3.5 Germanic tribes of Jutes, Angles and Saxons

Berndt (1982, p.16) remarks that after the Roman Empire ceased occupying Britain in the early 5th century, the withdrawal of their legions from the Isles left it split up into several smaller kingdoms ruled by the British nobility-and therefore vulnerable to the attacks of the Germanic tribes. Said incursions led to the conquering and colonising greater part of the islands of the North Atlantic by such attackers as Angles, Saxons, Jutes etc. He further noticed that Germanic people were already present in the North of Britain, that was because of Romans who had men of Germanic descent in their army. Later Berndt invokes the words of then near-contemporary historian and present-day saint-Gildas who mentions that the British monarchs after the Roman era still hired Germanic mercenaries for protection of their lands. Due to these factors, eventual fusion of these two languages was unavoidable. Fisiak (2005, p.31-41) outlines the situations of Britain by using following examples from the era. By the end of the seventh century the influence of Anglo Saxons was so strong that Pope Gregory (1601 A.D.) refers to the Isles as *Angli*, Longobardian historian Paulus Diaconus living in the eighth century uses two forms *Angli Saxones* or *Saxones Angli*. Even King Alfred the Great, the monarch who defeated the Danes was named by his biographer "*Rex Angulsaxonum*".

Term "English" derives from the name of one of the tribes called *Angles* (later it evolved to *Englisc*). Anglo-Saxons left a tremendous mark on the English Language, the most visible influence occurring in the place names. Due to the fact that Germanic tribes came from the continent (mainly present-day Netherlands, Germany and Denmark) most of their settlements are located in the south-east part of the Isles. Places of continental origin can be recognised by looking at their endings. OE -ing, (plural -ingas) and -ing(a)ham are the most reliable indicator of Germanic presence in those places, some of the examples are: OE *Hæstingas* (ModE Hastings), OE *Heartingas* (ModE Harting), OE *Walsingaham* (ModE Walsingham)

3.6 Low and High German loanwords in the English language

Algeo (2009, p.260) Dutch and other forms of Low German have made substantial contributions to the English language, primarily through com-

mercial interactions between English, Dutch, and Flemish-speaking communities dating back to the Middle Ages. The similarities among Low German dialects often make it challenging to pinpoint the exact source of early loanwords. Notably, the Dutch, renowned for their seafaring activities, have enriched English with numerous nautical terms. These include words such as *deck* (originating from the Dutch word *dec*, meaning roof, later used to describe the roof of a ship), *skipper* (derived from *schipper*, meaning “master of a ship”) and *yacht*. The Dutch and Flemish also excelled in clothmaking, evident through terms such as *cambric*, *duck* and *spool*. These words reflect the textile trade that merchants introduced to England, alongside commercial terms such as *dollar*, *guilder* and *mart*. Military connections between England and Holland led to loanwords such as *beleaguer*, *forlorn hope* (altered through folk etymology from *verloren hoop*, meaning lost troop, with *hoop* akin to English *heap* in the sense of “a group of people”), and *tattoo* (originating from an evening signal that indicated the tavern’s closing, *taptoe*, meaning “the tap of the cask is to shut”).

The Dutch’s reputation for gastronomy, particularly drinking, is reflected in English words such as *booze*, *brandy* (wine), *gin* (abbreviated from *gen- ever*, borrowed by the Dutch from Old French, ultimately Latin *juniperus*, later confused with the city name Geneva). The indulgence in Dutch pleasures might also explain the presence of terms like *frolic* (*vrolijk*, meaning “joyful,” related to German *fröhlich*) and *rant* (originally meaning “to be boisterously merry”). Dutch painting’s esteem in England resulted in loanwords such as *easel*, *etch*, *landscape* (with its final element spawning numerous derivatives, including *moonscape* and *earthscape* as space exploration broadened perspectives). Other miscellaneous loans from Low German encompass *luck*, *plunder*, *skate* (originating from Dutch *schaats*, with the final “-s” erroneously taken for a plural marker).

From South African Dutch, or Afrikaans, English has adopted terms such as *apartheid*, *commandeer*, *commando*. A range of loanwords entered American English through interactions between Americans and Dutch settlers, particularly in the New York area. These include Dutch-American culinary terms such as *coleslaw* (*koolsla*, meaning *cabbage salad*), *cookie*, *cranberry*. The wide range of other borrowings shows the various cultural exchanges between English and Dutch speakers in the New World, such as *bowery*, *caboose*, *dope*, *Santa Claus* (*Sante Klaas*, meaning *Saint Nicholas*).

As for the High German Loanwords, Algeo (2009, p.261) states that it had much less influence on the English language. A substantial portion of the lexicon in geology and mineralogy in the English language originates from German. For instance, terms such as *cobalt*, *feldspar* (which is a partial translation of *Feldspath*), and *quartz*, have German roots. The term *carouse* has been present in the English language since the sixteenth century, stemming from

the German *gar aus*, which equates to *bottoms up*. Initially an adverb, it swiftly transitioned into a verb and subsequently a noun.

Culinary vocabulary has also been enriched with German contributions, including *bratwurst*, *noodle* (*Nudel*), *pretzel*. The term *Liederkranz* is associated with an American variety of Limburger cheese, likely named after a New York German singing society called "Wreath of Song." *Liverwurst* is a partial translation of *Leberwurst*. Meanwhile, *hamburger*, *frankfurter*, and *wiener* (derived from *wienerwurst*) are among the most popular German loanwords in English, although *hamburger* is now often abbreviated to *burger*, and the latter two have been largely replaced by *hot dog*.

In the realm of beverages and drinking, English has borrowed words such as *kirsch*(*wasser*), *lager*, and *schnapps*.

Other German loanwords encompass *angst*, *hamster*, *waltz*, and dog breed names such as *dachshund*, *Doberman*(*n*) *pinscher*, *poodle* (*Pudel*). The lexicon further includes terms such as *edelweiss*, *ersatz*, *hinterland*, among others.

Technical linguistic terms such as *ablaut*, *umlaut*, and *schwa* (originating ultimately from Hebrew) have also been borrowed from the German language. While *blitz*(*krieg*) gained infamy during World War II, *blitz* has since been reincarnated with metaphorical applications.

Academic terminology in English has incorporated *seminar* and *semester*, introduced via German influence, particularly in the late nineteenth century when American and English scholars pursued doctorates in Germany. *Seminar* likely represents an independent borrowing in both British and American English. *Semester* is recognized in England but primarily reserved for reference to foreign universities. It is worth also noting that the term *academic freedom* in the English language is a calque or loan translation of the German phrase *akademische Freiheit*.

On a less formal note, American English has adopted expressions such as (*on the*) *fritz*, *gesundheit* (following a sneeze), *hex*, *kaffeeklatsch* (anglicised as *coffee clutch*), *kaput*, and *nix* (meaning *nothing*). German-Americans have played a role in adapting the German suffix "-fest" for English usage in terms such as *songfest* and *gabfest*.

Furthermore, some linguistic nuances have developed as a result of interactions with German-speaking settlers in specific regions of the United States, for instance, southern Pennsylvania. These include terms such as *smearcase* (cottage cheese from *Schmierkäse*), *snits* (referring to fruit prepared for drying), and *sots* (indicating *yeast*). *Kriss Kingle* or *Kriss Kringle* (from *Christkindl*, meaning *Christ child*) and *to dunk* have achieved nationwide recognition.

Yiddish, originating from *Jüdisch* (Jewish), has contributed numerous words to English, including *schmaltz*, *shnook*, *shtick*, and others, some of which have acquired distinctive ethnic connotations. Yiddish has also intro-

duced less delicate terms such as *tokus* (buttocks) *fakakta* or *verkakte* (*be-shitted*, later implying “useless”. “stupid,” or “crazy”). Additionally, the suffix “-nik,” originally of Slavic origin but popularized by the Soviet *sputnik*, has been disseminated via Yiddish into English with forms like *nudnik*, extended to terms such as *beatnik*, *no-goodnik*, and *peacenik*. (Algeo, 2009)

3.7 Influx of Latin terms caused by the Christianisation of England

According to Hudson⁵ (2019), during the Roman era, Christianity was introduced to Britain. Alban, a Roman soldier who died as a martyr in the year 303, was the first Briton to be regarded as a saint. English-speaking pagans conquered southern and eastern Britain after the fall of the Roman Empire, while Romano-British Christian settlements persisted, especially in the West. They included Gildas, who most likely penned *The Ruin of Britain* in the sixth century, and St. Patrick, who was born in South-West Britain in the late fourth or early fifth century. Gildas said that the Anglo-Saxons had vanquished the Britons because their kings were not sufficiently pious. From the end of the sixth century, the Anglo-Saxon kings started becoming Christians. Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* discusses this conversion process. Pope Gregory I (590–604) dispatched a group of missionaries, led by Augustine, who would go on to become the first archbishop of Canterbury, to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. King Æthelberht (who died in 616) and his court were converted after they arrived in Kent in 597.

Christianity appealed to the Anglo-Saxons for an array of reasons. Perhaps it is no surprise that some people started adopting to Christianity around the time that bigger kingdoms started to emerge. Christianity gave people access to writing systems like the Latin language and the alphabet that are still in use today. These writing systems were developed by kings for the purpose of codifying the law and transferring property rights through charters. Political connections had an impact on the conversion as well. The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the Christians in Ireland had numerous cultural, social, and political contacts thanks to Æthelberht’s marriage to Bertha, a Christian princess from the vicinity of Paris. It was difficult to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. After a few Christian kings passed away, pagans took their place. While maintaining their pagan rites, some leaders adopted certain Christian traditions. Raedwald of East Anglia, who ruled in the seventh century, reportedly had a temple with a Christian altar and a pagan idol.

Church structures in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were still expanding several decades after Augustine’s mission. In the 660s, the Canterbury archbishopric, which served as the church’s administrative hub in Anglo-Saxon

⁵ <https://web.archive.org/web/20221115195428/https://www.bl.uk/anglo-saxons/articles/religion-in-anglo-saxon-kingdoms>

England, remained vacant for five years. There were just three bishops serving in England at the end of that decade. At the end of the seventh century, Abbot Hadrian and Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury reorganised the church. They rearranged the areas that each bishop was responsible for, and they instituted regular Church councils. (Hudson 2019)

Scheler (1977, p.72) cited in Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009, p.377) states that Latin derived terms constitute 22633 words in the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (Fowler, ed. 1964) which is 28.26% of the Modern English vocabulary. Some of the loanwords are Church (Latin *Ecclesia*), Angel (Latin *Angelus*) or Priest (Latin *Presbyter*)⁶.

3.8 Scandinavian elements in English

Berndt (1982, p.22) states that the Germanic conquest of the majority of the British Isles started in the fifth century and completed around the end of the seventh and early eighth century, this ended with the Germanic tribes' settlements on the territory of Celtic-speaking Britons that were under conquerors rule. The situation shifted in the last third of the ninth century when northmen were not satisfied anymore with raiding east and south coasts. They started to occupy British settlements and territories in many parts of the island. That resulted with a massive community of Scandinavians forming their area of occupation. He further remarks on the influx of loans as follows:

"It was certainly strongest here around the time of large-scale language shift of the descendants of the Danish and Norwegian settlers who had come to England in the wake of the Viking invasions. Since all the written evidence suggests that the Danes very soon adopted English liberally sprinkled with Scandinavian loan-words, as their normal means of communication, the period in question can hardly have been later than the tenth century." (Berndt 1982, p.22)

Yule (1996, p.218) provides some of the examples of the words that originate from the Old Norse language, those among others, are: *sky* (Old Norse *sky*), *they* (Old Norse *þeir*), or *leg* (Old Norse *leggr*).

Dance (2003, p.295–298; 2016, p.65–66) states that Scandinavian languages were most influential in terms of loanwords in the Viking era period. Modern time Norse language loans in English are mainly oriented around their folklore (*troll*, *beserk*, *saga*) terms regarding their place of living (*fiord*, *geyser*, *floe*) or sport and cooking (*smorgasbord*). He describes it as hard to assess with certainty the etymology. Some of the words can be identified, however others are etymologically debatable. First problem is the closeness and similarity of Old English and Norse. Second issue is the so-called "patchiness" of the data of both languages before and while both parties came into contact with each other.

⁶ Yule (1996:218). The Study of Language. Second Edition. Cambridge

Furthermore Dance (2003) remarks that around 100 different words often originating from Old Norse are recorded in texts classified as belonging to the Old English period. Many of these terms are part of small sets of fields. Most of them can be generally named "legal", however it includes words from other branches of life, not only legislation and attendant activities, but also relationship-based words that can be used in legal language, social ranking terms, or words that can be found in texts describing rights and responsibilities. By the conclusion of the Old English period, words in this field that are typically considered to be Norse-derived and that are incorporated in text include: *law* (Old Icelandic *Log* and Old English *lagu*), *assembly* (Old Icelandic *húsping* and Old English *hūsting*) or *lawsuit* (Old Icelandic *mál* and Old English *māl*). Another area where Icelandic borrowings are visible is the social status-related terminology, with terms such as: *slave*, *thrall* (Old Icelandic *þræll* and Old English *þræl*), *husband* (Old Icelandic *húsbóndi* and Old English *hūsbōnda*) or *fellow*, *partner* (Old Icelandic *félagi* and Old English *fēolaga*).

Other fields that have recognizably Norse origin include those related to navy and money with *fleets* (Old Icelandic *lið* and Old English *lið*), *warship* (Old Icelandic *skeið* and Old English *scegð*) and the monetary unit of weight *mark* (Old Icelandic *mörk* and Old English *marc*) being the prime examples.

Dance (2003) also describes that The majority of these terms could be considered "need-based" loans; that is, they reflect the need to name a recently imported Scandinavian cultural artefact (whether an item, a practice, or an idea) that could not be expressed as precisely or clearly using the native vocabulary, or to which a Scandinavian association adhered. It is not surprising that lexical elements of this type would be among the first to arise and be accepted in written texts where the language of the South and West of England predominates as they are typically seen as the most straightforward, easily adaptable form of borrowed material. However, there have previously been instances of Norse-derived items throughout this time period that lack any discernible conceptual innovation and stand in for concepts with terms that are common in the English language: *strong* (Old Icelandic *stórr* and Old English *stōr*), *take* (Old Icelandic *taka* and Old English *tacan*) or *treasure* (Old Icelandic *gersemi*, *gørsemi* and Old English *gærsum*).

The scholar concludes that words of this calibre are still only occasionally preserved in writing and are occasionally connected to northern dialects. The vast majority of Scandinavian derivations that are first attested in later centuries were most likely in spoken usage somewhere in England before the 11th century was very old, and Old English texts already show some signs of the diffusion of this "basic" Norse-derived vocabulary that is prominent in the Middle English record.

3.9 Norman elements in English

According to the statistics by Scheler (1977, p.72) cited in Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009, p.377), there are 22724 words in the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (Fowler, 1964) that are etymologically of the French descent, these combined compose 28.37% of the Present-Day Standard English vocabulary.

The social situation on the English court, in view of which England was exposed to the Norman influence. It is common knowledge that, to the dispute about the succession between Harold Godwinson and William, the Duke of Normandy following the death of king Edward the Confessor in 1066. Harold, the brother-in-law of the deceased king, was named next successor. When William heard about the situation, he felt entitled to rule England on the basis of lineage and the fact that he was Edward's second cousin and therefore his closest living relative. Following the Battle of Hastings in 1066 William subjugated the whole country in the span of four years. Due to the fact that his reign came into fruition by military conquest he became known as William the Conqueror. His rule made a massive impact on the social and linguistic areas of England and its language. (Kida 2010, p.91)

Crystal (2018, p.30) describes why the French language was that prevalent on the English Isles. Due to William the Conqueror's rise to power, French quickly became the language of the elites. French noblemen were brought to England with their entourage.

Following that, French priests and bishops were taking high places in the English church hierarchy. In the span of 20 years after the invasion, almost all churches, chapels etc. were governed by the French overseers and a number of new establishments were purely French. Merchants and craftsmen from France saw an opportunity and came to England and took advantage of the new rule. Noblemen from Normandy kept their property in their land and the link between this region and Isles remained firm.

Moreover, Crystal remarks that due to the new political situation in England bilingualism was starting to be common. English people started to learn French in order to gain benefits from the nobility, and baronial people learned English to contact the native population. However, there are a few indications that the new hierarchy used the English language. This state of affairs would last for more than a century.

According to Petrák (2016, p.8) The spelling evolved throughout the Romance time period. The Norman scribes began to spell English using French spelling norms, such as substituting *qu* for *cw* eg. queen for *cwen*, after listening to English. They brought in *ch* instead of *c* in words like church and *gh* (instead of *h*) in words like night. Furthermore, they began to use *ou* for *u* (as in *house*) and use *c* before *e* (instead of *s*) in phrases such as *cercle* and *cell*. Due to the fact that *v*, *n*, and *m* were written extremely similarly and were consequently challenging to read, *o* was substituted for *u* to make things

easier to read. English spelling by the start of the 15th century was a hybrid of Old English and French. The /oi/ and /ui/ diphthongs, which are unique English sounds and preceding forms of the contemporary /ɔɪ/ in words like joy, point, etc., were also introduced by French loan words. Interesting alterations have also been made to the letter “h”. Many Old English words began with this sound, including *hring* (“ring”) and *hnecca* (“neck”). The earliest indication of “aitch-dropping” was lost when the Middle English era began.

Petrák (2016, p.9) provides the English words that derive from the French language and refer to different branches of life. In the field of administration there are terms such as: *Authority* (Old French *Autorite*), *Baillif* (Old French *Baillif*) and *Chamberlain* (Old French *Chamberlain*). Another crucial field in which French borrowings are visible is the field of the military. Terms that define key concepts in military, such as *Navy* (Old French *Navie*), *Siege* (Old French *Sege*) and even *Peace* (Old French *Pais*) are words of French origin. Lastly, such general terms as *Quality* (Old French *Qualite*), *Courage* (Old French *Corage*) or *Power* (Old French *Poeir*) illustrate how the French language is essentially embedded into English.

Sieleźniewa and Krasnova⁷ state that following the Norman invasion, the “church,” “courts of law,” “arts of war,” “trade with the continent,” and “pastimes” of the nobility all began to mix with French culture. Many English words, such as *battle*, *court*, *countess*, *treasure*, and *charity*, have French roots. During the Middle English era, the French language had a widespread and pervasive influence on the English language. The frequent use of French vocabulary in English was the most significant impact the French had on the English language. It should be noted that one of Old English’s tendencies was to extend its vocabulary primarily by combining native elements into self-interpreting compounds and adding prefixes and suffixes. About 75 percent of the more than 10,000 French words that migrated to English are still in use. There are several words having French roots that are used in English alongside native English words, and there are even occasionally words with Latin roots that have comparable meanings. Examples include *a king* (from the Old English *cyning*) and *royal* (from the French *roial*).

4 American English and other influences related to geographical expansion of the English language

4.1 Americanisms

Pederson (1992, p.22) states that nowadays about 350 million people around the world are native speakers of the English language. Among main

⁷ <https://s.econf.rae.ru/pdf/2017/06/6385.pdf>

nationalities that communicate using various versions of English language are: American, Australian, British, Canadian, Irish, New Zealand, and Scots and it makes this language the most influential in the history of civilization. Their shared cultural foundation allows people from each of these nationalities to communicate in a single language, yet each national variety, with all of its regional and social dialects, reflects a distinct social experience. In the natural evolution of a national language, the most valuable resources can be found in folk speech, the unaltered, traditional way of speaking used by ordinary people and preserved through oral traditions. National folk speech is just one component of social dialects, which exist within regional dialects, and together they make up the broader categories representing the national variations of a language.

Derived from that swiftly evolving linguistic current, American English has evolved into a considerably more standardised form than its initial stages might imply. This phenomenon of the emergence of a unified American national language has been aptly coined by Einar Haugen as “Babel in reverse.”

The initial substantial compilation of immigrant literature emerged in New England. Within this literary landscape, authors hewed closely to Elizabethan literary conventions, meticulously documenting an array of idiosyncratic spellings and distinctive linguistic forms. Notable examples include William Bradford’s use of words such as *burthen*, *fadom*, *furder*, *gifen* (*given*), *gusle* (*guzzle*), *trible* (*triple*), and *vacabund* (*vagabond*) in “The History of Plimoth Plantation,” spanning the years 1620 to 1647. Similarly, Roger Williams demonstrated creative rhyming with “abode/God,” “blood/good,” and ‘America/away’ in his work “A Key into the Language of America” (1643). Anne Bradstreet, in ‘The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America’ (1650), paired words such as *conceit/great*, *stood/flood*, and *satisfy/reality*. Two generations later, Edward Taylor employed alterations such as *spoil* and *spile*, as well as *soot* and *sut*. Additionally, he crafted rhymes like *is/kiss*, *far/cur*, and *vile/soil*.

During this same era, cultural activity spanning the entire Atlantic coastline gave rise to the earliest Americanisms. Among numerous other words, hundreds of native terms either originated, took on distinct meanings, or were introduced into the English language through American discourse in the 17th century. For instance, *creek* (originally meaning stream), *fat pine*, *green corn*, and *papoose* all have their origins in Massachusetts. Virginia contributed words such as *catfish*, *corn* (referring to maize), *mockingbird*, *polecat* (which we now know as the skunk), and *raccoon*. New York offered *Chippewa*, *groundhog* and *Manhattan*. Meanwhile, Maryland brought forth *gang* (used in the context of birds), *hominy*, *snakeroot*, and *Virginian*. Rhode Island introduced *frontier people*, *oyster rake* and *wampum*. Pennsylvania contributed words such as *grocery* (used to denote a store), *hotcakes* (referring to

corn cakes), *peavine* (a climbing plant akin to peas), and *sunfish*. Connecticut gave *settlement* and *swampland*, while South Carolina contributed *Dutch grass* (referring to various types of grass) and *hickory nut*. Additionally, in regions beyond the frontiers, the term *pilot* (meaning a guide over a land route) surfaced in what is now Colorado, and *Miami* emerged from what is currently Illinois. (Pederson, 1992)

Furthermore, Pederson provides list of loans that came into the English language from the contact with the Native American dialects, for instance, *caribou* and *toboggan* found their way into these languages through Canadian French in the northern regions, while *barbecue*, *canoe*, and *cushaw* were introduced via Spanish from the West Indies. Spanish also facilitated the incorporation of words like *coyote* and *peyote* from the Nahuatl language of Mexico. Moreover, the New Orleans term *lagniappe* likely originated from Quechua, possibly as a result of collaborative efforts between French and Spanish linguistics.

One of the most noteworthy contributions of Native American languages lies in the realm of American place names. These indigenous linguistic influences span across the continent, from the Appalachian and Allegheny regions to the shores of all five of the Great Lakes (*Erie*, *Ontario*, *Huron*, *Michigan*, and *Superior*, the latter derived from the Ojibwa term *Gitchi* via French *Supérieur*). The landscape is adorned with native words, extending from Chicago to Sitka. Emblematic of American language and culture are the blended place names, exemplified by instances such as *Bayou La Batre*, *Alabama* (where *bayuk* from Choctaw, meaning *creek*, combines with *de la Batre* from French, signifying *of the [artillery] battery*), and *Minneapolis*, *Minnesota* (a fusion of Dakota *minne*, meaning *water*, and Greek/English *(a)polis*, denoting *city*). Additionally, there are loan translations such as *Spearfish*, South Dakota; *Ten Sleep*, Wyoming; *Warroad*, Minnesota; and *Yellow Dirt Creek*, Georgia, alongside indigenous loaned names for states such as *Alabama* (derived from *people*), *Dakota* (also stemming from *people*), and *Minnesota* (formed by Dakota *minne*, meaning *water*, and *sota*, meaning *white*). (Pederson, 1992)

4.2 Influences of Spanish and Portuguese languages

Algeo (2009, p.258) states, that the English language has assimilated a multitude of words from various European languages through processes like travel, trade, exploration, and colonisation. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, English adopted numerous Spanish and a smaller number of Portuguese terms, including some originating from non-European sources, particularly the New World. Spanish contributions to English include words such as: *alligator* (from *el lagarto*, meaning *the lizard*), *avocado* (from Nahuatl *ahuacatl*), *barbecue* (likely from Taino). *Mustang*, *ranch*, *rodeo*, some of these words may have been re-borrowed in the nineteenth cen-

tury, as the United States began encountering Spanish speakers along the southwestern border, thus representing a resurgence of earlier loanwords.

In the twentieth century, English adopted additional Spanish terms, including *frijoles refritos* and its loan translation, *refried beans*, as well as beverage-related terms such as *margarita* and *sangria*. Words such as *Chicano*, *Chicana*, *macho*, and *machismo* reflect social phenomena. *Hoosegow* comes from *juzgao*, meaning *jail*, a Mexican Spanish variation of *juzgado*, which refers to a *legal court*. The phrase *moment of truth*, signifying a critical time for making decisions or taking action (Algeo, 2009).

As for Portuguese, Algeo (2009, p.259) describes that direct incorporations into English only began in the Modern English period. These include words such as *albino*, *molasses*, and *pickaninny* (from *pequenino*, meaning very small), with the latter two borrowed through African pidgins. There are a few other Portuguese loanwords, albeit less commonly recognized.

4.3 Small influx of borrowing from Asian countries and Australasia

Algeo (2009, p.264) lastly presents loanwords that came into English from the countries of the Far East and South. He states that the incorporation of English words originating from languages spoken in the Orient is relatively limited in quantity, yet several of them are widely recognized. Although silk fiber has its roots in China, the etymology of the word *silk* (Old English: *sioloc* or *seol(e)c*) remains obscure. English has assimilated various terms from different Chinese dialects, such as *feng shui*, *ketchup*, *kowtow*. The term *typhoon* has been adapted from a Chinese word signifying big wind, with earlier roots spanning Portuguese, Urdu, Arabic, and ultimately Greek, thus bearing a complex etymological heritage. American expressions of Chinese origin *encompass chop suey*, *chow*, *chow mein*, and *tong* (referring to a secret society).

From the Japanese language, English has assimilated terms such as *ai-kido*, *anime* (referring to cartoon films) or *geisha*. *Godzilla*, *hanafuda* (literally translating to flower cards, which are used in various games), *hara-kiri*, *haiku*, *Pac-Man*, *Pokemon*, even *Walkman* (although it is formed from two English words), along with *judo*, *tofu*, and *tycoon*, which have Chinese origins. The term *Zen* ultimately traces its roots back to Sanskrit, via Chinese. *Kamikaze*, originally introduced during World War II to denote suicide pilots, literally translates to *divine wind* and has come to signify anything recklessly destructive.

From the Korean language, English has incorporated a few general terms, notably *kimchi* or *kimchee* (referring to spicy pickled cabbage, the national dish of Korea) and *taekwondo* (a martial art emphasising foot kicks). Prominent brand names originating from Korean include *Hyundai* (an automotive company) and *Samsung* (a conglomerate renowned for its electronics). (Algeo, 2009)

English has also adopted certain words from languages spoken in the Pacific Islands, primarily through French, Portuguese, Spanish, or Dutch influences. These include *bamboo*, *gingham*, *launch* (used to describe a boat), and *mangrove*. The term *rattan*, directly borrowed from Malay, first appeared in Samuel Pepys's Diary, not referring to the wood itself, but to a cane made from it. (Algeo, 2009)

Words of Polynesian origin, such as *taboo* and *tattoo* (referring to decorative permanent skin markings), as well as other terms from the same source, emerged in the English language during the voyages of Captain James Cook (1768–79) and were initially documented in his journals. Notably, *hula* (1825) originates from Hawaiian Polynesian, as do *luau* (1853), *kahuna* (1886), *ukulele* (1896), and *wiki* (derived from *wiki wiki*, signifying *very quick*, in the context of a collaborative website or software, post-1995). Captain Cook recorded the term *kangaroo* in 1770 during his exploration of Australia. Another Australian word, *boomerang*, is first attested in its native form, *womur-rāng*, in 1798, and in its English spelling in 1827. *Budgerigar*, also Australian, refers to a type of parrot and is well-recognized in England, where it is often shortened to *budgie* among bird enthusiasts, while it is commonly referred to as *parakeet* in the United States. (Algeo, 2009)

Conclusions

The aim of the study was to determine how many external influences are in the English language, as well as to define which languages are responsible for changing English. The core of the article was work of Crystal, Yule and Scheler which provide knowledge imperative to understanding this notion.

In this article, it is evident that the English language has been significantly influenced by a diverse array of sources. Originally, British English emerged as a blend of various linguistic inputs, including Celts, Germanic invaders, Scandinavian Vikings, Romans during their conquests, and notably, the French, whose vocabulary contributes to nearly 30 percent of the English dictionary. English incorporates lexical elements from numerous languages and dialects worldwide. However, the language's evolution became even more intriguing during the era of British expansion, when English came into contact with languages from other continents. When examining American English, one can observe its lack of a uniform lexicon; it exhibits substantial variation from its British source due to the United States' status as a "melting pot" of cultures and, consequently, languages among its citizens. A similar phenomenon can be observed wherever English is used, as the language continually evolves and absorbs new terms into its lexicon.

However, it is important to address these thesis limitations. Due to the vast amount of externally derived terms, it was impossible to acknowledge every single such word that is present in the English language. This article presents only the fracture of the extensive topic that are loanwords in the English language. The paper may serve as an inspiration for additional study in the area to produce more thorough and conclusive findings regarding the external influences in the English language.

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