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Conflicting Identities:

A Comparative Study of Non-commensurate *Root Metaphors* in Basque

and European Image Schemata

by

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. . . the word does not forget where it has been and can never wholly free
itself from the dominion of the contexts of which it has been part.
                                                    Bakhtin (1973: 167)

Everybody says, 'After you take a bear's coat off, it looks just like a human'.
And they act human: they fool, they teach their cubs (who are rowdy and
curious), and they remember.
                                                    Maria Johns
                                                    (cited in Synder 1990: 164)

Introduction

    Over the past two decades the traditional cosmovision of *Euskaldunak* (Basque-speakers) has been investigated in depth, including its geometry, coordinates, overall proxemics and related metaphysics.[1] The latter form part of the cognitively backgrounded figure upon which much of the identity politics of Euskal Herria has been and continues to be carried out, that is, the way in which Basque identity is constantly being debated, reaffirmed and rearticulated. Yet meanings understood by Euskaldunak frequently go unnoticed or mis-read by someone not conversant with the cultural coding of the

traditional Basque imaginary/imagery. For example, a non-Basque speaking individual who is, therefore, a cultural outsider, upon hearing an affirmation such as "Yes, in Euskal Herria there is a black sheep in every flock," will attempt to map structures from the common European image schemata (CEIS) onto the sentence. This results from the fact that at first glance the two metaphoric systems appear to be commensurate.

Although structures from the traditional Basque image schemata (TBIS) are operating in the sentence, it nonetheless appears to utilize a commonplace color-coded element from the CEIS cognitive grid.[2] This appearance leads to a mis-reading by the cultural outsider, a reading that will result in a serious mis-apprehension of the sentence's referentiality. Indeed, the outsider's unfamiliarity with the conceptual apparatus at work will produce the following result: the underlying complexity of meaning embedded in the TBIS coded statement will go totally unnoticed. This effect can be explained by the fact that such an outsider is normally competent only in interpreting image schemata from his/her own cultural system, the CEIS. Thus, s/he works with a different logic of metaphorical understandings, a different conceptual framework, in which only certain things "count" as part of the mapping, and they "count" only in certain systematic ways (Turner 1991: 175).

These apparently obvious understandings are culturally grounded. In such readings of metaphor, what will be highlighted, attended to cognitively, is determined by the degree to which the individual has acquired and internalized the image schemata belonging to and produced by the linguistically grounded social praxis of the group in question. The acquisition and internalization of such metaphoric understandings are one of the measures of an individual's acculturation and ultimate identification with the

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[2] Since the death of Franco there has been a virtual renaissance of Basque popular culture. As a result, given that the TBIS forms an integral part of the metaphoric coding of popular performance art, this revival has resulted in increased interest on the part of educators and other investigators in exploring the metaphoric connections of the overall system. This concern is linked to increased recognition on the part of educators of the need to explore and clarify the cognitive features underlying the TBIS. The investigative process is not merely an academic one for its implications are clearly relevant for those concerned with preserving and fostering Basque identity.

cognitive norms of his/her socio-linguistic group. It is the acceptance or at least tacit

recognition of these image schemata that allows for communication, for shared meanings.

In contrast, in the case of two systems that are in some fashion non-commensurate, such

as the CEIS and TBIS, it is possible that in a given communicative situation, such as the

one mentioned above, the cultural outsider will draw, quite automatically, on his/her

interpretive competency based on the cognitive grid provided by the CEIS and the

culturally backgrounded meanings found in it. Since these metaphoric understandings are

for the most part automatic, non-reflective, and, hence, not based on extended discursive

commentary, such an individual will not necessarily be aware of his/her mis-

apprehension of what is happening in the communicative situation in question.

Because of this fact at this juncture in reference to the meanings coded into our

sample affirmative sentence ("Yes, in Euskal Herria there is a black sheep in every

flock"), two readings are possible.[3] One is based on the interpretive competency of a

reader who has been acculturated by the metaphoric understandings coded into the CEIS,

structures that themselves are grounded in an earlier cultural model known as the Great

Chain of Being (Lakoff and Turner 1989). The latter is a deeply ingrained set of

hierarchically organized concepts: pairs of polarized, mutually exclusive oppositions

whose geometry is characterized by a strong vertical axis. When discussing the CEIS,

most descriptions of the cognitive model highlight only a few of the minimal conceptual

pairs composing it, particularly the pair representing the opposed notions of high and

low.[4] However, little attention is paid to the arbitrary nature of its color-coding which

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[3] In Euskal Herria the situation is further complicated by the fact that until quite recently most Basque-speakers' formal schooling has been based on the CEIS which has been presented to them as a prestige model of upward mobility. That has resulted in a partial assimilation of the CEIS and/or at least the ability of these speakers to recognize that they have to switch metaphoric codes when speaking to someone acculturated in the CEIS model. Additionally, today it is not uncommon for fluency in Euskera to be acquired not through direct transmission of the language from parent to child, but rather through institutional settings and classroom exposure. That type of transmission has sometimes resulted in an incomplete assimilation of the subtler aspects of the TBIS.

[4] For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 22-24) have suggested that the values associated with the up-down spatialization metaphors and their opposites are deeply embedded in our culture. They are speaking of equivalencies such as "more is up", "good is up", "high status is up." These they link to notions such

assigns a positive, higher value to white and a negative, lower value to black. Yet a speaker of English has no difficulty in manipulating the equivalencies: high is white and low is black. In our rendition of the CEIS model we shall utilize this color-coding taxonomically, i.e., to classify the conceptual pairings.[5]

Although to think metaphorically is automatic and conventional, it appears that certain metaphoric understandings cluster together, forming sets of interlocking and mutually reinforcing conceptual frames. In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that in Euskal Herria identities are in conflict. At the center of this ideological debate is the question of the degree to which an individual accepts and/or internalizes a given interpretative grid, one provided by the *root metaphors* of his/her culture (Bowers 1993). It is the latter that determines his/her sense of identity, providing what Morgan (1997, 1998) has called "frames of self-presentation" and, consequently, the cognitively backgrounded field of conceptual categories and related strategies upon which representations of ideology are played out, often quite unconsciously. For this reason the present study forms part of this overall process of increasing self-reflection that in the past decade has come to characterize Basque cognitive anthropology and linguistics (Azurmendi 1991; Azurmendi 1988; Gaiak Argitalaria 1995; Gil Bera 1990; Fernández de Larrinoa 1997; Hartsuaga 1987; Perurena 1990, 1992, 1993).

Indeed, the comparative work referred to in this paper is drawn from the results of an investigative project dedicated to the recuperation of the ethnomathematical and ethnoastronomical traditions embedded in what appears to be an earlier pan-European

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as "more is better" and "bigger is better." In contrast, the TBIS has no vertical axis and seems to be grounded on notions not of quantity, but quality, namely, on being able to match the task to the entity with precisely the capacity to carry it out, no more, no less, i.e., to the notion of *gaitasuna,* based on the root-stem *gai* "capacity, innate potential of being." While the CEIS appears to be based on notions of quantity and excess, the TBIS repeatedly emphasizes quality and minimalism. Nonetheless, the CEIS model has made inroads in the TBIS. For instance, we have the case of *gaiago/gehiago*, the comparative form of the root-stem *gai* and its dialectical variant *gehi*, whose original meaning is "more qualified, more capable", having acquired in some contexts the meaning of simply "more" reflecting the CEIS emphasis on quantity rather than quality (cf. Zenbakiko Taldea 1998).

[5] Curiously in English whereas we are prone to say "high and low" or "male and female", we say "black and white" rather than "white and black". It would appear that this set is anomalous in more than one way.

ecocentric cosmovision (Arregi and Frank 1998; Frank 1996a, 1997b, 1997c, Frank and Patrick 1993; Zaldua 1996). The research carried out to date suggests that it was the latter cosmovision which was eventually overshadowed by the CEIS, even though it has continued to survive in the metaphoric coding of certain European folk performances encountered outside Euskal Herria (Frank 1997a; 1996b, 1996c, 1996d; Frank and Arregi 1998; Frank and Patrick 1993; Urbeltz 1994). This statement refers to the widespread presence of remnants of an alternative metaphoric mode of thought, not only in Euskal Herria, but also in other parts of Europe. For this reason even for someone familiar only with the conventions of the CEIS, when confronted with the TBIS s/he will find that certain elements in it sound strangely familiar and resonate oddly with parts of the CEIS.

In short, the present study forms part of a larger project being carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Basque Studies focused on recuperating the metaphysics associated with this earlier pan-European ecocentric cosmovision. In that process, of particular interest to us has been the analysis of image schemata functioning in a set of contemporary ritual folk performances found across much of Europe, most particularly those involving human actors dressed as bears who function as healers, bringers of good heath. Collectively, these popular theater pieces constitute a genre known as "good-luck visits" (Frank 1998, 1999a). At this stage the results of our investigation suggest that the TBIS, exteriorized in the color-coding of these performances and related ritual and linguistic artifacts, should not be understood as an isolated survival, but rather as perhaps the best preserved exemplar of the metaphysical foundations embedded in this earlier European cosmovision. Furthermore, these metaphoric understandings manifest themselves in a variety of ways. Indeed, the Basque language, Euskera, itself provides us with a vehicle for recuperating the modes of thought intrinsic to the earlier cosmovision.

As we shall demonstrate, the lexicon of Euskera is often rightly identified as a rich repository of such cultural knowledge (Perurena 1992, 1993).[6]

In this respect we should recall Bakhtin's valuable commentary on the "inner life of the word" (*slovo*) which is equally applicable to *root metaphors* for each word, just as each metaphor, "tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life: all words and forms are populated by intentions. Contextual overtones ... are inevitable in the word" (Bakhtin 1981: 293). Furthermore, the word, just as a metaphor, "is not a thing, but rather the eternally mobile, eternally changing medium of dialogical intercourse. It never coincides with a single consciousness or a single voice. The life of the word is in its transferal from one mouth to another, one social collective to another, and one generation to another. In the process the word does not forget where it has been and can never wholly free itself from the dominion of the contexts of which it has been a part" (Bakhtin 1973: 167).

Therefore to paraphrase Bakhtin, when each member of a collective of speakers takes possession of a word or metaphor, it is not neutral, free from the aspirations and valuations of others, uninhabited by foreign voices. No, s/he receives it from the voice of another, and the word/metaphor is filled with that voice. The word arrives in its context from another context which is saturated with other people's interpretations. The speaker's "own thought finds the word already inhabited. Therefore the orientation of the word among words, the various perceptions of the other person's word and the various means

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[6] In speaking of recuperating this earlier pan-European cosmovision using the TBIS, it should be keep in mind that metaphoric understandings are not, strictly speaking, "language-bound" in the same sense that a syntactical system is. Stated differently, metaphoric image schemata tend to be culturally produced and reproduced and this linkage is also manifested linguistically in backgrounded figures of discourse and the connotations of the terms and concepts found in a given language's lexicon. For transmission of the system to take place there is no need for the syntax (grammar) of the receiving language to be similar to that of the donor language, e.g., the language of Christian missionaries and that of those they seek to convert. In short, it is clear that over centuries the root metaphors intrinsic to the CEIS cosmovision have penetrated a wide variety of linguistic systems around the world without any need for the syntactical systems of the languages in question to be genetically or typologically related.

of reacting to it are, perhaps, the most essential problems of the metalinguistic study of every kind of word ..." (Bakhtin 1973: 167).

As Danow has pointed out, in a broader sense the term "heteroglossia", used by Bakhtin to refer the fundamentally dialogic nature of the utterance, brings into focus "the multiple connotations a word bears by virtue of its association with some ideological position, social or political group, or single individual. The notion of heteroglossia, in effect , represents the positive correlative to the idea that no word is neutral, and that 'no word belongs to no one'; for the converse asserts that every word belongs to someone, who, having used it in a certain context, has imbued it with a special sense peculiar to that context. In time, the word becomes identified with all such contextual 'residue'" (Danow 1984: 83).

In order to illustrate the manner in which the *root metaphors* of the CEIS and the TBIS are non-commensurate, yet oddly linked, the schemata in question will be brought forward for consideration. The paper consists of three sections. In the first we shall look at the metaphoric repertoire of the paired sets of *root metaphors* in each model, although focusing our attention primarily on the color-coding intrinsic to them. In the second section we shall examine some theoretical considerations related to the role of cognitive linguistics in such an investigation. Then in the last section we shall analyze several texts in order to demonstrate how the CEIS and TBIS manifest themselves in speech acts.

The Two Models

As is well known, the CEIS brings into play an extended color-coded cultural model known as the Great Chain of Being grounded in mutually exclusive oppositions between black and white.[7] In contrast, the TBIS model introduces complementary color-

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[7] The choice of color-coding as the defining characteristic of the two models is based on a series of ontological and epistemological considerations outside the scope of this introductory study. In other words, the very way in which we conceptualize "matter-stuff" in the CEIS is brought into play: matter or being is represented as black dots on white nothingness. Furthermore, in the CEIS model, "nouns" are givens, spatio-temporal particulars set against a void. These contrasts result from deeply backgrounded notions of

coded oppositions of black and red. The first model should not be understood as merely the inversion of the second, but rather as a radically different set of cognitive alignments even though there are junctures where the reader may be able to identify overlap between the component parts of the two systems. Moreover, in the case of the second model it is clear that these alignments hearken back to earlier indigenous pan-European beliefs in the efficacy of the color black, its intrinsic epistemological grounding in notions of fecundity and wholeness as well as the positive role of black animals in general.

So far our provisional research results argue for the following scenario: that in the case of Europe the powerful life-giving and protecting characteristics associated previously with the color black have been distorted, although not totally eradicated from the consciousness of Europeans by the Catholic Church and the Inquisition. The task of countering black's positive polarity was central to the Church's efforts to win converts. Given that the color black was a key component in the competing ecocentric cosmovision, attempts to assign a different value to it constituted an assault on one of the principle tenets of the indigenous interpretative grid. The fact that the color black continues to have a highly charged aura about it --the sudden appearance of black cat still generates a certain level of uneasiness in modern urban dwellers- testifies to the resilient nature of the older ecocentric cosmovision: it has not been forgotten.

In contrast to the hierarchical anthropocentric cultural model encountered in and propagated by the *root metaphors* of the CEIS, we allege that those of the TBIS derive their vitality from this earlier pan-European ecocentric cosmovision that is rooted in a

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"being" (cf. Barton and Frank 1998; Zenbakiko Taldea 1998). Indeed, at the Institute of Basque Studies in London we are looking for what we might call QRS systems, that is, systems by which we make meaning of quantity, relationships or space in Euskera. Actually even this is to presume too much for a language does not contain anything like a measurement system of metres, grams and litres. Rather we are seeking something more fundamental than that: the culturally and linguistically-given cognitive templates that give rise to image schemata. The templates, therefore, represent the underlying, linguistically embedded ontological and epistemological basis for particular cognitive habits and perceptual propensities and it is the both the former (the cognitive templates) and the latter (the cognitive habits and perceptual propensities) that are constitutive elements for such QRS systems and the mathematical thinking that results. The templates themselves set up cognitive grids. Perceptually, these act in a systematic fashion to filter out those elements that will not be attended to cognitively while capturing those that will be.

different myth of origins, namely, in the belief that humans descend from bears. This shamanistic folk belief is still alive and well in Euskal Herria.[8] At the same time year after year it is exteriorized in a variety of folkloric traditions of many other parts of Europe (Frank 1996a; Hollingsworth 1891; LeBeuf 1987; Molina González and Vélez Pérez 1986; Praneuf 1989; Vukanovitch 1959). Moreover the stories told about Hartzkume ("Little Bear") who is the half-bear half-human shaman apprentice, represent the most widespread motif in European folklore (Cosquin 1887: 1-27). In other parts of Europe the main character goes by the name of the Bear Son (Fabre 1968, 1986; Frank 1996c, 1996d; Peillen 1982). In the archetypal tales the Spirit Animal Guardians play a major role. Indeed, such helper animals are a common element in shamanic cultures as is the vision quest in which the archetypal hero/ine acquires his/her shape-shifting skills.[9] In traditional cultures where humans fully recognize their animal ancestry they often trace their genealogy back to bears.[10] Thus, it is not unusual for people to believe that animals are humans in disguise or vice-versa. Nor is it uncommon for ritual dance and song to involve therianthropic figures, half-human, half-animal masked actors representing the ecocentric union of being.[11] Moreover, shape-shifting is thought to be an important part of the repertoire of techniques used by shamanic healers in their public performances.

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[8] Today, however, informants always avoid the present tense of the verb arguing rather that Basques *used to believe* that they descended from bears and that they were, therefore, *hartzak eginak* "made/conceived by the bear". Cf. Peillen 1986: 171-173; Frank 1996b.

[9] For a more detailed discussion of Spirit Animal Guardians, the vision question and medicine bundle acquired by Hartzkume from them in the tales, cf. Frank 1996b, 1996d; Frank and Arregi 1998. It should be noted that similar shamanic elements, also related to ritual initiation, appear in other European variants of the Bear Son tales.

[10] In contrast, even after the biological sciences provided evidence to the contrary, the myth(s) of origins associated with the CEIS have continued to project purely anthropomorphic ancestors for human beings. In contrast, the ursine genealogy is extraordinarily widespread among traditional peoples (cf. Rockwell 1991; Shepard and Sanders 1992).

[11] Not surprisingly in the CEIS such creatures are portrayed most of the time as human from the waist up, while their animal half is the lower one. In contrast, the TBIS costumes seem to be ones that play with front/back, mirror image reversals.

Throughout much of Europe we find a rich legacy of popular performance art linked to these beliefs in our ursine ancestors.[12] Of particular significance is a genre of popular theater known as "good-luck visits" involving a dancing bear or an actor dressed as one along with a retinue of masqued figures, dancers and musicians.[13] These "visits" give rise to elaborate performances in many small villages and towns during the winter and spring carnival periods as well as at Corpus Christi (Frank 1998, 1999b). Furthermore, the color-coding utilized in these performances gives testimony to the vitality of the older interpretative traditions and ritual practices. Indeed, only a spectator familiar with the metaphoric repertoire of the TBIS would be fully capable of understanding the meanings conveyed by the color coding of the two sets of actors, the *Beltzak* (Blacks) and the *Gorriak* (Reds), found in Basque performances such as the *Pastoralak* and *Maskaradak* (Caro Baroja 1965: 181-182; Frank 1999a, 1998; Hérelle 1914-17, 1918, 1921, 1923a, 1923b, 1924).

Yet variants of the same popular genre of "good luck visits" are encountered from England to Bulgaria. Their widespread distribution suggests the following scenario. First, the performance pieces themselves with their musicians, guisers, dancing bears and assorted therianthropic figures hearken back to this earlier ecocentric cosmovision founded on ursine descent. Indeed, there is strong evidence that the prophylactic attributes of the bear as well as those of other animal ancestors were celebrated in such plays. Second, we find remarkable structural similarities holding between the Basque and

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[12] In the Pyrenees as well as other parts of Europe scenes from the Hartzkume tales are acted out in these popular performances, although in many cases the actors themselves are no longer familiar with the archetypal tales themselves (cf. Alford 1930; Frank 1999a, 1998; Giroux 1984).

[13] In most cases the identify of the theriantropic masked figures is recognizable, e.g., in the Basque performances. They are the counterparts of the Spirit Guardian Animals that appear in the tales themselves (Alford 1978; Frank 1999a, 1996d). The presence of the animal characters is not surprising given that this ecocentric cosmovision appears to have been projected skyward onto a set of non-zodiacal constellations. At this point in the research there is reason to believe that standing behind the Hartzkume stories are astrally coded traditions grounded in the older pre-Greek European myth of ursine origins. The counterparts of the main character, Little Bear, and his father, Great Bear, are Ursa Minor and Ursa Minor. It should be kept in mind that the non-zodiacal constellations in question antedate Greek mythological traditions with their relatively anthropocentric world-view (cf. Frank and Arregi 1998; Gingerich 1984; Rogers 1998a, 1998b).

European performances in terms of the nature of the cast of characters, the plot as well as the color-coding of two opposed, yet complementary sets of actors who take part in them (Alford 1928, 1931, 1937; Frank 1999a, 1998). Given that we are speaking of folk performances carried out without scripts and based, therefore, on oral tradition, it becomes highly likely that overall they should be classed as exteriorizations of the earlier cosmovision and, therefore, representative of the interpretative habits and metaphoric understandings found in the TBIS. In short, the genre of "good-luck visits" is further evidence for the resilience of the TBIS model as well as its residual presence in many parts of Europe, especially among the members of the popular classes.

At this point we can turn our attention to the *root metaphors* of the CEIS summarized in Table 1. The color-coded polarities of black and white appear as antithetical, oppositional and hierarchical: those linked to white being positive and higher than those of black.

TABLE 1.

EXPANDED SET OF CEIS INTERLOCKING COLOR-CODED *ROOT METAPHORS*

(BASED ON THE LEXICON OF ENGLISH)

BLACK	**WHITE**
LOW	HIGH
EVIL	GOOD
MOON	SUN
NIGHT	DAY
DARKNESS	LIGHT
BODY	MIND
INSTINCT	REASON
CROOKED	STRAIGHT
FEMALE/WOMAN	MALE/MAN
WILD-NATURED	CIVILIZED
BEASTS (ANIMALS)	HUMAN BEINGS

In Table 2 other aspects of the TBIS metaphoric understandings are displayed. These will help to clarify some of the linkages between the ecocentric ursine genealogy and the cognitive resistance offered by the color black

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TABLE 2. TBIS COLOR TERMS

(COMPARED TO TERMS IN ENGLISH)

A). COLOR SPECTRUM COVERED BY THE TBIS COLOR TERMS
BLACK/BELTZA

black > purple > violet > dark blue-red
example: red wine is called *beltza* in Euskera

RED/GORRIA

bright red > orange > yellowish
example: an egg yolk is called *gorringo* in Euskera.

B) BASIC QUALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE COLOR BLACK

black animals are: life giving and hence bring good luck,
                        insure good health and
                        act as healer-guardians

Thus, to insure the health of each individual group of domestic animals, the recommendation was to have:

                        one black sheep per flock,
                        one black rabbit per hutch,
                        one black chicken, etc.

C. OTHER QUALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE COLOR BLACK

Moreover, there are two animals of special note:

1) the bear = the psychopompe ancestor and keeper of souls, the guardian-healer of all beings.

Thus, to insure the health and well being of all beings and guarantee the order of the cosmos, world renewal ceremonies involving the bear ancestor and other guardian animals were (are) carried out on an regular basis. These are the "good-luck visits".

2) the black he-goat = keeper and guardian-healer of all domestic animals.

Thus, to insure the health and well being of domestic animals, the recommendation was to have:

                    one black he-goat per farmstead

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In the Table 3 the metaphoric understandings of the TBIS are coded taxonomically by

means of the colors black and red. These, rather than being antithetical and hierarchical,

are complementary and, although a first glance it might not seem so, heterarchical equals representing two oscillating poles of being and reality. In the expanded set there is no indication whatsoever of a vertical axis.[14]

TABLE 3.

EXPANDED SET OF TBIS INTERLOCKING COLOR-CODED *ROOT METAPHORS*

(BASED ON THE LEXICON OF ENGLISH)

BLACK	**RED**
PARODIC/BURLESQUE	SERIOUS/SINGLE-MINDED
SPONTANEOUS	MECHANICAL
HUMBLE	PRIDEFUL, ARROGANT
VITALITY, GOOD HEALTH	ILLNESS, FEVER
WHOLENESS, PLENITUDE	LACK, MISERY, PAIN
FECUNDITY	BARRENNESS
PLAYFUL, MISCHIEVOUS	IRASCIBLE, UNBENDING
FLEXIBLE, ADAPTABLE	INFLEXIBLE, RIGID
DISRUPTIVE OF (EXCESSIVE) ORDER	ORDERLY
ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN	AUTHORITARIAN
DIALOGIC	MONOLOGIC

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[14] Those unfamiliar with shamanic belief systems often automatically map the hierarchical geometry of the Judeo-Christian three-tiered model along with its strong upward thrusting, transcendent element onto the multileveled cosmovisions found among traditional peoples such as the one that appears in the Hartzkume tales. Although it would be tempting to see in the spatial coordinates of the European tales a seeking of transcendence, as Brunton in his study Kootenai shamanism has pointed out, all three "worlds" are altered time-sync extensions of this one: "The visionary has not transcended one world to another; he or she has shifted consciousness so as to notice the approach of a spirit who has come to meet him or her. In Harner's (1980) terms, the person has left the 'ordinary state of consciousness (the OSC) and has entered the 'shamanic state of consciousness' (the SSC). . . . Ceremonies involve the same basic approach. In each the spirits are 'called' to join the Kootenai in the Middleworld to help resolve some problem or provide some information. ... When Kootenai shamans do 'journey', they do so in the Middleworld in a clairvoyant journey" (Brunton 1993: 142-143). Hence, the Upper World as such is merely the space where birds fly, while the Under World is where roots grow and rabbits hide.

In light of the brief overview provided here, we can see that the CEIS interpretation of our sample sentence projects the black sheep as a dangerous element: it exemplifies the "trouble-maker", the "outsider", the "non-conformist", the one who refuses to go along with the rest and in the process, causes dissension. In contrast, the TBIS interpretation projects the black sheep as a positive and necessary element, as the Spirit Animal Guardian, guarantor of fertility and health of the group. Yet, there are deeper implications to the data. For most Europeans today black is not merely a negative color, it is a dangerous one. Indeed, previously black animals were sacrificed, not because they were evil, but because they were perceived as life-giving and protecting: they were "good luck" animals (Alford 1930; Barandiaran 1974 VI: 68-71; Creighton 1950: 21-22). Similarly, the black he-goat, so maligned by the Inquisitional authorities, was not the incarnation of the Christian Prince of Darkness, but rather simply the guardian of domestic animals when contemplated from the point of view of the indigenous TBIS cosmovision.[15] In Basque oral tradition, the male goat, particularly a black male goat, the *Aker Beltz* (*aker* "he-goat" and *beltz* "black") represents a positive life-protecting principle.[16] Because of the great curative powers attributed to it, traditionally the animal has been perceived as exercising a beneficent influence upon animals entrusted to his protection and care. Since each individual black he-goat has been considered the concrete representation of the *Aker Beltz* guardian-healer, in many

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[15] For more detailed information cf. Barandiaran 1974, I, 21-22; II, 68, 374-5, 394, 502-514 and Hartz Dantzariak Taldea 1998.

[16] We should mention that from the expression *Aker Larre* "He-Goat Field", a reference to sites where traditional festivals were often held, comes the Spanish and French term *aquelarre* that the CEIS framework has seen fit to translate as "Witchs' Sabbath." Festivals are still held at some of the traditional sites, the most famous of which are those of the village of Zugarramurdi. In addition, the events organized include various acts of commemoration for those villagers who died at the hands of Inquisition. Indeed, there is a website describing the history of the zone and advertising its annual festivities: <http://visite-online.tm.fr/pbe/dossierloisir/balde/xareta.html>. Cf. also the profile of one of the victims, Maria de Ximildegui of Zugarramurdi in the "Hall of Remembrance" at <http://www.summerlands.com/members/remembrance/victims/mariadex.htm>. For information on the traditional role of the woman in Basque religious life and these confrontations with the Inquisitional authorities, cf. Frank 1977.

farmsteads, even into the 1950's, this animal was still being kept to ward off death and disease and to increase the fertility of farm animals.[17]

Although at times the *Aker Beltz* might be perceived as the most important protector of the domestic animals, his curative powers are shared by other black animals. For instance, the black she-goat and ass are found associated with this same complex of thought. As has been mentioned, it is considered wise to keep a black sheep among the flock, a black rabbit among the rabbits, and a black chicken among the chickens. Black animals are also perceived to be more fertile than other animals.[18] Thus, just as a black he-goat is seen as a life-giving force, according to the norms of the traditional Basque belief system, the positive powers incarnate in black animals in general correspond inversely to the negative powers traditionally associated with them in modern European thought, the CEIS.[19] In fact, the pan-European belief that black animals are dangerous and can bring bad luck may well have its ultimate origin in this older matrix of pre-Christian thought, an earlier cosmovision that viewed these same animals positively, as endowed with magical, life-giving powers, a belief retained well into the twentieth-century by the Basque people.

Furthermore, in the TBIS the metaphoric understandings associated with animals in general differ radically from those in the CEIS. This results from the fact that in the TBIS humans trace their ancestry back to bears and, hence, there is no place in their genealogical myth of origins for high anthropomorphic (male) sky gods (cf. Hartsuaga

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[17] Barandiaran (1974, II, 375) tells of his neighbor of Bidegarai-Etxeberria in Sara who, after having bad luck with his flock, bought a he-goat and raised it for a few years. The man assured Barandiarán that once the animal was introduced into his stable, none of his flock died. According to reports transmitted to Barandiarán by Dr. Lavigerie (July 29, 1948), in Cambo goats were still kept to ward off disease in the flock. On the other hand, the antiquity of the shamanic belief in the Aker Beltz is highlighted by the pre-Christian inscription *AHERBELSTE* recorded and discussed by Sacaze (1892: 432).

[18] For further discussion of the potency of black animals cf. Barandiarán (1974, VI, 68-71). Azkue (1969: 259) records the following widespread Basque folk belief: "Black cows give birth to more calves than those of any other color" (*Bestalde behi beltzak hume-egileago dira beste koloretakoak baino)* citing *Dialogues Basques* (1857: 95-97).

[19] Cf. Corradi-Musi 1989: 239-250 and Pócs (1989: 252-250) for similar accounts of the healing powers of animals as well as a more extensive discussion of the socio-economic aspects and identity issues linked to these shamanic frames of thought in other parts of Europe, especially Eastern Europe.

1987). In contrast, the hierarchy intrinsic to the expanded Great Chain of Being projects the following scenario. First, we often discover a godhead personified as a high anthropomorphic male being, usually portrayed as distant or at least spatially removed from this earth and his subjects. Positioned directly under the godhead is a male human being, sometimes in the form of a king or a high priest, in short, an authority figure. Next in the Natural Order of Things, situated beneath the human male we find the human female and finally there on the last rung of the ladder sit the beasts (animals).[20]

In contrast, the expanded set of image schemata undergirding the cosmovision found in Euskera is not commensurate with the polarities found in the set of oppositions making up the CEIS. And it is not simply a question of reversing the polarity of the items, e. g., substituting black for white or female for male. Rather we must recognize that there are much more fundamental differences at play with profound implications for identity formation. First, we should note that the TBIS cosmovision is grounded in the older pan-European belief that humans descended from bears (cf. Frank 1996b, 1996c, 1996d, 1997a, 1998). That, in and of itself, is sufficient to throw the CEIS paradigm into disarray as Kuhn would say. The belief that we descend from bears ruptures the hierarchical symmetry found in the CEIS model. It radically restructures the coordinates in ways perhaps best appreciated by Native Peoples whose cosmovisions demonstrate a similar and much more commensurate conceptual ecocentric vision (McClellan 1970; Synder 1990: 78-90, 155- 174).

Furthermore, in Euskera there is no possibility of setting up an opposition between "mind" and "body" nor between "reason" and "instinct". Rather the term used to refer to "mind-like" events is *gogo.* >From the point of view of English the concept might be translated as one whose field of referentiality integrates all of the following notions however, without referring specifically to any of one of them separately: mind, desire,

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[20] In fact, some might argue that the very last rung is reserved for wild animals, those beasts that for some reason or another have not yet submitted to man's will and hence are still fending for themselves, free in nature.

pleasure and memory. The extended abstraction *gogoeta* is often glossed as "thought" but it is much more than that. As can be appreciated, *gogo* is an embodied concept that might also be represented, although loosely, by the term "consciousness". However, in that case the bodily embedded sensorial aspects of *gogo* would need to be underscored. In short, there is simply no term in Euskera that would replicate the CEIS polarity expressed by the dyadic relationships of mind/body and reason/instinct.[21]

In summary, the basic structure of the image schemata encountered in the Basque cosmovision draws its meaning from a radically different geometry, a different epistemological base and ontological configuration of being. In addition, the TBIS has no vertical axis, no upward thrust nor seeking movement toward a distant other-worldly transcendent other. Indeed, when one attempts to map a coordinate such as the high/low vertical axis typical of the CEIS onto the TBIS coordinate system it becomes readily apparent that a different backgrounded geometry is operating.[22] In fact, we find that in Euskera *goi* "high" is often perceived in temporal terms, as "early", e.g., as in *goiz* (*goiz*), while *behe* "low" is associated with "late", e.g., *beran(du)* from *behe-ra-n(du)*.[23]

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[21] In this sense rather than being an antiquated, even backwards language, totally out of phase with the postmoden mentality, as some non-Basques have argued, Euskera's lexical inability to replicate the CEIS notion of "mind" appears to point in a very different direction: to the fact that the Euskeric notion *gogo* reflects a clear awareness of the embodied nature of all mental activity. Of late this fact has been increasingly brought to the forefront not only by those working in cognitive linguistics, but also by others working in the neurosciences such as Antonio Damasio: "Taken literally, the statement [*je pense donc je sui/cogito ergo sum* by Descartes] illustrates precisely the opposite of what I believe to be true about the origins of mind and about the relationship between mind and body. It suggests that thinking and awareness of thinking, are the real substrates of being. And since we know that Descartes imagined thinking as an activity quite separate from the body, it does celebrate the separation of mind, the 'thinking thing' (*res cogitans*), from the nonthinking body, that which has extension and mechanical parts (*res extensa*)" (Damasio 1994: 248).

[22] At this stage in the research it is still too early to draw conclusions about the spatial features of the TBIS. Yet the evidence does point to indigenous mapping practices based on a cognitively astute system of polar coordinates, mathematically speaking, rather than one involving an equatorial perspective which is more typical of eurocentric cartography and mathematics. For a more detailed examination of these questions, cf. Frank 1997b, 1997c, 1999b.

[23] In the case of the set *goi* and *behe*, the first element also refers spatially to "above" and the latter to "below."

Indeed, there is evidence that *goi* "high" as a root-stem is sometimes manipulated with relatively negative connotations.[24]

In addition, it should be mentioned that in the TBIS there is no coding for masculine and feminine, no polar opposition whatsoever that could be construed to correspond to the one found in the CEIS.[25] And, whereas in recent years there have been many exhaustive studies dedicated to remodeling this aspect of the patriarchal foundations inherent in the CEIS, few have argued with the appropriateness of the color-coding which is intimately associated with the same system of antithetical oppositions. In this respect we should mention that the non-commensurability of the two frames comes into view, too, when we examine the color-coding intrinsic to traditional frames of reference found in Euskera. For instance, when comparing the CEIS to the TBIS we find that in Euskera the term "white" carries a negative charge, not as "evil", that is, not as simple inversion of the CEIS model, but rather as "false, untrustworthy, deceitful, lying", e. g., "I would say to you that 'white' is the same thing as saying 'untrustworthy'" (*Zuri*

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[24] For instance, in discursive practice expressions based on the root-stem *goi*, such as *goitar* often carry a negative charge (Perurena 1992: 173).

[25] Although it is difficult to assess precisely how the TBIS constructed gender, we might assume that cognitive parallels could be identified based on evidence concerning gender construction in other traditional cultures where Bear Ceremonialism was or is still present. From the evidence, we would argue that the gender identities, if any, conferred by the color terms are fluid and dynamic in nature, rather than immutable and static. Moreover, we should keep in mind that, speaking overall, in bear shamanism gender identities are constructed in a radically different fashion (cf. Mandelstam Baltzer 1996; Shepard 1992). Moreover, the attributes of black and red in the TBIS do not lend themselves readily to sexual stereotyping nor do they appear to summarize in any particular sense complementary functions of balanced male and female principles. In fact, if one were to attempt such an interpretation, it could lead the reader unwittingly into a conceptual trap: that of essentializing male and female human "nature" using a framework based on a deeply rooted eurocentric dualism. The latter is capable of masking the implications of an indigenous cognitive framework of gender assignment. For example, in a section of his remarkable book *Giving Voice to Bear* where he discusses different aspects of New World Bear Ceremonialism, Rockwell (1992: 10-23) points out the following pertinent facts. Among the Ojibwa, in order to become "bears", i.e., adults, young women went through a different initiation process than young men who also became "bears." The formers' initiation was indicated by the onset of menstruation and young women who were about to start their period were called *wemukowe* "going to be a bear." It was this bodily event that triggered the lengthy initiation ceremonies leading to the young woman's full conversion into an adult and, hence, into bearhood. When the ceremonies were completed the woman was called *mukowe* meaning "she is a bear." Quite obviously, when the prototype of human nature is that of a bear, one must exercise great care when mapping frames of self-representation from one belief system to the other.

esango zienat "paltso" esatea bezela baita).[26] However, we need to remember that the

oppositions found in the TBIS are those established between two poles of being

communicated metaphorically by color terms that are not black and white, but rather

black and red.

Theoretical Considerations

Cognitive linguistics offers us a solid theoretical foundation for recovering the

image schemata of this earlier cosmovision. For instance, Langacker (1997: 240-241) has

stated the following:

> I would claim, then, that despite its mental focus, cognitive linguistics can
> also be described as social, cultural and contextual linguistics. One manifestation
> of its cultural basis is the doctrine of encyclopedic semantics. An expression is
> meaningful by virtue of evoking a set of cognitive domains and imposing a
> certain construal on their content. Any kind of conceptualization can function as
> a domain, and any facet of our open-ended knowledge of an entity can in
> principle be evoked as part of how an expression designating it is understood on a
> given occasion. In large measure these domains consist of cultural knowledge:
> most of what we say pertains to cultural constructions or to entities whose
> apprehension is in some way culturally influenced. Moreover, language itself is
> recognized as the creation and reflection of a culture as well as a primary
> instrument for its constitution and transmission.

Additionally, the "cultural concerns of cognitive linguistics are further manifested

in the extensive investigation of metaphor .... From the cognitive standpoint, metaphor is

characterized as a means of understanding one domain of experience in terms of another

that is in some sense more fundamental. It is likely that most cognitive domains are

metaphorically structured to some extent, and it is quite evident that metaphor is a major

factor in cultural construction. Looking at the other side of the coin, we see that metaphor

exhibits a substantial measure of conventionality --large numbers of metaphors have to be

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[26] The example is taken from the works of the Basque writer Orixe is discussed at length by Perurena (1992: 171) in his book on color terms in Euskera. For additional information on the color white, cf. Perurena 1992: 171-219. Another study of particular significance is that of Alvarez Enparantza (Txillardegi) 1975.

specifically learned as part of the acquisition of cultural knowledge. While the kinds and proportion of culturally transmitted metaphors have yet to be determined, it is clear that they play a significant role in language and cognition" (Langacker 1997: 241).

This point brings us to a more detailed analysis of the terms utilized in the present study. First, we need to clarify that in the context of this paper the term CEIS is intended only as a convenient method for referring globally to the overall constituent parts of a set of interlocking *root metaphors* understood intuitively by most English speakers. It has been the conventional way to speak about the Nature of Things because the *root metaphors* in question represent conventional modes of cognition that until quite recently have gone relatively unchallenged. As a result, for such speakers, the conceptual norms embedded in the CEIS appear be the commonsense way of speaking about reality. Indeed, the interpretative norms implicit in the CEIS are recognized almost immediately by most English speakers, while the deeply ingrained cognitive habits of the CEIS predispose us to reproduce and project its inherently hierarchical value system, relatively unconsciously, through acts that are, nonetheless, linguistically coded intonations of metaphors of dominance. This occurs perhaps because the interlocking and mutually reinforcing nature of its *root metaphors* continues to go unnoticed by most speakers.

In the West we can trace the origins of the CEIS to the cultural model known by as the Great Chain of Being. The latter "concerns not merely attributes and behavior but also dominance. In this cultural model, higher forms of being dominate lower forms of being by virtue of their higher natures" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 208). As Lakoff and Turner have commented, the Great Chain of Being "is what is unconsciously taken for granted in a wide-variety of cultures. But the Great Chain as it developed in the West, was far more elaborate. To the basic Great Chain there was added the Cultural Model of Macrocosm and Microcosm: each level of the chain was expanded to reflect the structure of the chain as a whole. At each level, there were higher and lower forms of being, with the higher forms dominating the lower" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 209). For our purposes

we should note that the "existence of these global and microcosmic hierarchies in the cultural model of the Great Chain, and in its conscious elaboration in the West, has had profound social and cultural consequences, because the cultural model indicates that the Great Chain is a description not merely of what hierarchies happen to *exist* in the world, but further, of what hierarchies in the world *should be*. For example, it has been assumed that man should follow God, and woman should follow man, because the Great Chain indicates that this order of dominance is natural" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 210).

The intonations given by Christianity to the Great Chain of Being reappeared in even more virulent forms when they were incorporated into a different narrative of origins. The new formulation stripped away the Biblical underpinnings and claimed to explain in a purely secular fashion the cultural and linguistic heritage of European peoples, namely, by means of the so-called Aryan myth (Poliakov 1974). Undoubtedly, the "influence of the extended Great Chain on our social and political beliefs and behavior is not merely a historical matter; it dominates much of contemporary social and political behavior" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 211). Finally, it should be noted that in recent years the "notions that the state has dominion over the individual and that human beings have a natural right to use animals and the earth as they see fit without regard for the integrity of nature have been challenged as unethical or evil" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 212). Therefore, for "whatever reason, perhaps because in our early cognitive development we inevitably form the model of the basic Great Chain as we interact with the world, it seems the Great Chain is widespread and has strong natural appeal. It implies that those social, political, and ecological evils induced by the Great Chain will not disappear quickly or easily or of their own accord. The Great Chain itself is a political issue. As a chain of dominance, it can become a chain of subjugation" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 213). In attempting to deal with the pervasive influence of the CEIS model, one approach is that of discovering and examining an alternative to it, namely, the TBIS.

In the context of the present study the notions encompassed by term TBIS refer to persistent image schemata that have survived in Euskal Herria (the Basque Country), relatively unaffected by Christianity. Moreover, they still form an integral part of the symbolic coding in traditional folk performances, songs, poetry and dance. Undoubtedly one of the major factors contributing to the preservation of the TBIS has been the fact that until quite recently in Basque-speaking zones traditional knowledge has been transmitted orally and, hence, often the underlying ontological and epistemological basis of the cosmology itself has been acquired directly, and hence holistically (Sarrionandia 1988: 9-13). As is true in the case of many traditional peoples, in such settings the cosmovision is transmitted, too, through mechanisms typical of orality, "hidden" or perhaps better stated, "preserved" in metaphoric constructs, material and linguistic artifacts as well as ritual practice (cf. Cajete 1994; Gerdes 1997). In Euskal Herria these metaphoric constructs have been and continue to be brought into play repeatedly in the communicative process of identity formation.

Before beginning our examination of other differences holding between the two systems, a few additional theoretical considerations need to be addressed. The shared schemata of the CEIS must be understood as a central component in the construction of European identity: the *root metaphors* in question appear to have functioned quite successfully to frame the process of self-identification for European peoples (Haarmann 1995; Poliakov 1974: 5-8). The primacy of a cultural group's symbolic maps can be seen in Alasdair MacIntyre's account of how personal identity is framed by the *shared narratives* of the group (MacIntyre 1984). According to MacIntyre, what is particularly germane to arguments for changing the basis of self-identification is the following: that the mental/cultural processes of the past, and now encoded in the multiple metaphoric forms of communication that characterize a given culture, exist prior to the individual's entrance into the world. They are rarely questioned. They are encoded into the *root metaphors* that in turn become part of the traditions of a given people. The

aforementioned image schemata, therefore, play a crucial role in discourse and, hence, form the basis of the mutual intelligibility for the interlocking metaphors that undergird the shared narratives of the group, i.e., "whatever is persistent or recurrent through transmission, regardless of the substance or institutional settings" (Bowers 1993: 93).[27]

In this sense, we may argue that these *root metaphors* act as the backgrounded, almost unconscious, symbolic map for the cultural group in question. For instance, the metanarrative encoded by means of the CEIS model is only one example of a set of similar *texts* that communicate messages far more complex and formative in terms of the person's behavioral/thought patterns than we might first assume. In other words, the models act as highly encapsulated narratives, so to speak, that love to tell the same story over and over again. Yet as such their story-telling often takes place beyond our level of conscious awareness. This plethora of signifiers reproduce cultural codes reflecting an earlier mental ecology with its signifiers framed by the categories and assumptions that made up its symbolic map. These patterns or schemata serve as the initial basis for how the individual will make use of the world, and they have particular relevance for ways of framing the process of self-identification. In summary, these *root metaphors* by means of their transference and multiple recodings in the structures intrinsic to the CEIS have served Europeans as the basis for their self-identity providing them with a unique myth of origins. It is one that allows them to trace their ancestry back in time to putative Indo-European progenitors who, allegedly, shared the same patriarchal and hierarchical symbol system. Indeed, according to this European story of origins, the language(s) and culture(s) of the hypothesized Indo-Europeans shared precisely the same image schemata found in the CEIS. Consequently, the cultural model in question has been one of the most fundamental in guiding the process of European self-identity (Poliakov 1974: 129-325).

As is well recognized, there is a universal urge among human groups or cultures that leads them to claim a distinctive origin, an ancestry which is both high-born and

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[27] In this quote Bowers is citing Edward Shils' use of the word tradition in Shils (1981: 216).

glorious. Thus, the members of a human group descend from a god, or a hero or an animal. The genealogical myth is therefore the first type of historical thinking: the claim to common ancestors (Poliakov 1974: 2-3). Therefore, there are aspects of cultural storage (traditions) that need to be taken into account by any theorist who wants to bring about significant changes in the way in which these *root metaphors* function for the latter continue to act as central components in the production of the *cultural scripts* employed by Europeans to think about their own identity.

The role played by cognitive linguistics in the theoretical formulation and analysis of such scripts has been fundamental. For instance, as Bowers has pointed out, the "recent writings of George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, and Donald Schon, in particular, have brought out different characteristics of metaphorical thinking that quickly move us out of the rarefied atmosphere of theory and into the contextualized and taken for granted world of culture" (Bowers 1993: 93). Further, as Bowers has emphasized: "Cultures, it seems, are based on *root metaphors* (or what can be called *meta-narratives*, *world views* and now *paradigms* --though this term seems to be more appropriate to a Kuhnian-type discussions). The root metaphor (plural in the case of Western cultures) has changed over time; and if we examine various periods of Western history we find that the creation myth of the Book of Genesis served as a root metaphor that had a profound influence on subsequent cultural patterns...." (Bowers 1993: 93). Moreover, for our purposes here, it is important to stress that "our primary goal is to clarify how metaphorical thinking works as a process of cultural storage, reproduction, and (because thought is metaphorical) re-working old patterns into 'new' (in the weakest sense of the word) ones that will be conceptually coherent with the dominant root metaphor of the cultural group" (Bowers 1993: 93).

The connection between ideology and culture is also brought out in Clifford Geertz's definition: "Cultural patterns --religious, philosophical, aesthetic, scientific, ideological-- are 'programs'; that provide a template or blueprint for the organization of

social and psychological processes, much as genetic systems provide such a template for the organization of organic processes" (Geertz 1973: 216). Thus, ideology may be understood as a schema of understanding produced through a discursive formation of language, consciousness, and social practice, a definition that brings out the more political aspects of the symbol systems along with their *root metaphors* which end up constituting a given culture. In this sense, the sustaining power of the Nature of Being, that is, the conceptual framework derived from the Great Chain of Being model, must be understood as a reflection of the central role that it has played historically in the constitution of European identity: it has acted as the primary schema or template, one that has organized many aspects of social practice in Europe for centuries. Its staying power results from the fact that in the West the cultural model in question became the dominant mode of thinking with respect to European identity. Indeed, the CEIS model has endured because of its persistent and recurrent transmission in a myriad of authoritative texts (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Poliakov 1974). It is a traditional way of thinking that has been sustained and fostered by European peoples. Notions concerning the European theory of origins have been handed down from the past to the present in such a way that those embracing the model are no longer aware of the factors that were present in its original conceptualization. In short, the *root metaphors* of the CEIS represent a form of cultural storage, a tradition, a shared narrative, that has survived by means of a series of mutually reinforcing interlocking metaphoric patterns of belief.

Textual Exemplars

In this section we shall examine three brief texts, all dealing with issues treated in the previous pages of this study. Each will be analyzed in terms of the way in which the CEIS and/or TBIS codings are manipulated discursively. Concretely, in the case of the first two selections the textual analysis will demonstrate the way in which the *root metaphors* of the CEIS act as a metanarrative. Stated differently, the CEIS coordinates

have already mapped the cognitive terrain: they are already painted onto the canvas before the first word is uttered. And even when one of its interlocking *root metaphors* comes under attack, the others come together and continue providing the same fundamental cognitive scaffolding, the same underlying structures of metanarrativity. Only in the case of the third exemplar do we discover a deliberate subversion of the CEIS *root metaphors* themselves, collectively and individually. And that subversion is carried out not from the cognitive terrain of the CEIS itself, but rather from a different vantage point: that of the TBIS.

In the following text we discover once again the striking vertical axis of the CEIS geometry. Its coordinate system is one with limited possibilities of movement. In addition, in the first exemplar we will see the role played by the color black, an archival site for all that is hidden, secretive and dangerous. In short, the CEIS geometry is quite literally the preprogrammed background or cognitive grid already on the canvas. Thus, it represents the terrain upon which the following comments by Susan Griffin are mapped. The selection in question comes from her chapter called "The Way of All Ideology" that is itself a discussion of the need to recognize "false dichotomies" (cf. Murphy 1994: 69-72, 1991) Yet in the process of critiquing these false dichotomies, the appropriateness of the backgrounded vertical orientation of the spatial coordinates of her own discourse is never subjected to critical scrutiny:

> Audre Lorde has made an illuminating connection between this civilization's fear of the associative and musical language of poetry (a language which comes from the depths of reason beneath rational consciousness, from the dark, unknown regions of the mind) and the same civilization's fear of black skin, of the female, of darkness, the dark other, Africa, signifying an older, secret knowledge... What is really feared is an open door into consciousness which leads us back to the old, ancient, infant and mother knowledge of the body, in whose depths lies another form of culture not opposed to nature but instead expressing the full power of nature and of our nature (Griffin 1982:154-65).

Griffin speaks of the need to bring both sides of the CEIS Model into a dialogue, a process she believes will result in the dissolution of the polarization. Yet in the very act of doing so, her text's meaning is dependent on the backgrounded networks of signifiers drawn directly from the play of *root metaphors* belonging to the CEIS. Hence, in a sense Griffin's discourse as well as Lorde's are caught inside this web struggling to be free. In this fashion the very act of contestation and resistance ends up being carried out on the metaphoric ground of the enemy: the terms of debate are laid down by the CEIS. Consequently, while such texts speak at one level against the CEIS value system, at another they serve to reinforce the polarized logic inherent to it. Indeed, rather than introducing a new model, they act as archival sites themselves for the CEIS interpretive habits and signifying practices. This occurs because the texts accept the overall validity of the ideological matrix and commonly only seek to reverse the polarity of one of its dyads. In such efforts, low status black is to take up the position previously held by high status white. Or, as here, a plea is made for opening a doorway at the top of the stairs (or an entrance leading to the bottom of the cave). In short, in such cases the validity of the model's spatial geometry and its color coding goes unchallenged.

In such discursive practice, rather than finding the constraints of the CEIS overthrown, we detect a tendency on the part of writers to return again and again to familiar terrain, to the same referential model so that their very contestations become reinscribed within the same binary logic. Indeed, there might be those who would perceive Lorde's text to be particularly persuasive, well-constructed in terms of its manipulation of metaphoric understandings, precisely because it plays on the reader's emotional response, on the sympathetic recognition of precisely the most ingrained dyadic sets making up the CEIS. From this point of view, even when contesting the value system embedded in and exteriorized by the CEIS, we tend to write through it or across it. In the process we are not altering its logic from the outside, but rather merely attempting to reterritorialize the same map. As a result, until the arbitrary, that is,

habitual nature of the binary logic of cultural reference in the CEIS is brought to the fore, the familiar model will continue to watch over our thoughts, ever seeking an opportunity to be reproduced by them. Only by introducing an alternative model, not a some fictitious one, but rather a set of image schemata grounded historically, namely, the TBIS, does a cognitive positioning outside the CEIS becomes available. And, as a point of reference, the TBIS makes itself available for more comparative approaches to the data. In other words, the *root metaphors* of the TBIS permit the backgrounded cognitive frames as well as the interpretative habits of the CEIS model to come into clearer focus. And that process of reassessment will ultimately requires a recognition of the fundamental arbitrariness, the historically constituted nature of the black/white color coding of the CEIS.

Our repeated reference to the arbitrary, hence, historically constituted nature of the color coding of the CEIS is an attempt on our part to counter claims of writers such as Victor Turner (1967:84-86) who have sought to trace the origins of the hierarchical black/white color coding back to cognitive habits attributed to the early Indo-Europeans and even beyond. Indeed, we discover Turner arguing for a scenario in which the latters' interpretative practices would be grounded in an even older pre-Indo-European tradition. A short selection from his writings will constitute our second textual exemplar. It comes from Turner's investigation of color classification among the Nbembu where he tries to explain the ritual and symbolic use of the color triad white-red-black and the dyadic one of white-black as being derivative of primordial psychobiological experience. Of particular interest to us is the way his discussion of the significance of the white-black contrast reproduces the spatial coordinates and dyadic logic of the CEIS. In his commentary Turner (1967:59-92) never openly questions whether or not the coordinates of the Nbembu's world view coincide fully with those characterizing the CEIS. Confident in his ability to read the backgrounded image schemata of his informants, there is little evidence that he was aware of his own predisposition to read the value system embedded

in the color coding of other cultures through his own strong bias toward the hierarchical dyads found in the cognitive grid of the CEIS.

> A brief survey of the senses attributed by informants to "white" and "black" respectively indicates that these can mostly be arrayed in a series of antithetical pairs, as for example: goodness/badness; purity/lacking purity; lacking bad luck/lacking luck; lacking misfortune/misfortune; to be without death/death; life/death; health/disease; laughing with one's friends/witchcraft; to make visible/darkness.... Nbembu think of white and black as the supreme antitheses in their scheme of reality... (1967: 88).

Yet a closer look at the data Turner himself provides in other sections of his work makes the truth value of his last statement rather questionable. Nonetheless, he brings up the fact that it is "characteristically human to think in terms of dyadic [antithetical] relations... White and red, paired under the various aspects of male and female, peace and war, milk and flesh, semen and blood, are jointly 'life' ... both are opposed to black as death and negativity" (1967: 81). Somewhat later he turns to the writings of ancient Hinduism, the Upanishads, in order to explain the embodied nature of the significance attributed to the basic color triad, arguing that these attributes result from the association of the three colors with certain fluids, secretions or waste products of the human body: "Red is universally a symbol of blood, white is frequently a symbol of breast milk and semen... while, as we have seen the Chhandogya Upanishad relates the black color with feces and urine... Among Ndembu, and in many other societies, both white and red may stand for life... On the other hand, white may represent 'peace' and red 'war'; both are conscious activities as distinct from black which stands for inactivity and the cessation of consciousness" (1967: 88-89).

In order to further elaborate his own descriptions of color symbolism in his work on the Nbembu, Turner describes the hierarchical nature of the members of the triad: "In this Upanishad the colors are sometimes known as 'deities.' Examples are given of the way in which they manifest themselves in phenomena. Thus, 'food' when eaten becomes

threefold. What is coarsest in it (the black part) becomes the feces, what is medium (the red part) becomes the flesh, and what is subtlest (the white part) becomes mind" (1967: 85). Hence, white is associated with purity and tranquillity, being at the same time "the 'subtlest' or most 'spiritual' of the colors" (Turner 1967: 86). In addition, we can observe the mind/body dyad of the CEIS happily at work and that, because of its inherent spatial coordinates, the color black inevitably ends up at the bottom of the heap. The vertical axis of the coordinate system has survived, fully intact.

In his discussion Turner not only accepts the validity of these assignments, he seems to be arguing that the model is nearly primordial: "It would seem probable that the notion of the colors is an inheritance from a remote (perhaps pre-Indo-European) past and that the Upanishadic texts are speculations of a later philosophy on this primordial deposit" (1967: 86). There would seem to be little doubt that the philosophical speculations of the Upanishads have influenced the CEIS. Yet, one wonders to what extent the CEIS wasn't busily reproducing itself in Turner's own writings when he speaks of the perhaps pre-Indo-European or even primordial status of the model itself .[28]

At this stage we shall turn to another writing sample, this time that of Patziku Perurena, a Basque poet and essayist who himself has done extensive research on color and number symbolism in Euskera. The same issues treated by Turner reappear at the

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[28] There is, indeed, a dearth of self-conscious studies on the cognitive origins of this aspect of the CEIS, namely, the black/white antithesis. And on that note, we would like to mention a recent article by Lucy entitled "The Linguistics of 'color'" which appeared in a volume of essays on color categories in thought and language. In his study Lucy takes researchers to task pointing out the "[c]onceptual muddles [that] abound with respect to how linguistic categories are characterized, how they are compared and how they are linked to cognition" (1997: 321-322). However, our purpose here is not to repeat Lucy's critique but rather to highlight one aspect of it, namely, the implications that might be derived from his comments concerning the methodology used in such comparative studies of color terms: "Individual lexical items are culled from informants and their referential values established by a fixed denotational task. It really doesn't matter what language the terms come from. Articles surveying terms in a dozen or more languages never mention anything about those languages, or even about the structural value of the terms. *You do not need to know anything about languages or linguistics at all to read this literature or even to conduct research within the tradition* [italics in the original]" (1997:330). He then goes on to say: "This should give us pause since the tradition claims to be contributing to our understanding of the semantics of natural languages. You cannot generate a typology of 'color systems' across languages without establishing that such systems actually exist as identifiable 'systems' in those languages" (1997:330). The lack of interest on the part of such investigators in the structural value of color terms in other language might reflect to some extent their own assumptions concerning the universality of their own framework, as is the case with Turner.

beginning of Perurena's chapter on the color white, *zuria*. In fact, the chapter commences with a discussion of passages from Turner's book that we have just reviewed. He then cites a few paragraphs from an earlier work of a like-minded Basque writer, Joseba Sarrionandia (1985: 215-218). They come from an essay by Sarrionandia also dealing with Turner's materials. Joseba, like Patziku, is someone whose writings show a strong sense of commitment to the exploration and recuperation of Basque identity (cf. Sarrionandia 1988) and, therefore, the TBIS. Over the past twenty years the poetry and essays of Sarrionandia have been models for many of those working in the field of Basque cultural and critical studies.[29] In fact, just as in Patziku's case, Joseba's essays and poems are characterized by their remarkable richness of imagery and grasp of the TBIS.

However, in the passage that follows, Patziku takes Joseba to task, tweaking his nose so to speak for having mis-spoken, that is, for having fallen into the trap of accepting uncritically the CEIS modes of thinking. In the section that follows the significant element is the way in which Patziku identifies, draws out and then counters the polarities of the CEIS: the hierarchy implicit in its vertical axis and the set composed of the concepts white/mind/spirit/life/transcendence/high/purity, on the one hand, and those of black/body/flesh/death/earthiness/low/defilement. Patziku is fully cognizant of what he's doing when he begins setting up an alternative model to Turner's and, hence, to the one found in the Upanishads. At the same time he is aware of the fact that by doing so, by contesting the CEIS model, he is reinforcing his reader's understanding of the TBIS. And since he is writing in Euskera, Patziku knows that his interlocutor is already aware that *zuria* in Euskera carries a very different and somewhat negative charge. Therefore, Patziku has no need to overtly mentions that *zuria* doesn't automatically trigger the interlocking metaphoric chain of values associated with the white set of the

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[29] Those interested in this topic are invited to visit the Forum for Basque Critical Studies, one of the Affiliate Groups of the Institute of Basque Studies at: <http://txoko.econ.surrey.ac.uk/forum.htm>.

CEIS.[30] Rather, by introducing subtle linguistic clues, his discourse takes on a slightly ironic tone. In the process it highlights the dialogue being set up with the Euskaldun reader who is portrayed, therefore, as having access to two different metaphoric codes but whose identity is firmly grounded in the TBIS.

In the narrative in question we find Perurena, in contrast to Lorde, refuting the validity of the CEIS model from the outside, not the inside. And in doing so he sets into motion a totally different model. Indeed, the *root metaphors* of the CEIS are brought into view one after another. In the process Perurena strips them of their sanctity, often with a ribald sense of humor that unfortunately is hard to capture in translation. The result is a self-reflexive text that suggests all sign systems are ideological and all ideologies possess semiotic value. In rewriting the discourse of Turner, the Upanishads and his friend Joseba, we find Patziku engaged not in a reterritorialization of the same map, nor in a reinscription of his discourse inside the boundaries of the same binary logic, using the same signifiying practices. Rather we find him taking part in a nuanced, multileveled and highly dialogic speech act. Its parodic capacity is based on the recognition and understanding of the alleged authoritative nature of the CEIS: it recognizes the other. And in doing so it reveals the inner workings of the CEIS construct. In the end the CEIS model is totally reframed. This is done by offering a means for transforming its geometry, reworking its vertical axis and hierarchical structure as well as its anthropocentric, rather than ecocentric perspective. And at the same time the transformative nature of Perurena's discourse highlights the fact that the metaphoric understandings being manipulated are the authentic ones, those that undergird the TBIS and, hence, the frames of Basque identity and self-representation.

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[30] The values system associated with the black/white dichotomy of the CEIS can be contrasted with that of other cultures, e.g., the categories of the Hanunóo where "black" is glossed as that which is "dark, deep, unfading, indelible" in contrast to "white" which is viewed as "light, pale, weak, faded or bleached" (cf. Conklin 1964 [1955]: 190 and Lucy 1997:322-326).

In addition, Patziku's text brings to our attention the manner in which colors can act as archival sites for interpretive habits. For instance, with a flourish characteristic of contemporary *bertsolari* bards, often after a hard fought singing contest, the image Patziku has been painting finally comes into full view. As is typical of *bertsolari* oral style, the full force of the metaphor must be kept hidden from view until the very last moment in the performance, in what is a self-consciously dialogic encounter between the poet-singer and his/her audience. If, at that precise instant when the singer is about to sing the last line of the poem, the audience also realizes precisely what words are needed to complete the song and, therefore, to bring the metaphor to closure, that is, just seconds before the singer has uttered them, then the poet's performance is considered particularly successful. That way the final phrase, sung in unison by both the poet and his/her interlocutors, is concrete affirmation of the dialogic nature of the event: that both parties have been active participants in the creative act. That final flourish requires the speaker to be confident of his/her communicative abilities as well as of the interpretive skills of the members of the audience. Thus, at the end of Patziku's performance, we find the CEIS construct transformed, no longer hierarchical in nature, but rather heterarchical and, more remarkably, painted with a color whose complex symbolism could only be understood by an insider, by someone familiar with the TBIS.

> I, on the other hand, would like to point out a few things about the conclusions my friend Joseba finally arrived at using those ancient books of the *Upanishads*. First, though, let's clear the air of that smell of Eastern mysticism and bring the terms of the argument back down to a more earth-bound naturalism. Not only the food we swallow but also the nourishment ingested by every living being, however minimal, always leaves behind some residue or *excrement*. There you have your color **black**. On the other hand, food turns into *blood* to give strength to the living body. There you have your color **red**. And the supreme level of that living body is its *seed*, the first principle in the renewal of life, of the marrow of life. There you have your color **white**. And then having brought them into fullness, wholeness, with no need for any upward-seeking hierarchical spirit or world-negating mysticism, we discover the three chief colors making up life's ring, a circle without end. Why? Because the color **black**,

excrement, will act to fertilize, and **white**, capable of becoming flesh, will continue along its path converting itself into *blood*, consuming and strengthening the color **red**, and thus *in saecula saeculorum*: the endless round of mutually beneficial encounters of three colors bringing into being the blue ring of life. (1992: 173).[31]

In the Euskeric version of the text the word *urdina* which we have translated very roughly as "blue" in English, is actually the very last one uttered. Its strategic placement underlines its key importance to the rest of the text and the fact that in doing this Patziku is imitating the highly respected oral style of *bertsolaritza* (Alford 1959; Aulestia 1995; Frank 1989). Since the complex meanings of this color in Euskera do not show through in anyway in the English translation, we shall cite several lines that appear in the previous chapter of Perurena's own book, a chapter dedicated to exploring the semantic field of the color *urdina* in Euskera. The section in question is one the reader would have just read minutes before starting the next chapter where the quotation we have just discussed appears. Stated differently, when the reader encounters the strategic placement of *urdina* in the text above, s/he recognizes that Perurena is quoting himself: that the text is self-referential. Perurena expects the reader to remember what he has just said a few pages earlier.

Speaking of the color *urdina* he says: "It's always in the maybe-maybe, betwixt and between place [referring to]: not young not really old; not white not black... not entirely dirty not entirely clean..." (*Duda mudako lekutan da beti: ez gazte ez txoil zahartu... ez zuri ez beltz... ez txoil zikin ez txoil garbi...)* (Perurena 1992: 168). By organizing the last sentence of his text so that it ends smartly on the word *urdina*, Patziku

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[31] "Nik, ekialdeko mistizismo kutsua kendu eta begibistako naturalismo lurtarrago bihurtuz, honelatsu zehaztuko nituzke Joseba adiskideak azkenean *Upanishad* delako liburu zahar horietatik ateratzen dituen ondorioak. Guk irensten dugun janaria ezezik munduko edozein izaki bizidunak bereganatzen duen elikaduraren alderdirik eskasena beti hondakin edo *gorotz* bihurtzen da, horra hor kolore **beltza**; beste alderdia *odol* bihurtzen da, gorputz bizidunari indar emateko, horra hor kolore **gorria**; eta gorputz bizidun horren mailarik gorena, bere *hazia*, bizi berritartako lehengaia, bizimuina , horra hor kolore **zuria**. Eta hara osatu, inolako izpiritu goitarrik eta mistizismorik gabe, bizitzaren eraztuna isten duten hiru kolore nagusien zirkulu etenik gabea. Zeren, gero kolore **zuria**, *hazia*, kolore **beltzak**, *gorotzak* ongarrituko baitu, eta *hazia* gizendu ahalean *odol* bihurtzen joanen baita, kolore **gorria** bereganatuz eta indartuz, eta horrela *in saecula saeculorum*: hiru koloreen elkar hornitze etengabeak osatuko du bizitzaren eraztun urdina" (Perurena 1992: 173).

introduces an insider joke, thumbing his nose at those silly Basques who might be prone

to operate, however, unconsciously, from within the narrow confines of the antithetical

polarities of the CEIS color-coding and associated interpretive habits, namely, those

people who might allow their cultural identity to be defined for them by such an

ideological matrix.[32] And in adding this final flourish, Patziku gently reminds Joseba and

his reader once again that there is more at stake here than meets the eye. When one

accepts white as transcendental spirituality, as pure essence, as disembodied, non-

material upward seeking of being, one enters a world typical of caste systems where there

is constant fear of defilement and pollution by lower beings. Indeed, in such caste

systems, we find that the opposition of pure and impure is fundamental to hierarchy

(Dumont 1961: 34), while there are sanctions against inequality in a clan situation

(Titiev 1942).

Thus, the transformative betwixt and between nature of "the blue ring of life"

draws attention to a specific ordering of the "created cosmos", one characterized by

cyclical motion, relations of equality and in which complementarity and reciprocity are

emphasized. In addition, the inequality implicit in the power relations built into the CEIS

model as well as its obsessive fear of mingling, miscegenation and blends of all types, is

brought to the surface.[33] Moreover, at an ideal level, a caste system may be said to be

based on a principle of hierarchy or inequality whereas relationships between social

actors in a clan system are founded on a principle of equality. Following Bakhtin's lead,

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[32] At this point the reader's identity is obviously being interrogated by the text itself. There is no question that Perurena is playing with the semantic field of *urdina* by setting up a contrast between its meaning and those antithetical black/white oppositions typifying the CEIS pairs. What is less clear is whether he is also introducing another level of irony by his use of the phrase *inolako izpiritu goitarrik* that our translation renders as "any upward-seeking, hierarchical spirit." The difficulty arises because the field of referentiality of the term *goitarrik* could be interpreted at one level as "upward-seeking, hierarchal" as we have chosen to do, or at another as "someone or thing associated with on-high." Since *goitar* is a nickname for Castilians (cf. (Azkue 1969, I 356) Perurena's careful choice of words introduces a certain ambiguity into the text, a multivoicing or heteroglossia. The term has two referents, both of which are equally logical and applicable in this context for the ideological debate is over which set of root metaphors will end up determining the reader's sense of identity.

[33] Perhaps the best study to date concerning the psychological aspects of the Aryan myth, the most virulent form taken by the root metaphors of the CEIS, is that of Theweleit (1977-78, 1987-88).

the "created cosmos" of the first system, the CEIS, is vertically oriented and entirely

monologic: its White side doesn't admit, yet alone recognize the agency of the other, the

Black half of the equation. Rather it's grounded on an active/passive, agent/object mode

of action. In contrast, the second model, the TBIS, is reflexive and dialogic in nature. For

instance, in the performance pieces we mentioned earlier, it is the *interaction* between the

Beltzak and Gorriak that is fundamental. The parodic nature of the Beltzak (Blacks) is

dependent on their recognition of the presence and agency of the Gorriak (Reds), even

though the Gorriak do not reciprocate nor are they expected to. In this sense, the Gorriak

might be viewed as Bakhtin's single-voiced word which, in contrast to the double-voiced

word does not take into account another speaker's utterance but focuses solely on the

object of speech. It is seen as being monologic, irrefutable or as not brooking dispute.

Such an authoritative word is necessary for order. However, equally important is the

ability to reframe that order, to dissolve boundaries. Stated differently, the role assigned

to the Beltzak is crucial: the function of boundary-dissolution. They provide mechanisms

for an on-going state of self-transformation and reflexivity. Their nature is dialogical first

of all because they take cognizance of another's word either prior to or at the very

moment of its utterance. Thus, it is the task of the Beltzak to introduce a dimension of

reflexivity into the "serious" performance[34] and, in the process, bring to the fore

inconsistencies of meaning and referential ambiguities: dissolving the monologic

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[34] In Basque popular theater, i.e, in their version of the pan-European "good-luck visit" performance pieces, the Beltzak clearly play the role of ritual clowns. Their functions are very similar to those of the False Face healers of the Iroquois, the Heyokas of the Sioux and the Koyemshi clowns of the Zuni Pueblo (Time-Life Editors 1992: 142-147). Furthermore, the ritual confrontation of opposition and reconciliation orchestrated between the Capakobam and the Kachina "deity-figures" of the Hopi bring into play many of the same structures found in the Beltzak and Gorriak performances (Handelman 1981: 346-351). Fortunately, in recent years investigators, such as Handelman (1981) have finally broken free from the constraints of the CEIS in their analysis of the structural importance of these actors. Indeed anyone familiar with the trajectory of these studies will recognize that the explantory paradigms for ritual clowns runs roughly parallel to those utilized in anthropological linguistics (cf. Hieb 1972). In addition, in reference to alternative paradigms that might be used in the furture for comparative purposes, a closer look should be given to the color-coding of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois, their red-white divisions as well as to the red-white contrast of the Algonquians (red-black in the case of the Oklahoma Delaware). This is because it is this complementary set that their False Face healers, their sacred clowns, manipulate ritually in their ceremonies (Craver 1996; Frank 1998; Hewlett 1916a: 128, 1916b: 243-244; Speck 1945: 20-24) .

framing. They stand for all that is unstable, fluctuating, in-movement and in-transition.

Handelman has spoken at length on the central role of such ritual clowns: "therefore, the routine focus is not on the boundary itself but instead in the form and content of what lies on either side of it. The boundary is accepted as mater-of-fact --a constant that organizes, keeps, and compartmentalizes various elements in their proper place. But, if one's focus shifts to the constitution of the 'boundary' itself, to its internal organization, it becomes evident that boundaries are inherently paradoxical... The boundary itself is of a different property from that which is located on either side of it, because it is an amalgam of whatever adjoins it" (Handelman 1981: 340-341).[35] The boundary has a sense of being "in-between" or "in the middle" of what it separates and combines. In its organization Perurena's "blue ring of life", like that of the ritual-clown type, is in a state of oscillation marked by qualities of movement, fluidity, plasticity and transition. In short, its geometry and color-coding are far different from those of the CEIS.

Conclusion

In summary, the data brought forward in this study form part of a larger project dedicated to the recuperation of the metaphysics in what we allege was an earlier pan-European ecocentric cosmovision. Of particular interest to us has been the analysis of image schemata functioning in a set of contemporary folk performances encountered across much of Europe, most particularly the "good-luck visits" involving human actors

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[35] One of the unanswered questions is whether Euskera's typological status as clearly a "cookie-cutter" language, could be a factor in shaping these cognitive propensities focused on the "betwixt and between" and acts of boundary-dissolution. Cf. Levinson 1996:185; Lucy 1992: 73ff.; Watson 1990. Specifically we refer to the fact that Euskera is like Yucatec in that "[i]t is only by collocation with a numeral classifier or some other shape-discriminating phrase that .... nouns can come to designate countable entities. This thesis, carred to its logical extreme, would amount to the claim that all nominals in Yucatec [and Euskera] are essentially *mass* nouns and that the language makes no ontological commitment to *entities* as opposed to materials, essence or 'stuff' at all. In order to individuate entities, a numeral classifier or some predicate is required to impose individuation on the material, metaphorically in much the way that a cookie-cutter cuts up undifferentiated dough!" (Levinson 1992: 185). Hence, such languages deal with boundaries in a different way than do those predicated on preexistence or "given" status of spatio-temporal particulars. Therefore it might follow that for speakers of "cookie-cutter" languages the ontological ground of being is constitued in another fashion.

dressed as bears who function as healers, bringers of good heath, along with other performers with a similar function, dressed in black.[36] The present document has discussed some of our results and hopefully made clear the reasons for which we argue that the TBIS found in Euskera should not be understood as an isolated survival, but rather as perhaps the best preserved exemplar of the metaphysical foundations and *root metaphors* embedded in this earlier, yet still recoverable, European cosmovision.

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[36] Materials used for the bear actor's costume have included animal furs, sheepskins, dog pelts, colorful strips of cloth as well as moss and/or leaves while the actors, sometimes called "men of the forest" --as were bears themselves-- are identified also as "wild-men" or *basa-jaunak* (cf. Bartra 1994; Giroux 1984; Truffaut 1988; Urbeltz 1994).

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