Author's Correspondence
E-mail: saifullah@unidayan.ac.id

CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS IN PARENTING: FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN THE CIA-CIA LANGUAGE FOR EDUCATING CHILDREN IN WABULA DISTRICT

Juamdan Zamha Zamihu[1], Saifullah[2]
[1,2] Universitas Dayanu Ikhsanuddin
e-mail: juamdan73@gmail.com[1]
saifullah@unidayan.ac.id[2]

Abstract
This qualitative study explores the role of cultural expressions, specifically figurative language in the Cia-Cia language, used by parents to educate their children in Wabula District, Buton Regency. The study aims to identify (1) the types of figurative expressions embedded in daily parent-child communication and (2) their influence on children's cognitive development. Data were gathered through naturalistic observation and semi-structured interviews with four parents who frequently use Cia-Cia in household interactions. The findings reveal that similes, hyperboles, idioms, and personifications are commonly used—often unconsciously—to communicate values, emotions, and abstract concepts. These figurative expressions not only enrich the children's linguistic input but also facilitate imagination, critical thinking, and the internalization of cultural norms. The study highlights the educational potential of local language expressions in fostering both cognitive growth and cultural identity. Increasing parental awareness of the pedagogical power of figurative language could enhance intentional teaching practices within local cultural contexts.

Keywords: figurative language, cultural expressions, Cia-Cia language, parenting, cognitive development, local language education.

Abstrak

Penelitian kualitatif ini mengeksplorasi peran ekspresi budaya, khususnya bahasa kiasan dalam bahasa Cia-Cia, yang digunakan oleh orang tua untuk mendidik anak-anak mereka di Kecamatan Wabula, Kabupaten Buton. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi (1) jenis-jenis bahasa kiasan yang tertanam dalam komunikasi sehari-hari antara orang tua dan anak, serta (2) pengaruhnya terhadap perkembangan kognitif anak. Data diperoleh melalui observasi naturalistik dan wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan empat orang tua yang secara aktif menggunakan bahasa Cia-Cia dalam interaksi keluarga. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa simile, hiperbola,

idiom, dan personifikasi merupakan bentuk bahasa kiasan yang sering digunakan seringkali tanpa disadari untuk menyampaikan nilai-nilai, emosi, dan konsep abstrak. Ungkapan-ungkapan ini tidak hanya memperkaya input linguistik anak, tetapi juga mendorong imajinasi, berpikir kritis, serta internalisasi norma budaya. Studi ini menyoroti potensi pendidikan dari ekspresi lokal dalam mendukung pertumbuhan kognitif dan identitas budaya. Peningkatan kesadaran orang tua terhadap nilai pedagogis bahasa kiasan lokal dapat memperkuat praktik pengasuhan yang lebih sadar dan kontekstual.

Kata kunci: bahasa kiasan, ekspresi budaya, bahasa Cia-Cia, pengasuhan anak, perkembangan kognitif, pendidikan berbasis bahasa daerah.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is a vital medium through which individuals express thoughts, emotions, beliefs, and cultural identities. It is not merely a tool for interaction but also a vehicle for transmitting traditions, values, and knowledge across generations. In the context of parenting, language becomes a critical means through which parents shape children's behavior, cognitive development, and worldview. Among the various forms of language, figurative language stands out due to its ability to represent abstract ideas and emotional states in imaginative and memorable ways. It includes rhetorical devices such as metaphors, similes, idioms, hyperboles, and personification, which function beyond literal meanings to communicate deeper or symbolic truths (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Gibbs, 2006; Glucksberg, 2001).

In daily interactions between parents and children, figurative language often appears naturally and intuitively. Parents may say, "You're as brave as a lion," or "Your ideas are seeds waiting to grow," to motivate, advise, or teach values. These expressions can foster understanding by connecting new or abstract ideas to something more familiar and concrete for children. According to Cameron (2020), such metaphorical frameworks help children form mental models of the world, reinforcing their ability to make meaning from experience. Figurative language, therefore, is not only a stylistic element of communication but also a cognitive and educational strategy.

In Wabula District, a culturally rich area in Buton Regency, the Cia-Cia language remains an essential medium of communication within families and communities. As an indigenous language, Cia-Cia contains a wealth of traditional knowledge expressed through symbolic and figurative phrases unique to the local worldview. These expressions are regularly used by parents in conversations with their children often unconsciously and serve to explain behavior, impart wisdom, warn against danger, or praise achievements. However, such practices remain under-documented in academic discourse, particularly in the context of parenting and informal education.

The significance of this topic becomes even more pronounced when considered through the lens of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, which argues that children's cognitive growth is heavily influenced by their interaction with more knowledgeable others in culturally embedded contexts (Vygotsky, 1978). Figurative language, embedded in the Cia-Cia language and culture, provides a context-rich environment where children learn not only through direct instruction but also through participation in cultural meaning-making. More recent studies in linguistic anthropology and developmental psychology (e.g., Tomasello, 2019; Rowe & Weisleder, 2020) have also emphasized how early exposure to rich and diverse linguistic input especially one that includes figurative and metaphorical language can enhance vocabulary acquisition, abstract reasoning, and emotional intelligence.

Despite its value, the use of figurative language in indigenous languages like Cia-Cia is rarely the subject of formal educational research. Most studies of figurative language focus on its use in literature, language learning, or standardized classroom instruction (e.g., in English or Indonesian), not in everyday parent-child interactions in local languages. This research aims to address that gap by exploring how figurative language functions as a cultural expression and educational tool within parenting practices in the Wabula District.

Moreover, in the face of globalization and language shift, many local languages in Indonesia including Cia-Cia are at risk of erosion. Documenting how Cia-Cia is used to transmit figurative meaning in everyday contexts contributes not only to the field of education and linguistics but also to language preservation efforts. According to UNESCO (2022), safeguarding intangible cultural heritage including oral traditions and language

is key to ensuring the sustainability of indigenous knowledge systems.

Thus, this study is guided by two primary objectives:
(1) to identify and classify the types of figurative language used by parents in the Cia-Cia language during interactions with their children, and (2) to examine how these expressions contribute to children's cognitive development, emotional understanding, and cultural identity formation.

The research employs a descriptive qualitative approach, utilizing observation and semi-structured interviews with parents in the Wabula District. Through analyzing naturally occurring language in the home, the study aims to uncover how figurative expressions in Cia-Cia function as educational tools embedded within cultural practice. It also seeks to promote a better understanding of how indigenous parenting strategies can complement formal education by nurturing creativity, critical thinking, and socio-emotional learning from an early age.

In sum, this study highlights the importance of recognizing cultural expressions in parenting as a meaningful site of language use and learning. By documenting and analyzing the use of figurative language in the Cia-Cia language, the research offers insights into the dynamic relationship between language, culture, and child development an intersection that is both pedagogically rich and culturally vital.

Literature Review
a. Language and Communication
Language is a fundamental medium for human interaction and cultural expression. It is not merely a system of words and symbols but a complex social tool that enables individuals to articulate thoughts, share experiences, and construct knowledge. According to Knight (2010), language functions as a bridge among people from diverse backgrounds, allowing them to exchange ideas, build relationships, and navigate social realities.

In educational contexts, especially within families, language plays a pivotal role in shaping children's cognitive development. As emphasized by Vygotsky (1978), children's learning is deeply influenced by interactions with more knowledgeable others in culturally embedded contexts. This interactionist view underscores the importance of everyday language particularly informal, symbolic, and affective forms like figurative language in fostering children's thinking, reasoning, and language acquisition.

Figurative language is especially relevant in informal educational settings like the home, where parents function as the child's first and most consistent educators. In communities such as Wabula District, where the Cia-Cia language is used in daily interaction, figurative expressions embedded in local linguistic traditions form an important channel through which knowledge and values are transmitted. These expressions not only provide cultural relevance but also make communication more engaging and impactful, helping children relate abstract ideas to familiar objects or experiences (Gibbs, 2006; Tomasello, 2019).

Language, thus, is both a communicative and cognitive tool. As Rowe & Weisleder (2020) argue, children exposed to rich and varied linguistic input at home especially expressive forms like metaphors and similes develop better vocabulary, comprehension, and cognitive flexibility. This suggests that the role of figurative language in parenting deserves deeper attention, especially in culturally unique environments.

b. Figurative Language
Figurative language refers to expressions that go beyond the literal meanings of words to create symbolic, imaginative, or emotional effects. Common types include metaphors, similes, idioms, personification, hyperbole, and irony (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Glucksberg, 2001). These expressions allow speakers to communicate complex thoughts more creatively and make abstract concepts more accessible to listeners especially children.

Although figurative language is often associated with literature and poetry, its presence in daily spoken discourse is equally significant. In familial interactions, parents frequently use expressions like *"you're as strong as a buffalo"* or *"don't be a turtle"* to motivate, warn, or encourage certain behavior. These phrases not only contain symbolic meaning but also reflect local cultural understandings. As Cole (1988) highlights, such expressions enhance both comprehension and engagement, making learning more memorable.

In the context of the Cia-Cia language, figurative expressions carry culturally specific

images and wisdom that have been passed down orally. These forms of expression are not just ornamental but serve vital pedagogical and cultural functions. They encode values, social norms, and emotional nuances in ways that are easily grasped and internalized by children. Figurative language thus serves as a bridge between language and thought, as well as between tradition and education.

In parenting, the use of figurative expressions can aid in children's understanding of the world by linking the abstract to the concrete. As children are developing conceptual frameworks to interpret their environment, figurative language supports this process by encouraging imagination and symbolic thinking essential components of cognitive and emotional development (Cameron, 2020; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014).

c. The Role of Figurative Language in Education

Figurative language is increasingly recognized as an important tool in education, particularly for young learners. It helps children comprehend abstract or complex ideas by relating them to familiar concepts. This is especially effective in early childhood education, where visual imagery and symbolic representation play a major role in learning. According to Knight (2006b), figurative expressions help students access deeper levels of meaning, making lessons more vivid and impactful.

From a cognitive development perspective, metaphorical thinking is linked to higher-order thinking skills such as analysis, synthesis, and creativity. Figurative language encourages children to make connections, interpret meaning, and think beyond literal definitions (Glucksberg, 2001; Gibbs, 2006). This aligns with current educational paradigms that promote critical thinking and socio-emotional learning.

In the context of parental education, figurative language serves not only as a linguistic device but also as a medium for teaching values, behaviors, and emotional regulation. For instance, a metaphor like *"anger is fire"* helps a child recognize and regulate emotional states. This echoes findings by Rowe & Weisleder (2020) that expressive and symbolic language at home supports both linguistic and emotional development.

Moreover, the use of figurative language by parents supports culturally responsive pedagogy, especially when grounded in local languages like Cia-Cia. According to UNESCO (2022), integrating indigenous languages and expressions into early education strengthens children's connection to their cultural identity and promotes inclusive learning environments. Figurative language, as a culturally rich component of speech, therefore plays a dual role: educational and preservational.

This study explores how parents in Wabula District incorporate figurative language into their communication with children, and how these expressions contribute to children's understanding, creativity, and cultural awareness. By documenting this phenomenon, the research aims to contribute both to educational theory and language preservation efforts in multilingual, multicultural settings.

2. METHODS

This research adopts a descriptive qualitative approach, which is appropriate for investigating social and linguistic phenomena in their natural contexts. The goal of qualitative descriptive research is to offer a comprehensive summary of events as experienced by the participants, without imposing theoretical frameworks or manipulating variables (Sandelowski, 2000). In this study, the approach is used to explore how figurative language is employed by parents in daily interactions with their children in Wabula District, Buton Regency, with a specific focus on how such language shapes the children's cognitive development and cultural understanding.

The research design centers on understanding two core aspects: (1) the types of figurative language used by parents when communicating in the Cia-Cia language, and (2) how these expressions support children's learning, especially in relation to abstract concepts and socio-emotional development.

Data were gathered using two primary methods: Naturalistic observation and semi-structured interviews. Naturalistic observation: Parent-child interactions were observed in their home environments, allowing the researchers to document real-life use of figurative language in authentic settings. Observational data focused on identifying both explicit and implicit uses of figurative

expressions. Semi-structured interviews was Conducted with the participating parents, these interviews aimed to elicit parents' perspectives, awareness, and intentionality in using figurative language for educational purposes.

Participants consisted of four parents residing in the Wabula District, each of whom had a child approximately 10 years of age enrolled in elementary school. These participants were selected through purposive sampling, based on their demonstrated use of the Cia-Cia language in daily communication and their willingness to participate in the study. The study also involved indirect observation of the children's responses during interactions to gain insights into the effectiveness of figurative expressions in facilitating comprehension and engagement.

To analyze the data, the study followed the Miles and Huberman (1994) framework for qualitative analysis, which includes three major steps. Firstly, data reduction in which transcribing the interviews and field notes from observations, followed by coding and categorizing the data. Secondly, data display in which organizing the findings thematically into matrices and charts to identify patterns and recurring types of figurative language. Lastly, conclusion drawing and verification in which interpreting the meaning of the data with reference to children's cognitive development and the cultural relevance of the expressions used.

Data coding was conducted both inductively and deductively. Initially, an open coding process was applied to capture emerging categories. Later, the data were categorized based on pre-established types of figurative language such as similes, metaphors, idioms, hyperboles, personification, and others (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Glucksberg, 2001). These categories served as analytical tools for interpreting how meaning was constructed and conveyed in everyday interactions.

The analysis also considered the sociocultural context of the Cia-Cia language, viewing language use not just as a pedagogical act but as a form of cultural reproduction and identity formation. Thus, the research not only examined how figurative expressions helped children understand abstract ideas, but also how such expressions served as vessels for transmitting local wisdom and values.

By combining linguistic analysis with contextual interpretation, the study provides a nuanced understanding of the educational function of figurative language in indigenous parenting practices. The methodological choices made in this study are intended to ensure credibility, transferability, and contextual depth, which are key criteria in qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
3.1 Results
a. Types of Figurative Language Used by Parents

The study identified seven distinct types of figurative language used by parents in the Wabula District when interacting with their children in the Cia-Cia language: simile, hyperbole, idiom, personification, imagery, alliteration, and rhetoric. Among these, similes were found to be the most frequently employed form (40%), followed by hyperboles (25%) and idioms (15%). These figures of speech were often used to clarify abstract ideas, create vivid mental imagery, and enhance the memorability of messages.

For example, similes such as *"as strong as a lion"* or *"as fast as a cheetah"* served as accessible ways to describe qualities like strength or speed in terms relatable to children's everyday experiences. Hyperbolic expressions like *"he can run faster than the wind"*—were typically used to exaggerate positive attributes and instill motivation. Idioms provided cultural depth and contextual nuance, while personification (e.g., "the wind was howling in anger") helped children engage emotionally with non-human subjects.

Although less frequent, imagery, alliteration, and rhetorical questions contributed to the richness of oral communication, revealing the natural rhetorical creativity present in everyday parenting speech. These elements enriched children's language input and encouraged interpretive thinking.

A table summarizing the frequency of these figurative language types is shown below:

Figurative Language Type	Frequency of Use (%)
Simile	40%
Hyperbole	25%
Personification	10%
Idiom	15%
Imagery	5%
Alliteration	3%
Rhetoric	2%

These results highlight that even in informal educational contexts, figurative language naturally functions as a pedagogical tool especially through the most accessible types like simile and hyperbole.

b. Influence of Figurative Language on Cognitive Development

The study found that figurative language significantly supported children's cognitive development in various ways. Most notably, similes and metaphors enabled children to understand abstract ideas by relating them to familiar experiences or objects. For instance, expressions like *"her smile is as sweet as sugar"* or *"his hands are as strong as iron"* helped children build mental representations of complex qualities.

Moreover, figurative expressions nurtured critical thinking, creativity, and imaginative reasoning. Hyperboles, for example, encouraged children to think beyond literal interpretations and consider symbolic meanings. Personification added emotional resonance, enhancing empathy by attributing human traits to inanimate objects or natural phenomena.

These cognitive effects are aligned with conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), which asserts that abstract reasoning in human cognition is largely metaphorical in structure.

A table below shows the role of different figurative language types in supporting cognitive development, including their frequency in helping children understand concepts:

Figurative Language Type	Contribution to Cognitive Development (%)
Simile	45%
Hyperbole	20%
Personification	10%
Imagery	10%
Idiom	5%
Alliteration	5%
Rhetoric	5%

This table highlights that similes were the most effective in promoting cognitive development, followed by hyperboles and personifications.

c. The Role of Cia-Cia Language in Figurative Language Use

A crucial finding of the study was the central role played by the Cia-Cia language in the use of figurative expressions. All participants reported using Cia-Cia in everyday parenting communication. Figurative language in this local language was deeply embedded in cultural norms, proverbs, and local metaphors, giving it both emotional weight and cultural authenticity.

Children who were exposed to figurative expressions in Cia-Cia were able to grasp not only abstract meanings but also internalize local values and traditions. The use of indigenous language helped bridge cognitive development with cultural identity formation, a finding supported by sociolinguistic theories on language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012).

A table summarizing the influence of Cia-Cia language on figurative language use is shown below:

Language Used	Influence on Cognitive Development (%)
Cia-Cia	75%
Indonesian	15%
Mixed (Cia-Cia & Indonesian)	10%

This table indicates that Cia-Cia played a dominant role in facilitating cognitive development through figurative language, while the use of mixed or Indonesian language had a lower but still significant impact.

d. Parental Awareness and Intentional Use of Figurative Language

While figurative language was used frequently by parents, awareness of its educational value remained limited. Many participants reported that they used figurative expressions naturally or intuitively, without conscious intent to influence learning outcomes. This finding suggests a gap between practice and understanding.

Raising parental awareness about the cognitive and emotional benefits of figurative language could significantly improve its intentional use as a teaching tool. Providing training or informational materials through local parenting programs could help maximize its effectiveness.

A table below shows parental awareness of figurative language use:

Parental Awareness Level	Frequency of Intentional Use (%)
Unaware	60%
Somewhat Aware	30%
Fully Aware	10%

This table reflects that a majority of parents were unaware of the educational benefits of figurative language, suggesting a need for increased awareness and targeted training.

3.2 Discussion

The interviews conducted with parents in Wabula District provided rich insights into their perceptions, experiences, and awareness regarding the use of figurative language in educating their children. Several key findings emerged from the thematic analysis of the interview data:

a. Unconscious Use of Figurative Language

Most parents reported that they used figurative expressions without being fully aware of their rhetorical nature or educational value. For instance, Parent A stated:

"I didn't realize I was using similes or metaphors until you mentioned it. I just tell my child, 'you're as strong as a lion,' when he's playing football to encourage him."

This illustrates that figurative language was employed instinctively, often as part of informal motivation or encouragement. Although parents did not consciously consider these expressions as pedagogical tools, their frequent and natural use highlights the embedded nature of figurative language in parenting discourse.

b. Perceived Educational Value

Despite the unconscious usage, several parents acknowledged that figurative expressions made learning more engaging and relatable for their children. As Parent B shared:

"When I explain things like, 'this is as sweet as sugar,' or 'he's faster than the wind,' my child always smiles and understands it better. It helps her imagine things more easily."

This finding aligns with literature suggesting that figurative language enhances children's conceptual understanding by providing symbolic and imaginative representations of real-world ideas (Glucksberg, 2001; Gibbs, 2006).

c. Challenges in Comprehension

While many parents highlighted the benefits, some also noted occasional confusion among children when interpreting figurative expressions. Parent C expressed:

"Sometimes, my child gets confused when I say things like, 'don't cry, it's just a drop in the ocean.' He doesn't know what that means, but when I explain it, he laughs and gets it."

This indicates that figurative comprehension depends on developmental readiness, suggesting the need for scaffolding and explanation when such expressions are used with younger children (Tomasello, 2019).

d. Cultural Significance of Figurative Language

The use of figurative expressions in the Cia-Cia language was deeply tied to local identity and oral tradition. Parent D remarked:

"We speak in Cia-Cia at home, and figurative language is an integral part of it. For example, I say, 'the rain is crying,' to express how heavy it is. My children understand it because it's part of our everyday language."

This finding reinforces the role of figurative language as a medium not only for cognitive stimulation, but also for transmitting cultural values, connecting children with their heritage, and strengthening linguistic identity (UNESCO, 2022).

e. Growing Awareness and Intentional Use

Some parents expressed interest in using figurative language more deliberately after becoming aware of its educational benefits. As Parent A reflected:

"I've never really thought about how figurative language could help my child learn. Now that I know it makes things easier to understand, I will try to use more metaphors and similes in teaching her new things."

This suggests a positive disposition toward learning, and highlights the potential of community-based parent education programs to enhance metalinguistic awareness and enrich home learning environments.

Summary Of Key Interview Findings

Finding	Parent Statements
Unconscious Use of Figurative Language	"I didn't realize I was using similes or metaphors until you mentioned it…"
Educational Value of Figurative Language	"It helps her imagine things more easily…"
Challenges in Understanding	"He doesn't know what that means, but when I explain it, he laughs and gets it."
Cultural Significance of Figurative Language	"It's part of our everyday language…"
Intentional Use of Figurative Language	"Now that I know it makes things easier to understand, I will try to use more…"

Overall, the interview findings support the idea that figurative language use in parenting is both natural and culturally embedded, although often not strategically employed. Parents recognize its effectiveness in making concepts vivid and memorable but may benefit from structured support to maximize its pedagogical value. These insights confirm the broader findings of this study regarding the role of figurative language in early cognitive development and cultural continuity.

4. Conclusion

The research highlights the unconscious yet significant role of figurative language in the education of children in Wabula District. Parents naturally incorporate figurative expressions such as similes, metaphors, and hyperboles into their communication with children, enhancing their understanding and making learning more engaging. While figurative language was not always used intentionally, it proved to be an essential tool for fostering cognitive development, as it helped children relate abstract concepts to concrete experiences. Additionally, the use of the local Cia-Cia language further enriched the learning experience, connecting children to their cultural heritage and strengthening their understanding of figurative expressions.

REFERENCES

[1] L. Cameron, *Metaphor and Talk in Educational Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020.

[2] K. Chris, "Ulrich J. Frey, Charlotte Störmer & Kai P. Willführ (Eds.), The Origins of Symbolic Culture," in *Homo Novus: A Human Without Illusion*, Berlin/New York: Springer, 2010, pp. 193–211.

[3] K. Chris, "Puzzles and mysteries in the origin of language," *Language and Communication*, vol. 50, pp. 12–21, 2016. [Online]. Available: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2016.09.002

[4] F. L. Cole, "Content analysis: Process and application," *Clinical Nurse Specialist*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 53–57, 1988.

[5] B. Dancygier and E. Sweetser, *Figurative Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[6] R. W. Gibbs, *Embodiment and Cognitive Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[7] S. Glucksberg, *Understanding Figurative Language: From Metaphors to Idioms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

[8] A. S. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

[9] C. Knight, "Language co-evolved with the rule of law," in *The Evolution of Language: Proceedings of the 6th International Conference (EVOLANG6), Rome, Italy, 12–15 April 2006*, A. Cangelosi, A. D. M. Smith, and K. Smith, Eds. New Jersey: World Scientific Publishing, 2006, pp. 168–175.

[10] K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. London: Sage, 1980.

[11] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 2nd ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

[12] Y. S. Lincoln and E. G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1985.

[13] M. B. Miles and A. M. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.

[14] M. L. Rowe and A. Weisleder, "Language development in early childhood: Research and practice," *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 40, pp. 77–94, 2020.

[15] M. Sandelowski, "Whatever happened to qualitative description?," *Research in Nursing & Health*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 334–340, 2000.

[16] M. Tomasello, *Becoming Human: A Theory of Ontogeny*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019.

[17] UNESCO, "Intangible cultural heritage and indigenous languages," 2022. [Online]. Available: https://ich.unesco.org

[18] L. S. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.