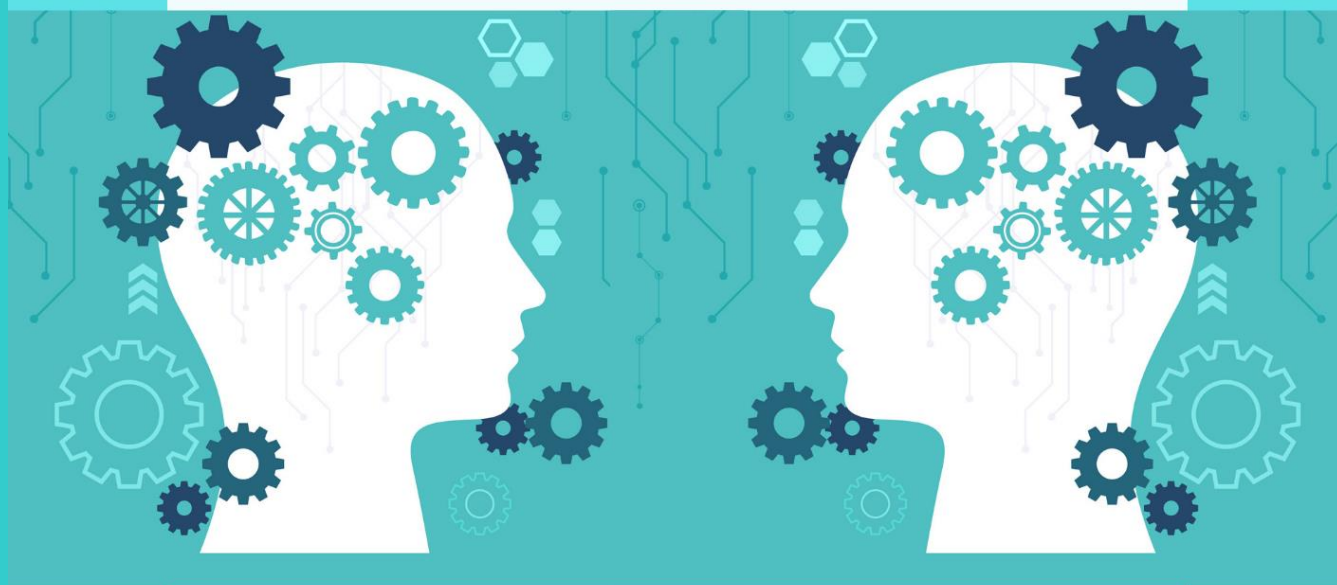


DOCTORAL
DISSERTATION

**"COOKING" IN THE MIND:
A FRAME-BASED
CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF
CULINARY METAPHORS IN
AMERICAN ENGLISH AND
PENINSULAR
SPANISH**



Presented by:
Montserrat Esbrí Blasco
Supervised by:
Dr. Ignasi Navarro i Ferrando



CASTELLÓ DE LA PLANA, APRIL 2020



Programa de Doctorado en Lenguas Aplicadas, Literatura y Traducción

Escuela de Doctorado de la Universitat Jaume I

**“COOKING” IN THE MIND:
A FRAME-BASED CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF
CULINARY METAPHORS IN AMERICAN ENGLISH AND
PENINSULAR SPANISH**

Memoria presentada por Montserrat Esbrí Blasco para optar al grado de
doctora por la Universitat Jaume I

Doctoranda: Montserrat Esbrí Blasco

Director: Ignasi Navarro i Ferrando

Castelló de la Plana, Abril 2020

Financiamiento recibido

- Beca predoctoral de la Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport de la Generalitat Valenciana (Programa VALi+D, ref. ACIF/2014/297).

To my family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“At times our own light goes out and is rekindled by a spark from another person. Each of us has cause to think with deep gratitude of those who have lighted the flame within us”.

Albert Schweitzer

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Ignasi Navarro. It has been a long and bumpy road but you have encouraged me to keep going all the way. Thank you for your patience, your invaluable insights and guidance but, most importantly, thank you for believing in me.

I also wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Bert Cornillie. Thank you for giving me the chance to do my research stay at KU Leuven (Belgium) and for all your valuable help, advice and guidance.

My gratitude is extended to the GReSCA research group. I am enormously proud of being part of this growing family. Thank you for your generous support and encouragement during the realization of my thesis. Special thanks to Prof. Dr. Carolina Girón. Thanks for sticking by my side through thick and thin. You have selflessly helped me out with your kind and wise words since day one.

Finally, thanks to my beloved family. Thank you for loving me through all my ups and downs and providing me with the necessary courage to go through the final stages of this project. And, above all, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Javi. My gratefulness to you is really beyond words. You are one of my greatest blessings.

Thank you for your love, your patience, your wholehearted support and, most important, thanks for making every breath count.

To all of you, thank you from the bottom of my heart.

ABSTRACT

The present study aims at identifying and contrasting metaphorical expressions and their underlying conceptual metaphors grounded in the COOKING domain in American English (AmE) and Peninsular Spanish (PenSp). To achieve this aim, this dissertation focuses on metaphors referred to by a fixed set of culinary actions in AmE and their PenSp equivalents, so as to study the range of target frames to which the selected culinary source frames are applied.

The selected culinary terms were search for in two online corpora: Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects. A frame-based metaphor identification procedure was applied in order to identify the metaphorical expressions and the particular FEs from the source frame that are emphasized and mapped onto other frames in each culture.

On the whole, the results of this dissertation show that the scope of metaphors evoked by the pairs of equivalent AmE and PenSp culinary terms does not exactly coincide in any of the pairs, as in some cases the experiential focus was placed on divergent core FEs, thus leading to divergent metaphors in AmE and PenSp. Furthermore, the mappings of the shared conceptual metaphors were identical in AmE and PenSp and the resulting metaphorical expressions strikingly similar in both languages. Finally, in most cases the relative frequency of usage of the culinary metaphors encountered was substantially divergent in AmE and PenSp, which allowed for the explanation and contrast of the cultural salience of each of the culinary frames examined in AmE and PenSp.

RESUMEN

El presente estudio tiene como objetivo identificar y contrastar expresiones metafóricas y sus metáforas conceptuales subyacentes basadas en el dominio de la COCINA en inglés americano (IngA) y español peninsular (EspP). Para alcanzar dicho objetivo, esta tesis se centra en metáforas evocadas por acciones culinarias en IngA y sus equivalentes en EspP, para de esta forma estudiar la variedad de marcos meta a los que los marcos fuente seleccionados se pueden proyectar conceptualmente.

Los términos culinarios seleccionados han sido buscados en dos corpus online: el Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) y el Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects. Se ha aplicado un procedimiento para la identificación de metáforas basado en marcos para identificar las expresiones metafóricas y los elementos específicos del marco fuente que cada cultura enfatiza y mapea conceptualmente a otros marcos.

En general, los resultados de esta tesis muestran que la variedad de metáforas evocadas por los pares de términos culinarios equivalentes en IngA y EspP no ha coincidido en ninguno de los pares, ya que en algunos casos el enfoque experiencial de cada cultura se centraba en diferentes elementos centrales de un marco, lo cual daba lugar a distintas metáforas en IngA y EspP. Además, los mapeos de las metáforas conceptuales compartidas han resultado ser idénticos en Ing A y EspP; y sus correspondientes expresiones metafóricas analizadas han sido considerablemente similares en ambas lenguas. Finalmente, en la mayoría de casos la frecuencia relativa de uso de las metáforas culinarias analizadas ha sido sustancialmente distinta en IngA y EspP, lo cual ha permitido explicar y contrasar la relevancia cultural de cada uno de los marcos culinarios examinados en IngA y EspP.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	I
Abstract	III
Resumen	IV
List of tables	XII
List of figures	XV
List of abbreviations	XVII

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation for this thesis	1
1.2 Objective and scope of the study	6
1.3 Research questions and hypotheses	8
1.4 Structure of the dissertation	11

CHAPTER 2. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory	16
2.2 Limitations of CMT	22
2.3 Generic-level metaphors	25
2.4 Summary of the chapter	28

CHAPTER 3. FRAMES APPLIED TO METAPHOR ANALYSIS

3.1 The conceptual system	32
3.1.1 Frames	35
3.1.2 Cognitive domains	39
3.1.3 Different scope and uses	40
3.2 The role of frames in analyzing metaphoric language	41
3.3 Summary of the chapter	45

CHAPTER 4. CROSS-LINGUISTIC METAPHOR VARIATION

4.1 Universality in metaphor	51
4.2 Dimensions of metaphor variation	53
4.2.1 Cross-cultural metaphor variation	53
4.2.2 Within-culture metaphor variation	55
4.3 Causes of metaphor variation	56
4.3.1 Differential experience	56
4.3.2 Differential cognitive preferences or styles	57
4.4 Cross-linguistic studies on culinary metaphors	59
4.5 Summary of the chapter	65

CHAPTER 5. METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION IN LANGUAGE

5.1 Lexical approach to metaphor	70
5.2 Corpus-linguistic approach to metaphor	72
5.3 Metaphor identification procedure (MIP)	75
5.4 Summary of the chapter	78

CHAPTER 6. METHODOLOGY

6.1 Source-domain oriented approach	84
6.2 Lexical items selection criteria	86
6.3 Corpora: COCA and Corpus del Español Web/Dialects	90
6.3.1 COCA	91
6.3.2 Corpus del Español Web/Dialects	95
6.4 Data retrieval	98
6.5 Metaphor analysis	102

CHAPTER 7. RESULTS

7.1 BAKING AND HORNEAR AS SOURCE FRAMES	111
7.1.1 BAKING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL	

HEAT	113
7.1.2 BAKING target frame 2 (TF2): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS	117
7.1.3 BAKING generic-level metaphor: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENT INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING	119
7.1.4 “Baking” idiom: “to be baked into the cake”	121
7.1.5 BAKING generic-level metaphor: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING	123
7.1.6 Other cases of BAKING (3 or fewer instances found)	124
7.1.7 HORNEAR generic-level metaphor: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING	124
7.1.8 Other cases of HORNEAR (3 or fewer instances found)	126
7.2 BOILING AND HERVIR AS SOURCE FRAMES	127
7.2.1 BOILING target frame 1 (TF1): ANGER	129
7.2.2 BOILING target frame 2 (TF2): SOCIAL AGITATION	131
7.2.3 BOILING target frame 3 (TF3): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	134
7.2.4 BOILING target frame 4 (TF4): BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY	136
7.2.5 BOILING target frame 5 (TF5): SKIN ABSCESS	138
7.2.6 BOILING target frame 6 (TF6): AGITATED CLOUDS	140
7.2.7 BOILING generic-level metaphor 1: REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION IS BOILING LIQUID DOWN	141
7.2.8 BOILING generic-level metaphor 2: EMERGING ELEMENTS ARE BUBBLES ORIGINATING FROM A BOILING POT	142
7.2.9 Other cases of BOILING (3 or fewer instances found)	144
7.2.10 HERVIR target frame 1 (TF1): ANGER	144
7.2.11 HERVIR target frame 2 (TF2): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	145

7.2.12 HERVIR target frame 3 (TF3): BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY	146
7.2.13 Other cases of HERVIR (3 or fewer instances found)	148
7.3 FRYING AND FREÍR AS SOURCE FRAMES	148
7.3.1 FRYING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	150
7.3.2 FRYING target frame 2 (TF2): EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE	153
7.3.3 FRYING target frame 3 (TF3): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON	155
7.3.4 FRYING target frame 4 (TF4): DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE	157
7.3.5 FRYING target frame 5 (TF5): SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION	160
7.3.6 “Frying” idiom: “to have bigger/other fish to fry”	162
7.3.7. Other cases of FRYING (3 or fewer instances found)	163
7.3.8 FREÍR target frame 1 (TF1): BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE	163
7.3.9 FREÍR target frame 2 (TF2): BECOMING DISTURBED	166
7.3.10 FREÍR target frame 3 (TF3): STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS	168
7.3.11 FREÍR target frame 4 (TF4): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	170
7.3.12 FREÍR target frame 5 (TF5): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON	172
7.3.13 FREÍR target frame 6 (TF6): DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE	173
7.3.14 “Freír” idiom: “a freír espárragos”	174
7.3.15 Other cases of FREÍR (3 or fewer instances found)	175
7.4 KNEADING AND AMASAR AS SOURCE FRAMES	175
7.4.1 KNEADING target frame 1 (TF1): MASSAGING SOMEONE	177
7.4.2 KNEADING target frame 2 (TF2): TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY	180
7.4.3 KNEADING target frame 3 (TF3): RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART	182
7.4.4 KNEADING target frame 4 (TF4): CAT PAWING	184

7.4.5 Other cases of KNEADING (3 or fewer instances found)	186
7.4.6 AMASAR target frame 1 (TF1): ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS	187
7.4.7 AMASAR target frame 2 (TF2): DRIBBLING THE BALL	190
7.4.8 AMASAR target frame 3 (TF3): CAT PAWING	192
7.4.9 AMASAR generic-level metaphor: AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS KNEADING	193
7.4.10 Other cases of AMASAR (3 or fewer instances found)	196
7.5 ROASTING AND ASAR AS SOURCE FRAMES	196
7.5.1 ROASTING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	198
7.5.2 ROASTING target frame 2 (TF2): CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING	200
7.5.3 ASAR target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	203
7.5.4 Other cases of ASAR (3 or fewer instances found)	204
7.6 STEWING AND GUI SAR AS SOURCE FRAMES	205
7.6.1 STEWING target frame 1 (TF1): BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED	206
7.6.2 STEWING target frame 2 (TF2): PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING	209
7.6.3 STEWING target frame 3 (TF3): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL	211
7.6.4 STEWING generic-level metaphor: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING	214
7.6.5 “Stewing” idiom: “to stew in one’s own juices”	215
7.6.6 Other cases of STEWING (3 or fewer instances found)	216
7.6.7 GUI SAR generic-level metaphor 1: DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS STEWING	216
7.6.8 GUI SAR generic-level metaphor 2: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING	218
7.6.9 “Guisar” idiom: “yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como”	219

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION

8.1 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ1	225
8.1.1 BAKING and HORNEAR TFs	226
8.1.2 BOILING and HERVIR TFs	228
8.1.3 FRYING and FREÍR TFs	229
8.1.4 KNEADING and AMASAR TFs	231
8.1.5 ROASTING and ASAR TFs	233
8.1.6 STEWING and ASAR TFs	234
8.2 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ2	236
8.2.1 Shared BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors	236
8.2.2 Shared BOILING and HERVIR metaphors	237
8.2.3 Shared FRYING and FREÍR metaphors	238
8.2.4 Shared KNEADING and AMASAR metaphors	239
8.2.5 Shared ROASTING and ASAR metaphors	240
8.2.6 Shared STEWING and GUI SAR metaphors	241
8.3 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ3	242
8.3.1 Frequency of BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors	242
8.3.2 Frequency of BOILING and HERVIR metaphors	244
8.3.3 Frequency of FRYING and FREÍR metaphors	248
8.3.4 Frequency of KNEADING and AMASAR metaphors	253
8.3.5 Frequency of ROASTING and ASAR metaphors	257
8.3.6 Frequency of STEWING and GUI SAR metaphors	259
8.4 SUMMARY OF THIS CHAPTER	267

CHAPTER 9. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

9.1 MAJOR FINDINGS	273
9.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY	277
9.3 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	279

CONCLUSIONES GENERALES	285
REFERENCES	298
APPENDIX	321

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Mappings of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Evans & Green, 2006, p.77)	17
Table 2. Literal frames and metaphorical senses of brilliant, sunny and bright	44
Table 3. Main features of COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English)	91
Table 4. Main features of Corpus del Español (Web/Dialects)	95
Table 5. Lexical units selected from the COOKING domain and their corresponding number of citations examined from COCA and Web/Dialects	99
Table 6. BAKING - HORNEAR as source frames	112
Table 7. BAKING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	114
Table 8. BAKING target frame 2 (TF2): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS	117
Table 9. BOILING - HERVIR as source frames	127
Table 10. BOILING target frame 1 (TF1): ANGER	129
Table 11. BOILING target frame 2 (TF2): SOCIAL AGITATION	131
Table 12. BOILING target frame 3 (TF3): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	134
Table 13. BOILING target frame 4 (TF4): BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY	137
Table 14. BOILING target frame 5 (TF5): SKIN ABSCESS	138
Table 15. BOILING target frame 6 (TF6): AGITATED CLOUDS	140
Table 16. FRYING - FREÍR as source frames	149
Table 17. FRYING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	151
Table 18. FRYING target frame 2 (TF2): EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE	153
Table 19. FRYING target frame 3 (TF3): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON	155

Table 20. FRYING target frame 4 (TF4): ELECTRICAL DEVICE	158
Table 21. FRYING target frame 5 (TF5): FEELING MENTAL EXHAUSTION	160
Table 22. FREÍR target frame 1 (TF1): BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE	164
Table 23. FREÍR target frame 2 (TF2): BECOMING DISTURBED	166
Table 24. FRYING target frame 3 (TF3): STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS	168
Table 25. KNEADING - AMASAR as source frames	176
Table 26. KNEADING target frame 1 (TF1): MASSAGING SOMEONE	177
Table 27. KNEADING target frame 2 (TF2): TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY ...	180
Table 28. KNEADING target frame 3 (TF3): RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART	182
Table 29. KNEADING target frame 4 (TF4): CAT PAWING	185
Table 30. AMASAR target frame 1 (TF1): ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS	187
Table 31. AMASAR target frame 2 (TF2): DRIBBLING THE BALL	190
Table 32. ROASTING - ASAR as source frames	197
Table 33. ROASTING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	198
Table 34. ROASTING target frame 2 (TF2): CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING	201
Table 35. STEWING - GUI SAR as source frames	205
Table 36. STEWING target frame 1 (TF1): BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED	207
Table 37. STEWING target frame 2 (TF2): PONDERING / REFLECTING ON SOMETHING	209
Table 38. STEWING target frame 3 (TF3): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL	212
Table 39. BAKING and HORNEAR TFs	226
Table 40. BOILING and HERVIR TFs	228

Table 41. FRYING and FREÍR TFs	229
Table 42. KNEADING and AMASAR TFs	231
Table 43. ROASTING and ASAR TFs	233
Table 44. STEWING and GUI SAR TFs	234
Table 45. Frequency of BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors	242
Table 46. Frequency of BOILING and HERVIR metaphors	245
Table 47. Frequency of FRYING and FREÍR metaphors	249
Table 48. Frequency of KNEADING and AMASAR metaphors	254
Table 49. Frequency of ROASTING and ASAR metaphors	257
Table 50. Frequency of STEWING and GUI SAR metaphors	259

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Possibilities related to RQ1 and RQ2	10
Figure 2. Relationship between semantic structure and conceptual structure	34
Figure 3. Interrelation between frames (and their corresponding frame elements), scripts (coherent sequences of frames) and cognitive domains	40
Figure 4. Different grammatical constructions with distinct pattern of metaphor evocation	43
Figure 5. The building of the experiential basis in a conceptual metaphor (Ibarretxe, 2013, p. 324)	58
Figure 6. Ranking of America’s Best Food Blogs, last updated 12 May, 2018	87
Figure 7. Some of the related words to ‘cook’ obtained from the “Explore Thesaurus” option	89
Figure 8. COCA list display	93
Figure 9. COCA display of all the word forms available together with their frequency	93
Figure 10. COCA samples with their immediate context, year, genre and source ...	94
Figure 11. COCA expanded context and detailed information on the source	94
Figure 12. Web/Dialects list display	96
Figure 13. Web/Dialects display of all the word forms available together with their frequency	97
Figure 14. Web/Dialects samples with their immediate context, year and source ...	98
Figure 15. Frame-based metaphor identification procedure (adapted from MIP procedure)	100

Figure 16. Relative frequency of BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors	243
Figure 17. Relative frequency of BOILING and HERVIR metaphors	246
Figure 18. Relative frequency of FRYING metaphors	250
Figure 19. Relative frequency of FREÍR metaphors	251
Figure 20. Relative frequency of FRYING and FREÍR metaphors	252
Figure 21. Relative frequency of KNEADING metaphors	255
Figure 22. Relative frequency of AMASAR metaphors	256
Figure 23. Relative frequency of ROASTING and ASAR metaphors	258
Figure 24. Relative frequency of STEWING metaphors	260
Figure 25. Relative frequency of GUI SAR metaphors	261
Figure 26. Relative frequency of metaphors evoked by AmE and PenSp lexical units	262
Figure 27. Lexical units evoking the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame	263
Figure 28. Lexical units evoking the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame	264
Figure 29. Lexical units evoking the INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMETNS INTO A WHOLE frame	265
Figure 30. Lexical units evoking the DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY frame	266
Figure 31. Lexical units evoking the ANGER frame	266

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AmE American English

CL Cognitive Linguistics

CMT Conceptual Metaphor Theory

COCA Corpus of Contemporary American English

CS Cognitive Semantics

EFL English as a Foreign Language

ELE Español como Lengua Extranjera

EspP Español Peninsular

FE(s) Frame Element(s)

FS Frame Semantics

IngA Inglés Americano

LU(s) Lexical Unit(s)

PenSp Peninsular Spanish

RQ Research Question

TF Target Frame

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THIS THESIS

1.2 OBJECTIVE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THIS THESIS

Metaphor is one of the fundamental cognitive phenomena that surface in language. Therefore, exploring linguistic metaphors is inextricably interwoven with the unfolding of how our conceptual system construes the external world.

In the past forty years, a considerable amount of studies in Cognitive Semantics (henceforth, CS) have thrust metaphor into the spotlight, highlighting its pervasiveness in everyday language.

Metaphors are motivated by embodied experience and the cultural context (Gibbs, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1982; Kövecses, 2015). The notion of embodiment in CS emphasizes the active role of the body in shaping our mind. The physiological properties of our human body actually ground and shape human cognition (Anderson, 2003; Gallagher, 2005; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 2012; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Varela et al., 1991; Yu 2015). Therefore, the nature of our sensorimotor apparatus affects and, at the same time, constrains our interaction and understanding

1. Introduction

of the word, and this is then reflected in the language we use. Hence, language does not reflect the world directly as it is but our human construal of it (our world view as we perceive it through the abilities of our human body).

Furthermore, culture also plays a pivotal role in metaphor conceptualization, inasmuch as human experiences with the world may be construed differently depending on the particular culture. As Yu (2015, p.227) states, “body and culture interact in the motivation, formation, and operation of human meaning, reasoning, and understanding in abstract domains as manifested in the use of language”. This idea does not entail that people in different cultural settings have different physiologies but they construe their own sensorimotor interactions with the world differently. Hence, the culture setting may not only affect our way of conceptualizing the world but it may be reflected at the linguistic level. As Geeraerts (2006, p.5) points out, “our body also possesses a given cultural identity, and our language may bring to light that identity”.

In this line, Mischler (2013) claims that cultural models have an important role in both the structure of conceptual metaphors and the creation of metaphorical expressions:

All speech communities develop systems of shared cultural knowledge, producing perspectives on fundamental conceptualizations that receive detailed specification in a particular language. The perspectives are organized systematically in a series of conceptual relations, termed cultural models. Speech communities and individual members of a community employ these models to interpret embodied experience and determine the meaning of an experience within the community.[...]Cultural models exist in all speech

1. Introduction

communities and are important for effective communication. (Mischler, 2013, p.8)

Consequently, each language represents a particular way of viewing the world through cultural models and it is this variability in construal of the same reality what motivates metaphor variation.

In this sense, conducting cross-linguistic studies of metaphors as the present one can help understand how users of each language conceptualize reality, revealing valuable clues on cognitive universality and cultural variation (Kövecses, 2005, 2015; Sharifian, 2011; Yu & Jia, 2016). Yu (2017, p.4) points out that “metaphorical expressions in language systematically manifest underlying conceptual metaphors as patterns of thought. Systematic studies of these linguistic expressions can help delineate patterns in conceptual systems”.

Furthermore, since metaphoric competence and language proficiency are closely intertwined (Gutiérrez-Pérez, 2019; Hashemian & Talebi Nezhad, 2013; Littlemore & Low, 2006; Low et al., 2010; Sabet & Tavakoli, 2016; Yin & Hong, 2004), the results of metaphor contrastive analyses can be of paramount importance to help language learners comprehend and become more aware of the patterns of conceptualization behind the metaphorical constructions of the studied language. Littlemore and Low (2006, p. 268) suggest that:

Metaphoric competence has in fact an important role to play in all areas of communicative competence. In other words, it can contribute centrally to grammatical competence, textual competence, illocutionary competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence. Metaphor is thus

1. Introduction

highly relevant to second language learning, teaching and testing, from the earliest to the most advanced stages of learning.

As a cognitive linguist and a language teacher myself, I cannot hide my concern on how metaphor is being treated in our current educational context. I personally believe teachers still do not give metaphoric competence its due weight in the language classroom. Coming to grips with the enthralling topic of metaphors from a cognitive-linguistic perspective may help develop metaphoric competence and, in turn, achieve a better command of the foreign language.

In view of all the aforementioned issues, I felt determined to do my bit in the field of CL and decided to delve deep into the world of metaphors, conducting a cross-linguistic corpus-based study of culinary metaphors in American English (AmE) and Peninsular Spanish (PenSp). I strongly believe that the present work can definitely contribute to shed more light on how to improve the understanding, learning and teaching of metaphors both in English and Spanish.

Why did the COOKING¹ domain get the nod for the study? First, because it is a complex domain of experience that particularly fascinates me. I am by no means a professional cook, but when it comes to learning new ways of preparing food, I am the first to book my seat. Second, because the act of “cooking” or “preparing” our food to be ingested is quite a salient domain of experience in our daily life, whichever culture we belong to. Strictly speaking, cooking refers to the act of preparing and heating food so that it is ready for consumption. However, nowadays the concept of cooking as we usually understand it in everyday conversation does not necessarily imply the act of applying heat. For instance, some people follow a fully-raw diet and even in this case

¹ In this work, the typographic convention adopted for frames and domains is SMALL CAPITALS.

1. Introduction

there is a wide range of terrific elaborate recipes they can prepare which do not include heating at all. Thus, we will regard the notion of cooking as the process of preparing food to be eaten, in general terms including diverse modalities no matter whether they require heat or not.

By being a culturally salient domain, as Deignan (2003) points out, the COOKING domain is likely to serve as input for metaphorical mappings. In fact, in studying the most common source domains, Kövecses uses the evidence provided by various metaphor dictionaries and metaphor lists, such as *the Master Metaphor List*, (Lakoff et al., 1991), together with Deignan's *Collins Cobuild English Guides 7: Metaphor* (1995), and points out that the COOKING domain is one of the most frequently used as a source domain of metaphors:

Cooking food as an activity has been with us ever since the beginnings of humanity. Cooking involves a complex process of several elements: an agent, recipe, ingredients, actions, and a product, just to mention the most important ones. The activity with its parts and the product serve as a deeply entrenched source domain. (Kövecses, 2010c, p.20)

The research data in this thesis are drawn from two corpora: Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects. Concerning the method utilized to identify metaphorical expressions, this thesis has adapted MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure, Pragglejaz Group, 2007) by integrating frames (Fillmore, 1982) as a semantic tool that helps to determine metaphoricity and to reveal the FEs involved in the conceptual mappings (see detailed description in section 6.4). The metaphors identified in AmE and PenSp have been analyzed and contrasted so as to reveal the main similarities and differences between the

1. Introduction

metaphorical patterns grounded in the COOKING domain in AmE and PenSp. In achieving this, the results of this work could be useful for developing more efficient teaching materials for EFL and ELE².

To conclude, the present section has introduced the main motivations for undertaking this cross-linguistic study on metaphors. The ensuing section presents the general objective of this work and defines its scope.

1.2 OBJECTIVE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of the present study is to identify and contrast metaphorical expressions and their corresponding conceptual metaphors grounded in the cognitive domain of COOKING in AmE and PenSp. The general aim of this work thus points at showing cultural divergences in terms of mappings based on differential experiential focus across cultures.

This study focuses on two out of the three dimensions³ of metaphor proposed by Steen (2008, 2011): the conceptual dimension, e.g. IDEAS ARE FOOD, and the linguistic dimension, that is, metaphorical expressions motivated by conceptual metaphors, e.g. “His idea was half-cooked”. In this regard, the present work focuses specifically on indirect metaphors⁴. The deliberateness of the metaphorical expressions found, though being a potential issue to tackle, is not addressed in this work, but it should definitely be considered in future research.

² See a more precise description of possible implications of the results of this study in chapter 9.

³ Steen asserts that there is a need to distinguish a third dimension of metaphor, apart from language and thought, which concerns communication (see Steen, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2015).

⁴ For the purpose of this dissertation, explicitly expressed comparisons linguistically manifested as similes, analogies and the like have been disregarded.

1. Introduction

Since COOKING is such a vast domain to analyze, this work focuses exclusively on culinary actions. Therefore, I only take into consideration verbs involved in the wide range of possible culinary frames.

As a contrastive study, two languages/cultures are compared. As the concept of culture is particularly complex, the definition of culture adopted for the purpose of this dissertation is:

We have a culture (be it small or large) when a group of people living in a social, historical, and physical environment make sense of their experiences in a more or less unified manner. This means, for example, that they understand what other people say, they identify objects and events in similar ways, they find or do not find behavior appropriate in certain situations, they create objects, texts, and discourses that other members of the group find meaningful, and so forth. (Kövecses, 2010b, p.740)

This study can be regarded as cross-linguistic, as it contrasts metaphors in two different languages; and cross-cultural, in that language is a fundamental part of every culture. However, although “cross-linguistic” and “cross-cultural” are often utilized interchangeably in contrastive studies, it is important to note the nuance of meaning between them. As Schmidt (2015, p.245-246) clarifies:

Since metaphor is closely related to culture, cross-linguistic research of metaphor is as a rule also cross-cultural, which implies a comparison of at least two different cultures. Nevertheless, we should be careful not to consider ‘cross-linguistic’ synonymous with ‘cross-cultural’. ‘Cross-cultural’ is a wider term which can equally refer to other areas of human behavior apart from language.

1. Introduction

Thus, this thesis contrasts the metaphorical expressions and their underlying conceptual metaphors identified in AmE and PnSp, showing the differences between the scope of the COOKING frames selected and the internal configuration of mappings between frames, as the core FEs involved in each metaphor are analyzed. Moreover, the frequency of usage of the metaphors found in AmE and PenSp is also addressed, which allows for determining the salience of the selected frames in each culture. Nevertheless, this dissertation does not tackle the syntactic structure of the linguistic metaphors identified.

On the whole, the originality of the present thesis boils down to two main aspects: (1) to the best of our knowledge, this work is the first contrastive study of metaphors that particularly focuses on culinary actions as the source of metaphors in AmE and PenSp; (2) this study proposes and applies a refined version of MIP that integrates frames as an essential semantic tool for identifying metaphors and the main FEs involved in metaphorical mappings.

In light of the aforesaid objective and scope of this work, the forthcoming section poses the research questions addressed in this thesis.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The aim of the present thesis is to identify, analyze and compare culinary metaphorical expressions and their underlying conceptual metaphors and mappings in two languages, namely AmE and PenSp. To achieve this aim, this study applies a refined version of MIP by introducing frames as a conceptual tool. In doing so, the frame-based metaphor identification method not only identifies linguistic metaphors but

1. Introduction

also mappings at the conceptual level. In this way, this dissertation contributes to broaden the knowledge on cross-linguistic metaphor variation, more specifically, on culinary actions as sources of metaphor conceptualization in AmE and PenSp.

Considering this aim, the following research questions and their corresponding hypotheses are outlined below:

Research Question 1 (RQ1): What are the target frames referred to in metaphorical expressions grounded in the COOKING frames selected in AmE and PenSp?

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Each of the LUs selected from the COOKING domain evokes a source frame that can map onto more than one target frame. The target frames onto which the cooking source frame will map, will not always coincide in AmE and PenSp. There will be target frames in Spanish which do not occur in English and viceversa, resulting in different conceptual metaphors and, thus, different linguistic realizations in each language.

Research Question 2 (RQ2): When the target frame coincides in the researched languages, does it entail that the metaphorical projections (mappings) and the resulting metaphorical expressions will be the same?

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Not necessarily, since AmE and PenSp may differ in their experiential focus, providing, therefore, different mappings and, consequently, non-equivalent metaphorical expressions.

Research Question 3 (RQ3): What metaphorical expressions are more frequently used in each of the researched languages, i.e. AmE and PenSp?

Hypothesis 3 (H3): In all cases, the conceptual metaphors which are linguistically more exploited in AmE will differ from the ones linguistically more exploited in PenSp.

1. Introduction

Even when the target frame coincides in both languages, a given metaphor might be culturally more relevant in one language than in the other language. Hence, the frequency of usage of a metaphor that exists in the two languages can unveil which of the two cultures gives more relevance to that metaphor. Figure 1 below summarizes the different possibilities related to RQ1 and RQ2:

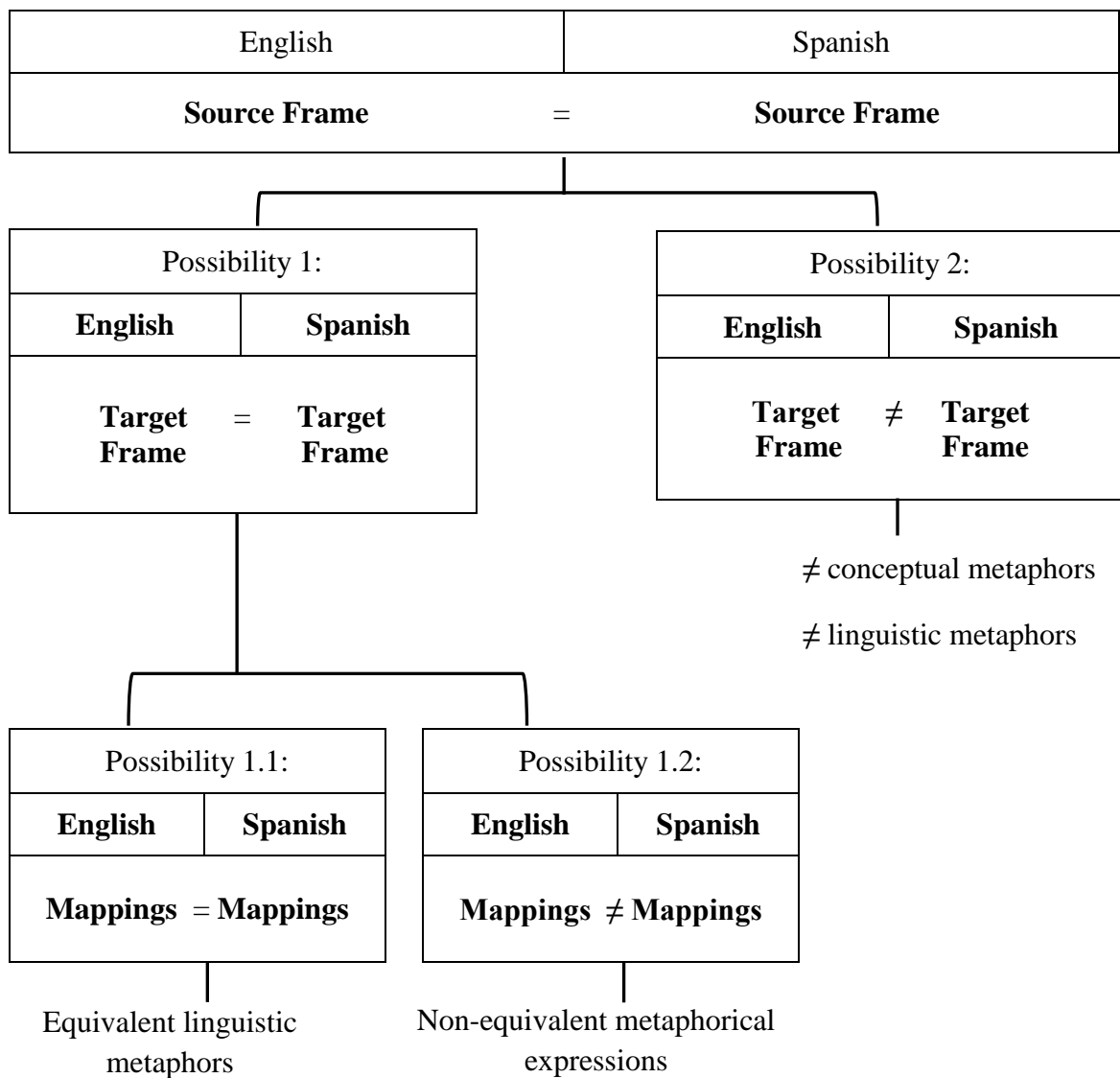


Figure 1. Possibilities related to RQ1 and RQ2

1. Introduction

As figure 1 shows, the same source frame in AmE and PenSp can map onto the same target frame (possibility 1) or a different target frame (possibility 2). The target frames which do not coincide in AmE and PenSp will lead to divergent linguistic and conceptual metaphors. The same source and target frame in AmE and PenSp can, in turn, result in the same mappings and metaphorical expressions (possibility 1.1) or different mappings and metaphorical expressions (possibility 1.2).

The answer to the research questions is mainly tackled in chapters 8 and 9. The following section offers an overall description of the structure of this dissertation.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The present dissertation is divided into the following chapters:

Chapter 1 presents the motivation for this thesis, followed by the objective and scope of the study and the outline of the research questions and their corresponding hypotheses.

The main theoretical tenets are introduced in *Chapters 2, 3, 4* and *5*. *Chapter 2* introduces metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon within Conceptual Metaphor Theory and then reveals the main limitations of this theory of metaphor. *Chapter 3* provides an overview of domains and frames as distinct conceptual configurations that are part of humans' conceptual system. Chapter 3 also deals with how frames can be applied to metaphor analysis. *Chapter 4* delves into the two dimensions of metaphor variation as well as the main causes of variation. *Chapter 5* reviews several approaches to the study of metaphor, namely the lexical approach to metaphor and the corpus-linguistic

1. Introduction

approach to metaphor. In addition, chapter 5 introduces MIP as the basis for the frame-based metaphor identification procedure applied in this work.

Chapter 6 presents the methodology utilized in order to undertake this study. This chapter encompasses the description of the source-domain oriented approach, the criteria for selecting the lexical items, the two corpora used, the procedure of data retrieval and lastly, the parameters followed in order to contrast the metaphors encountered in AmE and PenSp.

Chapter 7 reports the results of this thesis. The detailed account of the results is structured in 6 main sections that correspond to the six AmE lexical units selected and their six PenSp counterparts. Each section contains the description of the source frame, the target frames identified in the corpora, the core FEs involved in the mappings illustrated with examples extracted from the corpora.

Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the findings, which is organized in 3 sections related to the 3 research questions of this thesis. First, a compilation of all the metaphors evoked by the culinary actions selected in AmE and PenSp is presented and discussed. Second, the linguistic realizations and mappings of the metaphors shared by AmE and PenSp are contrasted. Third, the frequency of usage of each of the metaphors evoked by the lexical units chosen in AmE and PenSp is examined.

Chapter 9 closes the present dissertation. This chapter summarizes the major findings relating to the research questions of this work. Moreover, chapter 9 discusses the implications of the findings and the limitations of the study. Finally, suggestions for further research are provided.

1. Introduction

CHAPTER TWO
CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR
THEORY

2. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

2.1 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

2.2 LIMITATIONS OF CMT

2.3 GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHORS

2.4 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

2.1 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

One of the most influential books to ever emerge from the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm is the so-called *Metaphors we live by* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). As the fathers of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth, CMT), Lakoff and Johnson broke away from the classical view of metaphor as being merely a rhetoric device and proposed that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (p.3).

According to the CMT, a metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon by which we understand one domain of experience, the target domain, in terms of another, the source domain. The target domain tends to be abstract and more complex than the source domain, which is more concrete and embodied. Hence, we can say that source domains (e.g. JOURNEY), which are based on sensory-motor experiences with the world, allow us to comprehend other domains of experience which are more abstract in nature (e.g. LOVE).

2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

When we conceptualize the target domain in terms of the source domain, we take conceptual structure from the source in order to construe certain aspects of the target. The set of conceptual correspondences between the two cognitive domains is called mappings or conceptual projections (Kövecses, 2015; Lakoff, 1993) (see table 1).

Table 1

Mappings of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Evans & Green, 2006, p.295)

Source domain: JOURNEY	Mappings	Target domain: LOVE
Travellers	—————>	Lovers
Vehicle	—————>	Love relationship
Journey	—————>	Events in the relationship
Distance covered	—————>	Progress made
Obstacles encountered	—————>	Difficulties experienced
Decisions about direction	—————>	Choices about what to do
Destination of the journey	—————>	Goals of the relationship

For instance, table 1 shows the mappings of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. When we conceptualize LOVE in terms of a JOURNEY, the lovers who are in a relationship are seen as the travelers who move in a vehicle. Hence, the progress made and the difficulties experienced in the relationship are regarded as the distance covered and the obstacles encountered in a journey. Moreover, the different decisions on the relationship and the goals of the relationship could, in turn, be conceived of as the decisions about direction and the destination of the journey.

Furthermore, Lakoff (1993) suggests that mappings obey the Invariance Principle, which implies that “metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

(that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain” (p.215). For instance, a source domain exterior cannot be mapped onto a target domain interior or a path. Instead, paths should map onto paths, interiors of containers onto other interiors and so on.

Apart from the specific mappings between the source and the target domain, conceptual metaphors also entail the projection of implicit knowledge from the source onto the target, known as entailments or inferences (Kövecses, 2005). In this sense, Kövecses suggests that if we conceptualize, for instance, LOVE as a JOURNEY, and a relationship is understood as a vehicle, we can apply our knowledge of the vehicle to our understanding of a relationship. If a vehicle breaks down, we can either try to repair it or do nothing. Correspondingly, if a relationship faces problems, the lovers may try to solve the problems or just leave the relationship.

At this point, an important distinction must be made between conceptual metaphors and linguistic⁵ metaphors. Conceptual metaphors emerge at the conceptual level, whereas linguistic metaphors are realizations of those conceptual metaphors that surface in language. In other words, we can reason about a certain domain of experience in terms of another and it is this metaphorical conceptualization what actually motivates the linguistic metaphors we use. That is why it is said that language reveals how we think, as it portrays the way in which our thought is structured in our minds.

As an illustration, consider the following conceptual metaphor and some of its linguistic realizations discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.4):

⁵ Both *linguistic metaphor* and *metaphorical expression* refer to the same concept in this work, that is, metaphors found at the linguistic level.

2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

The expressions above are all motivated by an entrenched pattern in the mind, that is, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. In this line, by using a metaphorical expression such as “Your claims are indefensible”, a person’s claims are viewed as though they had to be defended against the enemy or opponent of the war, that is, the person who is against someone’s arguments. Therefore, ARGUMENTS are not types of WARS but they are structured and understood in terms of WAR, which is reflected in everyday language through linguistic metaphors such as “I *demolished* his argument”.

With regard to the major types of conceptual metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson distinguish 3 types: structural, orientational and ontological metaphors.

Structural metaphors are those in which “one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.14). The aforementioned metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is a clear example of structural metaphor, as the inherent conceptual structure that characterizes WAR is utilized in order to construe the concept of ARGUMENT (e.g. a person may win or lose in an argument or debate, the same as in a war). Kövecses claims that in the case of structural metaphors “the source domain

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concept. In other words, the cognitive function of these metaphors is to enable speakers to understand target A by means of the structure of source B” (2002, p.37).

The second sort of metaphors is orientational metaphors, which characterize concepts by giving them spatial orientation (e.g. up-down, in-out, front-back, etc). An example of orientational metaphor could be HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which are linguistically manifested in English expressions like “I’m feeling up”, “My spirits rose”, “I’m feeling down”, “He’s really low these days”. The aforementioned linguistic metaphors are motivated by human embodied experience, since when people feel happy, they tend to raise up their head and straight up their back, whereas when people are sad, they are more likely to bow down and look downwards.

The third type of metaphors is the ontological ones, which entail the conceptualization of abstract concepts as physical, tangible entities. Kövecses (2002) claims that “ontological metaphors provide much less cognitive structuring for target concepts that structural ones do”. By giving an ontological status to abstract concepts “ontological metaphors enable us to see more sharply delineated structure where there is very little or none” (p. 39). As an illustration of an ontological metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson suggest that the mind, which is an abstract concept, is often conceptualized in English as a machine, a physical entity, which motivates expressions like “I’m a little rusty today”, “My mind isn’t just operating today”.

In Ortony’s second edition of *Metaphor and Thought*, Lakoff (1993) proposes another type of metaphor called image metaphor, which implies the mapping of a conventional mental image onto another mental image.

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

A further way to categorize metaphors is by classifying them into conventional or novel, even though there are no clear-cut boundaries between both types of metaphor. Kövecses (2015) holds that “novelty and unconventionality are graded concepts that range from completely new and unconventional through more or less new and unconventional to well-worn, entrenched and completely conventional cases” (p.97).

On the one hand, conventional metaphors are “automatic, effortless, and generally established as a mode of thought among members of a linguistic community” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 55). Thus, conventional metaphors are those that are entrenched in the speakers’ conceptual system. As a consequence, the more conventional a metaphor is, the more unaware speakers and conceptualizers are of their use as a metaphor. Philip (2017, p.223) remarks that “the most straightforward way of attesting conventionality of a linguistic metaphor is to look for it in a dictionary”.

On the other hand, novel metaphors, as defined by Philip (2017, p.224) are “words used metaphorically in ways which differ from their conventional applications, sometimes as substitutions for part of the wording of an existing linguistic metaphor”. In Kövecses view, the local or immediate context (i.e. “the particular factors that influence metaphorical conceptualization in a specific communicative situation” (2017, p.98) is the responsible for the emergence of novel metaphors.

The concept of entrenchment (Langacker 1987, 1988) is intimately connected to the frequency of usage. According to Langacker (1987, p.59):

Linguistic structures are [...] conceived as falling along a continuous scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization. Every use of a structure has a positive impact on its degree of entrenchment, whereas extended periods of disuse have a negative impact. With repeated use, a novel structure becomes progressively

2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

entrenched, to the point of becoming a unit; moreover, units are variably entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence.

Hence, there appears to be a linear correlation between frequency and entrenchment, since the more frequent a metaphorical sense is, the more entrenched (and conventional) it becomes and vice versa. In this line, Deignan (2005, p.40) claims that the distinction between conventional and novel metaphors can be determined on the basis of corpus frequency, suggesting that a metaphorical sense that occurs less than once in every 1000 citations could be regarded as novel or rare.

In spite of being a ground-breaking theory, CMT still suffers from a number of shortcomings, which are presented in the ensuing section.

2.3 LIMITATIONS OF CMT

CMT has come under severe criticism since its inception in 1980. The strongest criticism CMT has received is related to the methodology with which metaphors are studied. In this line, the focus of the critiques lies on how to identify linguistic metaphors, and how the study of metaphors should be undertaken on the basis of real data instead of just intuitive and unsystematically found metaphorical expressions (Deignan, 2005; Kövecses, 2008a; 2011, 2015; Pragglejaz Group, 2007). In this regard, CMT does not provide the necessary methodological tools for identifying neither linguistic nor conceptual metaphors in a systematic and reliable way. In an attempt to solve this issue, several researchers have proposed methods for identifying metaphor in discourse (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) and formulating the underlying conceptual metaphors (Steen, 1999; Steen, 2007; Steen 2009), stressing the importance of using

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

naturally occurring language data. In this way, “the systematically identified linguistic metaphors in real discourse may lead to the discovery of so far unidentified conceptual metaphors” (Kövecses, 2008a, p. 169).

Another roasted aspect of CMT is the traditional direction of analysis undertaken by Lakoff and Johnson (top-down approach). In top-down approaches the analysis is chiefly based on decontextualized (e.g. dictionaries), intuitive examples and on the basis of those instances, the researcher postulates the possible underlying conceptual metaphors. In top-down approaches, the focus is on conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2008a).

On the contrary, bottom-up approaches are based on an extensive number of expressions, typically taken from naturally occurring data (e.g. corpus). The linguistic metaphors are identified following a solid protocol (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) and the conceptual metaphors are postulated as a result of a series of analytical steps (Deignan, 2005; Steen, 1999, Steen et al., 2010).

CMT also fails to consider at which level of schematicity conceptual metaphors should be formulated (Clausner & Croft, 1997; Grady, 1997; Kövecses, 2008a). As Kövecses (2008a) points out, not every single element within a source domain can be mapped onto a target domain. Therefore, “without establishing the appropriate level of schematicity, it is not possible to answer the question of which elements of the source domains are mapped onto the target, and which ones are not” (p. 175). On this subject, Kövecses has postulated a new account for the study of metaphor that distinguishes four levels of schematicity, namely image schemas, domains, frames and mental spaces (see Kövecses, 2017; 2019).

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

In addition, CMT does not fully explain metaphor variation across cultures. As Kövecses remarks, “the question is whether CMT can simultaneously account for both the universal and culture-specific aspects of metaphorical conceptualization” (2008a, p.179). In this regard, Kövecses (2005, 2013) claims that metaphorical conceptualization takes place both under the pressure of embodiment and the pressure of cultural context. Thus, sometimes it is the embodied experience and others the cultural context, which plays a major role in influencing metaphorical conceptualization (see section 4.2.1).

Notwithstanding the aforementioned issues that still need to be refined and addressed, CMT is definitely an essential contribution to contemporary metaphor studies. As Gibbs claims:

Even if it [CMT] does not necessarily account for all aspects of metaphorical thought and language use, this approach has great explanatory power, and must be considered to be foundational for any comprehensive theory of metaphor, as well as for broader theories of human cognition. (Gibbs, 2011, p.556)

By reason of the shortcomings of CMT that have been revealed in this section, this dissertation puts forward a frame-based methodological approach to the study of metaphor (see section 6.4). This approach allows for the identification of linguistic metaphors in naturally-occurring language, the formulation of the underlying conceptual metaphors and the specification of the corresponding mappings between frames in two different languages (i.e. AmE and PenSp).

The ensuing section focuses on characterizing generic-level metaphors and how their generic semantic structure can be unveiled on the basis of semantic roles and aktionsart.

2.4 GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHORS

Metaphors may be explored and formulated at different levels of schematicity⁶ (see Kövecses, 2017; 2019). This thesis focuses on the level of frames, describing culinary conceptual metaphors by means of frame-to-frame mappings. However, the notion of generic-level metaphor (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) also plays an essential role in this dissertation, as some of the metaphors encountered are described in terms of generic-level structure projections.

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989), the source and the target domain of a generic-level metaphor (e.g. EVENTS ARE ACTIONS), do not refer to specific experiential domains, but to a more general conceptual schema. Hence, the mappings involved in a generic-level metaphor "consist not in a list of fixed correspondences but rather in higher-order constraints on what is an appropriate mapping and what is not" (p. 80).

Kövecses (2003) applies the notion of generic-level metaphor to refer to metaphors in which a source domain can be mapped onto a series of target domains with a general-level semantic structure in common. For instance, the specific source domain of BUILDINGS, can be applied to multiple target domains (p.80-81):

THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS

- Increasingly, scientific knowledge *is constructed* by small numbers of specialized workers.
- McCarthy *demolishes* the romantic myth of the Wild West.

⁶ Within the framework of CMT, Kövecses proposes the "multi-level view of metaphor", suggesting that the four conceptual structures that are relevant to the study of metaphors (i.e. image schemas, cognitive domains, frames and mental spaces) can be arranged into different levels of specificity in what he calls "schematicity hierarchies".

2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS

- Since then the two have *built a solid* relationship.
- You can help *lay the foundations* for a good relationship between your children by preparing your older child in advance for the new baby.

A CAREER IS A BUILDING

- Government grants have enabled a number of the top names in British sport *to build* a successful career.
- Her career was *in ruins*.

A COMPANY IS A BUILDING

- Her Ten years ago, he and a partner set up on their own and *built up* a successful company.
- The following year he borrowed enough money to buy his first hotel and spent three years *building up* a hotel empire.

ECONOMIC SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS

- With its economy *in ruins*, it can't afford to involve itself in military action.
- There is no painless way to get inflation down. We now have an excellent *foundation on which to build*.

SOCIAL GROUPS ARE BUILDINGS

- He's about to *rock the foundations* of the literary establishment with his novel.
- By early afternoon queues *were already building up*.

A LIFE IS A BUILDING

- Now another young woman's life is *in ruins* after an appalling attack.

As it can be observed, the source domain of BUILDING might be used to characterize a series of target domains. What all those target domains have in common

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

is that they all are complex (abstract) systems that consist of different parts interacting with each other in complex ways (as it is the case of BUILDING). In this respect, Kövecses asserts that “the overarching metaphor that includes all the special metaphorical subcases above (such as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS, etc.) is a generic-level metaphor that I will call COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS” (p.81).

Hence, this work adopts Kövecses’ (2003) concept of generic-level metaphor. The generic-level metaphors found in this study are described in terms of the essential semantic structure that must be shared among the multiple targets and the source frame. The generic-level semantic structure is identified on the basis of semantic roles and Aktionsart (kind of action). Aktionsart categories, which were originally introduced by Vendler (1967), can be classified into four major types:

- (1) States: states are unbounded events in time in which there is no perceptible change. Their focus is in their existence/permanence (e.g. Sam is at the house).
- (2) Accomplishments: accomplishments require some interval of time and provoke a change of state (e.g. She washed the dishes).
- (3) Achievements: achievements, like accomplishments, result in a change of state, but achievements unfold in an instant. They do not have a clear beginning, the focus is on their end-point (e.g. The balloon popped).
- (4) Activities: activities do not denote a goal, they focus on the durational phase, the beginning and the end are defocused (e.g. Tom has been running for an hour).

Thus, when analyzing generic-level metaphors, this work suggests that the type of Aktionsart evoked by the conceptual structures involved in generic-level metaphors

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

must be the same. That is to say, the inherent temporal structure evoked by a particular source frame and the multiple target frames to which it may apply must coincide so that the conceptual projection may occur.

2.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The aim of the present chapter was to situate this dissertation within its relevant theoretical framework, namely CMT. This chapter explains that, unlike previous theories of metaphor, CMT holds that metaphor is ubiquitous in everyday language and a fundamental part of human thought. Moreover, some of the shortcomings of CMT have been revealed, namely the problems with the methodology employed, the direction of analysis, the appropriate level of schematicity involved in metaphor and the explanation of metaphor variation across cultures.

In addition, generic-level metaphors have been defined, as some of the metaphors found in this study are described in terms of generic-level structures.

The following chapter deals with cognitive constructs within our conceptual system and, particularly, how frames can be applied to the study of conceptual metaphor.

2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

CHAPTER THREE
FRAMES APPLIED TO
METAPHOR ANALYSIS

3. FRAMES APPLIED TO METAPHOR ANALYSIS

3.1 THE CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM

3.1.1 FRAMES

3.1.2 COGNITIVE DOMAINS

3.1.3 DIFFERENT SCOPE AND USES

3.2 THE ROLE OF FRAMES IN ANALYZING METAPHORIC LANGUAGE

3.3 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In CMT metaphors are often described in terms of cross-domain mappings. However, other conceptual structures (related to cognitive domains) participate in metaphorical conceptualization as well. This chapter defines cognitive domains and frames as conceptual constructs that are part of humans' conceptual system, and points out the relation and main differences between them. Furthermore, it is explained how frames can play an essential role when applied to the systematic study of metaphors, as they provide richer information of the mappings between the source and the target domain.

3.1 CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM

Since the emergence of Cognitive Semantics, notions like “frame” and “domain” have been used to refer to the arrangement of conceptual knowledge (Fillmore, 1982;

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Langacker, 1987, 1999). As Cienki (2010, p.170) explains, cognitive domains and frames provide “a way of characterizing the structured encyclopedic knowledge which is inextricably connected with linguistic knowledge”.

However, the notions of domain and frame are often used interchangeably and are still vaguely defined, so that linguists show insufficient agreement on what each of these notions exactly involves. As Mischler (2013, p.7) claims, the definitions of these constructs “overlap significantly and are often considered isomorphic by researchers”. Before delving into the fundamental matter of redefining these notions, to define what the conceptual system is may constitute a preliminary ground for the fundamental task of redefining knowledge configuration constructs. As Kövecses states:

The conceptual system can be regarded as the way in which the brain organizes our knowledge of the world. Most of this knowledge is unconscious. The conceptual system is not something transcendental. It is based on the brain, and the brain supports all the cognitive or construal operations we utilize in the process of conceptualizing the world. It's the brain neurons and the functioning of neurons that create such systems. (2015, p.32)

Bearing in mind that the conceptual system is not something we can actually observe with our own eyes and that it functions in terms of neural connections (Lakoff, 2008, 2014), how can we set foot in it? The answer cognitive semanticists provide points at revealing the intricacies of cognition - or at least some of them - through the study of language. According to Talmy, (1985, 1991, 2000), language works as the gateway to the human conceptual system. He conceives the semantic structure (word meanings) as a reflection of the conceptual structure of speakers, that is, the mental representations (conceptualizations) that the speakers of a given language have of the

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

world they live in. As explained in chapter 1, our mind is embodied, in the sense that the human conceptual system does not contain an identical representation of the world as it is but a representation of the world as we can humanly perceive and experience it. Therefore, the way we have to express our conceptual structure (the concepts in our mind), is through the use of language (see figure 2).

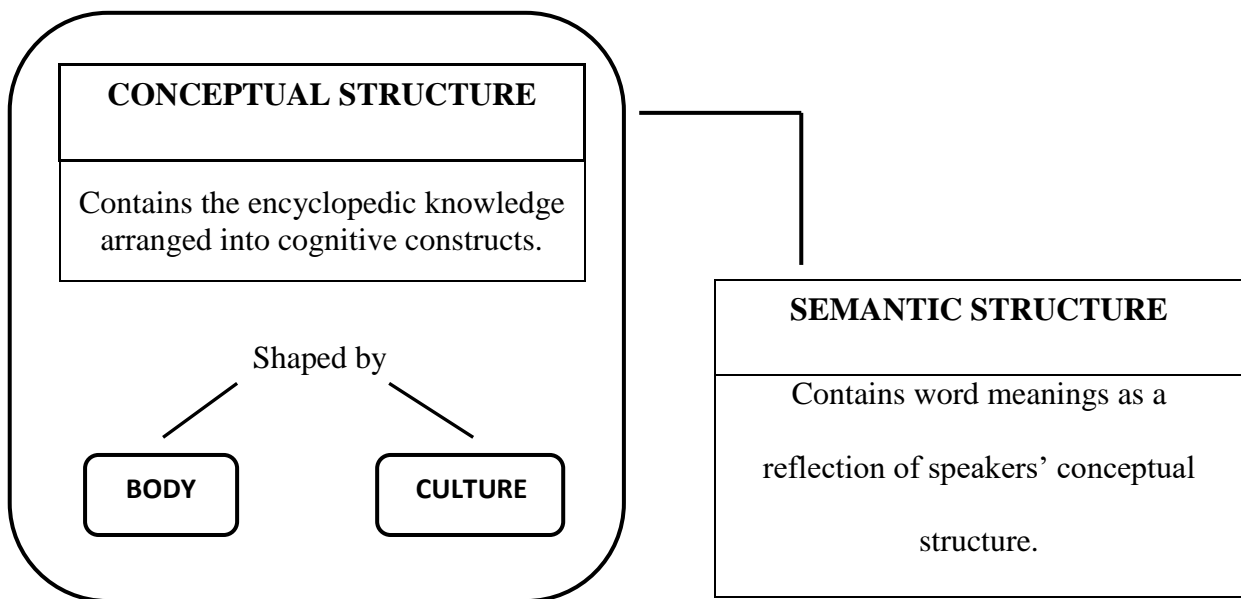


Figure 2. Relationship between semantic structure and conceptual structure

However, it is essential to remark that lexical units represent just a set of all the possible concepts stored in the human conceptual system. Thus, one language may have a lexical item that is not found in other languages, but this fact does not necessarily entail that other languages do not have a mental representation (conceptualization) of the given concept, even though they lack a lexical item for it. For instance, the English verb 'eat' evokes animal eaters, including human beings, as frame elements. As opposed to this, the German language encodes the conceptual distinction between the nature of the eaters: human ('essen') vs. non-human ('fressen').

3. *Frames applied to metaphor analysis*

According to this view, our mind contains concepts which represent our sensory-motor experience in interaction with the world (Lakoff, 1987). Those concepts are not randomly stored in our mind, but they are properly arranged into conceptual constructs so as to make it possible to access (evoke) them when necessary to make sense of our experiences.

The next subsections aim to provide a clearer distinctive view of the notions of frame and cognitive domain, explaining how they differ in scope but are connected to each other at the same time.

3.1.1 FRAMES

The notion of frame has been used over time in different fields such as Psychology, Artificial Intelligence and Linguistics. This notion paved its way into Linguistics by dint of Fillmore's work. He first embraced this term to work on his 'case frames' (1968, 1977), but in time the use of 'frames' was extended from syntax to semantics.

Frame Semantics (Andor, 2010; Fillmore, 1982, 2006; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992; Fillmore et al., 2003; Fillmore & Baker, 2009; Petrucci, 1996) is a theory within CS that explains how concepts are organized in our mind. According to Fillmore (1982), the meaning of lexical units is constructed in relation to background knowledge, whose structure can be analyzed in terms of semantic frames. That is, the meaning of any lexical unit cannot be understood independently of the frame it evokes. Thus, 'frame' works as the central knowledge configuration of this approach. Fillmore (1982) conceives of frames as:

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

Any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available.(p.111)

In his famous example of the ‘commercial event’ frame, Fillmore (1982) explains that verbs like *sell*, *buy*, *cost* and *spend* as well as the role of the *buyer* and the *seller* and other frame elements as the *goods* and the *money* are all conceptually related since they all evoke the same particular frame. He notes that people cannot understand the meaning of those elements unless they are familiar with the particular frame they refer to.

Following Fillmore’s idea, Gawron (2011) provides a still vague portrayal of frames, regarding them as “conceptual structures that provide context for elements of interpretation. Frames are motivated not just by words, but by stereotypes about customs, practices, institutions, and games. They can provide an organizing principle for the openness of the lexicon” (p.4).

Ruppenhofer et al., (2010, p.5) provide a more specific definition, regarding a frame as “a script-like conceptual structure that describes a particular type of situation, object or event and the participants and props involved in it”.

In an attempt to provide a clearer definition, the notion of frame proposed in this work is that a conceptual frame is a culturally dependent conceptual knowledge configuration/cognitive construct that represents a particular prototypical situation based on human experience consisting of interrelated frame elements (FEs). This particular prototypical situation is, in turn, located conceptually within a broader knowledge construct called domain. For instance, the concept ‘frying pan’ evokes the frame

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

FRYING, which in turn pertains to the complex domain of COOKING. Therefore, the concept ‘frying pan’ does not directly evoke the whole range of concepts within the domain of COOKING, but the ones within its own frame (FEs), that is, the ones conceptually ‘closer’.

FEs are classified in terms of how central they are to a particular frame, distinguishing three types: core, non-core/peripheral, and extra-thematic (Baker et al., 2003; Fillmore & Baker, 2009; Petruck et al., 2004; Ruppenhofer et al., 2010).

- **Core FEs:** they are “necessary to the central meaning of the frame” (Fillmore, 2007, p.133). In other words, core FEs are conceptually necessary constituents of a frame. For instance, *food* may be regarded as a core FE in COOKING frames because a cooking event necessarily includes some kind of food.
- **Non-core/Peripheral FEs:** they mark notions such as manner, means, place, time and the like. They are not unique to a particular frame, since they are not obligatory for the general understanding of a frame.
- **Extra-thematic FEs:** they are used to annotate a “word or phrase which can be thought of as introducing a new frame, rather than filling out the details of the frame evoked by the head” (Fillmore, 2007).

The analysis of English lexical units in terms of frames is undertaken in FrameNet⁷, a research project based on Frame Semantics, whose aims can be boiled down as follows (Fillmore, 2007, p.129):

The FrameNet project is dedicated to producing valency descriptions of frame-bearing lexical units (LUs), in both semantic and syntactic terms, and it bases this work on attestations of word usage taken from a very large digital corpus.

⁷ <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/>

3. *Frames applied to metaphor analysis*

The semantic descriptors of each valency pattern are taken from frame-specific semantic role names (called frame elements), and the syntactic terms are taken from a restricted set of grammatical function names and a detailed set of phrase types.

Frames analysed in FrameNet contain the name of the frame, a general description of the frame, its core and non-core elements, the ways in which those FEs are syntactically realized, the set of lexical units that evoke that frame, and the relation of the given frame with other frames. The name of the FEs described is generally specific with respect to the frame they belong to. For example, the person who performs an action (agent role) is characterized differently according to the frame ('abuser' in the ABUSING frame, 'authorities' in the ARREST frame, 'traveler' in the TRAVEL frame, etc.).

The dissertation takes the notion of frames (based on Fillmore's frames) and the terminology employed in FrameNet for designating frame components. In particular, the frames analyzed in this thesis have been described taking into account the necessary elements for the understanding of each source and target frame, that is, the core FEs⁸. Therefore, since metaphorical mappings occur among core FEs, peripheral and extra-thematic elements have been disregarded. Moreover, the frames analyzed have not been taken from Framenet, since the frames Framenet describes seem to be more general than the ones I explore. Framenet focuses more on the syntactic structure of the whole sentence in which a given lexical unit appears, while my interest lies on the semantic frame activated by the selected cooking lexical units.

⁸ As in the case of FrameNet, the core FEs in this work have been designated in accordance with the specific frame they are part of.

3.1.2 COGNITIVE DOMAINS

In my view, frames are always components of larger knowledge configurations called cognitive domains (Langacker, 1987). Nonetheless, much of the research up to now fails to draw a major distinction between frame and domain.

Langacker (1987, p.63) holds that “semantic units are characterized relative to cognitive domains, and any concept or knowledge system can function as a domain for this purpose”. Langacker also claims that “any cognitive structure – a novel conceptualization, an established concept, a perceptual experience, or an entire knowledge system – can function as the domain for a predication” (2002, p. 61).

In the same line, domains are defined by Kövecses (2010c, p. 324) as:

A conceptual domain is our conceptual representation, or knowledge, of any coherent segment of experience. We often call such representations “concepts,” such as the concepts of building or motion. This knowledge involves both the knowledge of basic elements that constitute a domain and knowledge that is rich in detail.

Since the key problem with the above definitions is that they do not precisely determine what a cognitive domain is, this thesis adopts Esbrí-Blasco et al. (2019) characterization of domains, which accounts for the difference and the relation between domains and frames:

Cognitive domains are understood as conceptual constructs or configurations that comprise (all) the concepts related to a particular area of human experience or human knowledge. That area may vary in its complexity but cognitive domains include the different conceptualization of prototypical frames that

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

humans share about that domain of experience. Thus, cognitive domains are not equated to frames, but they consist of frames and their frame constituents (FEs), as well as frame sequences (i.e. scripts). (p.134)

3.1.3 DIFFERENT SCOPE AND USES

In short, frames and cognitive domains constitute different arrangements of encyclopedic knowledge that is culturally accepted and provide the base (at different levels of conceptualization) for understanding linguistic forms. Regarding their interrelation, this thesis holds that frames and sequences of frames (scripts) are an intrinsic part of cognitive domains (see figure 3).

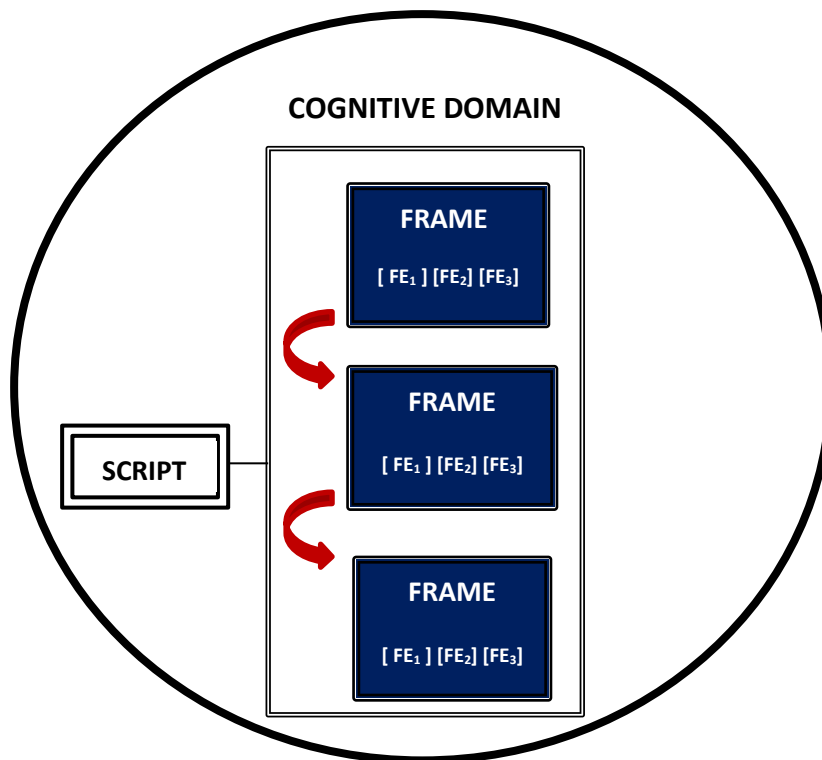


Figure 3. Interrelation between frames (and their corresponding frame elements), scripts (coherent sequences of frames) and cognitive domains

3. *Frames applied to metaphor analysis*

Furthermore, Cienki (2010) asserts that the main difference between frames and cognitive domains, apart from their scope, is that each of them has found its major function in a specific theoretical framework. For instance, frames have paved their way into Frame Semantics and Construction Grammar, while cognitive domains play a crucial role in CMT.

Thus, both frames and domains play their role in characterizing encyclopedic knowledge but the difference relies in the fact that each construct represents a level of schematization in our conceptual system. Therefore, the aforementioned conceptual configurations can play a key role in the description and analysis of metaphors, since not all metaphors arise at the same level of specificity.

3.2 THE ROLE OF FRAMES IN ANALYZING METAPHORIC LANGUAGE

Regarding the use of frames, Sullivan (2013) remarks that “to date, semantic frames have appeared mostly in analyses of non-metaphoric language. Conceptual metaphor theorists have suggested that frame structure is preserved in metaphoric mappings, but this is rarely formalized” (p.17). In this regard, Sullivan’s *Frames and Constructions in Metaphoric Language* (2013) offers an innovative approach to metaphor analysis that emphasizes the relevance of frames (Fillmore, 1982) as semantic tools, together with the principle of conceptual autonomy/dependence (Langacker, 1987). Sullivan particularly postulates that “constructions constrain which words [...] can come from the source domain of a given metaphor, and which from the target domain of the metaphor” (p.6).

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

In order to pinpoint the position of the source and target elements in a certain construction, she adopts Langacker's (1987) notion of autonomy/dependence alignment. As Langacker explains:

Certain structures, by their very nature, do not stand alone but require the support of others—they are **dependent** on other, more **autonomous** structures for their own manifestation. Thus dependent structures cannot be described independently, in their own terms, but only in relation to the autonomous structures that support them. (2008, p. 210)

Thus, in Sullivan's view the source domain is represented by a conceptually dependent element in the construction, whereas the target domain is represented by a conceptually autonomous element (p.9).⁹

One of the examples she uses to illustrate her hypothesis is the comparison between the noun phrases *spiritual wealth* and *blood-stained wealth* (see figure 4). Sullivan notices that both noun phrases are to be considered metaphorical expressions, but since each phrase represents a particular construction, they hold a distinct pattern of metaphor evocation. In the expression *spiritual wealth*, which is a domain construction, the domain adjective *spiritual* evokes the target domain. Whereas in *blood-stained wealth*, a predicating modifier construction, the predicating adjective *blood-stained* evokes the source domain. Hence, the different semantic patterns underlying these grammatical constructions lead to different ways of evoking metaphor.

⁹ In the same line, Croft (2003, 2009) also explores the role of constructions in the creation of metaphor and claims that the relation between autonomous and dependent elements shape metaphor evocation, being the dependent elements the ones which normally evoke the source domain.

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

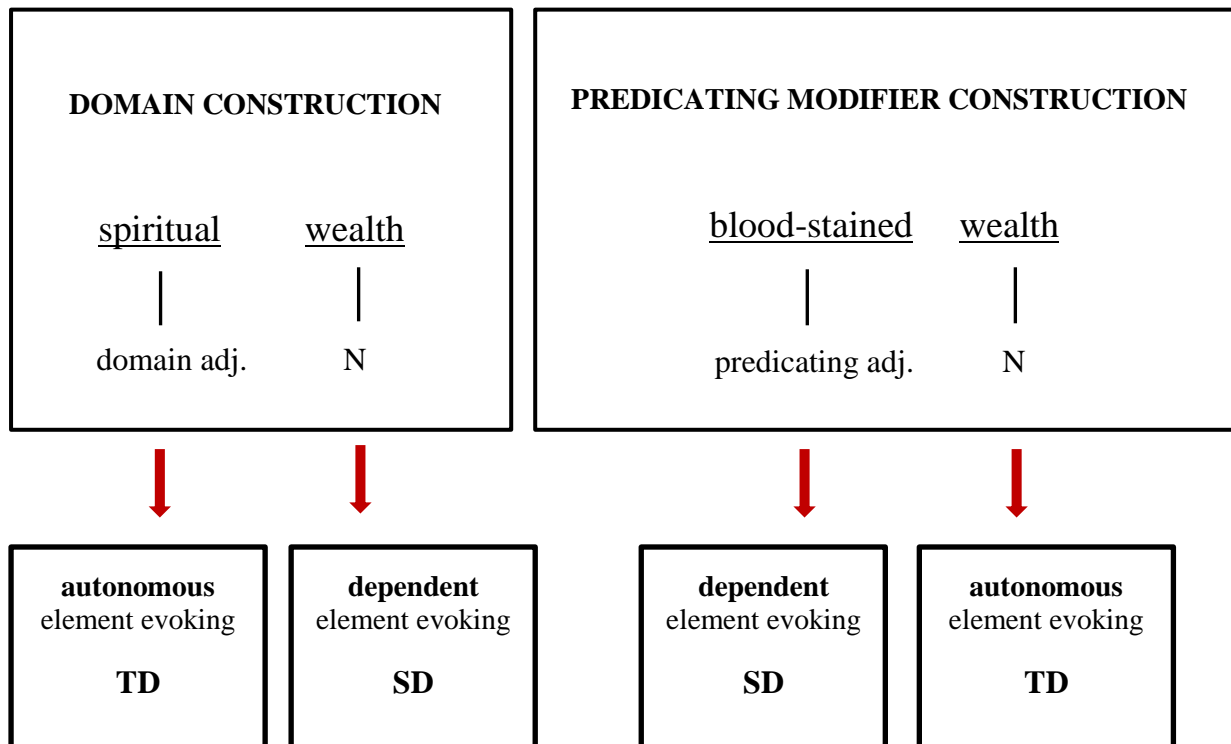


Figure 4. Different grammatical constructions with distinct pattern of metaphor evocation

Nevertheless, what I think makes her book such a valuable piece is the way she explores the frames involved in a given metaphor. In Sullivan’s words, “the delineation of frame structure in the source and target domains of metaphors allows a more exact depiction of metaphoric source domains, target domains, and the mappings between them” (p.10).

Sullivan first defines semantic frames as “sets of elements and relations which are abstracted from real-world situations” (p.15). She considers frame elements (FEs) as roles, since they “generalize over many potential situations and individuals” (p.18). In turn, when used in particular instances, the identity of those roles is specified by fillers. Consequently, we can understand words and expressions since they provide access

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

(evoke) to semantic frames stored in our conceptual system. In this way, even if not all the elements are represented by words, we access them through the evocation of the corresponding frame.

Furthermore, Sullivan explains why some lexical items, despite being semantically similar, can be employed in certain metaphors and not in others. In Sullivan's view, the internal structure of a frame evoked by a certain lexical item constrains its compatibility with a given metaphor (p.35-38). She explains that semantically similar lexical items such as *brilliant* and *sunny*, both adjectives somehow related to 'light', do not share the target domains to which they can be mapped onto.

Table 2

Literal frames and metaphorical senses of brilliant, sunny and bright (Adapted from Sullivan, 2013)

	Literal frame	Metaphorical Sense
BRILLIANT	LIGHT EMISSION Frame (<i>brilliant star</i>)	Intelligence (<i>brilliant mind</i>)
SUNNY	LOCATION OF LIGHT Frame (<i>sunny window</i>)	Cheerfulness (<i>sunny mood</i>)

As we can see in table 2, in its non-metaphoric sense, *sunny* implies there is a location of the given light, as in *sunny window*. On the other side, the adjective *brilliant* usually denotes light that emanates from a source. Thus, *brilliant* tends to modify the emitter of that light instead of referring to a lit location. This semantic distinction actually has its impact when using these adjectives metaphorically. Since the frame structure of the non-metaphoric senses differs, they also differ in the domains they can

3. Frames applied to metaphor analysis

be mapped onto. For instance, the adjective *brilliant* can be metaphorically employed as ‘intelligent’, as in *brilliant mind* (the mind is the one supposed to emit intelligence). However, *sunny* is employed to depict ‘cheerfulness’, since the lit location of the basic sense can be mapped onto the happy state, as in *sunny mood*.

All in all, Sullivan insists that “future research assessing the cross-linguistic generality of the association between autonomy/dependence, frames, and metaphor, would be deeply invaluable” (p.16).

For the purpose of this work, Sullivan’s approach is followed in that frames are used as a methodological semantic tool for exploring the source and target frames (and the mappings between their FEs) involved in metaphors. However, it is worth noting that it is out of the scope of this thesis to identify the grammatical constructions of the metaphorical expressions found in the corpora.

3.3 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Chapter 3 has provided clearer definitions of the concepts of frame and domain. Although both knowledge configurations are used to organize experiential knowledge in our conceptual system, domains are broader in scope and may consist of different frames. Therefore, frames contain conceptually richer information than domains.

In addition, Sullivan’s (2013) frame-based approach to the study of metaphor has been reviewed. Sullivan demonstrates the value of frames as a tool for analyzing metaphorical language. She also identifies the particular autonomy-dependence relations of the grammatical constructions involved in linguistic metaphors. In sum,

3. *Frames applied to metaphor analysis*

Sullivan remarks the vital importance of considering frames and their FEs for providing a more detailed account of metaphors.

In the light of the observations of this chapter, it seems reasonable to propose that taking into account the different conceptual structures in our conceptual system, particularly frames, might be useful to the study of metaphor.

In what follows, chapter 4 focuses on cross-linguistic metaphor variation, delving into the different dimensions, factors and possible causes of metaphor variance in different languages.

3. *Frames applied to metaphor analysis*

CHAPTER FOUR
CROSS-LINGUISTIC
METAPHOR VARIATION

4. CROSS-LINGUISTIC METAPHOR VARIATION

4.1 UNIVERSALITY IN METAPHOR

4.2 DIMENSIONS OF METAPHOR VARIATION

4.2.1 CROSS-CULTURAL METAPHOR VARIATION

4.2.2 WITHIN-CULTURE METAPHOR VARIATION

4.3 CAUSES OF METAPHOR VARIATION

4.3.1 DIFFERENTIAL EXPERIENCE

**4.3.2 DIFFERENTIAL COGNITIVE PREFERENCES OR
STYLES**

**4.4 CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDIES ON CULINARY
METAPHORS**

4.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Chapter 4 focuses on how cognitive semanticists explain why some metaphors are potentially universal while others vary across cultures or even intra-culturally. Along this line, the two dimensions of metaphor variation are presented as well as the causes that may lead to metaphor variation. Besides, previous contrastive studies that have addressed research on metaphor variation across languages are reviewed, particularly in English and Spanish.

4.1 UNIVERSALITY IN METAPHOR

Conceptual metaphors are based on sensorimotor experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993). Since the functioning of the human body and most of our elementary experiences are universal among human beings, metaphors grounded in bodily experience should be present in many languages all over the world, at least at the conceptual level (Kövecses, 2005, 2006, 2015; Lakoff, 1993; Yu, 2008). Kövecses (2005, p.36) states that unrelated languages may share several conceptual metaphors for certain emotion concepts, such as the concept of happiness. In English, for instance, the metaphors HAPPINESS IS UP (“I’m feeling up”), HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (“She brightened up”) and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (“She is bursting with joy”) stand out. Surprisingly, Yu (1998, 2012) discovered the same metaphors in Chinese (HAPPINESS IS UP (“Ta hen gao-xing”/ He is very high spirited), HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (“Ta xiao zhu yan kai”/ He beamed with a smile) and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (“Ta xin-zhong chongman xiyue”/ His heart is filled with happiness). Furthermore, Hungarian shares those metaphors as well: HAPPINESS IS UP (“Ez a film feldobott”/ This film gave me a high), HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (“Felderült az arca”/ Her face brightened up) and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (“Túlcsordult aszíve a boldogságtól”/ His heart overflowed with joy).

As English, Chinese and Hungarian belong to different language families, and, therefore, represent different cultures, it is truly remarkable that these three languages utilize the same conceptual metaphors. The possible reasons, as Kövecses (2008b, p. 55) suggests are: (1) it has happened by accident; (2) one language borrowed the metaphors from another; and (3) there is some universal motivation that enables the metaphors to emerge in these cultures. The option that seems to be more plausible, in

4. *Cross-linguistic metaphor variation*

this particular case, is that English, Chinese and Hungarian may share certain conceptual metaphors since those metaphors are motivated by universal sensorimotor experience (e.g. when human beings feel joy, they tend to be up, their eyes are bright, etc.).

Another important aspect to remark is that conceptual metaphors tend to be universal or nearly universal at the generic level (e.g. HAPPINESS IS UP) (Kövecses, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2015). In this regard, Yu (2008, p.259) argues that “there is a direct relationship between the level of generality and the likelihood of universality: as the level of generality goes up, the likelihood of universality increases, and vice versa”. On the contrary, specific level metaphors are more likely to differ cross-linguistically. For instance, a specific level version of the generic level metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP in English is HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, which, as Yu (1998, 2012) points out, does not occur in Chinese.

In spite of the universal sensorimotor experiences shared by human beings, many conceptual and linguistic metaphors vary across languages, as culture plays a vital role in metaphorical conceptualization (Cienki, 1999; Kövecses, 2005, 2006, 2015; Gibbs, 1999; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013; Lakoff, 1993; Sharifian, 2011; Wierzbicka, 1992, 2006). According to Yu (2008, p.247),

Conceptual metaphors emerge from the interaction between body and culture.

While the body is a potentially universal source for emerging metaphors, culture functions as a filter that selects aspects of sensorimotor experience and connects them with subjective experiences and judgements for metaphorical mappings.

That is, metaphors are grounded in bodily experience but shaped by cultural understanding.

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

The ensuing sections in this chapter are devoted to further explore the variability of metaphor in relation to culture, delving into the dimensions and causes that may lead to cross-linguistic differences in metaphor usage.

4.2 DIMENSIONS OF METAPHOR VARIATION

Metaphors vary along two major dimensions: the cross-cultural and the within-culture dimension (Kövecses, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2015). The dimension that allows for a major divergence of metaphor is the cross-cultural one.

4.2.1 CROSS-CULTURAL METAPHOR VARIATION

Cross-cultural variation may occur in several forms. One type is what Kövecses calls congruent metaphors, and refer to when a certain generic-level metaphor has culturally specific-level versions of it. That is, a generic-level metaphor might be shared by different languages/cultures but the specific-level instantiations of the generic-level one are different depending on the language/culture but still share a general schema with the generic-level one (i.e. they are congruent with it). A case in point of congruent metaphors is the potentially universal metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER and its specific-level realizations in different languages. As a generic-level metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER has an extremely general schema, since it does not specify the type or container, what substance is in the container, whether the container is heated or not and so on. However, it is at the specific level when different languages fill out the specific details with cultural content. For

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

instance, in the Chinese version of the metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, the container is not filled with liquid (as in English) but gas. Gas is not affected by heat but it can pressure the container in which it is. That gas represents the excess qi, which, according to the traditional Chinese medicine and philosophy, is the energy that flows through the human body (Yu, 1998, 2008). In turn, the Zulu version of the metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, the emotion of anger is viewed as being in the heart. When a person becomes angry, the heart, which is a container with a limited capacity, gets filled in with the negative emotion, causing internal pressure (Taylor & Mbense, 1998).

Another case of cross-cultural variation takes place when a given target domain is conceptualized by a set of different source domains in different languages (i.e. the range of the target can differ cross-linguistically). Also conversely, when a source domain is used to characterize different target domains depending on the language (i.e. different scope of the source, Kövecses, 1995, 2015), as it is the case in this thesis.

It can also occur that two languages share some conceptual metaphors to characterize a given target domain but both languages show different preferential conceptualization for some of those metaphors. Köves (2002) explored how Americans and Hungarians conceptualized life. Her results show that although some of the metaphors utilized by speakers of both cultures are shared, those same metaphors are not used in the same preferential order. Hungarians and Americans clearly have different concepts of life, as Americans prefer to talk about life as a precious possession while Hungarians prefer to characterize life as a struggle or war.

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

Finally, the least common case is when a given conceptual metaphor is unique to a language or culture. It is a very rare situation, since both the source and the target must be unique to that culture.

4.2.2 WITHIN-CULTURE METAPHOR VARIATION

Even though it is out of the scope of this dissertation, it is worth remarking that within the same culture, language, and particularly metaphors, can suffer variation, due to the divergences in the experiences of the conceptualizers of that culture. A number of dimensions affect the possible within-culture variation such as the social, regional, ethnic and style (Boložky, 2007; Kövecses, 2005, 2008b, 2010a). For example, metaphor usage may vary within a culture depending on social factors such as the gender, the age, the working class, and so on.

Moreover, the style may also play a role in metaphor usage within a culture, as slang, for instance, tends to contain certain metaphors that do not appear in other language styles.

It may also be the case that a culture contains segregated ethnic groups or subcultures, which may develop and employ metaphors differently.

Since the languages studied in this dissertation (i.e. AmE and PenSp) are part of different cultures, the within-culture variation is out of the scope of this work. Nonetheless, it definitely constitutes an interesting area for further research.

4.3 CAUSES OF METAPHOR VARIATION

The causes that lead to the divergence of metaphor use cross-linguistically can be grouped into: (1) differential experience and (2) differential cognitive preferences or styles (Kövecses, 2005, 2008b, 2015). It must be mentioned that both differential experience and differential cognitive preferences or styles are interrelated and may work together.

4.3.1 DIFFERENTIAL EXPERIENCE

On the one hand, metaphor variation can be caused by differential experience, that is, divergence in experience due to different cultural contexts, which entails different social concerns and interests and divergent historical memory (Kövecses 2005, 2008b, 2015). In other words, the cultural context plays a pivotal role in metaphor usage, as when using metaphors, speakers are influenced by the particular physical environment, sociocultural context, cultural history and the particular concerns or interest of a given community.

According to Deignan (2003), “the existence or relative salience of an entity in a culture, or during a particular period of time, will affect its use as the source domain of a metaphor”(p.260). For example, Boers & Demecheleer (1997) explored the metaphors used to characterize Economics in English, French and Dutch. They found that although some of the conceptual metaphors were similar, they were not used with the same frequency. For instance, while English utilizes gardening metaphors most frequently to structure the economics discourse, French preferred the use food metaphors, which might reflect the salience or social interest in these activities in the English and French

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

culture, respectively. Another case in point is the study of Deignan, Lima and López-Mora (1998), which suggests the existence of certain English metaphors with HORSE-RACING as the source domain that were not present in Spanish; and some metaphors grounded in the BULL-FIGHTING and RELIGION source domains that were not employed in English.

As regards the influence of the historical memory of cultures, from the aforementioned study of metaphors about life in American and Hungarian (Köves, 2002), it could be suggested that Americans and Hungarians conceptualize life differently because their social history has also been quite different. Hungarians, unlike Americans, have been in constant wars for more than one thousand years of their existence as a nation, which may be a plausible reason why they characterize life mostly as a struggle or a war instead of as a precious possession or a game, as Americans do.

Hence, the differential experience of people with their surrounding environment shapes the way those speakers conceptualize certain experiential domains, and consequently, it permeates in language.

4.3.2 DIFFERENTIAL COGNITIVE PREFERENCES OR STYLES

Although some human bodily experiences are nearly universal, this potentially universal embodied experience is not exploited in the same way across different languages and cultures (Caballero & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2014; Gibbs, 1999; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013; Kövecses, 2015; Sharifian, 2011; Sharifian et al., 2008; Yu, 2003, 2008, 2012).

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

Therefore, speakers from different cultures may focus on different aspect of the same sensorimotor experience, as Yu points out:

Culture functions as a filter that will only allow certain bodily experiences to emerge and map onto certain concepts. This means that many bodily experiences, though commonly shared by all human beings, may not pass the filter of culture for metaphorical mappings. (Yu, 2008, p.253)

Similar to Yu's idea of cultural filter, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013, p.324) proposes the concept of culture sieve, which, she defines as “an active mediating device that makes our physical, sensorimotor universal experiences sift through the complex and socially acquired particular beliefs, knowledge, and worldview(s) intrinsic to belonging to one or several cultures”.

On the one hand, Ibarretxe-Antuñano holds that the culture sieve “filters those elements that are in accordance with the premises of a given culture”, and it “impregnates the mapping with touches of a culture in contrast with other cultural and social systems” (p.324) (see figure 5).

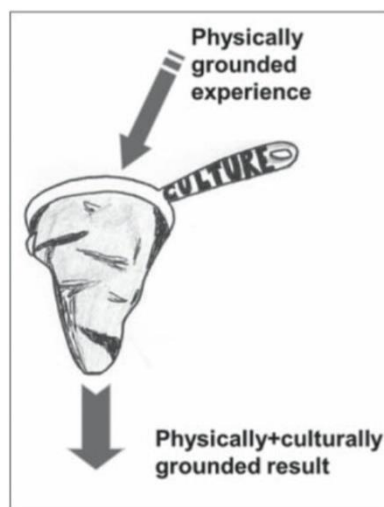


Figure 5. The building of the experiential basis in a conceptual metaphor (Ibarretxe, 2013, p. 324)

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

A clear illustration of different experiential focus is the conceptualization of anger in English and Chinese. As already explained in section 4.1, both languages share the generic-level metaphor *THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER*. Nonetheless, English and Chinese rely on different aspects of the human embodied experience at the specific level. The universal physiological reaction of the human body when feeling angry is the increase of the skin temperature and the increase of blood pressure. Even though all humans experience those aspects of embodied experience, English conceptualizers focus on the skin temperature factor, envisioning anger as a heated liquid in our body; while Chinese people mostly focus on the blood pressure (King, 1989; Yu, 1998, 2008), regarding anger as a gas exerting pressure in the angry person's body.

On the whole, languages may share the same conceptual metaphors or each language can use a different range of the target or scope of the source. In any case, the key point is that metaphorical conceptualization is always shaped by the pressure of embodiment and the pressure of cultural context (Kövecses, 2015).

4.4 CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDIES ON CULINARY METAPHORS

In the past decades, metaphor variation across languages has attracted considerable attention from metaphor scholars. Cross-linguistic studies, also known as contrastive studies, focus on the contrast of two or more languages “with a view to finding similarities and differences between those languages” (Schmidt, 2015). By means of contrasting the metaphorical conceptualization of different languages, the shared and alternative metaphors and their specific linguistic realizations are unveiled.

4. *Cross-linguistic metaphor variation*

In this regard, cross-linguistic metaphor research has many possible applications, namely foreign language teaching, translation, lexicography and intercultural communication (Dirven & Verspoor, 2004; Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005; Kuczok & Biały, 2019).

Even though researchers stress the relevance of food and even eating and drinking in metaphorical conceptualizations (see Agyepong et al., 2017; Berrada & M'Sik, 2007; Chiarung, 2012; Faycel, 2012; Korthals, 2008; López-Rodríguez, 2014; Maalej & Zouheir, 2007; Newman, 1997, 2009; Quy, 2016), little attention has been paid to culinary actions within the COOKING domain. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, no cross-linguistic study has focused particularly on culinary actions as the source domain of metaphors in AmE and PenSp. Therefore, the present dissertation addresses this research gap by providing a frame-based contrastive analysis of the scope of the source domain of COOKING in those two languages, namely AmE and PenSp.

In the case of cross-linguistic metaphor research, by means of a systematic detailed analysis of the metaphors encountered, the contrastive study can reveal:

(a) In target-domain oriented studies:

- (1) The range of the target (Kövecses, 2015) in the languages studied, that is, all the source domains that are used to characterize a given target domain. In this regard, the range of the target might vary across languages, as some of the source domains may not be shared by all the languages under contrast. Additionally, even in the cases in which a conceptual metaphor is used in several languages, the saliency of the source domain can vary among the different cultures and, consequently, it affects its frequency of usage, as speakers show cognitive preference for culturally salient domains.

4. *Cross-linguistic metaphor variation*

(b) In source-domain oriented studies:

(1) The scope of the source, referring to the multiple domains onto which a particular source domain is mapped (Kövecses, 2015). As in the range of the target, the scope of the source can be the same, narrower or wider across languages. Depending on the saliency of a particular source domain, it is conceptually more exploited in the emergence of metaphors across languages.

(c) Both in the source and the target domain oriented approaches, the linguistic metaphors grounded in the same conceptual metaphors can have several linguistic manifestations, which may or may not be the same in the languages studied (Barcelona, 2001; Deignan & Potter, 2004; Deignan et al., 1997; Gutiérrez, 2008; Kövecses, 2015; Soriano, 2003).

Since this thesis follows a source-domain oriented approach (see section 6.1), it does not focus on any specific target domain but on COOKING as the source domain and discovering the target domains to which the culinary actions may apply. In this respect, cross-linguistic culinary metaphor studies up to date focus mainly on food ingredients rather than the actual culinary actions performed in order to cook the food ingredients.

Khajeh and Abdullah (2012), for instance, conducted a cross-linguistic study of culinary metaphors in Persian and English, focusing on three conceptual metaphors: THOUGHT IS FOOD, TEMPERAMENT IS FOOD, and LUST IS FOOD. The data was collected from monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, thesauri, dictionaries of idiomatic expressions and native speakers' intuition as corpus data. Their results suggest that most of the cross-linguistic differences are evident at the specific level, while similarities are found at the generic level of schematicity between Persian and English. They assume

4. *Cross-linguistic metaphor variation*

that those divergences are due to the different socio-cultural context and historical reality of the Persian and English language communities. For example, though sweet is typically perceived as positive in English, sweet has the negative connotation of stupidity in Persian (e.g. “sirin aql”/ sweet mind / ‘stupid mind’). The conceptual correlation between stupidity and sweetness is motivated by the traditional Iranian beliefs which regard the donkey’s meat as sweet, with a negative connotation in the consumers’ minds, who had to consume donkeys during famine and war times. Although Khajeh and Abdullah’s study (2012) provides interesting observations, it fails to provide a detailed account of the conceptual metaphors encountered in English and Persian, and it chiefly focuses on few Persian metaphorical expressions. The study could have been more relevant if they had addressed the actual similarities and differences at the conceptual and linguistic level in a more consistent way.

In the same vein, Khajeh et al. (2013) described the correspondences among some food related concepts and the conceptualization of anger in Persian and English. Interestingly, sadness is understood as a hot substance in a container both in English and Persian. However, the cooking pot containing the sadness, anxiety and nervousness is placed in the heart/stomach in Persian.

- dalam juš mi-zane
My heart/stomach is boiling.
‘I am sad/anxious/ worried.’

Moreover, Persian utilizes some cooking methods such as boiling, frying or roasting to refer to sadness, anxiety and nervousness. Persians envision an angry person’s heart/liver as the one undergoing the cooking process.

- del/jegar-am ro kabāb kard.

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

He roasted my heart/liver.

‘He made me extremely sad.’

Hence, the seat of sadness in Persian is the heart/liver, giving rise to the culturally-specific metaphor BEING SAD IS HAVING ONE’S HEART/LIVER COOKED (roasted/fried/boiled). According to Khajeh et al., the divergences at the specific level are motivated by humoralism and the Persian traditional medicine, which have left their traces in the Persian traditional beliefs.

Additionally, Tsaknaki (2016) conducted a study that explores the metaphorical extensions of cooking verbs in Greek and French. She compiled the verbs from French and Greek recipes and cooking dictionaries. The study excludes idiomatic expressions but it discusses shared conceptual metaphors like ECONOMY IS COOKING, POLITICS IS COOKING and EMOTIONS ARE COOKING. Nonetheless, the level at which the conceptual metaphors are formulated in Tsaknaki’s study seems to be rather schematic in that the source domain is always referred to as COOKING, regardless of the culinary verb involved. The analysis would have been far more comprehensive by determining the source frames that were activated by the culinary verbs in each conceptual metaphor, which would account for the lexical choices underlying each metaphor. Nevertheless, she remarks that further research is needed to enable an analysis of quantitative data, which could shed more light on the resemblances and divergences of frequency of metaphor usage across languages.

In a cross-linguistic study, Roldán-Riejos and Molina (2015) explored the metaphors WORKING WITH METALS IS COOKING/TRABAJAR CON METALS ES COCINAR and METALS ARE CULINARY OBJECTS /LOS METALS SON OBJETOS CULINARIOS. The examples they analyzed were taken from the *Bilingual Dictionary of Scientific and Technical*

4. *Cross-linguistic metaphor variation*

Metaphors and Metonymies SpanishEnglish/English-Spanish (Cuadrado et al., 2016), a bilingual dictionary which comprises conceptual, linguistic and visual metaphors and metonymies in different areas of engineering. In their study, they unveiled the cross-linguistic correspondences in relation to processes and types of metals, suggesting the presence of synesthetic metaphorical mappings. They found that the METALLURGICAL domain tends to be characterized in terms of the COOKING domain in both English and Spanish, though with subtle nuances due to cultural factors. Their interesting results suggest that while Spanish activates the sense of taste more frequently and a broader range of culinary preparations at the specific level, English preferably draws on the senses of touch and texture.

All in all, cross-linguistic studies on metaphor are necessary and relevant as they bring to light the main similarities and differences between the metaphorical expressions and their underlying conceptual metaphors employed by the speakers of different languages.

Thus far, cross-linguistic studies on culinary metaphors are generally quite small in terms of sample size and they do not present a concrete and systematic method of identification and analysis. Moreover, they are often limited to food ingredients and eating, underestimating the potential of culinary actions within the COOKING domain. Additionally, the frequency of usage of the metaphors examined, which is a crucial factor in determining the saliency of a particular metaphor within a given culture, has remained largely unconsidered, mainly because in most cases the data were extracted from lexicographical works instead of corpora.

4.5 SUMMARY OF THIS CHAPTER

Chapter 4 has addressed the issue of the variation of metaphorical conceptualization across languages and cultures, which is just as important as universal embodiment. Some conceptual metaphors seem to be nearly universal across cultures, since they are motivated by universal embodied experience (Kövecses, 2005, 2006, 2008b, 2015; Lakoff, 1993; Yu, 2008). Nevertheless, even those potentially universal conceptual metaphors can display variation at a more specific level of schematicity across languages (Yu, 2008, 2012; Kövecses, 2005, 2015). This divergence is due to the cultural context, which acts as a filter that selects the aspects of sensorimotor experience that are relevant to a particular culture (Cienki, 1999; Kövecses, 2005, 2006, 2015; Gibbs, 1999; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013; Lakoff, 1993; Sharifian, 2011).

As regards the dimensions along which metaphor varies, Kövecses (2015) distinguishes between the cross-cultural and the within-culture dimensions.

Cross-cultural variation can occur in the form of congruent metaphors, alternative metaphors and even unique metaphors. Congruent metaphors refer to conceptual metaphors which are culturally divergent at the specific level but which are congruent with the shared generic-level metaphor in which they are grounded. Furthermore, different languages might also have alternative ways of conceptualizing experiences, as a target domain can be understood in terms of different source domains cross-linguistically (different range of the target); or a given domain may serve as the source for the characterization of different target domains in several languages (different scope of the source). Lastly, unique metaphors, which do not abound, are metaphors in which both the source and the target domain are unique to a particular culture, thus they cannot be found in any other culture.

4. Cross-linguistic metaphor variation

Some aspects may also affect metaphor within a culture, namely the social, regional, ethnic and style factors (Bolzky, 2007; Kövecses, 2015).

Regarding the causes that lead to metaphor variation, they can be grouped into differential experience (i.e. divergence in experience due to different cultural contexts, which entails different social concerns and interests and divergent historical memory) and differential cognitive preferences or styles (i.e. focus on different aspects of the same sensorimotor experience) (Kövecses, 2005, 2008b, 2015).

All in all, more cross-linguistic metaphor research focusing particularly on culinary verbs would be useful in expanding our understanding of the COOKING domain as a source domain of metaphors in different languages, as this dissertation does in AmE and PenSp.

The following chapter provides an overview of the current approaches and methods for metaphor identification in language.

4. *Cross-linguistic metaphor variation*

CHAPTER FIVE
METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION
IN LANGUAGE

5. METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION IN LANGUAGE

5.1 LEXICAL APPROACH TO METAPHOR

5.2 CORPUS-LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO METAPHOR

5.3 METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURE (MIP)

5.4 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The present chapter is devoted to some approaches to the study of metaphor, namely the lexical approach and the corpus-linguistic approach. Moreover, it also introduces the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP, Pragglejaz Group, 2007) as the basis for the frame-based procedure undertaken in this study.

5.1 LEXICAL APPROACH TO METAPHOR

The “lexical approach” also known as the “lexical method” (firstly described in Kövecses, 1986) consists in the use of dictionaries as the main source for extracting information about lexical items that belong to a particular concept:

Researchers using the lexical method search for various lexical items or other types of information that are related to the general topic, or concept, under investigation (such as particular emotions indicated by particular lexemes: e.g., anger, fear, surprise). These include synonyms, antonyms, related words, various idioms and phrases, collocations, and, importantly, even the definitions of the

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

lexemes.[...]The most likely sources for these types of information are dictionaries: monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, thesauri, collocation dictionaries, idiom dictionaries of various sorts, and, in general, any collections of words and phrases related to a concept. (Kövecses, 2019, p.29)

By doing so, the metaphorical senses of the lexical items are identified in the lexicographical works and then grouped into thematic clusters representing the different source and target domains (Kövecses et al., 2019).

For instance, Gutiérrez-Pérez (2008) undertook a cross-linguistic study of heart metaphors in French, Italian, Spanish, English and German. Following the lexical approach, she gathered the metaphorical senses of ‘heart’ from dictionaries and thesauri and assigned the target domains to which the heart applies in each of the languages. Although a series of idiosyncratic metaphorical expressions of each language was unveiled, the results of Gutiérrez’s study suggest that the conceptualization of the heart is very similar in the 5 languages, probably due to the universal aspects of the human body.

One of the drawbacks of the lexical approach is that novel or recent metaphorical extensions of words are not available in dictionaries. Consequently, the lexical approach can only account for metaphorical senses that are conventional, that is, senses which are lexicalized in dictionaries. Moreover, the definitions and items related to a particular lexical item are not tokens (i.e. those definitions are not instances of metaphorical expressions in naturally occurring data). In this line, Kövecses (2019, p.30) notes that the lexical approach “was not designed to capture contextual variation in the use of metaphors”. Hence, the lexical approach does not allow researchers to

study metaphors found in real data nor measure the frequency of use of metaphors, which is why this approach was ruled out for the present study.

5.2 CORPUS-LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO METAPHOR

Unlike metaphor studies mainly based on lexicographical works, metaphor studies that follow a corpus-linguistic approach draw attention to large amounts of contextualized metaphorical expressions in real discourse, which allows to attain a higher degree of representativeness of a language (Deignan, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2015; Deignan & Semino, 2010; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Newman, 2011; Semino, 2017; Sinclair, 1991; Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006). Consequently, the corpus-linguistic approach supports empirical research by providing greater generalizability and validity to the results (Biber, 2012).

According to Kövecses et al. (2019, p. 170) the advantages of the corpus method as opposed to the lexical approach are:

- (1) a corpus-linguistic approach performs better in finding the entire range of metaphorical expressions (both conventionalized and non-conventionalized).
- (2) It works both with types and tokens whereas the lexical method can only work with types (occasionally with tokens¹⁰).
- (3) The frequency of tokens associated with types can be only studied by using corpus-based methods.

¹⁰ Not even the best corpus-based dictionaries enable researchers to find the non-conventional types associated with a domain, deal with both types and tokens, and gauge the frequencies of occurrence of particular lexical items.

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

Corpus studies use two major research approaches: corpus-based and corpus-driven studies (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001), the main difference being that in corpus-based studies, the researcher uses the corpus data to validate, support or illustrate a pre-existing theory or hypothesis, whereas corpus-driven studies start with the corpus and use the information gathered as the source of evidence for building up a certain theory or hypothesis, that is, “any conclusions or claims are made exclusively on the basis of corpus observations” (Storjohann, 2005).

By using online corpora (i.e. large collections of texts that can be accessed online or by using computer programs) in the study of metaphors, researchers can, for instance, investigate the similarities and differences between metaphors in several text types, genres (see Caballero, 2016; Charteris-Black, 2004; Semino, 2011), particular periods of time (see Alexander & Bramwell, 2014; Allan, 2008; Tissari, 2001, 2017) and even across different languages (see Deignan & Potter, 2004; Dongman & Deignan, 2019; Öster, 2019).

As a starting point for extracting metaphorical expressions from corpora, Stefanowitsch (2006, p.2-5) proposes a series of strategies:

- (1) Manual searching: the researcher carefully reads through the corpus extracting all the metaphors he or she comes across.
- (2) Searching for source domain vocabulary: the researcher selects a set of lexical items from the source domain. As the present thesis adopts a source-domain oriented approach, more details can be found in section 6.1.

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

- (3) Searching for target domain vocabulary: the researcher retrieves lexical items that are representative from the target domain¹¹.
- (4) Searching for sentences containing lexical items from both the source domain and the target domain: this strategy can only be used to identify metaphorical expressions that are grounded in conceptual metaphors that are known in advance.
- (5) Searching for metaphors based on ‘markers of metaphor’ or ‘tuning devices of metaphor’: As proposed by Goatly (1997), this option allows for the retrieval of metaphors on account of certain linguistic devices that might signal the presence of metaphors (e.g. “metaphorically/figuratively speaking”, “so to speak”, “in more than one sense”, etc.).

For instance, in a source-domain oriented study, Deignan (2005) concordanced a number of key words from the source domain of ANIMALS in the Bank of English. Her results suggest that animal metaphors tend to be used to talk about human behavior and sometimes attributes. Deignan found that, for example, animal nouns (e.g. “Richard is a gorilla”) that are used metaphorically are rare. Instead, animal metaphors are more likely to occur in the form of verbs (e.g. “to horse”, “to pig”, “to wolf”, “to dog”) and adjectives (e.g. “catty”, “tigerish”, “sheepish”).

In a cross-linguistic study, Deignan and Potter (2004) examined the metaphorical conceptualizations of certain body parts in English and Italian. The body lexical items chosen in were “nose”, “mouth”, “eye” and “heart”, and their Italian

¹¹ In this regard, Stefanowitsch puts forward what he calls the *metaphorical pattern analysis* (MPA), which only applies to target-domain oriented approaches (see Stefanowitsch, 2006, pp.63-105 for an overview).

translation equivalents “naso”, “bocca”, “occhio” and “cuore” (and all their derived and inflected forms). Deignan and Potter examined 1000 citations of each lexical item in the Bank of English and The Italian Reference Corpus and the Parole Corpus. In analyzing the data, Deignan and Potter identified the main non-literal senses of the body lexical items and their frequency in both languages. Despite some differences at the specific-level, Deignan and Potter’s results show that English and Italian appear to share very similar patterns in the conceptualization of human body parts, possibly due to universal embodiment. They also remark that a large number of non-literal expressions related to body parts apparently emerge by a combination of metaphor and metonymy.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the English cooking lexical items have been extracted from COCA and the Spanish ones from the Web/Dialects corpus. All the details regarding the selection criteria and the procedure of analysis are presented in Chapter 6.

On the whole, as Stefanowitsch (2006, p.12) notes, corpus studies of metaphor have “uncovered a wealth of intriguing facts about conceptual mappings that was not known beforehand, and, indeed, that could not have been learnt from the traditional, introspective approach”.

5.3 METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURE (MIP)

Some domains of experience are connected at the level of thought, and this conceptual phenomenon surfaces in language. However, identifying metaphorical expressions can be a really challenging task, since conceptual metaphors are not directly linked to specific linguistic expressions (Deignan & Potter, 2004; Stefanowitsch, 2006).

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

Finding a solid and reliable method for determining whether a certain expression is metaphorical or not, has been a pressing need in the past years. Identifying metaphors at the linguistic level is neither something that can be done automatically nor something that can be based only on intuition. To my mind, our intuition is something natural and definitely necessary but it is not enough to provide a valid and reliable analysis, since the results obtained would be strongly subjective.

In response to the urgent need for a proper method, a group of ten researchers called Pragglejaz, developed the so-called MIP¹² (Metaphor Identification Procedure, Pragglejaz Group, 2007), in order to identify metaphorically used lexical items in discourse.

MIP is a very simple but efficient method that consists of these steps (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p.3):

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse.
3. a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

¹² There is an extended version of MIP developed at VU University Amsterdam called MIPVU. MIP identifies indirectly expressed linguistic metaphors, whereas MIPVU identifies other forms of metaphor in language, namely direct and implicit metaphor. Thus, MIPVU incorporates minor adjustments but in essence the procedure remains the same as MIP. For a deeper explanation of this version see (Steen et al., 2010) and (Nacey, 2013).

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:

- More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste);
- Related to bodily action;
- More precise (as opposed to vague);
- Historically older;

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

Therefore, MIP consists in recognizing if a given lexical unit possesses a more basic sense and then deciding whether the contextual and the basic sense can be understood in comparison with each other. If so, the lexical unit can be identified as metaphorically used.

Nonetheless, this study does not strictly stick to MIP, since the aim pursued is not to chop the whole texts found in the two corpora into lexical items and then check whether they are used metaphorically or not. Instead, this study focuses on a fix set of

LUs from the COOKING domain previously collected. Thus, the task of defining the basic sense of the lexical units is fulfilled before searching for the words in the corpora. The only steps left, then, are to identify the contextual meaning of the cooking terms in the corpora citations and finally to make a decision on their metaphoricity.

The present work has applied an adaptation of MIP that introduces frames as a semantic tool for comparing the frames that the contextual and the basic senses of the word evoke¹³. Moreover, after identifying the linguistic metaphors, the frame-based metaphor identification procedure allows for revealing the possible conceptual metaphors and mappings underlying them (see section 6.4), an issue that poses methodological problems for researchers as well (Deignan, 2017; Steen, 1999, 2009).

5.4 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Chapter 5 has discussed some of the current approaches to the study of metaphor. Metaphorical expressions cited in the classic CMT literature were mostly produced in an intuitive way by researchers. As possible alternatives, the lexical approach and the corpus-linguistic approach to the study of metaphor have been presented.

On the one hand, the lexical approach (Kövecses, 1986, Kövecses et al. 2019) focuses on lexicographical works, such as monolingual, bilingual dictionaries and thesauri as the main source for obtaining all the information of lexical items related to a particular concept. One of the main drawbacks of this approach is that it only unveils

¹³ The frame-based identification procedure is described in detail in Chapter x. Chapter x also explains how frames can help to decide what conceptual metaphors underlie the metaphorical expressions identified.

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

metaphorical senses that are conventional (i.e. lexicalized). Besides, the lexical approach does not provide the researcher with large amounts of data in which those metaphorical senses are used in real language in usage. Hence, the frequency of use of metaphors cannot be investigated either.

On the other hand, one of the major strengths of the corpus-linguistic approach to the study of metaphor is that it provides greater generalizability and validity to the results (Biber, 2012). Moreover, Kövecses et al. (2019, p. 170) stress that corpus studies are more efficient than studies based on the lexical approach at: (1) finding the entire range of metaphorical expressions (both conventionalized and non-conventionalized), (2) providing citations of linguistic metaphors in naturally occurring data (i.e. tokens), (3) allowing to calculate the frequency of usage of metaphorical senses.

Furthermore, even though metaphor is ubiquitous in natural language, its identification has been a problematic issue for the past decades (Deignan, 2017; Pragglejaz Group, 2007; Steen, 2009; Steen et al. 2010; Todd & Low, 2010). With this in mind, the present chapter has introduced MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), a solid and reliable procedure for identifying linguistic metaphors in actual usage.

Since the present study follows a source-domain oriented approach, the starting point is the selection of lexical items pertaining to the source domain under investigation, that is, the COOKING domain. In addition, frames have been utilized as a semantic tool for determining the conceptual mappings between cognitive domains. Consequently, this work draws on an adaptation of the main steps of MIP (see section 6.4) so as to provide a more comprehensive procedure for identifying metaphors both at the linguistic and conceptual level.

5. Metaphor identification in language

In what follows, chapter 6 provides a detailed description of the procedure followed to undertake this study.

5. *Metaphor identification in language*

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1 SOURCE-DOMAIN ORIENTED APPROACH

6.2 LEXICAL ITEMS SELECTION CRITERIA

6.3 CORPORA: COCA AND CORPUS DEL ESPAÑOL

WEB/DIALECTS

6.3.1 COCA

6.3.2 CORPUS DEL ESPAÑOL WEB/DIALECTS

6.4 DATA RETRIEVAL

6.5 METAPHOR ANALYSIS

The present chapter reports the methodology used in order to carry out this study. In particular, Chapter 6 describes the source-domain oriented approach adopted to start the study (section 6.1), the criteria for selecting the lexical items (section 6.2), the two corpora used (section 6.3), the procedure of data retrieval (section 6.4) and finally, the parameters followed in order to undertake the contrastive analysis of metaphors (section 6.5).

6.1 SOURCE-DOMAIN-ORIENTED APPROACH

Exploring conceptual metaphors can be carried out from two different perspectives. On the one hand, a certain target domain can be selected in order to examine what source domains are used in order to understand and comprehend abstract ideas within that domain (i.e. explore the range of a given target domain). Thus, this

6. Methodology

perspective shows how different source domains can combine so as to characterize a specific target domain.

On the other hand, a not so common but also valuable approach is what Stefanowitsch (2006) calls the “source-domain-oriented approach”, in which a source domain is chosen so as to determine what cognitive domains it might be mapped onto (i.e. examine the “scope of the source”). As Kövecses (2000, p.79) claims, “most of the typical source domains appear to characterize not just one target concept but several”. Hence, as I previously pointed out in chapter 1, my decision to select the COOKING domain was not arbitrary but based on the fact that it is thought to be one of the most frequently used source domains, as it is a deeply entrenched and culturally salient domain of experience in different cultures (Deignan, 2003; Kövecses, 2010c).

Bearing this in mind, this study regards the COOKING domain as a potential source domain and aims to bring to light the target domains referred to by metaphorical expressions grounded in that domain in AmE and PenSp.

Regarding the procedure to follow, doing a word-by-word search in any corpora until coming up with relevant cooking-related words is not a feasible option. Researchers as Newman (2011), Deignan & Potter (2004) and Stefanowitsch (2006), claim that the reasonable starting point for the source-domain-oriented approach would be to select a fix set of lexical items from the source domain. The search for source domain vocabulary can be approached in multiple ways (Stefanowitsch, 2006, p. 2-3):

Metaphorical and metonymic expressions always contain lexical items from their source domain (this is what makes them non-literal in the first place). Thus, it is a reasonable strategy to begin an investigation by selecting a potential source domain (i.e., a semantic domain or field that is known to play a role in

6. Methodology

metaphorical or metonymic expressions. In a first step, the researcher can then search for individual lexical items from this domain.[...] The choice of items can be based on a priori decisions [...], it can be based on existing exhaustive lists [...], or it can be based on a preceding keyword analysis of texts dealing with target-domain topics.

Bearing Stefanowitsch's suggestions in mind, the next section puts forward the selection criteria followed in order to choose the lexical items from the COOKING domain.

6.2 LEXICAL ITEMS SELECTION CRITERIA

As stated above in section 6.1, the option that fitted better with my research goals was to start by selecting a fix set of lexical units pertaining to the source domain I chose, that is, COOKING. Since this study focuses on a range of culinary actions, I decided to collect those lexical items from several culinary blogs (see Appendix 1).

The reason for using online recipes from cooking blogs instead of recipe books is that the Internet offers free online access to culinary blogs and websites, which contain a wider range of recipes that are quite frequently updated, in most cases daily.

After navigating and discovering the overwhelming number of food blogs, I decided to focus on some of the ones suggested in <https://americanfoodbloggers.com/>, a website which enumerates and provides the links to the best American food blogs, ranking up to 1209 food blogs by popularity and influence (see Figure 6).

6. Methodology

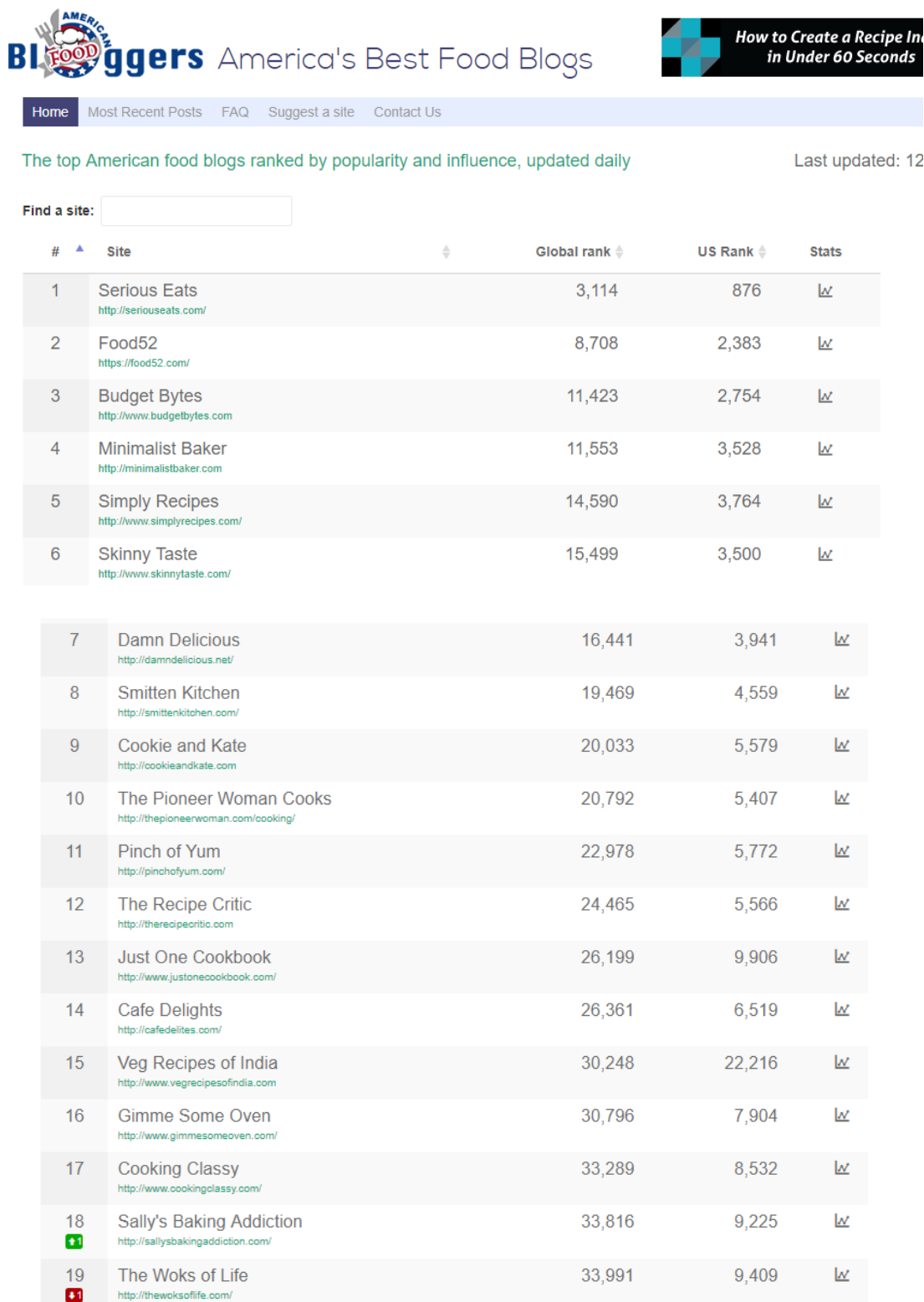


Figure 6. Ranking of America's Best Food Blogs

6. Methodology

Once I selected 10 of those blogs, I scrolled through 10 of their recipes (10 per blog). Each of the recipes always included two sections: the ingredients and the directions, so I paid special attention to the directions section, as it is the one that included the type of lexical items I was looking for, that is, culinary actions.

After detecting lexical items referring to culinary actions, I selected the ones whose basic sense clearly pertained to the cooking domain. To do so, I checked the meanings of the different lexical items in different dictionaries, namely ‘*MacMillan Dictionary*’ (<https://www.macmillandictionary.com/us/>), ‘*Merriam Webster*’ (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/>) and ‘*Cambridge Dictionary Online*’ (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/>).

For instance, I found that verbs like ‘add’, ‘mix’, ‘cover’, ‘take’ are quite frequent in recipes, but their literal meaning is way wider in scope and cannot be said to emerge from the COOKING domain. However, verbs like “fry” and “bake” possess a basic sense related to cooking, so they became good candidates for the present study.

Last but not least, in order to minimize the ineluctable risk to miss potential lexical units, I also utilized the “Explore Thesaurus” option within the *MacMillan Dictionary*, which provided me with related words from the same domain of experience, that is COOKING, and their corresponding definitions (see Figure 7 for an example).

6. Methodology

BuzzWord Open Dictionary Games Resources API More

Cook food or be cooked - thesaurus

f g+ t

Related words

bake VERB
to cook food in an oven

bake VERB
food that is baking is being cooked in an oven

barbecue VERB
to cook food, especially meat, outside on a barbecue or over a fire

baste VERB
to cover meat with hot fat or its own juices while it cooks

be slaving away over a hot stove
to be cooking something

boil VERB
to cook food in water that is boiling

boil VERB
to be cooked in water that is boiling

boil down
to become smaller in quantity after cooking because some of the liquid has turned to gas, or to make something do this

Using the thesaurus

Explore related meanings

- Prepare food for cooking or eating
- Cooked or prepared
- Preserve food
- Things used for keeping food fresh
- Cooks, cuisine and cookery
- Oils and fats used in cooking
- Substances used in cooking

From the Blog

[What does covfefe mean?](#)

[Cucks, cuckolds, cuckqueans and cuckoos](#)

Figure 7. Some of the related words to ‘cook’ obtained from the “Explore Thesaurus” option

The “Explore Thesaurus” option was a useful tool since it provided even more lexical items from the COOKING domain while making sure (thanks to their available definitions) that their literal sense was related to COOKING.

At that point, I proceeded to find the most appropriate equivalents of the AmE set of lexical items in PenSp. For so doing, I used the free online dictionaries ‘WordReference Dictionary’ (<https://www.wordreference.com/>), ‘Cambridge Dictionary’ (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/>), ‘Collins Dictionary’ (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/>) and DRAE (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española) (<https://dle.rae.es/>).

6. Methodology

The final list of cooking terms in AmE and PenSp is the following:

- (1) Bake, (2) hornear, (3) boil, (4) hervir, (5) fry, (6) freír, (7) knead, (8) amasar, (9) roast, (10) asar, (11) stew and (12) guisar.

Before proceeding with the corpora search, the frames evoked by the aforementioned AmE lexical items and their PenSp correspondents were characterized in tables (see chapter 7), pointing out their main core FEs. The description of the frames is based on the information found in the cooking blogs appearing in Appendix 1. Since the frames evoked by the lexical units selected were found to be equivalent¹⁴ in AmE and PenSp, the tables utilized in order to describe those source frames are shared.

6.3 CORPORA: COCA AND CORPUS DEL ESPAÑOL WEB/DIALECTS

With the fix set of search terms from the COOKING domain in AmE and PenSp, the next step was to search for those terms in an AmE corpus and a PenSp one. Keeping in mind the goal of my thesis, the corpora had to preferably meet the following basic requirements:

- a) Being large corpora with current, naturally-occurring data.
- b) Offering a considerable amount of free permitted searches¹⁵.
- c) Containing AmE / PenSp.
- d) Including a wide variety of topics (potential target domains) in several genres (if possible).

¹⁴ The only difference between the AmE and the PenSp source frames are some of the ingredients employed.

¹⁵ The number of free KWIC concordance lines (the word in context) that you can view each day.

6. Methodology

After examining several corpora, the two corpora that best fitted my goals were COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) (Davies, 2008) and Corpus del Español Web/Dialects (Davies, 2016). Up to 3000 hits per lexical item in each language were retrieved from the two corpora. The next subsection provides a description of the main features of COCA and Corpus del Español Web/Dialects.

6.3.1 COCA

The Corpus of Contemporary American AmE (Davies, 2008) is one of the largest, freely-available corpus of AmE, and the only large and balanced corpus of AmE.

This corpus currently contains more than 600 million words of text (updated with 20 million words each year, from 1990 to 2019) and it is equally divided among spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. Each genre is further divided into subgenres, which can be searched individually. Although it is out of the scope of this thesis, it is worth remarking the fact that COCA provides the frequency distributions over the timeline, making it easy to see diachronic changes. Table 3 below outlines the aforementioned characteristics of COCA:

Table 3

Main features of COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English)

COCA
Corpus of Contemporary American English
+ 600 million words in 220,225 texts
Frequently updated (20 million words each year 1990-2019)

**Five genres: equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines,
newspapers, and academic texts**

Frequency distribution over the timeline

Furthermore, COCA offers several displays, namely:

- List display: to find all forms of single words.
- Chart display: it shows the total frequency of a lexical unit in each section (in each genre and subgenre in 5 year blocks).
- Collocates display: to find words that occur near other words.
- Compare display: to compare the collocates of two words.
- KWIC (Keyword in Context) display: to see the patterns in which a word occurs, sorting the words to the left and/or right.

For the purpose of this study, I have not focused on a specific genre but I have selected up to the first 3000 random concordance lines retrieved from the list display, which included texts from the five different genres (spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic). The following figures show an example of how the list display works:

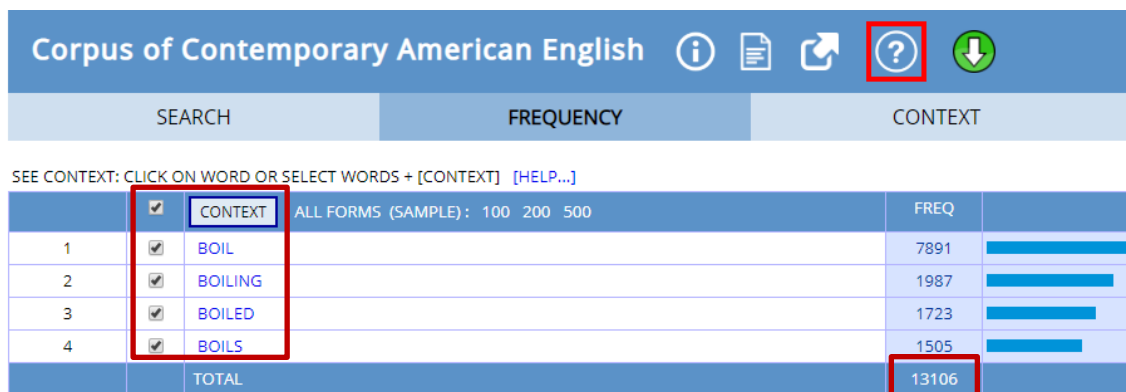
6. Methodology

To start with, the word in square brackets¹⁶ is entered into the list display and the option ‘find matching strings’ is clicked on (see figure 8).



Figure 8. COCA List display

Then, all the forms of the word that can be found in the corpus are shown, together with their frequency in each of the forms, which gives the chance to select the necessary word forms (see figure 9).



	CONTEXT	ALL FORMS (SAMPLE): 100 200 500	FREQ	
1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOIL	7891	
2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOILING	1987	
3	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOILED	1723	
4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOILS	1505	
		TOTAL	13106	

Figure 9. COCA display of all the word forms available together with their frequency

¹⁶ Adding square brackets around the word allows to search for all the forms of that word.

6. Methodology

In this study I always selected all of the available word forms (e.g. boil, boils, boiling, boiled) and then clicked on ‘context’ in order to visualize all the instances available with their immediate context, year, genre and source (see figure 10).

The screenshot shows the COCA interface with the 'CONTEXT' tab selected. The search results table is as follows:

Row	Year	Genre	Source	Word	Context
1	2017	MAG	Nerdist	boils	I am one with the Force, and the Force is with me, "boils down to. He can feel the Force sometimes, and with it by his
2	2017	MAG	Medical Xpress	boils	regular urine tests, especially after recovery from a cold, fever, tonsillitis and boils. If the urine appears with protein or red b
3	2017	MAG	Bleacher Report	Boiling	on seeing Goff's mean streak this season. It's inside of him. Boiling. Waiting to burst. Once, when Goff was the second base
4	2017	MAG	Ars Technica	boils	trying out the diet could trigger dangerous complications in diabetic patients. # "It boils down to" do not try this at home", "
5	2017	MAG	RollingStone.com	boil	a scene of erotic asphyxiation, ends with a man being fellated by a talking boil on a woman's neck, and still manages to find
6	2017	MAG	RollingStone.com	boils	Ellison began experimenting with After Effects and creating strange characters with normal faces marred by boils and disco
7	2017	MAG	RollingStone.com	boils	, perhaps, they might not apply -- an absurd, dissipated landscape full of boils and poop." I want to show people something
8	2017	MAG	Ars Technica	boil	more than any other arty" indie "game in recent memory, will likely boil down to what you think about video games in gen
9	2017	MAG	Nerdist	boiling	to be is akin to that of a frog in a pot of water, boiling over slowly, sealing the frog's fate before it can react to the reality
10	2017	MAG	Nerdist	boils	None.) # In terms of how the noodles actually change shape, that boils down to the ingredient makeup of the noodles and l

Figure 10. COCA samples with their immediate context, year, genre and source

The screenshot shows the COCA interface with the 'CONTEXT +' tab selected. The source information and expanded context are as follows:

Source information:

Date	2017 (17-02-05)
Title	Scholars Talk Writing: Advice From an Editor
Source	ACAD: Chronicle of Higher Education (subscription)

Expanded context:

talk about that process? # Bent: Jim spent 20 years writing Toward Democracy and had a highly evolved notion of what he wanted to accomplish -- where he would start and where he would end. I didn't try to argue him into altering anything. I mainly tried to point out places where, in between, he might be exhausting the reader's patience a little. I encouraged paraphrase (see above) and highlighted portions that I felt didn't further, and if anything diluted, the central point. For such a long book, it boils down to a very firm set of notions he believes define democracy -- where they were found and where they were lost -- and I tried to keep my eye on them, and keep his on them as well. # Mainly this is common sense and a general reader's informed reaction. The best thing -- sometimes the only thing -- I can be for any author is a stand-in for the general reader. I did push him pretty hard to change his original title, which was "Tragic Irony

Figure 11. COCA expanded context and detailed information on the source

If necessary, a more expanded context can be obtained by clicking on the source of the example (see figure 11).

6.3.2 CORPUS DEL ESPAÑOL: WEB/DIALECTS

As for PenSp, I made use of the version of Corpus del Español called Web/Dialects (Davies, 2016). This corpus has around 2 billion words of data, extracted from more than 2 million websites. The ‘original’ Corpus del Español (Davies, 2002), now called Corpus del Español: Genre/Historical, allows you to look at historical and genre variation. On the other hand, Web and Dialects contains about 100 times as much data as in the 1900s portion of the Genre/Historical, which is much smaller. Besides, the data of Genre/Historical does not portray quite contemporary PenSp (it focuses on data from the 1200s to the 1900s). For those reasons, Corpus del Español (Web/Dialects) provides much richer and updated data, and in addition collects data from 21 Spanish-speaking countries. Table 4 below outlines the aforementioned characteristics of Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects:

Table 4

Main features of Corpus del Español (Web/Dialects)

CORPUS DEL ESPAÑOL
(Web/Dialects)
Around 2 billion words from about 2 million web pages
Frequently updated data
Data from 21 PenSp-speaking countries
Allows for examining the variation between the dialects

6. Methodology

Regarding the searching process, the Web/Dialects corpus shares the same displays as COCA: list, chart, collocates, compare and KWIC displays. As in COCA, I only made use of the list display, restricting the search to PenSp (see figure 12).

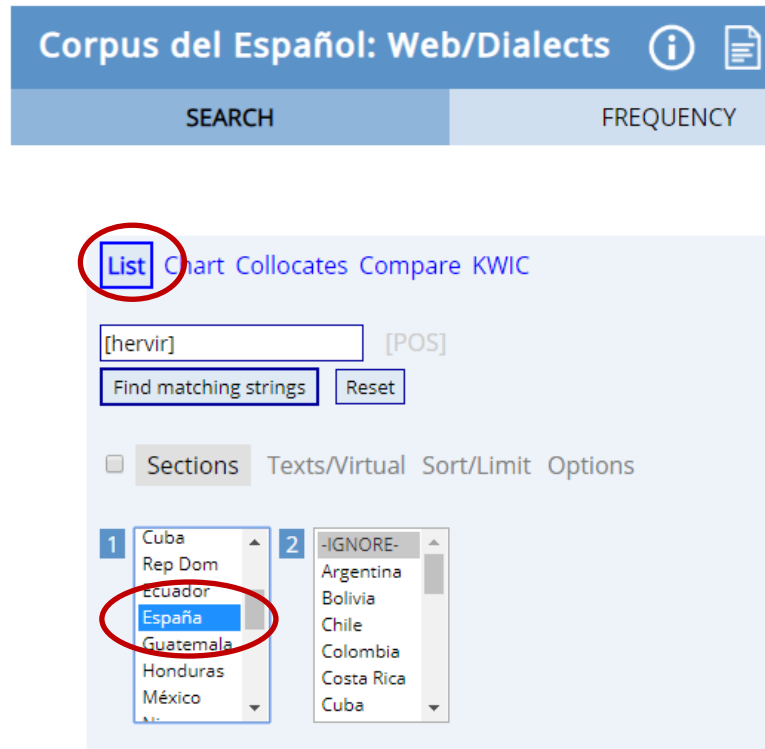









Figure 12. Web/Dialects list display

Then, I selected all the word forms available, when possible¹⁷, or at least the 20 most frequent forms for each verb (see figure 13).

¹⁷ Web/Dialects does not allow to search for more than 20 word forms at the same time.

6. Methodology

Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects       

SEARCH FREQUENCY CONTEXT

SEE CONTEXT: CLICK ON WORD OR SELECT WORDS + [CONTEXT] [HELP...]

	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	ALL FORMS (SAMPLE): 100 200 500	FREQ	TOTAL 4,027
1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIR		1597	<div style="width: 1597px;"></div>
2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIRVIENDO		989	<div style="width: 989px;"></div>
3	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIERVE		489	<div style="width: 489px;"></div>
4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIERVA		307	<div style="width: 307px;"></div>
5	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIDO		157	<div style="width: 157px;"></div>
6	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIDA		93	<div style="width: 93px;"></div>
7	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVÍA		80	<div style="width: 80px;"></div>
8	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIDAS		54	<div style="width: 54px;"></div>
9	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIMOS		51	<div style="width: 51px;"></div>
10	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIDOS		47	<div style="width: 47px;"></div>
11	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIRVIÓ		25	<div style="width: 25px;"></div>
12	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIRÁ		21	<div style="width: 21px;"></div>
13	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIERVES		21	<div style="width: 21px;"></div>
14	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIRVIENDO		19	<div style="width: 19px;"></div>
15	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIRÍA		14	<div style="width: 14px;"></div>
16	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVÍAN		10	<div style="width: 10px;"></div>
17	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HIRVIERA		9	<div style="width: 9px;"></div>
18	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERVIREMOS		7	<div style="width: 7px;"></div>

Figure 13. Web/Dialects display of all the word forms available together with their frequency

By following these simple steps, all the results displayed are from PenSp (see figure 14). If more context is needed to process a single example (apart from the extended version that the corpus offers), the actual webpage in which the word form of the verb appears can be accessed by clicking on the source.

6. Methodology

The screenshot shows the 'Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects' interface. At the top, there are navigation tabs: SEARCH, FREQUENCY, CONTEXT (selected), and OVERVIEW. Below the tabs, the search results are displayed. The 'SECTION' is set to 'España'. The search results table has columns for ID, Language (G), Country (ES), Source, and Context (A, B, C). The word 'hervir' is highlighted in green in the context column. A red box highlights the 'CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT' button.

ID	Language	Country	Source	Context (A, B, C)	Text
1	G	ES	101lugaresincreibles.com	A B C	la circunda. La mayoría de los lugareños se refieren a esta catarata congelada como hervir el Agua. La misma está formada por carbonato de sodio...
2	G	ES	101lugaresincreibles.com	A B C	que nace de charcas en ebullición. Tampoco faltan zonas donde el lodo de marmita hervir , y lugares donde la temperatura se vuelve insoporable. A...
3	G	ES	10penkult.cc	A B C	Leche de soja Harina de trigo Sal Pimienta negra Mantequilla Queso parmesano aceite de oliva Hervir el coliflor a fuego medio durante 20 mins - - cu...
4	G	ES	13469.blogspot.es	A B C	lo q hay en mi piel, puro fuego me haces sentir, mi piel hervir , me incitas a seguir, cada vez mas, tu, mi amor,
5	G	ES	13festival.zemos98.org	A B C	por Blackie Books, Noguera vuelve a dar el salto al papel (tras Hervir un oso, junto a Jonathan Millán), para compartir su manera de ver
6	G	ES	abordodelotoneurath.blogspot.com	A B C	costes y beneficios. Porque, si estamos hablando de beber leche de vaca sin hervir , me parece estupendo que lo hagas tú. Es temerario, pero si has
7	G	ES	abordodelotoneurath.blogspot.com	A B C	ti; que esas son manías de vegano, no de bebedor de leche sin hervir ... 275. Knocking on heaven's door. Lisa Randall. Interesante exposición
8	G	ES	abordodelotoneurath.blogspot.com	A B C	, mediante proposiciones atómicas, Explicame en qué te basas para inferir que El agua hervirá del hecho de que Tiene fuego debajo? Igual que el niñ
9	G	ES	abordodelotoneurath.blogspot.com	A B C	de hacer una función corporal natural por lo que me imagino que comen solo carne hervida con cereales y toman agua ya que comer es solo para al
10	G	ES	acordes.lacuerda.net	A B C	voy. Sabes que soy, que soy cien por cien corazón mi sangre no hervir al calor uso la poesía convirtiéndolo en canción por eso hermano tu ya

Figure 14. Web/Dialects samples with their immediate context and source

All in all, the two selected corpora are extremely useful, since they share a really fast and easy-to-use interface¹⁸ and provide a large amount of current naturally occurring data. The corpus COCA already focuses on one of my studied languages, AmE, and the corpus Web/Dialects allows to limit the searches to a specific geographic dialect, in my case, PenSp.

6.4 DATA RETRIEVAL

As regards the data retrieval from the COCA and Web/Dialects corpora, up to 3000 citations of “bake”, “hornear”, “boil”, “hervir”, “fry”, “freír”, “knead”, “amasar”, “roast”, “asar”, “stew” and “guisar” (see table 5) were examined so as to determine in which cases those lexical units from the COOKING domain were being used metaphorically.

¹⁸ The interface of COCA and Web/Dialects are very similar since both of them pertain to the corpora collection created by Mark Davies at Birmingham Young University (BYU).

6. Methodology

Table 5

Lexical units selected from the COOKING domain and their corresponding number of citations examined from COCA and Web/Dialects

Lexical unit	Number of citations examined
Bake	3000
Hornear	2319
Boil	3000
Hervir	3000
Fry	3000
Freír	1940
Knead	1400
Amasar	1659
Roast	3000
Asar	2839
Stew	3000
Guisar	2059
	Total: 30216

In order to identify the instances in which the COOKING domain terms activated a metaphorical sense in COCA and Web/Dialects, an adaptation of the MIP procedure (fully described in section 6.4) was applied. The frame-based metaphor identification procedure proposed in this thesis consists of the steps included in figure 15:

6. Methodology

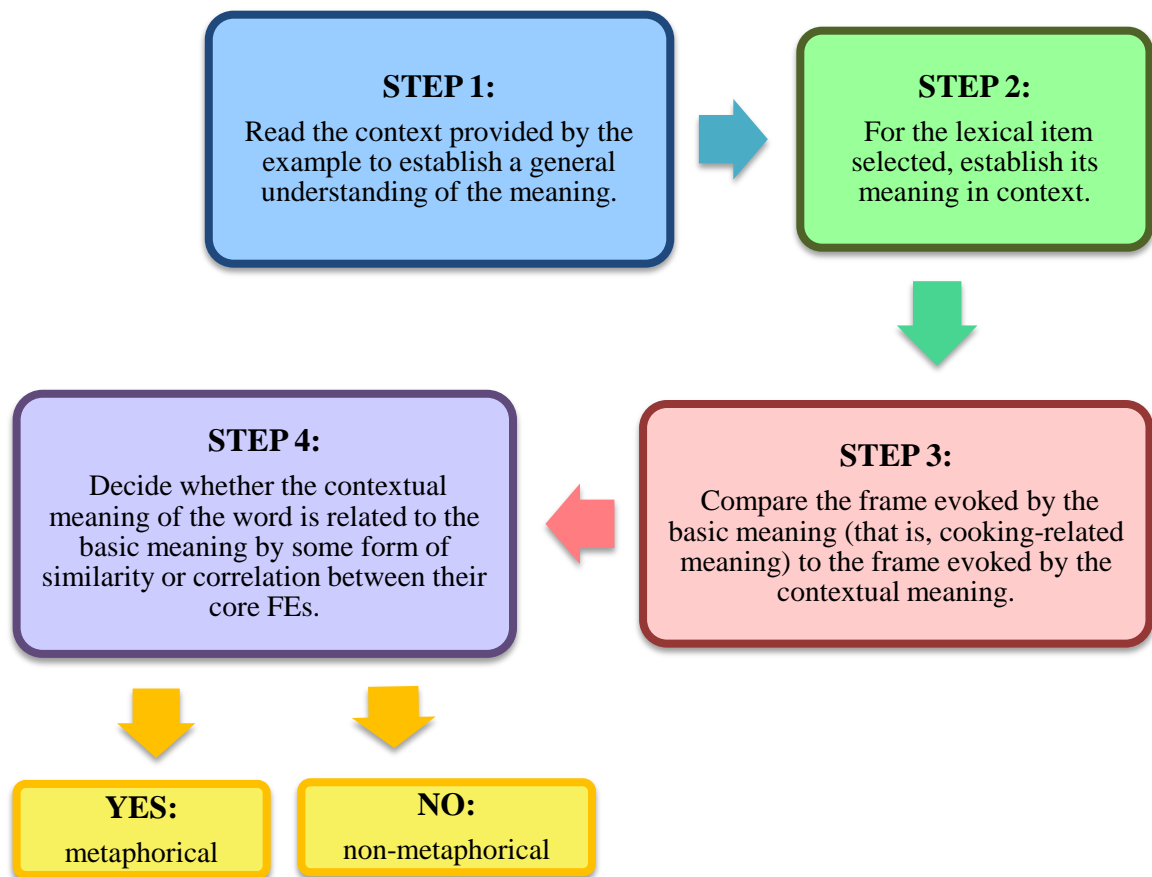


Figure 15. Frame-based metaphor identification procedure (adapted from MIP procedure)

Since this study follows a source-domain oriented approach (see section 5.1), the basic sense of the cooking related terms selected for the search is already established. Therefore, when searching for those terms in the corpora, the first step of the frame-based method adopted was to read the context provided by the example in the corpus and to establish a general understanding of its meaning. If in doubt, the expanded context was consulted, so as to see to it that the whole meaning was clearly determined.

Once the general meaning of the occurrence was understood, the next step was to establish the contextual meaning of the lexical item selected (i.e. the cooking-related

6. Methodology

item).¹⁹ As previously done with the basic meaning, the contextual meaning was established by using the same dictionaries (see section 6.2). In the cases in which the contextual sense was not specified in the dictionaries, it was determined taking into consideration the immediate context of the given lexical item.

Then, the frame evoked by the basic meaning of the given cooking term was compared to the frame activated by the contextual meaning found in the particular instance.

The last step followed was to decide whether the contextual meaning of the lexical item was related to the basic meaning by some form of similarity or correlation between their core FEs. In this sense, a lexical item was regarded as metaphorical if its contextual meaning contrasted with its basic meaning (that is, the frames evoked were different), but the contextual and the basic meanings could be understood in comparison with each other (by some sort of correlation between the FEs of both meanings). A lexical unit was not considered metaphorical in the cases in which the contextual meaning was the same as its basic meaning (i.e. both meanings evoked the same frame), or if the correlation between the frames evoked could not be determined.

All in all, the frame-based metaphor identification procedure proposed in this thesis introduces frames as a semantic tool for comparing the frames that the contextual and the basic meaning of the word evoke. In so doing, the final decision on whether a lexical unit is metaphorical or not is not only based on the basic-contextual meaning comparison of senses taken from the dictionary, but also on the comparison of the conceptual frames that those senses actually evoke.

¹⁹ As already noted in section 1.2, when the cooking-related terms were part of similes, they were not considered for analysis.

Moreover, by determining the TFs evoked by the metaphorical expressions, the frame-based method allows for the identification of the underlying conceptual mappings, refining MIP, which just tracks metaphor in language but does not reveal the possible conceptual mappings.

6.5 METAPHOR ANALYSIS

Once the metaphorical expressions were identified by using the frame-based metaphor identification procedure, those citations and their extended context were manually retrieved, creating a corpus of all the linguistic metaphors of each one of the cooking-related terms. All the metaphorical instances were tagged (e.g. BOIL_ANGER) so as to determine the TF evoked in each particular instance.

Regarding the description and contrast of the conceptual metaphors underlying the metaphorical expressions identified both in AmE and PenE, this thesis adopts some parameters followed by Barcelona (2001), Gutiérrez (2008), Kövecses (2005, 2008b), Soriano (2003) and Valiulienė (2015) in order to provide a detailed contrastive analysis of the metaphors in both languages:

(a) Existence or absence of the same conceptual metaphor in AmE and PenSp. This is the maximum contrast possible. In this regard, Barcelona (2001, p.137) claims that:

The same metaphor may be said to exist in both languages if approximately the same conceptual source and the target can be metaphorically associated in the two languages, even though the elaborations, the specifications and corresponding linguistic expressions of the metaphor are not exactly the same, or equally conventionalized, in both of them.

6. Methodology

(b) Contrast, if any, of the conceptual elaboration (i.e. mappings of a particular metaphor in each language) and linguistic exploitation (i.e. different linguistic realizations grounded in the same conceptual metaphor) of each shared metaphor in AmE and PenSp.

(c) Exploration of the frequency of usage of each of the conceptual metaphors encountered in AmE and PenSp.

Therefore, bearing in mind the aforementioned parameters, the results presented in chapter 7 delve into the description of the TFs²⁰ evoked by each LU in AmE and PenE, their core FEs, the conceptual mappings from the source frame onto the target frames and their corresponding entailments. Moreover, examples of the different linguistic manifestations found of each metaphor are presented.

Once the results have been shown, they are further discussed and explored in chapter 8, which offers a contrastive view of the results found, answering the RQs (see chapter 1) of this study: firstly, the TFs evoked by the linguistic metaphors grounded in the COOKING frames in AmE and PenSp; secondly, when the metaphors are shared in AmE and PenSp, contrast, if any, of the conceptual mappings and linguistic instantiations in both languages; thirdly, the frequency²¹ of usage of each one of the metaphors identified in both languages. Last but not least, when several of the cooking-related terms have been found to characterize the same TF, their frequency has also been calculated.

²⁰ The cases in which a metaphor only occurred 3 or less times were excluded from the analysis, as those non-literal senses were not considered sufficiently frequent as to generalize their usage in everyday language (see Deignan, 2005 in section 2.1).

²¹ Both the frequency out of the total number of occurrences of a LU examined and the frequency out of the total metaphorical expressions of a given LU have been explored.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS

7. RESULTS

7.1 BAKING AND HORNEAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

7.1.1 BAKING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL
HEAT

7.1.2 BAKING target frame 2 (TF2): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE
OF DRUGS

7.1.3 BAKING generic-level metaphor: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT
ELEMENT INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING

7.1.4 “Baking” idiom: “to be baked into the cake”

7.1.5 BAKING generic-level metaphor: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING
AN ENTITY IS BAKING

7.1.6 Other cases of BAKING (3 or fewer instances found)

7.1.7 HORNEAR generic-level metaphor: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING
AN ENTITY IS BAKING

7.1.8 Other cases of HORNEAR (3 or fewer instances found)

7.2 BOILING AND HERVIR AS SOURCE FRAMES

7.2.1 BOILING target frame 1 (TF1): ANGER

7.2.2 BOILING target frame 2 (TF2): SOCIAL AGITATION

7.2.3 BOILING target frame 3 (TF3): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL
HEAT

7.2.4 BOILING target frame 4 (TF4): BUSTLING WITH
PEOPLE/ACTIVITY

7.2.5 BOILING target frame 5 (TF5): SKIN ABSCESS

7.2.6 BOILING target frame 6 (TF6): AGITATED CLOUDS

7.2.7 BOILING generic-level metaphor 1: REDUCING/SUMMARIZING
INFORMATION IS BOILING LIQUID DOWN

7.2.8 BOILING generic-level metaphor 2: EMERGING ELEMENTS ARE
BUBBLES ORIGINATING FROM A BOILING POT

7.2.9 Other cases of BOILING (3 or fewer instances found)

7.2.10 HERVIR target frame 1 (TF1): ANGER

7.2.11 HERVIR target frame 2 (TF2): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL
HEAT

7.2.12 HERVIR target frame 3 (TF3): BUSTLING WITH
PEOPLE/ACTIVITY

7.2.13 Other cases of HERVIR (3 or fewer instances found)

7.3 FRYING AND FREÍR AS SOURCE FRAMES

7.3.1 FRYING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL
HEAT

7.3.2 FRYING target frame 2 (TF2): EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE

7.3.3 FRYING target frame 3 (TF3): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON

7.3.4 FRYING target frame 4 (TF4): DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL
DEVICE

7.3.5 FRYING target frame 5 (TF5): SUFFERING FROM MENTAL
EXHAUSTION

7.3.6 “Frying” idiom: “to have bigger/other fish to fry”

7.3.7. Other cases of FRYING (3 or fewer instances found)

7.3.8 FREÍR target frame 1 (TF1): BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING
SOMEONE

7.3.9 FREÍR target frame 2 (TF2): BECOMING DISTURBED

7.3.10 FREÍR target frame 3 (TF3): STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH
DRUGS

7.3.11 FREÍR target frame 4 (TF4): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

7.3.12 FREÍR target frame 5 (TF5): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON

7.3.13 FREÍR target frame 6 (TF6): DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE

7.3.14 “Freír” idiom: “a freír espárragos”

7.3.15 Other cases of FREÍR (3 or fewer instances found)

7.4 KNEADING AND AMASAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

7.4.1 KNEADING target frame 1 (TF1): MASSAGING SOMEONE

7.4.2 KNEADING target frame 2 (TF2): TOUCHING SOMEONE
PASSIONATELY

7.4.3 KNEADING target frame 3 (TF3): RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART

7.4.4 KNEADING target frame 4 (TF4): CAT PAWING

7.4.5 Other cases of KNEADING (3 or fewer instances found)

7.4.6 AMASAR target frame 1 (TF1): ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS

7.4.7 AMASAR target frame 2 (TF2): DRIBBLING THE BALL

7.4.8 AMASAR target frame 3 (TF3): CAT PAWING

7.4.9 AMASAR generic-level metaphor: AMALGAMATING/COMBINING
DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS KNEADING

7.4.10 Other cases of AMASAR (3 or fewer instances found)

7.5 ROASTING AND ASAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

7.5.1 ROASTING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

7.5.2 ROASTING target frame 2 (TF2): CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING

7.5.3 ASAR target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

7.5.4 Other cases of ASAR (3 or fewer instances found)

7.6 STEWING AND GUI SAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

7.6.1 STEWING target frame 1 (TF1): BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED

7.6.2 STEWING target frame 2 (TF2): PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING

7.6.3 STEWING target frame 3 (TF3): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL

7.6.4 STEWING generic-level metaphor: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING

7.6.5 “Stewing” idiom: “to stew in one’s own juices”

7.6.6 Other cases of STEWING (3 or fewer instances found)

7.6.7 GUI SAR generic-level metaphor 1: DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS STEWING

7.6.8 GUI SAR generic-level metaphor 2: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING

This chapter provides a detailed account of the results obtained through the application of the analytical procedure to the two corpora described in chapter 6²².

The analysis of the results is structured in 6 sections which correspond to the six English lexical units selected (presented in alphabetical order), together with their six Spanish counterparts: (1) bake – hornear, (2) boil – hervir, (3) fry – freír, (4) knead – amasar, (5) roast – asar, and (6) stew – guisar.

Those 6 sections, in turn, include the description of:

- a) The source frame and its core FEs.
- b) The target frame(s) and their core FEs evoked by each of the LUs in the occurrences identified as metaphorical in the two corpora.
- c) The particular mappings from the source frame onto the target frames illustrated with examples extracted from the corpora. In the cases in which a given target frame has several linguistic realizations, they are presented too.

A deeper analysis of the main contrasts found between AmE and PenSp regarding each of the research questions of this thesis (see chapter 1) is described in full detail in chapter 8.

7.1 BAKING AND HORNEAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

In their most basic sense, the lexical units “bake” and “hornear” evoke the prototypical frame which is configured by the core FEs²³ appearing in table 6. These

²² Analyses based on other corpora or other varieties of English and/or Spanish might yield different results.

²³ The core FEs of BAKING – HORNEAR listed in table 6 are represented in **bold** in the text.

frames involve a person, the **cook**, who after **preparing and mixing the ingredients** to be baked, puts them into a **baking container** (a baking sheet for solid foods or a mold for pastries, cakes, etc.). When the **oven** reaches the recommended temperature (at least 300°F), the baking container with the **raw food** is placed in the oven. While baking, the dry **heat** is evenly transferred to the entity being baked, making its ingredients undergo **chemical changes** to form the **final baked product**.

“Bake” and “hornear” are generally employed to refer to cooking bread and pastry, though they can also apply, to a lesser extent, to small pieces of meat, fish and vegetables. Therefore, the cook usually works with substances that lack a solid structure before being cooked (e.g. cakes, cookies, muffins, bread...), and the ingredients become solid after the process of baking.

Table 6

BAKING - HORNEAR as source frames

BAKING – HORNEAR FRAME
DESCRIPTION: to cook food by applying dry heat (at least 300°F) in an oven for an extended period of time.
Core FEs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cook: person who prepares the food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Preparing/mixing process: make the ingredients ready for being baked.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (oven).

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Baking container: container that holds the ingredients and is placed in the heating device.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heat: heat produced by the heating device (oven) that enables the food to bake.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Duration: necessary time for the food to become baked.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chemical changes: changes that the ingredients undergo while being baked.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Resulting food: the resulting meal of the baking process.

The subsequent sections examine (1) the target frames (metaphorical senses) that have been identified in the 3000 citations of the word forms of “bake” extracted from COCA; and (2) the target frames identified in the 2319 occurrences of word forms of “hornear” found in the Web/Dialects corpus. Regarding “bake”, 149 out of the 3,000 instances were metaphorical (4.97%), whereas in the case of “hornear” only 18 out of the 2,319 occurrences were considered metaphorical (0.78%).

7.1.1 BAKING TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

One of the target frames evoked by “bake” in COCA is EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT. A total of 69 occurrences of the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame were identified, which constitutes a 2.3% of the 3,000 instances examined from COCA. The prototypical EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame refers to a

situation in which the environmental temperature is so high that it may cause severe impact on people’s health as well as affect the structure of other physical entities (e.g. cities, oceans...).

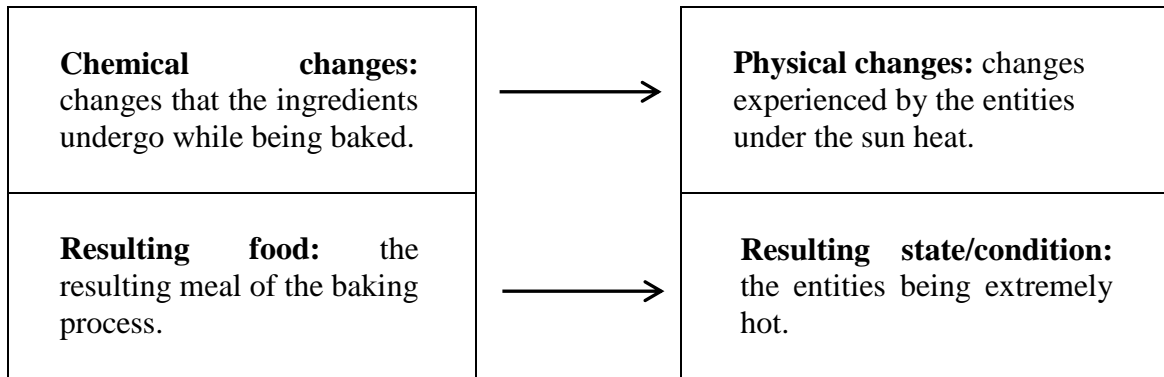
Table 7

BAKING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BAKING²⁴

BAKING (SOURCE FRAME)		EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food by dry heat in an oven for an extended period of time.		DESCRIPTION: Exposure to extreme temperatures by sun heat, usually causing adverse health effects.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Heat receiver: the entity that feels/perceives the heat, usually a person.
Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (oven).	→	The sun
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (oven) that enables the food to bake.	→	Heat: hot weather produced by the sun heat.
Duration: necessary time for the food to become baked.	→	Duration: necessary time for the receiver of the sun heat to become really hot.

²⁴ All the frame to frame mappings in this thesis have been named following the CMT convention by using the TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN formula.



As seen in table 7 above, there are several core FEs from the BAKING frame that might be mapped onto the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame, that is, some FEs from the target frame can be understood in terms of some FEs from the source frame. Those conceptual projections between FEs are signaled by an arrow²⁵. For instance, the **sun** and the **heat** it emits are conceived of as the **oven** and its **heat**. In turn, the **sun heat patient** might be categorized as the **food ingredients** being cooked in the oven. The **extended exposure** to extreme environmental heat and the ensuing **physical changes** in people and other physical entities are viewed as the **time** the ingredients spend in the oven undergoing **chemical changes**. Consequently, the **resulting state in entities** that receive extreme sun heat correlates with the **final baked food**.

The aforementioned mappings can be clearly illustrated with some of the metaphorical expressions found in COCA.

- (1) “Through an opening in the tunnel, he could see several of his friends' and colleagues' bodies lying where they fell, **baking** in a blistering tropical sun”. (COCA, FIC: The Anthrax protocol, 2017).

²⁵ Henceforth, all the tables containing the source and target frames include arrows that signal the corresponding mappings between FEs.

- (2) “Jake Charlie and I had been bumping along the dirt road headed north out of Flagstaff all day, **baked** by a murderous sun, racked by every rut and rock in the dirt road”. (COCA, FIC: The darkness rolling : a novel, 2016).

As shown in examples 1 and 2, when using “baking” to refer to extreme environmental heat, the sun is conceptualized (often negatively) as the oven that emits heat and bakes everything under it. That extreme sun heat, in turn, causes serious heat-related illnesses to the receiver of that heat, which is conceived of as the food undergoing chemical changes while being baked.

- (3) The most recent evidence implicates both UVA and UVB in sunburn as well as premature aging and skin cancer. Jessica Krant, MD, of the Laser & Skin Surgery Center of New York and assistant clinical professor of dermatology at SUNY Downstate Medical Center, also cautions against " direct **baking** in the sun between 10 a. m. and 3 p. m., " when the sun' s rays are the most...”. (COCA, MAG: Vegetarian Times, 2015).

- (4) Boston was **baking** in the throes of an unexpected May heat wave. Everyone was cranky. It was almost too hot to argue”. (COCA, FIC: Truth be told , 2014).

Some of the metaphorical occurrences found show physical (e.g. sunburn, premature aging, skin cancer) as well as psychological (e.g. more aggressive behavior) consequences, as in examples 3 and 4. In example 4, Boston is used metonymically since it stands for the people that live in that city, who are actually the ones baking.

7.1.2 BAKING TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS

The BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame was activated in 4 out of the 3,000 instances of “bake” (0.13%) extracted from COCA. The BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame evokes a person that has consumed a drug and consequently, is under the influence of that drug²⁶. That state is also colloquially known as “being high” or “being stoned”, and generally refers to the effects of smoking marijuana or drinking alcohol.

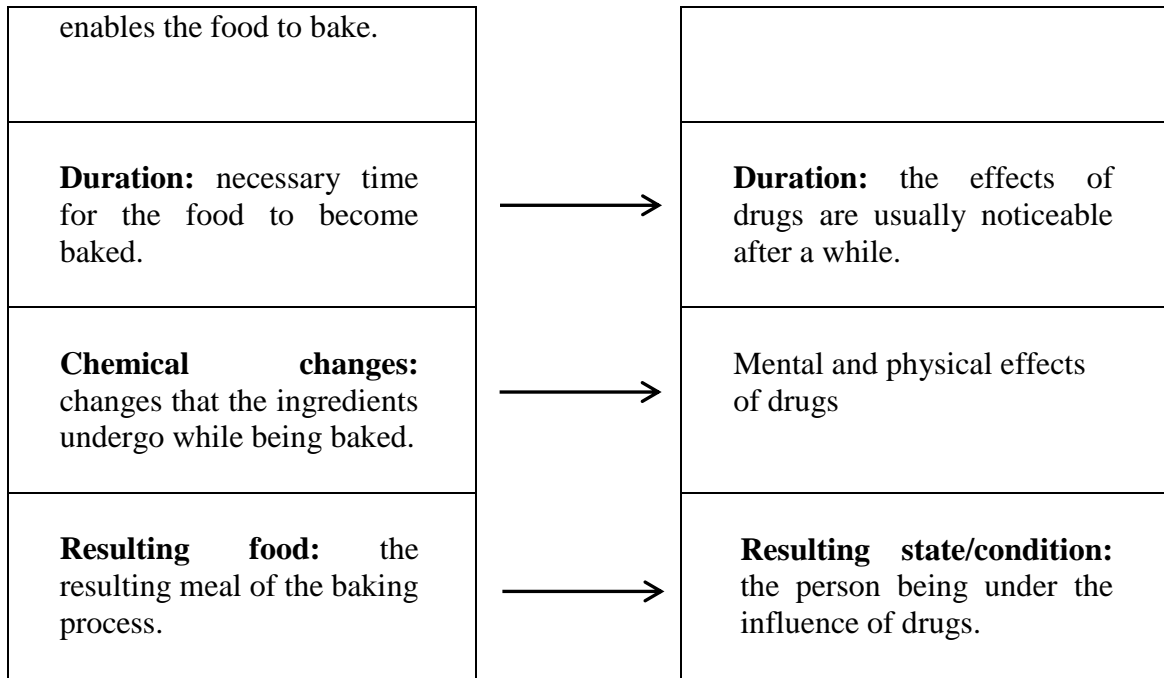
Table 8

BAKING target frame 2 (TF2): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS

BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS IS BEING BAKED

BAKING (SOURCE FRAME)		BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food by dry heat in an oven for an extended period of time.		DESCRIPTION: a mental and physical state that occurs after a person has consumed drugs.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Person
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (oven) that	→	The drugs

²⁶ In this metaphorical sense the term “bake” does not apply to prescription drugs.



As can be observed in table 8, by virtue of the metaphor BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS IS BEING BAKED, the **person** who is taking **drugs** is regarded as the **food** that is being **baked** by the oven **heat**. As happens with the food, which goes through some **chemical changes** due to the heat, the person also experiences **mental and physical changes** after taking the drugs. Examples 5 and 6 portray some of the aforementioned conceptual projections.

- (5) “And you'd both get really drunk. And I'm thinking what a strange bonding experience that probably was. What was it like to get drunk with your mother, when - I mean, she had a drinking problem. It wasn't like, let's have a nice drink... MARY-KARR# (Laughter) You think? TERRY-GROSS#... And loosen things up, so we could have a heart-to-heart talk. MARY-KARR# No. It was like, let's get **baked** and see if the piano player will buy us drinks”. (COCA, SPOK: Fresh Air 12:00 AM EST, 2016).

- (6) “The last thing I want to do with a cop who is messing with me, probably when I was high, if I was wandering around high school **baked** out of my mind, I would not want to go like this”. (COCA, SPOK: DR. DREW 9:00 PM EST, 2015).

As illustrated in examples 5 and 6, the metaphor BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS IS BAKING employs a set of linguistic manifestations, namely ‘to get baked’ and ‘to be baked’, which contribute to the comprehension of the conceptual projections. In example 5, the speaker explains her experiences of getting baked with her mum, as if they were food, highlighting the process of getting drunk (i.e. ‘to get baked’ focuses on the whole process of achieving that state, not being in it yet).

In example 6, the person explains how being baked, that is, being already in a state in which drugs are influencing him/her, might be highly noticeable. Unlike ‘to get baked’, ‘being baked’ highlights the end of the process of taking drugs, its result.

7.1.3 BAKING GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING

One of the metaphors underlying 64 out of the 3,000 “bake” occurrences (2.13%) in COCA has BAKING as its source domain but it does not have a fixed target domain, that is, in this case the BAKING source domain applies to multiple target domains that share a specific Aktionsart and semantic roles.

Thus, the BAKING frame can be conceptually projected onto multiple target domains that refer to integrating an element or several elements into a whole so that it becomes an intrinsic part of it and cannot be separated from the integrated whole.

The possible target domains share the following semantic characteristics: (1) different constituent elements (physical or abstract), and (2) the accomplishment of integrating those elements into a unified entity (physical or abstract), which implies a change of state. The target frames that contain this semantic structure (1 and 2) could respectively be characterized as some core FEs from the BAKING frame: (1) different ingredients being baked together and (2) the accomplishment of integrating those ingredients by baking them into a unified, solid entity (e.g. bread, a cake, etc.).

Therefore, after analyzing the common semantic structure of the target domains found, we suggest the generic-level metaphor (Kövecses, 2005) INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING, since this overarching metaphor can be placed at a level of abstraction that includes the multiple target domains.

(7) “In March of 2013, T-Mobile announced that it was doing away with two-year contracts. No one liked the contracts, but if you promised yourself to a carrier for 24 months, they subsidized much of the cost of your smartphone -- **baking** the cost into your monthly fee so you either didn't notice it or felt it a little less intensely”. (COCA, MAG: Mashable, 2017).

(8) “As Arya coolly mentions in this scene with Sansa, the Game of Faces taught her to be a good actress and an even better liar. These qualities were both **baked** into her character and beaten into her last season”. (COCA, MAG: Vanity Fair, 2017).

(9) “Start-up Cuff will embed location sensors into a line of bracelets and necklaces. Fitbit has even signed a deal with designer Tory Burch to create accessories for its products. # **Baking** smart components into clothes and accessories is also getting easier to do”. (COCA, MAG: Popular Science , 2014).

(10) “You're almost saying it like there's an addiction code. RAMSAY-BROWN# Yeah, that is the case. That since we've figured out, to some extent, how these pieces of the brain that handle addiction are working, people have figured out how to juice them further and how to **bake** that information into apps”. (COCA, SPOK: CBS 60 MINUTES 7:00 PM EST, 2017).

Examples 7, 8, 9 and 10 constitute instances of the generic-level metaphor INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE is BAKING, as each of them refers to a different target domain: integrating a given cost into a monthly fee (example 7), qualities into a character (example 8), smart components into clothes (example 9) and information into an app (example 10). In this sense, the integrated elements are considered as ingredients that are baked into a cake, and therefore, after the accomplishment of being structurally baked into the cake, they become an irremovable part of it.

7.1.4 “BAKING” IDIOM: “TO BE BAKED INTO THE CAKE”

The informal AmE idiom “to be baked into the cake” is used to refer to a situation that cannot be solved or avoided, that is, it is inevitable. This idiom occurs in 4 out of the 3,000 citations of “bake” (0.13%). The meaning of “to be baked into the cake” is

an extension of “bake into” (i.e. “bake into” is its etymological origin), with the nuance of inevitability. Thus, as happens with “bake into”, “to be baked into the cake” also implies a change of state and an accomplishment. However, “to be baked into the cake” highlights the last stage of the process that the BAKING frame expresses: once the ingredients are baked into a cake, they cannot be unbaked or disentangled, since the change of state has already taken place.

The expression “baked into the cake” is used in contexts in which the nuance of inevitability is present, and through frequent use, this nuance undergoes pragmatic strengthening. In these cases the sense of integration is present too, but it loses pragmatic relevance and bleaches out. The process of semantic bleaching consists in the weakening of particular aspects of meaning because they are irrelevant in the pragmatic context (Navarro i Ferrando, 1998; Sweetser, 1990).

(11) “He's not going to win this election because he's a sweetheart to women. VAUSE# Is this **baked** into the cake already, his history with women? JACOBSON# Yes; I mean, look, there is hard data to back up the fact that women are turned off by Donald Trump. Over 70-percent of women across the country have an unfavorable view of Donald Trump”. (COCA, SPOK: CNN NEWSROOM 12:00 AM EST, 2016).

(12) “-CNN# No, but yeah, there would be absolutely no reason to do that and really everyone he needs to put it in perspective, you know, if nothing's over tomorrow, this was **baked** into the cake already that Trump would do well in these states”. (COCA, SPOK: ANDERSON COOPER 360 DEGREES 9:00 PM EST, 2016).

Both examples 11 and 12 show that “to be baked into the cake” is employed to reflect a situation that has no turning back or is inevitable (the women’s view of Trump in example 11 and Trump’s victory in certain states in example 12), as a cake which has already been baked.

7.1.5 BAKING GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING

Another generic-level metaphor underlying 8 out of the 3,000 “bake” occurrences (0.27%) in COCA is DEVELOPING AN ENTITY IS BAKING, as it has BAKING as its source domain and it is conceptually projected onto several target domains. Those target domains refer to the process of gradually developing an entity (physical or abstract) until the stage in which it is fully elaborated or formed.

Hence, the possible target domains share the following semantic characteristics: (1) an incipient entity (physical or abstract) that needs to be developed, and (2) the accomplishment of fully developing or elaborating the entity (physical or abstract), which implies a change of state.

The target frames that contain this semantic structure (1 and 2) could, respectively, be characterized as some core FEs from the BAKING frame: (1) raw food ingredients (e.g. dough) (2) the accomplishment of turning the raw food into a fully baked product (e.g. bread, muffins, etc.) that has been through a number of chemical changes until reaching its final state.

- (13) “I am a thirty-three-year-old newspaper reporter whose baby is almost fully **baked** inside my fiance's womb”. (COCA, FIC: The fraud, 2017).

- (14) “WINDOWS 10 IS NEARLY **BAKED** # Although Microsoft isn't yet set to release the " final " version of Windows 10, it's nearing the end”.
(COCA, MAG: PC World, 2015).

Examples 13 and 14 are instances of the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING AN ENTITY IS BAKING, since even though they refer to different target domains, both entail entities (the baby in example 13 and Windows 10 in example 14) that are in the process of development, which could correlate with the food that is in the oven until it gradually changes its state and becomes fully baked.

7.1.6 OTHER CASES OF BAKE (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the target frames, generic-level metaphors and idioms of “bake” already explained, there were 2 instances found in COCA in which “bake” evoked the frame of REDUCING. Since only 2 examples cannot be considered a significant number out of a corpus of 3000 citations, REDUCING is not generalized here as a frequently used target frame of BAKING in AmE.

7.1.7 HORNEAR GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING

The nearest PenSp translation equivalent of “bake” would be “hornear”. The present and the subsequent sections present the metaphors evoked by the word forms of “hornear” in the 2319 occurrences extracted from the corpus del español Web/ Dialects.

One of the generic-level metaphors encountered in 18 out of the 2,319 “hornear” samples (0.78%) extracted from the corpus Web/Dialects is the DEVELOPING AN ENTITY IS BAKING metaphor. As the detailed description of the specific semantic characteristics that the target frames of this generic-level metaphor must coincide with the ones described in section 7.1.5, the present section provides some examples of the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING AN ENTITY IS BAKING in PenSp found in the corpus Web/Dialects²⁷.

- (15) “Una **hornada** de títulos de EA Sports, que contendrá material y características exclusivas para Xbox One”. (Web/Dialects, <http://atombit.es/xbox-one-el-todo-en-uno-del-entretenimiento>).

‘A batch of EA Sports games that will contain exclusive materials and features for the Xbox One’.

- (16) “Hasta hace unos años, los médicos recién **horneados** eran un tesoro para las áreas de Atención Primaria y Especializada...”. (Web/Dialects, <http://ccoo-hvnl.blogia.com/temas/contrataciones.php>).

‘Until a few years ago, the freshly baked doctors were a treasure for the areas of Primary and Specialized care...’

- (17) “La tarea importante es **hornear** la idea de la historia y no sólo poner la guinda a el pastel”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.ecointeligencia.com/2013/08/sostenibilidad-ideas-pegadizas/>).

²⁷ Approximate AmE translations of all the PenSp examples in this thesis are provided between quotes.

‘The important task is to bake the idea of the story and not only to put the icing on the cake’.

As it may be seen in examples 15, 16 and 17, the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING AN ENTITY IS BAKING can be linguistically realized in several ways in PenSp. For instance, example 15 employs “una hornada de títulos...” to refer to a freshly baked batch of games that are about to be launched. In this case, PenSp uses “hornada” as a noun that is derived from the verb “hornear” and the noun “horno”. It entails the action of baking as well as its effect or result, since the games are already developed and ready to be sold. In example 16, “horneados” is used to refer to people, in this case doctors, who have just graduated. In this sense, doctors are treated as freshly baked products that have just got out of the oven. Apart from being employed to conceptualize physical entities (examples 15 and 16), PenSp also uses “hornear” with abstract entities (see example 17), so as to convey the meaning of developing and elaborating ideas or thoughts.

7.1.8 OTHER CASES OF HORNEAR (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

There are 2 occurrences out of the 2319 explored in the corpus Web/Dialects in PenSp in which “hornear” could activate the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame, the same as in AmE (see section 7.1.2). Nevertheless, with only 2 samples, the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame is not generalized here as being a frequently activated frame in PenSp.

7.2 BOILING AND HERVIR AS SOURCE FRAMES

In their most basic sense, the lexical units “boil” and “hervir” evoke the prototypical frame (see core FEs in table 9) within the COOKING domain in which a person (the **cook**) **heats** a **liquid** in a **pot** using a cooking device (**stove**). When the liquid reaches its **boiling point**, **vapor and bubbles** appear, and the cook usually proceeds to put the **raw food** into the pot for an **extended period of time**.

Depending on the type of food being boiled, the ingredients undergo different **chemical changes**. For instance, carbohydrates such as pasta, rice and potatoes become soft, whereas proteins like eggs tend to become hard. Moreover, in some recipes involving sauces and syrups, the given liquid might be boiled down, resulting in a more concentrated liquid, that is, its essence.

Table 9

BOILING - HERVIR as source frames

BOILING – HERVIR FRAME
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.
Core FEs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cook: person who prepares the food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food on (cooking stove).

<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Boiling container: pot that contains the liquid to be boiled and is placed on the stove.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Liquid: the liquid used for boiling food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Heat: heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be boiled.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Boiling point: the temperature at which a liquid boils.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Vapor and bubbles
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Duration: necessary time for the food to be boiled.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while boiling.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Resulting food: the resulting meal of the boiling process.

The subsequent sections (1) examine the target frames (metaphorical senses) that have been identified in 724 out of the 3,000 citations (24.13%) of the word forms of “boil” extracted from COCA; and (2) the target frames identified in 182 out of the 3,000 occurrences (6.07%) of word forms of “hervir” found in the Web/Dialects corpus.

7.2.1 BOILING TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): ANGER

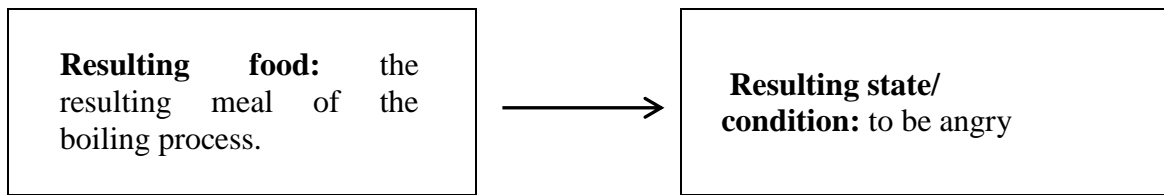
One of the target frames evoked by “boiling” in 112 citations (3.73%) found in COCA is ANGER. The prototypical ANGER frame involves a **person** who feels a strong unpleasant emotion (**anger**), which is generally triggered by an **emotional hurt**.

Table 10

BOILING target frame 1 (TF1): ANGER

ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT

BOILING (SOURCE FRAME)		ANGER (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.		DESCRIPTION: to feel extremely angry due to an unpleasant situation.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Boiling container: pot that contains the liquid to be boiled and is placed on the stove.	→	The human body
Liquid: the liquid used for boiling food.	→	Anger / Blood
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be boiled.	→	The unfair/unkind circumstances that cause the feeling of anger
Vapor and bubbles	→	Physical and mental agitation



As seen in table 10 above, there are several core FEs from the BOILING frame that might be mapped onto the ANGER frame, that is, some FEs from the target frame can be understood in terms of some FEs from the source frame. For instance, the **human body** can be conceived of as a **pot** that contains a boiling **liquid**, that is, the feeling of **anger** that runs through the veins. The **unpleasant situation** or emotional hurt that provokes the anger is viewed as the **heat** that makes the liquid boil. As people start feeling angry, their bodies experience **physical and mental agitation**, which could correlate with the **vapor and bubbles** that are formed when the liquid is boiling. Therefore, the internal body changes that take place might be conceptualized as the chemical changes that the food being boiled goes through.

The following examples found in COCA portray some of the aforementioned conceptual projections.

(18) “But I hear these stories, and it just -- it makes my blood **boil** about the discrimination that happened against African Americans”. (COCA, SPOK: THE FIVE 5:00 PM EST, 2013).

(19) “Instead of **boiling** with rage at her attitude, I just rolled my eyes”. (COCA, FIC: Fantasy & Science Fiction, 2013).

The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT can be linguistically realized in various ways. For instance, in AmE “boiling” tends to

collocate with “blood”, as in example 18, in which the unfair situation is construed as the heat that makes the person’s blood boil. Furthermore, it is also common to linguistically refer to the ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT metaphor using “boil with” frequently followed by the unpleasant feeling (anger, rage, frustration, etc.), as in example 19.

7.2.2 BOILING TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): SOCIAL AGITATION

Another target frame activated by “boiling” in 176 occurrences (5.87%) in COCA is SOCIAL AGITATION. This frame entails a certain social group which becomes agitated due to a problem or injustice that directly affects them. If the social group loses control of their negative emotions, the situation may lead to intense protests or even violence.

Table 11

BOILING target frame 2 (TF2): SOCIAL AGITATION

SOCIAL AGITATION IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT

BOILING (SOURCE FRAME)	SOCIAL AGITATION (TARGET FRAME)
<p>DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: serious or dangerous situation in which groups of people feel angry and cause social agitation.</p>

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Boiling container: pot that contains the liquid to be boiled and is placed on the stove.	→	People's bodies
Liquid: the liquid used for boiling food.	→	Social group's emotions of anger/frustration.
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be boiled.	→	Injustice/problem that affects a certain social group.
Vapor and bubbles	→	Social agitation
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while boiling.	→	Physical and mental changes that the social group undergoes
Resulting food: the resulting meal of the boiling process.	→	Resulting state/condition: when a social conflict boils over, people's feelings are out of control so they become violent and start to fight or argue intensely.

Table 11 shows the different core FEs from the SOCIAL AGITATION frame that can be conceptualized as FEs from the BOILING frame. Within a social group, **people's bodies** and **their feelings** of anger and frustration could be understood as **boiling pots** that contain **liquid**. The **injustice or problem** that affects the social group is the **heat** that makes the liquid boil. Thus, the **social agitation** triggered by the injustice might be viewed as the **vapor bubbles** formed as the liquid boils. As happens with food while

being boiled, the people involved in the social agitation go through some **physical and mental changes** caused by anger. The **situation** may get **out of control**, making people lose their temper and use violence, insults or intense protests, which could correlate with the **liquid overflowing** (i.e. boiling over the pot).

The following occurrences found in COCA portray some of the aforementioned conceptual mappings from the BOILING onto the SOCIAL AGITATION frame and its different linguistic manifestations.

(20) “At a city council meeting Monday night in Charlottesville, its first since the rally and violence, anger **boiled** over, with some residents screaming and cursing at councilors and calling for their resignations”. (COCA, NEWS: The Boston Globe, 2017).

(21) “# Anger over the situation in Gaza **boiled** over in the West Bank again today. Palestinian officials said five people were killed in clashes with Israeli forces there. There were more anti-Israeli protests worldwide as well”. (COCA, SPOK: PBS NEWSHOUR 6:00 PM EST, 2014).

(22) “# It was the " long hot summer of 1967, " so called because racial unrest had reached full **boil**. Riots -- " the language of the unheard, " in the words of Martin Luther King Jr. -- were exploding in city after city, from Atlanta to Boston, Birmingham to Milwaukee, roaring in Newark and Detroit”. (COCA, MAG: Vanity Fair, 2017).

(23) “. The protests have reached a **boiling** point in Prospect-Lefferts Gardens, on the southeast side of Prospect Park, where about a dozen luxury towers are set to rise in the next few years”. (COCA, NEWS: New York Times, 2015).

Examples 20 and 21 show the anger, confusion and frustration provoked by the conflict as liquid in the pot, which ends up “boiling over” as the situation and people’s emotions get out of control. In similar cases (see examples 22 and 23), when tension in social protests increases and the situation turns more serious and dangerous, it can be linguistically expressed as “reaching/coming to a full boil” as well as “reaching a boiling point”.

7.2.3 BOILING TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

Another of the target frames evoked by “boil” in COCA is EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT, with a total of 16 instances (0.53%). Similarly to what happens in the baking TF1 (see section 7.1.1), the prototypical EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame evokes a situation in which the environmental heat is really high. Therefore, living and non-living entities suffer the consequences of being exposed to high temperatures.

Table 12

BOILING target frame 3 (TF3): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING

BOILING (SOURCE FRAME)	EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.	DESCRIPTION: Exposure to extreme temperatures by sun heat, usually causing adverse health effects.

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Heat receiver: the entity that feels/perceives the heat, usually a person.
Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (cooking stove).	→	The sun
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be boiled.	→	Heat: hot weather produced by the sun heat.
Duration: necessary time for the food to be boiled.	→	Duration: necessary time for the receiver of the sun heat to become really hot.
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while boiling.	→	Physical changes: changes experienced by the entities under the sun heat.
Resulting food: the resulting meal of the boiling process.	→	Resulting state/condition: the entities being extremely hot.

Table 12 illustrates the correspondences between FEs from the BOILING and the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame. The **entity** that receives the **sun heat** is conceived of as the **raw food** that is placed on the **heating** device for an **extended period of time**. During the time the entity is exposed to the sun heat, it undergoes some **physical changes** that lead to the state of being **extremely hot**, as happens with the food being boiled.

(24) “Home, after midnight, I feel **boiled**. My skin hurts when a fan breeze touches it, even in the places covered by my bikini”. (COCA, **FIC**: Iowa Review, 2016).

(25) “It is 105 degrees today, and all of the windows and the shutters are closed, it has to be **boiling** in there”. (COCA, **MAG**: Newsweek Global, 2015).

By way of illustration, examples 24 and 25 selected from COCA help to understand the conceptual connection between the BOILING and the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame. In example 24, the lady has experienced some physical changes and feels “boiled”, due to the high temperatures and sun exposure at the beach. In example 25, the sensation of extreme heat is transferred, since the temperatures are high and everything in the house is closed, as if trapped in a pot with boiling liquid.

7.2.4 BOILING TARGET FRAME 4 (TF4): BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY

The following target frame evoked by “boil” in 14 out of the 3,000 occurrences (0.47%) taken from COCA is BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY. The prototypical BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY frame refers to a place in which there is lively activity or a noisy swarm of people.

Table 13

BOILING target frame 4 (TF4): BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY

BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY IS BOILING WITH VAPOR BUBBLES

BOILING (SOURCE FRAME)		BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.		DESCRIPTION: A place that bustles with human activity, frequently noisy.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be boiled.	→	Humans
Vapor, bubbles	→	Lively movement, noise

As shown in table 13, a few core FEs are mapped from the BOILING frame onto the BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY frame. The **lively activity, movement** and noise made by **humans** in a certain place is construed as the **vapor and bubbles** that form when a liquid is **heated** to its boiling point.

(26) “Outside, the city **boiled** over with life, a great bubbling cauldron of sights and people”. (COCA, FIC: The most eligible bachelor romance collection : nine historical romances celebrate marrying for all the right reasons, 2016).

(27) “Life **boiled** around her: the dog barked somewhere, girls laughed balancing a hula hoop, Bobby Solo's voice on a radio sang...”. (COCA, FIC: Literary Review, 2016).

For instance, in example 26 taken from COCA the lively human activity is understood as “a great bubbling cauldron”. In turn, example 27 also envisions human noise and movements as a liquid that is intensely boiling and forming bubbles.

7.2.5 BOILING TARGET FRAME 5 (TF5): SKIN ABSCESS

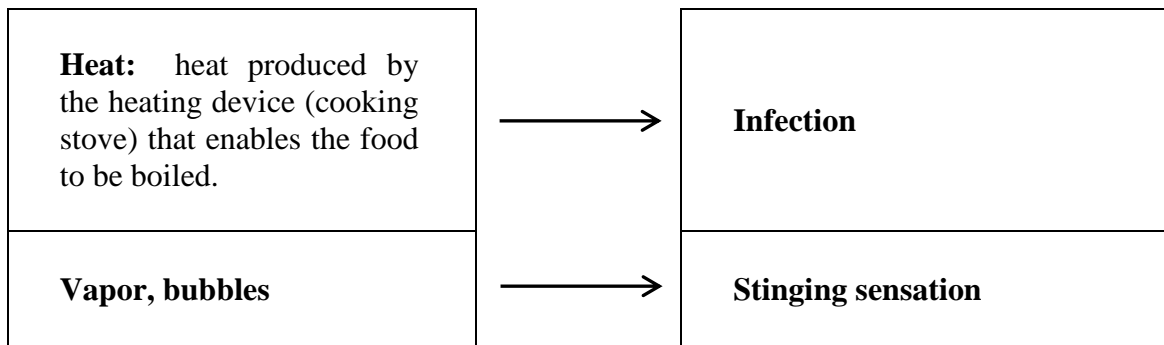
Another target frame evoked by 28 “boil” instances (0.93%) in COCA is SKIN ABSCESS. The prototypical SKIN ABSCESS frame indicates a skin swelling and inflammation caused by an infection, which normally contains pus.

Table 14

BOILING target frame 5 (TF5): SKIN ABSCESS

A SKIN ABSCESS IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT

BOILING (SOURCE FRAME)		SKIN ABSCESS (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.		DESCRIPTION: A painful skin inflammation that is infected and has pus inside.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Boiling container: pot that contains the liquid to be boiled and is placed on the stove.	→	Skin
Liquid: the liquid used for boiling food.	→	Pus



As seen in table 14 above, some core FEs from the SKIN ABSCESS frame could be conceived of as FEs from the BOILING frame. The **skin abscess** containing **pus** due to an **infection** may be understood as a **pot** containing **liquid** that is boiling because of **heat**. The persistent **stinging sensation** in the abscess could be regarded as the **agitated movement** of the boiling liquid.

(28) “She'd survived the first wave of red plague when she was young, she still had the small round scars that were left behind when the **boils** faded”. (COCA, FIC: Analog Science Fiction & Fact, 2016).

Example 28 extracted from COCA is an instance of how the noun boil can be employed to refer to infectious abscesses that boil in people's skin.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the idiom “to lance the boil” is an extension of the sense of “boil” as skin swelling. As defined by the *Farlex Dictionary of Idioms* (2015), “to lance the boil” means “to take a decisive and dramatic action that resolves or puts an end to a problematic, troublesome, or unpleasant situation”. The decisive or dramatic action that resolves a problematic situation is envisioned as lancing a skin boil that is causing pain and stinging sensation, which brings relieve. However, only one occurrence of this idiom was found in COCA.

7.2.6 BOILING TARGET FRAME 6 (TF6): AGITATED CLOUDS

The AGITATED CLOUDS frame was evoked by “boil” in 16 instances (0.53%) in COCA. The prototypical AGITATED CLOUDS frame evokes a situation in which the clouds are moving rapidly in an agitated manner.

Table 15

BOILING target frame 6 (TF6): AGITATED CLOUDS

AGITATED CLOUDS ARE A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT

BOILING (SOURCE FRAME)		AGITATED CLOUDS (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in a liquid that is boiling.		DESCRIPTION: A sky full of clouds that are agitated and move rapidly.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Liquid: the liquid used for boiling food.	→	Cloud
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be boiled.	→	Air pressure
Vapor, bubbles	→	Cloud movements

In this case the conventional mental image of the BOILING frame can be mapped onto the mental image of the AGITATED CLOUDS frame (image metaphor). As table 15 indicates, the **agitated cloud movements** could be categorized as the agitated

movements of the **vapor and bubbles** formed while a liquid is boiling. Consider examples 29 and 30:

(29) “A few peaks of clear blue sky may sneak in overhead, surrounded on all horizons by the dark, **boiling** clouds ravaging the landscape just a few miles away”. (COCA, NEWS: Washington Post, 2017).

(30) “I was so happy to see Robert I could have ridden with him all day, listening to his tales of life at West Point, but after an hour the sun disappeared and black clouds **boiled** up in the distance”. (COCA, FIC: Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Gray : a novel, 2017).

Both examples 29 and 30 reflect how clouds can be said to be “boiling” in the sky, referring to the turbulent way they move, which recalls the image of a pot with boiling liquid inside forming vapor and bubbles.

7.2.7 BOILING GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR 1: REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION IS BOILING LIQUID DOWN

One of the generic-level metaphors (i.e. the BOILING source domain applies to multiple target domains) underlying 339 out of the 3,000 (11.3%) “boil” occurrences in COCA is REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION IS BOILING. In this particular generic-level metaphor, the BOILING frame can be mapped onto multiple target domains that refer to reducing or summarizing data or information into its main ideas or components. Hence, the possible target domains share the following semantic characteristics: (1) a whole abstract entity and (2) the accomplishment of reducing its elements to a summary of its major points, which implies a change of state. The

target frames that contain this semantic structure (1 and 2) could, respectively, be categorized as some core FEs from the BOILING frame: (1) the liquid being boiled and (2) the accomplishment of boiling away a part of the liquid, resulting in a more concentrated and intense flavor (especially in sauces and syrups).

(31) “I’m going to ask each of you, if you **boil** down the Democratic Party message to one sentence, Jaime Harrison, what is it?”. (COCA, SPOK: PBS NEWSHOUR 6:00 PM EST, 2017).

(32) “NEW YORK -- Thanksgiving has traditionally **boiled** down to three " Fs ": food, football and family”. (COCA, NEWS: USA TODAY, 2016).

(33) “Most of Trump's dangerous qualities **boil** down to these two fundamental dangers. He knows very little but thinks he knows a lot. And most of the things he doesn't know, he doesn't know they're worth knowing”. (COCA, MAG: Slate Magazine, 2016)

As a way of illustration, examples 31, 32 and 33 employ “boil down” in different domains to evoke the process of reducing different kinds of information to its major components or ideas.

7.2.8 BOILING GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR 2: EMERGING ELEMENTS ARE BUBBLES ORIGINATING FROM A BOILING POT

The second generic-level metaphor evoked by “boil” in 23 occurrences (0.77%) in COCA is EMERGING ELEMENTS ARE BUBBLES ORIGINATING FROM A BOILING POT. This generic-level metaphor activates a situation in which an element

or multiple elements originate or appear. Thus, the possible target domains that could be employed must share the following semantic features: (1) new elements (2) the achievement of elements emerging or turning up. The target frames that contain these semantic features (1 and 2) could, respectively, be understood as some core FEs from the BOILING frame: (1) the vapor bubbles and (2) the appearance of the bubbles from the boiling pot (i.e. an achievement).

(34) “But with season 6 of GAME OF THRONES approaching, and so many requests for information **boiling** up, I am going to break my own rules and say a little more...”. (COCA, MAG: Huffington Post, 2016).

(35) “Ralph is terribly impressive. With his beautiful light-Indian-Negro color, the Oklahoma accent, the scar just alongside of the right eye, and above all, his sense of American experience as something naturally flowing into and **boiling** up creatively in a literary mind of his kind of sensitivity, I find that I learn from him more of what I owe myself than I do from many writer-friends”. (COCA, ACAD: American Scholar, 2011).

(36) “. Occasionally Isabel would make a brief comment. It would seem to come out of the blue, but it didn't. Her mental life was something intense, and her remarks were what **boiled** up from it”. (COCA, FIC: A distance to death, 2014).

Examples 34, and 35 and 36 above present how “boil up” is used to activate the metaphor EMERGING ELEMENTS ARE BUBBLES ORIGINATING FROM A BOILING POT, referring to a situation that makes some elements emerge or appear, as bubbles flowing and emanating from the boiling pot.

7.2.9 OTHER CASES OF BOILING (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the “boil” metaphors already explained, there are several instances found in COCA in which “boil” evokes other domains of experience. The domains in question are: SEXUAL DESIRE (3 instances), SEA AGITATION (3 instances), PSYCHOLOGICAL TOUGHNESS (3 instances), KEEPING INTEREST (3 instances), and INTEGRATING ELEMENTS (1 instance). However, the low frequency of appearance in the data obtained is not sufficient to elucidate whether they are commonly used in natural occurring language or not.

7.2.10 HERVIR TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT

The nearest PenSp translation equivalent of “boil” would be “hervir”. The present and the subsequent sections present the metaphors evoked by the word forms of “hervir” in the 3000 occurrences examined from the corpus del español Web/ Dialects.

One of the target frames encountered in 127 out of 3,000 citations (4.23%) of “hervir” in the corpus Web/Dialects is the ANGER frame. As the mappings and the core FEs between the BOILING and the ANGER frame coincide with the AmE ones described in section 7.2.1, the present section provides some examples of the ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT metaphor in PenSp extracted from the corpus Web/Dialects.

(37) “Las injusticias son algo que no soporto, me **hierve** la sangre y me enfado”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://aspiechan.blogspot.com/2012/03/emocional-y-fisicamente.html>).

‘Injustices are something I can’t stand, my blood boils and I get angry’.

(38) “Hay muchas cosas que tenemos que hacer mucho mejor, pero no somos capaces de poner en marcha todas las ideas que tenemos y eso hace que me **hierva** la sangre... pero bueno, no voy a castigarme ahora”. (Web/Dialects, <http://blogs.km77.com/teletransporte/11353/volkswagen-think-blue-challenge-ponemos-todos-los-medios/>).

‘There are a lot of things we have to improve, but we’re not able to implement all the ideas we have and that makes my blood boil...anyways, I’m not going to feel shame now’.

Examples 37 and 38 illustrate how ANGER is conceptualized in PenSp as A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT, since the problematic circumstance that triggers anger is construed as the heat that makes the liquid boil. As it is in AmE (see section 7.2.1), PenSp also collocates “hervir” with “sangre”.

7.2.11 HERVIR TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING

The second target frame activated in 16 occurrences (0.53%) of “hervir” in the corpus Web/Dialects is EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT, which occurs in AmE too (see detailed description of FEs and mappings in section 7.2.3). Therefore, this section provides some instances in PenSp selected from the Web/Dialects corpus:

(39) “Madrid **hierve** en temperaturas que van de los 30 a los 35° y no sé cuándo va a terminar eso”. (Web/Dialects, <http://blogs.vogue.es/teatime/>).

‘Madrid is boiling in temperatures from 30 to 35° and I don’t know when it is going to end’.

(40) “Te lo digo en serio, berlina solo si tiene portón trasero y además con una cortina trasera excelente, no sabes qué rápido **hierve** el cráneo de los niños cuando el sol inunda los asientos traseros”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.motorpasion.com/respuestas/llegan-hijos-que-coche-comprar-ranchera-monovolumen-suv>).

‘Seriously, [choose] a sedan only if it has a tailgate and also with an excellent tail-light curtain, you don’t know how quickly children’s skull boils when the sun inundates the back seats’.

In examples 39 and 40, the entities that are “boiling” because of the sun heat (Madrid and its inhabitants in example 39 and children in example 40) are conceived of as the food being boiled by the heat produced by the stove.

7.2.12 HERVIR TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY

The following target frame evoked by “hervir” in the corpus Web/Dialects is BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY, with a total of 39 tokens (1.3%). The BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY frame is already explained in detail in section 7.2.4, since it is also

used in AmE. Hence, the present section contains examples in PenSp extracted from Web/Dialects.

(41) “La sede **hierve** de actividad, entrevistas, dirigentes que se pasean”.

(Web/Dialects, http://albertmedran.com/bloc_cast/2011/03/09/cronica-de-una-noche-electoral/).

‘The party headquarters is boiling with activity, interviews, leaders walking around’.

(42) “El miércoles noche Martín de los Heros **hervía**. La calle, normalmente animada por la gente que sale del cine o está a punto de entrar y toma algo en las terrazas de las cafeterías subterráneas, acoge estos días el Festival Rizoma”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://www.madriz.com/%C2%A1viva-frances-ha/>).

‘On Wednesday evening Martín de los Heros [street] was boiling. The street, frequently livened up by people leaving the theatre or about to enter and having a drink on the terraces of underground cafeterias, holds these days the Rizoma Festival’.

As can be observed in examples 41 and 42, when a place is crowded with people and full of movement and activity, it can be said to be “boiling”, because all the noise and movement made by people might be viewed as the constant vapour bubbles formed by the boiling liquid in a pot.

7.2.13 OTHER CASES OF HERVIR (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

In addition to the metaphors evoked by “hervir” already explained, other occurrences found in the corpus Web/Dialects activate other conceptual configurations. For example, the AGITATED SEA frame (3 instances), SEXUAL DESIRE frame (3 instances), MENTAL EXHAUSTION frame (2 instances), and EMERGING ELEMENTS domain (3 instances). As it is evident from the number of occurrences obtained, those instances cannot be considered substantial enough as to generalize the metaphorical use of those domains in PenSp.

7.3 FRYING AND FREIR AS SOURCE FRAMES

In their most basic sense, the lexical units “fry” and “freír” activate the prototypical frame which contains the core FEs appearing in table 16. The FRYING and FREÍR frames refer to the process of cooking **food** in **hot fat** or **oil** in a **frying pan** in a relatively **short period of time**. To do so, the **cook** puts some fat or oil in a frying pan and **heats** it until it reaches around 350-375°F. Using the correct temperature is key when frying, since if the temperature is too high, the food might get burnt or cook too quickly on the outside while the inside remains uncooked. On the other hand, if the oil temperature is too low, the food absorbs a large quantity of oil, resulting in a greasy final product.

Furthermore, depending on the quantity of oil employed, the food can be shallow-fried or deep-fried. When shallow-frying, the oil does not cover the food (meat,

fish, vegetables); whereas when deep-frying the food is immersed in the fat or oil. In both cases the outside of the food cooks almost instantly, creating a kind of seal that the oil cannot penetrate, trapping the moisture inside the food. Moreover, the hot oil makes a characteristic **sizzling sound** while frying and it may also form **oil bubbles** and **splatter**, as a reaction of hot oil in contact with the food moisture.

Once both sides of the food are **crispy** or **browned**, it can be removed from the pan and placed on an absorbing paper, so as to drain the excess oil.

Table 16

FRYING - FREÍR as source frames

FRYING – FREÍR FRAME
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.
Core FEs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cook: person who prepares the food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Preparing/mixing process: make the ingredients ready for being fried.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fat or oil: fat or liquid used for cooking
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (stove).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Frying container: frying pan that holds the ingredients and is placed on the heating device.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heat: heat produced by the heating device (stove) that enables the food to fry.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Oil bubbles and splatters: bubbles and splatters created by hot oil in contact with the moisture of the food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sizzling sound: cooking sound made by food while frying in hot oil.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being fried.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Duration: necessary time for the food to become fried, normally a short amount of time.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Resulting food: the resulting meal of the frying process, commonly crispy or browned on the outside of the food.

The subsequent sections (1) examine the target frames (metaphorical senses) that have been identified in 101 out of the 3,000 citations (3.37%) of the word forms of “fry” extracted from COCA; and (2) the target frames identified in 363 out of the 1940 occurrences (18.71%) of word forms of “freír” found in the Web/Dialects corpus.

7.3.1 FRYING TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

One of the target frames evoked by “fry” in 16 instances (0.53%) in COCA is EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT. The prototypical EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame evokes a situation in which the temperatures are really high and the sun heat affects people and other entities after their exposure to it.

Table 17

FRYING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS FRYING

FRYING (SOURCE FRAME)		EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.		DESCRIPTION: Exposure to extreme temperatures by sun heat, usually causing adverse health effects.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Heat receiver: the entity that feels/perceives the heat, usually a person.
Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (stove).	→	The sun
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (stove) that enables the food to fry.	→	Heat: hot weather produced by the sun heat.
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being fried.	→	Physical changes: changes experienced by the entities under the sun heat.
Duration: necessary time for the food to become fried, normally a short amount of time.	→	Duration: necessary time for the receiver of the sun heat to become really hot.

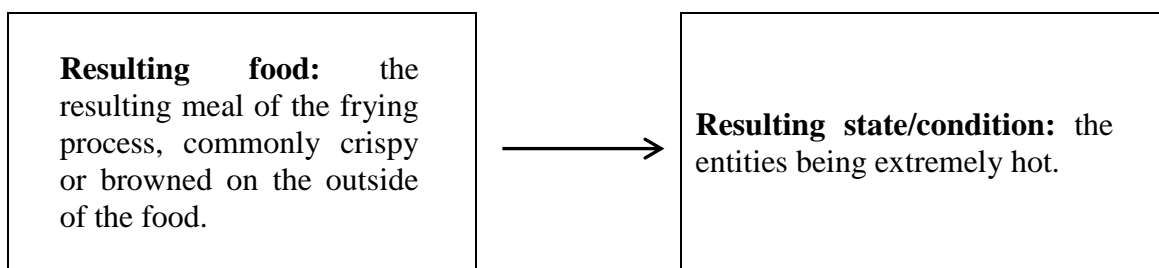


Table 17 above shows the core FEs from the FRYING frame that might be mapped onto the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame. For instance, the **sun** and the **heat** it emits can be understood as the **stove** and its **heat**. In turn, the person that receives the **sun heat** could be viewed as the **food** being fried in the frying pan. When people and other entities are exposed to the sun heat, they suffer a series of **physical changes**, the same as the food being fried, which ends up being **crispy** or **browned**.

These mappings from the FRYING frame onto the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame can be clearly exemplified with some of the metaphorical expressions found in COCA:

(43) “Don Draper (Jon Hamm) may feel it most acutely after he reads a line from " Dante's Inferno " while **frying** under the hot sun on a Hawaiian beach”. (COCA, NEWS: Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 2013).

(44) “And most of it had been pretty thoroughly pulverized, suggesting that the plastic had been pummeled by the ocean and **fried** by the sun as it migrated north from somewhere far away”. (COCA, MAG: The Verge, 2017).

Both examples 43 and 44 show that the sun and the effects of its heat on people and non-living entities (the person on the beach in example 43 and the plastic in the ocean in example 44) might be conceptualized as food going through chemical changes due to the stove heat.

7.3.2 FRYING TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE

Another target frame activated by “fry” in 24 occurrences (0.8%) extracted from COCA is EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE. The EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE frame involves a person speaking, whose voice sounds creaky due to a very slow vibration of the vocal cords. This kind of vocal sound is also known as “glottal fry”.

Table 18

FRYING target frame 2 (TF2): EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE

EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE IS FRYING

FRYING (SOURCE FRAME)	EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE (TARGET FRAME)
<p>DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: a vocal effect produced by very slow vibration of the vocal cords and characterized by a creaking sound and low pitch (Merriam-Webster).</p>
CORE FEs	CORE FEs
<p>Oil bubbles and splatters: bubbles and splatters created by hot oil in contact with the moisture of the food.</p>	<p>Vibration of the vocal cords</p>
<p>Sizzling sound: cooking sound made by food while frying in hot oil.</p>	<p>Creaky noise</p>

Table 18 indicates which core FEs from the FRYING frame can be mapped onto some elements from the EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE frame. The movement of the **vocal cords** produces their **vibration**, which might be categorized as the movement of the **hot oil** in contact with the food moisture, forming oil **bubbles**. In turn, the vibration of the vocal cords can result in a **creaky sound** voice, as the hot oil produces the **sizzling sound**.

The following examples found in COCA portray some of the aforementioned conceptual projections:

(45) “Let's get to the glottal **fry**, also known as the vocal **fry**. Demonstrate it for us. SUSAN-SANKIN# It's when you're kind of down here. Typically, it occurs at the end of the sentence, when you're finishing what you're saying and you drop down into this croaky, frog-like sound”. (COCA, SPOK: Fresh Air 12:00 AM EST, 2015).

(46) “Not surprisingly, gadflies in cyberspace were quick to pounce on the study -- or, more specifically, on the girls and women who are **frying** their words. "Are they trying to sound like Kesha or Britney Spears?" teased The Huffington Post, naming two pop stars who employ vocal **fry** while singing, although the study made no mention of them”.

The linguistic manifestation of the EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE frame is always “vocal/glottal fry”, used as a noun to refer to the creaky sound that resembles the sizzling sound of hot oil when frying, as in examples 45 and 46. Interestingly, example 46 also employs “fry” (creatively) as a verb, referring to “frying” words, as if emitting them with a creaky voice was the act of frying them.

7.3.3 FRYING TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON

Another target frame evoked by “fry” in 16 instances (0.53%) extracted from COCA is ELECTROCUTING A PERSON. The ELECTROCUTING A PERSON frame refers to the prototypical situation in which a criminal is electrocuted by an electric chair. Therefore, “frying” a person is colloquially understood as intentionally executing someone by means of electricity. In addition, it could also apply to accidentally receiving an electrical shock that may injure or even kill a person.

Table 19

FRYING target frame 3 (TF3): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON

ELECTROCUTING SOMEONE IS FRYING

FRYING (SOURCE FRAME)		ELECTROCUTING SOMEONE (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.		DESCRIPTION: to execute a criminal by electric shock.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who prepares the food.	→	Jail workers
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Human
Fat or oil: fat or liquid used for cooking	→	Electrodes

<p>Frying container: frying pan that holds the ingredients and is placed in the heating device.</p>	<p>→</p>	<p>Electric chair</p>
<p>Heat: heat produced by the heating device (stove) that enables the food to fry.</p>	<p>→</p>	<p>Electricity</p>
<p>Sizzling sound: cooking sound made by food while frying in hot oil.</p>	<p>→</p>	<p>Electrical sound</p>
<p>Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being fried.</p>	<p>→</p>	<p>Changes suffered by the internal organs of the person</p>
<p>Duration: necessary time for the food to become fried, normally a short amount of time.</p>	<p>→</p>	<p>Duration: electrocuting someone requires a relatively short amount of time.</p>
<p>Resulting food: the resulting meal of the frying process, commonly crispy or browned on the outside of the food.</p>	<p>→</p>	<p>Resulting state: death by electric shock.</p>

As can be observed in table 19, by virtue of the metaphor ELECTROCUTING A PERSON IS FRYING, the **human** who the **jail workers electrocute** by an **electric chair** with **electrodes** is regarded as the **raw food** that the **cook fries** in the **pan** containing **hot oil**. Moreover, the **electric current sound** resembles the **sizzling sound** produced while frying. As it occurs with food, which goes through some **chemical changes** due

to the **heat**, the person also experiences immediate **physical changes** due to the **electricity**, which leads him/her to **death**.

For concrete examples, consider the following occurrences extracted from the corpus COCA:

(47) ““Everybody heard how you've got murder on your mind. Kill me, kill her. What's the difference? Everybody heard. " # " I loved her. " # " So did I. I hope they **fry** your ass at San Quentin, Edwin. I really hope they do#”. (COCA, FIC: Fantasy & Science Fiction, 2017).

(48) ““ I swear I did not do this. I swear on all that is holy, I could not do such a thing. " # " The blood on your hands and that knife tell a different story, " came the quick reply. " They'll **fry** you before the spring thaw, you can make book on it #”. (COCA, FIC: The fruitcake murders, 2016).

In both examples 47 and 48, “fry” is used to refer to the electrical execution of a person, as a judicial punishment for the crimes he/she has committed.

7.3.4 FRYING TARGET FRAME 4 (TF4): DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE

Another target frame activated by “fry” in 24 occurrences (0.8%) from COCA is DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE. The prototypical DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE frame refers to damaging or destroying an electrical device by overheating due to unusually high voltage that affects its circuitry.

Table 20

FRYING target frame 4 (TF4): ELECTRICAL DEVICE

DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE IS FRYING

FRYING (SOURCE FRAME)		DAMAGING ELECTRICAL DEVICE (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.		DESCRIPTION: to damage or destroy an electrical device by overheating its circuitry due to abnormally high voltage.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Electrical device
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (stove) that enables the food to fry.	→	Electricity
Oil bubbles and splatters: bubbles and splatters created by hot oil in contact with the moisture of the food.	→	Electrical sparks
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being fried.	→	Changes affecting the electrical device.
Duration: necessary time for the food to become fried, normally a short amount of time.	→	Duration: electrical surges are usually short in time.

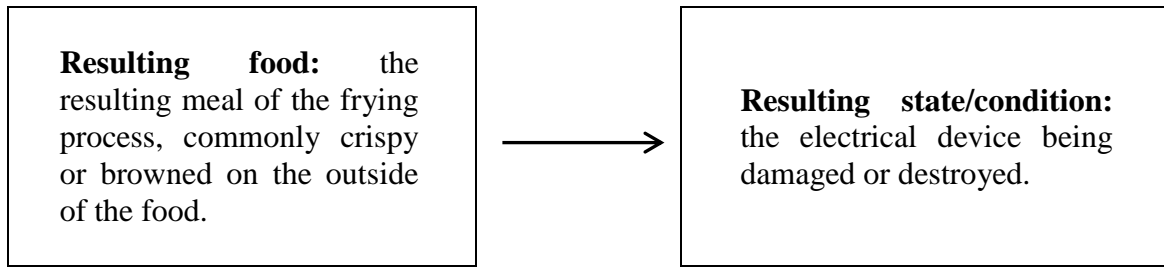


Table 20 above contains the core FEs from the FRYING frame that could be mapped onto the DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE frame. For instance, the **electrical device** being **damaged** by the **high voltage** can be viewed as the **food chemically changing** by the action of frying by the **heat** for a **short period of time**. The **electrical sparks** that sometimes emerge from the surge could be regarded as the **splatters** occurring while frying.

The conceptual projections from the FRYING frame onto the DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE frame can be illustrated with some of the metaphorical expressions selected from the corpus COCA:

(49) “Now come the fine adjustments that will speed up your connection. In the DD-WRT controls, set your router to transmit at 70 megawatts--more powerful than the default but not so powerful as to **fry** it. (COCA, Popular Mechanics, 2013).

(50) “That's when the lights went off and the sky caught on fire. Most electronics were **fried** from the blasts, and any reports of action in the field were all hearsay with no Internet or television or even radio transmissions in most places”. (COCA, FIC: The last exodus, 2016).

In examples 49 and 50 it can be observed how “fry” implies the destruction of pieces of electronics with excessive electrical current, as though they were being fried and, consequently, rendered inoperative.

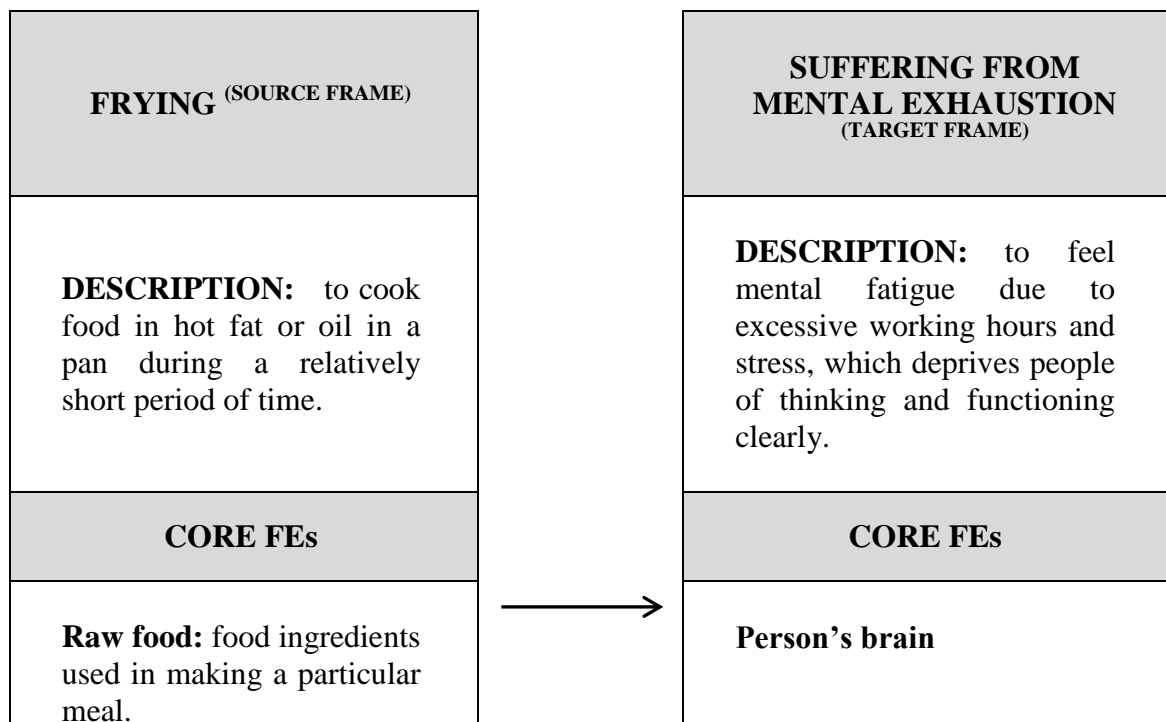
7.3.5 FRYING TARGET FRAME 5 (TF5): SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION

Another target frame evoked by “fry” in 11 out of the 3,000 (0.37%) occurrences extracted from COCA is SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION. The SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION frame refers to feeling mentally overloaded due to excessive working hours and stress, which deprives people of thinking and functioning clearly.

Table 21

FRYING target frame 5 (TF5): FEELING MENTAL EXHAUSTION

SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION IS FRYING



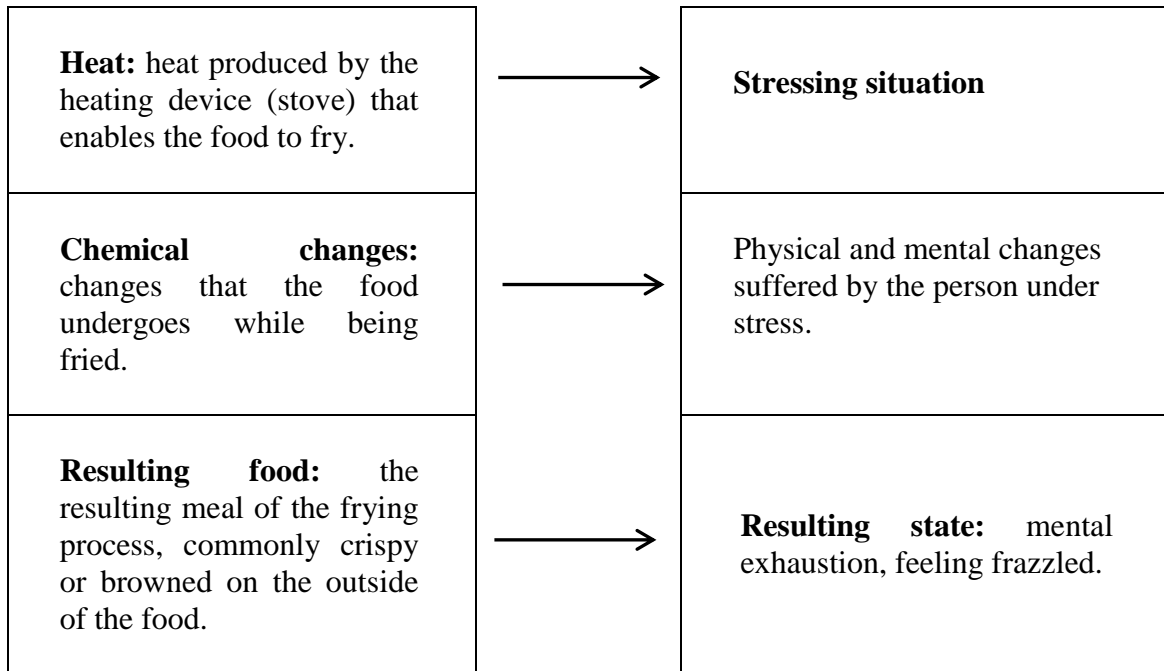


Table 21 presents the core FEs from the FRYING frame that may be mapped onto the FEELING MENTAL EXHAUSTION frame. For instance, a **person’s brain** that is affected by an **overworking situation** may be conceptualized as **food** to which **heat** is applied. As a consequence, the person develops some **physical and mental symptoms** that lead him/her to **be frazzled**; as it is the case of food being fried, which undergoes **chemical changes** and in most cases ends up **browned**.

The following examples found in COCA can help to understand some of the aforementioned conceptual projections:

(51) “Burning the midnight oil is not only vexing for parents but it’s also counterproductive for children. Their brains are **fried** and the quality of their work suffers. Dolin recommends setting a firm homework start time”. (COCA, MAG: Essence, 2014).

(52) ““ # Confusion echoed far and wide. " What the in the hell was that #sat, " benmicallef wrote. Exhaustion was evident. " My brain is **fried**, " KamScrivens revealed”. (COCA, ACAD: Chronicle of Higher Education, 2016).

Examples 51 and 52 show the tendency of “fry” to collocate with “brain” when referring to being frazzled. When someone’s brain is “fried”, it is very difficult for them to think straight due to the mental fatigue, as if the brain circuitry had been “fried”.

7.3.6 “FRYING” IDIOM: “TO HAVE BIGGER/OTHER FISH TO FRY”

As defined by the Farlex Dictionary of Idioms (2015), the informal AmE idiom “to have bigger/other fish to fry” means “to have more important or more interesting things to do or to attend to”. “To have bigger/other fish to fry” is probably an extension the idiom “to be a big fish”, referring to being an important person, in the sense that “having bigger fish to fry” also entails the nuance of importance. This idiom was found in 10 out the 3,000 citations of “fry” (0.33%). Consider example 53:

(53) “But the jihadists were not what worried Malnikov most. It was America, specifically the CIA. # His drugs and other vices were not a top priority of the CIA. They had bigger fish to **fry**. The nuclear bomb made him one of those bigger fish, and being a target of the CIA was the last thing he needed.”. (COCA, FIC: Independence day, 2016).

Examples 53 shows that “to have bigger fish to fry” is employed to emphasize that there are more crucial matters to tackle, since a nuclear bomb is definitely more important to address than drug consumption.

7.3.7 OTHER CASES (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the “fry” metaphors already dealt with, there are 2 instances found in COCA in which “fry” activates the frame of INSULTING SOMEONE and 1 instance in which the STUPEFYING WITH DRUGS frame is evoked. Since the number of examples is not significant, both the INSULTING SOMEONE and the STUPEFYING WITH DRUGS frames cannot be considered as frequently used target frames of FRYING.

7.3.8 FREÍR TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE IS FRYING FOOD

The nearest PenSp translation equivalent of “fry” is “freír”. The present and the subsequent sections present the metaphors evoked by the word forms of “freír” in the 1940 occurrences extracted from the corpus del español Web/ Dialects.

One of the target frames encountered in 91 out of the 1,940 tokens (4.69%) of “freír” in the corpus Web/Dialects is the BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE frame. This frame implies an agent who deliberately bothers or overwhelms another person with some kind of disturbance in an iterative way.

Table 22

FREÍR target frame 1 (TF1): BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE

BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE IS FRYING FOOD
ATOSIGAR/AVASALLAR/ACRIBILLAR A ALGUIEN ES FREÍR COMIDA

FRYING (SOURCE FRAME)		BOTHERING/ OVERWHELMING SOMEONE (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.		DESCRIPTION: to bother or overwhelm someone deliberately with some kind of disturbance in an iterative way.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who prepares the food.	→	Disturber (agent)
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Patient of disturbance
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (stove) that enables the food to fry.	→	Iterative disturbance
Resulting food: the resulting meal of the frying process, commonly crispy or browned on the outside of the food.	→	Resulting state/condition: the patient being bothered and overwhelmed with the annoying situation.

Table 22 above designates the core FEs from the FRYING frame that might be mapped onto the BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE frame. For instance, the **agent**

that deliberately **bothers** a **person** correlates with the **cook** who **fries food** and the **iterative disturbance** caused by the agent is the **heat** that fries the food.

Consider some examples of the BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE IS FRYING FOOD metaphor in PenSp extracted from the corpus Web/Dialects:

(54) “La subida de impuestos del 2010 es un atentado contra el sentido común, (octubre de 2009), y El Gobierno está **friendo** a los españoles con más impuestos”. (Web/Dialects, <http://espacioseuropeos.com/pp-ha-creado-10-nuevos-impuestos-desde-que-gobierna-y-ha-subido-los-que-ya-existian/>).

‘The 2010 tax rises are attacks against common sense, (October 2009), and the government is bombarding Spaniards with more taxes’.

(55) “Me agarró de la mano y nos fuimos, pero durante el camino yo la estuve **friendo** a preguntas sobre Angustias”. (Web/Dialects, <http://vidadeperrxs.blogspot.com/2013/07/sobre-mi-abuela-mi-familia-y-los.html>).

‘She grabbed my hand and we left, but on our way I bombarded her with questions about Angustias’.

In examples 54 and 55, there is an agent (the government in example 54 and the lady in example 55) who voluntarily perform an iterative action that overwhelms or disturbs the patient (higher taxes to citizens and many questions to another woman, respectively), as a cook that subjects the food to the process of frying.

7.3.9 FREÍR TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): BECOMING DISTURBED IS BEING EXCESSIVELY FRIED

Another target frame evoked in 14 samples (0.72%) of Web/Dialects is the BECOMING DISTURBED frame. Unlike the previous frame (section 7.3.8), the present frame implies a patient who receives a stimulus that affects his/her well-being.

Table 23

FREÍR target frame 2 (TF2): BECOMING DISTURBED

BECOMING DISTURBED IS BEING EXCESSIVELY FRIED
AGOBIARSE/MOLESTARSE ES ESTAR EXCESIVAMENTE FRITO

FRYING (SOURCE FRAME)		BECOMING DISTURBED (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food in hot fat or oil in a pan during a relatively short period of time.		DESCRIPTION: to receive a stimulus that affects a person's well-being.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food ingredients used in making a particular meal.	→	Experiencer of the disturbance
Heat: heat produced by the heating device (stove) that enables the food to fry.	→	Disturbance (stimulus)
Resulting food: the resulting meal of the frying process, commonly crispy or browned on the outside of the food.	→	Resulting state/condition: the experiencer feeling affected and overwhelmed by the situation.

Table 23 indicates which core FEs from the FRYING frame can be mapped onto some elements from the BECOMING DISTURBED frame. The **person that experiences the annoying stimulus** could be understood as the **food** receiving **heat**. As a result, the experiencer **becomes disturbed** and overwhelmed, as the food when being fried excessively, which ends up **burnt**.

The following examples found in the corpus Web/Dialects portray some of the aforementioned conceptual projections:

(56) “Lo siento, es la astenia primaveral, que me tiene **frita**...”. (Web/Dialects, <http://blogs.laverdad.es/marcleo/>).

‘I’m sorry, I’m worn out by the Spring asthenia’.

(57) “. Como opinión personal, estoy **frito** de sufrir el sistema de Google y es muy agradable ver propuestas nuevas que se arriesgan con cosas diferentes como lo es esta versión móvil de Ubuntu”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://www.muylinux.com/2013/06/07/ubuntu-phone-demo-galaxy-nexus/>).

‘In my personal opinion, I’m worn out by the Google system and it is really nice to see new proposals that take a risk with different stuff like this new mobile version of Ubuntu’.

As seen in both examples, PenSp utilizes “freír” when there is a disturbing stimulus (asthenia in example 56 and the Google system in example 57) experienced by someone and, as a consequence, the experiencer feels worn out (“frito/a”), as food that gets burnt by heat.

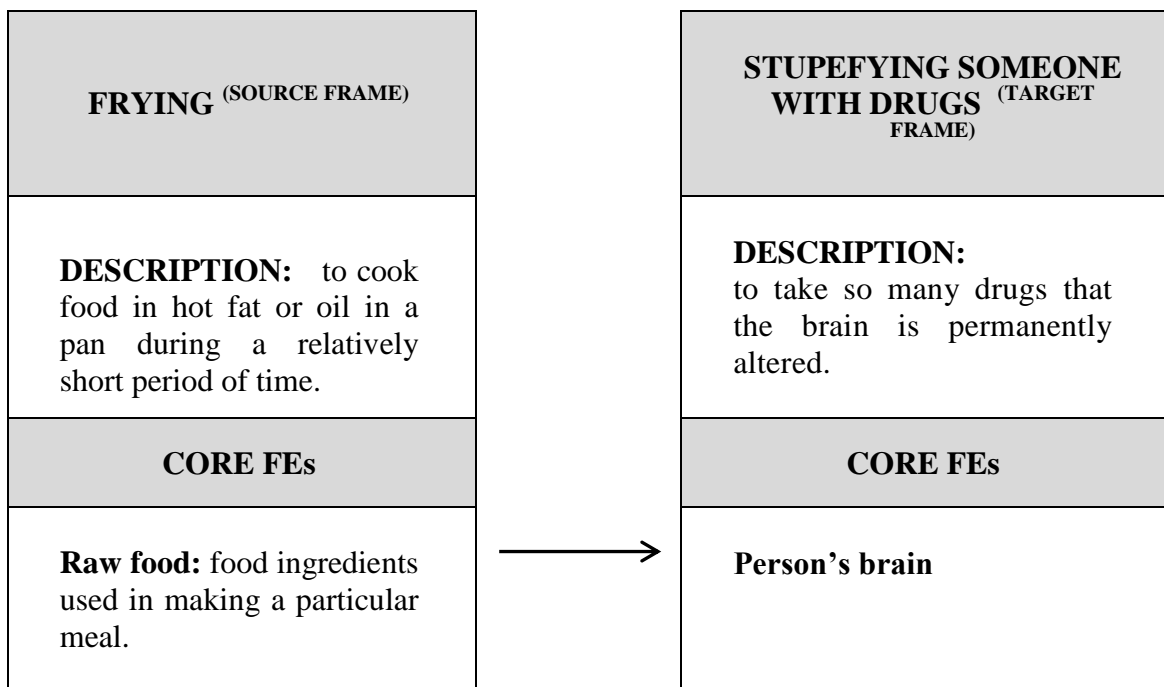
7.3.10 FREÍR TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS IS FRYING FOOD

Another target frame activated by “fry” in 15 (0.77%) occurrences extracted from Web/Dialects is STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS. The STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS frame entails a person that has taken so many drugs that his/her brain is irreversibly “fried”²⁸. That is, a person takes a substance that affects the brain function permanently. Moreover, the sense is also extended to circumstances in which there is a mentally harmful stimulus that may affect the brain cells.

Table 24

FRYING target frame 3 (TF3): STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS

STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS IS FRYING *ATONTAR A ALGUIEN CON DROGAS ES FREÍR*



²⁸ In AmE the term colloquially employed is “permafried”.

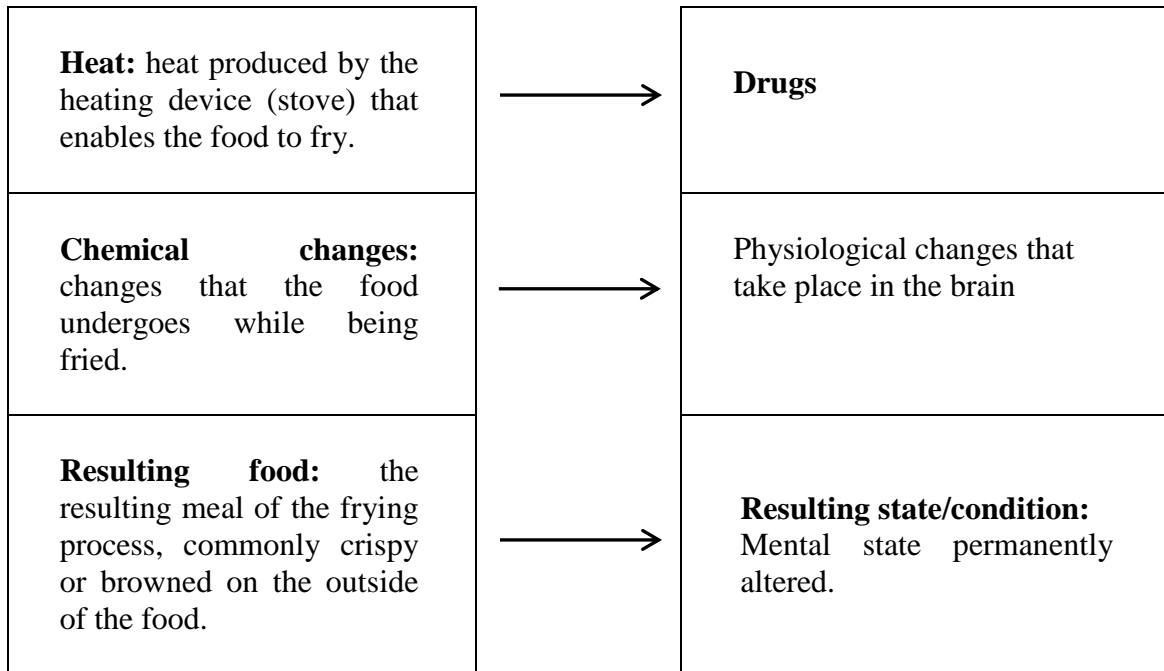


Table 24 presents the core FEs from the FRYING frame that can be mapped onto some elements from the STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS frame. The **person's brain** affected by **drugs** is conceived of as **food** that gets fried by **heat**. The drugs provoke certain **physiological changes** in a person's brain, often irreversible, as the **chemical changes** suffered by the food being fried.

(58) “Muchos de los que vivimos esa época conocimos a alguno de esos jóvenes que, creyéndose que expandían su conciencia metiendo se potentes sustancias peligrosísimas y descontroladas (pero muy naturales), acabaron en un psiquiátrico de por vida o cuando menos se **frieron** el cerebro con gran eficacia”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://charlatanes.blogspot.com/2006/06/jodorowsky-los-delirios-de-un-artista.html>).

‘Many of those who lived that period know one of those young people that, believing they were expanding their consciousness taking very dangerous and uncontrolled (yet very natural) powerful substances, ended up in a psychiatric hospital for life or, to say the least, fried their brain efficiently’.

(59) “Anda, anda, apaga la tele que se te están **friendo** las neuronas...”

(Web/Dialects, <http://blogs.elpais.com/quinta-temporada/2013/06/reacciones-juego-de-tronos.html>).

‘Come on, turn off the TV, it is rotting your brain’.

Example 58 shows how “freír” evokes the frame of STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS in PenSp. In this sense it tends to collocate with “cerebro” (brain) or “neuronas” (neurons), suggesting that the brain on drugs is like food being fried. For other damaging stimuli, such as watching certain TV programs (see example 59), PenSp employs “freír” together with “cerebro” or “neuronas” too, to stress the damage it could cause to our brain function.

7.3.11 FREÍR TARGET FRAME 4 (TF4): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

Another target frame encountered in 19 samples (0.98%) from the corpus Web/Dialects is the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame. The mappings between the core FEs of the FRYING and the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frames coincide with the AmE ones described in section 7.3.1. The present section provides some examples

of the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS FRYING metaphor in PenSp extracted from the corpus Web/Dialects.

(60) “[... alucino cada vez que los veo a ellos, casi modelos Armani total, con foulard anudado al cuello. Siempre el foulard. Aunque te estés **friendo** a pleno sol...”].

(Web/Dialects, <http://nonperfect.com/2012/06/19/cosas-horrorosas/>).

‘I freak out every time I see them, almost Armani models, wearing a foulard around their neck. Always a foulard. Even if you are getting fried in the sun...’.

(61) “El fotógrafo Martin Parr nos muestra playas abarrotadas, aglomeraciones de turistas bajo monumentos, cuerpos enrojecidos **fritos** por el sol o primeros planos de tapas grasientas...]”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://blogs.cccb.org/veus/programacio/la-programacio-que-ve-propostes-culturals-dagost-i-setembre-al-ccb/?lang=es>).

‘Photographer Martin Parr shows crowded beaches, swarms of tourists under monuments, reddened bodies fried by the sun or close-ups of tapas...’.

In examples 60 and 61, “freír” refers to people receiving excessive sun heat, as if they were food receiving heat by the stove while being fried.

7.3.12 FREÍR TARGET FRAME 5 (TF5): ELECTROCUTING A PERSON

Another target frame activated by “freír” in 17 instances (0.88%) of the corpus Web/Dialects is ELECTROCUTING A PERSON, which occurs in AmE too (see detailed description of FEs and mappings in section 7.3.3). Therefore, this section provides some instances in PenSp selected from the Web/Dialects corpus:

(62) “Claro que ellos aseguran que [los polígrafos] tienen una validez del 97 %, lo que (si fuera cierto, porque la cifra la lanzan al mundo sin fuente alguna que la sustente) quiere decir que los practicantes de esta patraña pueden **freír** en una silla eléctrica a 3 inocentes por cada 97 culpables”. (Web/Dialects, <http://charlatanes.blogspot.com/2004/08/la-hora-de-la-verdad-y-los-minutos-de.html>).

‘Of course they ensure that it [the polygraph] is 97% valid , which (if that was the case, since they share the figure with the world with no source at all behind it) means that the executors of this likely story can fry 3 innocent out of 97 guilty people in an electric chair’.

(63) “Vamos, que tarde o temprano un ladrillo caerá sobre nuestra cabeza o un rayo nos **freirá** en el transcurso de un baño en algún mar paradisíaco”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.lapizarradeyuri.com/2010/10/03/de-la-muerte/>).

‘Sooner or later a brick will hit our head or a flash of lightning will fry us while swimming in an idyllic sea’.

In example 62, people are viewed as food that is fried by the electric chair. In this case the action is performed on people deliberately. Moreover, as it occurs with “fry”, “freír” can also apply to a situation in which a person receives an electric shock involuntarily (see example 63, due to lightning).

7.3.13 FREÍR TARGET FRAME 6 (TF6): DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE

The following target frame evoked by “freír” in the corpus Web/Dialects is DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE, with a total of 23 occurrences (1.19%). The DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE frame is also used in AmE (see section 7.3.4 for details). Hence, the present section contains examples in PenSp extracted from Web/Dialects.

(64) “[...si el valor es demasiado alto, lo que hacemos es **freir** el componente con un exceso de voltaje lo que provocará que éste se quemé”. (Web/Dialects, <http://hardzone.es/cuanto-consume-realmente-nuestro-ordenador/>).

‘If the [voltage] value is too high, we are frying the component with excess voltage that will make it burn up’.

(65) “Deciden cuando pueden parar. Y si se **fríe** el servidor por una subida de tensión en sus instalaciones serán ellos los que apretarán y tratarán de resolver los problemas lo antes posible...]”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.tecnologiapyme.com/ebusiness/cuando-amazon-estornuda-miles-de-empresas-que-impulsan-el-saas-cogen-una-pulmonia>).

‘They [small businesses] decide when they can stop. And if the server gets fried by an electric surge in their facilities, they are the ones who will insist on trying to solve the problems as soon as possible...]’.

As seen in examples 64 and 65, the electrical current affecting the circuitry of electrical devices is conceptualized as the heat that fries food. As a consequence of the high voltage, the devices become damaged and, in most cases, inoperative, as they have been charred.

7.3.14 “FREÍR” IDIOM: “A FREÍR ESPÁRRAGOS”

As defined by the DRAE (2014), the informal PenSp idiom “mandar/enviar a freír espárragos” means “despedir a alguien con aspereza, enojo o sin miramientos” (to tell someone to go away rudely, annoyingly or with no consideration)²⁹. This idiom was found in 184 out of the 1,940 occurrences (9.48%) taken from the corpus Web/Dialects.

(66) “Aún a riesgo de que me manden a **freír** espárragos por meterme en conversaciones ajenas, me gustaría compartir con ud. la siguiente reflexión”. (Web/Dialects, <http://escolar.net/MT/archives/2012/07/vale-que-apoyemos-a-los-minero.html>).

‘Even at the risk of being told to get lost for meddling in other people’s conversations, I would like to share with you the following reflection’.

²⁹ The closest AmE equivalent expressions of “vete a freír espárragos” would be: “get lost!”, “go fly a kite!” and “go jump in the lake!”.

As seen in example 66, this idiomatic expression is used to send somebody away (to do something else) because what he/she is doing or saying is annoying or irritating.

7.3.15 OTHER CASES OF FREÍR (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the “freír” metaphors already dealt with, there are 3 instances found in Web/Dialects in which “freír” activates the frame of FALLING ASLEEP. Since the number of examples is not significant, the FALLING ASLEEP frame is not considered here as a frequently used target frame of FREÍR.

7.4 KNEADING AND AMASAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

In their most central sense, the lexical units “knead” and “amasar” evoke the prototypical frame which is made up of the core FEs displayed in table 25. These frames involve a person (the **cook**), who is preparing bread or some kind of pastry. In order to do so, some dry and liquid ingredients (usually flour, yeast, water, salt, and others) are combined and stirred to elaborate the **dough**. That dough must be kneaded, as kneading is intended to distribute the ingredients evenly in a consistent massive chunk. While folding and stretching the dough repeatedly on a **flat surface** with the **hands**, **flour** must be dusted so as to prevent the dough from sticking. By doing so, the flour starts absorbing the water and **enzymatic reactions** take place (i.e. gliadin and glutenin proteins blend together, forming gluten). Consequently, the matrix of amino acids that is created within the dough traps the gas released by the yeast, resulting in the rise of the dough (Figoni, 2011; Haegens, 2006).

The dough starts out looking lumpy but it gradually smooths out while being kneaded. If kneaded properly, the final result is a **smooth, cohesive** and **elastic dough**.

Table 25

KNEADING - AMASAR as source frames

KNEADING – AMASAR FRAME
<p>DESCRIPTION: Kneading is the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.</p>
Core FEs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cook: person who kneads.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Flat surface: surface onto which we knead the dough.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Flour: The flat surface must be sprinkled with flour so as to avoid the dough from sticking.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hands
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Kneading movements (folding, stretching)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enzymatic reactions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Duration: necessary time for the dough to become smooth, free from lumps.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Purpose: to get a consistent, flexible and smooth mass.

The subsequent sections (1) examine the target frames (metaphorical senses) that have been identified in 355 out of the 1,400 citations (25.35%) of the word forms of “knead” extracted from COCA; and (2) the target frames identified in 527 out of the 1659 occurrences (31.77%) of word forms of “amasar” found in the Web/Dialects corpus.

7.4.1 KNEADING TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): MASSAGING SOMEONE

One of the target frames evoked by “knead” in COCA is MASSAGING SOMEONE, with a total of 170 citations (12.14%). The prototypical frame of MASSAGING SOMEONE refers to the situation in which a person receives a massage by a therapist in order to relax and treat his/her sore muscles. The kneading technique involves pressure on the superficial as well as the deep tissues of the patient’s body, which enables the therapist to break down muscle knots (i.e. stuck muscle fibers, adhesions resulting from bad posture, scar tissue, etc.).

Table 26

KNEADING target frame 1 (TF1): MASSAGING SOMEONE

MASSAGING SOMEONE IS KNEADING

KNEADING (SOURCE FRAME)	MASSAGING SOMEONE (TARGET FRAME)
<p>DESCRIPTION: Kneading is the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: Kneading is a massage technique in which pressure is applied to the skin and the underlying structures (muscles, tendons, ligaments...). It is used to treat tight or sore muscles.</p>

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who kneads.	→	The person who performs the massage, usually a massage therapist.
Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.	→	Patient: the person that receives the massage.
Hands	→	Hands
Kneading movements	→	Pressing, folding, stretching movements (on the skin)
Duration: necessary time for the dough to become smooth, free from lumps.	→	Duration: time that the massage therapist needs to perform the massage and make the patient feel better.
Purpose: to get a consistent, flexible and smooth mass.	→	Purpose: the massage allows the patient to feel more relaxed and relieved after having some muscle knots broken down.

As seen in table 26 above, there are several core FEs from the KNEADING frame that might be mapped onto the MASSAGING SOMEONE frame, that is, some FEs from the target frame can be understood in terms of some FEs from the source frame. For instance, the **massage therapist** that massages a **patient** can be conceptualized as the

cook who kneads the **dough**. The therapist performs the massage with his/her **hands** during an **extended period of time**, the same as the cook kneading the dough; and the **pressing and stretching movements** on the patient's body can be characterized as the **kneading movements** applied to the dough. By applying pressure on the patient's body, **muscle knots are broken down** and the patient feels more relaxed and relieved, which could correlate with the purpose of kneading the dough, that is, **achieving consistent, flexible and smooth dough**.

The aforementioned mappings can be clearly illustrated with some of the metaphorical expressions found in COCA.

(67) “Amy was grateful for the masseuse's silence and she relaxed completely as strong hands rubbed and **kneaded** up and down her body, loosening the knotted muscles and nerves in her neck, down her spine”. (COCA, FIC: Last Lessons of Summer, 2003).

(68) “Using the palms of your hands, your knuckles, or your fingertips, seek out the knots in his muscles (key trouble spots are the upper and lower back as well as the thighs and the calves) and **knead** them gently but firmly. You may want to try some warm oil (baby oil works well) to enable a fluid stroke”. (COCA, MAG: Redbook, 2002).

As seen in examples 67 and 68 above, the patient's body is conceived of as the dough that must be kneaded by the cook's hands (the massage therapist's hands). Hence, the massage movements applied to break down the muscle knots may be viewed as the kneading movements applied to get rid of any flour lumps in the dough.

7.4.2 KNEADING TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY

Another target frame activated by “knead” in 89 occurrences (6.36%) extracted from COCA is TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY. The TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY frame evokes one person who is touching another person’s body firmly and roughly. Since this situation usually takes place between lovers, it entails passion and pleasure.

Table 27

KNEADING target frame 2 (TF2): TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY

TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY IS KNEADING

KNEADING (SOURCE FRAME)		TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: Kneading is the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.		DESCRIPTION: When a person touches and squeezes another person’s body parts in an intense and passionate way.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who kneads.	→	The person who touches his/her lover’s body parts.
Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.	→	The person that receives the pressing movements.

Hands	→	Hands
Kneading movements	→	Firm, rough touches
Purpose: to get a consistent, flexible and smooth mass.	→	Purpose: to cause sexual arousal.

In table 27, we can see the FEs from the TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY frame that can be categorized as FEs from the KNEADING frame. The **person who touches** someone, the **person who is touched** and the **intense, firm and rough movements** to **excite** him/her **sexually** might be understood as the **cook** who **kneads** the **dough** so that it becomes **flexible and smooth**.

The following examples found in COCA portray some of the aforementioned inferences and conceptual projections.

- (69) “Instinctively he reached out to steady himself and instead caught her upper arms in his hands and groaned. His fingers **kneaded** the pliant flesh, drawing her against him as he wrestled for control over himself and the unexpected kiss”. (COCA, FIC: On the prowl, 2012).
- (70) “He throws his head back and laughs too, a happy pirate noise, then squats and cups my breast with his big hand, **kneading** fabric and flesh encouragingly”. (COCA, FIC: The Virginia Quarterly Review, 1994).

In examples 69 and 70, the men could be viewed as the cook who is kneading the women’s body as if it were dough. In fact, the woman’s flesh is linguistically characterized as ‘pliable’ (example 69), which is conceptually attributable to the dough.

Furthermore, the fact that the flesh in example 70 is kneaded ‘encouragingly’ implies that the movements are operated in an intentional, active and repeated way, as it is done when kneading dough.

7.4.3 KNEADING TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART

The KNEADING frame can also be utilized to conceive of the RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART frame, as found in 78 occurrences (5.57%) from COCA. The prototypical RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART frame entails that there is a person who, due to nervousness or worry, rubs a part of his/her body, commonly in an unconscious way. In this case, unlike the two previous target frames (MASSAGING SOMEONE and TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY), only one person is involved in the frame, and that same person is the recipient of the action of rubbing. Moreover, the RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART frame does not necessarily imply any purpose, but the action taking place is generally rather unintentional and involuntary.

Table 28

KNEADING target frame 3 (TF3): RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART

RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART IS KNEADING

KNEADING (SOURCE FRAME)	RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART (TARGET FRAME)
<p>DESCRIPTION: Kneading is the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: To rub one’s own body almost in an unconscious way, as a signal of nervousness, worry or uneasiness.</p>

CORE FE _s		CORE FE _s
Cook: person who kneads.	→	The person who rubs his/her body.
Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.	→	Receiver: the person that rubs is the one who receives the rubbing/pressing movements.
Hands	→	Hands
Kneading movements	→	Pressing movements
Duration: necessary time for the dough to become smooth, free from lumps.	→	Duration: The pressing movements usually last a brief period of time.

Table 28 above includes the mappings from the KNEADING (source) frame onto the RUBBING ONE'S BODY PART (target) frame. In this particular target frame, the person making the firm pressing movements with his/her hands on his/her body, could be envisioned as the cook who is pressing, stretching and folding the dough. Even though the act of rubbing oneself a body part is considered as a signal of nervousness, worry or uneasiness; it is not realized with any specific purpose.

- (71) "He looked at his bride, who took off her wire glasses, **kneading** the root of her nose with her fingertips. Beads of sweat coated her pale cheeks. # " Are you all right, sweetheart? " he asked". (COCA, FIC: The Antioch Review, 2016).

- (72) “After she used the test strip, the older man waited dutifully beside her, **kneading** his fists together as they waited an agonizing five minutes for the chemicals to work their damning magic”. (COCA, FIC: Analog Science Fiction & Fact, 2012).

Examples 71 and 72 show some of the mappings mentioned above. In example 71, the bride is “kneading” her nose as a signal of uneasiness, similar to example 72, in which the man is “kneading” his fists since he is anxious and worried for the results of the pregnancy test.

7.4.4 KNEADING TARGET FRAME 4 (TF4): CAT PAWING

Another target frame evoked by “knead” in 18 citations (1.29%) taken from COCA is the CAT PAWING frame. This particular frame refers to the prototypical situation in which a cat alternately presses its front paws against a soft surface (a blanket, a cushion, its owner’s lap...). This instinctive behavior is rather common in cats and it happens when they are relaxed and at ease. Nevertheless, no clear consensus exists as to the cats’ purpose when “kneading”. Cat “kneading” is also colloquially known as “making biscuits” and “playing the piano”.

Table 29

KNEADING target frame 4 (TF4): CAT PAWING

CAT PAWING IS KNEADING

KNEADING (SOURCE FRAME)		CAT PAWING (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: Kneading is the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.		DESCRIPTION: When a cat moves its front paws rhythmically on a soft surface. It is a common behavior seen in cats when they feel happy and relaxed.
CORE FE_s		CORE FE_s
Cook: person who kneads.	→	Cat
Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.	→	Soft surface kneaded by the cat (blanket, cushion, your lap...)
Hands	→	Paws and claws
Kneading movements	→	Pawing in and out repeatedly

As it can be seen in table 29, the **cat pawing** alternately on a **soft surface** might be understood as the **cook kneading** the **dough** with his/her **hands**, being the kneading movements the main meaning transferred. By way of illustration, consider examples 73 and 74.

- (73) “So Bill brought her a kitten. She spent long afternoons with Tabby perched on her chest, purring as he **kneaded** the fabric of her shirt. Tabby and Sommer watched television together”. (COCA, FIC: Confrontation, 2014).
- (74) “Stone had curled up on a sweatshirt she'd dropped on the floor, and was **kneading** and purring enthusiastically”. (COCA, FIC: Love nor Money, 1991).

As the examples 73 and 74 instantiate, cats are conceived of as cooks who ‘knead’ soft things with their paws (his owner’s shirt in example 73 and a sweatshirt in example 74) as though they were dough.

7.4.5 OTHER CASES OF KNEADING (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the “knead” metaphors already dealt with, there are a few instances found in COCA in which “knead” activates the following frames: the EVOLVING THOUGHTS/IDEAS INTO CONSISTENCY (3 occurrences), INFLUENCING/MANIPULATING PEOPLE (2 occurrences), SHAPING A LANDSCAPE (1 occurrence), and PROCESSING LINGUISTIC INPUT (1 occurrence). Consequently, according to our criteria these frames are discarded here from our analysis as non-recurrent target frames of KNEADING.

7.4.6 AMASAR TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS

The nearest PenSp translation equivalent of “knead” is “amasar”. The present and the subsequent sections introduce the target frames evoked by the word forms of “amasar” in the 1659 occurrences extracted from the corpus del español Web/ Dialects.

One of the target frames encountered in 472 out of 1,659 citations (28.45%) of “amasar” in the corpus Web/Dialects is the ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS frame. The prototypical ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS frame is concerned with possession, that is, it entails a person that accumulates or amasses possessions (e.g. money, properties, awards, etc.) through time, generally for oneself.

Table 30

AMASAR target frame 1 (TF1): ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS

**ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS IS KNEADING
(ACUMULAR POSESIONES ES AMASAR)**

<p>KNEADING (SOURCE FRAME)</p>	<p>ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS) (TARGET FRAME)</p>
<p>DESCRIPTION: the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: to collect a lot of something such as money, properties, etc. for oneself over a period of time.</p>

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who kneads.	→	The person who accumulates an amount of some resource or things.
Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.	→	The possessions accumulated
Duration: necessary time for the dough to become smooth, free from lumps.	→	Duration: it usually entails an extended period of time.
Purpose: to get a consistent, flexible and smooth mass.	→	Purpose: to gradually increase the quantity or number of possessions for oneself.

As seen in table 30, a few core FEs from the AMASAR frame may certainly be projected onto the ACUMULAR POSESIONES frame to characterize it in a more comprehensive way. For instance, the **person who gradually collects long-term possessions** could be conceived of as a **cook** who is manually **kneading dough** for a **certain period of time** in order to get a **smooth mass** which is **ready to expand** as it rises, the same as with the amassed entities, which gradually **increase in quantity or number**. Consider examples (75) and (76).

(75) “El diario estadounidense remarca las diferencias entre la reciente monarquía española y el resto de coronas europeas, y destaca cómo el rey

llegó a Jefe del Estado con prácticamente nada, y poco a poco ha generado una fortuna. Al rey se le valora mucho en los círculos empresariales por actuar como intermediario y como el embajador económico para su nación, pero la forma en que ha **amasado** su considerable fortuna personal permanece en secreto, apunta The New York Times”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.ecorepublicano.es/2012/09/the-new-york-times-cuestiona-la-manera.html>)

‘The American newspaper highlights the differences between the current Spanish monarchy and the rest of European Crowns, and remarks how the [Spanish] king became head of state barely having anything and little by little he has generated a fortune. The king is highly valued in business circles for acting as an intermediary and as the economic ambassador for his nation, but the way he has accumulated his personal fortune still remains a secret, the New York Times states’.

- (76) “El Mundo revela este lunes el modus operandi de Luis Bárcenas para **amasar** su inmensa fortuna que, como él mismo reconoció al juez, asciende al menos a 38 millones de euros que consiguió acumular en cuentas en Suiza”. (Web/Dialects, <http://hellinpasoapaso.blogspot.com/2013/03/esta-teoria-del-diario-el-mundo-es-mas.html>).

‘This Monday El Mundo reveals Luis Barcena’s modus operandi for accumulating his immense fortune which, as he admitted before the judge, could amount to at least 38 million euros, which he managed to amass in accounts in Switzerland’.

Examples 75 and 76 illustrate some of the mappings presented in table 30. In both cases the person that accumulates money over a period of time (the Spanish king in example 75 and Barcenas in example 76) can be regarded as the cook who intends to knead the dough properly so that it can rise in volume later on.

7.4.7 AMASAR TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): DRIBBLING THE BALL

Another target frame activated by “amasar” in 13 occurrences (0.78%) extracted from Web/Dialects is DRIBBLING THE BALL. The DRIBBLING THE BALL frame evokes a soccer or basketball player who has full control of the ball and keeps it by kicking or bouncing it repeatedly so that the opposite team does not intercept the ball.

Table 31

AMASAR target frame 2 (TF2): DRIBBLING THE BALL

DRIBBLING THE BALL IS KNEADING RETENER EL BALÓN EN MOVIMIENTO ES AMASAR

KNEADING (SOURCE FRAME)	DRIBBLING THE BALL (TARGET FRAME)
<p>DESCRIPTION: AMASAR is the process of pressing, stretching and folding dough, usually done manually in order to form a smooth and cohesive mass.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: To dribble the ball in order to keep possession.</p>

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who kneads.	→	Sports player
Dough: mixture of ingredients used for making bread or pastry. It must be stiff enough to knead or roll.	→	Ball
Hands	→	Hands/feet
Kneading movements	→	Movements to keep possession of the ball.
Duration: necessary time for the dough to become smooth, free from lumps.	→	Duration: it usually entails a few seconds of uninterrupted possession.
Purpose: to get a consistent, flexible and smooth mass.	→	Purpose: to keep possession of the ball.

As seen in table 31, some core FEs from the DRIBBLING THE BALL frame that can be categorized as FEs from the KNEADING frame. The **player(s) dribbling the ball** repeatedly with their **feet or hands** to **keep the possession** could be categorized as the **cook kneading the dough** repeatedly with his/her **hands** in order to obtain a **flexible mass**. Consider examples 77 and 78:

- (77) La española de la selección ha sido la española de el 1-0 y la posesión. O sea, de la seguridad defensiva y desde allí **amasar** balón para que el rival ni la huela”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.diariosdefutbol.com/2013/07/01/una-derrota/>).
‘Spain’s national football/soccer team has been the Spain of the 1-0 and [ball] possession. I mean, [it has been the team standing out for] the convincing defense and from this, dribbling the ball so that the opponent cannot even get close to it’.
- (78) Guardiola retomó esos conceptos tan básicos y vitales con la idea que **amasar** el balón era básica en su esquema”. (Web/Dialects, <http://www.ecosdelbalon.com/2013/09/retirada-deco-carrera-porto-barcelona-rijkaard/>).
‘Guardiola picked up those basic and vital concepts with the idea that dribbling the ball was essential in his [playing] scheme’.

In examples 77 and 78 above, “amasar” is utilized to construe the ball as dough, and the repeated movements the players make with their feet to keep possession of the ball as the kneading movements made by the cook.

7.4.8 AMASAR TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): CAT PAWING

Another target frame activated by “amasar” in 32 occurrences (1.93%) extracted from Web/Dialects is CAT PAWING. The description of the CAT PAWING frame and the KNEADING frame mappings onto it coincide with the ones described in section 7.4.4. For that reason, this section just provides some examples in PenSp found in

Web/Dialects that contribute to illustrate the mappings between the KNEADING frame and the CAT PAWING frame in PenSp.

- (79) “Por ejemplo Pumuky ronronea cuando **amasa** la cama y los muñecos y la manta, y también lo hace cuando le acaricio y le cojo en brazos”. (Web/Dialects, http://gatos.facilisimo.com/foros/consejos/el-ronroneo-del-gato-que-significa_291923.html).

‘For instance, Pumuky purrs when he kneads the bed, the toys and the blanket, and he does it too when I caress him and pick him up’.

- (80) “Mi gato philippe me **amasa** todo el tiempo, pero lo hace solo en mi pelo, cuando me ve sentada o acostada se sube y empieza a **amasar** hasta quedarse medio dormido”. (Web/Dialects, http://gatos.facilisimo.com/foros/consejos/entiendes-a-tu-gato-partei_293282.html).

‘My cat Phillippe kneads me all the time, but he only does it on my hair, when he sees I am sitting or lying he climbs up and starts kneading [me] until almost falling asleep’.

Both examples 79 and 80 exemplify the way cats may be envisioned as cooks that “knead” a pliant dough (the bed, the toys and the blanket in example 79, and Phillippe’s owner in example 80).

7.4.9 AMASAR GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR: AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS KNEADING

One of the metaphors underlying 10 “amasar” occurrences (0.60%) in the corpus Web/Dialects has AMASAR as its source domain but it does not have a fixed

target domain, that is, in this case the AMASAR source domain applies to multiple target domains that share a specific semantic structure.

Thus, the AMASAR frame can be conceptually projected onto multiple target domains that refer to uniting or combining several elements into an integrated whole, which share the following semantic characteristics: (1) different constituent elements (physical or abstract), and (2) the combination of those elements into a unified entity (physical or abstract). This semantic structure (1 and 2) could, respectively, be characterized as some core FEs from the AMASAR frame: (1) different ingredients of the dough, and (2) consistent, cohesive dough.

Therefore, after analyzing the common semantic structure of the target domains found, the generic-level metaphor (Kövecses, 2003) AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS KNEADING is suggested, since this overarching metaphor can be placed at a higher level of abstraction that includes the multiple target domains.

- (81) “Como era de esperar, los nuevos álbumes interactivos de iTunes 9 están diseñados y desarrollados a golpe del ubicuo HTML y JavaScript aderezado con unos cuantos archivos adicionales que se encargan de **amasar** convenientemente la mezcla: establecer relaciones entre archivos y enlaces utilizando IDs únicos”. (Web/Dialects, <http://blog.idg.es/macworld/content/itunes-9-explorando-los-archivos-itunes-lp>).

‘As expected, the new interactive albums of iTunes 9 are designed and developed around the ubiquitous HTML and JavaScript, seasoned with a

bunch of additional files that are responsible for kneading the mixture conveniently: establishing relations between files and links using unique IDs’.

- (82) “Podríamos hablar de muchas cosas escena a escena ya que *Los Anillos de Akhaten* no solo tiene emociones fuertes sino una mezcla de sentido de humor bien **amasada**”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://www.papelpsiquico.com/2013/04/opiniones-sobre-rings-of-akhaten.html>).

‘We could comment many things scene by scene since *Rings of Akhaten* not only has strong emotions but a well-kneaded mixture of sense of humor’.

Examples 81 and 82 constitute an instance of the generic-level metaphor AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS KNEADING, as example 81 refers to the internal configuration of a software program and example 82 refers to the configuration of a movie. In example 81, the ‘additional files’ are understood as the cook who ‘kneads the mixture conveniently’, that is, those ‘additional files’ unite or combine different files with links so that iTunes 9 might work successfully. Example 82 conceives of the movie *Rings of Akhaten* as a dough that is ‘well kneaded’, which entails that the different elements of this movie are combined efficiently resulting in a cohesive whole (i.e. the movie).

7.4.10 OTHER CASES OF AMASAR (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

In addition to the metaphors evoked by “amasar” already explained, other instances found in the corpus Web/Dialects activate other conceptual frames. Those frames would be: the WORKING ON AN IDEA/PROJECT frame (3 instances), the INFLUENCING/MOLDING SOMEONE frame (3 instances), the MASSAGING SOMEONE frame (1 instance), and the PROCESSING INFORMATION frame (1 instance). Due to the low number of occurrences obtained, those instances cannot be considered substantial enough as to generalize the metaphorical use of those frames in PenSp.

7.5 ROAST AND ASAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

In their more basic sense, the lexical units “roast” and “asar” evoke the prototypical situation which is made up of the core FEs shown in table 32. These frames involve a person, the **cook**, who after **preparing and mixing the ingredients** to be roasted, puts them into a **roasting container** (a sheet). When the **oven** reaches the recommended temperature (at least 400°F and above), the container with the **raw food** is placed in the oven. While roasting, the dry **heat** is evenly transferred to the entity being roasted, making its ingredients undergo **chemical changes** to form the **final roasted product**. Roasting also applies to cooking meat or vegetables over a fire.

Unlike “baking” and “hornear”, “roast” and “asar” are typically employed to cook food that has a solid structure (meat and vegetables). Besides, roasting requires a

higher temperature than baking in order to achieve a **brown and crispy surface** of the roasted food.

Table 32

ROASTING - ASAR as source frames

ROAST – ASAR FRAME
<p>DESCRIPTION: to cook food with a solid structure by dry heat in an oven for an extended period of time so as to brown its surface.</p>
Core FEs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cook: person who prepares the food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Raw food: food with solid structure (meat and vegetables)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Preparing/mixing process: make the ingredients ready for being roasted.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (oven).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Roasting container: container that holds the ingredients and is placed in the heating device.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heat: dry heat produced by the heating device (oven) that enables the food to roast.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Duration: necessary time for the food to become roasted.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chemical changes: changes that the ingredients undergo while being roasted.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Resulting food: the resulting meal of the roasting process, usually involving a browned crust on the outside of the food.

The subsequent sections (1) examine the target frames (metaphorical senses) that have been identified in 95 out of the 3000 citations (3.17%) of the word forms of “roast” extracted from COCA; and (2) the target frames identified in 34 out of the 2839 occurrences (1.2%) of word forms of “asar” found in the Web/Dialects corpus.

7.5.1 ROASTING TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

One of the target frames evoked by “roasting” in COCA is EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT, with a total of 14 citations (0.47%). The prototypical EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame refers to the exposure to intense environmental heat that makes people are other entities become extremely hot.

Table 33

ROASTING target frame 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS ROASTING

<p>ROASTING (SOURCE FRAME)</p>	<p>EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (TARGET FRAME)</p>
<p>DESCRIPTION: to cook food with a solid structure by dry heat in an oven for an extended period of time so as to brown its surface.</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION: Exposure to extreme temperatures by sun heat, usually causing adverse health effects.</p>

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: food with a solid structure (meat, poultry, vegetables...)	→	Heat receiver: the entity that feels/perceives the heat, usually a person.
Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (oven).	→	The sun
Heat: dry heat produced by the heating device (oven) that enables the food to roast.	→	Heat: hot weather produced by the sun heat.
Duration: necessary time for the food to become roasted.	→	Duration: necessary time for the receiver of the sun heat to become really hot.
Chemical changes: changes that the ingredients undergo while being roasted.	→	Physical changes: changes experienced by the entities under the sun heat.
Resulting food: the resulting meal of the roasting process, usually involving a brown crust on the outside of the food.	→	Resulting state/condition: the entities being extremely hot.

As seen in table 33 above, a few core FEs from the ROASTING frame can be mapped onto some core FEs from the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame. For instance, the **sun** and the **heat** it emits correlate with the **oven** and its **heat**. Hence, the person that receives the **sun heat** could be conceptualized as the **food ingredients** that are roasted in the oven. The **prolonged exposure** to intense environmental heat and the

ensuing **physical changes** in people and other physical entities could be construed as the **time** the food spends in the oven going through **chemical changes**. Consequently, the **resulting condition of the physical entities** that receive the sun heat might be envisioned as the **final roasted food**. The following examples found in COCA represent some of the aforementioned conceptual projections:

(83) “He is sweating profusely. " Galleon, did you boost the heat in here? " He pulls at his collar. " I'm **roasting**. " # " I did not boost the heat, " I reply". (COCA, FIC: Analog Science Fiction & Fact, 2017).

(84) “It [a computer model] illustrated how changes in their flow altered the air currents also, so that the summer warmth now **roasted** the southern U.S. but no longer reached to England”. (COCA, FIC: Analog Science Fiction & Fact, 2012).

In example 83, the speaker feels extremely hot and defines his state as “roasting”, as though he were a piece of meat roasting in an oven. On the other hand, in example 84 the “summer warmth” affecting “the southern U.S.” and, metonymically, the inhabitants living in that area may be understood as the oven heat that roasts the food in it.

7.5.2 ROASTING TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING

The other target frame activated by “roasting” in 81 occurrences (2.7%) extracted from COCA is CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING. The prototypical

CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING frame entails a person or a topic that is criticized harshly by another person or people. Furthermore, roasting someone is also utilized when humorously criticizing or ridiculing someone, typically celebrities.

Table 34

ROASTING target frame 2 (TF2): CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING

CRITICIZING IS ROASTING

ROASTING (SOURCE FRAME)		CRITICIZING (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook food with a solid structure by dry heat in an oven for an extended period of time so as to brown its surface.		DESCRIPTION: to criticize severely or ridicule a person publicly in a humorous way.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Cook: person who prepares the food.	→	The person who criticizes
Raw food: food with a solid structure (meat, poultry, vegetables...)	→	The victim of criticism
Heat: dry heat produced by the heating device (oven) that enables the food to roast.	→	The criticism (often humorous)

Table 34 includes the core FEs from the CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING frame that can be understood in terms of the ROASTING frame. In the case of the **person**

who expresses strong **criticism** on **someone** or something else, he/she could be conceived of as the **cook** who deliberately puts the **food** into the **heat** of the oven or over the flames (in the case of roasting over an open fire). Examples 85, 86 and 87 extracted from COCA may help comprehend the CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING IS ROASTING metaphor:

(85) “At that point [2009] Democrats were getting **roasted** on Obamacare. Republicans were unwilling to compromise because to do so had become a political liability in the primaries”. (COCA, MAG: TechCrunch, 2017).

(86) “You know, I don't want to out too many people, but, for instance, Justin Bieber called Comedy Central and said I want to be **roasted**. I've had a rough year. I've been arrested. I've gotten a lot of bad press. I need to reboot myself before my next album comes out”. (COCA, SPOK: Fresh Air 12:00 AM EST, 2016).

(87) “Are there any rules for celebrity **roasts** about what's fair and what's out of bounds? JEFF-ROSS# You know, my own personal rule, Terry, is to tell jokes that the person I'm making them about can laugh at, to go home and tell their family, oh, my gosh, guess what Jeff Ross said about me?”. (COCA, SPOK: Fresh Air 12:00 AM EST, 2016).

In example 85, the Democrats are said to be getting “roasted” by Republicans, which entails that they were being harshly criticized by them, as if Democrats were a piece of meat suffering the heat or the flames while being roasted. In example 86, “roasted” refers to the act of being criticized and ridiculed but in a humorous way. The

hint of humor is present in example 87 as well, but in this case “roast” is linguistically utilized as a noun to refer to the event of publicly making fun of a celebrity.

7.5.3 ASAR TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT

The nearest PenSp translation equivalent of “roast” is “asar”. The present and the subsequent sections present the metaphors evoked by the word forms of “asar”³⁰ in the 2839 occurrences extracted from the corpus del español Web/ Dialects.

The EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame was activated in a total of 34 citations (1.2%) of “asar” taken from the corpus Web/Dialects. Since the mappings and the core FEs between the ROASTING and the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame are the same as the AmE ones described in section 7.5.1, this section offers some instances of the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS ROASTING metaphor in PenSp selected from the corpus Web/Dialects.

(88) “...dios mio creo que nunca había pasado tanto calor en mi vida, cosa que me recuerda ahora que vaya a buscar el abanico antes de que se me olvide para no **asar**me mañana”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://elmundodeegnia.blogspot.com/2012/09/primer-dia-caluroso-y-aburrido.html>).

‘...Oh my god, I think I had never been so hot in my life, which reminds me to go and find a fan, before I forget, to avoid getting roasted tomorrow’.

³⁰ The linguistic forms of asar “asad”, “ase”, “asa” and “asas” were excluded from the search due to the substantial number of homographs and misspellings.

(89) “Un beso y espero que no os estéis **asando** como yo en Madrid que esto parece el Sahara madre mía”. (Web/Dialects, <http://allthethingsaround.blogspot.com/2013/07/made-to-stay-de-catrice-las-van-retirar.html>).

‘Kiss, and I hope you are not roasting like I am in Madrid, oh my gosh, it is like being in the Sahara’.

As can be observed in both examples 88 and 89, PenSp uses “asarse” to express the feeling of extreme heat, as if people were food placed in an oven, receiving its heat and getting roasted.

7.5.4 OTHER CASES OF ASAR (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the previous target frame dealt with, the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame, there are 2 instances found in Web/Dialects in which “asar” evokes the frame of BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE and 1 instance evoking the BECOMING DISTURBED frame. Since the number of examples is not significant enough, the BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE and the BECOMING DISTURBED frame should not be considered as frequently used target frames of ASAR.

7.6 STEWING AND GUI SAR AS SOURCE FRAMES

In their most central sense, the lexical units “stew” and “guisar” activate the recurrent prototypical frame (see core FEs in table 35) within the cooking domain in which the **cook** takes a **stewing container** and puts **small, uniform pieces of food** (typically meat and vegetables) in it and submerges them in **liquid** (e.g. stock, wine, etc.). After that, the food is simmered for **a long period of time** over **low heat**. Due to the slow cooking and the chemical changes occurring during the stewing process, the **pieces of food become tender** and the **liquid thickens up** (it reduces into a gravy).

Table 35

STEWING - GUI SAR as source frames

STEWING – GUI SAR FRAME
DESCRIPTION: to cook small pieces of food fully submerged in a liquid over low heat for an extended period of time.
Core FEs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cook: person who prepares the food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Raw food: small, uniform pieces of food.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Heating device: kitchen equipment that produces heat to cook food in (cooking stove).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stewing container: cooking vessel that contains the pieces of food and the liquid to be stewed and is placed on the stove.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Liquid: the liquid used in the stewing process (e.g. stock, wine, etc.).

<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Low heat: low heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be stewed.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Duration: stewing entails a long period of time.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being stewed.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Resulting food: softened pieces of food and thickened liquid.

The succeeding sections (1) examine the target frames (metaphorical senses) that have been identified in 441 out of the 3,000 instances (14.7%) of the word forms of “stew” extracted from COCA; and (2) the target frames identified in 204 out of the 2,059 occurrences (9.91%) of word forms of “guisar” found in the Web/Dialects corpus.

7.6.1 STEWING TARGET FRAME 1 (TF1): BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED

One of the target frames evoked by “stew” in COCA is BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED, with a total of 65 instances (2.17%). The prototypical BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED frame involves a person who is in a state of suppressed agitation, worry or anxiety because of a problem.

Table 36

STEWING target frame 1 (TF1): BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED

BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED IS STEWING

STEWING (SOURCE FRAME)		BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook small pieces of food fully submerged in a liquid over low heat for an extended period of time.		DESCRIPTION: to be in a state of suppressed emotional agitation, worry or anxiety due to a problem.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Stewing container: cooking vessel that contains the pieces of food and the liquid to be stewed and is placed on the stove.	→	The human body
Liquid: the liquid used in the stewing process (e.g. stock, wine, etc.).	→	Anxiety, worry, frustration, resentment...
Low heat: low heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be stewed.	→	The problem or unkind situation.
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being stewed.	→	Physical and psychological changes suffered by the person while being anxious/agitated.
Resulting food: softened pieces of food and	→	Resulting state/condition: to be in a state of

thickened liquid.

anxiety, worry, resentment.

As seen in table 36 above, some of the core FEs from the STEWING frame can be used in order to understand the BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED frame. For instance, the **human body** is the **stewing container** and the negative emotion (**anxiety, resentment, worry...**) is the **liquid** inside the stewing container. In turn, the **unpleasant situation or problem** causing the negative emotion is the **heat** that warms up the liquid. Moreover, the **physical and emotional changes** triggered by the negative feelings are the **chemical changes** undergone by the food in the stew. These conceptual mappings could be exemplified as follows:

(90) ““ Could they use it to see? ” “ Maybe, ” I said. Inside I was **stewing**. We were skirting so close to a truth that I still couldn't quite tell, it was killing me. My stomach hurt”. (COCA, FIC: Fantasy & Science Fiction, 2013).

(91) “# I'm taking the role of being a resister very, very seriously. Rather than being complacent and rather than sort of signing petitions and **stewing** in my own frustration and my anger, I thought, " Now is the moment in which I really have to do something". (COCA, NEWS: Washington Post, 2017).

(92) ““ They just read Noah Thacken's will, and the family's in a **stew**. He left the house to daughter number two, so daughter number one is threatening to sue, and daughter number three is threatening to leave town, and none of them is talking to the others”. (COCA, FIC: Lake news : a novel, 2000).

In example 90 the person’s body is conceptualized as the stewing container of anxiety and worry, since the speaker says “Inside, I was stewing”, meaning that he/she was holding inside negative feelings that were seriously affecting him/her. Similarly, example 91 shows that “stewing” tends to collocate with the suppressed unpleasant feelings as in “stewing in my own frustration and my anger” (stew in/with + the negative feeling). In addition, as observed in example 92, another linguistic manifestation of the BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED frame is possible in AmE: “to be in a stew”, which implies that the people who are anxious and emotionally agitated due to an unpleasant situation could be also conceptualized as being submerged in a stew.

7.6.2 STEWING TARGET FRAME 2 (TF2): PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING

Another target frame activated in 155 “stew” occurrences (5.17%) extracted from the corpus COCA is PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING. The prototypical PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING frame consists of a person who has a complex situation affecting him/her and mulls over it carefully.

Table 37

STEWING target frame 2 (TF2): PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING

PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING IS STEWING

STEWING (SOURCE FRAME)	PONDERING/ REFLECTING ON SOMETHING (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook small pieces of food fully submerged in a liquid over low heat for an extended period of time.	DESCRIPTION: when a person ponders or reflects on a situation that affects him/her.

CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: small, uniform pieces of food.	→	Ideas/thoughts
Stewing container: cooking vessel that contains the pieces of food and the liquid to be stewed and is placed on the stove.	→	Person's mind
Low heat: low heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be stewed.	→	The situation affecting someone
Duration: stewing entails a long period of time.	→	Pondering on something usually takes an extended period of time.
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being stewed.	→	Changing one's ideas or opinions
Resulting food: softened pieces of food and thickened liquid.	→	Decision

As table 37 shows, a few core FEs from the STEWING frame could be mapped onto some core FEs from the PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING frame. The **person's mind** and its **reflective thoughts** are envisioned as the **stewing vessel** containing the **pieces of food** to be stewed. Furthermore, the **situation** that provokes the

reflective thoughts may be conceived of as the **heat** that allows the food to stew for an **extended period of time**. Examples 93 and 94 portray the aforementioned correlations:

(93) “His drive home wasn't as long as Fred's, so he got there at a reasonable hour, went right to bed, and slept pretty well after an initial hour of **stewing** over unanswered questions”. (COCA, FIC: Analog Science Fiction & Fact, 2016).

(94) “So, of course, I spent this whole summer thinking about Watford. About everything that happened and everything that could happen and everything that's at stake... I **stewed** on it”. (COCA, FIC: Carry on : the rise and fall of Simon Snow, 2016).

As seen on both example 93 and example 94, “stew” is utilized to refer to people who are pondering on certain situations for a long time, as though their thoughts on the situation were food being slowly stewed over low heat.

7.6.3 STEWING TARGET FRAME 3 (TF3): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL

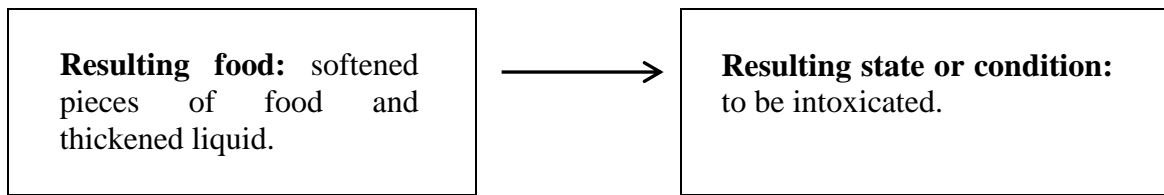
The following target frame evoked by “stew” in 12 citations (0.4%) from the corpus COCA is BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL. The prototypical BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL frame contains a person who has drunk a considerable amount of alcohol and, as a consequence, is intoxicated.

Table 38

STEWING target frame 3 (TF3): BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL

BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL IS STEWING

STEWING (SOURCE FRAME)		BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL (TARGET FRAME)
DESCRIPTION: to cook small pieces of food fully submerged in a liquid over low heat for an extended period of time.		DESCRIPTION: when a person has drunk a considerable amount of alcohol and, as a consequence, is intoxicated.
CORE FEs		CORE FEs
Raw food: small, uniform pieces of food.	→	Person
Liquid: the liquid used in the stewing process (e.g. stock, wine, etc.).	→	Alcohol
Low heat: low heat produced by the heating device (cooking stove) that enables the food to be stewed.	→	Excessive consumption
Duration: stewing entails a long period of time.	→	Getting drunk normally takes some time.
Chemical changes: changes that the food undergoes while being stewed.	→	Excessive alcohol consumption provokes several physical and behavioral changes.



As seen in table 38, the STEWING frame contains some core FEs that could be employed to categorize the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL frame. The **person drinking a large amount of alcohol** and getting some **physical and behavioral effects** can be viewed as the **food** being submersed in **liquid** while stewing and going through some **chemical changes**. As an illustration, consider the following examples:

(95) “Someone sleeping under the elevated-train tracks can at some point recognize that he's an alcoholic, but the guy getting **stewed** every night at a private club may not”. (COCA, MAG: Atlantic Monthly, 2009).

(96) “He waved his drink at her. " Don't you look nice! If I wasn't slightly **stewed** I'd carry you over the threshold...”. (COCA, FIC: Southwest Review, 2003).

Examples 95 and 96 show how being or getting “stewed” refers to being or getting intoxicated by alcohol, since the heavy drinkers might be regarded as the food that is stewed in a large amount of liquid.

7.6.4 STEWING GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING

The generic level metaphor evoked by “stew” in 189 occurrences (6.3%) extracted from COCA is INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING. This metaphor employs STEWING as its source frame, which can be conceptually projected onto a variety of target domains that entail an integrated combination of diverse interacting elements. Hence, the possible target domains must share the following semantic characteristics (Aktionsart and semantic roles): (1) a variety of constituent elements (physical or abstract), and (2) the accomplishment of integrating or combining those interacting elements into a whole (physical or abstract). The target domains that meet this semantic structure (1 and 2) can, respectively, be construed in terms of some core FEs from the STEWING frame: (1) variety of ingredients being stewed together and (2) the accomplishment of combining all those ingredients (solid and liquid) into an integrated whole. Consider the following examples:

(97) “James M. Cain's 1934 novel, *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, stirred up a classic **stew** of noir ingredients -- sex, greed and violence -- and was adapted numerous times as a film”. (COCA, ACAD: Writer, 2011).

(98) “# " Practical jokes, cameras and celebrities -- it's an irresistible **stew** for many Americans, " he says. " The whole idea of celebrities punking each other was very appealing. ”. (COCA, NEWS: USA Today, 2012).

(99) “New Orleans had two faces: one of them a **stew** of cultures and languages, poverty and success, corruption and hope; the other, the mask it showed the world”. (COCA, **FIC**: The map of moments :a novel of the hidden cities, 2009).

In example 97, a novel is conceived of as a “a classic stew” in which its main constituent elements (sex, greed and violence) are linguistically characterized as its “ingredients”, which the author “stirred up” so as to achieve the perfect combination. In example 98, the main elements of a TV show (practical jokes, cameras and celebrities) are said to combine into an “irresistible stew” for Americans, as if the reality show was a delicious stew to be consumed. In example 99, the city of New Orleans is regarded as a “stew”, whose combined ingredients are the multiple “cultures and languages, poverty and success, corruption and hope”.

7.6.5 “STEWING” IDIOM: “TO STEW IN ONE’S OWN JUICES”

The Farlex Dictionary of Idioms (2015) defines “to stew in one’s own juices” as “to remain alone with one’s emotions, usually unpleasant ones like anger or disappointment”. In this sense, the idiom “to stew in one’s own juices” is probably an extension of “stew on/over”, as it also entails mulling over something, but in this case “to stew in one’s own juices” is typically employed to refer to be left alone thinking about or suffering the consequences of one’s actions, as if facing those consequences was being left submerged in the liquid of a stew. This idiom was found in 20 out of the 3,000 citations (0.67%) of “stew” examined from COCA. As an illustration, consider example 100:

(100) “If convicted, he could face the death penalty. Four years had passed since the murder, and as Locascio changed lawyers and delays dragged the case out, prosecutors were hoping Michael Locascio would **stew** in his juices to think about being injected to death. They were hoping he'd flip and testify against his brother”. (COCA, SPOK: Dateline NBC 9:00 PM EST NBC, 2008).

In example 100, the prosecutors hope that by having been in jail for a few years “stewing in his juices” (that is, facing the consequences of his crime) the suspected criminal might have reflected on his actions and reconsidered the fact of testifying against his brother.

7.6.6 OTHER CASES OF STEWING (3 OR FEWER INSTANCES FOUND)

Apart from the “stew” metaphors already dealt with, there are 2 instances found in COCA in which “stew” activates the frame of AGITATED WATER. Since the number of examples is not substantial enough, the AGITATED WATER frame is not regarded here as a generally used target frame of STEWING.

7.6.7 GUI SAR GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR 1: DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS STEWING

The closest PenSp translation equivalent of “stew” would be “guisar”. The present and the subsequent sections display the metaphors evoked by the word forms of “guisar” in 204 out the 2,059 occurrences (9.91%) extracted from the corpus del español Web/ Dialects.

One of the generic-level metaphors encountered in 11 of the samples (0.53%) of Web/Dialects is the DEVELOPING A COMPLEX ENTITY IS STEWING. In this metaphor, the source frame, STEWING, can apply to multiple target domains, provided they imply the process of gradually developing an entity (physical or abstract) up to the point in which it is completely elaborated or formed.

Therefore, the possible target domains must share the following semantic characteristics: (1) an incipient entity (physical or abstract) that has to be developed, and (2) the accomplishment of fully developing or elaborating the entity (physical or abstract), which implies a change of state. The target frames possessing this semantic structure (1 and 2) could, respectively, be understood in terms of some core FEs from the STEWING frame: (1) raw food ingredients (e.g. raw meat, vegetables and stock) (2) the accomplishment of transforming the raw ingredients into a stew (see examples 101 and 102).

(101) “Palencia no suena más allá de sus límites; ignoro si suena siquiera a apenas 45 kilómetros al sur, donde se **guisa** la política de Castilla y León”. (Web/Dialects, <http://sentadoenlatrebede.blogspot.com/2010/10/la-bella-desconocida.html>).

‘Palencia isn’t well-known beyond its limits; I don’t even know if it is fully known at 45 kilometers south, where Castilla y León politics is cooked up’.

(102) “Qué ganas de un nuevo disco de U2. Puede ser un gran álbum lo que han estado **guisando** durante los últimos meses con Danger Mouse”. (Web/Dialects, <http://lostop10delahiguera.blogspot.com/2013/06/10-canciones-para-seguir-tu-camino.html>).

‘I’m looking forward to a new U2 album. What they’ve been elaborating for the last months with Danger Mouse can be a great album’.

Examples 101 and 102 illustrate how PenSp makes use of “guisar” to refer to the process of developing or elaborating something (Politics in example 101 and a full album in example 102), as if the final product was a stew that has taken its time to get stewed.

7.6.8 GUI SAR GENERIC-LEVEL METAPHOR 2: INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING

The second generic-level metaphor evoked in 21 out of the 2,059 samples (1.02%) of “guisar” found in Web/Dialects is the INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING metaphor. Since the detailed description of the specific semantic characteristics that the possible target frames of this generic-level metaphor must possess are the same as the ones unveiled in section 7.6.4, this section provides a few instances of the generic-level metaphor INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING in PenSp selected from the corpus Web/Dialects:

(103) “En fin, que la película toca muchos palos, y siempre tiene algo interesante, pero a veces no acaban de combinar bien los ingredientes del **guiso**”.
(Web/Dialects, <http://garciala.blogia.com/temas/cine.php>).

‘Anyways, the movie delves into different issues, and it is always interesting, but sometimes the ingredients of the stew are not well combined’.

(104) “Pretender que en un mismo espacio convivan familias, gente joven, peñistas, jubilados, turistas extranjeros... en un evento festivo es, cuanto menos, arriesgado. Demasiado ingrediente heterogéneo para un **guiso** tan explosivo”.

(Web/Dialects, <http://blogs.opinionmalaga.com/lavidamoderna-merma/2013/08/22/la-feria-indigna-de-ser-vivida/>).

‘Expecting that families, youngsters, “peñistas”, retirees, tourists...meet together in the same place in a festive event is risky, to say the least. There are too many heterogeneous ingredients in such an explosive stew’.

As shown in example 103, the different interacting elements of a movie are conceived of as ingredients of a stew, which must be well combined. In the same line, in example 104 ‘la feria de Malaga’ and its variety of attendees are linguistically characterized as a stew containing so many heterogeneous ingredients.

7.6.9 “GUISAR” IDIOM: “YO ME LO GUISO, YO ME LO COMO”

The PenSp idiomatic expression “yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como”, which was found in 172 occurrences (8.35%) of “guisar”, can stress someone’s selfishness but it is typically employed to highlight someone’s self-sufficiency positively. In this sense, someone does not need any help in his/her own business since he/she is the one who “stews” his/her own issues. Therefore, he/she is the one who benefits from or faces the results obtained (he/she has stewed it, so he/she is eating it). For instance:

(105) “He sido gestor de proyectos durante varios años, ahora soy autónomo y programo y gestiono y vendo y... me lo **guiso** y me lo como”. (Web/Dialects, <http://gallir.wordpress.com/2013/05/11/por-que-el-nucleo-windows-nt-es-peor-que-linux-problemas-sociales-y-de-incentivos/>).

‘I’ve been a project manager for several years, now I’m self-employed, I program, I manage [the business] and I sell...I run the whole show’.

Example 105 illustrates how in PenSp a person that deals with his/her own issues with no one’s help is envisioned as a cook who stews his/her own meal and then he/she is the one eating the final product.

The ensuing chapter discusses in full detail the main contrasts encountered between AmE and PenSp with respect to each of the research questions of this thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION

8. DISCUSSION

8.1 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ1

8.1.1 BAKING and HORNEAR TFs

8.1.2 BOILING and HERVIR TFs

8.1.3 FRYING and FREÍR TFs

8.1.4 KNEADING and AMASAR TFs

8.1.5 ROASTING and ASAR TFs

8.1.6 STEWING and ASAR TFs

8.2 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ2

8.2.1 Shared BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors

8.2.2 Shared BOILING and HERVIR metaphors

8.2.3 Shared FRYING and FREÍR metaphors

8.2.4 Shared KNEADING and AMASAR metaphors

8.2.5 Shared ROASTING and ASAR metaphors

8.2.6 Shared STEWING and GUI SAR metaphors

8.3 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ3

8.3.1 Frequency of BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors

8.3.2 Frequency of BOILING and HERVIR metaphors

8.3.3 Frequency of FRYING and FREÍR metaphors

8.3.4 Frequency of KNEADING and AMASAR metaphors

8.3.5 Frequency of ROASTING and ASAR metaphors

8.3.6 Frequency of STEWING and GUI SAR metaphors

8.4 SUMMARY OF THIS CHAPTER

In the light of the results shown in chapter 7, this chapter provides further discussion organized in 3 main sections, which address the RQs of this dissertation:

- **RQ1:** What are the target frames referred to in metaphorical expressions grounded in the COOKING frames selected in AmE and PenSp?
- **RQ2:** When the target frame coincides in the researched languages, does it entail that the metaphorical projections (mappings) and the resulting metaphorical expressions will be the same?
- **RQ3:** What metaphorical expressions are more frequently used in each of the researched languages, i.e. AmE and PenSp?

8.1 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ1

As regards RQ1, this section compiles all the metaphors evoked by “bake”, “boil”, “fry”, “knead”, “roast” and “stew” in AmE in the corpus COCA and by their PenSp counterparts “hornear”, “hervir”, “freír”, “amasar”, “asar” y “guisar” in the Web/Dialects corpus. Each of the subsections below contains a table which represents the metaphors shared by AmE and PenSp as well as the metaphors that only occur either


in AmE or PenSp³¹ and a discussion of the possible cultural implications of those results.

8.1.1 BAKING AND HORNEAR TFs

The AmE lexical unit “bake” and its PenSp correspondent “hornear” can both express a number of metaphors which, as depicted in table 39, not always coincide:

Table 39

BAKING and HORNEAR TFs

BAKING TFs	HORNEAR TFs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT 	---
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS 	---
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)  <p>“To be baked into the cake” (idiomatic expression)</p>	---
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY (generic-level) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY (generic-level)

In fact, the only metaphor shared by the BAKING and the HORNEAR frame is the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING.³² With regards to the metaphors found that are only present in one of the languages, AmE is the most prolific, giving rise to the metaphors EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BAKING,

³¹ As previously commented in chapter 7, the appearance of some of the metaphorical expressions did not show sufficient consistency (3 or fewer occurrences found). Consequently, those cases are excluded in this chapter as, according to the results yielded by this thesis, their actual use in language cannot be generalized from our evidence.

³² The next section (8.2) delves into the similarities and differences regarding the mappings and resulting metaphorical expressions of all the shared metaphors in AmE and PenSp.

BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS IS BAKING and INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING.

These results may lead us to suggest that the BAKING frame is culturally more salient and relevant in AmE than the HORNEAR frame in PenSp, inasmuch as the BAKING frame is applied to a higher number of target frames. Therefore, although BAKING and HORNEAR are frames that are part of both cultures, the scope of BAKING as a source frame is wider in AmE than in PenSp. Moreover, Yu's (2008) and Kövecses' (2015) claim that metaphors at the generic level are more likely to be shared across languages seems to be partially confirmed, as in this case the only metaphor shared by AmE and PenSp is the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING. The other generic-level metaphor found in AmE, INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING, is not utilized in PenSp. This divergence may indicate a differential cognitive preference, since the results show that PenSp places the experiential focus on the whole process of developing and elaborating an entity rather than the final result in which all the elements are integrated into a whole.

Furthermore, although AmE employs the BAKING frame to characterize the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame, PenSp prefers to rely on the HERVIR, FREÍR and ASAR frames to refer to extreme sun heat. Similarly, PenSp uses the FREÍR frame instead of the BAKING frame in order to understand the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame. This difference may indicate that PenSp emphasizes the final results of the process of frying to understand the effects of drugs on people, whereas AmE seems to focus on the changes that the food undergoes while being baked.

8.1.2 BOILING AND HERVIR TFs

Regarding “boil” and “hervir”, these lexical units can be used to evoke a great number of metaphors in both AmE and PenSp.

Table 40

BOILING and HERVIR TFs

BOILING TFs	HERVIR TFs
▪ ANGER	▪ ANGER
▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT
▪ BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY	▪ BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY
▪ SOCIAL AGITATION	---
▪ SKIN ABSCESS	---
▪ AGITATED CLOUDS	---
▪ REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION (generic-level)	---
▪ EMERGING ELEMENTS (generic-level)	---

Table 40 shows that both languages draw upon the BOILING and HERVIR frame to characterize the ANGER, the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT, and the BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY frames. As happened with BAKING in comparison with HORNEAR, BOIL is also conceptually linked to more frames than HERVIR: “boil” can refer to SOCIAL AGITATION, AGITATED CLOUDS, SKIN ABSCESS, REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION and EMERGING ELEMENTS.

Thus, these results indicate that the BOILING frame is wider in scope as a source frame than the HERVIR frame, which may reveal that boiling is culturally more salient and relevant in AmE than the HERVIR frame in PenSp.

Surprisingly, the metaphors that coincide in AmE and PenSp (the ANGER, the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT, and the BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY frames) are not generic-level metaphors but specific ones (frame-to-frame mappings). This coincidence shows that both languages lay great emphasis on the heat and movement involved in BOILING and HERVIR.

However, the results show that PenSp, unlike AmE, does not place experiential focus on the final result of the process of boiling, since HERVIR does not apply to the characterization of the REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION frame.

8.1.3 FRYING AND FREÍR TFs

In the case of “fry” and “freír”, both AmE and PenSp abound with underlying conceptual metaphors.

Table 41

FRYING and FREÍR TFs

FRYING TFs	FREÍR TFs
▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT
▪ ELECTROCUTING A PERSON	▪ ELECTROCUTING A PERSON
▪ DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE	▪ DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE
▪ SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION	---
▪ EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE	---
---	▪ BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE
---	▪ BECOMING DISTURBED
---	▪ STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS
▪ “To have bigger/other fish to fry” (idiomatic expression)	---
---	▪ “A freír espárragos” (idiomatic expression)

Interestingly, as happened with “boil” and “hervir”, both “fry” and “freír” can be employed to characterize the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame (see table 41). Furthermore, “fry” and “freír” may also serve as source frames to construe the ELECTROCUTING A PERSON and DAMAGING AND ELECTRICAL DEVICE frames. These coincidences imply that both languages emphasize not only the heat element of FRYING and FREÍR but also the changes and resulting state of food that has been fried, which are used to understand the damage that high voltage can cause to people and things in AmE and PenSp.

Apart from the metaphors shared with PenSp, AmE possesses its own metaphors with FRYING as their source frame: EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE IS FRYING and SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION IS FRYING. In this regard, the results indicate that although FREÍR does not apply to mental exhaustion in PenSp, FREÍR is utilized by PenSp speakers to refer to mental inoperativeness due to drug consumption.

Likewise, the target frames appearing only in PenSp with FREÍR as their source frame are BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE, BECOMING DISTURBED, and STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS.

Therefore, our evidence implies that the FREÍR frame is typically applied to emphasize the resulting inoperative state of an entity, as though being fried or charred (as in EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT, ELECTROCUTING A PERSON, DAMAGING AND ELECTRICAL DEVICE and STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS); and to emphasize an iterative disturbance, as the continuous heat that ends up frying the food (as in BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE and BECOMING DISTURBED).

It is worth noting that the idiomatic expressions containing “fry” and “freír” found in AmE (“have bigger/other fish to fry”) and PenSp (“a freír espárragos”) do not coincide. In the case of “have bigger/other fish to fry”, PenSp does not have a correspondent idiomatic expression³³. As for “a freír espárragos”, it could be expressed in AmE with idiomatic expressions such as: “get lost!”, “go fly a kite!” and “go jump in the lake!”.

8.1.4 KNEADING AND AMASAR TFs

The AmE lexical unit “knead” and its PenSp semantic equivalent “amasar” might both activate a series of metaphors which, as noticed in table 42, vary across cultures:

Table 42

KNEADING and AMASAR TFs

KNEADING TFs	AMASAR TFs
▪ CAT PAWING	▪ CAT PAWING
▪ MASSAGING SOMEONE	---
▪ TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY	---
▪ RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART	---
---	▪ ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS
---	▪ DRIBBLING THE BALL
---	▪ AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)

³³ The idiomatic expression “to have bigger/other fish to fry” can be expressed in PenSp as “tener mejores cosas que hacer”.

The only shared target frame activated by “knead” and “amasar” is CAT PAWING. As for the other frames evoked in each of the languages, AmE utilizes “knead” to refer to the MASSAGING SOMEONE, TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY and RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART frames; whereas PenSp prefers to employ “amasar” to refer to ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS, DRIBBLING THE BALL and AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE.

These results lead us to suggest that the main element conceptually mapped from the KNEADING frame in AmE is the movement of kneading. This kneading movement element is employed in AmE to characterize the CAT PAWING, MASSAGING SOMEONE, TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY and RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART frames.

On the other hand, the results show that PenSp also places experiential focus on the movement of kneading (as in CAT PAWING and DRIBBLING THE BALL). In addition, PenSp emphasizes the expansion and rise of the dough by the process of kneading, which conceptually correlates with ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS (the amassed entities gradually increase in quantity or number). Lastly, unlike AmE, PenSp seems to emphasize the result of the AMASAR frame, which results in the AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS AMASAR metaphor. Therefore, both KNEADING and AMASAR seem to be salient frames in AmE and PenSp. Both cultures focus on the element of movement of kneading. However, PenSp relies on the expansion of the dough and the resulting state of kneading for characterizing other target frames.

8.1.5 ROASTING AND ASAR TFs

The lexical units “roast” and “asar” have been the ones evoking the lowest number of metaphors.

Table 43

ROASTING and ASAR TFs

ROASTING TFs	ASAR TFs
▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	▪ EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT
▪ CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING	---

As table 43 above shows, both “roast” and “asar” may evoke the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (as happened with “bake”, “boil”, “hervir”, “fry” and “freír”). These results imply that both AmE and PenSp draw upon cooking frames in which heat is a core FE so as to categorize the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame.

Surprisingly, only one more metaphor was found in AmE, the CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING IS ROASTING. In this case, AmE emphasizes the heat element of ROASTING again, since the act of criticizing someone or something harshly is envisioned as a piece of food suffering the heat or the flames while being roasted.


Hence, though the scope of ROASTING in AmE is wider than the scope of the ASAR frame in PenSp, both languages seem to lay their emphasis on the heat core FE, showing a similar experiential focus that motivates the resulting metaphors.

8.1.6 STEWING AND GUI SAR TFs

As for “stew” and “guisar”, these lexical units can be used to evoke a considerable amount of metaphors in AmE and PenSp (see table 44).

Table 44

STEWING and GUI SAR TFs

STEWING TFs	GUI SAR TFs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED 	---
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING  <p>“To stew in one’s own juices” (idiomatic expression)</p>	---
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL 	---
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)
---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY (generic-level)
---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como” (idiomatic expression)

However, only one of the metaphors is shared by AmE and PenSp: the generic-level metaphor INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING/GUISAR, which indicates that each culture focuses on different experiential aspects involved in the STEWING/GUISAR frame.

On the one hand, AmE emphasizes the whole process of STEWING to categorize the BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED, PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING and BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL frames. The BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED IS BEING

STEWING metaphor is similar to the metaphor BEING ANGRY IS BEING BOILING, in that both BOILING and STEWING emphasize the cooking process and the liquid is viewed as the negative emotion. However, although BOILING and STEWING contain liquid as a core FE, AmE seems to particularly stress the fact that stewing is a slow process. Stewing always involves low heat over an extended period of time, whereas the heat used for boiling something is typically higher (and therefore the negative emotions more intense) than when stewing and, consequently, the necessary time for boiling is shorter. This emphasis on the prolonged and complex process of stewing also motivates the metaphor PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING, since when someone is reflecting on a given problematic situation for a long time can be understood as if the thoughts on the situation were food being slowly stewed over low heat. The AmE idiomatic expression “to stew in one’s own juices”, which is motivated by the metaphor PONDERING/REFLECTING ON SOMETHING IS STEWING, does not have an equivalent idiomatic expression in PenSp³⁴.

Interestingly, both the BAKING frame and the STEWING frame are utilized to refer to being under the influence of drugs. However, the results suggest that STEWING is only employed to refer to being or getting intoxicated by alcohol, unlike BAKING, which is typically used to refer to being under the influence of marijuana (see section 7.1.2).

In the case of PenSp, this language also employs “guisar” to refer to DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY, which shows that PenSp utilizes “stew” to stress the complex process of developing an entity, as it is with INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE.

³⁴ The idiomatic expression “to stew in one’s own juices” can be expressed in PenSp as “reflexionar sobre las consecuencias de sus actos”.

As highlighted in section 7.6.9, surprisingly the most frequent non-literal use of “guisar” corresponds to the idiomatic expression “yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como”. AmE does not have an exact equivalent expression of “yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como”, which could be approximately referred to as “to go it alone”.

8.2 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ2

This section aims at providing answers to RQ2. Since in chapter 7 the results show that the mappings of the shared metaphors in AmE and PenSp coincide, the present section particularly focuses on discussing the similarities and differences (if any) of the linguistic realizations of the shared conceptual metaphors encountered in the languages explored.

8.2.1 SHARED BAKING AND HORNEAR METAPHORS

The only shared metaphor between AmE and PenSp evoked by the word forms of “bake” and “hornear” is DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING/HORNEAR, which coincides in its mappings³⁵ (see section 7.1.5).

The conceptual metaphor DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING is linguistically realized in AmE³⁶ as “to be (adverb) baked”, that is, “bake” is utilized as a participial adjective and tends to be accompanied by an adverb denoting the degree of elaboration (e.g. “half baked”, “nearly baked”, “fully baked”) as in “The baby is fully baked”.

³⁵ As already explained in chapter 7, in the cases in which the same metaphor was present in AmE and PenSp, the results showed that the mappings were shared too.

³⁶ Linguistic instances of all the metaphors discussed in this chapter are available in Chapter 7.

On the other hand, this conceptual metaphor seems to be linguistically more elaborated in PenSp, since it can be manifested in various ways: (1) “hornear”, a verb followed by the direct object describing the thing that is being developed (e.g. “tienes que hornear bien esas ideas”/ ‘you must fully bake those ideas’); (2) “horneado/a/os/as”, as a participial adjective (e.g. “el libro está recién horneado”/ ‘the book is freshly baked’), showing formal congruence with its AmE counterpart; and (3) “hornada”, a noun that refers to a group of people/things that are being developed at one time (e.g. “la nueva hornada de filólogos”/ ‘the new batch of philologists’).

Hence, these results suggest that although the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING/HORNEAR coincides in AmE and PenSp, this metaphor seems to be linguistically more elaborated and salient in PenSp, as it can be expressed in the three aforementioned ways. The extent to which AmE and PenSp differ in the frequency of usage of this metaphor is discussed in section 8.3.1.

8.2.2 SHARED BOILING AND HERVIR METAPHORS

The three shared metaphors by AmE and PenSp activated by the word forms of “boil” and “hervir” are ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT, EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING and BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY IS BOILING WITH VAPOR BUBBLES.

In AmE the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT may be linguistically manifested as: (1) “blood” + “boil” (verb), that is, “boil” usually collocates with “blood” (e.g. “He makes my blood boil”, “my blood is boiling”, etc.); and as (2) “to boil with”, typically followed by a noun referring to the unpleasant feeling (e.g. “She was boiling with anger/rage/frustration”). In the case of the PenSp,

this conceptual metaphor only surfaces the language as the verb “hervir” + “sangre” (e.g. “Haces que me hierva la sangre” or “me hierve la sangre”), which exhibits a striking similarity in form with its AmE semantic equivalent.

Regarding the metaphorical expressions of the conceptual metaphor EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING in AmE, this metaphor tends to appear as “to be boiling/boiled”, whose subject is the person or entity suffering the extreme sun heat (e.g. “It is 105 degrees, I’m boiling”). As for PenSp, its linguistic metaphor (“hervir” as a verb) is formally congruent with the AmE one, since it is also preceded by the person or thing affected by the environmental heat (e.g. “Estamos a 40°C, estoy hirviendo”).

Likewise, the conceptual metaphor BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY IS BOILING WITH VAPOR BUBBLES has formally congruent expressions in AmE (“boil” as verb) and PenSp (“hervir” as verb), as in this sense the subject of both “boil” and “hervir” is the place bustling with people/activity (e.g. “The streets of Madrid boil with activity”/ “Las calles de Madrid hierven de actividad”).

Therefore, the results indicate that the shared metaphors by AmE and PenSp activated by “boil” and “hervir” are similarly elaborated, which facilitates both their understanding and translation from one language to another.

8.2.3 SHARED FRYING AND FREÍR METAPHORS

The conceptual metaphors activated by the word forms of “fry” and “freír” that coincide in AmE and PenSp are EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS FRYING, ELECTROCUTING A PERSON IS FRYING and DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE IS FRYING.

In AmE and PenSp the conceptual metaphor EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS FRYING/FREÍR can be linguistically expressed using “fry” and “freír” as a verb. In both languages, the subject of the verb is the entity receiving the heat or the actual emitter, the sun (e.g. “The dog is frying under the sun”, “sus cuerpos estaban fritos por el sol”/their bodies were fried by the sun).

Similarly, the metaphorical expressions deriving from the underlying conceptual metaphor ELECTROCUTING A PERSON IS FRYING/FREÍR are both semantically and formally congruent in AmE and PenSp. Both languages employ their correspondent verb “fry” and “freír”, preceded by a subject who causes the frying of a person (e.g. “they fried the criminal at the jail”/“frieron al delincuente en la cárcel”).

In the same way, DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE IS FRYING/FREÍR is linguistically manifested in AmE and PenSp in a formally congruent way, using the verbs “fry” and “freír” (e.g. “an electrical surge can fry your laptop”/ “una subida de tensión puede freír tu portátil”).

Thus, all the shared linguistic metaphors that have FRYING and FREÍR as source frames have been found to be linguistically manifested in a formally congruent way, displaying the same degree of linguistic elaboration in both cultures.

8.2.4 SHARED KNEADING AND AMASAR METAPHORS

The only shared metaphor between AmE and PenSp activated by the word forms of “knead” and “amasar” is CAT PAWING IS KNEADING/AMASAR.

AmE and PenSp seem to utilize an equivalent metaphorical expression when referring to the shared conceptual metaphor CAT PAWING IS KNEADING/AMASAR. Both languages use their correspondent verb, “knead” and “amasar”, preceded by the agent of the action, a cat, and followed by the surface that is kneaded (e.g. “The cat is kneading its blanket”/ ‘El gato está amasando su manta’).

Therefore, the results reveal a significant similarity in the linguistic elaboration of the shared metaphor CAT PAWING IS KNEADING/AMASAR in the two explored languages.

8.2.5 SHARED ROASTING AND ASAR METAPHORS

The word forms of “roast” and “asar” in AmE and PenSp coincide in one of the conceptual metaphors evoked: the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS ROASTING/ASAR metaphor.

The conceptual metaphor EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS ROASTING/ASAR has formally congruent expressions in AmE (“roast” as verb) and PenSp (“asar” as verb), as in this sense the subject of both “roast” and “asar” can be the person or entity affected by the environmental heat or the sun heat itself (e.g. “It’s too hot, I’m roasting”/ “Hace demasiado calor, me estoy asando”). For this reason, it seems that “roast” and “asar” present the same degree of linguistic elaboration in AmE and PenSp.

8.2.6 SHARED STEWING AND GUI SAR METAPHORS

The conceptual metaphor activated by the word forms of “stew” and “guisar” that is present in both AmE and PenSp is the generic-level metaphor INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING/GUISAR. Interestingly, AmE and PenSp use “stew” and “guiso” as a noun when evoking the metaphor INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING/GUISAR. In this sense, the nouns “stew” and “guiso” characterize the integrated elements that are combined into a whole (e.g. “This movie is a perfect stew of mystery, action, and black humor”/ ‘Esta película es un perfecto guiso de misterio, acción y humor negro’).

On the whole, the results of this thesis indicate that the shared conceptual metaphors by AmE and PenSp are linguistically congruent as they show a considerable similarity and the same degree of linguistic elaboration (except for “hornear”, which seems to be linguistically further elaborated than “bake” in their shared metaphor). This coincidence may be likely related to the fact that this study follows a source-domain oriented approach and, as such, the selected terms from the source domain refer to culinary actions which are semantically equivalent. It is worth noting that in the case of “stew” and “guisar”, the only shared metaphor coincides also in the word class involved in the metaphorical expression: both languages utilize the noun forms “stew” and “guiso” to refer to the same metaphorical sense. In the cases in which a verb form is used, a different metaphorical sense is evoked.

The ensuing section presents the relative frequency of all the metaphors identified in both languages, discussing the significance of that metaphorical usage in both cultures.

8.3 DISCUSSION RELATED TO RQ3

The present section offers an insight into the frequency of usage of each of the metaphors evoked by the lexical units chosen in this work in AmE and PenSp. The relative frequency of each metaphor out of the total number³⁷ of occurrences selected for analysis as well as the relative frequency of each metaphor out of the total metaphorical instances is considered.

8.3.1 FREQUENCY OF BAKING AND HORNEAR METAPHORS

In the case of “bake” and “hornear”, clearly the one which evokes more metaphorical expressions is “bake”, as 149 out of the 3,000 occurrences were metaphorical (4.97%), unlike “hornear”, which just had 18 metaphorical expressions out of the 2,319 examined from the corpus Web/Dialects (0.78%) (see table 45).

Table 45

Frequency of BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors

BAKING METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 3000	% out of 149 metaphorical	HORNEAR METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 2319	% out of 18 metaphorical
EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	69	2.3%	46.31%	---	---	---	---
BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS	4	0.13%	2.68%	---	---	---	---

³⁷ As already explained in chapter 6, in most cases 3,000 occurrences of each lexical unit were examined from COCA and Web/Dialects. Since in a few cases the total number of instances available in the corpora did not reach 3,000, percentages have been calculated out of the available number, so that the values can be compared.

8. Discussion

INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)	64	2.13%	42.95%	---	---	---	---
BE BAKED INTO THE CAKE (metaphorical idiom)	4	0.13%	2.68%	---	---	---	---
DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY (generic-level)	8	0.27%	5.37%	DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY (generic-level)	18	0.78%	100%

Within the BAKING metaphors, the most frequent target frame evoked by “bake” is EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (2.3%), followed closely by INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (2.26%), DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY (0.27%) and lastly BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS (0.13%).

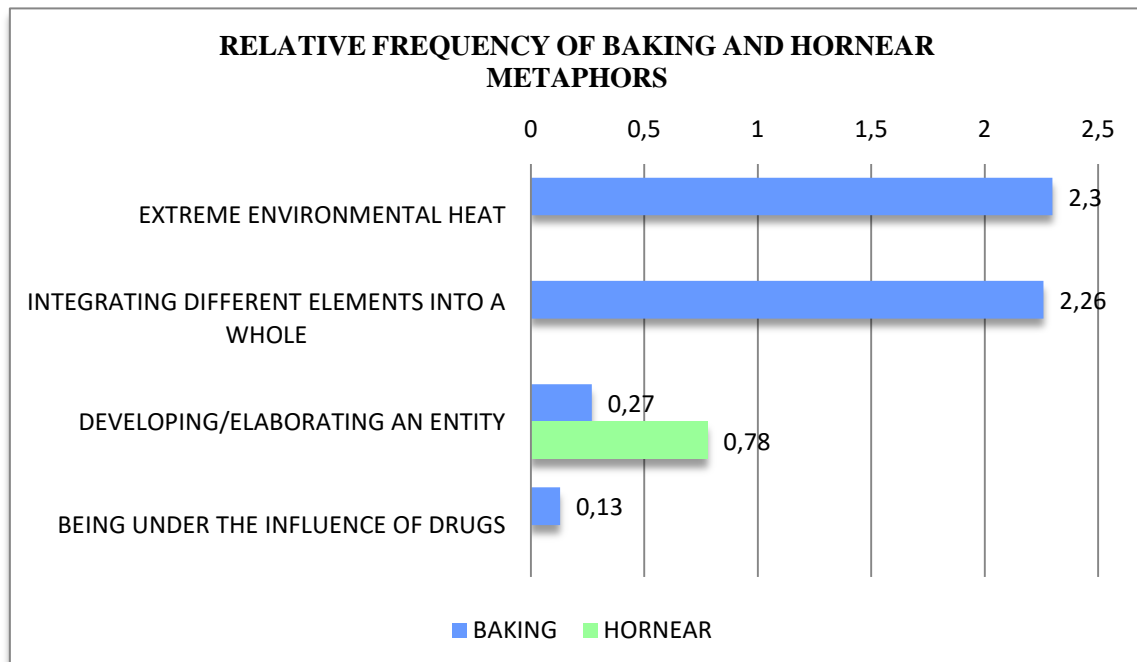


Figure 16. Relative frequency of BAKING and HORNEAR metaphors

In view of the results summarized in figure 16, the BAKING frame is more salient in the American culture than HORNEAR in the Spanish one, inasmuch as “bake” evokes a higher number of metaphorical senses. There seems to be a higher tendency towards the use of the metaphors EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BAKING and INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS BAKING. This tendency entails that the main elements that are conceptually transferred from the BAKING frame are the heat and the process of integration suffered by the ingredients while baking. Similarly, the metaphor DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING highlights the chemical changes that allow the ingredients to develop and become fully baked. The least common metaphorical sense of “bake” found in this study is BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS, in which the final state of the baking process is emphasized.

On the contrary, as shown in figure 16, the HORNEAR frame is significantly less salient than the BAKING frame in AmE, as only one metaphor was identified: the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING /ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING. This metaphor is, in turn, more frequent than its AmE counterpart (see figure 16), which points at the Spanish preferential focus on the whole elaboration process involved in the HORNEAR frame.

8.3.2 FREQUENCY OF BOILING AND HERVIR METAPHORS

Regarding “boil” and “hervir”, the most metaphorical one seems to be “boil”, as 724 out of the 3,000 occurrences were metaphorical (24.13%). In turn, “hervir” had 182 metaphorical expressions (6.07%) out of the 3,000 instances selected from the corpus

8. Discussion

Web/Dialects. The particular relative frequencies of the “boil” and “hervir” metaphors are summarized in table 46.

Table 46

Frequency of BOILING and HERVIR metaphors

BOILING METAPHORS	N°	% out of 3000	% out of 724 metaphorical	HERVIR METAPHORS	N°	% out of 3000	% out of 182 metaphorical
ANGER	112	3.73%	15.47%	ANGER	127	4.23%	69.78%
EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	16	0.53 %	2.21%	EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	16	0.53%	8.79%
BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY	14	0.47%	1.93%	BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY	39	1.3%	21.43%
SOCIAL AGITATION	176	5.87%	24.31%	---	---	---	---
SKIN ABSCESS	28	0.93%	3.87%	---	---	---	---
AGITATED CLOUDS	16	0.53%	2.21%	---	---	---	---
REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION (generic-level)	339	11.3%	46.82%	---	---	---	---
EMERGING ELEMENTS (generic-level)	23	0.77%	3.18%	---	---	---	---

Furthermore, the most frequent target frame evoked by the BOILING frame is REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION (11.3%), followed by SOCIAL AGITATION (5.87%), ANGER (3.73%), SKIN ABSCESS (0.93%), EMERGING ELEMENTS (0.77%),

8. Discussion

EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (0.53%), AGITATED CLOUDS (0.53%), and BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY (0.47%).

Figure 17 below depicts the different frequencies of usage of the BOILING metaphors together with the HERVIR metaphors encountered so as to better illustrate the cross-linguistic divergences.

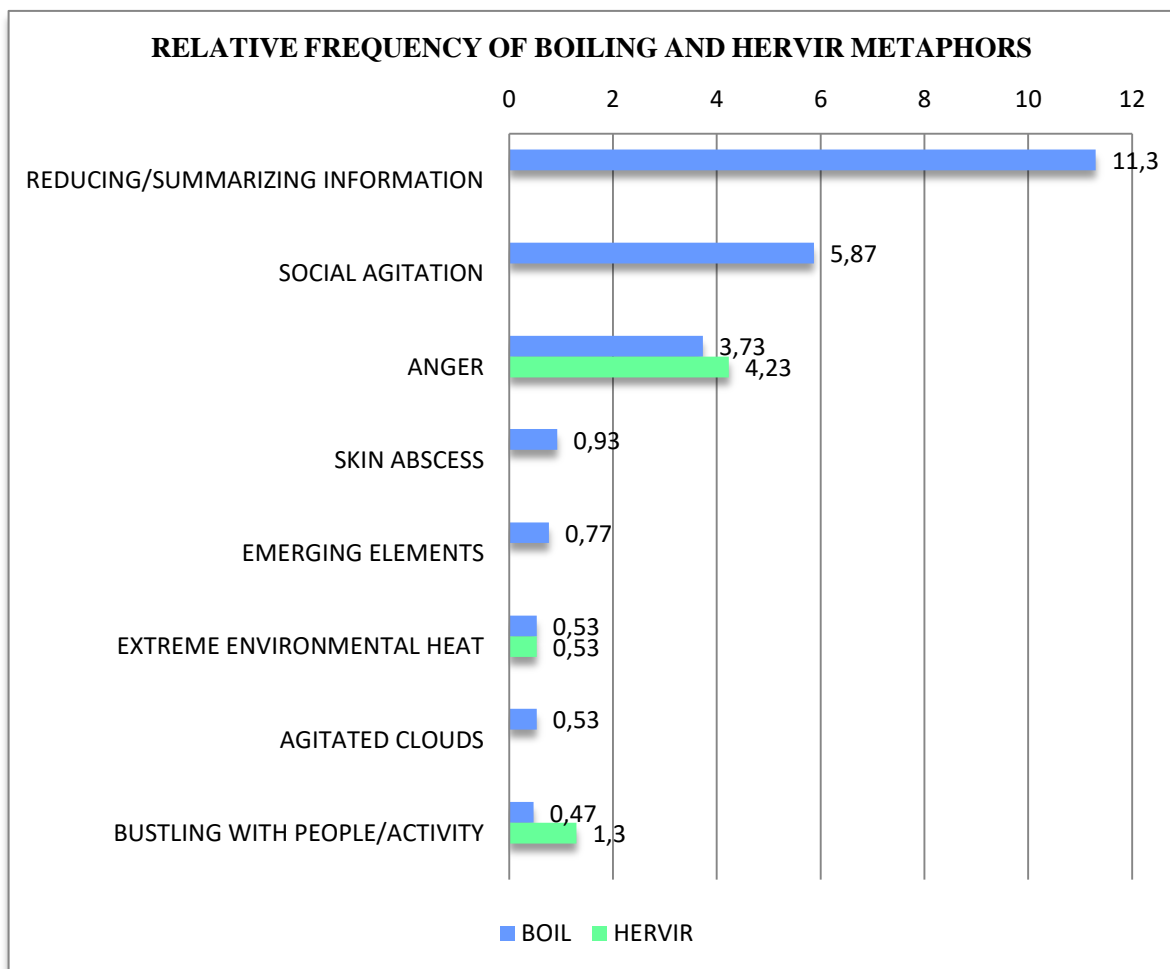


Figure 17. Relative frequency of BOILING and HERVIR metaphors

According to the evidence found, the generic-level metaphor REDUCING/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION IS BOILING is by far the most frequent metaphor evoked by “boil”. The prevalence of the generic-level metaphor REDUCING

/SUMMARIZING INFORMATION IS BOILING suggests that when being used metaphorically, the BOILING frame especially emphasizes the liquid being boiled and the accomplishment of boiling away part of that liquid, which results in a more concentrated and intense liquid.

Moreover, the following most frequent BOILING metaphors deal with negative emotions, particularly with social agitation and anger. In both cases, as explained in sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2, the negative feelings of frustration and anger are regarded as a liquid contained in people's bodies. Hence, in these cases the BOILING frame emphasizes the heated liquid forming vapour bubbles which, if not under control, can boil over the pot. Interestingly, PenSp also applies the HERVIR frame in order to conceptualize the ANGER frame. In fact, the relative frequency of usage of this metaphor is slightly higher in PenSp (4.23%) than in AmE (3.73%), which indicates a similar tendency towards its use in everyday language.

Figure 17 shows that the BOILING frame also applies to the categorization of the skin abscess frame. In this case the boiling frame focuses on the pot containing the liquid that is boiling and its agitated movement in order to refer to the a skin abscess containing pus due to an infection that causes a persistent stinging sensation.

The next most frequently used BOILING metaphor is the generic-level metaphor EMERGING ELEMENTS ARE BUBBLES ORIGINATING FROM A BOILING POT. The boiling FE that is particularly emphasized in this case is the vapor bubbles that originate from a pot containing boiling liquid.

Surprisingly, the relative frequency of usage of the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING/HERVIR metaphor is identical in both languages (0.53%), which implies that the focus on heat of this metaphor has a similar significance in both cultures.

At the same level of frequency (0.53%) is the metaphor AGITATED CLOUDS ARE AGITATED BOILING LIQUID metaphor, which visually maps the image of the agitated vapor bubbles onto the image of the agitated clouds. The least frequently used metaphorical sense of “boil” in AmE is BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE/ACTIVITY, in which the agitated movement of the vapor bubbles is again emphasized. This target frame is shared with PenSp too, but PenSp seems to attribute a higher salience to this sense (1.3% as opposed to 0.47% in AmE).

Therefore, it can be concluded that the BOILING frame gives rise to a considerably higher number of metaphors, which entails that the BOILING frame is more salient in AmE than the HERVIR frame in PenSp.

8.3.3 FREQUENCY OF FRYING AND FREÍR METAPHORS

With regard to “fry” and “freír”, the most metaphorical one is “freír”, as 363 out of the 1,940 occurrences in Web/Dialects were metaphorical (18.71%), unlike “fry”, which just had 101 metaphorical expressions out of the 3,000 (3.37%) in COCA. The relative frequencies of the “fry” and “freír” metaphors are summarized in table 47.

Table 47

Frequency of FRYING and FREÍR metaphors

FRYING METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 3000	% out of 101 metaphorical	FREÍR METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 1940	% out of 363 metaphorical
EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	16	0.53%	15.84%	EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	19	0.98%	5.23%
ELECTROCUTING A PERSON	16	0.53%	15.84%	ELECTROCUTING A PERSON	17	0.88%	4.68%
DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE	24	0.8%	23.76%	DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE	23	1.19%	6.34%
SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION	11	0.37%	10.89%	---	---	---	---
EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE	24	0.8%	23.76%	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE	91	4.69%	25.07%
---	---	---	---	BECOMING DISTURBED	14	0.72%	3.86%
---	---	---	---	STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS	15	0.77%	4.13%
“Have bigger/other fish to fry” (idiomatic expression)	10	0.33%	9.9%	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	“A freir espárragos” (idiomatic expression)	184	9.48%	50.69%

In the case of the metaphors evoked by “fry”, figure 18 depicts the frequency of usage of the FRYING metaphors in decreasing order:

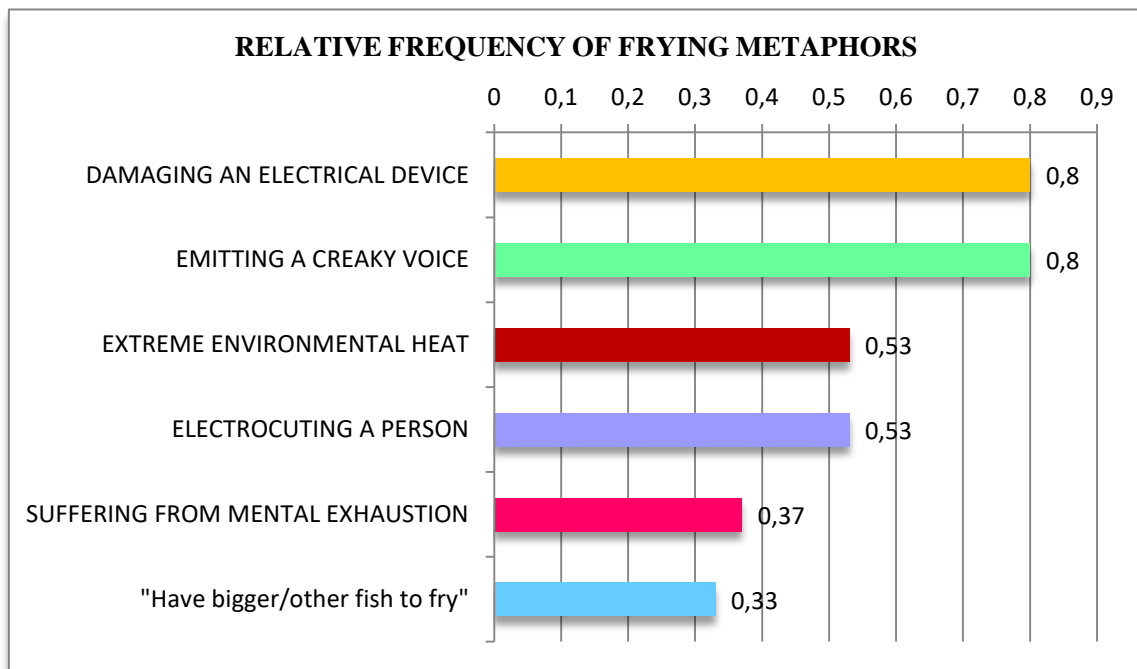


Figure 18. Relative frequency of FRYING metaphors

As observed in figure 18, the most numerous target frames evoked by “fry” are both DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE (0.8%), and EMITTING A CREAKY VOICE (0.8%), followed by EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (0.53%), ELECTROCUTING A PERSON (0.53%), SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION (0.37%) and lastly, the metaphorical idiom “to have bigger/other fish to fry” (0.33%).

According to these results, the FRYING frame most frequently emphasizes the heat element and the final result of the process of frying to conceptualize the damage caused by high voltage to electrical devices. With an identical frequency value, the FRYING frame also tends to focus on the sizzling sound of frying caused by oil splatters to characterize the emission of a creaky voice.

In a similar way, the FRYING frame shows an equal tendency (0.53%) towards the conceptualization of the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame and the

ELECTROCUTING A PERSON frame. In these cases, the heat FE and final state of the frying process are emphasized once again.

In the same line, the metaphorical sense of “fry” that evokes SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION highlights the excessive heat to conceive of the stressing situation that is affecting a person’s brain. Lastly, the metaphorical idiomatic expression “to have bigger/other fish to fry” is the least frequently used sense of “fry”.

Figure 19 below illustrates the frequency of the FREÍR metaphors in decreasing order.

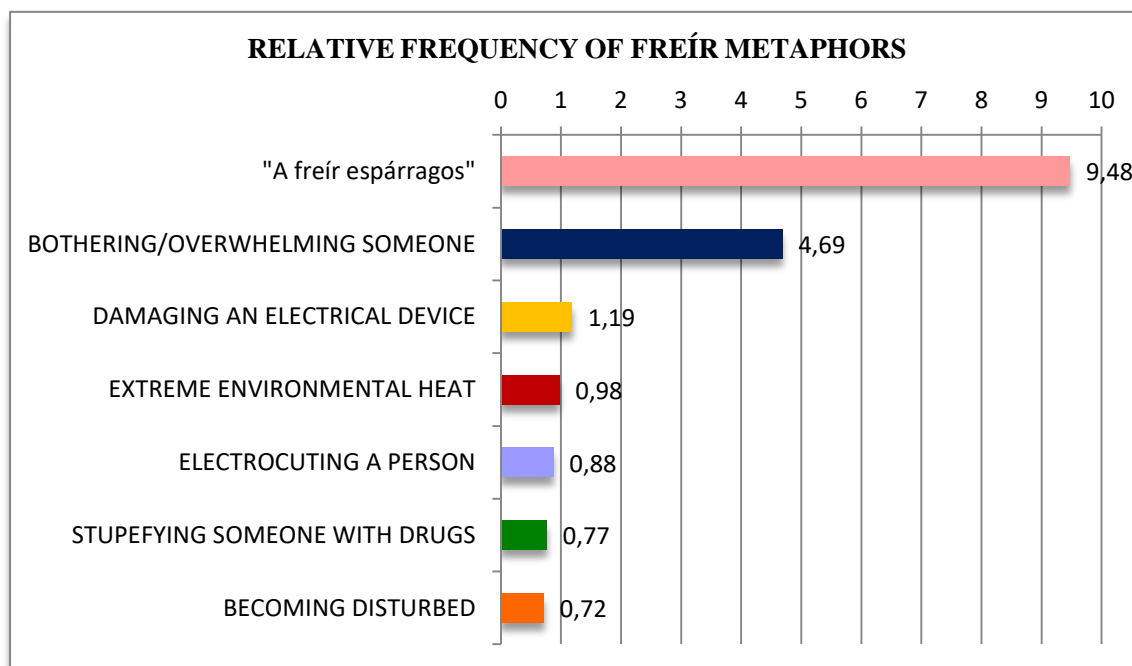


Figure 19. Relative frequency of FREÍR metaphors

Interestingly, in the case of the “freír” metaphorical expressions, the most recurrent one was the metaphorical idiomatic expression “a freír espárragos” (9.48%), followed by the target frames BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE (4.69%), DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE (1.19%), BOTHERING/OVERWHELMING SOMEONE (25.07%), EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (0.98%), ELECTROCUTING A PERSON

(0.88%), STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS (0.77%), and BECOMING DISTURBED (0.72%).

Hence, the results show that the prevalence of “freír” idiomatic expression (though not equivalent to the “fry” one) seems to show a higher cultural significance of idiomatic expressions in PenSp than the “fry” idiomatic expressions in AmE. Furthermore, the most frequent metaphorical frame evoked by “freír” was bothering/overwhelming someone, which entails that PenSp (as AmE) focuses on the heat FE of FREÍR but in this case the heat conceptually correlates with an iterative disturbance that ends up overwhelming someone.

Since the 3 next most frequently used metaphors evoked by “freír” are also present in AmE, figure 20 depicts the divergence of these shared metaphors.

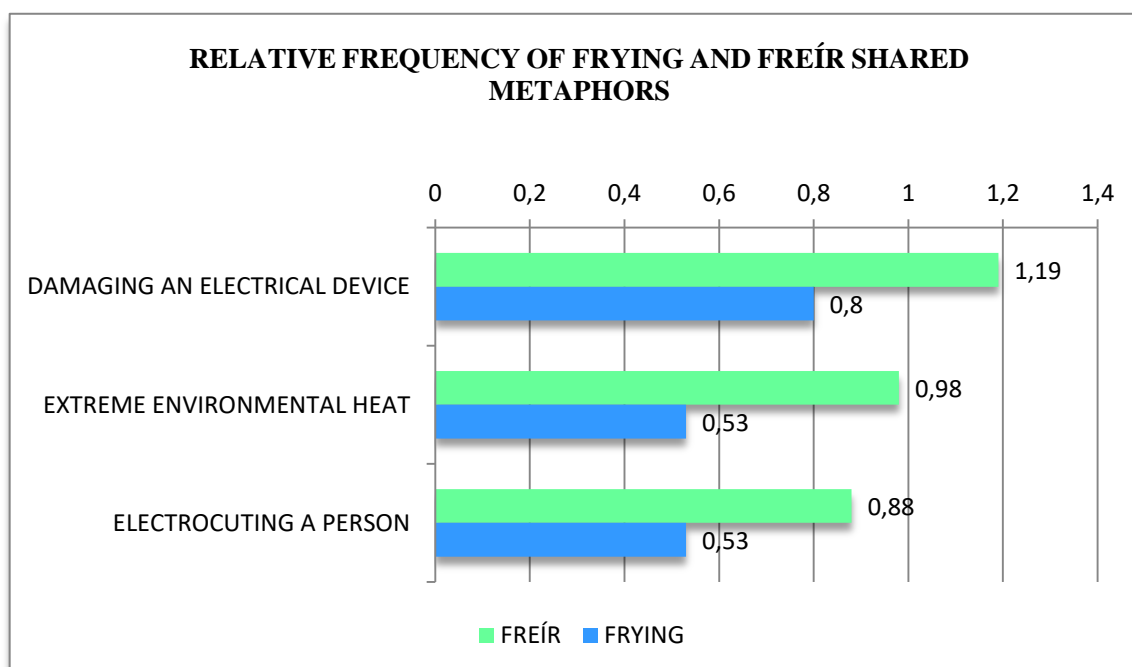


Figure 20. Relative frequency of FRYING and FREÍR metaphors

As observed in figure 20 above, the DAMAGING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE, EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT and ELECTROCUTING A PERSON frames are present both in AmE and PenSp; however, these metaphors are more salient in PenSp than in AmE.

In addition, the metaphor STUPEFYING SOMEONE WITH DRUGS IS FREÍR is similar to the AmE metaphor SUFFERING FROM MENTAL EXHAUSTION IS FRYING in that both affect the brain. However, PenSp uses the FREÍR frame to refer to the effect of drugs or other damaging stimuli that alter the mental state of a person, while in AmE a brain that is fried refers to mental exhaustion caused by stress.

Lastly, the least frequent frame evoked by “freír” is BECOMING DISTURBED. In this case, the excessive heat is again emphasized, since it is employed to refer to a disturbing stimulus that affects a person.

On the whole, the results show that the FREÍR frame seems to have higher cultural relevance in PenSp than the FRYING frame in AmE. Even with less occurrences examined in PenSp (1,940 as opposed to 3,000 in AmE) the number of metaphorical expressions identified was substantially higher in PenSp (18.71%) than in AmE (3.37%). Moreover, even in the cases in which the metaphors were shared by AmE and PenSp, the results show those metaphors were more significant in PenSp.

8.3.4 FREQUENCY OF KNEADING AND AMASAR METAPHORS

Concerning the lexical units “knead” and “amasar”, the one activating more metaphors is “amasar”, as 527 out of the 1659 occurrences in Web/Dialects were

8. Discussion

metaphorical (31.77%). As for “knead”, it just had 355 metaphorical expressions (25.35%) out of the 1400 instances extracted from COCA (see table 48).

Table 48

Frequency of KNEADING and AMASAR metaphors

KNEADING METAPHORS	N°	% out of 1400	% out of 355 metaphorical	AMASAR METAPHORS	N°	% out of 1659	% out of 527 metaphorical
CAT PAWING	18	1.29%	5.07%	CAT PAWING	32	1.93%	6.07%
MASSAGE SOMEONE	170	12.14%	47.89%	---	---	---	---
TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY	89	6.36%	25.07%	---	---	---	---
RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART	78	5.57%	21.97%	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS	472	28.45 %	89.56%
---	---	---	---	DRIBBLING THE BALL	13	0.78%	2.47%
---	---	---	---	AMALGAMATING/ COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)	10	0.60%	1.9%

In the case of the metaphors evoked by “knead” in AmE, figure 21 presents the target frames identified in decreasing order of frequency:

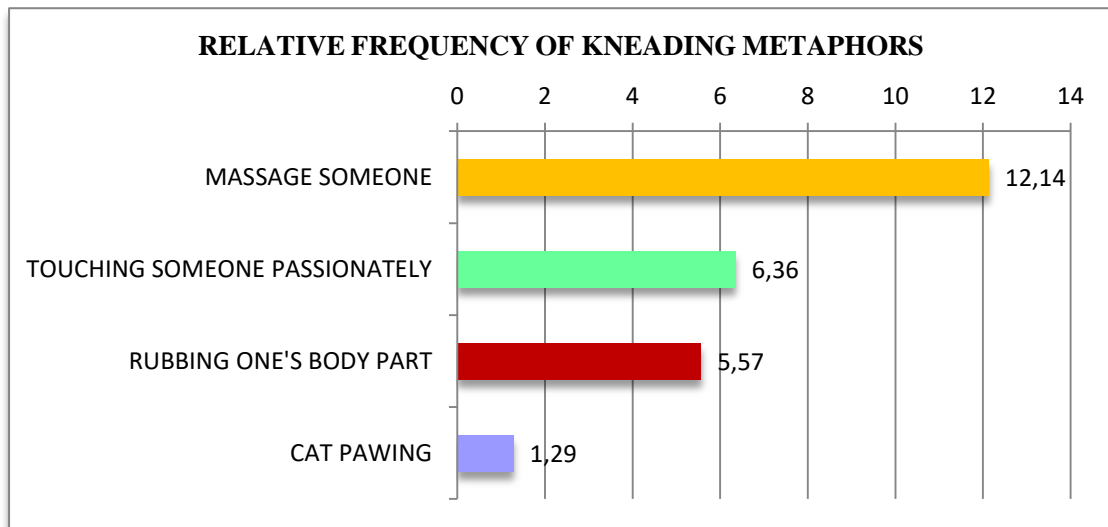


Figure 21. Relative frequency of KNEADING metaphors

Figure 21 shows that the most frequent target frame evoked by “knead” is by far the MASSAGING SOMEONE frame (12.14%), followed by TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY (6.36%), RUBBING ONE’S BODY PART (5.57%), and CAT PAWING (1.29%). These results entail that when “knead” is used metaphorically in AmE what is mainly transferred from the KNEADING frame onto the target frames is the movement performed while kneading dough. Moreover, “knead” generally applies to movement performed by and on people, except for the least frequent target frame (CAT PAWING), which refers to the movement performed by cats with their front paws.

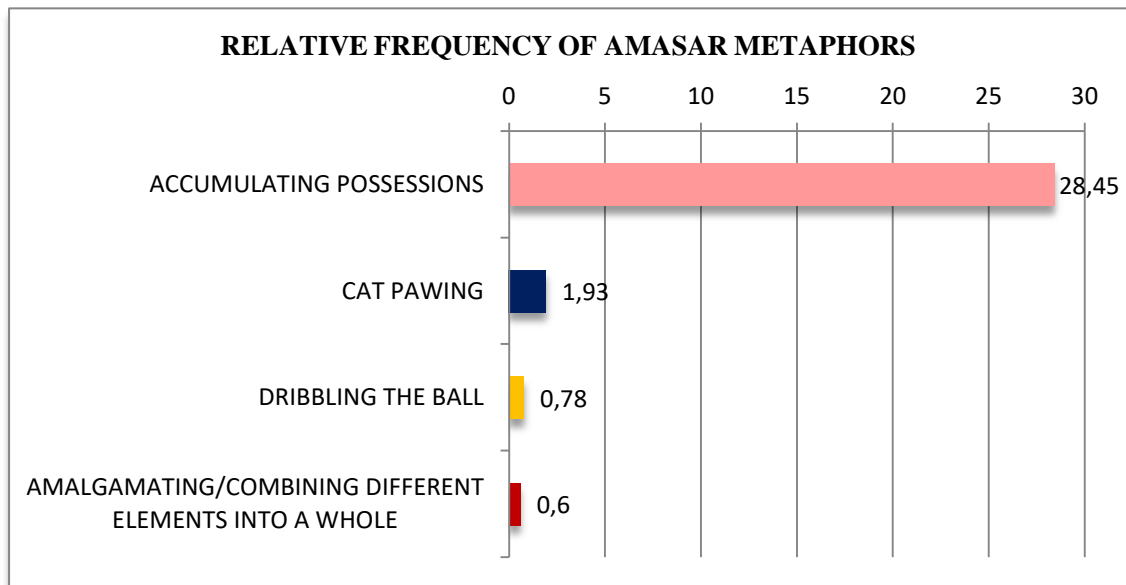


Figure 22. Relative frequency of AMASAR metaphors

As to the AMASAR metaphors (see figure 22), the target frame which abounded the most is the ACCUMULATING POSSESSIONS frame (28.45%), followed by CAT PAWING (1.93%), DRIBBLING THE BALL (0.78%), and AMALGAMATING/COMBINING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (0.6%). These results indicate that in PenSp the experiential focus of the AMASAR frame is chiefly placed, unlike KNEADING, on the expansion and rise of the dough to conceptualize amassed entities gradually increasing in quantity or number.

Regarding the CAT PAWING target frame, which is shared by AmE and PenSp, it shows a similar tendency towards its use in both languages, though it is slightly more frequent in PenSp (1.93% as opposed to 1.29% in AmE). Similarly, the DRIBBLING THE BALL frame emphasizes the kneading movement as well, but this time the movement is performed with the legs (in soccer) or with the hands (in basketball). The least frequently used metaphorical sense of “amasar” is AMALGAMATING/COMBINING

DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE, which seems to stress the integration of the dough ingredients involved in the process of kneading.

Therefore, “knead” and “amasar” give rise to metaphors with rather different patterns in AmE and PenSp. The results imply that AmE particularly focuses on the kneading movement, whereas PenSp, apart from placing the experiential focus on the kneading movement, places its emphasis on the dough expansion and the integration process that occurs while kneading the dough ingredients.

8.3.5 FREQUENCY OF ROASTING AND ASAR METAPHORS

In respect to “roast” and “asar”, the one that activates more metaphors is “roast”, as 95 out of the 3,000 occurrences were metaphorical (3.17%). In turn, “asar” had 34 metaphorical expressions (1.2%) out of the 2,839 instances examined from the corpus Web/Dialects. The relative frequencies of the “roast” and “asar” metaphors are summarized in table 49.

Table 49

Frequency of ROASTING and ASAR metaphors

ROASTING METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 3000	% out of 95 metaphorical	ASAR METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 2839	% out of 34 metaphorical
EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	14	0.47%	14.74%	EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT	34	1.2%	100%
CRITICIZING SOMEONE/ SOMETHING	81	2.7%	85.26%	---	---	---	---

Figure 23 depicts the metaphors evoked by “roast” and “asar” and the contrast among them.

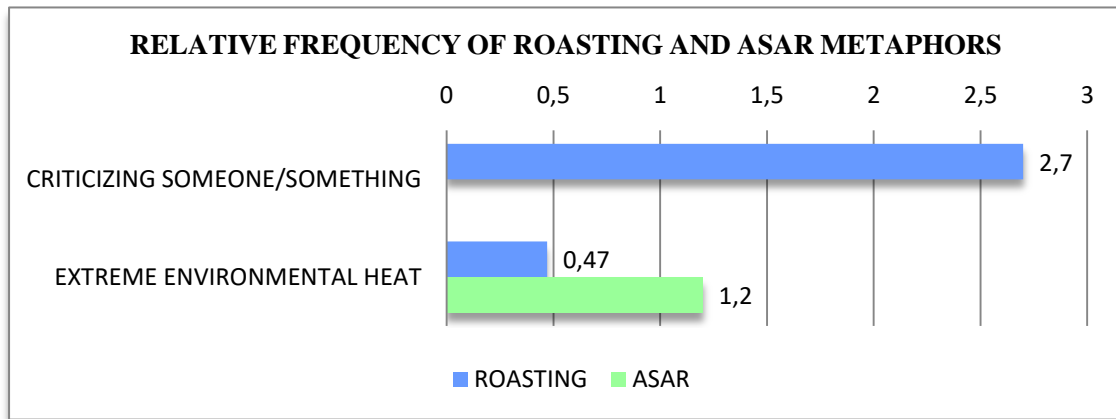


Figure 23. Relative frequency of ROASTING and ASAR metaphors

Within the ROASTING metaphors, definitely the most recurring target frame evoked by “roast” is CRITICIZING SOMEONE/SOMETHING (2.7%), which is not present in PenSp. The other target frame encountered in AmE is the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT (0.47%), which was also identified in PenSp with a higher frequency (1.2%). In fact, the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT is the only target frame evoked by “asar”.


Thus, the results indicate that the ROASTING frame is culturally more salient than the ASAR frame. AmE seems to lay great emphasis on the heat applied directly to the food in the ROASTING frame to refer to the strong criticism received by someone, on the one hand, and to the extreme environmental heat affecting people, on the other. Likewise, PenSp draws upon the heat FE of the ASAR frame to envision extreme environmental heat.

8.3.6 FREQUENCY OF STEWING AND GUI SAR METAPHORS

With reference to “stew” and “guisar”, the lexical unit activating more metaphors is “stew”, since 441 out of the 3,000 occurrences were metaphorical (14.7%). On the other hand, “guisar” had 204 metaphorical expressions (9.91%) out of the 2059 instances selected from the corpus Web/Dialects (see table 50).

Table 50

Frequency of STEWING and GUI SAR metaphors

STEWING METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 3000	% out of 441 metaphorical	GUI SAR METAPHORS	Nº	% out of 2059	% out of 204 metaphorical
BEING ANXIOUS/ AGITATED	65	2.17%	14.74%	---	---	---	---
PONDERING/ REFLECTING ON  “To stew in one’s own juices” (idiomatic expression)	155	5.17%	35.15%	---	---	---	---
	20	0.67%	4.54%	---	---	---	---
BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS (alcohol)	12	0.4%	2.72%	---	---	---	---
INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)	189	6.3%	42.86%	INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (generic-level)	21	1.02%	10.29%
---	---	---	---	DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY (generic-level)	11	0.53%	5.39%
---	---	---	---	“Yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como” (idiomatic expression)	172	8.35%	84.31%

In the case of the metaphors evoked by “stew”, figure 24 provides the breakdown of the relative frequencies of the STEWING metaphors in decreasing order:

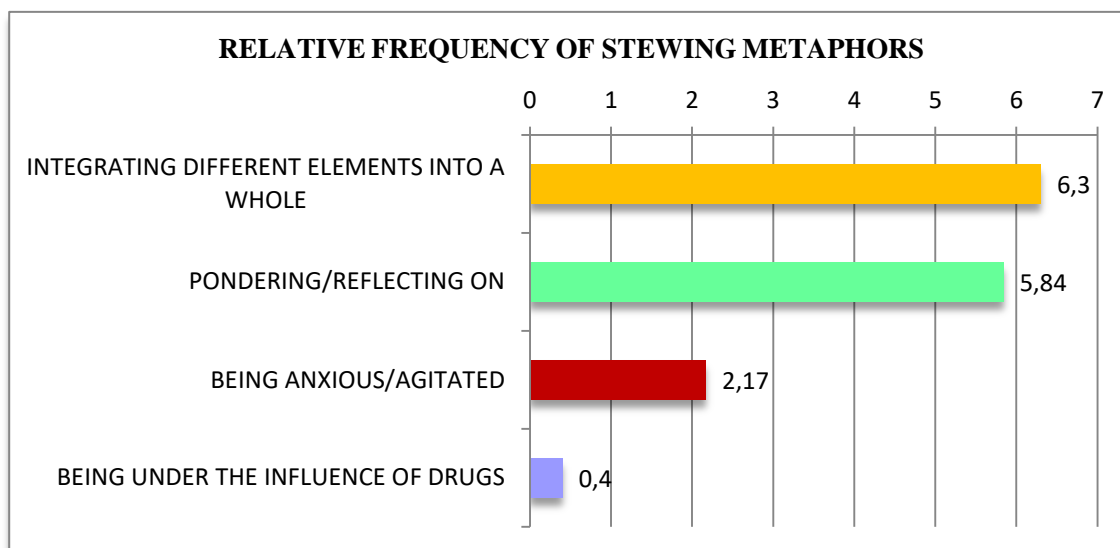


Figure 24. Relative frequency of STEWING metaphors

In the matter of the STEWING metaphors, figure 24 shows that the target frame most frequently evoked by “stew” is INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (6.3%). Therefore, when “stew” is used metaphorically, AmE mainly stresses the combination of a variety of ingredients (liquid and solid) into an integrated whole involved in the STEWING frame.

Furthermore, another rather frequently used metaphor of “stew” is PONDERING/REFLECTING ON IS STEWING (5.84%), in which the thoughts over a particular issue in a person’s mind are envisioned as the ingredients stewing in a pot over low heat for an extended period of time. In addition, “stew” is also utilized to evoke the frame BEING ANXIOUS/AGITATED (2.17%). In this regard, AmE emphasizes the liquid stewing over low heat in the STEWING frame in order to refer to the feeling of suppressed agitation, worry or anxiety contained in a person’s body. Lastly, the least frequent

metaphorical sense of “stew” is BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS (0.4%), which, as the results show, specifically expresses being under the influence of alcohol.

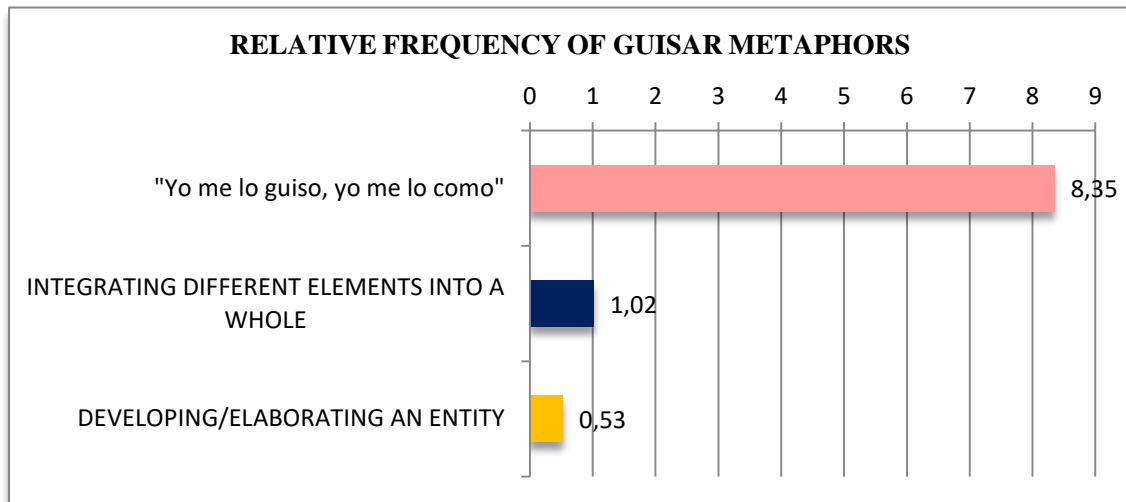


Figure 25. Relative frequency of GUI SAR metaphors

Interestingly, as happened with the lexical unit “freír”, figure 25 indicates that the most frequent metaphorical expression was an idiomatic expression, in this case “yo me lo guiso, yo me lo como” (8.35%). Moreover, the results suggest that generic-level metaphor INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE IS STEWING/GUISAR (1.02%), which is shared by AmE and PenSp, is significantly more relevant in AmE (6.3%) than in PenSp (1,02%). The least frequent metaphorical sense evoked by “guisar” is DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY, which focuses on the elaboration process involved in stewing.

Hence, these results lead us to suggest that the STEWING frame is more salient in the American culture than GUI SAR in the Spanish one, as “stew” evokes a considerably higher number of metaphors. Besides, “stew” and “guisar” draw upon rather different metaphorical patterns, since there is just one metaphor shared by them.

All in all, according to the data discussed throughout this section, the lexical units “bake”, “boil”, “fry”, “knead”, “roast” and “stew” in AmE and their PenSp counterparts “hornear”, “hervir”, “freír”, “amasar”, “asar” and “guisar” vary in their tendency towards being utilized metaphorically, which can be noticed in figure 26:

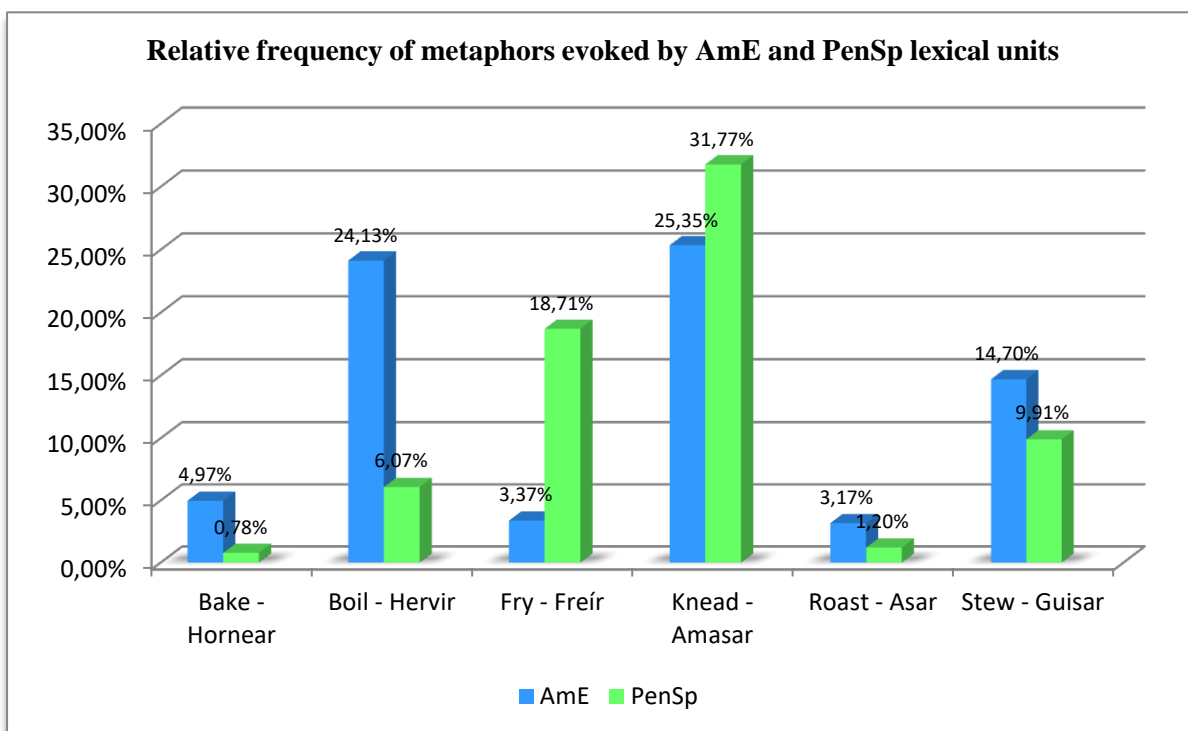


Figure 26. Relative frequency of metaphors evoked by AmE and PenSp lexical units

According to figure 26, the lexical unit which evokes a major number of metaphors is the PenSp one “amasar” (31.77%). However, in most of the pairs of equivalents, the AmE lexical units are the ones with a highest percentage of metaphors over the PenSp ones: “bake” (4.97%) over “hornear” (0.78%), “boil” (24.13%) over “hervir” (6.07%), “roast” (3.17%) over “asar” (1.2%) and “stew” (14.7%) over “guisar” (9.91%).

Only in the cases of “freír” (18.71%) and “amasar” (31.77%), the PenSp are the ones which bring about a higher amount of metaphors in PenSp than in AmE (“fry” (3.37%) and “knead” (25.35%)).

Hence, “boil”, “stew”, “bake” and “roast” are considerably more relevant in AmE than their Spanish counterparts in PenSp. In turn, PenSp gives a higher cultural significance to “amasar” and “freír” in contrast with “knead” and “fry” in AmE.

Last but not least, as an interesting note, the results of this thesis reveal that in some cases the same target frames can be evoked by several lexical units³⁸. The possibility of characterizing a certain target frame with a range of source frames might be due to the fact that all the source frames pertain to the same domain, that is, the COOKING domain. Since some frames of the COOKING domain share part of their core FEs, this fact may be the reason why in some particular cases a number of different source frames can be applied to the same target frame.

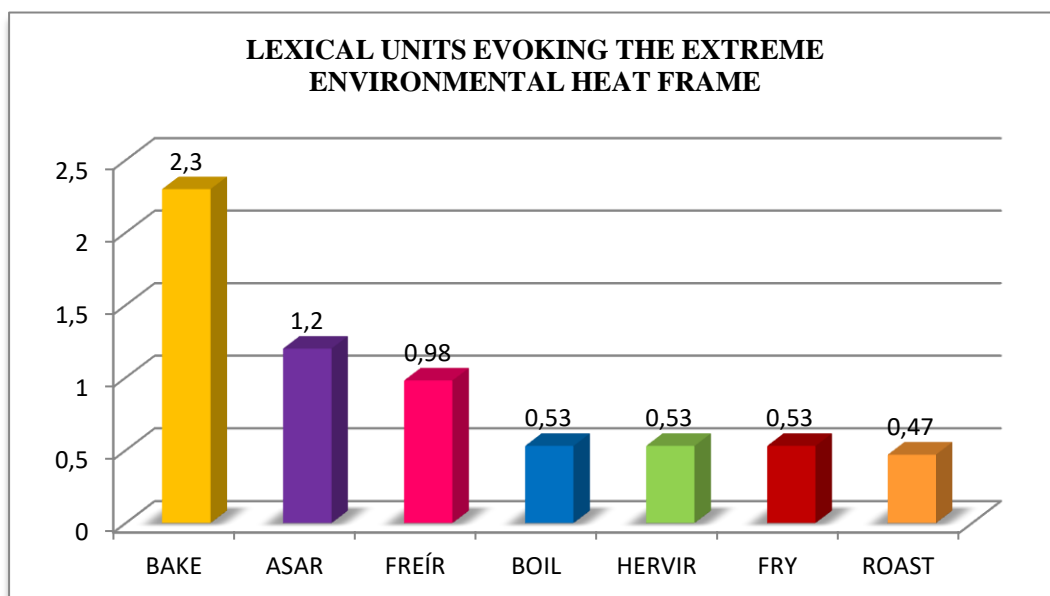


Figure 27. Lexical units evoking the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame

³⁸ This statement refers to the cases in which a certain TF can be evoked by several lexical units (at least 3), not only a lexical unit and its counterpart in the other language.

For instance, the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT frame (see figure 27), can be understood in terms of several source frames (of the COOKING domain) that share the heat core FE in AmE and PenSp, namely the BAKING (2.3%), ASAR (1.2%), FREÍR (0.98%), BOILING (0.53%), HERVIR (0.53%), FRYING (0.53%), and ROASTING (0.47%) frames. Thus, the AmE lexical unit “bake” is by far the most frequently used to refer to extreme environmental heat in AmE, followed by “boil”, “fry” and “roast”. In contrast, PenSp shows a preference for the lexical unit “asar”, followed by “freír” and “hervir”.

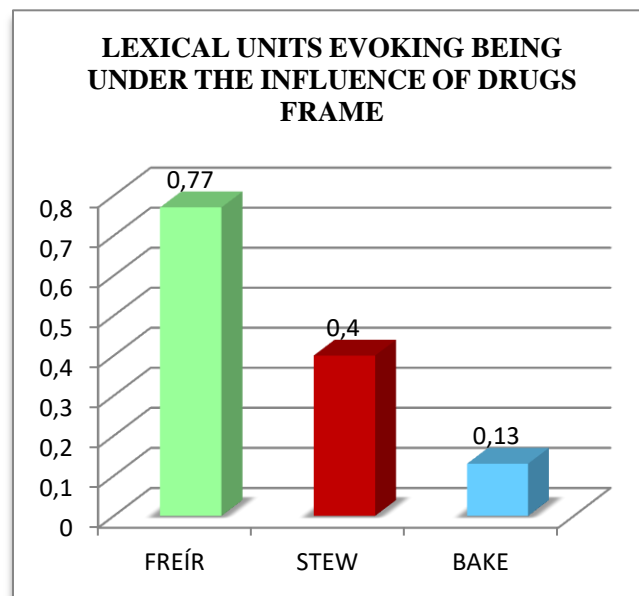


Figure 28. Lexical units evoking the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame

Concerning the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame (see figure 28), the data found shows that this frame can be categorized in terms of the FREÍR (0.77%), STEWING (0.44%) and BAKING (0.13%) frames. Therefore, AmE relies on two different lexical units “stew” and “bake” to evoke the BEING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DRUGS frame, whereas PenSp only draws upon “freír”. It is worth highlighting that the results

of this study reveal that “stew” only applies to alcohol, probably because one of the essential FEs of STEWING is the liquid.

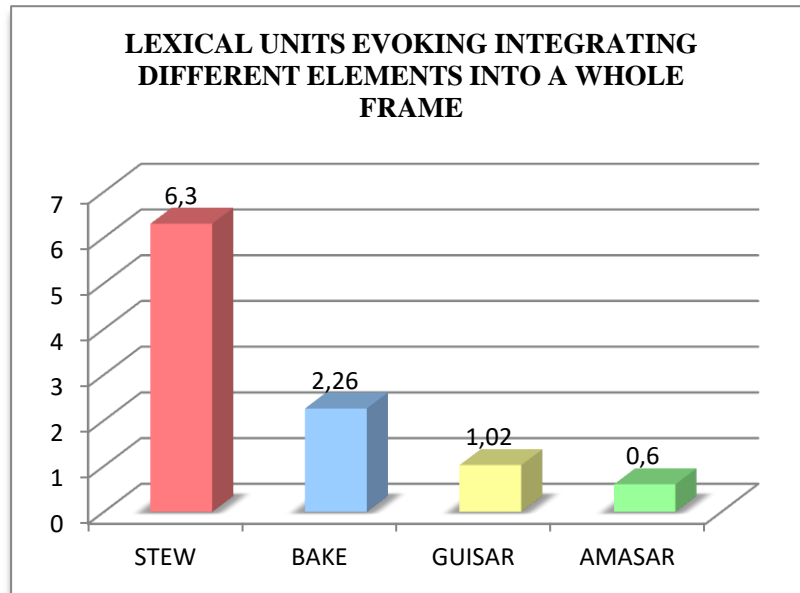


Figure 29. Lexical units evoking the INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE frame

With respect to INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE (see figure 29), this frame can be conceptualized in terms of the STEWING (6.3%), BAKING (2.26%), GUI SAR (1.02%) and AMASAR (0.60%) frames, as all these source frames entail the combination and integration of ingredients to achieve the desired final meal. Thus, “stew” is by far the most frequent lexical unit that refers to INTEGRATING DIFFERENT ELEMENTS INTO A WHOLE in AmE, followed by “bake”; while PenSp prefers to employ “guisar” and “amasar”, which are substantially less frequently used.

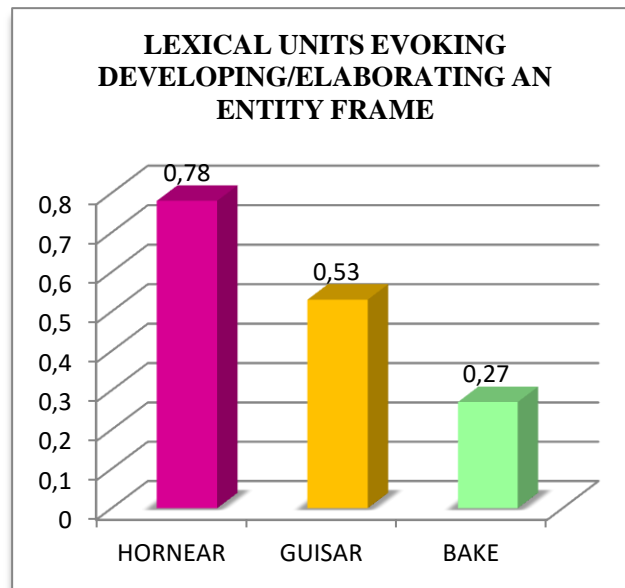


Figure 30. Lexical units evoking the DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY frame

As regards the DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY frame (see figure 30), it might be viewed in terms of the HORNEAR (0.78%), GUI SAR (0.53%) and BAKING (0.27%) frames, as these frames imply a certain period of time during which the food becomes fully cooked or elaborated. According to these data, the DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY frame is more frequently evoked by “hornear” and “guisar” in PenSp than by “bake” in AmE.

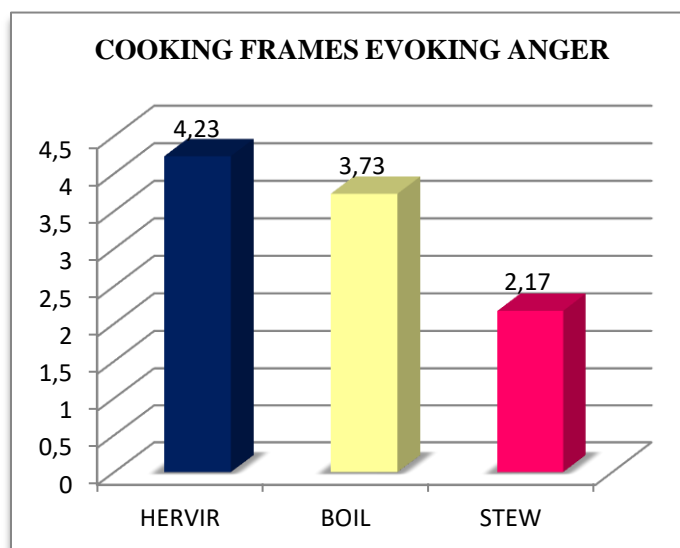


Figure 31. Lexical units evoking the ANGER frame

Lastly, the ANGER frame (see figure 31) is most frequently characterized by means of the HERVIR (4.23%) frame in PenSp, while AmE draws upon both the BOILING (3.73%) and the STEWING (2.17%) frames. Considering the fact that the results of this thesis show that both AmE and PenSp conceptualize ANGER as a liquid contained in our body, it comes as no surprise that the frames involved in conceptualizing ANGER have liquid as one of their core FEs (i.e. BOILING, HERVIR and STEWING) both in AmE and PenSp. However, as already mentioned in section 8.1.6, there is a subtle difference between “boil” and “stew” when referring to negative emotions in AmE. Even though both BOILING and STEWING have the liquid as a core FE, stewing is a slow process that always involves low heat over an extended period of time, whereas the heat that is necessary for boiling something is generally higher (which entails that the negative emotions are more intense) than when stewing and, consequently, the necessary time for boiling is shorter. For this reason, “stew” typically implies the development of frustration or mental agitation, while “boil” refers to the strong feeling of anger.

8.4 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Chapter 8 has further discussed the results previously presented in chapter 7, organizing the information in three sections related to the three research questions of this study. Hence, this chapter has served to provide the possible explanations or interpretations of the results of this dissertation.

In summary, RQ1 addressed the identification and examination of the different target frames evoked by culinary lexical units in AmE and PenSp and the corresponding contrast of the similarities and divergences encountered in both languages. Findings

from the present study reveal that although in some cases the experiential focus is shared, and consequently the metaphors are the same, in other cases the experiential focus was placed on divergent core FEs, leading to divergent metaphors in AmE and PenSp. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was confirmed.

Regarding RQ2, it examined the metaphors shared in AmE and PenSp, particularly focusing on the contrast between the mappings and linguistic realizations encountered in both languages. In this respect, surprisingly the mappings of the shared metaphors were identical and the resulting metaphorical expressions strikingly similar in AmE and PenSp. The reason of the significant similarity is possibly related to the fact that the lexical units examined were semantic equivalents. Thus, hypothesis 2, which predicted that in the cases in which the mappings coincide, the metaphorical expressions would be equivalent, is supported by the results.

As for RQ3, it tackled the relative frequency of all the metaphors identified in AmE and PenSp. The discussion of the quantitative data allowed for the explanation and contrast of the cultural salience of each of the culinary frames examined in AmE and PenSp. Hypothesis 3 was confirmed, inasmuch as in most cases the relative frequency of the metaphors encountered was substantially divergent in both languages.

To sum up, the results discussed in chapter 8 expand our knowledge on cross-linguistic metaphor variation by pointing out the specific similarities and differences regarding the metaphors grounded in culinary frames in AmE and PenSp and the resulting cultural significance of those metaphors.

In what follows, chapter 9 presents the final conclusions of this dissertation, including a summary of the main findings, implications and limitations of the study, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER NINE
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

9. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

9.1 MAJOR FINDINGS

9.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

9.3 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

9.1 MAJOR FINDINGS

The purpose of the present study was to identify, analyze and contrast metaphorical expressions and their underlying conceptual metaphors grounded in the COOKING domain in AmE and PenSp. In particular, this study focuses on the metaphors referred to by a fixed set of culinary actions in AmE (i.e. “bake”, “boil”, “fry”, “knead”, “roast” and “asar”) and their PenSp equivalents (“hornear”, “hervir”, “freír”, “amasar”, “asar”, and “guisar”). Therefore, this dissertation follows a source-domain oriented approach, as it studies the range of target frames to which a certain source frame is applied (i.e. this work contrasts the scope of the source frames in AmE and PenSp). The selected culinary terms were search for in two corpora: COCA and Web/Dialects. Moreover, a frame-based procedure was applied so as to identify the metaphorical expressions. The resulting data were examined in order to respond the three research questions set out in chapter 1:

- **RQ1:** *What are the target frames referred to in metaphorical expressions grounded in the COOKING frames selected in AmE and PenSp?*

Considering that metaphorical conceptualization is shaped by culture (Kövecses, 2015; Yu, 2008), differences in terms of the metaphorical patterns found in AmE and PenSp were expected. Findings summarized and discussed in section 8.1 of chapter 8 confirm this hypothesis, since those results reveal that the scope of metaphors evoked by the pairs of equivalent AmE and PenSp lexical units does not exactly coincide in any of the pairs. Hence, although the source frames are shared by both cultures, each culture functions as a filter by focusing on certain FEs and only allowing them to emerge and map onto particular concepts. Therefore, when each culture emphasizes different FE(s), it results in a non-shared metaphor by AmE and PenSp. Interestingly, the results also reveal that even when both cultures emphasize the same FE(s), each culture can conceptually project that FE onto a different target frame. For instance, the kneading movement is a core FE emphasized by both AmE and PenSp. Indeed, these languages share the CAT PAWING target frame. However, AmE also projects the kneading movement onto the MASSAGING SOMEONE or the TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY frames, whereas PenSp prefers to map this FE onto the movement performed when dribbling a ball.

- **RQ2:** *When the target frame coincides in the researched languages, does it entail that the metaphorical projections (mappings) and the resulting metaphorical expressions will be the same?*

It was expected that the shared metaphors in AmE and PenSp could result either in the same mappings and metaphorical expressions or in different mappings and,

consequently, different metaphorical expressions. This hypothesis has been confirmed, since the results indicate that all the shared metaphors by AmE and PenSp have identical conceptual mappings and formally congruent metaphorical expressions. The reason of the striking similarity of the shared metaphors in both languages may be due to the fact that the lexical units under investigation were semantic equivalents.

Furthermore, results reveal that some shared metaphors are linguistically more elaborated in one of the researched languages. That is, apart from the formally equivalent metaphorical expression shared by AmE and PenSp, one of the languages draws upon other expression(s) to refer to the same conceptual metaphor, as it is the case of the metaphor DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING / HORNEAR. This shared generic-level metaphor is linguistically realized in AmE as a participial adjective accompanied by an adverb denoting the degree of elaboration (e.g. “half baked”, “nearly baked”, “fully baked”) as in “The baby is fully baked”. In contrast, results show that the same conceptual metaphor is linguistically more elaborated in PenSp, inasmuch as it can be linguistically realized in several ways: (1) “hornear”, a verb followed by the direct object describing the thing that is being developed (e.g. “tienes que hornear bien esas ideas”/ ‘you must fully bake those ideas’); (2) “horneado/a/os/as”, as a participial adjective (e.g. “el libro está recién horneado”/ ‘the book is freshly baked’), showing formal congruence with its AmE counterpart; and (3) “hornada”, a noun that refers to a group of people/things that are being developed at one time (e.g. “la nueva hornada de filólogos”/ ‘the new batch of philologists’). Consequently, the generic-level metaphor DEVELOPING/ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING/HORNEAR seems to be linguistically more elaborated and salient in PenSp than in AmE.

In addition, the shared metaphor ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT is linguistically realized in PenSp as the verb “hervir” + “sangre” (e.g. “Haces que me hierva la sangre” or “me hierva la sangre”). In AmE the same equivalent collocation is employed (“blood” + “boil” (verb)) as in “He makes my blood boil”, “my blood is boiling”, etc. AmE also refers to the ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT metaphor as “to boil with” followed by a noun referring to the unpleasant feeling (e.g. “She was boiling with anger/rage/frustration”), leading to a higher degree of linguistic elaboration of the same metaphor in AmE than in PenSp.

On the whole, results reveal that the metaphors shared by AmE and PenSp are linguistically manifested with formally congruent metaphorical expressions.

- **RQ3:** *What metaphorical expressions are more frequently used in each of the researched languages, i.e. AmE and PenSp?*

Interesting outcomes have been obtained concerning cross-linguistic divergences in terms of frequency of usage of the metaphors identified in AmE and PenSp, which leads us to confirm the original hypothesis that the most frequent metaphors in AmE are not necessarily the most metaphorically used in PenSp and viceversa. In fact, as discussed in section 8.3, in most of the pairs of equivalents the AmE lexical units evoke a considerably higher percentage of metaphors than the PenSp ones. For instance, “boil” (24.13%), “stew” (14.7%), “roast” (3.17%) and “bake” (4.97%) activated metaphorical senses to a higher degree than their PenSp counterparts “hervir” (6.07%), “guisar” (9.91%), “asar” (1.2%) and “hornear” (0.78%). In contrast, only “amasar” (31.77%) and “freír” (18.71%) are the PenSp lexical units that strikingly overstep the amount of AmE metaphorical expressions (“knead” (25.35%) and (“fry” (3.37%). In the light of these

results, “boil”, “stew”, “bake” and “roast” are considerably more relevant in AmE than their Spanish counterparts in PenSp. On the other hand, PenSp gives higher cultural relevance to “amasar” and “freír” in contrast with “knead” and “fry” in AmE. Moreover, as reported in section 8.3 in chapter 8, the frequency of usage of the shared metaphors was always different in AmE and PenSp (except for the EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING/HERVIR metaphor, which showed the exact same relative frequency).

It is also worth highlighting that though the idiomatic expressions identified in AmE and PenSp did not coincide, the PenSp idiomatic expressions were significantly more frequent than the AmE ones (e.g. “a freír espárragos (9.48%), “have bigger/other fish to fry” (0.33%). Thus, idiomatic expressions grounded in culinary actions seem to be culturally more salient in PenSp than in AmE.

9.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The present dissertation carries considerable implications on several research fields. Overall, the results of this study contribute to:

1. Metaphor studies, as this thesis has enhanced our knowledge on cross-linguistic metaphor variation by providing a detailed contrastive analysis of metaphors grounded in the COOKING domain in AmE and PenSp. Moreover, the frame-based metaphor identification procedure I suggested and applied in this dissertation refines MIP (Pragglejaz, 2010) in that it integrates frames as a more objective semantic criterion for determining whether a lexical unit is used metaphorically. Hence, metaphor scholars can adopt the frame-based metaphor

identification procedure into their own research to identify the particular FEs involved in metaphorical conceptualization.

Furthermore, by adopting a corpus-linguistic approach, the results of this cross-linguistic study are based on naturally occurring data, which provides greater validity to the findings (Biber, 2012). The corpus-linguistic approach has also allowed for the examination of the relative frequency of the metaphorical senses identified in the corpora in AmE and PenSp, which provides a basis for understanding the degree of entrenchment of the metaphors identified in both languages in the conceptual system (Deignan, 2005).

2. Foreign language teaching and learning, as one of the major roles of cross-linguistic studies on metaphor variation is to enable language learners to be aware of and understand the similarities and divergences between different languages, so as to ease successful metaphor comprehension and production (Boers, 2003, 2013; Boers & Lindstromberg, 2006, 2008; Boers et al., 2010; Deignan et al., 1997). Hence, the findings of this thesis may contribute to the creation of metaphor awareness-raising pedagogical materials for learners of English and Spanish.
3. Translation practice, since equivalent lexical units in AmE and PenSp can evoke different metaphorical senses, which may lead to problems in translation. By providing a detailed account of the different scopes of the culinary source frames in AmE and PenSp, this thesis could be an aid to translate metaphorical language in these languages more efficiently.

9.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present dissertation involves a number of limitations that can be described as follows:

1. Size of the corpora. Both the AmE corpus (COCA) and the PenSp one (Web/Dialects) consist of contemporary data. However, size of COCA (more than 600 million words) is considerably bigger than Web/Dialects. Even though the corpus Web/Dialects has more than 2 billion words, only around 459 million words are from the variety of PenSp. Even so, as explained in section 6.4, in most cases 3,000 citations of each lexical unit have been examined and the corresponding percentages of all the metaphorical senses have been calculated so as to contrast the relative frequency of usage in both languages.
2. Configuration of the corpora. While COCA is equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts; Web/Dialects is just composed of data taken from websites and blogs. Therefore, all the PenSp data from the corpus Web/Dialects are written and this corpus makes no distinction among the written genres it includes. Consequently, this entails that cross-linguistic variation of culinary metaphors across genres has not been possible but it is definitely a potential issue that could be usefully explored in further research.

3. Number of citations examined. I am aware that the total number of corpus citations examined (30,216) of the 12 culinary terms under investigation (up to 3,000 instantiations per lexical unit) cannot result in any generalizations about the actual usage of the metaphorical senses identified in language. Nonetheless, the findings of the current dissertation may be a starting point for bringing to light the main cross-linguistic differences regarding culinary actions as the source of metaphors in AmE and PenSp.

Notwithstanding these limitations, this thesis certainly offers valuable insights into the substantially divergent experiential focus of AmE and PenSp, on the one hand, and the role of frames in metaphor identification, on the other. In the light of the findings and the limitations of the current study, I propose the following directions for further research:

1. More studies including other culinary actions in AmE and PenSp should be undertaken, so as to expand the findings of the present dissertation and broaden our understanding of the COOKING domain as the source of metaphors in different cultures.
2. Further research could usefully explore cross-linguistic variation of culinary actions as the source of metaphors in other languages, apart from English and Spanish (e.g. Catalan, French, German...). It could also be interesting to compare the results of this study, which contrasts AmE with PenSp, to the study of other varieties of English and Spanish that are part of different cultural contexts.

3. Further studies need to be carried out in order to examine cross-linguistic variation of culinary metaphors across genres, as it would provide a more comprehensive account of the occurrence and salience of culinary metaphors in particular genres across cultures.
4. In future investigations, analyzing the scope of culinary metaphors across languages taking into account the unconscious or intentional use of metaphor (Steen, 2008, 2011, 2015) could shed more light on the communicative dimension of metaphor from a cross-linguistic perspective.

As an overall conclusion, even though this dissertation has presented some limitations, it can be concluded that the general aim of identifying and contrasting the metaphors emerging from culinary actions in AmE and PenSp has been fulfilled. Furthermore, this investigation presents and applies a refined version of MIP (Pragglejaz, 2010) that integrates frames as an essential semantic tool for characterizing both the basic and the contextual senses of words. Hence, identifying metaphors adopting a frame-based approach provides more objective criteria for the identification of metaphorical senses and specifically for drawing the connection between metaphorical expressions and metaphorical thought. In addition, the current study reveals that the frame-based approach allows for identifying the particular FEs from the source frame that are emphasized and mapped onto other frames in each culture. Finally, further research in the field of metaphor variation across languages would be of great help in bringing to light the role of culture in the configuration of specific patterns of metaphorical conceptualization.

CONCLUSIONES GENERALES

9. CONCLUSIONES GENERALES

9.1 PRINCIPALES CONCLUSIONES

9.2 IMPLICACIONES DEL ESTUDIO

9.3 LIMITACIONES Y SUGERENCIAS PARA NUEVAS INVESTIGACIONES

9.1 PRINCIPALES CONCLUSIONES

El objetivo de este estudio era identificar, analizar y contrastar expresiones metafóricas y sus metáforas conceptuales subyacentes basadas en el dominio de la COCINA en Inglés Americano (IngA) y Español Peninsular (EspP). En concreto, este estudio se centra en metáforas evocadas por un conjunto de acciones culinarias en IngA (i.e. “bake”, “boil”, “fry”, “knead”, “roast” and “asar”) y sus equivalentes en EspP (“hornear”, “hervir”, “freír”, “amasar”, “asar”, and “guisar”). Por lo tanto, esta tesis adopta un enfoque centrado en el dominio fuente, ya que se estudia el conjunto de dominios meta a los cuales se aplica un dominio fuente en particular (i.e. este trabajo contrasta el alcance de los dominios fuente en IngA y EspP).

Los términos culinarios seleccionados han sido buscados en dos corpus: COCA y Web/Dialects. Además, se ha aplicado un procedimiento basado en marcos para identificar las expresiones metafóricas. Los datos resultantes han sido examinados para poder dar respuesta a las preguntas de investigación planteadas en el capítulo 1:

- *1: ¿Cuáles son los dominios meta evocados por expresiones metafóricas basadas en los marcos culinarios seleccionados en IngA y EspP?*

Teniendo en cuenta que la conceptualización metafórica está influenciada por la cultura (Kövecses, 2015; Yu, 2008), se esperaba obtener diferencias en cuanto a los patrones metafóricos encontrados en IngA y EspP. Los hallazgos presentados y analizados en la sección 8.1 del capítulo 8 confirman esta hipótesis, ya que esos resultados revelan que el alcance de las metáforas evocadas por los pares de unidades léxicas equivalentes en IngA y EspP no es idéntico en ninguno de los pares. Por consiguiente, aunque ambas culturas comparten los marcos fuente, cada cultura desempeña la función de filtro al centrarse en ciertos elementos de marco y permitiendo que estos emerjan y se proyecten a otros conceptos en particular. Por tanto, cuando cada cultura enfatiza diferentes elementos de un marco, el resultado es una metáfora no compartida por el IngA y el EspP. Los resultados también revelan que incluso cuando ambas culturas enfatizan los mismos elementos de un marco, cada cultura puede proyectar conceptualmente ese elemento del marco a un dominio meta distinto. Por ejemplo, el movimiento de amasar es un elemento central de marco enfatizado tanto en IngA como en EspP. De hecho, ambas lenguas comparten el marco meta CAT PAWING. Sin embargo, el IngA también proyecta el movimiento de amasar a los marcos MASSAGING SOMEONE y TOUCHING SOMEONE PASSIONATELY, mientras que el EspP mapea este elemento de marco al movimiento que se lleva a cabo al regatear un balón.

- *2: Cuando el marco meta coincide en IngA y EspP, ¿implica esto que las proyecciones metafóricas (mapeos) y las expresiones metafóricas resultantes son iguales?*

Se esperaba que las metáforas compartidas por el IngA y el EspP pudieran dar lugar a los mismos mapeos conceptuales y expresiones metafóricas o a diferentes mapeos y, en consecuencia, diferentes expresiones metafóricas. Esta hipótesis se ha confirmado, ya que los resultados indican que todas las metáforas compartidas por el IngA y EspP tienen mapeos conceptuales idénticos y expresiones metafóricas congruentes. La razón por la que las metáforas culinarias compartidas en ambas lenguas muestran una notable similitud puede ser que las unidades léxicas analizadas son equivalentes semánticos.

Además, los resultados revelan que algunas metáforas compartidas están lingüísticamente más elaboradas en una de las lenguas investigadas. Es decir, aparte de las expresiones metafóricas formalmente equivalentes en IngA y EspP, una de las lenguas hace uso de otra expresión o expresiones para referirse a la misma metáfora conceptual, como es el caso de la metáfora DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING / DESERROLLAR/ELABORAR UNA ENTIDAD ES HORNEAR. Esta metáfora de nivel genérico se manifiesta lingüísticamente en IngA como un adjetivo participio acompañado por un adverbio que denota el grado de elaboración (e.g. “half baked”, “nearly baked”, “fully baked”) como en “The baby is fully baked”. Por el contrario, los resultados muestran que la misma metáfora conceptual está lingüísticamente más elaborada en EspP, puesto que puede manifestar lingüísticamente de diversas formas: (1) “hornear”, un verbo seguido por un objeto directo que describe el elemento que se está desarrollando (e.g. “tienes que hornear bien esas ideas”/ ‘you must fully bake those ideas’); (2) “hornado/a/os/as”, como un adjetivo participio (e.g. “el libro está recién hornado”/ ‘the book is freshly baked’), mostrando así congruencia formal con su equivalente en IngA; y (3) “hornada”, un sustantivo que se refiere a un grupo de

personas/cosas que se están desarrollando a la vez (e.g. “la nueva hornada de filólogos”/ ‘the new batch of philologists’). Por consiguiente, la metáfora de nivel genérico DEVELOPING/ ELABORATING AN ENTITY IS BAKING / DESERROLLAR/ELABORAR UNA ENTIDAD ES HORNEAR parece estar lingüísticamente más elaborada y ser más relevante en EspP que en IngA.

Asimismo, la metáfora compartida ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT / LA IRA ES UN LÍQUIDO HIRVIENDO EN UNA OLLA se expresa lingüísticamente en EspP con el verbo “hervir” + “sangre” (e.g. “Haces que me hierva la sangre” o “me hierve la sangre”). En IngA se utiliza la misma colocación equivalente (“blood” + “boil” (verbo)) como en “He makes my blood boil”, “my blood is boiling”, etc. En IngA la metáfora ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID IN A POT / LA IRA ES UN LÍQUIDO HIRVIENDO EN UNA OLLA también se puede expresar con la expresión “to boil with” seguida de un sustantivo que se refiere al sentimiento desagradable (e.g. “She was boiling with anger/rage/frustration”), lo que conlleva a un mayor grado de elaboración lingüística de la misma metáfora en IngA que en EspP.

En general, los resultados de esta tesis desvelan que las metáforas compartidas por el IngA y el EspP se expresan lingüísticamente con expresiones metafóricas formalmente congruentes.

- **3:** *¿Qué expresiones metafóricas se utilizan con más frecuencia en IngA y EspP?*

Se han obtenido resultados interesantes en cuanto a las diferencias entre ambas lenguas en términos de frecuencia de uso de las metáforas identificadas en IngA y EspP, lo cual nos lleva a la confirmación de la hipótesis original de que las metáforas más

frecuentes en IngA no son necesariamente las más frecuentes en EspP y viceversa. De hecho, como se discute en la sección 8.3, en la mayoría de pares de equivalentes las unidades léxicas del IngA evocan un porcentaje de metáforas considerablemente más alto que las unidades léxicas del EspP. Por ejemplo, “boil” (24.13%), “stew” (14.7%), “roast” (3.17%) y “bake” (4.97%) han activado sentidos metafóricos en mayor grado que sus equivalentes en EspP “hervir” (6.07%), “guisar” (9.91%), “asar” (1.2%) y “hornear” (0.78%). Por el contrario, “amasar” (31.77%) y “freír” (18.71%) son las únicas unidades léxicas del EspP que superan de forma evidente la cantidad de expresiones metafóricas en IngA (“knead” (25.35%) y (“fry” (3.37%).

A la luz de estos resultados, “boil”, “stew”, “bake” y “roast” son considerablemente más relevantes que sus equivalentes en EspP. Por otra parte, el EspP otorga mayor relevancia cultural a “amasar” y “freír” en contraste con “knead” y “fry” en IngA. Además, como se comenta en la sección 8.3 del capítulo 8, la frecuencia de uso de las metáforas compartidas ha resultado ser siempre distinta en IngA y EspP (a excepción de la metáfora EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL HEAT IS BOILING/ EL CALOR AMBIENTAL EXTREMO ES HERVIR, cuya frecuencia relativa coincide en ambas lenguas).

Cabe destacar que aunque las expresiones idiomáticas identificadas en IngA y EspP no han coincidido, las expresiones idiomáticas españolas han sido significativamente más frecuentes que las del IngA (e.g. “a freír espárragos (9.48%), “have bigger/other fish to fry” (0.33%). Por tanto, las expresiones idiomáticas basadas en acciones culinarias parecen ser culturalmente más relevantes en EspP que en IngA.

9.2 IMPLICACIONES DEL ESTUDIO

El presente estudio conlleva considerables implicaciones en varios campos de investigación. En general, los resultados de este estudio pueden contribuir en:

1. Estudios de metáfora, ya que esta tesis amplía nuestro conocimiento sobre la variación de las metáforas en distintas lenguas al proporcionar un análisis contrastivo detallado de metáforas basadas en el dominio de la COCINA en IngA y EspP. Además, el procedimiento para la identificación de metáforas basado en marcos que sugiero y aplico en esta tesis pretende mejorar MIP (Pragglejaz, 2010) al integrar los marcos como un criterio semántico más objetivo a la hora de determinar si una unidad léxica se emplea de forma metafórica. Por tanto, los investigadores de la metáfora pueden adoptar este procedimiento para la identificación de metáforas basado en marcos a sus propias investigaciones para identificar qué elementos de un marco en particular están involucrados en la conceptualización metafórica.

Asimismo, al adoptar un enfoque de lingüística de corpus, los resultados de este estudio contrastivo se basan en datos lingüísticos reales, lo cual otorga mayor validez a los hallazgos (Biber, 2012). El enfoque de lingüística de corpus también ha hecho posible examinar la frecuencia relativa de los sentidos metafóricos identificados en los corpus de IngA y EspP, lo que proporciona una base para comprender el grado de consolidación de las metáforas identificadas en ambas lenguas en el sistema conceptual (Deignan, 2005).

2. Enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras, ya que uno de los principales roles de los estudios contrastivos de metáfora es hacer que los estudiantes de lenguas sean conscientes y entiendan las similitudes y diferencias entre diferentes lenguas, para de este modo facilitar la correcta comprensión y producción de metáforas (Boers, 2003, 2013; Boers & Lindstromberg, 2006, 2008; Boers et al., 2010; Deignan et al., 1997). Por esta razón, los resultados de esta tesis pueden contribuir a la creación de materiales pedagógicos focalizados en aumentar la comprensión de las metáforas para estudiantes de inglés y español.

3. Traducción, debido a que unidades léxicas que son equivalentes en IngA y EspP pueden evocar sentidos metafóricos distintos, lo cual puede acarrear problemas en su traducción. Al aportar una descripción detallada de los diferentes alcances metafóricos de los marcos fuente culinarios en IngA y EspP, esta tesis podría ser de gran utilidad para ayudar a traducir lenguaje metafórico en ambas lenguas de forma más eficiente.

9.3 LIMITACIONES DEL ESTUDIO Y SUGERENCIAS PARA NUEVAS INVESTIGACIONES

La presente tesis tiene una serie de limitaciones que se pueden describir del siguiente modo:

1. Tamaño de los corpus. Tanto el corpus de IngA (COCA) como el corpus de EspP (Web/Dialects) contienen datos actuales. Sin embargo, el tamaño de COCA (más de 600 millones de palabras) es considerablemente más grande

que el corpus Web/Dialects. Aunque el corpus Web/Dialects contiene más de 2 billones de palabras, sólo unos 459 millones de palabras pertenecen a la variedad del EspP. Aún así, tal y como se explica en la sección 6.4, en la mayoría de casos se han examinado 3.000 ejemplos de concordancia de cada unidad léxica y se han calculado los correspondientes porcentajes de todos los sentidos metafóricos identificados para poder contrastar la frecuencia relativa de uso en ambas lenguas.

2. Configuración de los corpus. Mientras que COCA se divide equitativamente en oral, ficción, revistas populares, periódicos y textos académicos, Web/Dialects está compuesto únicamente por datos extraídos de páginas web y blogs. Por lo tanto, todos los datos en EspP del corpus Web/Dialects son escritos y este corpus no hace distinción entre los distintos géneros escritos que incluye. Por consiguiente, el análisis contrastivo de metáforas culinarias comparando varios géneros no ha sido posible, pero sin duda podría ser un asunto relevante para ser explorado en futuras investigaciones.
3. Número de concordancias examinadas. Soy consciente de que el número total de concordancias de los corpus examinadas (30.216) de los 12 términos culinarios investigados (hasta 3.000 ejemplos de cada unidad léxica) no pueden dar lugar a generalizaciones sobre el uso de los sentidos metafóricos identificados en ambas lenguas. A pesar de ello, los resultados de esta tesis pueden considerarse un punto de partida para sacar a la luz las principales diferencias entre el IngA y el EspP en cuanto a acciones culinarias como fuente de metáforas en ambas lenguas.

A pesar de estas limitaciones, esta tesis sin duda ofrece valiosas aportaciones en cuanto al considerablemente distinto enfoque experiencial del IngA y el EspP, por una parte, y el rol de los marcos en la identificación de la metáfora, por otra. En vista de los resultados y las limitaciones del presente estudio, propongo las siguientes direcciones para nuevas investigaciones:

1. Deberían llevarse a cabo más estudios que incluyan otras acciones culinarias en IngA y EspP para expandir los resultados de esta tesis y ampliar nuestro conocimiento del dominio cognitivo de la COCINA como fuente de metáforas en diferentes culturas.
2. Nuevas investigaciones podrían explorar la variación entre lenguas de acciones culinarias como fuente de metáforas en otras lenguas, aparte del inglés y el español (e.g. catalán, francés, alemán...). También resultaría interesante comparar los resultados de este estudio, que contrasta IngA y EspP, con el estudio de otras variedades del inglés y el español que son parte de diferentes contextos culturales.
3. Otros estudios deberían realizarse para examinar la variación entre lenguas de metáforas culinarias en varios géneros, ya que esto podría proporcionar una visión más completa de la frecuencia y la relevancia de las metáforas culinarias en géneros concretos en diferentes culturas.
4. Analizar el alcance metafórico de las metáforas culinarias en varias lenguas teniendo en cuenta su uso inconsciente o intencional (Steen, 2008, 2011,

2015) en futuras investigaciones podría arrojar luz sobre la dimensión comunicativa de la metáfora desde un punto de vista contrastivo.

A modo de conclusion general, aunque esta tesis presenta diversas limitaciones, se puede concluir que el objetivo general de identificar y contrastar las metáforas que emergen de acciones culinarias en IngA y EspP se ha alcanzado. Además, esta investigación presenta y aplica un versión mejorada de MIP (Pragglejaz, 2010) que integra los marcos como una herramienta semántica esencial para la caracterización tanto del sentido básico como del contextual de las palabras. Por tanto, identificar metáforas adoptando un enfoque basado en marcos proporciona unos criterios más objetivos para la identificación de sentidos metafóricos y específicamente para establecer la conexión entre expresiones metafóricas y el pensamiento metafórico. Además, el presente estudio revela que el enfoque basado en marcos permite identificar los elementos específicos del marco fuente que cada cultura enfatiza y mapea conceptualmente a otros marcos. Finalmente, nuevas investigaciones en el campo de la variación metafórica entre lenguas podrían ser de gran ayuda para sacar a la luz el rol de la cultura en la configuración de patrones específicos de conceptualización metafórica.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Agyepong, D., Amfo, N., & Osam, E. (2017). Literal and metaphorical usages of 'eat' and 'drink' in Akan. *Nordic Journal of African Studies (NJAS)*, 26(1), 62-78.
- Alexander, M., & Bramwell, E. (2014). Mapping metaphors of wealth and want: a digital approach. In C. Mills, M. Pidd, & E. Ward (Eds.), *Studies in the Digital Humanities, 1: Proceedings of the Digital Humanities Congress 2012*. Sheffield: HRI Online Publications.
- Allan, K. (2008). *Metaphor and metonymy: a diachronic approach*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Anderson, M. (2003). Embodied cognition: A field guide. *Artificial Intelligence*, 149, 91-130.
- Andor, J. (2010). Discussing frame semantics: The state of the art. An interview with Charles J. Fillmore. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 8(1), 157-176. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rcl.8.1.06and>
- Baker, C. F., Fillmore, C. J., & Cronin, B. (2003). The structure of the FrameNet database. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16(3), 281–296.
- Barcelona, A. (2001). On the Systematic Contrastive Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors: Case Studies and Proposed Methodology. In M. Pütz, S. Niemeier, R. Dirven (Eds.), *Applied Cognitive Linguistics. Language Pedagogy* (Vol. 2, pp. 117–146). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Berrada, K., & M'sik, B. (2007). Food Metaphors: A Contrastive Approach. *Metaphorik.de*, 13, 7–38.
- Biber, D. (2012). Corpus-Based and Corpus-driven Analyses of Language Variation and Use. In B. Heine & H. Narrog (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis* (pp. 195-223). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199544004.013.0008>
- Boers, F. (2013). Cognitive Linguistic approaches to teaching vocabulary: Assessment and integration. *Language Teaching*, 46(2), 208–224.
- Boers, F., & Demecheleer, M. (1997). A few metaphorical models in (western) economic discourse. In W. Liebert, G. Redeker & L. Waugh (Eds.), *Discourse and perspective in Cognitive Linguistics* (pp.115-129). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Boers, F., & Lindstromberg, S. (2006). Cognitive linguistic applications in second or foreign language instruction: Rationale, proposals, and evaluation. In G. Kristiansen, M. Achard, R. Dirven & F. J. R. de Mendoza Ibáñez (Eds.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Current applications and future perspectives* (pp. 305–355). Berlin, New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Boers, F., & Lindstromberg, S. (2008). How Cognitive Linguistics can foster effective vocabulary teaching. In F. Boers & S. Lindstromberg (Eds.), *Cognitive Linguistic approaches to teaching vocabulary and phraseology* (pp. 1-61). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Boers, F., De Rycker, T., & De Knop, S. (2010). Fostering language teaching efficiency through Cognitive Linguistics: Introduction. In S. De Knop, F. Boers & T. De Rycker (Eds.), *Fostering language teaching efficiency through Cognitive Linguistics* (pp.1-27). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bolozky, S. (2007). Metaphors in Hebrew slang, and their parallels in Hebrew literature and in the sources. *Hebrew Studies*, 48, 269-290.
- Caballero, R. (2016). Genre and metaphor: Use and variation across usage events. In E. Semino & Z. Demjén (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp.193-205). London: Routledge.
- Caballero, R., & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2014). Ways of perceiving, moving, and thinking: revindicating culture in conceptual metaphor research. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 5(1-2), 268-290. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cogsem.2013.5.12.268>
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chiarung, L. (2012). Eating is not an easy task: Understanding cultural values via proverbs. *Japanese Studies Journal*, 29(1), 63–79.
- Cienki, A. (1999). Metaphors and cultural models as profiles and bases. In R.W. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (pp.189–203). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Cienki, A. (2010). Frames, idealized cognitive models, and domains. In D. Geeraerts & H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 170-187). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clausner, T., & Croft, W. (1997). Productivity and schematicity in metaphors. *Cognitive Science*, 21(3), 247–282.
- Croft, W. (2003). The role of domains in the interpretation of metaphors and metonymies. In R. Dirven & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp.161-206). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Croft, W. (2009). Connecting frames and constructions: A case study of eat and feed. *Constructions and Frames*, 1(1), 7-28.
- Cuadrado, G., Argüelles, I., Durán, P., Gómez, M-J., Molina, S., Pierce, J., Robisco, M. M., Roldán, A., & Úbeda, P. (2016). *Bilingual dictionary of scientific & technical metaphors and metonymies (English & Spanish)*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Davies, Mark. (2002-) *Corpus del Español: 100 million words, 1200s-1900s*. Available online at <http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/hist-gen/>. (Historical / Genres).
- Davies, M. (2008-). *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 600 million words, 1990-present*. Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>.
- Davies, M. (2016-) *Corpus del Español: Two billion words, 21 countries*. Available online at <http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/web-dial/>. (Web / Dialects).

- Deignan, A. (1995). *Collins Cobuild English Guides: 7*. London: Harper Collins.
- Deignan, A. (2003). Metaphorical expressions and culture: An indirect link, *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18(4), 255-271. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327868MS1804_3
- Deignan, A. (2005). *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Deignan, A. (2008). Corpus linguistics and metaphor. In R. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought* (pp.280–294). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deignan, A. (2009). Searching for metaphorical patterns in corpora. In P. Baker (Ed.), *Contemporary corpus linguistics* (pp. 9-31). London: Continuum.
- Deignan, A. (2015). MIP, the corpus and dictionaries: what makes for the best metaphor analysis? *Metaphor and the Social World*, 5(1), 145-154. <https://doi.org/10.1075/msw.5.1.09dei>
- Deignan, A. (2017). From linguistic to conceptual metaphors. In E. Semino and Z. Demjen (Eds.) *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp. 102-116). London: Routledge.
- Deignan, A., & Semino, E. (2010). Corpus techniques for metaphor analysis. In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor analysis. research practice in applied linguistics, social sciences and the humanities* (pp. 161-179). London: Equinox.

- Deignan, A., & Potter, L. (2004). A corpus study of metaphors and metonyms in English and Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36(7), 1231-1252.
- Deignan, A., Gabrys, D., & Solska, A. (1997). Teaching English metaphors using cross-linguistic awareness raising activities. *ELT Journal*, 51(4), 352-360.
- Deignan, A., Lima, A., & Lopez-Mora, E. (1998). Metaphor, culture and the classroom. In P. Grundy (Ed.), *IATEFL 1998 Manchester Conference Selections*, 32-33. Whistable, Kent: IATEFL.
- Dirven, R., & Verspoor, M. (Eds.). (2004). *Cognitive exploration of language and linguistics* (2nd rev. ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dobrovolskij, D., & Piirainen, E. (2005). *Figurative Language: Cross-Cultural and Cross-Linguistic Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Dongman, C., & Deignan, A. (2019). Metaphors and evaluation in popular economic discourse on trade wars. In I. Navarro i Ferrando (Ed.), *Current approaches to metaphor analysis in discourse* (pp.57-78). Berlin/Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Esbrí-Blasco, M., Girón-García, C., & Renau, M. (2019). Metaphors in the digital world: The case of metaphorical frames in 'Facebook' and 'Amazon'. In I. Navarro i Ferrando (Ed.), *Current approaches to metaphor analysis in discourse* (pp.131-153). Berlin/Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Evans, V., & Green, M. (2006). *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*. Edinburgh: University Press.

- Faycel, D. (2012). Food metaphors in Tunisian Arabic proverbs. *Rice Working Papers in Linguistics*, 3(1), 1–23.
- Freír espárragos. (n.d.) *Real Academia Española: Diccionario de la lengua Española* (2014). Retrieved from <https://dle.rae.es/esp%C3%A1rrago#GVYhyeU>
- Fillmore, C. J. (1968). The case for case. In E. Bach & R. T. Harms (Eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory* (pp. 1-88). New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Fillmore, C. J. (1977). The case for case reopened. In P. Cole & J. M. Sadock (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics 8: Grammatical Relations* (pp.59-81). New York: Academic Press.
- Fillmore, C. J. (1982). Frame Semantics. In The Linguistic Society of Korea (Ed.), *Linguistics in the morning calm* (pp.111-137). Seoul: Hanshin.
- Fillmore, C. J., & Atkins, B. T. (1992). Toward a frame-based lexicon: The semantics of RISK and its neighbors. In A. Lehrer & E. F. Kittay (Eds.), *Frames, fields and contrasts: New essays in semantic and lexical organization* (pp.75-102). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Fillmore, C. J. (2006). Frame semantics. In D. Geeraerts (Ed.), *Cognitive linguistics: Basic readings* (pp.371–400). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fillmore, C. J. (2007). Valency issues in FrameNet. In T. Herbst & K. Götz-Votteler (Eds.), *Valency: Theoretical, descriptive, and cognitive issues* (pp.129–160). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Fillmore, C. J., & Baker, C.F. (2009). A frames approach to semantic analysis. In B. Heine & H. Narrog (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis* (pp. 313-340). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fillmore, C. J., Johnson, C.R., & Petruck, M. R. L. (2003). Background to Framenet. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16(3), 235-250. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijl/16.3.235>
- Figoni, P. (2011). *How baking works: Exploring the fundamentals of baking science* (3rd ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Freepik. (n.d.). Cover image designed by Freepik. Available at <https://www.freepik.com>.
- Gallagher, S. (2005). *How the body shapes the mind*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gawron, J. M. (2011). Frame semantics. In C. Maienborn, K. Heusinger & P. Portner (Eds.), *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning* (Vol. 1, pp.664-687). Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, D. (2006). Introduction: A rough guide to Cognitive Linguistics. In D. Geeraerts (Ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (pp.1-28). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gibbs, R. (1999). Taking metaphor out of our heads and putting it into the cultural world. In R. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (pp.145-166). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Gibbs, R. (2011). Evaluating conceptual metaphor theory. *Discourse Processes*, 48(8), 529–562. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2011.606103>
- Goatly, A. (1997). *The language of metaphors*. London: Routledge.
- Grady, J. (1997). *Foundations of meaning: primary metaphors and primary scenes* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved January 2017 from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3g9427m2>.
- Gutiérrez-Pérez, R. (2008). A cross-cultural analysis of heart metaphors. *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, 21, 25–56.
- Gutiérrez-Pérez, R. (2019). The development of a metaphoric competence. A didactic proposal of educational innovation. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 13(4), 331-357.
- Haegens, N. (2006). Mixing, dough making, and dough make-up. In Y. H. Hui (Ed.), *Bakery products science and technology* (2nd ed., pp. 245–260). Ames, IA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hashemian, M., & Talebi-Nezhad, M. (2013). The development of conceptual fluency and metaphorical competence in L2 learners. *Linguistik Online*, 30(1), 41-56. <http://dx.doi.org/10.13092/lo.30.548>
- Have other/bigger fish to fry. (n.d.) *Farlex Dictionary of Idioms*. (2015). Retrieved from <https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/have+other%2fbigger+fish+to+fry>

- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2013). The relationship between conceptual metaphor and culture. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 10(2), 315-339. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ip-2013-0014>
- Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Khajeh, Z., Ho-Abdullah, I., & Kim-Hua, T. (2013). Emotional temperament in food-related metaphors: A cross-cultural account of the conceptualizations of SADNESS. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 2(6), 54-62. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.2n.6p.54>
- Khajeh, Z. & Imran, H.A. (2012). Persian culinary metaphors: A cross-cultural conceptualization. *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, 12(1), 69-87.
- King, B. (1989). *The conceptual structure of emotional experience in Chinese* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved February 2017 from https://etd.ohiolink.edu/pg_10?0::NO:10:P10_ACCESSION_NUM:osu1487671640057766#abstract-files
- Korthals, M. (2008). Food as a source and target of metaphors. Inclusion and exclusion of foodstuffs and persons through metaphors. *Configurations*, 16(1), 77-92.
- Kövecses, Z. (1986). *Metaphors of anger, pride, and love. A lexical approach to the study of concepts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kövecses, Z. (1995). American friendship and the scope of metaphor. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 6(4), 315-346.

- Kövecses, Z. (2000). *Metaphor and emotion: Language, culture and body in human feeling*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2003). The scope of metaphor. In A. Barcelona (Ed.), *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads* (pp.79-92). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: Universality and variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2006). *Language, mind and culture: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008a). Conceptual metaphor theory: Some criticisms and alternative proposals. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6(1), 168–184.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008b). Universality and variation in the use of metaphor. In N.L. Johannesson & D.C. Minugh (Eds.), *Selected Papers from the 2006 and 2007 Stockholm Metaphor Festivals* (pp.51-74). Stockholm: Department of English, Stockholm University.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010a). Metaphor and culture. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, 2(2), 197-220.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010b). Metaphor, language, and culture. *DELTA: Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada*, 26(spe), 739-757.
<https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102>

- Kövecses, Z. (2010c). *Metaphor: A practical introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2011). Methodological issues in conceptual metaphor theory. In S. Handl & H.J. Schmid (Eds.), *Windows to the mind: Metaphor, metonymy and conceptual blending* (pp.23-39). Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kovecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2017). Levels of metaphor. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 28(2), 321-347.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2016-0052>
- Kövecses, Z. (2019). Some consequences of a multi-level view of metaphor. In I. Navarro i Ferrando (Ed.), *Current approaches to metaphor analysis in discourse* (pp.19-34). Berlin/Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Kövecses, Z., Ambrus, L., Hegedűs, D., Imai, R., & Sobczak, A. (2019). The lexical vs. corpus-based method in the study of metaphors. In M. Bolognesi, M. Brdar & K. Despot (Eds.), *Fantastic metaphors and where to find them. Traditional and new methods in figurative language research* (pp.149-173). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Köves, N. (2002). *Hungarian and American dreamworks of life*. Term paper, Department of American Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

- Kuczok, M., & Biały, P. (2019). By way of introduction: A contrastive perspective on figurative language. In P. Biały, M. Kuczok & M. Zabawa (Eds.), *A contrastive perspective on figurative language* (pp.7-22). Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (2nd ed., pp. 202-251). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2008). The neural theory of metaphor. In R. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought* (pp. 17-38). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2012). Explaining embodied cognition results. *Topics in Cognitive Science*, 4(4), 773-785.
- Lakoff, G. (2014). Mapping the brain's metaphor circuitry: metaphorical thought in everyday reason. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 8(958),1-14. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2014.00958>
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought*. New York: HarperCollins.

- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., Espenson, J., & Schwartz, A. (1991). *Master Metaphor List*. Berkeley: Cognitive Linguistics Group, University of California, Berkeley.
- Lancing the boil. (n.d.) *Farlex Dictionary of Idioms*. (2015). Retrieved December 20 2018 from <https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/lancing+the+boil>
- Langacker, R. (1987). *Foundations of cognitive grammar. Theoretical prerequisites*. California, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, R. (1988). A view of linguistic semantics. In B. Rudzka-Ostyn (Ed.), *Topics in Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 49-90). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Langacker, R. (1999). The contextual basis of Cognitive Semantics. In J. Nuyts & E. Pederson (Eds.), *Language and conceptualization* (pp. 229-252). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, R. (2002). *Concept, image, and symbol: The cognitive basis of grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, R. (2008). *Cognitive Grammar: A basic introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Littlemore, J., & Low, G. (2006). Metaphoric competence, second language learning, and communicative language ability. *Applied Linguistics*, 27(2), 268–294.

- López-Rodríguez, I. (2014). Are we what we eat? Food metaphors in the conceptualization of ethnic groups. *Linguistik Online*, 69(7), 3-36. <https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.69.1655>
- Low, G. D., Todd, Z., Deignan, A., & Cameron, L. (Eds.). (2010). *Researching and applying metaphor in the real world*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Maalej, Z. (2007). *What food metaphors tell us about women in Tunisian Arabic. A critical metaphor analysis of embodiment* (Conference Paper). International Cognitive Linguistics Conference 10, Krakow, Poland. Retrieved January 2017 from <http://faculty.ksu.edu.sa/zmaalej/Documents/2%20Culinary%20metaphors%20for%20women%20in%20TA.pdf>
- McEnery, T., & Hardie, A. (2012). *Corpus Linguistics: Method, theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mischler, J. J. (2013). *Metaphor across time and conceptual space: The interplay of embodiment and cultural models*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nacey, S. (2013). *Metaphors in Learner English* [Metaphor in Language, Cognition, and Communication, 2]. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Navarro i Ferrando, I. (1998). *A Cognitive Semantics analysis of the Lexical Units AT, ON and IN, in English* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved february 2017 from <https://www.tdx.cat/bitstream/handle/10803/10433/navarro.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

- Newman, J. (1997). Eating and drinking as sources of metaphor in English. *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, 6(2), 213–231.
- Newman, J. (Ed.). (2009). *The linguistics of eating and drinking*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Newman, J. (2011). Corpora and cognitive linguistics. *Brazilian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11(2), 521–559.
- Öster, U. (2019). Cross-cultural semantic and pragmatic profiling of emotion words. Regulation and expression of anger in Spanish and German. In I. Navarro i Ferrando (Ed.), *Current approaches to metaphor analysis in discourse* (pp. 35-56). Berlin/Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Petruck, M. R. L. (1996.) Frame Semantics. In J. Verschueren, J. Östman, J. Blommaert & C. Bulcaen (Eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp.1-13). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Petruck, M. R. L., Fillmore, C. J., Baker, C. F., Ellis, M., & Ruppenhofer, J. (2004). Reframing FrameNet data. In G. Williams & S. Bessier (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 11th EURALEX International Congress* (pp.405–416). Lorient, France: Université de Bretagne Sud.
- Philip, G. (2017). Conventional/novel metaphors in language. In E. Semino & Z. Demjen (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp. 219-232). London: Routledge
- Pragglejazz Group (2007). MIP: a method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse, *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22(1), 1-39.

- Quy, P. (2016). A contrastive analysis of the conceptual metaphor “IDEAS ARE FOOD” in English and Vietnamese. *Journal of Science Ho Chi Minh City University of Education*, 2(80), 12-21.
- Roldán-Riejos, A., & Molina-Plaza, S. (2015). A taste of the technical cuisine: Metals and other ingredients. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 178, 201-206.
- Ruppenhofer, J., Ellsworth, M., Petruck, M. R. L., Johnson, C. R., & Scheffczyk, J. (2010). *FrameNet II: Extended theory and practice*. Berkeley, California: International Computer Science Institute.
- Sabet, M., & Tavakoli, M. (2016). Metaphorical competence: A neglected component of communicative competence. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 4(1), 32-39.
- Schmidt, G. (2015). Applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory in cross-linguistic and translation research. In B. Belaj (Ed.), *Dimenzije značenja* (pp. 243-265). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet sveucilista u Zagrebu.
- Semino, E. (2011). The adaptation of metaphors across genres. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9(1), 130-152. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rcl.9.1.07sem>
- Semino, E. (2017). Corpus linguistics and metaphor. In B. Dancygier (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 463-476). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sharifian, F. (2011). *Cultural conceptualisations and language: Theoretical framework and applications*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Sharifan, F., Dirven, R., Yu, N., & Niemeier, S. (2008). Culture and language: Looking for the mind inside the body. In F. Sharifian, R. Dirven, N. Yu & S. Niemeier (Eds.), *Body, culture, and language: conceptualisations of heart and other internal body organs across languages and cultures* (pp. 3- 23). Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Sinclair, J. (1991). *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Soriano, C. (2003). Some anger metaphors in Spanish and English. A contrastive review. *International Journal of English Studies*, 3(2), 107-122.
- Steen, G. (1999). From linguistic to conceptual metaphor in five steps. In R. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics. Current Issues in Linguistics* (pp. 57-78). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Steen, G. (2007). Finding metaphor in discourse: Praggel jazz and beyond. *Culture, Language and Representation*, 5, 9-25.
- Steen, G. J. (2008). The paradox of metaphor: Why we need a three-dimensional model of metaphor. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 23(4), 213–241. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926480802426753>
- Steen, G. (2009). From linguistic form to conceptual structure in five steps: A procedure for metaphor identification in discourse. In G. Brône & J.

- Vandaele (Eds.), *Cognitive Poetics* (pp. 197-226). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Steen, G. J. (2011). The contemporary theory of metaphor—now new and improved! *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9(1), 26-64.
- Steen, G. J. (2014). The cognitive-linguistic revolution in metaphor studies. In J. Littlemore & J. Taylor (Eds.), *The Bloomsbury companion to Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 117-142). London: Continuum.
- Steen, G. J. (2015). Developing, testing and interpreting deliberate metaphor theory. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 90, 67–72.
- Steen, G.J., Dorst, A.G., Herrmann, J.B., Kaal, A.A., Krennmayr, T., & Pasma, T. (2010). *A method for linguistic metaphor identification: From MIP to MIPVU*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stefanowitsch, A., & Gries, S. (Eds.). (2006). *Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy*. Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stew in (one's) own juice(s). (n.d.) *Farlex Dictionary of Idioms*. (2015). Retrieved from [https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/stew+in+\(one%27s\)+own+juice](https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/stew+in+(one%27s)+own+juice)
- Storjohann, P. (2005). A corpus-based monolingual German dictionary. *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics*, 18(34), 55-82.
- Sullivan, K. (2013). *Frames and constructions in metaphoric language*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

- Sweetser, E. (1990). *From etymology to pragmatics: Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, L. (1985). Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and lexical descriptions. Grammatical categories and the lexicon* (Vol.3, pp.36-149). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, L. (1991). Path to realization: a typology of event conflation. *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 7, 480-519.
- Talmy, L. (2000). *Toward a Cognitive Semantics: Vol.1. Concept structuring systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Tissari, H. (2001). Metaphors we love by: On the cognitive metaphors of love from the 15th century to the present. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 36, 217- 42.
- Tissari, H. (2017). Corpus-linguistic approaches to metaphor analysis. In E. Semino & Z. Demjén (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language* (pp. 117-130). London: Routledge.
- Todd, Z., & Low, G. (2010). A selective survey of research practice in published studies using metaphor analysis. In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor analysis: Research practice in applied linguistics, social sciences and the humanities* (pp. 26-41). London: Equinox.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). *Corpus Linguistics at work*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Tsaknaki, O. (2016). Cooking verbs and metaphor contrastive study of Greek and French. *Selected Papers on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics*, 21, 458-472. <https://doi.org/10.26262/istal.v21i0.5242>
- Valiulienė, E. (2015). Temperature metaphors in Lithuanian and English: Contrastive analysis. *Verbum*, 6, 207-219. <https://doi.org/10.15388/Verb.2015.6.8819>
- Varela, F.J., Thompson, E., & Rosch, E. (1991). *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Yin, W., & Hong, L. (2004). The trinity of linguistic, communicative and metaphoric abilities: The application of cognitive theory of metaphors in language teaching. *Journal of Sichuan International Studies University*, 6, 140-143.
- Taylor, J., & Mbense, T. (1998). Red dogs and rotten mealies: How Zulus talk about anger. In A. Athanasadiou & E. Tabakowska (Eds.), *Speaking of emotions: conceptualization and expression* (pp. 191-226). Berlin/Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Yu, N. (1998). *The contemporary theory of metaphor. A perspective from Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yu, N. (2003). Metaphor, body, and culture: The Chinese understanding of Gallbladder and Courage, *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18(1), 13-31. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327868MS1801_2

- Yu, N. (2008). Metaphor from body and culture. In R. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought* (pp. 247-261). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yu, N. (2012). Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and Chinese. In P. Hanks and R. Giora (Eds.), *Metaphor and figurative language: Literary and cross-cultural perspectives* (Vol.3, pp. 328–359). New York/London: Routledge.
- Yu, N. (2015). Embodiment, culture, and language. In F. Sharifian (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and culture* (pp. 227–239). London: Routledge.
- Yu, N. (2017). Metaphor and metaphorical language. In R. Sybesma et al. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Chinese language and linguistics*, (Vol. 3, pp. 3–8). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Yu, N., & Jia, D. (2016). Metaphor in culture: LIFE IS A SHOW in Chinese. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 27(2), 147–180. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2015-0080>
- Wierzbicka, A. (1992). *Semantics, culture, and cognition: Human concepts in culture-specific configurations*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wierzbicka, A. (2006). *English: Meaning and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

References

APPENDIX 1

- <https://www.serious-eats.com/>
- <https://food52.com/>
- <https://www.budgetbytes.com/>
- <https://minimalistbaker.com/>
- <https://www.simplyrecipes.com/>
- <https://www.skinnytaste.com/>
- <https://damndelicious.net/>
- <https://smittenkitchen.com/>
- <https://cookieandkate.com/>
- <https://thepioneerwoman.com/cooking/>
- <https://www.afuegolento.com/>
- <https://www.eladerezo.com/>

