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THE CHINESE FOLK MODEL
OF THE MENTAL CONCEPT OF “SOUL”:
A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE*

Abstract. The paper focuses on specific intuitions associated with mental concepts—especially with the concept of the soul in Mandarin. The main objective is to seek the basic linguistic meanings that shape folk intuitions about the mental space in Chinese culture through a linguistic analysis performed on the selected data from modern Chinese language dictionaries, authentic language corpora, and literary works. First, we briefly describe the phenomenon of high-level synonymy in Chinese language, including terms for describing mental concepts. Next, we discuss the linguistic realizations of the concept of the mind as it is presumed to be interrelated with the concept of the soul. Then, we present a linguistic analysis of terms used to talk about the soul in Mandarin to show how the concept of the soul is reflected in this language. The analysis allowed us to demarcate the semantic boundaries of the “soul.” We found that the Chinese folk model of this concept distinguishes between two main conceptualizations: (1) the “soul” as an invisible and immaterial part of living creatures, which is not bound permanently to the body, and as a seat of emotions and thoughts, and (2) the “soul” as a quasi-independent spiritual being that shows much creative potential and is able to persist after the physical death of a person or animal. Although we found a tendency to separate the “soul” from the “body”, the “soul” is still functionally conceptualized in relation to the “body.” Accordingly, we provided linguistic evidence supporting the arguments against the radical mind–body dualist position and for the sake of the weak mind–body holism.

Key words: Chinese language; folk intuitions; mental concepts; soul; mind; mind–body holist position; weak mind–body dualism.

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INTRODUCTION

In her seminal article on mental concepts “On folk conceptions of mind, agency and morality,” A. Wierzbicka notes, “[the] ‘Mind’ is an important folk concept in modern English, just as ‘duša’ is an important folk concept in modern Russian, ‘kokoro’ in modern Japanese, ‘maum’ in modern Korean, and so on” (WIERZBICKA 2006, 165). Trying to capture the meanings of folk mental concepts, i.e., capture the invisible part of the person as opposed to his/her visible part (body), the linguistic evidence shows off the existence of culturally different concepts. Accordingly, scholars (e.g., COHEN, BURDETT, KNIGHT & BARRETT 2011; WIERZBICKA 2006) have voiced the need for explaining such terms that stand for language- and culture-specific folk concepts.

Given recent research on linguistic relativity demonstrating growing evidence to support the view that language has a profound impact on thinking (BLOOM & KEIL 2001; CASASANTO et al., 2005; LUCY 2012; REGIER, KAY, GILBERT & IVRY 2010; WOLFF & HOLMES 2011), we assume that language shapes the way people think about the concepts of mind and soul. As S. Flusberg and H. Tager-Flusberg note, “many philosophers have proposed that it is conceptual and linguistic confusion that encourages mind/body separation, rather than any innate predisposition” (2006, 476). Drawing on the works by L. Wittgenstein (1953) or G. Lakoff and M. Johnson (1999), we assume that such understandings of mental concepts, which are inscribed in language, reflect folk intuitions about the nature of what we term as mental or spiritual domain. Regardless of critical philosophical evaluations of such intuitions (SLOBIN 1996), it is likely that linguistic factors shape our folk modes of thinking about the soul and the mind, and that our understandings of these concepts are modeled by linguistic patterns.

In this context, this paper focuses on specific intuitions associated with mental concepts in Mandarin. Thus, the main objective is to seek the basic linguistic meanings that shape folk intuitions about the mental space in Chinese culture through a linguistic analysis performed on selected data from modern Chinese language dictionaries, authentic language corpora, as well as literary works. We situate this study in the research that draws on a holistic view of the person in Chinese tradition, as opposed to the dualistic Western conception. This approach is motivated by prior studies of Eastern mentality, according to which “the Chinese [in contrast to the Westerners] accepted that the mind was part of the body” (LEWIS 2006, 20) or “the

concept of ‘mind–heart’ (*xin*) is different from the idea of an exclusively human soul, endowed with reason and able to make free decisions” (SANT-ANGELO 2007, 292). Moreover, scholars argue that the Chinese view “body, soul, and mind as nothing more than points along a continuous, constantly transforming spectrum of energy” (SLINGERLAND 2013, 9) and that a holistic view of mind–body precludes the Western dualism (JULLIEN 2007).

Contributions to the philosophical debate on holistic vs. dualistic thinking within two cultural traditions and research into folk intuitions must be preceded by linguistic analyses that allow demarcating the semantic boundaries of mental terms, as well as establishing their taxonomy. Only then can the likelihood of errors arising from using semantically indefinite terms be reduced in future empirical research (e.g., using questionnaire surveys).

In this paper, drawing on linguistic evidence, we will focus on the mental concept of the soul to capture its folk understanding. Given that this concept is present in numerous cultures, especially in religious and anthropological systems (e.g., in the debate on a psychophysical dualism), we find it important to invoke an argument of R.A. Richert and P.L. Harris that the concept of the soul could be closely related to the concept of the mind as “the soul is a byproduct of a natural human tendency toward dualism, or the belief that mental states are distinct from bodily states” (RICHERT & HARRIS 2008, 100).

Without prejudging the extent to which the presence of the concept of the soul in a given culture suggests the psychophysical dualism or how strongly the concepts of the soul and mind are interrelated, we find it relevant to precede the explication of the concept of the soul with some reflections on the concept of the mind. Accordingly, we begin with the phenomenon of high-level synonymy in Chinese language, which also concerns terms for describing mental concepts. Then, we present a linguistic analysis of terms used to talk about the soul in Mandarin to show how the concept is reflected in this language. Drawing on A. Wierzbicka’s (1980) view that concepts reflect people’s cultural understanding of reality (although they may refer to abstract objects, as well), we assume that an explication of a concept is enabled through an analysis of the language in which the concept is reflected or embodied and which is constitutively involved in cognition and concept formation (CARRUTHERS 1996; DUMMETT 1993; GUT 2009). We conclude the paper with the findings concerning the folk model of the “soul” in Mandarin.

1. HIGH-LEVEL SYNONYMY IN MANDARIN

Before analyzing expressions involving the lexeme *soul* in Mandarin Chinese, it is first important to note that the concept of the soul is understood differently across cultures. Whereas English speakers conceptualize the “soul” as an abstract object, a spiritual and immaterial part of a human being or animal (OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY 2017), this understanding is not so obvious for Chinese people. Mandarin is characterized by a high level of synonymy and hence offers numerous names for an object, idea, action, etc. Accordingly, the same terms may be used to designate various objects or phenomena. In addition, the use of a specific term is most often determined by context, as well as by the construction of the whole phrase in which it is used. Therefore, Mandarin speakers usually do not use exact synonyms, but rather near-synonyms that cannot be used fully interchangeably (CAO 2004, 259–268).

Let us exemplify the above-described phenomenon with a group of Mandarin near-synonymous words usually translated into English as *life*. The group consists of at least six terms. These are: 人命 *renming*, 人生 *rensheng*, 生活 *shenghuo*, 生命 *shengming*, 壽命 *shouming*, and 性命 *xingming*¹ (see Table 1).

Table 1. Linguistic realizations of the concept of “life” in Mandarin.

“LIFE”			
Mandarin	Pinyin	Component 1	Component 2
人命	<i>renming</i>	<i>ren</i> ‘human being’	<i>ming</i> ‘life’
人生	<i>rensheng</i>	<i>ren</i> ‘human being’	<i>sheng</i> ‘life, living’
生活	<i>shenghuo</i>	<i>sheng</i> ‘life, living’	<i>huo</i> ‘to live, alive’
生命	<i>shengming</i>	<i>sheng</i> ‘life, living’	<i>ming</i> ‘life’
壽命	<i>shouming</i>	<i>shou</i> ‘life, long life’	<i>ming</i> ‘life’
性命	<i>xingming</i>	<i>xing</i> ‘nature, character’	<i>ming</i> ‘life’

Table 1 shows the internal structure of compounds used to denote “life”, i.e., the lexical meanings of their constituents. The following examples

¹ All fragments in Mandarin are given using traditional characters and phonetically transcribed with Chinese Phonetic Alphabet (*pinyin*).

extracted from *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (WEI 2003) and *Oxford Advanced Learner's English-Chinese Dictionary* (LI 2002) showcase these compounds in various contexts:

- [1] 人命關天，非同兒戲。*Renming guan tian, fei tong erxi*/'Taking someone's life is a serious crime, it's no joking matter'² (WEI 2003, 1025).
- [2] 他沒有什麼崇高的人生目的。*Ta mei you shenme chonggao de rensheng mudi*/'He has no great ambition in life' (WEI 2003, 1026).
- [3] 他決定移居美國，開始新的生活。*Ta jue ding yiju Meiguo, kaishi xin de shenghuo*/'He has decided to emigrate and start a new life in America' (LI 2002, 858).
- [4] 醫生徹夜工作拯救傷者的生命。*Yisheng cheye gongzuo zhengjiu shangzhe de shengming*/'Doctors worked through the night to save the life of the injured man' (LI 2002, 857).
- [5] 節省時間等於延長壽命。*Jiesheng shijian dengyu yanchang shouming*/'To save time is to prolong life' (WEI 2003, 1138).
- [6] 差一點兒把性命丟了*cha yidianr ba xingming diu le*/'[to] nearly lose one's life' (WEI 2003, 1398).

The examples above show that one has a choice of at least six near-synonyms to be used in various contexts. According to these contexts, “life” may be understood as: (a) a physical or biological existence of an individual (Examples [1, 4, 6]); (b) a process embracing events and an individual's actions, which lasts from his/her birth till death (Examples [2, 5]); or a specific period in that process (Example [3]). This list is not comprehensive, as there are other contexts in which the linguistic realizations of “life” in Mandarin are used, e.g., to talk about ‘one's whole life’, ‘without loss of life’, ‘animal life’, ‘plant life’, etc.

2. MENTAL CONCEPTS IN MANDARIN: LINGUISTIC REALIZATIONS OF THE “MIND”

The issue of high-level synonymy in Mandarin Chinese also applies to the linguistic domain of mental concepts such as “feeling,” “heart,” “memory,” “mind,” “soul,” etc. Let us now concentrate on lexemes that denote the mind in Mandarin, as they are relevant in light of the debate on a psychophysical dualism (LEWIS 2006). There are at least eight lexemes commonly used with

² English translations of Mandarin fragments are given in quotation marks. If a source lacks English equivalents, the translation by J.H. will be provided and annotated accordingly.

reference to the concept of the mind: 大腦 *danao*, 精神 *jingshen*, 腦袋 *naodai*, 腦海 *naohai*, 腦子 *naozi*, 頭腦 *tounao*, 心靈 *xinling*, and 心頭 *xintou* (see Table 2).

Table 2. Linguistic realizations of the concept of “mind” in Mandarin.

“MIND”			
Mandarin	Pinyin	Component 1	Component 2
大腦	<i>danao</i>	<i>da</i> ‘big, large’	<i>nao</i> ‘brain, head, mind’
精神	<i>jingshen</i>	<i>jing</i> ‘essence’	<i>shen</i> ‘god, spirit, energy’
腦袋	<i>naodai</i>	<i>nao</i> ‘brain, head, mind’	<i>dai</i> ‘bag, sack’
腦海	<i>naohai</i>	<i>nao</i> ‘brain, head, mind’	<i>hai</i> ‘sea, big lake’
腦子	<i>naozi</i>	<i>nao</i> ‘brain, head, mind’	<i>zi</i> noun suffix
頭腦	<i>tounao</i>	<i>tou</i> ‘head’	<i>nao</i> ‘brain, head, mind’
心靈	<i>xinling</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
心頭	<i>xintou</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>tou</i> noun suffix

Table 2 shows the internal structure of compounds used to denote the “mind”, i.e., the lexical meanings of their constituents. The following examples present how each of the above near-synonyms is used in a slightly different context. The examples were extracted from a Chinese language corpus and selected Chinese literary works.

- [7] 但二奶奶烏黑發亮的肉體被金黃色沙土掩沒住的景象，卻牢牢地刻印在我的大腦的 屏幕上 [...]。 *Dan er nainai wuhei faliang de routi bei jin huangse shatu yan mei zhu de jingxiang, que laolao de keyin zai wo de danao de pingmu shang* [...] (MO 1987)/‘The sight of her blackened, blood-shiny corpse being swallowed up by golden earth is etched forever on the screen of my mind’ (MO 1994, 307).
- [8] 他的精神，現在只在一個包上，彷彿抱著一個十世單傳的嬰兒，別的事情，都已置之度外了。 *Ta de jingshen, xianzai zhi zai yi ge bao shang, fangfu baozhe yi ge shi shi danchuan de ying'er, biede shiqing, dou yi zhi zhi du wai le* (LU 1923)/‘His whole mind was on the package, which he carried as carefully as if it were the sole heir to an ancient house. Nothing else mattered now’ (LU 1972).
- [9] 單家父子遭殺，羅漢大爺在強烈的驚訝中，腦袋裡不斷地閃現出我奶奶的瘦腳肥腕。 *Shan jia fu zi zao sha, Luohan daye zai qianglie de jingya zhong, naodai li buduan de shanxian chu wo nainai de shou jiao fei wan* (MO 1987)/‘In the midst of his shock over the murder of Old Man Shan and his son days later, the image of Grandma’s tiny feet and full wrist appeared and reappeared in his mind’ (MO 1994, 114).

- [10] 奶奶的腦海裡忽然閃過了一個從未見過的場面 [...]。 *Nainai de naohai li huran shan guo le yi ge cong wei jian guo de changmian* [...] (MO 1987)/‘A scene she never witnessed suddenly takes shape in her mind [...]’ (MO 1994, 73–74).
- [11] 三天中的每一個畫面、每一個音響、每一種味道都在她的腦子裡重現。 *San tian zhong de mei yi ge huamian, mei yi ge yinxiang, mei yi zhong weidao dou zai ta de naozi li chongxian* (MO 1987)/‘Every scene from those three days, every sound, every smell entered her mind...’ (MO 1994, 88).
- [12] [...] 哭聲好像不是由她嘴中發出，而是來自遠方的為她頭腦中重重疊疊出現的美麗與醜惡畫面配件的音樂。 [...] *Kusheng haoxiang bu shi you ta zui zhong fachu, er shi lai zi yuanfang de wei ta tounao zhong chongchong diedie chuxian de meili yu chou’e huamian pei ban de yinyue* (MO 1987)/‘The sounds of crying seemed to be a distant musical accompaniment to the beautiful and hideous images appearing and reappearing in her mind’ (MO 1994, 89).
- [13] [...] 五官當中百分之九十五的信息是通過眼睛匯入心靈的 [...]。 [...] *wu guan dangzhong baifenzhi jiushiwu de xinxi shi tongguo yanjing huiru xinling de* [...] (BFSU-C) [‘[...] among the five sense organs, the eyes transmit to the mind as much as 95 percent of all information [...]’; translation – J.H.].
- [14] 餘占鰲看著我父親的端正頭顱， 看著我奶奶的花容月貌，不知有多少往事湧上心頭。 *Yu Zhan’ao kan zhe wo fuqin de duanzheng toulu, kan zhe wo nainai de huarong yuema, bu zhi you duoshao wangshi yong shang xintou* (MO, 1987)/‘As he looked at Father’s neat, round head and Grandma’s beautiful face, a torrent of memories flooded Granddad’s mind’ (MO 1994, 55).

According to the fragments above, the concept of the “mind” unfolds as a mental center responsible for processing stimuli and information, thinking, imagining, remembering, and recalling. The “mind” understood this way receives stimuli from the outside world (Example [13]) or is responsible for focused attention (Example [8]). The mind allows an individual to recall images (Examples [7, 9, 11]), scents and sounds (Examples [11, 12]), events and happenings (Example [12]), as well as give them an emotional touch, like in Example [14] where the character’s mind is flooded with memories. The “mind” is also ascribed creative functions—it is conceptualized as a space where new images and visions are created (Example [10]).

The phenomenon of near-synonymous lexical terms for the “mind” is nothing exceptional in Mandarin, because various mental concepts are expressed by large semantic groups in Mandarin. Such concepts are often interrelated (like some of compound words with the morpheme 心 *xin* ‘heart, mind’). It is also common that one term represents heterogeneous meanings and shares some of them with other term or terms that are used to refer to the invisible part of the person (WIERZBICKA 2006). This phenomenon can also be observed in the case of Mandarin expressions referring to the “soul”. These will be analyzed below.

3. THE CHINESE FOLK MODEL OF THE “SOUL”

There is an extensive repertoire of words that may be used to talk about a human soul. Similarly to the concept of the “mind”, their selection depends on both the context of use and the exact features which the speaker attributes to the concept. First of all, there is a relatively clear conceptual distinction between the “soul” as a kind of spiritual part of a living person and the “soul” thought of as separate from the body. The two aspects will be discussed in detail in the ensuing sections.

The linguistic data was excerpted from three sources:

1. modern Chinese language corpora (BFSU-C and BLCU-C) were a useful source of written texts, e.g., press articles, and spoken texts, e.g., fragments of TV programs;

2. modern Chinese language dictionaries (LI 2002; MO 2001; WEI 2003) served as a source of the most frequently used phrases in the most typical contexts; and

3. literary works of Chinese writers of the 20th century (HAN 1996; LU 1923; MO 1987).

All the excerpted fragments exemplify how the discussed terms are used in everyday talk. Because the selected texts are not embedded in scientific or specialists discourses, it is assumed that the presented linguistic realizations of the concept of the “soul” exemplify its conceptualizations and understandings by typical users of Mandarin.

The analysis was performed at the level of meanings of particular constituents of compounds denoting the “soul” and at the textual level to investigate their semantic structure, level of synonymy, and contexts of use.

3.1. LINGUISTIC REALIZATIONS OF THE “SOUL” IN MANDARIN

The following nouns may be used to refer to the concept of the “soul”: 鬼魂 *guihun*, 魂靈 *hunling*, 魂魄 *hunpo*, 靈魂 *linghun*, 神魂 *shenhun*, 亡魂 *wanghun*, 亡靈 *wangling*, 心魂 *xinhun*, 心靈 *xinling*, 心魄 *xinpo*, 陰魂 *yinhun*, 陰靈 *yinling*, 幽魂 *youhun*, and 幽靈 *youling* (see Table 3).

According to the list shown in Table 3, several morphemes occur repeatedly, although in different configurations. Because the concepts signified by each of them are deeply rooted in traditional Chinese thought and beliefs, it seems necessary at this point to shed light on their meanings and origin.

Table 3. Linguistic realizations of the concept of “soul” in Mandarin.

“SOUL”			
Mandarin	Pinyin	Component 1	Component 2
鬼魂	<i>guihun</i>	<i>gui</i> ‘ghost, spirit, apparition’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
魂靈	<i>hunling</i>	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
魂魄	<i>hunpo</i>	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’	<i>po</i> ‘soul, vigor, spirit’
靈魂	<i>linghun</i>	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
神魂	<i>shenhun</i>	<i>shen</i> ‘god, spirit, energy’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
亡魂	<i>wanghun</i>	<i>wang</i> ‘to die, to lose, dead’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
亡靈	<i>wangling</i>	<i>wang</i> ‘to die, to lose, dead’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
心魂	<i>xinhun</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
心靈	<i>xinling</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
心魄	<i>xinpo</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>po</i> ‘soul, vigor, spirit’
陰魂	<i>yinhun</i>	<i>yin</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
陰靈	<i>yinling</i>	<i>yin</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
幽魂	<i>youhun</i>	<i>you</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
幽靈	<i>youling</i>	<i>you</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’

One of the key concepts, present both in Chinese philosophy and in traditional Chinese medicine, is the idea of 心 *xin* (‘heart, mind’), understood as a seat of emotions and thought. As such, *xin* is conceived of as a kind of mental, cognitive, and emotional center of a person. It performs all the functions usually attributed by “Western” cultures separately to the heart, the mind, and also—to a certain extent—to the soul (CHEN & LI 2010, 319; YU, 2009, see esp. pp. 1–11 and pp. 367–375).

Traditionally, *xin* was also considered the residence of spirits called 神 *shen*. The term *shen* was also used with reference to ancestral spirits who aid descendants. Being the locus of spirits, *xin* dictates the spiritual and mental activities of human beings. The concept *shen* is therefore understood as the spiritual and mental aspects of an individual’s actions. In a broader sense, this concept refers to all manifestations of life processes of both physiological and mental kind (CHEN & LI, 2010, 802; YU 2009, 122–123).

The somewhat ambiguous concept 靈 *ling* was originally associated with *shen*. Namely, *shen* was sometimes described as a manifestation of the

positive/masculine (陽 *yang*) aspect of the essential substance (精氣 *jingqi*), from which all life originates, and *ling* as its indispensable negative/feminine (陰 *yin*) aspect. As such, the lexeme *ling* encompasses meanings such as ‘shaman’ and ‘witch,’ but also ‘divine,’ ‘intelligent,’ ‘soul,’ and ‘spirit’ (CHEN & LI 2010, 1370; LEIBNIZ 1994, 124; YU 2009, 55, 94, 102, 108, 114–115).

Two entities called 魂 *hun* and 魄 *po* are often conventionally described as a pair of two necessary components of a human soul. The *hun* is considered to be an ethereal soul or a spiritual element of human soul, located in the liver. It is believed that *hun* leaves the body at death and becomes *shen*, an ancestral spirit. On the other hand, the term *po* refers to a “corporeal soul”/animal soul or a material/earthly element of the human soul, located in the lungs. *Po* does not leave the deceased at death, but rather remains with the body inside the grave (CHEN & LI 2010, 1458, 1459; LEIBNIZ 1994, 124; YU 2009, 107, 123).

There is, however, a contrary view according to which *hun* and *po* were never treated by the early Chinese as separate and clearly distinguished elements. Therefore, the clear and somewhat idealistic dualism of *hunpo*—if it actually exists—belongs to the domain of scholastic theories rather than widespread beliefs concerning death. The validity of this thesis can be proven by the fact that most early Chinese sources use all three terms *hunpo*, *hun*, and *po* interchangeably to refer to a single spiritual entity conceived of as distinct from the physical body (BRASHIER 1996).

3.1.1. The soul as a spiritual part of a person

There are at least seven Chinese synonymous terms that describe the soul as a kind of nonmaterial part of every human being—a spiritual element existing in the physical body of a person. These are: 靈魂 *linghun*, 魂靈 *hunling*, 神魂 *shenhun*, 心魄 *xinpo*, 心魂 *xinhun*, 魂魄 *hunpo*, and 心靈 *xinling* (see Table 4).

Table 4. Linguistic realizations of the concept of “soul” in Mandarin as a spiritual part of a person.

“SOUL” as a spiritual part of a person			
Mandarin	Pinyin	Component 1	Component 2
靈魂	<i>linghun</i>	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
魂靈	<i>hunling</i>	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’

神魂	<i>shenhun</i>	<i>shen</i> ‘god, spirit, energy’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
心魄	<i>xinpo</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>po</i> ‘soul, vigor, spirit’
心魂	<i>xinhun</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
魂魄	<i>hunpo</i>	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’	<i>po</i> ‘soul, vigor, spirit’
心靈	<i>xinling</i>	<i>xin</i> ‘heart, mind’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’

3.1.1.1. 靈魂 *linghun* (‘spirit, soul’ + ‘ethereal soul’)

This is probably the most often-used term for a human soul. It encompasses a wide range of meanings, usually associated with the soul of a person (MO 2001, 456; WEI 2003, 765).

- [15] 這些眼睛們似乎連成一氣，已經在那裡咬他的靈魂。*Zhexie yanjingmen sihu liancheng yi qi, yijing zai nali yao tade linghun* (LU 1923)/‘These eyes seemed to have merged into one, biting into his soul’ (LU 1972).
- [16] 那股瀰漫田野的腥甜味浸透了我父親的靈魂 [...]。*Na gu miman tianye de xingtian wei jintou le wo fuqin de linghun* [...] (MO 1987)/‘The odor saturating the field drenched Father’s soul [...]’ (MO 1994, 5).
- [17] 金錢能腐蝕靈魂。*Jinqian neng fushi linghun*/‘Money can deprave the soul’ (WEI 2003, 765).
- [18] 可憐的、孱弱的、猜忌的、偏執的、被毒酒迷幻了靈魂的孩子，你到墨水河裡去浸泡三天三夜 [...], 洗淨了你的肉體和靈魂 [...]。*Kelian de, canruo de, caiji de, pianzhi de, bei dujiu mihuan le linghun de haizi, ni dao Moshui He li qu jinpao san tian san ye [...], xijing le ni de routi he linghun [...]* (MO 1987)/‘You pitiable, frail, suspicious, stubbornly biased child, whose soul has been spellbound by poisonous wine, go down to the Black Water River and soak in its waters for three days and three nights [...] to cleanse yourself, body and soul’ (MO 1994, 359).
- [19] 將靈魂付託給上帝 *jiang linghun futuo gei shangdi*/‘[to] commend one’s soul to God’ (LI 2002, 1451).

Example [15] shows the soul as the deepest layer of a person, the very being, an element that defines person as an individual. The soul is also recognized as a kind of intermediary in receiving stimuli from the outside world, as in fragment [16]. In the next two examples [17, 18], the soul is an element susceptible to external influences. Under the influence of the outside world, the soul can undergo various changes. And when the soul is

changing, the whole person is changing as well. A person himself/herself can also influence his/her own soul by, for example, purifying it or entrusting it to God, as in Examples [18] and [19], respectively. The soul is therefore a spiritual element that is subject to changes throughout the whole life of a human being. Apart from denoting a nonmaterial part of a living person, the term *linghun* also refers to a spiritual element existing beyond the body after death, for example:

- [20] 你在墨水河永不歡樂的嗚咽聲中，去聆聽天國傳來的警悟執迷靈魂的音樂吧！
Ni zai Moshui He yong bu huanle de wuyesheng zhong, qu lingting tianguo chuanlai de jingwu zhimi linghun de yinyue ba! (MO 1987) / ‘Amid the perennially mournful sobs of the Black Water River you listen for a lost soul drifting down from that kingdom’ (MO 1994, 308).

Interestingly, *linghun* can also be used with reference to the essential features of inanimate objects, which determine their nature, e.g.:

- [21] [雜種高粱]真正缺少的，是高粱的靈魂和風度。[*Zazhong gaoliang*] *zhengzheng que-shao de, shi gaoliang de linghun he fengdu* (MO 1987) / ‘[Hybrid sorghum is] lacking the soul and bearing of sorghum [...]’ (MO 1994, 358).

3.1.1.2. 魂靈 *hunling* (‘ethereal soul’ + ‘spirit, soul’)

Dictionaries of modern Mandarin Chinese define *hunling* as an informal word referring to the human soul and an equivalent of the previously discussed term *linghun* (MO 2001, 685; WEI 2003, 534). Nevertheless, a review of the citations collected in Mandarin language corpora revealed that the word is frequently used in a specific context, i.e., it appears in the translation of a title of a famous literary work:

- [22] 像索福克里斯的“奧地普斯王”、哥德的“浮士德”、普希金的“鮑里斯·高都諾夫”、果戈里的“死魂靈”、車爾尼雪夫斯基的“做什麼？”等書的烏克蘭文譯本，就都出自他的手。*Xiang Suofukelisi de “Aodipusi wang”, Gede de “Fushide”, Puxijin de “Baolisi Gaodunoufu”, Guogeli de “Si hunling”, Che’ernixuefusiji de “Zuo shenme?” deng shu de Wukelanwen yiben, jiu dou chuzi ta de shou* (BLCU-C) [‘He is the author of Ukrainian translations of works like Sophocles’ *Oedipus the king*, Goethe’s *Faust*, Pushkin’s *Boris Godunov*, Gogol’s *Dead souls*, Chernyshevsky’s *What is to be done?*, etc.’; translation—J.H.].

3.1.1.3. 神魂 *shenhun* (‘spirit’ + ‘ethereal soul’)

The term *shenhun* usually refers to the soul conceptualized as senses or a state of mind rather than an immortal element or a nonmaterial self. It is most often used in descriptions of people who lose their natural psychological or emotional balance, that is to say, people who are distracted, perturbed, or simply falling in love (MO 2001, 456; WEI 2003, 1090–1091). Such usage seems to be in line with the view expressed in early Chinese texts, according to which various mental and emotional confusions and disorders are caused by the loss or absence of the element called 魂 *hun* or 魄 *po* (BRASHIER 1996, 142–143). For instance:

- [23] 奶奶神魂出舍, 望著他脫裸的胸膛 [...]. *Nainai shenhun chu she, wang zhe ta tuoluo de xiongtang* [...] (MO 1987)/‘Her soul fluttered as she gazed at his bare torso’ (MO 1994, 70).

3.1.1.4. 心魄 *xinpo* (‘heart, mind’ + ‘corporeal soul’)

The word *xinpo* corresponds roughly to the meanings of the above-discussed term *shenhun*. Generally, it is used in phrases describing any factor which may disturb the emotional equilibrium of an individual (MO 2001, 844; WEI 2003, 1384). For example:

- [24] 動人心魄的音樂 *dong ren xinpo de yinyue*/‘soul-stirring music’ (LI 2002, 1452).

According to Example [24], *xinpo* is thus understood as a center of feelings and emotions of a person, susceptible to influences from the outside world.

3.1.1.5. 心魂 *xinhun* (‘heart, mind’ + ‘ethereal soul’)

The contemporary Chinese language dictionary, *Dangdai Hanyu cidian* (MO 2001), defines *xinhun* similarly to the terms *shenhun* and *xinpo*. The term is commonly used while describing factors that upset the psychological balance of a person (MO 2001, 457), e.g.:

- [25] 別看 “法輪功” 那套歪理邪說荒誕不經, 但在設計如何迷人心魂、斬人性情、奪人心志、殘人性命上, 卻是工於心計, 不乏欺詐之巧。 *Bie kan „Falun Gong” na tao waili xieshuo huangdan bu jing, dan zai sheji ruhe mi ren xinhun, zhan ren xingqing, duo ren xinzhì, can ren xingming shang, que shi gongyu xinji, bufa qizha zhi qiao* (BLCU-C) [‘Do not let yourself be misled by the false reasoning and preposterous fallacies of the Falun Gong. It is in fact quite skillful at swindling and scheming aimed to confuse human souls, control human disposition, deprive people of their will, and ruin their lives’; translation—J.H.].

3.1.1.6. 魂魄 *hunpo* ('ethereal soul' + 'corporeal soul')

Hunpo reflects the traditional Chinese idea of the dualistic (spiritual-material) nature of human soul. In this case, the emphasis is put on the concept of the soul as a spiritual element located in a physical body, which is able to leave that body to continue its existence independently (Mo 2001, 844; WEI 2003, 534). For example:

- [26] 有時候，某人睡去片刻或昏去片刻，夢見自己被閻王差遣，去取別人的魂魄——可能就是自己的熟人。 *You shihou, mou ren shuiqu pianke huo hunqu pianke, mengjian ziji bei Yanwang chaiqian, qu qu bieren de hunpo — keneng jiushi ziji de shuren* (HAN 1996)/'Sometimes, while asleep or distracted, a person might dream he'd been dispatched by the King of Hell to fetch another person's soul—an acquaintance of his, perhaps' (HAN 2003).

3.1.1.7 心靈 *xinling* ('heart, mind' + 'spirit, soul')

Among the terms denoting mental concepts of the invisible part of the person, *xinling* is probably one of the most vague and complex of the group. It refers to spiritual elements thought of as distinct from, although located in, the physical body (LI 2002, 1465; Mo 2001, 685; WEI 2003, 1383). These spiritual elements can be described as a combination of soul, spirit, heart, and mind (cf. example [13]). Therefore, the word *xinling* reflects the holistic idea of an immaterial locus for both thought and emotions, supposed to be situated somewhere in the human body. Translating *xinling* as either *soul*, *spirit*, *heart*, or *mind* remains an open issue. For example, in one of his papers on Chinese metonymic and metaphoric expressions involving bodily experience of the outside world, Ning Yu links *xiling* with both "heart" and "mind": 眼睛是心靈的窗戶。 *Yanjing shi xinling de chuanguhu*/'One's eyes are the windows into one's heart/mind' (YU 2004, 669). Three other instances of various understandings of the concept of *xinling* are given below.

- [27] 在這次霧中行軍裡，我父親聞到了那種新奇的、黃紅相間的腥甜氣息。那味道從薄荷和高粱的味道中隱隱約約地透過來，喚起父親心靈深處一種非常遙遠的回憶。 *Zai zhe ci wu zhong xingjun li, wo fuqin wendao le na zhong xinqi de, huang hong xiangjian de xing tian qixi. Na weidao cong bohe he gaoliang de weidao zhong yinyin yueyue de tou guolai, huanqi fuqin xinling shenchu yi zhong feichang yaoyuan de huiyi* (Mo, 1987)/'But as they marched through the heavy mist, his nose detected a new, sickly-sweet odor, neither yellow nor red, blending with the smells of peppermint and sorghum to call up memories hidden deep in his soul' (MO 1994, 4).
- [28] [...] 高密東北鄉從來就沒有不是廢墟過，高密東北鄉人心靈裡堆積著的斷磚碎瓦從來就沒有清理乾淨過，也不可能清理乾淨。[...] *Gaomi Dongbei Xiang conglai jiu mei*

you bu shi feixu guo, Gaomi Dongbei Xiang ren xinling li duiji zhe de duan zhuan sui wa conglai jiu mei you qingli ganjing guo, ye bu keneng qingli ganjing (MO 1987)/‘Northeast Gaomi Township had never been anything but a pile of ruins, and [...] its people had never been able to rid their hearts of the shattered buildings, nor would they ever be able to’ (MO 1994, 181).

- [29] 誰能肯定，人們在尋找和運用一種廣義普通話的時候，在克服各種語言障礙以求心靈溝通的時候，新的歧營、歧很、歧義、歧視現象不正在層出不窮呢？*Shui neng kending, renmen zai xunzhao he yunyong yi zhong guangyi putong hua de shihou, zai kefu ge zhong yuyan zhang'ai yi qiu xinling goutong de shihou, xin de qi ying, qi hen, qi yi, qi shi xianxiang bu zhengzai ceng chu bu qiong ne?* (HAN 1996)/‘Who can say for sure, while people search for and use a broadly standard form of language, while they are overcoming all kinds of linguistic obstacles in their quest for communication with other minds, that new divergences in sound, form, meaning, regulations aren’t emerging at all stages?’ (HAN 2003).

3.1.2. The soul as a spiritual element existing after death

The discourse in which “soul” is conceptualized as an immaterial element existing independently after death of a physical body recognizes at least seven synonymous terms for that concept. These are: 亡魂 *wanghun*, 亡靈 *wangling*, 幽魂 *youhun*, 幽靈 *youling*, 陰魂 *yinhun*, 陰靈 *yinling*, and 鬼魂 *guihun* (see Table 5).

Table 5. Linguistic realizations of the concept of “soul” in Mandarin as a spiritual element existing after death.

“SOUL” as a spiritual element existing after death			
Mandarin	Pinyin	Component 1	Component 2
亡魂	<i>wanghun</i>	<i>wang</i> ‘to die, to lose, dead’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
亡靈	<i>wangling</i>	<i>wang</i> ‘to die, to lose, dead’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
幽魂	<i>youhun</i>	<i>you</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
幽靈	<i>youling</i>	<i>you</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
陰魂	<i>yinhun</i>	<i>yin</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’
陰靈	<i>yinling</i>	<i>yin</i> ‘of the nether world’	<i>ling</i> ‘spirit, intelligence, soul’
鬼魂	<i>guihun</i>	<i>gui</i> ‘ghost, spirit, apparition’	<i>hun</i> ‘soul, mood, spirit’

Before discussing each of the compounds in question, it is necessary to briefly discuss three morphemes that are the main constituents of the terms listed in Table 5: 亡 *wang*, 幽 *you*, and 陰 *yin*. In the compounds denoting

“soul,” the morpheme *wang* means ‘to die,’ ‘to perish,’ ‘to lose,’ ‘to be gone,’ ‘dead,’ and ‘deceased’ (CHEN & LI 2010, 13; MO 2001, 1139; WEI 2003, 1277).

The morpheme *you* produces such meanings as ‘deep and remote,’ ‘secluded,’ ‘dim,’ ‘secret,’ ‘hidden,’ ‘tranquil,’ and ‘serene.’ All of them can describe the realm of death, and thus the morpheme is a component of several words used to refer to the netherworld (CHEN & LI 2010, 285; MO 2001, 1347; WEI, 2003, 1515).

Finally, the morpheme *yin* refers to the concept of the complementarity of two forces (陰 *yin* – 陽 *yang*), opposing, yet balancing one another, both in the macrocosm (as the universe) and in the microcosm (as an individual creature). The *yin* principle is associated with feminine, negative, secret aspects of life, as well as with shadows, clouds, the moon, and the back side of things. As such, the morpheme occurs in several compounds referring to objects belonging to the realm of ghosts and to the underworld (CHEN & LI 2010, 1342; MO 2001, 1327; WEI 2003, 1493–1494).

3.1.2.1. 亡魂 *wanghun* (‘deceased’ + ‘ethereal soul’)

Wanghun is used to refer to souls of deceased people or ghosts which are just another form of human souls, existing beyond physical bodies (MO 2001, 456; WEI 2003, 1277). For instance:

- [30] 這是一種救命藥。沒有它，地球上每年將增加數百萬亡魂。 *Zhe shi yi zhong jiuming yao. Mei you ta, diqiu shang meinian jiang zengjia shu baiwan wanghun* (BLCU-C) [‘This is a lifesaving medicine. Without it, there would be several million more ‘dead souls’ on Earth every year’; translation—J.H.].

Interestingly, *wanghun* does not apply exclusively to human beings, but it can also be used with reference to animal souls, as in Example [31]. Similar usages of both the *hun*, *po*, and the compound *hunpo* can be traced back to traditional Chinese literary sources, with reference to birds and wild animals dying or being extremely terrified (BRASHIER 1996, 43).

- [31] 20世紀初，7個英國軍官在內羅畢待了半個月，包括長頸鹿、犀牛、獵豹、斑馬、河馬在內的6000多只動物做了他們的槍下亡魂。 *20 shiji chu, 7 ge Yingguo jinguan zai Neiluobi dai le ban ge yue, baokuo changjinglu, xiniu, liebao, banma, hema zainei de 6000 duo zhi dongwu zuo le tamen de qiang xia wanghun* (BLCU-C) [‘At the beginning of the 20th century, seven British officers spent half a month in Nairobi, and more than six thousand animals including giraffes, rhinos, cheetahs, zebras, and hippos gave up the ghost³ under their rifles’; translation—J.H.].

³ The Chinese phrase 做了他們的槍下亡魂 *zuo le tamen de qiang xia wanghun* literally means

3.1.2.2. 亡靈 *wangling* (‘deceased’ + ‘spirit, soul’)

Dictionaries of modern Mandarin Chinese define the word *wangling* similarly to *wanghun*. It also refers to souls of deceased people, spirits of the dead, ghosts and specters (LI 2002, 1452, 1465; MO 2001, 685; WEI 2003, 1277). The context of using the word is given below:

- [32] 我真心地希望，那個最終還是被官軍渾身淋上火油綁在大樹上點了“天燈”的馬三寶，不是《平綏廳志》上描述的那個樣子，而曾經追隨他的七百多亡靈，不曾被這樣一個癡子嘲弄。 *Wo zhenxin de xiwang, na ge zuizhong haishi bei guanjun hunshen lin shang huoyou bang zai da shu shang dian le “tian deng” de Ma Sanbao, bu shi «Ping sui ting zhi» shang miaoshu de na ge yangzi, er cengjing zhuisui ta de qibai duo wangling, buceng bei zhe yang yi ge dianzi chaonong* (HAN 1996) / ‘I also hope that Ma Sanbao [who] met his end soaked in paraffin, tied to a large tree and lit up like a magic lantern, [was] not as he was described in the Annals of the Ministry for the Suppression of Rebellion, and that the fates of the seven-hundred-odd dead souls who followed him were not demeaned by such a madman’ (HAN 2003).

3.1.2.3. 幽魂 *youhun* (‘of the nether world’ + ‘ethereal soul’)

Youhun is also considered to be synonymous with *wangling* and *wanghun*. It describes souls or spirits of the deceased, ghosts, and specters (LI 2002, 1452; MO 2001, 457; WEI 2003, 1516). For example:

- [33] 黃泉里的希特勒的幽魂可以解答這個疑問。 *Huangquan li de Xitele de youhun keyi jieda zhe ge yiwèn* (BLCU-C) [‘The dead soul of Hitler in the Yellow Springs {i.e., the underworld} can answer this question’; translation—J.H.].

3.1.2.4. 幽靈 *youling* (‘of the nether world’ + ‘spirit, soul’)

The contemporary Chinese language dictionary defines *youling* as just another synonym of *youhun*, which signifies ‘[the] soul existing after [the] death of a person’ (MO 2001, 685). Other dictionaries extend this definition by such semantic constituents as ‘ghost’, ‘specter’, ‘spirit’, ‘apparition’, ‘phantom’, ‘phantasm’, and ‘ghostly image or figure’ (LI 2002, 56, 1100; WEI 2003, 1516). Again, souls of the dead are conceived as independent beings wandering the world. For instance:

- [34] 仍在大地行走的迷惘的幽靈 *reng zai dadi shang xingzou de miwang de youling* / ‘lost souls still walking the earth’ (LI 2002, 1452).

‘[the animals] have become dead souls under their rifles’. That is to say, the animals did not just lose their souls, but their souls transformed to spiritual elements of a different nature when their bodies died.

3.1.2.5. 陰魂 *yinhun* ('of the netherworld' + 'ethereal soul')

The lexical definitions of *yinhun* also include the descriptions like 'soul existing after death of a person,' 'ghost,' 'spirit,' and 'apparition' (MO 2001, 457; WEI 2003, 1494). The context in which it is used in everyday Mandarin and in Chinese literary works is similar to those of the four abovementioned compounds. In the following example, *yinhun* is employed to mean 'ghost':

- [35] 從那以後，醜婆娘陰魂不散，只要見到船上有標致女人就要妒忌，就要興風作浪，屢屢造成船毀人亡的事故。 *Cong na yi hou, chou poniang yinhun bu san, zhiyao jian-dao chuan shang you biaozi nüren jiu yao duji, jiu yao xingfeng-zuolang, lüliü zaocheng chuan hui ren wang de shigu* (HAN 1996)/'The ugly woman's soul didn't then scatter: she only had to spot an attractive woman on a boat to whip the wind into jealous waves, causing endless accidents in which boats were destroyed and lives lost' (HAN 2003).

3.1.2.6. 陰靈 *yingling* ('of the nether world' + 'spirit, soul')

According to dictionaries of modern Mandarin Chinese, *yingling* is a synonym of *yinhun* (MO 2001, 685; WEI 2003, 1494). Both words collocate in a similar way, as shown in the example given below.

- [36] 請聽，埃及人民舉槍齊放，把勒賽普的陰靈槍斃。 *Qing ting, Aiji renmin ju qiang qi fang, ba Lesaipu de yinling qiangbi* (BLCU-C) ['Please listen, the people of Egypt raised their guns together and shot the dead soul of Lesseps'; translation—J.H.].

3.1.2.7. 鬼魂 *guihun* ('ghost' + 'ethereal soul')

The last Mandarin word that realizes the concept of "soul," which was identified in the material, is *guihun*. It is also a sole case when the morpheme 鬼 *gui* is used to activate the meanings of 'ghost,' 'spirit,' or 'apparition' (LI 2002, 620; MO 2001, 373; WEI 2003, 449). Originally, *guihun* was used to term the corporeal soul 魄 *po*, which left the grave of the departed if the descendants did not care for the body of the deceased in a proper way. *Po* would then become *gui*—a malicious ghost doing harm to the living (CHEN & LI 2010, 1457–1458; LEIBNIZ 1994, 124). The compound *guihun* is lexically defined as 'soul/spirit of a dead person,' 'soul thought of as separate from the body,' 'soul without a body,' 'ghost,' 'spirit,' 'apparition,' 'phantom,' 'phantasm,' and 'ghostly image or figure' (LI 2002, 1100, 1452, 1465; MO 2001, 456; WEI 2003, 449). An exemplary context of its use with reference to the souls of the deceased is given below.

- [37] 為了安慰被驚動的鬼魂，母親在墳墓前，燒了一刀黃表紙 *Weile anwei bei jingdong de guihun, muqin zai fenmu qian, shao le yi dao huang biaozi* (MO 1987)/‘In order to calm the frightened souls of the dead, Mother burned a stack of yellow spirit money at the head of the grave’ (MO 1994, 204).

CONCLUSION

The Chinese folk model of the concept of the soul essentially distinguishes between two categories, although in the case of 靈魂 *linghun* (see Section 3.1.1.1) the distinction between them is blurred. The first category embraces the conceptualizations of the soul as an invisible and immaterial part of living creatures, such as a person or an animal. Such an understanding may be extended to the essential features of inanimate objects. The soul is not bound permanently to the body, but it can leave the body and come back to it. The linguistic material clearly showed the indefinite boundaries between the concepts of the “soul,” “mind,” “heart,” “spirit,” “senses,” and “state of mind.” Accordingly, a “soul” unfolded as a set of spiritual elements that constitutes a living creature and as a seat of emotions and thoughts (e.g., memories).

The second category comprises instances where the soul is understood as a quasi-independent spiritual being that is able to persist after the physical death of a person or animal. The linguistic material showed a transition toward such concepts as “ghost,” “apparition,” “spirit,” or “specter.” Importantly, the emphasis was put on the creative potential of such an independent being (e.g., it may help or harm people) rather than on its capacity to materialize and be visible to the living.

Although the material revealed a tendency to separate the soul from the body, the soul is still functionally conceptualized in relation to the body. Accordingly, our analyses provided linguistic evidence supporting E. Slingerland’s (2013) argument against radical mind-body dualistic position and against radical mind-body holism.

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CHIŃSKI POTOCZNY MODEL MENTALNEJ KONCEPCJI „DUSZY”.
PERSPEKTYWA LINGWISTYCZNA

Streszczenie

Artykuł koncentruje się na podstawowych intuicjach zawartych w języku chińskim odnośnie do pojęć mentalnych, przede wszystkim pojęcia duszy. Głównym celem artykułu jest dotarcie do podstawowych znaczeń językowych, które kształtują potoczne intuicje (*folk intuitions*) dotyczące

domeny mentalnej w kulturze chińskiej. Środkiem wiodącym do tego celu jest analiza materiału językowego, wyekscerpowanego ze słowników języka chińskiego, korpusów językowych i dzieł literackich. Analiza ta pozwala wyznaczyć granice semantyczne terminów mentalnych oraz stworzyć ich podział taksonomiczny. Artykuł koncentruje się na pojęciu „dusza” i jego potocznym pojmowaniu. W pierwszej części tekstu przedstawiono powszechne w języku chińskim zjawisko synonimiczności, które dotyczy również terminów stosowanych do opisu pojęć mentalnych. Następnie zaprezentowano rozważania nad koncepcją umysłu, która wydaje się powiązana z pojęciem „dusza”. Dalszą część artykułu poświęcono analizie chińskich terminów, którymi określa się duszę. Celem przedstawionej analizy jest ukazanie, w jaki sposób język chiński odzwierciedla możliwe w danej kulturze konceptualizacje duszy. W zakończeniu umieszczono wnioski dotyczące potocznego modelu „duszy” w języku chińskim. Przedstawione rozważania należy sytuować w obrębie badań czerpiących z obecnej w tradycji chińskiej holistycznej wizji człowieka, skontrastowanej z dominującymi w świecie zachodnim koncepcjami dualistycznymi.

Słowa kluczowe: język chiński; pojęcie potoczne; pojęcie mentalne; dusza; umysł; holistyczna wizja człowieka; dualistyczna wizja człowieka.