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DOI:10.17951/lsmll.2023.47.2.1-9

Introduction: Cognitive Linguistics and Beyond – from Conceptual Mechanisms to Theoretical Aporias

The third decade of the 21st century abounds in scholarly research into language. From philosophy (Stalmaszczyk, 2022), through evolution (Arbib, 2020), to brain science (de Zubicaray & Schiller, 2019), language, as a human phenomenon *par excellence*, has been consistently scrutinized in its multiple dimensions. Contemporary linguistics offers not only an abundance of perspectives on language but also a range of competing theoretical frameworks including structuralist, generative and functionalist approaches, to name a few. Often classified as a functionalist framework (see Łozowski, this volume), cognitive linguistics has been undoubtedly one of the most influential theoretical frameworks to date. With its experientialist epistemology (Lakoff, 1987), the emphasis on the interconnection between language and cognition (Evans, 2012), and the adherence to the view that different levels of language description form an interdependent continuum (Langacker, 1987), cognitive linguistics has not only introduced new research concepts but also brought novel insights. Despite its high influence and considerable ambitions, cognitive linguistics by no means monopolized the field of linguistic inquiry. On the contrary, it has rather fruitfully coexisted with other linguistic theories and approaches (see, for instance, Dąbrowska & Divjak, 2015 for a comprehensive presentation of different shades of cognitive linguistics) with a view to achieve the best of both worlds, i.e., a better understanding of human language.

The present volume attempts to contribute to this noble effort by presenting novel research that explicitly references cognitive paradigm as well as going beyond, i.e., by combining it with other perspectives and by investigating the

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issues of paramount interest to this framework. The volume comprises ten chapters spanning experimental, corpus, and theoretical approaches, which are divided into three subsections.

The first two focus on conceptual mechanisms that have been central to cognitive linguistics – metonymy and metaphor. The subsection “Metonymy: from drawing inferences to pointing” presents two intriguing perspectives on this phenomenon: while Antonio Barcelona Sánchez sees it as a pragmatic inferencing mechanism whose role is crucial for discourse understanding, Marco Bagli sees it through the lens of sensory linguistics and indexicality. The next subsection “Metaphor contextualized” includes four contributions. Judit Baranyiné Kóczy and Krisztina Zajdó offer a refreshing perspective on indexicality (deixis) and the metaphorical meanings of space in the context of healthcare discourse. The social nature of metaphor is also emphasized in the chapter by Justyna Wawrzyniuk, who points out its ideological, gender and subversive dimensions in stand-up comedy. The relationship between gender and metaphorical meaning is also explored by Anna Dąbrowska in her study of various meanings of the Polish derogatory nickname *flądra* [flounder]. This subsection comes to an end with the chapter authored by Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, Mirjana Tonković and Anita Peti-Stantić who demonstrate that metaphorical framing effects in discourse are far more context-dependent than previously suggested.

Four chapters that make up the last subsection “From lexical-grammatical phenomena to theoretical aporias” tackle some of the key topics in cognitive linguistics including phraseology, polysemy, linguistic creativity and the boundary between synchrony and diachrony, yet they do it by going beyond this paradigm. Olga Iakovleva and Mojca Kumin Horvat focus on the image of animals in phraseological units by collating them with findings from cognitive ethology. The interface between lexicon and grammatical structure is discussed by Anna Bondaruk who convincingly argues for the polysemic nature of the Polish verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice]. The interrelation between structure and meaning is also addressed in the next chapter where Anna Majewska-Wójcik combines structural and cognitive approaches to explore the linguistic creativity of the famous Polish writer Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz. The volume ends with the chapter by Przemysław Łozowski whose critical *tour de force* illuminates aporias haunting cognitive linguistics with regard to the concept of panchrony.

Metonymy: from drawing inferences to pointing

Antonio Barcelona Sánchez focuses on metonymy which has been at the heart of cognitive linguistics since its inception. Being a fundamental yet complex conceptual mechanism, metonymy has been approached from different angles (see, Barcelona, 2003; Bierwiaczonek, 2013; Kwiatkowska, 2007; Wachowski, 2019). In his study, the author follows the theoretical approach which sees it as

a reasoning mechanism that guides pragmatic inferencing and ascertains discourse coherence (see Panther & Thornburg, 2018). In this perspective, metonymy is by no means limited to grammatical constructions as it interacts with general pragmatic principles, e.g., relevance and encyclopaedic knowledge, to ensure discourse understanding including anaphora resolution, implicatures or euphemism. In order to demonstrate how metonymy guides pragmatic inferencing, Barcelona Sánchez devises a qualitative study in which native speakers of American English are requested to share their interpretations of different passages of the text and then asked to suggest their own inferences or to assess previously proposed inferences. The results show a high level of congruence between the independently-generated responses and the inferences claimed in previous research to be guided by major high-level metonymy patterns such as EFFECT FOR CAUSE, EVENT FOR CO-OCCURRING EVENT and CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY. These findings, which warrant further experimental exploration, seem to provide empirical evidence for the claim that metonymy regularly guides pragmatic inferencing and is thus more central to understanding discourse than previously conceived.

The chapter by Marco Bagli contributes to the research into the relationship between language and perception present in cognitive linguistics since its seminal publications (Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987) and recently reinvigorated by a plethora of studies into so-called “sensory linguistics” (Winter, 2019; see also Trojszczak, 2019). The author investigates source-based language – a strategy used to describe sensory experiences by referring to a concrete source of similar sensation, which is a common phenomenon in Indo-European languages that, unlike non-Western languages (see Majid et al., 2018), have a limited vocabulary to describe sensory perception, in particular, chemical senses such as taste and smell. By studying various English expressions used to describe taste qualities collected from expert gin tasters (see also Caballero et al., 2019, for the research on wine tasting), the author identifies three source-based language strategies including analytic construction (Subject tastes/smells like Source), use of light nouns (e.g., an abundance of juniper), and morphological derivation (e.g., grassy, citrus-led). Besides a detailed characterisation of these strategies, he also argues that source-based language should be seen as both the linguistic counterpart of a pointing gesture and an instance of conceptual metonymy. In other words, source-based language is where indexicality meets cognition.

Metaphor contextualized

Deixis (indexicality) in its various forms has been one of the most intriguing research areas in linguistics (see Kijania-Placek, 2022; Levinson, 1983). Judit Baranyiné Kóczy and Krisztina Zajdó explore this topic from the perspective of cognitive linguistics which sees it as a matter of perspectival location from which a scene is viewed (see Evans & Green, 2006 for a comprehensive discussion).

The authors focus on the use of demonstrative pronouns treating them both as a spatial phenomenon grounded in the metaphorical meaning of space, particularly proximity, and as an emotional one. The latter indicates the use of demonstrative pronouns to express the speaker's affective stance toward something (so-called "emotional deixis", see Lakoff, 1974). This cognitive approach is employed here to analyse the interviews with Hungarian parents of children with a language disorder (for a similar real-life discourse approach see Wawrzyniuk, this volume). In contrast to previous research (e.g., Potts & Schwartz, 2010) which indicate the relationship between proximal deixis and positive emotions, the authors show that the interviewed parents use it to report intensive, negative emotions. It is argued that this can be explained by their emphatic attitude. Moreover, a detailed analysis of the use of demonstrative pronouns reveals some metaphorical meanings of proximity such as mental closeness, vivid experience, and emotional involvement.

The chapter by Justyna Wawrzyniuk studies metaphorical objectifications of women in stand-up comedy. In doing so, the author contributes to the growing body of research which aims to show the role and significance of metaphor in various social discourses and contexts such as politics (Perrez et al., 2019), mental healthcare (Tay, 2020), business (Li & Zhu, 2021) or education (Ahlgren et al., 2021). Her investigation of metaphorical expressions collected from 30 performances by female North American comedians sheds light on the most common target (body and person) and source frames (place and food) used to metaphorically conceptualize women. Besides an ideologically and negatively charged character of these metaphorical images, e.g., women as cars, garages, and pancakes, the author also discusses their relation to different aspects of gender identity including individual, relational, collective, and material. In line with socially-oriented research paradigm in metaphor studies, Wawrzyniuk does not see these metaphors as contextless. On the contrary, she interprets their use from the perspective of female stand-up comedians who, being aware of the male-dominated character of their industry and audience, employ these images to present their stories in a more "digestible" way. In result, ideologically-laden metaphors become subversively reclaimed (see a similar discussion about slurs in Hess, 2022) under the guise of humour for the benefit of female comedians and female audiences.

One of the fundamental questions in cognitive linguistics is: which conceptual mechanisms motivate the meanings of lexical items (see Evans, 2012)? Being one of the most prolific areas of cognitive inquiry, the research into conceptual underpinnings of linguistic expressions has undoubtedly helped us to see what is hidden behind some of the most basic words we use on a daily basis (see, for instance, Sweetser, 1990; Trojszczak & Gebbia, 2023). In this vein, the chapter by Anna Dąbrowska combines three related cognitive frameworks, i.e., Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), Critical Metaphor

Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) and Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020), in order to explicate conceptual mechanisms motivating the meanings of the Polish nickname *flądra*. This offensive term used to refer to women, which has been attested in Polish since 1860, is analysed based on the data from National Corpus of Polish. By scrutinizing various discourse instances of its use, the author identifies five metaphors underlying the meaning of this term: from the most general (image schematic) A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL to the most individual A WOMAN THE SPEAKER WANTS TO OFFEND DUE TO HER POSSIBLY BAD/ ANNOYING BEHAVIOUR IS FLĄDRA. The latter – a novel metaphorical meaning omitted by most Polish dictionaries – is situated on the level of mental spaces which are characterised by rich contextual details including unconventional cases and online representations.

In their chapter, Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, Mirjana Tonković and Anita Peti-Stantić focus on metaphorical framing, i.e., the fact that the use of particular metaphors in discourse imposes a frame of interpretation that highlights or hides different aspects of reality and therefore can influence its perception. The authors contribute to a booming area of research into the framing effects of different metaphors (see, for instance, Piata & Soriano, 2022; Semino et al., 2018; Thibodeau et al., 2017) by experimentally investigating the effects of reading the texts with the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor in relation to climate change. In contrast to Flusberg et al. (2017) who previously studied the effects of these metaphors, their research, which uses similar yet simplified design, shows no framing effects of the respective metaphors on the emotional reaction to the text, willingness to change one's behaviour, concern, urgency, solvability of the problem and inevitability of consequences. This result is attributed to the changing perception of climate change between this and a previous study as well as a range of other potential factors including political knowledge and participant opinions, metaphor novelty and aptness, and external context. Stanojević, Tonković and Peti-Stantić also suggest that framing effects can be affected by lexical and grammatical forms of metaphor – the factors oft overlooked in experimental research (see also Stanojević et al., 2014). Furthermore, based on their findings, the authors argue for a more contextualized view of metaphorical framing instead of seeing it as something that happens in all conditions.

From lexical-grammatical phenomena to theoretical aporias

The chapter by Olga Iakovleva and Mojca Kumin Horvat studies cultural meanings of phraseological units, i.e., semantically unfree word combinations, related to domestic animals. These ready-made, prefabricated linguistic expressions have been discussed in cognitive linguistics in the context of idiomatic constructions and metaphor (see Green, 2006). By emphasizing their stereotypical motivations, the authors approach these lexical-grammatical phenomena through the lens of

“linguistic worldview” (Głaz et. al., 2013) – a notion which shows close affinity with the cognitive notion of “conceptualisation” (Evans, 2012). Their semantic analysis of stereotypical meanings motivating selected Russian, Polish and Slovenian zoonyms related to cow, goat, and sheep provides not only insights into cultural stereotypes at play but also contributes to the discussion about animal metaphors and their evaluative character (see Reza Talebinejad & Vahid Dastjerdi, 2005). By analysing a wide range of dictionary data in three languages, the authors reveal shared cross-linguistic stereotypes of these domestic animals, all of which are characterised by a negative colouring. It is argued that these pejorative stereotypical perceptions are due to the purely utilitarian approach to these animals, which stands in stark contrast to empirical data showing their relatively advanced cognitive skills.

Polysemy and the lexicon-grammar continuum have been undoubtedly at the centre of theoretical considerations (Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987; see also Dąbrowska, 2023) and empirical investigations (Fortescue, 2021) in cognitive linguistics. Although in her chapter Anna Bondaruk does not explicitly reference this paradigm, her analysis illuminates the interconnection between grammar and meaning which is so important to cognitive linguists. By examining the syntax and semantics of the Polish verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice], the author attempts to demonstrate how the grammatical behaviour of this verb – verified by various diagnostic tests – reflects its polysemous character. In contrast to previous research denying such a claim, through a detailed analysis, Anna Bondaruk distinguishes three different meanings of *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice]. These include its idiosyncratic lexical meaning “to suffice” as well as two other senses: “to be enough” (existential) and “to have enough” (possessive). It is argued that both of them arise as a result of semantic bleaching of the original lexical meaning, which by weakening its idiosyncratic aspects yields new meanings accompanied by concomitant syntactic changes such as the category change of the verb in the case of existential meaning and the introduction of the dative possessor in the case of possessive meaning.

Linguistic creativity is another topic investigated in cognitive linguistics, especially in the context of Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002; Turner, 2014), Cognitive Poetics (Stockwell, 2002) and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1987). In her chapter, Anna Majewska-Wójcik addresses this issue by focusing on the word-formation creativity of the Polish writer Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz. Despite a wide recognition of Witkiewicz’s linguistic creativity among literary scholars, linguistic analyses of his word-formation innovations have been relatively limited. Majewska-Wójcik fills this research gap by analysing neologisms used in the correspondence between Witkiewicz and his wife from the structural and cognitive perspectives. The author utilizes these approaches to discuss four broad categories of neologisms: onymic, appellative, composite, and foreign-based. The first group includes anthroponyms and toponyms such as “Malinower” from

“Malinowski” which are motivated by phonetic and semantic associations. The category of appellatives, in turn, comprises emotionally and axiologically motivated novel diminutives, e.g., “natchnieńko” [a small inspiration]. On the other hand, composites which, unlike diminutives, are often viewed as those that are “against the spirit” of the Polish language include original constructions such as “zęboból” [toothache]. The word-formation creativity of Witkiewicz is also evidenced in foreign-based neologisms, e.g., “żuadewiwr” [joie de vivre].

Since its very beginnings, cognitive linguistics with its high theoretical aspirations (see Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987) had to position itself with regard to other influential linguistic theories such as generative grammar (Stalmaszczyk, 2012). The chapter by Przemysław Łozowski discusses the process of this on-going and still unresolved demarcation in relation to structuralism (de Saussure, 1916/2016) by focusing on the notion of panchrony and its relation to synchrony and diachrony. Admitting the fundamental tension between structurally and functionally-oriented paradigms, i.e., cognitive linguistics, the author presents an in-depth discussion of both the functionalist and Saussurean perspectives on this subject (Winters, 1992). By rejecting the opposition between synchrony and diachrony, functionalists see panchrony as a matter of language data proportions or as a question of camouflaging the boundaries between the two in order to introduce other factors such as cognition or culture. On the other hand, structuralism is clear about keeping the opposition alive both in terms of research methodology and language theory. Nevertheless, as discussed by Łozowski, it is de Saussure who first envisaged the possibility of panchrony leaving behind an abundant body of insights. Inspired by this discussion, the author argues that as long as cognitive linguistics holds onto the non-autonomy of language, its universals can be only cognitive and experiential and not of the Saussurean “always-and-everywhere” type.

In sum, this is a rich volume that addresses several major issues in present-day cognitive linguistics, contributing insightful original research from this perspective and a critical discussion of some aspects of the cognitive paradigm, including its contrast with structuralist and generativist approaches, while applying it to new data in various (especially Slavic) languages in addition to English. The articles in the volume also exhibit a variety of methodological approaches, including corpus analysis, experimental research, and qualitative research.

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