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Contents

An Investigation of the Relationship between Taxonomic/Thematic Categorization and Using Conventional Metaphor and Metonymy among Persian Speakers: A Corpus-Based Approach
Raheleh Gandomkar 1

Searching for Cross-Domain Mappings in the Corpus: an Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors' Usage Patterns in Farsi
Ramin Golshaie 14

A Study of Polysemy in Four Negative Non-Verbal Prefixes in Persian based on Principled Polysemy: A Corpus-Based Approach
Alireza Khormaee, Amirsaeid Moloodi, Elham Kaviyani Fardzadeh 29

Effectiveness of Operant Conditioning on the Development of Language Skills in Persian-Speaking Children with Autism
Safa Abedi, Hayat Ameri, Arsalan Golfam..... 50

Cognitive Factors Affecting the Prevalence of SOV and SVO Word Orders
Manouchehr Kouhestani, Arsalan Golfam..... 59

A Cognitive Sociolinguistic Approach to Lexical Polysemy, a Case Study: Persian Adjective /šax/
Fatemeh Yousefi Rad, Seyyed Mahmoud Motesharrei, Mohammad Dabirmoghaddam 70

Intl. J. Humanities (2019) Vol. 26 (2): (1-13)

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An Investigation of the Relationship between Taxonomic/Thematic Categorization and Using Conventional Metaphor and Metonymy among Persian Speakers: A Corpus-Based Approach

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Abstract

This paper examines the differences between two types of categorization and then the use of conventional metaphor and metonymy and their relationship among Persian-speaking Iranians. Recent studies on categorization show that Persian speakers, similar to the Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese, categorize based on thematic relationships, unlike the European Americans who categorize based upon taxonomic relations. These studies have shown that Eastern Asians, with regard to categorization, act on the syntagmatic axis and the units in the context, and Westerners act upon the paradigmatic axis. Therefore, the hypothesis was put forth that these different cognitive functions are also represented in the application of metaphor and metonymy that is, those who use the category-based classification are more likely to use metaphors, and those who are inclined to use the relationship-based categorization tend more toward using metonymy. Examining the Persian corpus of 30,000 sentences confirmed this hypothesis. Persian speakers, who categorize based on relationships, use metonymy, which works on syntagmatic axis and based on the contiguity of two things, more than metaphor, which is based on the similarity and paradigmatic relation between two entities. The present study confirms this fact again that cognition is not the same in all human beings.

Keywords: Categorization; Cognition; Conventional Metaphor; Conventional Metonymy; Taxonomic Categorization; Thematic Categorization.

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1. Introduction

The main motive for this study was the assessment of a linguistic perspective put forth by American psychologist, Richard E. Nisbett, in his book entitled *The Geography of Thought; How Asians and Westerners Think Differently… and Why?* and in the papers by him and colleagues, which showed that cognition is not the same in all humans (L. J. Ji, K. Peng & R. Nisbett, 2000; L. J. Ji, N. Schwarz & R. Nisbett, 2000; R. Nisbett, 2003; R. Nisbett, L. J. Ji & Z. Zhand, 2004). This idea was further developed by other scholars (L. J. Ji & S. Yap, 2016). These research efforts have shown to date that East Asians, especially the Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese, have shown different cognitive functions compared to Westerners, especially European Americans, and that cultural issues affect perception, attention, categorization, and cognitive heuristics. Categorization is the process of organizing the surrounding world and human experiences in the form of general concepts. Human beings always classify objects, phenomena, and events of the outside world. For that matter, they either pay attention to thematic relations between things or present the relationship-based classification based on causal, spatial, and temporal relationships, or they consider the taxonomic relations between them, and present the category-based classification based on the similarity of properties such as the one in perceptual properties of things (Markman & Hutchinson, 1984). The first state is called the 'thematic' categorization, and the second is known as the 'taxonomic' categorization. Humans begin to categorize the world around them a few months after birth (Dunham & Dunham, 1995). Several studies have been conducted that suggest categorization does not occur in a single form in all human beings around the world. The results of various experiments and psychological researches show that East Asians, especially the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese focus on thematic relationships between things and carry out relationship-based classification (for example, when classifying "monkey, banana, and panda", they put "monkey" and "banana" in one group), and the Westerners, especially European Americans, look at similarities between the features of things and categorize them based on taxonomy (they put "monkey" and "panda" in one group) (L. H. Chiu, 1972; A. Norenzayan, E. E. Smith, B. J. Kim & R. E. Nisbett, 2002, R. E. Nisbett, 2003). First and foremost, by performing several similar experiments and modeling experiments conducted by the above-mentioned researchers, the author of the present paper attempted to clarify the issue of how Persian speakers conduct categorization. Do they consider thematic relations similar to East Asians or do they pay attention to similar properties of things and regard taxonomic relations as the basis for categorization? This study was carried out with the participation of 50 female and male Persian speakers studying Master of Linguistics at Allameh Tabataba'i University, using a visual and a linguistic questionnaire (words were used instead of images in the verbal questionnaire). The results of the visual questionnaire showed that out of 50 Persian-speaking participants, 70% have had conducted categorization based on "relationship". The linguistic questionnaire also confirmed the result of the visual questionnaire, and showed that 76% of the Persian speakers considered the "relationship" as the criterion for categorization (for example, when

categorizing "cow, grass, and chicken", "cow" and "grass" were grouped together, or regarding "summer, autumn, and heat", "summer" was grouped with "heat"). In this way, the dominant tendency in Iranian Persian speakers, just like East Asians, is thematic categorization (R. Gandomkar, 2019). If one wishes to generalize this result to the area of linguistic subjects, one can claim that individuals who categorize by subject or relation actually act upon the hypothetical syntagmatic axis, and those who categorize based on taxonomy or the similarity of features are categorizing on the hypothetical paradigmatic axis.

According to what was discussed, it seems that Persian speakers direct more attention toward the contiguity and syntagmatic status of things compared to the similarity of characteristics and their paradigmatic possibility. In such a situation, the question arises as to whether it can be said on this basis that the use of metonymy in Persian is more that of metaphor? (Metonymy as a process that takes place based on contiguity and metaphor as a process that takes place according to similarity). In this paper, the author examines the question of whether, based on the type of cognition performance in "categorization," the cognition performance can be predicted with regard to the use of metaphor or metonymy. The author's hypothesis is that, similar to categorization, the use of these two language techniques, that is metaphor and metonymy, is different between cultures, and in Persian language, the use of conventional metonymy is more than the use of conventional metaphor.

2. Methodology

This research was conducted with a deductive method based on the Persian corpus titled Syntactic Corpus of Persian Language (Kouhestani & Moloodi, 2013) consisting of 30,000 sentences from various sources of contemporary Persian texts. The reason for choosing this corpus was the lack of a set of corpus of colloquial sentences in Persian language.

Firstly, 25 words that, according to the tradition of metaphor studies, were considered as conventional or lexicalized metaphors were chosen, and 25 lexical items regarded as conventional metonymies were extracted from a total of 50,000 entries in Sokhan Concise Dictionary (2003). In the next step, the researcher referred to 30,000 sentences found in the Persian corpus and found that 1709 sentences in this corpus included the desired words, in 224 of which conventional metaphors and metonymies were used. Afterward, the researcher examined whether or not the percentage of occurrence for conventional metaphor in these sentences is greater than conventional (dead) metonymy.

3. Conventional (Dead) Metaphor and Conventional (Dead) Metonymy

Today, metaphor and metonymy are no longer merely instruments for poetic imagination or rhetorical techniques but are used in ordinary and everyday language. If the use of metaphor and metonymy were previously limited only to words, they are today regarded as the characteristics of human thought and behavior, represented in our thinking. Basically, our intellectual and conceptual system is metaphoric and metonymic, and metaphoric and metonymic concepts are part of the human's everyday way of thinking and practice (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Indeed, metaphor and metonymy are different processes. In metaphor, we understand something by

paying attention to something else, and the most important role of metaphor is helping human understanding. In metonymy, however, we make reference to something, that is, with the help of metonymy, we can use something instead of something else. Of course, one cannot consider the reference function as the only role of metonymy, as metonymy also helps human understanding (Ibid: 36).

Traditionally, metaphor is defined as the description of something as something else based on the similarity or analogy between the two things (Murphy & Koskela, 2010: 103). For example, "Haven't you sold your basin yet?" [= hanuz laɬanet ɹo nafoɹuxti?] is a metaphoric sentence that presents a lot of information about the "car" of an individual. In this example, "car," based on apparent and conceptual similarities, has been described as a "basin". When such an application receives a high usage frequency among a community of speakers, and language users apply this metaphorical meaning, that is "basin" instead of "a scrap and worn-out car", this new meaning will also be considered for a word that previously existed in the language with a clear definition, and, gradually, the new meaning finds its way into dictionaries and becomes lexicalized.

In this way, if we refer to a dictionary, in the "lagan (basin)" entry, in addition to "a large container, made of plastic, metal and the like," the word "worn-out car" also appears. Afterward, this metaphor will function as a "conventional metaphor" in the society, that is a metaphor used for the first time to describe something based on the similarity of two things that then entered the dictionary due to its high usage frequency, and which is no longer regarded by the speakers as a metaphor but as one of the commonly used meanings of the word in question (Knowles & Moon, 2006: 5). Of course, Black no longer regards these metaphors as metaphors; in his view, dead metaphors are merely words that have lost their metaphorical usage (Black, 1993: 25).

With regard to metonymy, reference is done from one entity to another, while the former is quite close and related to the latter (Murphy & Koskela, 2010: 104). For example, in the sentence "My car is flat" [= mɑʃinam panʧaɹʃod], "car" is used to refer to "car wheels". Synecdoche is a type of metonymy in which the whole refers to one component of the whole or vice versa (Knowles & Moon, 2006: 37). Just as metaphorical meanings of words enter the dictionary and become lexicalized, the metonymic meanings of the words are also lexicalized and added to dictionaries due to their high degree of use by language speakers. In Persian, for instance, the term "chicken" [= moɹɢ] meaning "chicken meat" [= ɬuʃte moɹɢ] has become a conventional metonymy, that is it is written as one of the meanings of the word "chicken" [= moɹɢ] in dictionaries.

Unlike Black, Riemer believes that the generalized meaning used in the form of conventional metaphor or metonymy for a word can be considered as its post-metaphoric or post-metonymic meaning, that is, when the generalized meaning becomes conventional, its metaphoric or metonymic meaning is not eliminated (Riemer, 2003: 402).

4. Data Analysis

In this research, according to the definitions of conventional metaphor and metonymy in Section 3, 25 conventional metaphors and 25 conventional metonymies were at first identified. In all cases, entries with

polysemies were extracted from Sokhan Concise Dictionary. The main meaning of the word was considered as the "primary" and the metaphorical or metonymic meaning as the "secondary". In this way, the basis of the present analysis is the distinction between primary and secondary meanings. The list of the 25 conventional metaphors is presented in Table 1:

Table 1. List of Conventional Metaphors in Persian

No.	Conventional Metaphor	Meaning
1	Parasite [= ʔanɟal]	**One who imposes oneself on others**
2	Antenna [= ʔɑnten]	**Spy, informer**
3	Nightingale [= bolbol]	**A well-spoken or talkative person**
4	Chicken [= ʤuʤe]	**Inexperienced, weak**
5	Donkey [= xaɹ]	**Foolish, gullible**
6	Rostam [= ɹostam]	**Brave, strong**
7	Rock [= sanɟ]	**Without mercy and feeling**
8	High chassis [= ʃɑsiboland]	**A tall woman**
9	Honey [= ʔasal]	**Sweet and lovable**
10	Mountain [= cuh]	**Big, heavy**
11	Cow [= ɟɑv]	**Fool, stupid, obese**
12	Wide [= ɟoʃɑd]	**A lazy person**
13	Flower [= ɟol]	**Beloved**
14	Sheep [= ɟusfand]	**A simple or naïve person**
15	basin [= laɟan]	**Worn and scrap car**
16	Snake [= mɑɹ]	**An insidious and mean person**
17	Yogurt [= mɑst]	**Sleazy and slack**
18	Moon [= mɑh]	**Beautiful or attractive girl, boy, man or woman**
19	Hair [= mu]	**Slight, little**
20	Mouse [= muʃ]	**Submissive and degraded**
21	Monkey [= mejmun]	**Ugly person**
22	Pea [= noxod]	**Small amount**
23	Narcissus[= naɹɟes]	**The eye**
24	Peach [= holu]	**Very beautiful or attractive woman or girl**
25	Ice [= jax]	**Aloof and languid**

The list of 25 words with their metonymic meanings is presented in Table 2:

Table 2. List of Conventional Metonymies in Persian

No.	Conventional Metonymy	Meaning
1	Rent [= ʔedʒɑɪe]	**The amount that a person pays for the temporary use of property or asset**
2	Club [= bɑʃʃɑh]	**An organization including a group of athletes, coaches, and the like who create a team in various sports disciplines**
3	Package [= baste]	**The unit of counting of what is in the package**
4	Barrel [= boʃce]	**Unit for measuring the volume of liquids and especially oil products**
5	Throne [= taxt]	**Government and kingdom**
6	Calendar [= tagvim]	**The system of determining the time based on the year, month and day, which usually has a selective source**
7	Blade [= tiɢ]	**A tool with a handle and sharp blade to shave hair**
8	Theater [= tɑʔɑtɪ]	**A place to perform plays**
9	Pair [= dʒoft]	**Unit of counting what is counted in pairs**
10	Cover [= dʒeld]	**Unit of counting books, notebooks, magazines, etc.**
11	Tea [= ʃ'aj]	**Brewed drink of dried leaves of a plant with the same name**
12	Badge [= daradʒe]	**Badge or insignia mounted on military uniforms**
13	Instrument [= sɑz]	**Music**
14	Needle [= suzan]	**Ampoule**
15	Cinema [= sinamɑ]	**A place to show a movie on the screen**
16	Flame [= ʃoʔle]	**Each part of the stove where the gas ignites**
17	Prey [= ʃecɑr]	**An animal taken or killed by humans or other animals, especially as food**
18	Abdomen[= ʃecam]	**Each time of delivering a baby**
19	Collar [= gallɑde]	**Unit of counting some animals**
20	Pen [= galam]	**Writing style, size or font**
21	Morsel [= logme]	**A bread that is filled with edibles and wrapped**
22	Car [= mɑʃin]	**A Car**
23	Chicken [= moɪg]	**Chicken meat or the dishes made from it**

24	Pulpit [= manbaɪ]	**A lecture or sermon session**
25	Motor[= motoɪ]	**A motorcycle**

By reviewing 1709 sentences, it was found that in 938 sentences, words such as "Parasite, Antenna, Nightingale, Chick, Donkey, Rostam, Stone, High Chassis, Honey, Mountain, Cow, Wide, Flower, Sheep, Basin, Snake, Yogurt, Moon, Hair, Mouse, Monkey, Pea, Narcissus, Peach, and Ice" have been used. The frequency of occurrence of these words is a total of 938 different sentences. In addition, out of 938 sentences, the conventional metaphor has been used in only 11 sentences. Table 3 shows the frequency of occurrence of each of these words and that of conventional metaphor:

Table 3. Number of Sentences with Primary and Metaphoric Meanings in Persian

No.	Word	Numbers of Sentences with Wordsin Literal Meanings	Numbers of Sentences with Conventional Metaphors
1	Parasite	1	**0**
2	Antenna	13	**0**
3	Nightingale	1	**0**
4	Chicken	12	**0**
5	Donkey	8	**3**
6	Rostam	12	**0**
7	Rock	101	**0**
8	High chassis	1	**0**
9	Honey	19	**0**
10	Mountain	76	**2**
11	Cow	29	**0**
12	Wide, loose	3	**0**
13	Flower	154	**5**
14	Sheep	24	**0**
15	Basin	1	**0**
16	Snake	34	**0**
17	Yogurt	9	**0**
18	Moon	285	**1**
19	Hair	94	**0**
20	Mouse	22	**0**
21	Monkey	3	**0**
22	Pea	1	**0**
23	Narcissus	6	**0**
24	Peach	1	**0**
25	Parasite	28	**0**

As it can be seen, from among the 25 words in question, only four words "Donkey, Mountain, Flower, and Moon" have been used in the metaphoric sense in 11 sentences. Examples of the use of these metaphors are given in Examples 1 through 4:

1. didam dɑɪam **xaɪ** miʃavam
   Saw-1st-sng have.1st.Sng.(Aux-Pres.Prog.) donkey become.1st.Sng.
   I saw I was being fooled.
2. zamɑni ce ʃomɑ hamsaɪetɑn-ɪɑ bɑ **cuhi** ʔaz moʃcelɑt ƕolule bɑɪɑn miconid
   When that you your spouse-Obj. with a mountain of problems bambard
   When you bombard your spouse with a mountain of problems,…

3. tʃaʃmɑn-e ma-ɪɑ bɑz boƕzɑɪid tɑ hame bedɑnand ce tʃaʃmɑn-e man
   My eyes-Obj. open keep so everyone know.3rd.Pl. that my eyes
   daɪ ʔɑɪezu-j-e didan-e **ƕol**am tʃeɢadɪ hasɪat ceʃidand
   in hope-Gen. seeing-Gen. my flower how much longed.3rd.Pl.
   Keep my eyes open so that everyone knows how much they longed for seeing my beloved.

4. ʔɑmadam tɑ bɑz maʃɢ-e ʔeʃɢam-ɪɑ **mɑh**-e man ɢalam bezanad
   Came.1st.Sng. so again my love's homework-Obj. my moon write.Subjunc.3rd.Sng.
   I came so that my beloved would do my love homework again.

Frequency Chart (1) represents the use of words in the primary sense (literal) and the secondary meaning (conventional metaphor) of the total of 938 sentences:

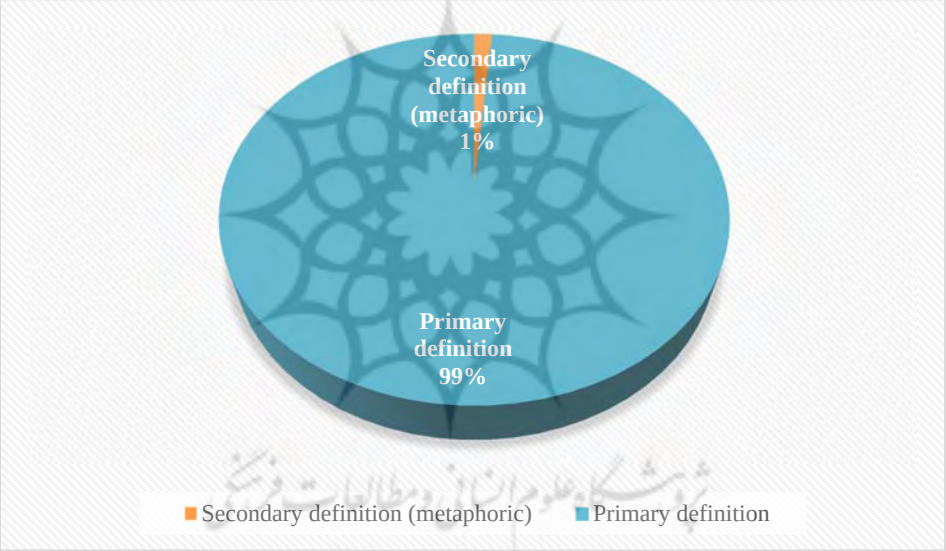

Chart 1. The Frequency of Words in the Primary and the Secondary Meaning (Metaphorical)

From a total of 1709 sentences, in 771 sentences, the words "rent, club, package, barrel, throne, calendar, blade, theater, pair, cover, tea, badge, instrument, needle, cinema, flame, prey, abdomen, collar, pen, morsel, machine, chicken, pulpit and motor" have been used. In the meantime, the frequency of conventional metonymy was different. Table 4 shows these statistics:

Table 4. Number of Sentences Including Words in Their Primary Meanings and Metonymic Meaning in Persian

No.	Word	Number of Sentences with Words in Primary Meanings	Number of Sentences with Conventional Metonymies
1	Rent	29	**3**
2	Club	43	**38**
3	Package	14	**3**
4	Barrel	5	**5**

5	Throne	29	**5**
6	Calendar	14	**4**
7	Blade	17	**12**
8	Theater	37	**5**
9	Pair	14	**3**
10	Cover	23	**15**
11	Tea	27	**11**
12	Badge	48	**0**
13	Instrument	20	**4**
14	Needle	9	**0**
15	Cinema	78	**22**
16	Flame	48	**1**
17	Prey	25	**3**
18	Abdomen	29	**0**
19	Collar	2	**1**
20	Pen	60	**5**
21	Morsel	24	**1**
22	Machine	90	**54**
23	Chicken	43	**9**
24	Pulpit	8	**0**
25	Motor	35	**11**

As shown in the table, except for the words "badge, needle, abdomen, and pulpit", the rest of the words are used in the metonymic sense with different occurrence rates. Examples 5 to 14 show the application of some of these words in a metonymic sense:

5. bɑɪsɑ **bɑʃƋɑh**i ɢɑbel-e ʔehteɪɑm va tavɑnmand ʔast ce mitavɑnad bɑziconɑn ɪɑ
   Barça a club respectable and powerful is that can players.Obj.
   be xedmat begiɪad
   hire.Subjunc.3rd.Sng.
   Barça is such a respectable and powerful soccer club that can hire players.
6. haɪƋez be ʔɑɪɑjeʃƋah nemiɪaft ziɪɑ bim-e ʔɑn dɑʃt ce ʔɑɪɑjeʃƋaɪ
   Never to barber shop didn't go because fear-Gen. that had.3rd.Sng. that barber
   Ƌaluj-e ʔu-ɪɑ bɑ **tiɢ**-e ɪiʃ tarɑʃi bebɔɪad
   his throat-Obj with razor blade cut.Subjunc.3rd.Sng.
   He never went to the barber shop because he was afraid the barber would cut his throat with the razor blade.
7. daɪ ʔavɑxeɪ-e dahej-e 1960, mɑʃinhɑji be vodʒud ʔɑmadand ce ɢɑdeɪ budand
   In late-Gen. decade-Gen. 1960 machines were created that could
   tɑ 60 **dʒeld** cetɑb-ɪɑ daɪ jek dɑɢiɢe sahɑfi conand
   up to 60 volumes book-Obj. in one minute bind.Subjunc.3rd.Sng
   In the late 1960s, machines were created that could bind a volume of a book in one minute.
8. man **tʃɑj** minuʃam
   I tea drink.1st.Sng.
   I drink tea.
9. ʔin filmhɑ daɪ **sinamɑ**hɑ-je hedʒɪat-e Ƌonbad va ʔasɪ-e dʒadid-e
   This films in cinemas-Gen. Hejrat(name) Gonbad(name) and Asr-e-jadid(name)-Gen.
   ƋoɹƋɑn sobh-o ʔasɹ ecɹɑn ʃodand
   Gorgan (name of city) morning-and evening were played
   These films were on at Hejrat, Gonbad and Asr-e-Jadid cinemas of Gorgan in the morning and evening.

10. ɹuj-e **ʃoʔle**hɑ-je dʒeloji-e ʔodʒɑɢ ɟɑz poxt-o paz nacon
On-Gen. burners-Gen. front-Gen. stove don't cook
Don't cook (anything) on the front burners of the stove.
11. man ce ʃekɑɪ miconam ʔu foɹi **ʃecɑ.ɹ**-ɹɑ nazd-e man mi-ʔɑvaɹad
I that hunt he/she immediately game-Obj. near(N)-Gen. I bring.3rd.Sng.
When I hunt, he/she brings me the games immediately.
12. ɟaɪtʃe ɢalam-e ʔu ʃivɑ bud, ʔamɑ cadʒɹavi caɹd va
Although his pen eloquent was but went astray.3rd.Sng and
be sazɑj-e ʔamɑl-e xod niz ɹesid
to penalty-Gen. deeds-Gen himself/herself too reached.3rd.Sng
He had an eloquent style in writing but went astray and got what he deserved too.
13. mɑ be dastɟiɹe-je **mɑʃin**-e ʔasɑtid moɹabbɑ jɑ ʔasal mimɑlidim
We to handle-Gen. car-Gen. professors jam or honey rubbed.Past.Prog.1st.Sng.
We used to rub jam or honey on the door handles of the professors' cars.
14. ɢɑɪtʃ ɹiz caɹde budam-o dɑxel-e tɑbe bɑ **moɹɢ**-e
Mushroom had chopped.1st.Sng.-and inside-Gen. pan with chicken-Gen.
poxte taft dɑde budam
cooked(P.P) had sautéed.1st.Sng.
I had chopped mushrooms and had sautéed them with cooked chicken in the frying pan.

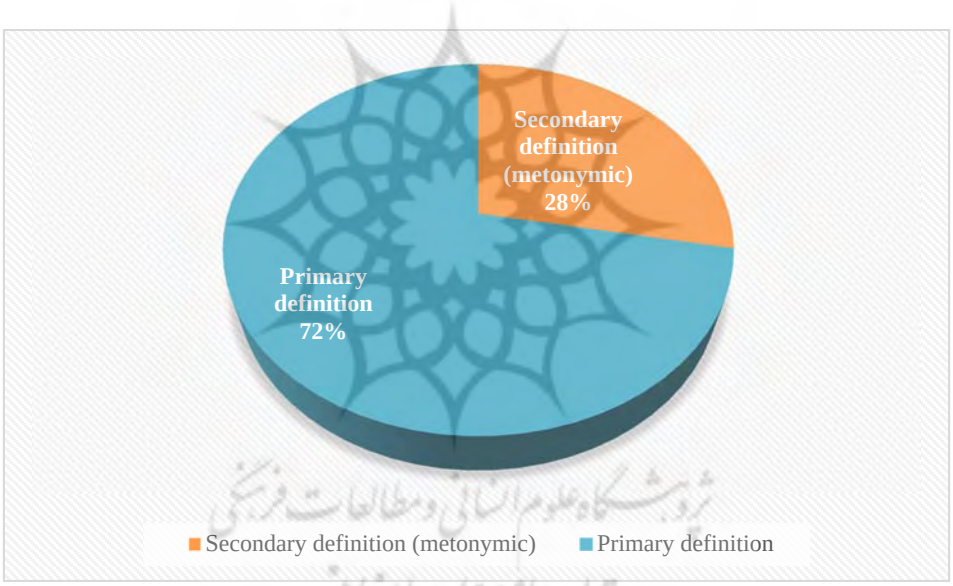

Chart 2. The Frequency of Words in the Primary Sense and the Secondary Meaning (Metonymic)

Thus, out of a total of 1709 sentences, in which all 50 words have been used, 1485 include the words in their primary sense (literal), and 224 others contain the words in the secondary sense (metaphorical and metonymic):

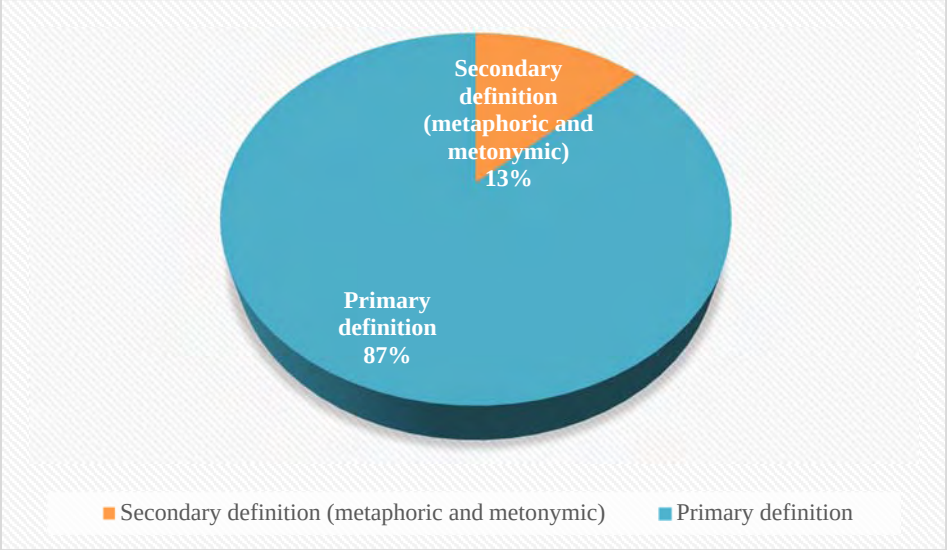

Chart 3. The Frequency of Words in the Primary and Secondary Meanings

Finally, out of a total of 224 sentences, in 50 of which words are used in their secondary sense, 213 contain conventional metonymy, and only 11 include the use of conventional metaphor:

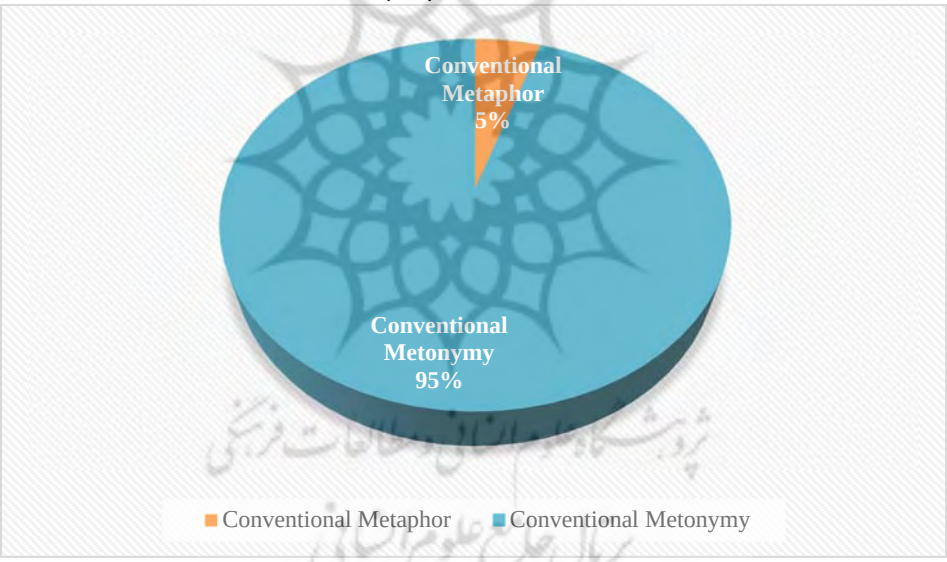

Chart 4. Frequency of Conventional Metaphor and Conventional Metonymy

5. Conclusion

The study of 50 conventional metaphors and metonymies in the corpus confirms the author's hypothesis: there is a direct relation between the speakers' type of categorization and the amount of use regarding conventional metaphor and metonymy. Persian speakers categorize according to the type of relationship between things, unlike Americans who, when categorizing, consider similar characteristics among things. Thus, Persian speakers focus on the relationship and contiguity of things more than the taxonomy and similarity of things. The present research shows that one can directly consider a relation between one of human's most important cognitive functions that is categorization, and one of his or her most important linguistic functions, that is

metaphor and metonymy (cognitive representations of the human intellectual system). Persian speakers, as they consider the close relationship between things while categorizing, prioritize metonymy in linguistic applications as well. European Americans are expected to act the opposite in this regard, that is, since they are doing a taxonomy-based categorization, they are likely to use metaphor more than metonymy. The corpus in this study shows that Persian speakers use conventional metonymy 95% more than conventional metaphor; this finding once again confirms that cognition is not the same in all human beings, and it does not act in a uniform way.

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ویژه‌نامهٔ زبان‌شناسی

بررسی رابطهٔ میان مقوله‌بندی رده‌ای/موضوعی و کاربرد استعاره و مجاز در میان سخنگویان فارسی‌زبان: رویکردی پیکره‌بنیاد

راحله گندمکار[1]

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چکیده

این مقاله به بررسی تفاوت میان انواع مقوله‌بندی از یک سو و کاربرد استعاره و مجاز از سوی دیگر، و ارتباط میان آنها در میان ایرانیان فارسی‌زبان می‌پردازد. آخرین پژوهش‌های انجام‌شده در باب مقوله‌بندی نشان می‌دهند که فارسی‌زبانان درست مثل چینی‌ها، کره‌ای‌ها و ژاپنی‌ها مقوله‌بندی را بر اساس روابط موضوعی انجام می‌دهند، برخلاف آمریکایی‌های اروپایی که بر مبنای روابط رده‌ای مقوله‌بندی می‌کنند. این تحقیقات نشان داده‌اند که آسیایی‌های شرقی در جریان مقوله‌بندی، روی محور همنشینی و با توجه به واحدهای موجود در بافت، و غربی‌ها روی محور جانشینی عمل می‌کنند. بنابراین، این فرض مطرح شد که این عملکرد شناختی متفاوت، در کاربرد استعاره و مجاز نیز بازنمایی می‌یابد، یعنی احتمالاً کسانی که طبقه‌بندی مقوله‌بنیاد انجام می‌دهند بیشتر از استعاره و کسانی که طبقه‌بندی رابطه‌بنیاد انجام می‌دهند، بیشتر از مجاز استفاده می‌کنند. بررسی پیکرهٔ دادگان زبان فارسی متشکل از ۳۰ هزار جمله این فرضیه را تأیید کرد. سخنگویان زبان فارسی همان‌طور که به هنگام مقوله‌بندی بر حسب «رابطه» عمل می‌کنند، در زبان نیز مجاز را که بر پایهٔ رابطهٔ مجاورت و همنشینیِ دو چیز استوار است، بیشتر از استعاره به کار می‌برند که بر مبنای مشابهت و رابطهٔ جانشینی میان دو چیز است. پژوهش حاضر این واقعیت را بار دیگر تأیید می‌کند که شناخت در همهٔ انسان‌ها یکسان نیست.

واژه‌های کلیدی: مقوله‌بندی، مقوله‌بندی موضوعی، مقوله‌بندی رده‌ای، استعاره مُرده، مجاز مُرده

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