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World Englishes and Cultural Linguistics: Theory and research

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Abstract

This article explores the evolution of Cultural Linguistics, its fusion with Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Sociolinguistics, and its application to the study of world Englishes, emphasising the cultural dimension of language and cognition. It investigates key theoretical concepts in Cultural Linguistics such as cultural categories, schemas, conceptualisations, keywords, models and scenarios as essential analytical tools for examining the interplay between thought, language and culture. Using examples from English varieties in sub-Saharan Africa, Great Britain, Ireland, India and Hong Kong, this article demonstrates how these conceptual phenomena interact at increasing levels of conceptual complexity. The discussion also distinguishes conceptual metaphor (and metonymy) from the somewhat problematic concept of 'cultural metaphor', previously used in some cultural-linguistic approaches to world Englishes. Finally, the article delves into Conceptual Blending Theory as a possible extension of Cultural Linguistics that synthesises diverse cultural knowledge to interpret culture-specific expressions in contemporary multilingual settings.

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1 | INTRODUCTION

The fact that a special issue on Cultural Linguistics is published in *World Englishes*, the flagship journal of 'empirical research on Englishes in their cultural, global, linguistic and social contexts' (Wiley, 2023) may be taken as a recognition that the cultural-linguistic approach to this field has matured to a viable research paradigm. Earlier issues of *World Englishes* contained, occasionally, studies along these lines. However, the current volume provides the first opportunity to present and illustrate the cultural-linguistic contribution to the analysis of varieties of English in a more comprehensive way in *World Englishes*. The following discussion will sketch out the evolution of this approach, situate it vis-à-vis general strands in linguistics, outline its theoretical and methodological framework and review some representative key studies.

Cultural Linguistics is devoted to the study of the cultural dimension of language and human cognition, that is, its concern is the triad thought – language – culture. There has been a long-standing tradition in philosophy and cultural anthropology that subscribes to the position that the language of a particular speech community or group is shaped by and reflects the specific world view of this community and, hence, is a repository of its culture. The relationship between thought and language, in turn, has been a primordial question of Western philosophy since antiquity, and it is with the late 18th century that the notion of culture entered this original question, most notably through the work by German scholars such as Hamann, Herder and von Humboldt. Humboldt's notion of *Weltansicht* (worldview) was and still is programmatic in this respect. The school of thought engendered by these late 18th and early 19th-century scholars, that is, the tradition commonly spelled out as the Sapir–Boas–Whorf line, is certainly controversial in the field of linguistics, in particular its Neo-Whorfian strands. The latter manifested, in the course of the 20th century, in a number of essentialist and deterministic trends, and, from a philosophical perspective, this has hardly been helpful to the original cause. At the more immediate level of linguistic analysis, such strands have been rightly criticised for their lack of systematic and convincing empirical footing. Linguistic evidence was more often than not vague and anecdotal (if not esoteric), and a theoretical framework was missing that would allow for a substantial explanatory account. The Sapir–Boas–Whorf school of thought, though explicitly embraced by Cultural Linguistics, is thus an ambivalent heritage, especially when it comes to some of its later pronunciations.

However, with the so-called second cognitive revolution in linguistics, that is, with the advent of Cognitive Linguistics and parallel developments in related disciplines, most importantly Cognitive Anthropology, a theoretical model of and approach to language began to gain shape and momentum that provided a handle to overcome much of the shortcomings mentioned above. First and foremost, the cognitive view that language and culture are *conceptual* phenomena and not systems separate from each other and from thought allowed to readdress the traditional thought – language – culture triad from a fundamentally different perspective: The question of how they *relate* to each other gives way to the enterprise of identifying the mechanisms and structures of the conceptual system in which all of the three phenomena are ultimately located. In the course of the 1980s, Cognitive Linguistics and cognate research areas produced a rich set of analytic tools and theoretical concepts to pursue this endeavour, for example notions such as prototypicality, cognitive schema/scenario, cognitive model, conceptual metaphor/metonymy and cultural keywords. Several early studies, in particular those in the collective volume Holland and Quinn (1987), showed the potential of this approach for culturally oriented research. Palmer (1996) was instrumental to developing these initial attempts into a fully fledged cultural-linguistic framework and it is due to the work and initiative of Sharifian (e.g., 2003, 2017) that it received broader recognition and turned into a larger scale research paradigm in the early 2000s.

In this early phase, Cultural Linguistics was still dominated by a cross-linguistic focus inherited from linguistic anthropology. Studies analysing and comparing *varieties* of a language from this perspective – though not necessarily under the label of 'Cultural Linguistics' – were rare, for example Dirven's (1994) book on Dutch and Afrikaans. In retrospect, however, a number of parallel studies from an explicit vantage point in Cognitive Linguistics can be seen as contributions to this field, although they were not written with a genuine sociolinguistic commitment. This includes investigations of specific conceptual metaphors, especially in American English. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work was dedicated to the conceptual metaphors that underlie American English and stem from 'Western culture' at

large. Likewise, Kövecses' (1991) early work on conceptualisations of emotions explores, inter alia, the Western cultural realm and American English, specifically. Kövecses (1995) also analysed metaphors constituting the American concept (or, perhaps more accurately in the terminology used in the present article, 'cultural model') of friendship. Liu (2002) compared the use of different metaphors in the domains of sports, politics, business, family, eating and social relationships in American and Chinese culture.

An explicitly sociolinguistic, variationist concern both in mainstream Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Linguistics started to gain ground at best two decades ago, with a focus on varieties of English, exemplified with Wolf's (2001) study of Cameroon English as well as Malcolm and Sharifian's (2002) and Sharifian's (2003, 2006) work on Australian Aboriginal English and Australian English. Until then, there was barely any significant communication with the broad world Englishes framework that had grown into one of the major research areas within English linguistics, almost parallel in time to and independent of the growth of Cognitive Linguistics. The driving force of this development towards a socio-cognitive approach to language variation was a new generation of linguists with a background in both sociolinguistics or anthropological linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics, to varying degrees. With respect to the latter, it was a generation that had first-hand experience of and a share in some major shifts in the cognitive-linguistic framework that manifested at the turn to the 21st century. These shifts included in particular the complementation of an introspection-based with a usage-based approach, the recognition of the socio-cultural situatedness of embodied cognition and the acceptance of a view of cognition that acknowledges socio-cultural groups as its locus or what has come to be termed 'distributed cognition', rather than understanding cognition as a purely 'between-the-ears' phenomenon. It was also a generation with training in then innovative and still 'current' methods in linguistics, for example corpus-based research. Given the simultaneous rooting of this generation in various strands of world Englishes, often with their own history of research on a specific variety of English, these scholars were eager to combine sociolinguistic with cultural-cognitive approaches to world Englishes. Step by step, a respective roadmap materialised, joined by committed linguists of the next generation and yielding a modest but substantial and promising contribution to the study of world Englishes.

Despite the independent developments of world Englishes and Cognitive (and Cultural) Linguistics, they overlap regarding the role they allocate to the socio-cultural contexts that shape language, albeit with evidently distinct perspectives. It is the acknowledgement of the diverse sociolinguistic realities in which varieties of English were nativised that constitutes the footing of the world Englishes' framework and its *raison d'être*, for that matter. In his early work, Kachru (1965) offers a plethora of lexical evidence in advocating for Indian English as a nativised variety of English. Specifically, he assesses the systematic patterns of the 'Indianness' of English in India along three types of transfer, that is, of context (as seen in Indian pop-cultural storytelling), of L1 meanings to L2 items (as in the cultural specificity of the compound *flower-bed* in the sense of 'nuptial bed') and of the form-context component (such as greetings and blessings) (see Polzenhagen and Frey, 2017b, for a detailed discussion). Examples from these transfers show that they are bound by the Indian cultural–conceptual space and underwent the necessary adaptation to meet the communicative needs of the context, or to put it aptly in Kachru's (1965) own words, 'IE [Indian English] [is] culture-bound in the socio-cultural setting of India' (p. 410). In contemporary world Englishes work, the study of the cultural context is situated within well-established strands of the framework, such as English language teaching, which naturally comprises English as second (ESL), foreign (EFL) and international language (EIL) contexts as well as in typological studies (see Kirkpatrick, 2015, for an overview). Research from, for example, Baratta (2019), Matsuda (2012) and Kachru and Smith (2008) calling for the incorporation of the cultural element in English language teaching, highlights yet another intersection where world Englishes and Cultural Linguistics can complement each other (see Latić, In press-a, In press-b; Wolf & Latić, In press, for an integrated cultural–conceptual approach to English language teaching).

Some theoretical considerations regarding the synthesis of world Englishes and Cultural Linguistics have been laid out by Sharifian (2009a) and Sharifian and Sadeghpour (2021) and will be briefly outlined here. In his cultural-linguistic take on EIL, Sharifian (2009a) understands it as 'language which can be used to communicate various systems of cultural conceptualisations' (p. 244). Consequently, in order to foster mutual intelligibility, learners must develop metacultural awareness, which at its core entails that they free themselves from the assumption that their own

worldviews, which constitute the basis for the conceptual processes of schematisation, categorisation and conceptualisation, are shared by their interlocutors stemming from a different culture. In that sense, a 'revised model of communication' is proposed, in which EIL is not understood as a monolithic variety, but as a means to navigate and appreciate the diversity of intercultural encounters (Sharifian, 2009a, p. 246). This conception of EIL takes for granted the plurality and diversity of the varieties of English around the world and understands the cultural–conceptual element of cognition as part and parcel of communication in general. This is particularly important given that in the context of EIL 'the majority of English users are also multilingual' and, therefore, 'linguistic proficiency cannot be reasonably measured solely against that of monolingual English speakers' (Matsuda, 2012, p. 4). This point, in turn, triggers multiple pedagogical questions regarding English language teaching at large. The factors to include in addressing some of these questions are the insights on language production and reception provided by cognitive-(socio)linguistic and cultural-linguistic studies (see, e.g. Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2014, and the collective volume Sharifian & Palmer, 2007). In their collective volume dedicated to the cultural-linguistic study of world Englishes, Sharifian and Sadeghpour (2021) emphasise that the synthesis of these two fields of research allows for (a) the study of speakers' expressions of their worldviews through English, (b) the identification of varieties of English, as the study of cultural conceptualisations can account for the level of acculturation world Englishes underwent and (c) the study of a globally shared set of data (English) in the further application of Cultural Linguistics to gain insights about 'how one and the same language may be associated with different systems of cultural conceptualisations' (p. 1).

2 | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section gives an overview of key theoretical concepts used in Cultural Linguistics. These concepts are mainly illustrated with examples stemming from the authors' own work on African varieties of English, Indian English and Hong Kong English. The specific use of some of the theoretical notions and terms in this overview is not necessarily shared by all authors associated with the cultural-linguistic approach. It differs, for instance, from Sharifian's framework, at least in some respects (see Wolf & Polzenhagen, In press, for details). Sharifian (2017) distinguishes between 'cultural categories', 'cultural schemas' and 'cultural metaphors' using 'cultural conceptualisations' as an umbrella term. His model does not strive to represent, in an explicit way, different degrees of conceptual complexity. Particularly broad is, in this respect, his notion of 'cultural schema'. Following Palmer (1996), the present approach to Cultural Linguistics reserves this notion for patterns with a low degree of complexity, and it embraces the notions of 'cultural scenario' and 'cultural model' for more complex ones. Furthermore, it sees the need to represent relative prominence of conceptualisations. For this purpose, it incorporates Wierzbicka's (1997) notion of 'cultural keywords', which helps to strengthen quantitative aspects of a cultural-linguistic analysis.

2.1 | Cultural categories

Cultural categories are people's mental representations of objects, events, mental states and other elements of experience (Sharifian, 2021, p. 4). As products of categorisation, they group these elements into types, and they are generally parts of hierarchical structures within the conceptual system. The mechanisms underlying the formation of categories and their internal structure have been a central concern in Cognitive Psychology and Cognitive Linguistics, following, for example the seminal work by Rosch (1978) on 'prototypes', by Medin and Schaffer (1978) on 'exemplars' and by Barsalou (1983) on 'ad-hoc categories', to name just a few early anchor points in the respective research field (for overviews, see, e.g. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2007; Murphy, 2002; Taylor, 2003, and, from a cultural-linguistic perspective, Polzenhagen & Xia, 2015). The familiar early hallmark studies along these lines, for example on colour and plant categorisation, made explicit that categories and (folk) taxonomies often differ significantly across cultural groups and languages. This is not surprising, since categories are established in interaction with a specific context.

TABLE 1 Cameroonian group ($n = 39$): Use of *father* beyond nuclear family (from Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, p. 90).

Father	
Uncle	20
Elder male person	19
Family friend (especially father's friend)	11
Caretaker	8
Teacher/supervisor/mentor	7
Godfather	5
Other male relatives	4
Anybody who behaves like a father	4
Respectable/responsible male person	4
Priest	4
Friend's father	3
Boss	1

The following discussion will use the example of kinship categories and the related kinship terms to illustrate this type of variation across world Englishes. An impressive body of anthropologically oriented research has shown that these categories are constructed on the basis of various relationships, including bonds of blood and marriage, ties of nurture and care, and ties of affection (see the chapters in Bamford, 2019, for an overview). Common distinctions made in the respective anthropological literature thus include *true kinship*, *fictive kinship* and *nurture kinship* (e.g., Schneider, 1984). The usage patterns of the linguistic labels for such categories, that is, kinship terms such as *father*, *mother*, *sister*, *brother*, betray the specific make-up of these categories in a given socio-cultural group (for an overview of kinship terms, see, e.g., Kronenfeld, 2014). Lakoff (1987) proposed a cognitive-linguistic analysis of the category MOTHER in American English. He models it in terms of a radial category, with a culturally defined prototype of a biological mother. With respect to the corresponding linguistic item *mother*, this, ultimately, results in a polysemy network of related senses. The category MOTHER comprises, in addition to biological mothers, other 'types', for example foster mothers, surrogate mothers, step mothers, against the background of the various bonds mentioned above (for instance ties of nurture and care). While the specific background can be made explicit, for instance by the respective compounds (*foster mother*, *step mother*), the various types still fall within the general category MOTHER, and the 'generic' term *mother* can be used for all of them. The individual senses are also anchor points of metaphoric transfer (see Section 2.4), an aspect explored in detail in Turner (1987) and exemplified by the very title of Turner's book, that is, *Death is the Mother of Beauty*.

Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) extended this analysis from a cross-varietal perspective. One of their empirical bases was a small-scale, non-representative, questionnaire study on the usage patterns of core kinship terms (e.g., *father*, *mother*) in the L2 English of speakers from Cameroon and Germany. In one of the sections of this questionnaire, the informants were asked to specify 'Whom would you address as father'? (and, in a parallel fashion, as mother/brother/sister/aunt/uncle/cousin). The answers revealed quite distinct patterns, exemplified here for the term *father*. From the German group ($n = 19$), the authors obtained a mere six instances (from only four informants) beyond biological fatherhood and fatherhood through marriage: *God* (2*x*) and *priest* (2*x*), against the background of a religious belief system, *grandfather* (1*x*), as an extension by one generation in the genealogical tree, and *fatherly figure* (1*x*), based on behaviour associated with the category FATHER. From the Cameroonian group ($n = 39$), however, the authors obtained a total of 90 instances beyond the nuclear family (biological fatherhood and fatherhood through marriage). The full list is given in Table 1.

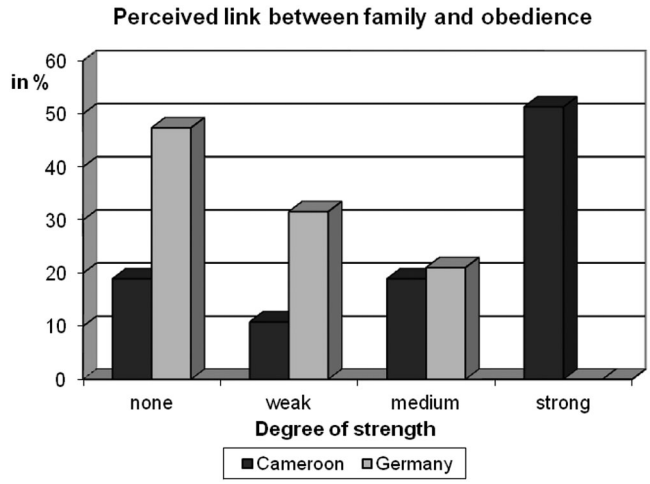


FIGURE 1 Perceived strength of the association between family and obedience as part of the AUTHORITY schema in Cameroon and Germany.

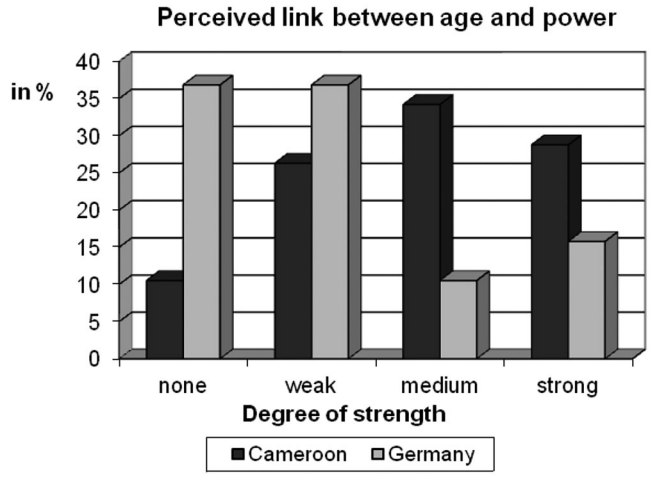


FIGURE 2 Perceived strength of the association between age and power as part of the AUTHORITY schema in Cameroon and Germany.

The Cameroonian answers exemplify a broad range of relationships and constellations referred to in the anthropological literature with notions such as *fictive kinship* and *nurture kinship* (see above). In the present cultural-linguistic framework, these relationships and constellations are regarded as being conceptually represented as cultural schemas. The underlying understanding of cultural schemas and of how they interact with cultural categories will be outlined in more detail in the next section. For the immediate interpretation of the results in Table 1, however, a robust interaction of the cultural category FATHER with, for example, cultural schemas such as the NURTURE schema (*caretaker* with eight tokens in the data) and the AUTHORITY schema (*teacher/supervisor/mentor* with seven tokens and *respectable/responsible male person* with four tokens) is observable. Some of these associations were explicitly tested in another part of the questionnaire. There, the informants were asked to indicate the degree of strength they perceive for the link between selected relevant notions, on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 'no link' to 'strong link'. The results are given in Figures 1 and 2 for the association between FAMILY and OBEDIENCE and between AGE and POWER, both testing the prominence of the AUTHORITY schema.

More generally, the use of kinship terms in Cameroon English illustrated by the results in Table 1 attests to what has been termed the 'cultural model of community' in this setting: The concept of FAMILY is extended, in this cultural sphere, to embrace various wider communities (see Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, for a detailed analysis). The discussion will return to this point in Section 2.3.

2.2 | Cultural schemas and cultural scenarios

Cultural schemas, in the present framework, are mental representations of instances and patterns of people's experience of and interaction with their socio-cultural environment. As mentioned above, the framework presented here reserves this term for representations with a low degree of complexity. This can be illustrated by the example of the GIFT-GIVING schema discussed in Polzenhagen (2007, p. 106) and Wolf and Polzenhagen (In press). It has a low degree of complexity, capturing one fairly distinct instance of socio-cultural interaction. The schema provides slots – GIVER, RECEIVER, GIFT – without any specification beyond the associated roles. Gift-giving is involved in numerous events and cultural practices, for example a birthday party, a wedding, a Christmas party, when visiting or welcoming people, when returning home from a travel, in return for a favour. These are complex events, with gift-giving being just one of their elements. For each of such events, socio-cultural groups have an often elaborate specific script, that is, a conventional 'culturally defined sequence of actions', as Palmer (1996, p. 75) puts it. Following this, the mental representation of such events will be referred to as 'cultural scenarios' (e.g. BIRTHDAY scenario, CHRISTMAS scenario). In these scenarios, the roles provided by the schemas involved are filled in specific ways. In Western culture, the GIFT-GIVING schema, for instance, is spelled out with the birthday person in the role of the RECEIVER in the BIRTHDAY scenario, while in the CHRISTMAS scenario, gift-giving is mutual. Furthermore, the conventional category of appropriate gifts (e.g. FOOD, FLOWERS, MONEY, TOYS) differs depending on the respective scenario, as well as on the category of the giver and the receiver and on the constellation between them. Cultural scenarios are thus complex mental representations in which the schemas involved are specified with respect to the categories of the participants involved. Staying within the broader domain of FAMILY, the following discussion will illustrate a scenario- and schema-based analysis in the context of world Englishes using the example of the CONTACT ADVERT scenario. This also allows for addressing variation at the level of text types.

First of all, searching for a marriage partner via a contact advert is an option taken only in some socio-cultural settings. While there is a thriving market of these adverts, for instance, in India and Pakistan, they are highly uncommon or even completely alien to the marriage culture in other regions. Beyond this most obvious aspect of variation, these adverts, in the settings where they are used, have very specific formats and linguistic features. This was shown, for example, by Peters and Polzenhagen (2021) in a comparative schema-based analysis of Indian-English matrimonial adverts and their British-English counterparts. The latter are not matrimonial adverts in a strict sense anymore; what is sought is a partner for a long-term relationship rather than explicitly a marriage partner. The empirical basis of this analysis is a corpus of 150 adverts from *The Times of India* and *The Times* (London) compiled by Frey (2015) as part of a larger corpus, which included matrimonial adverts from three further English-medium Indian newspapers (150 adverts each from *The Hindu*, *The Statesman*, *The Milli Gazette*). The data stem from 2010. 'Matrimonials', as they are called in Indian English, are a common and highly frequent way of searching a marriage partner and a fully accepted element in Indian marriage culture. They appear in extensive sections of Indian newspapers and on countless matrimonial websites. Originally, matrimonial adverts in India were an import article from Britain, where this text type has a history going back to the late 17th century. The first Indian ads appeared in the late 19th century, quickly spread in caste journals and later in regular newspapers; *The Times of India*, for instance, has published matrimonial adverts since 1949. The reason why this text type was readily incorporated into Indian marriage culture is straightforward: India was and is still among the settings where the dominant pattern is an arranged marriage, with a long tradition of matchmaking via marriage brokers. An overview of the history of this text type and of Indian marriage culture is given in Polzenhagen and Frey (2017a, 2017b), and the present account provides only details that are immediately relevant to the schema-based analysis of these adverts. Two cultural schemas are constitutive of the MATRIMONIAL ADVERT scenario, referred to by Peters and Polzenhagen (2021) as the SEEKING and the OFFERING schema. They bring forth a straightforward and rather steady basic structure of this text type, in particular the elements 'self-denotation/description' and 'partner denotation/description'. There is, however, significant culture-specific variation in the way the two schemas are spelled out and how the slots they provide are filled. This variation is produced by differences between the respective cultural models of marriage.

One of the slots to be filled in the SEEKING schema is the one for whom a (marriage) partner is sought. The OFFERING schema, in turn, provides a slot for the person who offers marriage/partnership. In the case of the British adverts in the corpus, these slots are filled invariably by the same person (the SELF): The person who inserts the advert is always the one who seeks a partner for themselves. In the Indian adverts, however, the fillers of these two slots do not necessarily coincide. In a traditional arranged marriage, the search for the partner is not performed by the self but by the family (usually the parents of SELF) or, alternatively, by a matchmaker (e.g. via a marriage bureau), that is, this slot of the OFFERING schema can be filled by three different categories (for the detailed data, see Polzenhagen & Frey, 2017a, p. 593). Most adverts in the Indian corpus are not explicit in this respect. If it is explicitly the SELF, this can be taken to be indicative of a more liberal stance. If it is explicitly the parents/family of SELF, a more traditional handling can be assumed. The following example is an instance of the latter type:

(1) HIGH Status Punjabi Khatri Business Family is seeking a Suitable Match/Homely Girl for their Son, 6',2''/85, Caste no bar. (Sub-corpus *The Times of India*)

There is a parallel constellation for another slot provided by the OFFERING schema, that is, the person to whom the offer is addressed. In the British adverts, this is invariably the potential partner. In the Indian adverts, however, cases where the family/parents of the partner are the explicit addressee are found, again reflecting a traditional marriage model. This is exemplified by the following advert from *The Hindu* sub-corpus:

(2) PARENTS OF Nair girl, slim and beautiful, 23/166, only daughter of SR. engineers in Govt. of India dept in Trivandrum, […], seek alliance from parents of Nair boys […]. (Sub-corpus *The Hindu*)

A far more detailed cultural-linguistic analysis of these and other aspects of Indian marriage culture is given in Polzenhagen and Frey (2017a, 2017b), Peters and Polzenhagen (2021) and Polzenhagen (2021). Some brief considerations on two linguistic features of the Indian matrimonials that are particularly striking for a Western reader and that are again most direct expressions of the respective cultural scenario in the Indian context will conclude the present section. Both link to the event subsequent to the placement of the advert in the MATRIMONIAL/CONTACT ADVERT scenario, namely the selection process. The instantiation of the underlying SELECTION schema and its linguistic manifestation again attest to cultural variation.

The first aspect is the choice of singular or plural forms for the denotations of the potential partner. In the British adverts, it is invariably the singular form: What is sought is *a* person (singular) not person*s* (plural). These adverts are written with the potential partner in mind rather than the pool of responses to be selected from. The SELECTION schema, though inevitably involved, is hidden in the Western adverts. In fact, the use of a plural form would trigger quite special connotations in a Western contact advert. In turn, the SELECTION schema is plainly foregrounded in the Indian adverts. In 129 of the 600 Indian matrimonial adverts in Frey's (2015) corpus, the plural form is used for partner denotation (*boy**s***, *girl**s***, *bride**s***, *groom**s***). This is illustrated by example (2) above, by the sequence 'seek alliance from parents of Nair **boys**'. The emphasis on (or prominence of) the selection schema in the Indian MATRIMONIAL/CONTACT ADVERT scenario has another linguistic manifestation which is again striking from a Western perspective. In many of these adverts, responding to the offer is framed as an APPLICATION, as in:

(3) NAIR DOCTOR 38/180 Aswathi Well settled at Chennai seeks alliance from fair goodlooking well educated Nair Bride. Apply with BHP[1]. (Sub-corpus *The Hindu*)
(4) ALLIANCE INVITED for a RC boy, well employed, PG Engr 30, from RC girls respectable family Chennai employed preferrably in Banking Pvt Public sectors (software need not apply). (Sub-corpus *The Hindu*)

As the discussion has shown, the 'decoding' of the adverts thus requires an elaborate knowledge of marriage culture in the respective group. This knowledge has a level of complexity that goes beyond that of a cultural scenario in the

sense advocated here, that is, a conventional 'culturally defined sequence of actions' (Palmer, 1996, p. 75). It cannot be accounted for as a single sequence of actions; instead, it is a highly complex mental representation involving numerous cultural scenarios and numerous further cultural–knowledge structures. Such mental representations are referred to as 'cultural models' and are addressed in the following section.

2.3 | Cultural models

The previous sections provided an account of cultural categories, cultural schemas and cultural scenarios and of their interplay. As it became apparent, the understanding of a particular scenario requires knowledge of numerous cultural categories and other cultural conceptualisations. The MATRIMONIAL/CONTACT ADVERT scenario, for instance, cannot be understood without knowledge of cultural categories such as ARRANGED MARRIAGE, the conceptualisation of a COUPLE, of a MARITAL RELATIONSHIP, of FAMILY, of emotions such as LOVE.[2] It is important to note the dynamic nature of this network of conceptualisations. Changes and shifts in parts of the network affect elements elsewhere. For instance, the emergence of more liberal types of arranged marriage in the urban Indian middle class, with a greater involvement of the to-be-married (Polzenhagen & Frey, 2017a, 2017b), manifests in the MATRIMONIAL/CONTACT ADVERT scenario in terms of authorship (the SELF rather than parents of SELF) and addressee (the potential partner rather than family/parents of the potential partner). The changes in the cultural category ARRANGED MARRIAGE are, in turn, the product of shifts in other cultural categories, for example the gain of status and autonomy of the young middle class within their family and the greater emphasis on individual fulfilment. It is this interrelatedness that motivates the notion of 'cultural models' used here, encompassing the entire web of conceptualisations relevant to a particular socio-cultural sphere. Furthermore, this notion allows for a representation of the prominence of conceptualisations involved relative to others, an aspect that cannot be captured otherwise. Closely related are some conceptualisations that are constitutive of a vast network of broader cultural background knowledge (e.g. COMMUNITY IS KINSHIP in the West-African cultural setting; see below), but these are difficult to allocate to a specific category or scenario. Conceptualisations of this kind are or are linked to what has been termed 'cultural keywords' by Wierzbicka and others (see below).

A fairly comprehensive case study along these lines is provided by Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) for the cultural model of COMMUNITY in West-African English. Their analysis covers various dimensions of this model and their linguistic manifestations, for example relations of group membership, of mutual obligations, spiritual relations and relations of tensions. Wolf and Polzenhagen show that the West-African model of community rests on the conceptual triad KINSHIP-NURTURE-MAGIC, and that none of these dimensions can be seen in isolation. The analysis also extends to the impact of the community model in spheres such as politics. Here, the authors trace the linguistic manifestations of the conceptual triad KINSHIP-NURTURE-MAGIC in political discourse, in terms of the three corresponding 'idioms', that is, a kinship idiom, an eating-and-feeding idiom and a witchcraft idiom. The following examples illustrate the conceptualisation COMMUNITY IS KINSHIP in West-African English for various socio-cultural units (Polzenhagen, 2022, p. 66; Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, pp. 78–79), a local or town community in (5) and (6), a political party in (7) and (8), a country in (9) and Africa as a whole in (10):

(5) I salute all our traditional rulers, fathers of our communities and custodians of our cultural heritage. (Shagari, 1979)
(6) Santa people whose son was a prime minister. (Ntoi, 1998, p. 8)
(7) The Santa CPDM is planning a mass decamping because none of their sons was appointed into the new government. (Ntoi, 1998, p. 8)
(8) To members of the PDP family and members of other political parties, who have demonstrated faith in our democratic enterprise, I salute you. (Jonathan, 2011)
(9) The health development of brothers and sisters in Cameroon. (CEC, n.d.)
(10) To our larger African family, you have our commitment to the goal of African integration. (Yar'Adua, 2007)

2.4 | Cultural metaphors, cultural metonymies, cultural conceptualisations

As mentioned above, in Sharifian's model 'cultural metaphors' feature prominently as one of his three types of cultural conceptualisations (together with 'cultural schemas' and 'cultural categories'). Here, Sharifian adopts the standard cognitive-linguistic view that metaphors are those conceptualisations that involve a mapping between two distinct domains (i.e. from a source domain to a target domain). In the course of their own work, the present authors have come to be more and more cautious with the use of this term (for a discussion, see Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, p. 60; Wolf & Polzenhagen, In press). What researchers regard as two distinct domains from an etic perspective, may well be perceived to be one broader domain of experience by the respective cultures. If a mapping occurs in such a constellation, it could be mistaken, from an etic perspective, for an instance of metaphor, though it is not metaphoric from an emic perspective. In order to avoid cultural insensitivity, preference should be given to the neutral term *cultural conceptualisation* in such cases. This applies, for instance, to the conceptualisation of COMMUNITY in terms of KINSHIP/FAMILY, which constitutes the backbone of the West-African model of community (see the earlier sections). In contemporary Western societies where the prototype is the nuclear family, FAMILY and COMMUNITY are rather separate realms, while in the West-African cultural context, they rather blend into one another.

There are, of course, numerous clear cases of cultural metaphors. Some of them are specific to a particular cultural group and alien to others. Varieties of English rooted in different cultural contexts thus display distinct profiles of linguistic expressions of cultural metaphors. An example of a cultural metaphor comes from Hong Kong English and Chinese English, where FOOD is a productive source domain (see Wolf & Polzenhagen, In press). The case in point is BUILDINGS OF POOR QUALITY ARE TOFU (based on the more general metaphor THE STRUCTURE OF BUILDINGS IS THE STRUCTURE OF FOOD), expressed, for instance, in:

(11) Going, going … Chinese 'tofu' tower toppled by wind. (Chen, 2018, n.p.)

Other cultural metaphors are shared across cultural contexts and thus also across varieties of English. However, they may take specific different elaborations. The conceptualisation of HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS in terms of a JOURNEY, for instance, is well attested in various settings. A LOVE RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY is one of the early prime examples of Conceptual Metaphor Theory in Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and has been prominently analysed by Kövecses (1991). Quinn (1987) found the JOURNEY metaphor to be one of the most common conceptualisations of a MARITAL RELATIONSHIP in her account of the cultural model of MARRIAGE in American English. In a study on a corpus of Japanese wedding speeches by Dunn (2004), MARRIAGE IS A JOURNEY was also one of the three most frequently used metaphors. In the British component of the corpus of contact adverts discussed in previous sections, several manifestations of the conceptualisation of a partnership/relationship along these lines can be found, for example:

(12) Woman, 63, looking to begin a friendship which may lead to something more, and then to be part of a couple again. (Sub-corpus *The Times*, London)
(13) London based man […] seeks interesting, attractive lady to embark on a whirlwind long term romance. (Sub-corpus *The Times*, London)

There are no traces of this conceptualisation in the Indian matrimonial adverts; this, however, is due to the specific conventions and style of this text type in Indian newspapers (see Peters & Polzenhagen, 2022, for a discussion). It is not difficult to find linguistic manifestations of the relevant metaphor in Indian English. Example (14) stems from an article announcing the wedding of the son of an Indian billionaire, the examples in (15) are from a list of suitable wishes on wedding cards in an Indian online magazine and the examples in (16) and (17) are taken from Indian websites explaining and advertising court marriages in various towns.

(14) "Anant and Radhika have known each other for a few years and today's ceremony commences the formal journey of their marriage in the coming months. Both families seek the blessings and good wishes of everyone for Radhika and Anant *as they start their journey of togetherness*," the multinational conglomerate Reliance Industries Limited, owned by Mukesh, said then. (Tusing, 2023)

(15) Congratulations *to start your greatest adventure together*!
I wish you the best as you *embark on this beautiful union*.
Best wishes on *your amazing journey as you start your lives together*!
(Mishra, 2023)

(16) Getting married is a significant milestone in anyone's life. It marks *the beginning of a new journey with your partner*, and you want to ensure that everything is done correctly. (Raj, 2023)

(17) Overall, court marriage services in top tier Indian cities cater to the needs and preferences of couples seeking a straightforward and legally binding union. With their accessibility, affordability, and ability to navigate cultural barriers, these services serve as an important resource for individuals looking *to start their marital journey on solid ground*. […]
Kolkata Court Marriage. […] With its rich cultural heritage and bustling streets, Kolkata provides an ideal backdrop for *couples seeking to start their journey together*.
Jaipur Court Marriage. […] Step into this mesmerizing city and *embark on a journey of love as you begin your married life together* under the ethereal charm of Jaipur's court marriage service.
(Lawbhoomi, 2023)

The conceptualisation THE LIFE OF A COUPLE IS A JOURNEY is thus shared in the Western and Indian cultural settings. However, it comes in different elaborations in the specific context of marriage. In Western culture, marriage is generally a later phase of the metaphoric journey of the relationship. In the traditional pattern of an arranged marriage in India, by contrast, entering marriage is actually the STARTING POINT of the metaphoric journey. In a conservative version of an arranged marriage, the to-be-married do not have any prior relationship and may even meet for the first time at their wedding.

2.5 | Cultural keywords

Cultural keyword analysis is not part of Sharifian's cultural-linguistic toolbox (see above), but is, as the term already indicates, an important method to gain lingua-cultural understanding. Cultural keyword research is theoretically based on different schools of thought, both within and without linguistics (for an overview, see Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, pp. 36–39). It connects Cultural Linguistics to corpus linguistics (see below), and, with its quantitative side, to Cognitive Sociolinguistics (for the relation of the latter to Cultural Linguistics, see, e.g. Wolf & Chan, 2016; Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009). Cultural keywords, to use Wierzbicka's (1997, p. 16) well-known definition, are 'focal points [of language] around which entire cultural domains are organized'. The challenge is, of course, how to determine which lexical items qualify as 'keywords' of a given language or variety and are therefore culturally significant. Here, corpus linguistics comes into play. The use of corpus-linguistic methods helps to go beyond speaker intuition in identifying them. The salience or prominence of certain lexical items, and, from a cognitive-linguistic perspective, their underlying concepts, are, to a large extent, reflected in lexical frequency. Yet, lexical frequency in itself is only one indicator of cultural 'keyness' (see, e.g. Latić, 2021, for a contrastive analysis of the cultural specificity of the keyword 'ghost' in Hong Kong English and American English). In any language, some words are used more often than others. Three additional aspects need to be taken into consideration. First, keywords commonly take part in an expansion of the vocabulary for a given sociocultural preoccupation; that is, they aggregate in clusters of synonymous or related terms (called 'cultural elaboration' by Wierzbicka, 1997, pp. 10–15). Secondly, 'related lexical items or items belonging to a specific domain often cluster in collocational patterns, and many of the items forming these clusters are cultural

TABLE 2 Family terms in Hong Kong (ICE-HK) and British English (ICE-GB).

Word	Freq.HK	Freq.GB	Keyness
Members	575	202	101.8
Family	726	293	95.9
Sister	231	70	51.9
Relative	79	21	39.1
Brother	179	59	35.0
Papa	39	0	28.9
Parent	291	151	17.1
Mama	22	1	13.1
Mother	330	186	13.0
Eldest	18	0	12.4
Grandma	32	6	11.2
Granny	22	3	9.1
Grandmother	28	7	7.3
Clan	16	2	6.6

keywords themselves' (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, p. 37), a property Peters (2017, p. 33) operationalised in his notion of 'extended cultural keyword chains' and a principle identified and discussed as category chaining by Palmer (1996, pp. 96, 134). Thirdly, the cultural salience of certain lexical items in a given language or variety can best be determined in contrast to other languages or varieties. That is to say, cultural keyword analysis ideally introduces a comparative perspective – the best way to determine varietal specificity. Given that world Englishes draw from the same stock of vocabulary, apart from variety-specific loanwords, a comparative keyword analysis can be done without the intermediate step of translation. Due to their identical design and careful curation, the ICE-corpora are ideally suited for this endeavour, despite their fairly small corpus size of only about one million words each. This approach has been fruitfully applied to varieties of African Englishes in Wolf (2003, 2006), Polzenhagen (2007) and Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) as well as to Irish English by Peters (2017). For an illustration here, the discussion uses an unpublished study by Bolton and Wolf (2005) on Hong Kong English. Bolton and Wolf (2005) investigated the domains of FAMILY and MONEY in ICE-HK (note that this was an early, extended version of ICE-HK), with ICE-GB as reference corpus (Wordsmith 4, see Scott, 2004, was used for the statistical computations). Their findings suggest a salience of terms related to family in the Hong Kong setting, as shown in Table 2.

Moreover, Bolton and Wolf (2005) found a prevalence of certain complex kinship terms in Hong Kong English, namely *elder sister(s)*, *elder brother(s)*, *older sister(s)*, *older brother(s)*.

Table 3 shows the words that cluster with the term *family* (on the basis of a search horizon of five words to the right and five to the left of the search term) in Hong Kong English (and British English, in parentheses). The fact that *members*, *relative(s)*, *brother*, *business* and *dinner* (as food) are themselves keywords supports the point made above that keywords cluster with keywords.

Thus, as Bolton and Wolf (2005) found, *family* in the HK-ICE clusters with lexical items related to kinship terms, business and food. In a parallel corpus analysis of the domain of MONEY, Bolton and Wolf (2005) showed similar patterns of keywords–collocates correspondences. They also revealed that the keywords–collocates network in the domain of MONEY is linked to the one in the domain of FAMILY through a set of shared lexical items (e.g. *parent(s)*, *business*), that is, these domains are intertwined.

Further corresponding keywords and respective collocations of Hong Kong English are discussed in Wolf and Chan (2016) and Latić and Wolf (2017). Both articles pick up on the concept GHOST and the related terms in Hong Kong

TABLE 3 Cluster of collocations with *family* in ICE-HK (ICE-GB).

Families	73 (64)	*Son*	4 (0)
Members	36 (7)	*Pay*	4 (0)
Society	31 (0)	*Uncle*	4 (0)
Member	19 (0)	*Union*	4 (0)
Extended	16 (0)	*Relationship*	4 (0)
Chinese	15 (0)	*Value*	4 (0)
Friends	13 (7)	*Values*	4 (0)
Children	10 (8)	*Auntie*	3 (0)
Child	9 (0)	*Brother*	3 (0)
Dinner	8 (0)	*Dad*	3 (0)
Business	7 (0)	*Daughter*	3 (0)
Parents	5 (14)	*House*	3 (5)
Relatives	5 (0)	*Household*	3 (0)
Reunion	5 (0)	*Kinsmen*	3 (0)

English, that is, the spiritual or supernatural dimension of FAMILY. The latter, on the basis of the Hong Kong section of the GlowbE-corpus, also identified *family education* as a pertinent collocation. The three studies (Bolton & Wolf, 2005; Latić & Wolf, 2017; Wolf & Chan, 2016) show how cultural keywords tap into underlying cultural conceptualisations, for example HONG KONG IS MONEY (Bolton & Wolf, 2005), ANCESTORS ARE GHOSTS (Latić & Wolf, 2017; Wolf & Chan, 2016) and CHILDREN ARE AN INVESTMENT (Bolton & Wolf, 2005; Latić & Wolf, 2017). These and similar studies (e.g. Peters, 2017, 2021a, 2021b, on GHOSTS, BANSHEES and FAIRIES in Irish English and ANCESTORS in Black South African English, respectively) underline that cultural keyword analysis is an integral part of the cultural-linguistic research paradigm.

2.6 | Conceptual Blending Theory

A tentative methodological and theoretical extension of the cultural-linguistic framework, as outlined so far, is the incorporation of Conceptual Blending Theory, also known as Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, 2003). Though broader in its scope and rather concerned with modelling online cognition, Blending Theory has developed in close communication with Conceptual Metaphor Theory. While Conceptual Metaphor Theory analyses metaphor in terms of a mapping between two domains, Blending Theory translates this into a four-space model, with two input spaces, a generic space providing the conceptual structures common to both inputs and a blended space where conceptual material from the inputs is integrated and elaborated. This modelling does not only allow for a more dynamic account of conceptual metaphors but also provides a favourable framework for incorporating cultural knowledge involved in metaphoric conceptualisations. A detailed explanation of Blending Theory exceeds the scope of this chapter and, to the best of our knowledge, there is only one publication in which Blending Theory was applied explicitly from a world Englishes perspective (Ansah, 2011, where a total of four items from Ghanaian English are analysed). One particular case study from this publication will serve as an illustration of how this theory potentially aligns with Cultural Linguistics. The lexical item in question is *World Bank*, used in Ghana's political discourse in the sense of 'a geographical stronghold of a political party' (Ansah, 2011, p. 67). Understanding this expression requires socio-cultural background knowledge not only of the workings of the actual World Bank, but especially of its role in Ghana's contemporary and historical socio-economic life, as detailed in Ansah (2011, p. 69). The conceptual salience of the World

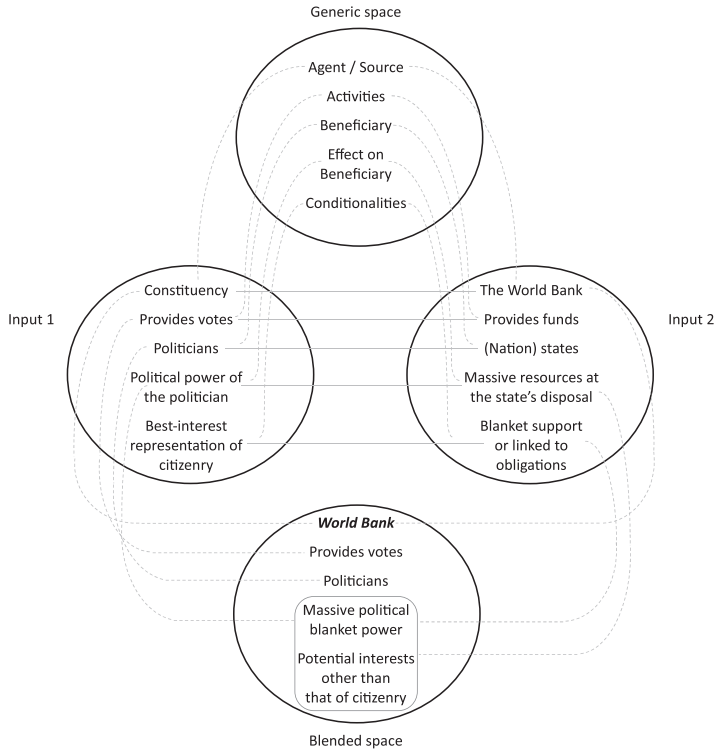


FIGURE 3 Blending account of *World Bank* in Ghanaian political discourse (adapted and extended from Ansah, 2011, p. 68).

Bank in Ghanaian cultural cognition motivates the extension of this term to the sense mentioned above. Figure 3 is a graphic representation of the blend underlying this specific use of the item 'World Bank' (based on Ansah 2011, p. 68).

Input space 1 and input space 2 constitute the knowledge Ghanaians have of the electoral process (input 1) and the World Bank, respectively (input 2). At the composition stage, the generic space (the uppermost circle), in the words of Ansah (2011, p. 68), 'provides roles and values to the input spaces, making it possible for mapping of roles between the two input spaces […]; selected elements from the two input spaces are then projected into the blended space', as graphically represented in Figure 3. Associated with the WORLD BANK input space is 'the background knowledge about the World Bank and its operations' (Ansah, 2011, p. 69) in the specific Ghanaian context. On this basis, inferences are drawn to the extent that '"World Bank" in Ghanaian political discourse represents any electoral constituency that provides massive, blanket support (which translates into votes) for a particular party without much worry about whether or not that support is in the best interests [sic] of the entire nation' (Ansah, 2011, p. 69).

One additional example that was sourced from Hong Kong English will be discussed in the following. It is a product encountered on the *Bewater Mart* website. This local shop carries the name of a 2019 protest slogan and exclusively offers a wide range of products 'made in Hong Kong' (*Bewater Mart*, 2022). One particular gift set features four flavours of Gin that are named after crucial years in Hong Kong's recent history. 'Gin 1997' is in the taste bitter with an explanation that the year of the Handover signifies the 'death of Hong Kong'[3]; 'Gin 2019', that is, the year of the large-scale protests, has a spicy flavour[4]; 'Gin 2022' – the year of mass overseas emigration – tastes sour; and the fourth flavour, sweet, is called 'Gin 20??', expressing the hope of a better future and indicating that it remains unclear whether and when Hong Kong people will ever come to metaphorically enjoy sweetness again. Conceptually, it is quite an interesting blend, namely as to how crucial events and the emotions associated with them 'taste': DEATH (SADNESS) IS BITTERNESS, PROTEST (EXCITEMENT AND PASSION)[5] IS SPICINESS, DEPARTURE/SEPARATION IS SOURNESS and JOY IS SWEETNESS, respectively. Thus, experiences of a negative nature correspond to an undesirable taste, while positively connoted sensations such as happiness and joy correspond to a taste that would generally be considered pleasant,

that is, sweetness (Chan et al., 2013). Using gustatory words to express emotions falls within the study of gustasemy – a research field in diachronic semantics, which also entails foodosemy or zoosemy (Kaźmierczak, 2022; Kleptarski, 2008). Gustasemy is also found in Chinese (Cantonese), where the lexicon of taste can be used metaphorically to talk about emotions. For example, the phrase 甜酸苦辣 (sweet, sour, bitter, spicy) refers to 'experience of joy and sadness in life' (Zhou & Tse, 2020, p. 2). The liquor 'Gin 1997' comes in the taste bitter, as the year of the Handover is associated with negative emotions, that is, mourning the death of Hong Kong: Hence, DEATH IS BITTERNESS or in the realm of emotions SADNESS IS BITTERNESS (assuming the death of a beloved person would generally cause this type of emotional response). An overarching conceptualisation that binds these two metaphors is EVENTS ARE CULINARY SENSATIONS under the cultural schemas EVENTS ARE EMBODIED and EMOTIONS HAVE TASTE. These schemas are identified and discussed in Palmer (1996) and figure prominently in his cultural-linguistic theory. A sub-notion thereof is complex imagery that 'arises from the emotions – the affective imagery of feeling states', which 'highlights the fact that concepts originate as representations of sensory experiences' (Palmer, 1996, p. 46). It is evident that emotions and human senses are inextricably linked.

Another element which is entailed in DEATH IS BITTERNESS is the fact that Hong Kong is personified (as in NATION IS A PERSON entailing END OF BRITISH RULE IS DEATH) and hence her death is mourned. Thus, there is a three-step process: (1) a historic event happens (the Handover), (2) the event causes an emotion (sadness) and (3) the emotion has a specific taste (bitterness), hence SADNESS IS BITTERNESS underlies the distillation and branding of 'Gin 1997' as bitter. Clearly, this blend appears to reach the boundaries of the application of the 'traditional' tools of Cultural Linguistics, as defined by Sharifian (see above), which cannot account for this type of multi-layered conceptualisation processes, or rather networks. Thus, it may be worthwhile looking at how 'Gin 1997' creatively generates new meaning through the lens of Conceptual Blending Theory per Fauconnier and Turner (2002). Applied (albeit loosely) onto the 'Gin 1997' example, the 'three steps' referred to above would translate and feed into the building blocks in the construction of the blend 'Gin 1997'. These are (1) NATION IS A PERSON > END OF BRITISH PROTECTORATE IS DEATH – including Hong Kong's historiography, specifically the 1997 Handover – is in itself a blend and serves as input for the main blend, (2) gin as a liquor having taste, (3) gustasemy, as in the connection of (bitter) taste and emotions, which is projected onto the 'death of Hong Kong' and (4) the post hoc generic space entailing an entity with bitter taste. These funnel into the main blend, which is composed of the gin bottle as an item, bitter flavour and 1997. Thus, the blend 'Gin 1997' is not only a matter of thought and language creating new meaning but it also brings forth an actual item that makes the metaphorical mapping quite literal, in that by consuming the liquor one actually tastes bitterness.[6] This breakdown shows that cultural conceptualisations can be one of the many inputs that work in parallel and lead to the emergence of a blend. Thus, the main benefit of incorporating blending theory in the cultural–conceptual breakdown of speech data is that it lays bare the nuances and complexities of cultural knowledge and how it informs the conceptual space in the creation of new meaning.[7]

3 | CONCLUSION

The cultural-linguistic dissection of several world Englishes (British English, Indian English, West African Englishes and Hong Kong English, specifically) in this article should have demonstrated that Cultural Linguistics ties in organically with central tenets of world Englishes as originally conceived by Braj Kachru, its main founding father. Kachru's well-known statement that in the Outer Circle varieties the English language is 'used in entirely different semiotic and cultural systems' (Kachru, 1983, p. 9) and his connecting of this cultural dimension to 'the underlying thought patterns of bilinguals' (Kachru, 1986, p. 160) can be seen as programmatic for the cultural-linguistic approach to world Englishes (compare Wolf, 2008). Central to Kachruvian thought is the notion of 'contextualisation', which he sees realised in the three dimensions referred to in the introductory section (Kachru, 1965, p. 399): 'Transfer of context', 'transfer of L1 meanings to L2 items' and 'transfer of form-context component' (see Polzenhagen & Frey, 2017b, for an elaboration). The first dimension would, for example, manifest in witchcraft narratives in African English (Wolf & Polzenhagen,

2009), or ghost stories in Hong Kong English (Wolf & Chan, 2016); the second dimension comes to play, for example, in kinship terms, cultural keywords and collocational patterns; and the third dimension can be related to the pragmatic or 'intercultural' side of world Englishes (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2006).

As does Kachru in his own perspective, Cultural Linguistics emphasises that language production and reception hinge on worldview and experience (Palmer, 1996; Sharifian, 2003, 2009b), which are responsible for the conceptual structure of the shared cultural cognition that binds individuals belonging to a specific cultural group. The elaborations in the sections above show that Cultural Linguistics holds the analytical tools in stock for a systematic study of the cultural element of language and for uncovering the nativisation processes of world Englishes. As indicated, these tools include cultural conceptualisations, schemas, metaphors, models, keywords and blends. Furthermore, through the empirical insights of cultural-linguistic studies, 'non-native' varieties receive further legitimisation and potentially de-stigmatisation. Following from this is that a cultural-linguistic approach adds a new perspective to what Onysko (2016, p. 198) termed 'geopolitical models' of world Englishes, in that their distinctiveness and commonalities can be taxonomically grouped according to their cultural–conceptual basis. Cultural Linguistics is part of the wider cognitive-linguistic family, and a cultural-linguistic approach to world Englishes hence fruitfully connects world Englishes to relevant novel approaches such as Cognitive Contact Linguistics (Finzel & Wolf, 2019; Onysko, 2019), which specifically focuses on the conceptual changes and consequences brought about by languages and cultures in contact.

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NOTES

[1] *BHP* = biodata, horoscope, picture.

[2] We use the term 'emotion' in its loose colloquial meaning and are aware that in the taxonomy of love in Psychology, love is not unanimously considered an emotion. For an overview and discussion, see, for example, Burunat (2016), Pismenny and Prinz (2017) and Brogaart (2019).

[3] Note also, since it is the label for an alcoholic beverage, the pun hangover-handover, which was quite common in the post-1997 context (the hangover after the handover).

[4] A separately sold liquor not included in the set is named '辣 2019 雞尾酒/Spicy 2019 cocktail' (a mixture of vodka, vermouth, chili and peppercorn) indicating that the association with the year 2019 is spiciness and appears to be a running ideological frame.

[5] Given the cultural and linguistic context, it can be inferred that 'spicy' here is associated with feelings of excitement (the Chinese (Cantonese) lexicon allows for 辣 (spicy) to be used in phrases expressing excitement) and passion (see Chan et al., 2013, where this association was found among Singaporeans).

[6] In reference to Hutchins (2005), Kövecses (2010, p. 279) picks up on the notion of 'material anchors' and shows that blends 'may be realized in social-physical practice'. This is exemplified with the interface of a clock, which physically resembles the cyclic day blend. In this sense, Gin 1997 is the material anchor in our example, that is, the physical representation of the blend.

[7] We are grateful to our colleague Alisa Egorova for sharing her expertise in Blending Theory and her invaluable guidance in the dissection of this rather complex blend.

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