Conceptual Metaphor in an English and Bulgarian Version of The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls

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Abstract

The article examines a Bulgarian and an English version of *The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls* using the method of conceptual metaphor analysis. The paper shows how three sets of morality metaphors structure the plot and the basic meaning of the tales. It is also argued that the central metaphors in the analysis: the Moral Accounting, Morality is Nurturance and Morality is Empathy metaphors, function as a groundwork for the plot and meaning of the whole tale type (ATU 480). Hence, the study demonstrates that an alternative classification system of folk tales is conceivable- one based on conceptual metaphor analysis. Furthermore, the present study supplies evidence for the near universal nature of some morality metaphors, based both on ATU 480 analysis *and* academic research in social sciences, Moral Foundations Theory in particular. Thus, conceptual metaphor analysis proves to be a valuable tool not only in the study of folk tales but also in the fields of cultural and anthropological research.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, morality, Moral Foundations Theory[1], fairy tales, ATU 480[2]

1. Introduction

Recent developments in cognitive science have radically changed the long-held traditional view of metaphor as a mere figure of speech. Metaphor is not just a matter of language, it is *a matter of thought* reflected in language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980[2003]:6). According to three of the main tenets of cognitive science, most thought is *unconscious*, most thought is *metaphorical* in nature and *conceptual metaphor* is "*the language of the unconscious*" (Lakoff 2001, Abstr.). Therefore, **conceptual metaphor analysis** in any form of written or spoken language is important for *the interpretation of meaning*.

Moreover, the authors of the theory of conceptual metaphor hold that not only language but also the conceptual systems of cultures and religions are

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[1] Graham, Haidt et al. (2012)

[2] Tale-type 480, according to Aarne-Thompson-Uther's classification system. See information about tale-type classification systems further in this article.

metaphorical in nature, and the most fundamental values in a culture are coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in that culture (Lakoff and Johnson 1980[2003]:22; 40). Therefore, conceptual metaphor analysis is a useful tool in culture analysis. Moreover, if our conceptual system and understanding of the world are structured by metaphor, then the shared understanding on the basis of which anthropologists define the notion of culture is often a metaphorical understanding (Kövecses 2005:2). And if some metaphors are universal, the human world cannot be divided into "bounded entity-like" cultures, because the universal metaphors represent an "overarching"or "underlying" layer of cultural experience (*Ibid.:*xiv).

Fairy tales share amazingly similar plot outlines and motifs even across distant cultures. On the one hand, this may be accounted for by their characterization as "the purest expression of the collective unconscious" (von Franz 1996:1), according to Jung's theory, where there is "much less cultural overlay" than in myths or legends (*Ibid.*). On the other, from *a linguistic point of view*, similarities may be explained by the manifestation of potentially *universal metaphors* which are grounded in *universal primary experience*, namely primary metaphors.

According to Grady's Theory of Primary Metaphor, part of the Integrated Theory of Primary Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:45-59), *primary* metaphors are considered *potentially universal* because they are based on *universal bodily* (or "embodied") experience. *Sensorimotor experiences* (**source** domain) are projected onto *subjective experiences* (**target** domain),*e.g.,* emotions and achievement. Thus we conceptualize *subjective experience* in terms of our *sensorimotor experience*. According to Lakoff and Johnson, "We acquire a large system of primary metaphors automatically and unconsciously simply by functioning in the most ordinary ways in everyday world from our earliest years. We have no choice in this," and "we all naturally think using hundreds of primary metaphors" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:47). Thus, *primary* conceptual metaphors in fairy tales may reveal *common ground between cultures* and their analysis is useful for cultural and anthropological studies.

According to Moral Foundations Theory (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012), there exist universal foundations of morality across cultures on a very basic level which ensure the survival of human society and, as I argue, lead to the emergence of the same moral metaphors cross-culturally.

More recent models in moral psychology assume that moral judgments are rapid and unconscious and search for the basic principles of morality through the study of moral intuitions (Sachdeva, Singh and Medin 2011:162-63). The Moral Foundations Theory (hereafter "MFT") which postulates the existence of five universal foundations of morality (Care/Harm, Fairness/Cheating, Authority/Subversion, Loyalty/Betrayal and Sanctity/Degradation[1]) is one promising recent approach to both within – and between – cultural differences (*Ibid.:*169). Evolutionary psychologist Dennis Krebs argues that the existence of these principles in most societies is justified by the fact that they allow people to achieve their goals in mutually beneficial ways (Krebs 2008, cited in Sachdeva, Singh and Medin 2011:169). According to the theory, "the particular actions that are part of one of these five moral categories might differ, but perhaps the underlying structure of morality (*i.e.,* how people reason about morality) remains the same if it is based on similar principles" (Sachdeva, Singh andMedin 2011:169). Thus, "once the issue is moralized, it will be reasoned through similarly across cultures" (*Ibid.*).

There are two simultaneous pressures at work in metaphorical conceptualization: the pressure of embodiment (leading to potentially universal metaphors) and the pressure of culture (leading to culture-specific metaphors) (Kövecses 2008). Our efforts to reconcile these competing forces and be coherent both with body (universal embodiment) and culture (*i.e.,* the culture-specificity of local culture) in metaphorical conceptualization are often not successful and either embodiment or cultural specificity prevails (*Ibid.*).

I argue that in the two versions analyzed here, as well as in the whole ATU 480 tale-type, the dual pressure of embodiment and universal forces underlying human culture work in similar ways across different cultures in the metaphorical conceptualization of morality, producing the same morality metaphors. This, on the one hand, is determined by the work of universal forces forming the groundwork of human culture which lead to the emergence of universal foundations of morality and the same respective conceptual metaphors on a very basic level cross-culturally. On the other, the majority of the metaphors examined in my ATU 480 tale-type analysis are primary metaphors, and this type of metaphors is known to be potentially universal. This accounts for why these metaphors are widespread in the analyzed tale-type across different cultures or perhaps are even near-universal.

These metaphors, as I argue, function as a plot-structuring mechanism and reveal the underlying meaning of the tales (see Ruiz 2008).

As Zipes (2013:xxxiv) notes, the more material collectors of folk tales gathered in their attempts to define the nationalist or regional characteristics of the tales, the more they were convinced of the fact that the "national" tales were variants or ecotypes of other tales, *i.e.,* that folk tales shared common structural features across nations and cultures. This particularity of folk tales prompted scholars to create a classification system of folk tales.[2]

According to Zipes (*Ibid.* xxxv), a renowned fairy-tale expert, the tale-type index is indispensable for anyone interested in doing research on folk tales because it facilitates their comparison and allows for a quick identification of basic structural features. However, Zipes acknowledges as a negative point the inefficacy of the tale-type index in revealing the deeper meaning of the tales. Thus, an alternative classification of folk tales based on shared conceptual metaphors would have the advantage of indicating both plot and deeper meaning similarities among the tales.

2. Moral Foundations Theory

MFT (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012) was created to explain both similarities and variations across cultures. The following table gives a rough overview of the original five foundations of intuitive ethics (*Ibid.*):

Foundation:	Care/ Harm	Fairness/ Cheating	Loyalty/ Betrayal	Authority/ Subversion	Sanctity/ Degradation
Adaptive Challenge	Protect and care for children	Reap benefits of two-way partnerships	Form cohesive coalitions	Forge beneficial relationships within hierarchies	Avoid communicable diseases
Original Triggers	Suffering, distress, or neediness expressed by one's child	Cheating, cooperation, deception	Threat or challenge to group	Signs of high and low rank	Waste products, diseased people
Current Triggers	Baby seals, cute cartoon characters	Marital fidelity, broken vending machines	Sports teams, nations	Bosses, respected professionals	Immigration, deviant sexuality
Character-istic Emotions	Compassion for victim, anger at perpetrator	Anger, gratitude, guilt	Group pride, rage at traitors	Respect, fear	Disgust
Relevant Virtues	Caring, kindness	Fairness, justice, trustworthiness	Loyalty, patriotism, self-sacrifice	Obedience, deference	Temperance, chastity, piety, cleanliness

According to MFT, these moral domains are innate, *i.e.,* they represent a "first draft" of the moral mind, organized in advance of experience by the adaptive pressures of our evolutionary history. This "first draft" is later edited during development within a particular culture which leads to differences in principles of morality across cultures. The authors use the architectural metaphor of a "foundation" to explain their idea of the core moral principles: "the foundations are not the finished buildings, but they constrain the kinds of buildings that can be built most easily" (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012). MFT is defined as a "nativist, cultural-developmentalist, intuitionist and pluralist approach to the study of morality" by its creators (*Ibid.*).

A correspondence is evident between some of these foundations and certain conceptual morality metaphors. (I will give a more detailed description of the moral foundations in MFT in the analysis of the conceptual metaphors with which they overlap.) The primary metaphors Morality Is Nurturance, Morality Is Empathy, Morality Is Obedience, Morality Is Purity and the Moral Accounting metaphor are clearly correlated with the moral foundations of Care/Harm, Authority/Subversion, Sanctity/Degradation and Fairness/Cheating. Moreover, as Lakoff and Johnson point out, there is the "striking finding that the range of metaphors that define our moral concepts is fairly restricted – probably not more than two dozen basic metaphors – and that there are substantial constraints on the range of possible metaphors for morality" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:290). This particularity of morality metaphors is in accordance with MFT, postulating a very restricted number of universal foundations of morality. Despite the characterization of these moral foundations as "innate," there is clearly a converging point between conceptual theory of metaphor (hereafter "CMT") and MFT. There is common ground between the evolutionary, nativist and intuitionist approach of MFT and the experientialist CMT; both have as a starting point universal human experience on a grand scale. MFT is grounded on "intuitive ethics," stemming from the process of human evolution as responses to adaptive challenges, while universal human experience is the cornerstone of CMT.

Although CMT might offer an alternative explanation of some of the ideas on which MFT is grounded, one theory does not necessarily exclude the other. Certain patterns of human experience repeated generation after generation may have "prewired" our brain (according to MFT), and at the same time these patterns may be activated by universal human experience within a lifetime (according to

CMT) which experience is recurrent in the sense that different generations face similar adaptive challenges in order to survive.

Most importantly, MFT corroborates the existence of core foundations of morality exemplified by the Moral Accounting, Morality Is Nurturance, Morality Is Empathy, Morality Is Purity and Morality Is Obedience conceptual metaphors. Another interesting characteristic of MFT from the perspective of CMT is the Social Intuitionist Model ("SIM") on which it is grounded.

Authors of MFT describe SIM as the "prequel" to MFT. Haidt (2001) formulated this model and defined moral intuition as "the sudden appearance in consciousness, or at the fringe of consciousness, of an evaluative feeling (like-dislike, good-bad) about the character or actions of a person, without any conscious awareness of having gone through steps of search, weighing evidence, or inferring a conclusion." (Haidt and Bjorklund 2008:188, modified from Haidt 2001, cited in Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012). That is, according to this model, "moral evaluations generally occur rapidly and automatically, products of relatively effortless, associative, heuristic processing that psychologists now refer to as System 1 thinking [within the Dual-Process Theories of Reasoning[3]]" (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012).

On the other hand, metaphorical conceptualization is also known to be automatic, effortless, associative, experience-based and unconscious, which are all characteristics generally attributed to System 1, according to Dual-Process Theories of Reasoning. However, the mapping of structures from the source domain onto the target domain involves abstraction and decontextualization, which are features generally attributed to System 2 (which is typically defined as deliberative, conscious, abstract, analytic, rule-based and sequential, evolutionarily recent and specific to humans). Nevertheless, some researchers argue that the emphasized distinctions between the two systems are more quantitative than qualitative (Osman2013, cited in Varga and Hamburger 2014). There is also evidence that automatic reasoning is analytic and accessible (Galotti 1986, cited in Osman 2004), and that analytic reasoning is implicit and inaccessible to the reasoner (Siegler and Stern 1998, cited in Osman 2004). Furthermore, Jonathan Evans, one of the most prominent researchers in the field of Dual-Process Theories of Reasoning, points to the distinction of "contextualized" *versus* "abstract" between Type 1 and Type 2 reasoning, respectively, as one of the fallacies associated with Dual-Process Theories of Thinking and Reasoning (Evans 2012:127-28).

Thus, the common ground between CMT, MFT *and* Dual-Process Theories of Thinking and Reasoning points to an interesting field of research with a lot of potential. Moreover, currently there is lack of research regarding CMT in such a framework.

Furthermore, a study by psychologists Kinnier, Kernes and Dautheribes (2000), prompted by the need of a general guide for helping individuals cope with their value conflicts and moral dilemmas, offers a short list of most universally accepted values, values analogous to some of the foundations of morality in MFT and exemplified by the aforementioned Morality Is Obedience, Moral Accounting, Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy conceptual metaphors. In their study the authors used the sacred texts of seven religions, identified by the prominent scholar of religions, Huston Smith, as the great world religions (Smith 1994, cited in Kinnier, Kernes and Dautheribes): Judaism (the Tanakh), Christianity (the New Testament), Islam (the Koran), Hinduism (the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita), Confucianism (the Analects of Confucius), Taoism (the Tao Te Ching of Lao Tzu) and Buddhism (the Dhammapada).

Their analysis of the sacred texts resulted in the formulation of four major categories and more specific values:

1. Commitment to something greater than oneself

- To recognize the existence of and be committed to a Supreme Being, higher principle, transcendent purpose of meaning to one's existence

- To seek the Truth (or truths)

- To seek Justice

2. Self-respect, but with humility, self-discipline and acceptance of personal responsibility

- To respect and care for oneself

- To not exalt oneself or overindulge – to show humility and avoid gluttony, greed or other forms of selfishness or self-centeredness

- To act in accordance with one's conscience and to accept responsibility for one's behavior

3. Respect and caring for others (*i.e.,* the Golden Rule "do unto others as you would have them do unto you")

- To recognize the connectedness between all people

- To serve humankind and to be helpful to individuals

- To be caring, respectful, compassionate, tolerant and forgiving of others

- To not hurt others (*e.g.,* do not murder, abuse, steal from, cheat or lie to others)

4. Caring for other living things and the environment.

The first, third and last categories may be summed up by the Morality Is Obedience, the Moral Accounting, Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy conceptual metaphors. The virtue of humility *versus* greed and selfishness in the second category allude to the contrasting personalities of the kind and unkind girls in the analyzed tales and the modest choice motif in ATU 480.

3. Metaphor Analysis

My analysis centers on three sets of morality metaphors: (1) the generic-level Moral Accounting metaphor, (2) Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy primary metaphors, and (3) a set of secondary primary morality metaphors – the Moral Beauty, Moral Purity, Moral Essence, Moral Health and Moral Obedience metaphors, Morality Is Light and others. Primary metaphors are typically universal, or near-universal, across cultures. Generic-level metaphors like the Moral Accounting metaphor, on the other hand, also tend to be universal or near-universal (Kövecses 2005:67). Furthermore, the principles of reciprocity and fairness in social interactions, which this metaphor exemplifies, are fundamental to human culture.

On the one hand, the set of primary metaphors of morality where source domains of universal bodily experience are projected onto the subjective experience of morality (target domain) determines the potentially universal nature of these metaphors. On the other, according to MFT, the existence of certain universal foundations of morality in human culture shape cross-cultural norms of morality in a similar way on a very basic level. Four out of five of these universal

principles (Care/Harm, Fairness/Cheating, Authority/Subversion, Loyalty/Betrayal and Sanctity/Degradation) are exemplified in a number of the analyzed metaphors in this article – the Moral Accounting, Moral Purity, Moral Nurturance and Moral Obedience metaphors.

In the present article, I have shown how the Moral Accounting metaphor coupled with the Moral Nurturance and Moral Empathy primary metaphors not only structures the backbone of the tales analyzed in the article, but also, as I argue, these metaphors sum up the basic plot structure and meaning of the whole ATU 480 tale-type. Interestingly, research in anthropological and cultural studies points to the principles of *justice* (or *fairness*) and, secondly, the *ethic of care* (sensitivity to harm) which these metaphors exemplify as the most common candidates for the "irreducible basic elements" of the moral domain (Kohlberg 1971:232; Baumard, André and Sperber 2013; Gray, Young, and Waytz 2012; Harris 2010, cited in Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012). According to monists, all manifestations of morality are derived from one basic value or virtue, and this one value typically is either justice or care (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012).

Conceptual metaphors in fairy tales function on a deeper semantic level and underlie the very essence of the tales. These metaphors are signaled by linguistic expressions on a surface level but are captured by a holistic analysis on a deeper level as major undercurrents structuring both the plot and the underlying semantics of the tales. This is why my analysis centers on the plot and the deeper message of certain key semantic elements in the tales which form a coherent whole.

On the other hand, scholars emphasize the importance of the use of actual expressions by real speakers in natural discourse in conceptual metaphor analysis (Pragglejaz Group 2007, cited in Kövecses 2008). Accordingly, I have given examples from everyday speech as instantiations of the analyzed conceptual metaphors.

Golden Mara and Arab Mara, a Bulgarian folktale (Bulgarian *Златна Мара и арап Мара*; Парпулова and Добрева 1982:221-23), and the English *Tales IV* and *V* of *The History of the Four Kings* (Philip 1992:48-52), or the story of *The Three Golden Heads in the Well*, as it is more commonly known, are versions of the ATU 480 tale-type of *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*. Indiana University folklorist Warren Roberts (1958[1994]) explores this tale-type in an impressive historical-geographic study and collects more than nine hundred versions from nearly every corner of the globe (*Ibid.*). Roberts's assemblage of versions of a single tale-type is one of the most comprehensive to date[4] (*Ibid.*). The folktale,

originally entitled *The Spinning-Women by the Spring* by Finnish folklorist Antti Aarne in his 1910 tale-type index, is one of the best known tales in the world (Dundes 1994:ix). Perhaps the most famous versions of the tale-type are Perrault's *Toads and Diamonds* (French *Fées, Contes de ma mèrel'Oye,* 1697) and Grimm's *Mother Holle* (German *Frau Holle, Kinder- und Hausmärchen,* 1812). *Toads and Diamonds*[5] belongs to *The Drink of Water* group, part of *The Following the River* subtype, according to Roberts's typology (1958[1994]:116-19) while *Mother Holle*[6] belongs to *The Fall into the Well* form, part of *The Encounters en Route* subtype, according to Roberts's typology (*Ibid.:*123-25).

According to Roberts's typology, based on the collected forms of *The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls*, there are several subtypes from which all the versions originate. The Bulgarian and the English version discussed in this article belong to *The Following the River* subtype. *Golden Mara and Arab Mara* is part of *The Near Eastern Form* of the subtype, and *The Three Golden Heads in the Well* belongs to *The Heads in the Well* group (Roberts 1958[1994]:106-07, 119). The Bulgarian and English tales analyzed here share some features with the archetype[7] of *The Following the River* subtype. The main actors in both tales are the stepdaughter and the real daughter. Lousing or combing the head of the person who is encountered, an activity which is present in both versions, according to Roberts, also belongs to the archetype. The reward of gold in a box and being covered in gold, the punishment of receiving a box of snakes and being made black in *Golden Mara and Arab Mara* are part of the archetype as well and are typical of versions found in the Near East, India and Far East. Elements of *The Three Heads in the Well* tale which belong to the archetype and are found in Europe and the Near East are the reward of being made lovely and the punishment of being made ugly. Analyses of folklorists define the whole tale-type as an example of the principle that good is rewarded while evil is punished (Honti 1975:33, Jones 1986:158-59, Jason 1988:29-52, cited in Dundes 1994).

The general central structuring component of the plot which unifies the tales of this type depicts two girls, a kind and unkind one, who meet a magic figure. The girl who is kind to the magic figure is rewarded, while the unkind one is punished (Dundes 1994). This key underlying feature of the plot reflects the Moral Accounting, Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy conceptual metaphors which function as a plot-structuring mechanism.

Moral Accounting Metaphor

In the general Moral Accounting metaphor, Financial Accounting (source domain) is projected onto Moral Accounting (target domain). The following cases of this general metaphor are realized in the tale-type:

1. Doing Moral Deeds Is Accumulating Credit: Putting Money into Society
2. Doing Immoral Deeds Is Accumulating Debt: Taking Money from Society
3. Moral Debt Can Be Paid Off with Punishment: The Society Taking Money from You

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999:292-312), metaphors of morality, such as Well-Being Is Wealth, the Moral Accounting, Moral Strength, Moral Purity, Moral Health, Moral Beauty metaphors, Morality Is Light/Immorality Is Darkness and others are widespread around the world, since their source domains come primarily from basic human experiences of well-being and, among them, the Moral Accounting metaphor is very likely to be universal.

The Moral Accounting metaphor is based on the Well-Being Is Wealth metaphor. We conceptualize an increase in well-being as *gain* and a decrease of well-being as a *loss*, and we think of happiness as a valuable commodity (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:292). The principle structuring the Moral Accounting metaphor is that an increase in others' well-being is conceptualized as an increase in their wealth and a decrease in their well-being is conceptualized as a decrease in their wealth (*Ibid.*). Therefore, increasing others' well-being gives you moral credit, while decreasing it is a moral debt (*Ibid.:*293).

The general metaphor of Moral Accounting is realized in several basic moral metaphoric systems (which the authors also call "schemes" but which should not be confused with "schemas"): reciprocation, retribution, restitution, karma, fairness and others. These metaphoric systems are based on the Moral Accounting metaphor, but they use it in a different way, that is, they differ as to their inherent logic, which I will illustrate in the fairy tales analysis further below (*Ibid.*).

Morality metaphors are grounded in the nature of our bodies and social interactions, and morality is conceptualized as well-being, especially physical well-being (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:290). The observance of a moral code is a

prerequisite for the proper functioning of human society, for the maintenance of its "good health" and even survival. The Society Is a Body metaphor and the Moral Health, Moral Beauty and Moral Purity metaphors reflect the conceptualization of society as a body which is healthy, beautiful, pure, etc., if it is moral. Morality is well-being for society and, then, by virtue of the Moral Accounting metaphor, or the principle of reciprocity, it is well-being for the moral individual. Moreover, we perceive a moral person as healthy, beautiful, fair, pure, etc. through our social interactions with him/her, which are "healthy," "beautiful," "pure," etc. in character. Finally, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue, the source domains of morality metaphors are generally based on what people over history and across cultures have seen as contributing to their well-being. It is better to be healthy, rather than sick (hence the Morality Is Health metaphor). Pure, uncontaminated food, water and air are essential for one's physical well-being (hence the Moral Purity metaphor). All our moral ideas, such as justice, fairness, compassion, virtue, freedom, etc. stem from our fundamental human concern with what is best for us and how we ought to live (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:290).

Examples from everyday language of the Moral Accounting metaphor:

English:
(1)   I deserve something for all the good deeds I've done.
(2)   He deserves credit for his efforts.
(3)   He owes a debt to society.
(4)   You have to pay for your mistakes.
(5)   I'll make it up to everyone for what I've done.
(6)   I want to give back to society what I took from it.
(7)   Haven't I paid enough for my mistakes?
        (Lakoff *et al.* 1991)

Bulgarian:
(1)   Те ще си платят за стореното.
(2)   Дължиш много от постигнатото на тези, които са те
        подкрепяли.
(3)   Длъжен е на приятелите си, които пожертваха толкова
        много за него.
(4)   Трябва да се отплати за помощта, която е получил.

The two tales depict the conflict of family dynamics in a household where there is a father, a daughter, a stepmother and a stepdaughter. In both tales the first wife has died. The daughter is portrayed as kind, while the stepmother and stepdaughter are portrayed as unkind and envious. The stepmother favors her own daughter and harasses the step-child. In the English version the stepmother manages to set her husband against his own daughter. In both versions the stepmother[8] seems to have the upper hand in the household.

The daughter in the Bulgarian form of the tale is sent to the river by her stepmother to wash black wool and come back when it is washed from black to white. (This black to white wool motif is common not only to Type 480 but also to other tales and even literature [Roberts 1958[1994]:11].) In the English version, her life in the family is made unbearable and she decides to leave her home and "seek her fortune." The kind girls then meet a magic figure, an old woman in the Bulgarian tale and an old man in the English one. Both girls demonstrate their kindness to the strangers – the girl in *Golden Mara and Arab Mara* by agreeing to "delouse" the hair of the old woman, and the girl in the story of *The Three Golden Heads in the Well* by sharing her modest provisions of food. After that they are given instructions by the magic figures of what to do. Golden Mara is asked to wake the old woman up when the water in the river changes from black and white to yellow. The girl in the English tale is given a magic wand that will help her go through a thick hedge and reach a well from which three golden heads will emerge and told that she should do exactly what they ask of her. When the yellow water comes, it carries a golden casket full of golden clothes and coins (another common fairy tale motif of the tale-type and other tales across the world). The girl wakes up the old woman who immerses the girl in the river, and then she is covered in gold. Golden Mara takes the golden casket, climbs a horse and is told to open the casket with her father. In *The Three Gold Heads in the Well* story, the kind girl goes through the hedge, reaches the well and is asked by each of the three golden heads to "wash them, comb them and lay them down softly," which she does using a silver comb.[9] The combing resembles the delousing moment in the Bulgarian version, and these motifs exemplify an act of humility and service to others. The reward given here by each of the heads is "an addition to her beauty," "a body and breath of perfume exceeding even the sweetest flowers" and "to become queen to the greatest prince that reigns." The story of the kind girl ends with the narrator's

observation that "had she not been kind and beautiful, such good fortune [would have] never come to her lot."

Then the envious stepsisters try to do the same and become as fortunate as the kind girls. But since they behave very badly toward the magic figure (and toward the golden heads in the English version), they are punished instead. Arab Mara is immersed in the black water and she turns black. She climbs a black horse and carries a black casket which she is instructed to open with her mother. The casket is full of snakes which bite and kill both mother and daughter. In the English version the stepsister is cursed by the three golden heads "to be struck by leprosy in her face," "an additional stink to be added to her breath" and "to marry a poor country cobbler." Seeing her daughter marrying a poor man, the mother hangs herself in wrath. However, the stepsister is cured of her leprosy and bad breath by her future husband, a poor cobbler, whom she marries in return and she lives the rest of her life spinning thread.

As can be seen from the plots of the two tales, they are structured by three main metaphors- the Moral Accounting, Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy conceptual metaphors. The Moral Accounting metaphor is realized via its following cases, mentioned above, namely:

1.   Doing Moral Deeds is Accumulating Credit: Putting Money into Society (*i.e.,* one deserves a reward for their moral deeds);

2.   Doing Immoral Deeds is Accumulating Debt: Taking Money from Society (*i.e.,* one deserves to be punished for their immoral deeds); and

3.   Moral Debt can be Paid Off with Punishment: The Society Taking Money from You (*i.e.,* punishment as a way to pay for one's immoral deeds).

These cases of the general metaphor of Moral Accounting are realized via a subset of interrelated metaphoric systems: reciprocation, retribution, karma and fairness.

The kindness the girls show toward the magic figure and their reward afterwards, as well as the punishment the evil stepsisters and the stepmothers get for their unkindness are examples of the principles of reciprocation, retribution, karma and fairness.

According to the reciprocation metaphoric system, if you do something good for me, then I owe you something, I am in your debt. If I do something equally good for you, then I have repaid you and we are even. The books are balanced (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:293). If you do something bad to me, you are

in my debt, if I repay you with something bad, we are even. These rules are reflected in the following principles:

1.   Moral action is giving something of positive value; immoral action is giving something of negative value.

2.   There is moral imperative to pay one's moral debts; the failure to pay one's moral debts is immoral.

According to the principle of retribution, if I do something to harm you, then, by Well-Being Is Wealth, I have given you something of negative value, thus, in order to keep accounts balanced, you owe me something of equal (*i.e., negative*) value (*Ibid.:*294).

Similarly, the karma metaphoric system postulates that some balance of good and bad things will happen to you, with the bad things balancing out the good. One can affect the balance by one's actions. The more good things you do for people, the more good things will happen to you and *vice-versa*; the more bad things you do to people, the more bad things will happen to you (*Ibid.:*296). The good deeds of the kind girls create good karma and they get their reward, while the bad deeds of the unkind girls create bad karma and they are punished.

The fairness principle is exemplified in balancing the moral books, *i.e.,* people get what they deserve (*Ibid.*). In the two fairy tales the reward and punishment balance the credit and debit, respectively.

The curing of the stepsister in the English version by the poor cobbler, marrying him in return and working for him (spinning thread for the rest of her life), *i.e.,* doing moral deeds, exemplifies the restitution metaphoric system. According to the restitution principle, if I do something harmful to you, then I have given you something of negative value (the unkindness to the old man and the heads or *society*) and, by moral arithmetic, taken something of positive value (well-being). I then owe you something of equal positive value. I can therefore make restitution – make up for what I have done – by paying you back with something of equal positive value (*i.e.,* the work for her husband, the cobbler or *society*). The curing of leprosy and the stinking breath are rewards for her work reflecting the balancing of the scales (*Ibid.:*295). The metaphor Moral Debt can be Paid Off with Moral Deeds: Paying Back the Money is realized via the restitution scheme.

Parallels between the Moral Accounting metaphor and MFT include the Fairness/Cheating foundation. According to the authors of MFT, all social animals face recurrent opportunities engaging in non-zero-sum exchanges and relationships

and those humans whose minds are highly sensitive to evidence of cheating and cooperation and react with emotions that compel them to play "tit for tat" (Trivers 1971, cited in Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012) have an advantage over those who do not. People who are good partners in exchange relationships are valued for being fair, just and trustworthy (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012).

Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy Metaphors

Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy metaphors are the other two metaphors which structure the backbone and underlie the basic meaning of ATU 480 tale-type alongside the Moral Accounting metaphor.

Examples from everyday speech of Morality Is Nurturance conceptual metaphor:

English:
(1)   "She is a bad mother, she constantly neglects her children."
(2)   "He is good-for-nothing. He only cares about himself."
(3)   "an act of despicable egoism"

Bulgarian:
(1)   "Той е прекрасен човек, винаги готов да помогне."
(2)   "Добрата майка е грижовна и поставя децата си на първо място."
(3)   "престъпна родителска небрежност"

The delousing of the old woman in the Bulgarian version and the sharing of food in the English tale are acts of kindness and care toward others which evoke the Morality Is Nurturance metaphor. Similarly, the kind girl in *The Three Golden Heads in the Well* is described as extremely "affable" in contrast to her stepsister who is "full of envy and ill-natured." Therefore, being nurturing and, on the other hand, non-nurturing define the girls' inner nature.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999:291), the crucial role of nurturance for human development underlies the existence of the ethics of empathy and care. The Morality as Nurturance metaphor entails that moral action requires empathy, involves sacrifices, and that helping people who need help is a moral responsibility (Lakoff 1995). Nurturance presupposes empathy and thus the Morality Is

Nurturance metaphor is interrelated with the Morality Is Empathy metaphor. To empathize with someone means to understand and share another person's experiences and emotions. According to the logic of moral empathy, feeling what the other person feels prompts us to increase his/her well-being, so that we feel a sense of well-being ourselves (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:309).

Nurturance is crucial for the proper development and survival of children; they have to be fed, protected from harm, loved, sheltered, kept clean, educated and cared for" (*Ibid.*:310). Furthermore, such nurturance teaches children how to empathize with and care for other people (*Ibid.*), an indispensable quality for a social individual. Children have the right to be nurtured, and it is a responsibility on the part of the parents to provide nurturance; it is moral to nurture a child and immoral not to do so (*Ibid.*).

The metaphor maps the practical necessity for nurturance onto a moral obligation to nurture others where the notion of family-based morality is projected onto society via the following mappings:

The Community Is a Family

Moral Agents Are Nurturing Parents

People Needing Help Are Children Needing Care

Moral Action Is Nurturance (Lakoff 1995)

Interestingly, there is evidence for an overlap in the neural and hormonal systems involved in altruism, and researchers have suggested that a caregiving system has evolved in humans which promotes both nurturance of children and helpfulness toward others (Swain *et al.* 2012, cited in Gibbons 2013). According to a study by Swain and colleagues, kinship-selective parental care provides the foundation for non-exclusive altruism via the activation of a general *caregiving system* that regulates compassion in any of its forms (Swain *et al.* 2012). Similarly, studies on oxytocin, a hormone facilitating maternal bonding, have showed that the prosocial effects of oxytocin are manifested toward both ingroup and outgroup members (Barraza *et al.* 2011; Israel *et al.* 2012, cited in Gibbons 2013). Thus, the conceptualization of "people needing help" as "children needing care," as well as of "community" as "family" has some biological and evolutionary basis.

Furthermore, altruistic behaviors may be correlated with personality and status. A number of recent studies have shown that humble persons are more helpful than non-humble ones (La Bouff *et al.* 2012, cited in Gibbons 2013). It has also been found that in general people with fewer resources and lower status are more compassionate, altruistic and generous than others (Kraus *et al.* 2012; Piff *et al.* 2010; Rucker *et al.* 2011; Stellar *et al.* 2012;Visser and Roelofs 2011, cited in Gibbons 2013). Similarly, people who have suffered may be more altruistic, especially toward disadvantaged outgroups (Vollhardt and Staub 2011, cited in Gibbons 2013).

Likewise, the kind girls in ATU 480 tales are typically described as humble and unpretentious, in contrast with the egoistic unkind girls. The motif of choosing between two boxes belongs to the archetypes of the two main subtypes of ATU 480 (*The Following the River* and *The Encounters en Route* subtypes), a small or less attractive box and a bigger or more attractive one. The kind girl makes a modest choice, and when she opens the box she finds out it is full of gold, while the unkind girl chooses the bigger and more attractive box from which snakes emerge when opened.

The motif of poor quality provisions given to the kind girl *versus* high quality ones at the disposal of the unkind girl – "brown bread, hard cheese and a bottle of beer" *versus* "sweetmeats, sugar, almonds, etc., in great quantities, and a large bottle of Malaga sack" in *The Three Golden Heads in the Well* tale – is present in many forms of the tale-type. For example, in another Bulgarian version of ATU 480, *The Golden Girl* (Bulgarian *Златното момиче*), the stepmother, bakes a loaf of flatbread from ashes for her stepdaughter and a flatbread made from the highest quality of flour for the unkind girl, while in Perrault's version there is a pitcher *versus* a silver bottle.

Moreover, the kind girl, unlike the unkind stepsister, is mistreated by her stepmother in both of the tales analyzed here and in many other versions. Therefore, she knows what suffering is and is more likely to empathize with people in a similar condition and help them. These particularities of *The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls* are correlated with altruistic behavior and are therefore interwoven with the Morality as Nurturance metaphor, albeit indirectly.

Likewise, in many of its forms the tale-type ends with marriage or has the *Cinderella* or *The Black and the White Bride* continuation (*i.e.,* it is combined with ATU 510 or ATU 403). Furthermore, as mentioned above, from a psychoanalytic view, ATU 480 is also about a girl's maturation and preparation for marriage. At

the same time, adolescence may be particularly important for the development and maintenance of altruism (Gibbons 2013). According to an international study of over 8,000 adolescents, kindness, along with honesty, was the quality that was most highly valued in the ideal person (Gibbons and Stiles 2004, cited in Gibbons 2013). In another study, engaging in helpful behavior was associated with positive social relations and greater well-being (Schwartz *et al.* 2009, cited in Gibbons 2013). Similarly, another study revealed that adolescents engaged in volunteering showed more academic success and fewer problems such as early pregnancy and school dropout (Allen *et al.* 1997, cited in Gibbons 2013). Thus, adolescence is crucial for the development of altruism and, on the other hand, helpful behavior increases adolescents' well-being. Along these lines, ATU 480 may be interpreted not only as a tale about successful maturation, but also as a story about successful socialization (in the English version analyzed here, the kind girl marries a prince, the unkind one, a poor cobbler; in *Toads and Diamonds*, the kind girl marries a prince, too, while the unkind one, lives in complete social isolation). Moreover, since altruism is positively correlated with well-being, the social benefits of altruism also evoke the Well-Being Is Wealth metaphor on which the Moral Accounting metaphor is grounded.

        <u>Parallel of the Morality Is Nurturance and the Morality Is Empathy metaphors with MFT</u>: The Care/Harm foundation. The offspring of all mammals need the care of their mothers for a significant period of time in order to survive. Human children are the most dependant and vulnerable of all mammals and need the most nurturance on the part of their mothers for survival. Thus the offspring of the mothers whose minds are structured in advance to care, nurture and protect have an advantage in survival. Athough the original triggers of the Care/Harm foundation are signs of suffering, distress or neediness expressed by one's own child, the Care/Harm foundation can be activated by other children, by baby animals and suffering people, even adults (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012).

        Furthermore, as the name of the ATU 480 indicates (*The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls*), this is typically a story wherein the protagonists are *females*, and usually it is the mother rather than the father who plays the crucial role of nurturing a child.

        Lakoff calls the Moral Accounting metaphors *metamoral* metaphors (Lakoff 1996:44, cited in Howe 2006:193), since they do not necessarily directly indicate what actions are good or bad. Their influence in moral discourse is over-arching or pervasive, often in a behind-the-scenes fashion and when combined

with other metaphors, they generate moral conclusions about various kinds of behavior (*Ibid.*).

The following moral metaphors are combined with the Moral Accounting, Moral Nurturance and Moral Empathy metaphors in the two tales: the Moral Beauty metaphor, the Moral Essence metaphor, Morality Is Health, Immorality Is Disease, Morality Is Light, Immorality Is Darkness, Morality/Goodness Is White, Immorality/Badness Is Black, the Moral Purity metaphor and Morality Is Obedience.

Moral Beauty Metaphor

In the Bulgarian version of the tale, the kind girl is covered in gold, while the unkind one turns black. Across cultures gold is associated with the sun, light and the divine, both in pre-Christian and in Christian religion (Behr 2011). This bright precious metal has long been among the most popular and highly valued materials in the making of jewelry and precious objects and is used in comparisons to denote beauty. By contrast, black has mainly negative connotations like impurity, death and evil.

The kind girl in the English version is described not only as extremely kind but also as exceptionally beautiful: "[her] beauty and affability were the wonder of all that knew her." In contrast, the stepsister is unattractive ("a yellow dowdy"), "full of envy and ill-nature."

Moral Beauty metaphors are essential in fairy tales, which often present outward beauty as evidence of inward goodness, while ugliness is normally considered a moral failing. This is based on the folk theory that appearances evidence inward states (Ruiz 2008:121). This folk theory is related to the Internal Is External metaphor, where the less physical is conceptualized in terms of the more physical, an example of what Sweetser terms the Mind as Body metaphor (Kövecses 2010:255). The Mind-as-Body metaphor is motivated by correspondences between our external experience and our internal emotional and cognitive states (Sweetser 1990).

Examples from everyday speech:

English:
(1)   "ugly behavior"

(2)   "disgusting behavior"
(3)   "beautiful act of kindness"

Bulgarian:
(1) "грозна постъпка"
(2)   "отвратителна постъпка"
(3)   "красива постъпка"
(4)   "грозно отношение"

Moral Essence Metaphor

The Moral Essence metaphor is another metaphor related to the Moral Beauty metaphor. According to Lakoff's definition of Moral Essence, "[j]ust as physical objects are made of substances, which determines how they will behave (*e.g.,* wood burns, stone doesn't), so people are seen as having an essence – a "character" – which determines how they will behave morally. Good essential properties are called virtues; bad essential properties are called vices. When we speak of someone as having a "heart of gold" or as "not having a mean bone in his body" or as "being rotten to the core," we are using the metaphor of Moral Essence. The logic of Moral Essence is this: Your behavior reveals your essence, which in turn predicts your future behavior" (Lakoff 1995). Moreover, we usually come to perceive others according to their character and behavior and not according to outer appearance.

The reward and punishment in the two versions, as well as in all the tales where the motif of the kind and unkind[10] is present, are symbolic representations of the girls' inner nature (Duggan and Stotter 2005:371-72). That is, their moral essence is materialized and made visible. The idea of the existence of a moral essence which is made evident through our behavior is represented by the rewards and punishments – being coated in gold and receiving a treasure of gold in a casket *versus* being covered in black and receiving a casket full of snakes in *Golden Mara and Arab Mara*; and gifts of beauty ("addition to her beauty which shall charm the most powerful prince in the world"), good health ("perfume, both in body and breath, as shall exceed the sweetest flowers") and prosperity ("I'll make her so fortunate that she shall become queen to the greatest prince that reigns") *versus* the curses to be "struck with leprosy in her face" (and it is the face of a person which makes the most powerful impression in his/her physical appearance), "an

additional stink to be added to her breath" and to marry a "poor country cobbler" in *The Three Golden Heads in the Well*. Thus, the Moral Essence metaphor is correlated not only with the Moral Beauty metaphor but also with the Morality Is Health, Immorality Is a Disease and Stinky Is Bad metaphors, analyzed further below. On the other hand, in premodern times the skin was still perceived as "a structurally impenetrable boundary to the invisible and mysterious side" (Benthien and Dunlap 2004:10, cited in Jorgensen 2013) and therefore the symbolic representation of our moral character or "essence" which is something invisible and mysterious as skin which turns "gold" or "black" is determined by the conceptualization of skin as a boundary between what is external and physical and what is internal, intangible and mysterious in premodern times (the times when folk tales were created).

Examples from everyday speech:

English:
(1) "heart of gold"
(2) "a mean bone"
(3) "rotten to the core" (Lakoff 1996: 88)

Bulgarian:
(1)   "златно сърце"
(2)   "морална същност"
(3)   "зъл до мозъка на костите"

Other metaphors in the English version coherent with the Moral Beauty metaphor, alongside the Moral Essence metaphor, are Morality Is Health, Immorality Is Disease and Stinky Is Bad metaphors, since the golden heads curse the evil sister to be struck with leprosy in the face and additional stink to be added to her breath. In contrast, the kind sister is endowed with an addition to her beauty and a perfume in her breath and body whose fragrance exceeds the sweetest of flowers.

Bad Is Stinky Metaphor

Bad Is Stinky is a primary metaphor wherein the sensorimotor domain of *smell* is projected onto the subjective judgment of *evaluation* (Lakoff and Johnson

1999:50). The metaphor is based on the primary experience of being repelled by foul-smelling objects (*Ibid.*) and functions, for example, in the figurative meaning of the verb "stink" in English, denoting something (or someone) highly offensive or abhorrent, of extremely bad repute or of extremely low or bad quality.

Examples from everyday speech:

English:
(1)   "This movie/idea/performance/*stinks*."
(2)   "Their behavior *stinks*"; "His name *stinks*."
(3)   The idiomatic expression "smell fishy" (*i.e.,* seem suspicious).

Bulgarian:
(1)   "вмирисан/миризлив: of extremely low or bad quality; spoiled"
(2)   "намирисвам: seem suspicious"

Immorality Is Disease Metaphor

In Immorality Is Disease metaphor immorality is seen as a disease that can spread. It is related to the Moral Purity metaphor, since the Immorality Is Disease metaphor is based on the experience that impurities are seen as causes of illness (Lakoff 1996:93). This link between impurity and health is realized in the Morality Is Health and Immorality Is Disease metaphors, and since diseases can spread from contact, it follows from the metaphor that immorality can spread through contact (*Ibid.*). Just as you have a duty to protect your children from disease by keeping them away from diseased people, so you have a duty to protect your children from the contagion of immorality by keeping them away from immoral people. This is part of the logic behind urban flight, segregated neighborhoods and strong sentencing guidelines for nonviolent offenders. Since purity and cleanliness promote health, morality is seen as being pure and clean (Lakoff 1995).

In English "we speak of immoral people as *sick* people, as having a *diseased* mind, we speak of spread of immoral behavior as *moral contagion*, and of sudden unexpected immoral behavior on a large scale as an *outbreak* of immorality" (Lakoff 1996:93). In Bulgarian we also have the expressions болен мозък (sick mind), болно общество (sick society) нездраво отношение (unhealthy attitude) and морално нездрав (morally unsound).

However, there seems to be a contradiction: The curse of leprosy exemplifies the Immorality Is Disease metaphor, yet the unkind girl's immorality does not affect the poor cobbler; he does not contract leprosy. Instead, she is cured by him. But the cure is in exchange for agreeing to become his wife, which she does; she leaves the court and spends the rest of her life with the poor cobbler, spinning thread. She expiates some of her bad deeds (exemplified by the curse of leprosy and the "additional" stink in her breath, or Immorality Is Disease, Stinky Is Bad and Moral Debt Can Be Paid Off with Punishment metaphors) by working hard and living in poverty, *i.e.,* by virtue of the restitution principle of the general Moral Accounting metaphor ("your good deeds can make up for your past bad deeds"). Hence, her immorality is not contagious, because she is paying her moral debt. However, she cannot change into a "pure" and moral personage. Characters (especially females) in fairy tales are usually fixed and polarized. Therefore, the bad girl cannot be transformed into a good girl. On the other hand, the impossibility of changing is related to the Moral Essence metaphor. The task of "washing black wool until it turns white" in the Bulgarian version exemplifies the Moral Essence metaphor and implies the enduring nature of our moral essence and the folk belief that we are born with or develop early in life our moral essence or character and once formed, a character is impossible to change (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:306-07). No matter how much effort you invest in washing black wool, you cannot make it white.

The "additional" stink and leprosy which increase the repulsiveness of the unkind stepsister and the "addition" to the beauty of the kind one in the English version have a similar explanation. The two personages are polar opposites. Moreover, their characters are already formed and cannot be changed. The unattractiveness of the unkind girl, as well as the beauty of the kind one, symbolic representations of the girls' inner characters, can only escalate in the eyes of the people with whom they interact, since both will forever act in accordance with their moral essence which is not malleable.

In the Bulgarian version the Moral Accounting, Moral Nurturance, Moral Empathy and Moral Beauty metaphors are combined with the Morality Is Light, Immorality Is Darkness, Morality/Goodness Is White, Immorality/Badness Is Black metaphors and the Moral Purity metaphor. The kind girl is covered in gold while the unkind one is covered in black. The opposition is between gold and black, and, on the other hand, since gold is bright and black is dark, between light and dark. In folklore the color gold is related to red-orange-yellow according to

their outer similarity but is also semantically similar to white[11] (Алмалех 2010). Therefore, in the Bulgarian version the conceptual metaphor Morality Is Light is coupled with the closely related metaphor Morality/Goodness Is White.

Examples of the Morality Is Light Metaphor in everyday speech:

English:
(1) "dark side, bright side"
(2) "bright future"
(3) "dark/glowering disposition"(Lakoff *et al.* 1991:190).

Bulgarian:
(1) "тъмен субект"
(2) "светла/тъмна страна"
(3) "светло бъдеще"

Examples of Morality/Goodness Is White metaphor in everyday speech:

English:
(1) "black/white magic"
(2) "black-hearted scoundrel" (*Ibid.*)
(3) "black deed"

Bulgarian:
(1) "бяла/черна магия"
(2) "очерням репутация"
(3) "чист като сняг"

Light-Dark is one of the central and more sharply delineated concepts in terms of which our bodies function (others are Up-Down, In-Out, Front-Back, Warm-Cold, Male-Female) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980[2003]:57). That is why light and dark are often used as source domains in metaphors to stand for more abstract concepts like morality, emotions (*e.g.,* hope), intelligence, ideas and others. We fear darkness because we associate it with danger. Moreover, it is difficult to see things and get around in the dark. But what is most important is the bodily

sensation we feel of being in the dark that determines our associations of darkness with immorality and evil (Johnson 1999:95).

It is common for people to believe that dark objects are inherently less valuable or even overtly harmful, and, in contrast, that good things are brightly-colored (Sherman and Clore 2012). Many studies have shown that people tend to associate positive concepts with brightness and the color white and negative concepts with darkness and the color black.[12] The experiential basis of the conceptual metaphors Morality Is Light, Immorality Is Darkness, Morality/Goodness Is White and Immorality/Badness Is Black is related to the aforementioned positive perception of bright/white objects and the negative perception of dark/black objects.

For instance, people recognize words with a positive or moral meaning faster when presented in white *versus* black font, whereas people recognize words with a negative or immoral meaning faster when presented in black *versus* white font (Meier, Robinson and Clore 2004; Sherman and Clore 2009, cited in Song *et al.* 2012). Likewise, being primed with an immoral behavior speeded the identification of words in black compared to white font (Sherman and Clore 2009, cited in Song *et al.* 2012). Another study has found that the participants judged smiling faces as brighter than frowning faces (Song *et al.* 2012). Furthermore, it has also been found that participants were more likely to engage in unethical behavior if they were in a dimly-lit room or wearing sunglasses (Zhong, Bohns and Gino 2010, cited in Sherman and Clore 2012).

As Sherman and Clore (2012) point out, in order to analyse the metaphorical application of the psychologically salient features of the light-dark dimension, we should look at (1) luminance (the amount of ambient light in a given space) and (2) reflectance (the amount of incident light a surface reflects, i.e. black versus white) aspects of light.

In the luminance sense, darkness impairs visibility and serves a concealing function or anonymity (*Ibid.*).

In the reflectance sense of darkness the colors black and white play a central role, with white implying purity and cleanliness (Grieve 1991, Sherman and Clore 2009, Sherman, Haidt, and Clore, in press, Williams, Morland, and Underwood 1970, cited in Sherman and Clore 2012) innocence, youth and fragility, and black implying physical contamination, decay or filth (Duncan 1994, cited in Sherman and Clore 2012). Therefore, as Sherman and Clore (2012) argue, the entailments of white and black are essentially the entailments of psychology of

purity and contagion. This relates the colors of white and black to the Moral Purity metaphor: Moral is Clean (white), Immoral is Dirty (black).

As mentioned above, in the Bulgarian version the opposition between Moral is White and Immoral is Black is the opposition between gold and black respectively, since in folklore gold is related to red-orange-yellow in outer appearance but also to white in semantic similarity and denotes the divine, the sacred, moral purity and compassion (Алмалех 2010).

According to the Moral Purity metaphor, the purity of moral standards is threatened by any impurity (Lakoff 1996: 92). A substance is pure when it is not mixed with other substances. A common impurity is dirt and thus pure substances are typically clean and substances that are dirty are usually considered impure. The conceptualization of purity as cleanliness gives rise to the related Morality is Cleanliness metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:307). A rotten apple spoils the barrel, that is, just as physical impurities can ruin a substance, so moral impurities can ruin a person or society. Morality is conceptualized as purity and immorality as impurity, as something disgusting and dirty

Parallels with MFT: The Sanctity/Degradation foundation originates from the exposure of our ancestors to pathogens and parasites and the emotion of disgust. According to the theory, individuals whose minds were structured in advance of experience to develop a more effective "behavioral immune system" (Schaller and Park 2011, cited in Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012) likely had an advantage (Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012).

Sherman and Clore (2012) argue that the link between morality and luminance reflects a metaphor in which good and evil are competing "forces." The second meaning of darkness, reflectance, or the association of moral goodness with the color white, may be thought of as part of a broader purity metaphor, in which moral virtue is regarded as "pure" state akin to physical cleanliness (*Ibid.*). And since a loss of brightness (as luminance) is experienced as reversible, the dark-light dimension views the transgressor's reputation as reversible. On the other hand, a loss of whiteness (as reflectance) is usually seen as impossible to regain once lost. Therefore, damage on purity is seen as irreversible (*Ibid.*). The impossible task to wash black wool until it is white (which is present in the Bulgarian version analyzed in this article), a common motif of the tale-type, alludes to the irreversible damage of purity, as well as exemplifies the Moral Essence and Internal Is External metaphors. In folklore gold symbolizes the divine, the sacred, wealth,

moral and ritual purity and compassion. It is also a symbol of the sun, light and glory (Алмалех 2010).

In Bulgarian folk culture gold has been mainly valued not for its economic value but for its magic properties: to serve as a mediator between the physical and the spiritual world, to protect against evil forces and evil eyes (Попова 2003). In fact, as Charlotte Behr (2011) argues, the symbolic nature of gold in different cultures through the ages can be defined as a means of communication, among humans in different situations for different purposes but also, between humans and a spiritual world.

In Bulgarian folk culture gold has always been present in the most important events of the lifecycle: birth, marriage and death. It is also commonly present in rituals and ritual objects (Попова 2003). Young girls were richly adorned with gold embellishments on St. Lazarus Day marking the culmination of their maidenly status and readiness to enter marriage (*Ibid.*). Amazed foreign travelers going through the territory of the Ottoman Empire witnessed that even in the poorest Bulgarian village there were young girls and children adorned with many gold coins despite their ragged and poor attire (*Ibid.*). These gold coins would have been enough for food and clothes for an entire year for the whole family, but in fact they were out of circulation since it was not the economic value of gold that mattered but its sacred, protective and magical properties (*Ibid.*).

Finally, the two tales are structured by the Morality Is Obedience metaphor, *i.e.,* just as the good child obeys his parents, a moral person obeys a moral authority, which can be a text (like the Bible or the Koran), an institution or a leader (Lakoff 1995). The metaphor is related to the Strict Father model, according to which the father is the moral authority. The exercise of this moral authority is moral, *i.e.,* it is moral to reward obedience and punish disobedience (Lakoff 1996: 67).

Parallels with MFT: The Authority/Subversion foundation is related to social hierarchy and, according to the theory, those whose minds are structured in advance of experience to navigate such hierarchies effectively and forge beneficial relationships upward and downward have an advantage over those who fail to perceive or react appropriately in these complex social interactions (de Waal 1982, Fiske 1991, cited in Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012; Graham, Haidt *et al.* 2012).

In both the Bulgarian and English versions the magic figure is an older person, an old woman in the Bulgarian tale and an old man in the English one. In the English tale the kind girl, in contrast to the unkind one, agrees to share her

provisions of food with the magic figure and obeys the desire of the golden heads to wash them, comb them and lay them down softly. So, the obedience of the kind girl is rewarded while the disobedience of the unkind one is punished. In the Bulgarian tale Golden Mara obeys the desire of the old woman to delouse her, unlike the unkind girl. Here again obedience is rewarded and the disobedience punished.

According to most scholars, the practice of having and enforcing behavior codes is ancient and the origin of these codes and the system that enforces them were our ancestors (Coe and Palmer 2013). Primitive law was ancestral (Culwick and Culwick 1935:8, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013). In other words, behavior codes "contain in themselves the authority of the ancestral ghosts" (Sumner 1907, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013). Leaders were often, if not universally, claimed to be the representatives of the ancestors (Coe and Palmer 2013). The primary role of the lineage of a clan chief is that he is the representative of the ancestors, who transmits the words of the ancestors to the living and *vice-versa* (Bandalier 1972:99, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013). Shamans were also often said to communicate the wishes of dead ancestors (Steadman and Palmer 1994, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013).

Traditional moral systems often have no justification other than "we do it this way because the old men say it is wiser" (Sun 1942:268, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013), or "it was the custom of their ancestors" (Tyler 1881[1960]:252, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013), and it is now our "duty" to our ancestors to behave the way they specified (Edel and Edel 1957; Johnson 1984; Westermack 1912; cited in Coe and Palmer 2013). Moreover, it is often claimed that the ancestors who imparted the rules still participate in social life, rewarding those who obey and punishing those who violate their rules (Santos-Granero 1991, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013), a claim that may be universal in all traditional societies (Steadman, Palmer and Tilley 1996, cited in Coe and Palmer 2013).The conception of moral codes as the "wishes" of our ancestors requiring obedience, on the one hand, and the idea about the participation of ancestors in social life by rewarding those who obey their rules, *i.e.,* rewarding moral deeds and punishing those who do not, *i.e.,* punishing immoral deeds, on the other, are related to the Morality Is Obedience and Moral Accounting metaphors and evidence that these metaphors are deeply entrenched in human history, society and mind.

However, as Arkhipova and Kozmin (2013) point out in their cross-cultural analysis of altruism in folktales, "altruistic acts in fairy tales (ATU 480 tales

belong to the group of *fairy* tales in the ATU index) whose donor is a human are almost never directed to the human world, but almost always addressed to representatives of the supernatural world and vice versa" and, therefore, "the main moral of fairy tales concerns how to contact spirits," so "they can help you in return."

Thus, a parallel is evident between the magic figure in ATU 480 tales which rewards the good deeds of the kind girl and punishes the bad deeds of the unkind girl and, on the other hand, the belief in ancestors' spirits rewarding the living who observe the moral code imposed by these same spirits and punishing those who do not.

Moreover, as mentioned above, in different cultures through the ages gold served as a means of a communication between humans and the spiritual world (Behr 2011, Попова 2003). The symbolism of gold plays an important role in "communicating" between the physical and the supernatural world in the two versions analyzed here, the magic golden heads who curse and bless in the English tale and the reward of being covered in gold (and receiving a gold casket full of golden objects) in the Bulgarian tale. Moreover, in the archetypes of two of the general subtypes of ATU 480 –*The Following the River* subtype and *The Encounters en Route* subtype – from which most the forms of the tale-type originate, gold is the reward given to the kind girl by the magic donor figure (Roberts 1958[1994]:111-14, 135-37).

The co-occurrence of other moral metaphors alongside the Moral Accounting, Moral Nurturance and Moral Empathy metaphors (kindness is rewarded, unkindness punished), which constitute the backbone of the tale, are not typical of the two versions analyzed here only. A secondary set of morality metaphors forming a coherent system with the Moral Accounting, Moral Nurturance and Moral Empathy metaphors is the rule rather than the exception in ATU 480 tales.

In *Toads and Diamonds*, for example, the Morality Is White, Morality Is Purity, Morality Is Light, Morality Is Obedience metaphors also structure the tale alongside the Moral Accounting, Moral Nurturance and Moral Empathy metaphors. Pearls (which fall from the kind girl's mouth) are typically white in color and are associated with purity. Diamonds are the shiniest precious stones because they possess a unique ability in light refraction and they stand for light and brightness. Toads falling from the unkind sister's mouth are generally considered repulsive and dirty creatures, hence the Immoral Is Dirty metaphor. Snakes (as

reptiles crawling on the ground) reveal the Immoral Is Down metaphor. The act of giving a drink of water to a thirsty person exemplifies the Morality Is Nurturance metaphor. The compliance with a request of an older person demonstrates the Morality Is Obedience metaphor. Flowers, gems, snakes and toads falling from mouth represent the Moral Essence (internal nature becomes visible) and the Ideas Are Objects metaphors. The reward and punishment of objects falling from the mouth exemplify the Moral Accounting metaphor. The two morals with which Perrault's version ends emphasize the Moral Accounting and Ideas Are Objects metaphors. According to the first moral, diamonds and gold coins are worth a lot but kind words are even more valuable. According to the second, sooner or later the efforts of being kind are recompensated.

Similarly, in Mother Holle the beauty of the kind girl and the ugliness of the unkind one exemplify the Moral Beauty metaphor. The reward (being covered in gold) and punishment (being covered in pitch) represent the Moral Essence and Internal Is External metaphors, *i.e.,* the girls' moral essence, which is internal property, is made evident and visible, external. The acts of kindness toward the baked bread and the apple tree, as well as the diligent work at Mother Holle's house, represent the Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Obedience metaphors. The reward of gold and the punishment of pitch evoke the Moral Accounting metaphor but also the Morality Is Light *versus* the Immoral Is Darkness and Immoral Is Dirty metaphors. Furthermore, as it has already been mentioned in the analysis, since in folklore gold is related to red-orange-yellow but is also semantically similar to white (Алмалех 2010), gold in this folktale also stands for the Morality Is White and Morality Is Purity metaphors.

A brief conceptual metaphor analysis of a version of *The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls* from the highland provinces of Papua New Guinea is of special significance as supporting evidence for the main arguments in the present article regarding core metaphors in ATU 480 tale-type and parallels with MFT. This version is recorded by Heinrich Dosedla (2012) whose fieldwork in the area began in the early 1970s. He had the chance to work with the first generation of the tribal societies to have faced primary European contact, and there were still uncontrolled and remote areas where cultural change had not yet taken place at the time (*Ibid.*). Thus, Dosedla's phonographic archives "not only contain volumes of interviews with exclusively first-hand informants, dealing with all aspects of traditional tribal life including mythological and other oral lore, but also a wide range of narrative texts and songs most of which have been neither transcribed nor

published so far" (*Ibid.*). There were three main varieties of ATU 480 (*Ibid.*). I will analyze the most common one, from the dominant Mae Enga tribe of Enga province, which, as Dosedla (2012) observes, closely resembles Grimm's Mother Holle.

According to this version, a man had two wives, a dark-skinned and a red-skinned one. Each wife gave birth to a girl of the same skin color. The dark-skinned mother and daughter were hard-working, while the red-skinned mother and daughter were lazy, "good-for-nothing." One day when the father killed a pig, the kind girl went to the pool to wash its intestines, but they dropped in the water and the girl fell into the pool, too, trying to get them back. She woke up in a subterranean world described as "a really nice place like the *singsing* [ceremonial] ground of a chief." There were lots of fat pigs and a garden full of all sorts of fruits and vegetables and "shining pearl shells growing on them." There was also a house decorated all over with pearl shells. The house was crowded with babies and no one was looking after them. The girl fed them and sang to them until they "fell asleep happily." Then the owner of the place appeared, "a most beautiful lady with shining eyes, a smiling face and a sweet voice who thanked the girl for helping her." The girl was rewarded by the beautiful lady with "a net bag full of pearl shells" and then was carried back home by a huge eagle.

The red-skinned mother became greedy and sent her own daughter to try the same. But when she jumped into the pool and came to the same house, she let the babies cry and started filling her bag with pearl shells and eating from the fruits and vegetables in the garden. The owner of the place appeared as "an old wrinkled woman with a dreadful mouth like the doomsday pig which one day will devour the whole world." She punished the unkind girl for "stealing [her] things" by fastening her to a huge cassowary and chasing them across the rocks and thorny bushes. After that the red-skinned daughter, with "broken bones, skin scratched to pieces and empty eyes," was left home by the eagle (*Ibid.*).

The rewarding of kindness and the punishment of unkindness and selfishness in the tale reveal the Moral Accounting, Moral Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy metaphors. The motif of looking after babies is a straightforward representation of the crucial role of nurturance in human society and the most clear-cut example possible for a parallel between the Moral Nurturance (and Moral Empathy) metaphor in ATU 480 and the Care/Harm foundation of MFT. These three major metaphors structure the backbone of the plot and encapsulate the basic meaning of the tale, as in the rest of the versions

analyzed here and, as I argue, the whole ATU 480 tale-type. The emphasis on the abundance of pearl shells in the magical subterranean world which are also given as a reward allude to the Moral Purity metaphor. The contrasting appearance of the lady of the magical place (beautiful and friendly to the kind girl and ugly and threatening to the unkind one) exemplifies the Moral Beauty metaphor. Her personage also alludes to the ancestors' spirits.

In all three main varieties of ATU 480 recorded in the highland provinces of Papua New Guinea the kind girl is of the dominant dark-skinned type, whereas the unkind girl is of the red-skinned type with a rather pale complexion and yellow or reddish hair. The father of the kind girl also generally belongs to the dark type, whereas the mother of the unkind girl belongs to the reddish type, which is a distinct physical characteristic of nearly ten percent of the highlands population and was often regarded as a sign of magical power (Strauss and Tischner 1962:26, cited in Dosedla 2012). The shining pearl shells evoke the Morality is Purity metaphor, however, black is perceived as the more "benevolent" skin color. As it was already mentioned, according to mythical traditions of color symbolism, shared by most highland tribes, black is perceived as benevolent skin color, in contrast to red, which has "quite malignant significance" in such a context (Strathern 1971:162, cited in Dosedla 2012). Since black is not only the "good" skin color but also the dominant one, an interesting parallel can be made with the negative characteristics usually attributed to dark-skinned personages in folk tales. Both reflect social discrimination of a minority group and the clash between sameness and otherness, with diametrically opposite connotations of black *versus* lighter skin: in the aforementioned tribes of the highlands of Papua New Guinea black is the favored skin color, in sharp contrast to, for example, premodern Europe.

4. Conclusion

The present conceptual metaphor analysis of ATU 480 tale-type demonstrates how conceptual metaphor structures both the plot and the underlying basic meaning of the tales and evidences the systematic correlations between plot and meaning. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor analysis reveals that the Moral Accounting, Morality Is Nurturance and Morality Is Empathy metaphors (alongside a number of other shared morality metaphors among the forms of the ATU 480) structure the backbone and the very essence of the whole ATU 480 tale-type. These are

arguments in favor of a prospective alternative classification of tale-types based on conceptual metaphor analysis. Moreover, the present study supplies evidence for the near-universal nature of some morality metaphors, based both on ATU 480 analysis and academic research in social sciences, the Moral Foundations Theory in particular. Hence, the present study validates conceptual metaphor analysis as a useful tool not only in fairy tales analysis but also in anthropological and cultural studies, as well as in social psychology.

Notes

1. Prior to 2012, the authors of the theory used the terms Harm/Care, Fairness/Reciprocity, Ingroup/Loyalty, Authority/Respect and Purity/Sanctity for the same notions.

2. Antti Aarne's classification system, *Verzeichnis der Maerchentypen* (1910), was the first successful attempt in classifying tales, and it laid the groundwork for contemporary tale-type indexing. American folklorist Stith Thompson translated, expanded and reworked this catalogue in 1928 as *The Types of the Folktale* and revised it in 1961 (*The Types of the Folk-Tale of Europe, West Asia, and the Lands settled by these Peoples*), which, as the title indicated, now included not only European tales. The tale-types under this classification system are marked by the letters AT (for Aarne-Thompson) followed by a number. In 2004, Hans-JoergUther updated and enlarged the Aarne-Thompson system introducing the Aarne-Thompson-Uther index (hereafter "ATU"), *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson* (2004), which also included tale-types from previously underrepresented Eastern and South Europe, as well as from China, Siberia and North Africa. Uther took into account criticism of Aarne-Thompson's tale-type catalogue (see Propp 1958, Dundes 1997). He improved descriptions of the tale-types and made them read clearly, increased the number of sources drawn on, and although ATU includes 1,440 pages compared to 588 in AT, there has been a reduction in the number of tale-types and, above all, subtypes from AT, thus "emphasizing international commonality, as opposed to local particularity, in the narratives" (Roper 2004).

3. See Evans (2008) for an overview of Dual-Process Theories of Reasoning.

4. It was on the basis of Professor Roberts's study that the tale was retitled "The Kind and the Unkind Girls" by his mentor, the American folklorist Stith Thompson, in his 1961 revision of Aarne's index.

5. The kind girl in this tale is sent to a faraway fountain to fetch water where she is asked by a fairy (disguised as a poor woman so as to "test the honesty of the girl") to give her a drink of water, which she readily does. The reward given for her honesty and kindness are precious

stones and flowers (roses, pearls and diamonds) falling from her mouth as she speaks. Alternatively, the haughty and rude girl's punishment who refused to give a drink water to the fairy (this time dressed as a princess "to test how far the girl's dishonesty would go") is a snake or toad falling from her mouth with each word. The kind girls marries a prince while the unkind one is so loathed by all, even by her mother, that she dies alone in a forest.

6. The kind girl in this version is "beautiful and hard-working," the unkind one, "ugly and lazy." The good girl accidentally drops her spindle in a well and is so frightened by her stepmother that she jumps into the well to retrieve it. She wakes up in the underworld and comes to a baker's oven where the bread asks to be taken out and then to an apple tree which asks her to shake the ripe apples, and she complies on both accounts. Finally, she comes to the house of an old woman, Mother Holle, who asks her to do the housework. The kind girl fulfills her household chores very diligently. (When she makes the bed she shakes it until the feathers fly, and then it snows on earth.) Before the girl goes back home (she grows homesick), gold rain comes pouring when she is coming through a door and covers her in gold from head to toe. This is her "reward" from Mother Holle for her "hard work." When she goes home the rooster crows "our golden girl is home anew."

The unkind girl is instructed by her mother to do what the golden girl did in order to get the same good fortune but she turns down rudely the requests of the bread in the oven and the apple tree and works hard only the first day for Mother Holle, "thinking of all the money she would get," and after that she does not even want to get up in the morning. So, when she passes through the door pitch starts raining and sticks to her "as long as she lived." When she goes home, the rooster crows "our dirty girl is home anew."

7. The original, oldest version of the tale on which all other versions are based.

8. The figure of the stepmother in fairy tales is common across cultures. Though folk tales are not records of real events, they still contain some traces of reality and of the epoch in which they are told. As Tatar (2003:50) argues in *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales*, "there is much in every folktale that requires awareness of social realities, just as there is much that defies historical explanation." Some of the basic situations depicted in fairy tales reflect reality in premodern times. Poverty among the common people was notorious through the ages in premodern Europe. England and Bulgaria were no exceptions. The harsh economic conditions had respective impact on social life. Cases of parental child abandonment, infanticide and a high mortality rate for women in their childbearing years, resulting in a hostile stepmother in the household, were not so uncommon among the poor (*Ibid.:*49).

9. The washing of the golden heads, their combing with the silver comb and the going through a hedge with a magic wand, as well as the horse riding in the Bulgarian version, allude to a unity

between the masculine and the feminine. According to a feminist-psychoanalytic interpretation of the tale-type, ATU 480 is a "metaphorical or symbolic account of how a young pubescent girl learns how to come to terms with the evolution of her own body" (Dundes 1994:xi). Motifs such as picking up ripe apples from a tree, removing baked loaves of bread from an oven and milking a cow by the heroine are typical of ATU 480 tale-type, and more specifically to The Encounters en Route subtype. From a psychoanalytic point of view, *The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls* concerns preparation for marriage rather than marriage itself (*Ibid.:*xii) and that is why it is most often combined with ATU 510A, *Cinderella* and ATU 403, *The White and the Black Brides* (Roberts 1958[1994]:9). The Bulgarian folk tale *The Golden Girl* is an example of a combination of ATU 480 and ATU 403.

10. The motif of the kind and the unkind, represented by the symbols "Q2" in the Motif-Index of Folk-literature by Stith Thompson (1955-1958): "Churlish person disregards requests of old person (animal) and is punished. Courteous person (often youngest brother or sister) complies and is rewarded" is present in many tale-types, but the most famous one is ATU 480.

11. Color is one of the most important specifications of physical objects. There is amazing similarity in the meaning of colors among people of different religion and across ages for more than 2,000 years. Eleanor Rosch (1976) postulates that in the various natural languages in different cultures people perceive focal colors through their eyesight on the basis of the same prototypes. The prototypes of red are fire and blood, of yellow, the Sun, of green, plants, of blue, the sky and the sea, of white, light, snow and/or milk and of black, coal, darkness and night (Алмалех 2010).

12. However, in the version of ATU 480 from the highlands of Papua New Guinea discussed further, black in the context of skin has positive connotations, unlike pale, red skin.

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