Metaphors and cultural imprints

A comparative study of Persian and English Metaphors in Jamalzadeh’s ‘Roast Goose’ and Maugham’s ‘The Luncheon’

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A comparative study of Persian and English conceptual metaphors in the short stories by M.A. Jamalzadeh and W. Somerset Maugham

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Abstract

The main goal of this study is to identify conceptual metaphors in two genetically distinct languages, namely Iranian Persian and British English, analyze their domains and attempt to detect possible cultural impacts on their construction. Although there are a good number of studies on the relationship between metaphor and culture in some languages, there appears to be a limited number of comparative studies on different languages with culturally distinct contexts and their metaphors. In an attempt to investigate the cultural imprints on metaphor, this thesis has a special focus on metaphors applied in two Persian and English short stories. ‘Roast Goose’ by M.A. Jamalzadeh and ‘The Luncheon’ by W.S. Maugham are two well-known near contemporary short stories, which are subject to our study. The two emotions of anxiety and greed, as the most dominant subjects of metaphorical expressions in these stories, are identified following MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) and the concepts involved in the construction of their underlying conceptual metaphors will be analyzed based on Kövecses’s (2010a) method. The thesis presents a conceptual approach within a cognitive linguistic perspective to pinpoint metaphors and the stories behind them in these two literal texts.

Keywords

Conceptual metaphor, culture, English language, Persian language, cognitive linguistics, Metaphor Identification Procedure.
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1. Introduction

This thesis is a comparative study of two culturally distinct languages to investigate the culture-metaphor link from a conceptual metaphor approach. Although there are a good number of research papers on the relationship between metaphor and culture in some languages (e.g. Su, 2002; Fortson, 2005; Kövecses, 2007; Braun & Maryen, 2010), comparative studies on languages with different cultural contexts and their metaphors are few (e.g. Pérez, 2008; Zheng & Xiang, 2014; Yan et al., 2008). Moreover, some of these studies have examined certain metaphorical expressions in isolation and not within an authentic context. For example, Pérez (2008) has put focus on the HEART metaphor and its conceptualization in some Romance and Germanic languages, based only on a collection of expressions extracted from dictionaries and reference works. In order to fill the gap, the present study is conducted to compare and contrast metaphors in literary texts of Persian (Iranian) and English (British) languages. The aim of this study is to investigate potential differences between Persian and English linguistic metaphors with a focus on their underlying conceptual metaphors by answering the following research questions:

1. What are the cultural imprints in Persian and English metaphors and to what extent does understanding such imprints improve the cross-cultural understanding of the two nations?
2. What accounts for the usage of common metaphors in these culturally distinct languages from a conceptual metaphor perspective?
3. What accounts for different metaphors used in thematically similar stories with different cultural contexts from a conceptual metaphor approach?

To answer the above questions, we compare ‘Roast Goose’ by M.A. Jamalzadeh (1892-1997) and ‘The Luncheon’ by W.S. Maugham (1874-1965), two near-contemporary well-known Iranian Persian and British English short stories, respectively, with a similar social theme, connected to emotions of anxiety and greed. We try to analyze the relevant conceptual metaphors and their linguistic realizations in each language and investigate the traces of culture in their construction. To do this, we will start with a short review of the existing literature, including different perspectives and theories on metaphor, under section two. Section three is allocated to a discussion on the method employed in the study. Section four will review the two writers’ bibliographical information together with their short stories that are subject to our study. The procedures of identifying and analyzing metaphors together with discussions on any potential traces of culture in their constructions will be carried out under section five. Finally, the last section will present our concluding remarks.

2. Theoretical background

This section provides the theoretical background for the analytical study of metaphor. Since the focus of this study is to identify conceptual metaphors, analyze their domains
and attempt to detect possible cultural impacts on their construction, it is necessary to introduce and discuss different relevant theories on metaphor, its features and function and how it can be identified. Since this thesis employs literary texts as the context of metaphors to be compared and analyzed, this section presents an overview of theories and notions relevant to metaphor in literature.

2.1 Cognitive linguistics and CMT

Metaphor studies have boomed since the early 1980s, when George Lakoff and Mark Johnson raised the issue of a cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor and developed the cognitive theory of metaphor, later called Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Steen, 2014, p. 3). From a cognitive linguistic perspective, metaphors and metaphorical expressions, as a means of communication, are employed in languages to facilitate the understanding of one “conceptual domain”, i.e. a domain of experience such as LIFE, by means of another conceptual domain like JOURNEY (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 4). According to CMT, these domains constitute a conceptual system, which is believed to reside in human language and mind (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 311) and rule our everyday thinking and acting. The resulted conceptual metaphor, e.g. LIFE IS A JOURNEY, is then represented by linguistic expressions such as I don’t know where I’m going in my life.

Speakers’ use of metaphors is justified by the fact that human thought and action is metaphorical in nature. Referring to Wilson and Sperber’s claim about an interpretive relationship between human speech and thought, Tendahl and Gibbs (2008, p. 1825) suggest that metaphorical thinking is the reflection of conceptual mappings by which people conceptualize abstract concepts. Likewise, Steen (2014, p. 2) asserts that the metaphorical nature of the human conceptual system is grounded in his need for many concepts of everyday life that are abstract and not easy to understand.

From a cognitive linguistic perspective, the conceptualization of abstract domains occurs under two concurrent pressures of embodiment that is the fundamental bodily experience and context or the local culture (Kövecses, 2010b, p. 204). It is argued that metaphorical conceptualization is realized when it is coherent with the body and culture. Although embodiment is a pressure loaded by “universal primary experiences” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 259), context as a culture-specific element that is very much affected by the dominant culture of a language, is influential in shaping speakers’ metaphorical thinking (Kövecses, 2010b, p. 205). It is assumed that the way we think and talk is very much “context-dependent” and that the local culture plays an inevitable role (Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p. 1843). Therefore, it may be claimed that different cultures entail different metaphorical conceptualizations.

According to CMT, there is an intimate relationship between metaphors used in a language and the cultural context of that language (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 201; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 22; Kövecses, 2007, p. 1; Kövecses, 2010b, p. 204). In other words, metaphor and culture are linked directly. Consequently, significant differences may be observed across different languages with different cultures when metaphorical use of language is concerned. As Kövecses (2010b, p. 207) argues, the primary dimension of metaphor variation is cross-cultural and different language-based
cultures inherit different metaphors. Hence, it can be claimed that one way to explore cross-cultural differences is to identify metaphors and the concepts involved in their formation as well as their linguistic realizations, so to be able to pinpoint the culture-specific metaphors (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 215; Kövecses, 2010b, p. 207).

Various disciplines within cognitive sciences including linguistics, psychology and philosophy have long been studying the function of metaphor in language, culture and thought (Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p. 1823). Nowadays, the scholars’ view of the function of metaphor is transformed dramatically from an artistic way of beautifying language to a more systematic cognitive process for a better understanding of everyday realities (Kövecses, 2010a, p. x; Steen, 2014, p. 3). They regard metaphor as an inevitable part of everyday cognition and language use and not just a form of speech (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 6; Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p. 1823).

In recent research it is asserted that metaphor acts as a bodily and mental conceptual mapping process to facilitate understanding of abstract conceptual domains via concrete domains of experience (Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p. 1825; Kövecses, 2010a, p. 4). Referring to the common look at metaphorical expressions as a poetic and rhetorical linguistic device, they argue that metaphors are, from a cognitive linguistic perspective, the products of mental mappings that take place in a cognitive process of thinking and reasoning. For instance, Kövecses (2010a, p. 9) stresses on a systematic mapping involved in thinking of and talking about certain concepts.

Tendahl and Gibbs (2008, p. 1826) argue that the mechanism of mental mapping in metaphorical use is a “systematic correspondence” between the two domains. They elaborate on this claim and explain that such systematic correspondence embraces two types of correspondences: “ontological” and “epistemic”. Tendahl and Gibbs (2008, p. 1826) illustrate the ontological correspondences between the elements of the two domains as well as the epistemic relationships between them in the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, some of which are cited below:

1) ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Ontological correspondences:

A. Source: ‘A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER’
   a. Containers ➔ body
   b. Heated fluid ➔ anger
   c. Explosion ➔ loss of control

Epistemic correspondences:

d. When a fluid in a container is heated beyond a certain limit, pressure increases to a point at which the container explodes. ➔ when anger increases beyond a certain limit, pressure increases to a point at which a person loses control.

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1 He also introduces the within-culture variation of metaphor selection as another dimension, which is not discussed in this essay, due to the limitation of space and the fact that the general focus of this study is the dominant cultural contexts of different languages.
e. An explosion is damaging to container and dangerous to bystanders.  \[ \rightarrow \] loss of control is damaging to person and dangerous to others.

As demonstrated above, our knowledge of a container constitutes the source domain, from which aspects of it are mapped onto our knowledge of the target domain, i.e. anger. The organization of such mappings is systematic and within a conceptual domain, where the relations between these aspects are defined (Steen, 2014, p. 4).

Lakoff and Johnson affirm that primary conceptual metaphors that emerge from our earliest experiences are “cross-domain” mappings from a sensorimotor or concrete domain to a domain of abstract experience (Steen, 2014, p. 6). Cognitive linguists argue that sensorimotor experience or the “embodiment” of an abstract concept is based on our “physical experience” or the “image-schema” pattern of conceptualization (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 253; Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p. 1829; Kövecses 2010a, p. 116; Steen, 2014, p. 7). This pattern of conceptualization that originates in our interaction with the world and our contacts with physical objects is considered central in the process of metaphorical use of language, especially when emotion metaphors are concerned (Kövecses 2010a, p. 117).

### 2.2 Cognitive linguistics and cross-cultural communication

There is a debate among scholars that many image-schemas represent universal physical experiences even if the linguistic reflection of the same conceptual metaphor is not the same in different languages. Kövecses (2010b, p. 200) suggests that such universal physical experiences are represented by “conceptual metonymies” that join certain concepts. Metonymic concepts, as defined by Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 37) “are part of the ordinary, everyday way we think and act as well as talk”. For example, the metonymic relation between THE PART and THE WHOLE contributes to the conceptualization of the expression *we need some more hands in this project*, where hands refer to persons as whole bodies. “Metonymic concepts” are evaluated as systematic like metaphoric concepts, and they are viewed as elements that are grounded in our experiences and formulate our thoughts and actions accordingly (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, pp. 37-39).

Given that conceptual metonymies represent a sense of embodiment, we are more likely to encounter universal or near-universal conceptual metaphors especially on emotions (Kövecses, 2010b, p. 201). However, Lakoff and Johnson look at metonymies as concepts that function differently in different cultures. They elaborate on this by the metonymy THE FACE FOR THE PERSON and explain that in their culture (English), they look at a person’s face to get to know what he is like and act based on this perception (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 37). The different looks at concepts in cross-cultural communication is a crucial aspect of language use in metaphorical use of language, given that figurative instruments are the inevitable part of language in discourse.
Tendahl and Gibbs (2008, p. 1837) maintain that despite the many image-schemas that are (near-) universal, there are some that are bound to cultural and social conventions. This claim is also reinforced by more contemporary cognitive linguists, who suggest that mental conceptualization is coherent with both bodily experience that exist in all languages, and the “local culture” that is specific to every language (Kövecses 2010b, p. 204). Steen (2014, p. 9) proposes a “transition from a conceptual consideration of metaphor to the way it is used in discourse”. In his proposal the role of cultural context in the formation of a good number of conceptual metaphors is highlighted. He grounds his suggestion on “by best fit” notion by Lakoff (2008, p. 26), where he argues that a combination of different cultural structures with primary metaphors leads to the formation of different conceptual metaphors. To clarify his notion, Lakoff (2008, p. 26) argues that the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is the product of the combination of primary metaphors such as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION, INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS, etc. together with physical and local experiences.

The inevitability of metaphors in everyday language use as well as the mutual understanding of speakers of any language is a point of departure for cognitive linguistic scholars to have a deeper look at metaphor construction and try to explore the similarities as well as differences among languages with different cultures and contextual experiences. This in turn will facilitate cross-cultural communications.

In a study on metaphor structure and its functioning as the manifestation of human perception, thought and action, Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 6) argue that our conceptual system mirrors our worldview, which is reflected both in language and thought. They analyze some conceptual metaphors and their reflections in their contemporary English, which attest what they claim. In one example, they elaborate on TIME IS MONEY metaphor and some linguistic expressions such as the following (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, pp. 6-7):

(2) You’re wasting my time.
(3) This gadget will save you hours.
(4) I don’t have the time to give you.
(5) How do you spend your time these days?
(6) That flat tire cost me an hour.
(7) I’ve invested a lot of time in her.

According to them, in modern Western culture TIME IS MONEY in several ways: “telephone message units, hourly wages, hotel room rates, yearly budgets, interest on loans, and paying your debt to society by "serving time"”. Thus, these practices, which “by no means do they exist in all cultures”, illustrate that time is not only a valuable commodity but also a very limited one which can be “spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved, or squandered” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 8).

Accordingly, it can be assumed that there are certain values embedded in a culture which may come into conflict in a cross-cultural communication and as Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 23) put it, result in a conflict of relevant metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 14) also clarify the issue by the concept of future that is perceived as
something in front in some cultures and as something in back in some others. Therefore, the necessity to identify distinctive cultural contexts that impact the structure of language especially the figurative use of language is felt so to establish an optimal cross-cultural understanding and communication.

Cognitive linguists suggest that cultural and social contexts of different languages may be identified via the conceptual domains engaged in the establishment of conventional or unconventional conceptual metaphors. Conventional conceptual metaphors direct us towards the ways speakers of a language “understand an abstract domain” (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 34) or the “conventional knowledge” of the source domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 60). According to CMT, conventional patterns of metaphors are related to common cultural and cognitive models of a language (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 244). Thus, one way to acquire cognitive models, other than our direct experience of a concept, is through our culture (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 66).

Unconventional and novel conceptual metaphors, on the other hand, are viewed as being influenced by some “contextual factors”, including cultural and social contexts (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 312). Semino and Steen (2008, p. 244) refer to novel conceptual metaphors as “idiosyncratic metaphorical patterns” and relate them to individual’s cognitive worldview. In other words, these unique patterns are viewed as a creative use of conventional metaphor to establish unique effects (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 239; Kövecses, 2010a, p. 52). Lakoff and Turner describe such creativity as the product of poetic thoughts. They elaborate on the mechanism of the poetic thought as a special ability to extend, elaborate and combine the same conventional knowledge and create a novel output (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 67).

Literature is regarded as one good source of novel metaphorical expressions (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 35). It is established that some writers employ novel metaphors to create exotic expressions with a remarkable capability of conveying artistic messages (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 71; Kövecses, 2010a, p. 274). Although the high degree of creativity in literary metaphors gives rise to the notion of “discontinuity between metaphor in literature and metaphor elsewhere” (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 235), they are both created via cognitive mechanisms. Hence, they receive their input from within conventional knowledge that is shared by people in a cultural context (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 243). Thus, one practical way to study the culture-metaphor link is to look at the literature of different cultures.

Comparing literary texts in distinct languages and from different socio-cultural spheres allows us to analyze how their speakers experience meanings and how they communicate about their everyday life. In an “idiographic” approach to metaphor, literary scholars assume that certain literary genres are characterized by certain patterns of metaphorical use (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 238). Even individual authors in each genre, as these scholars suggest, possess their own patterns (Steen & Gibbs, 2004, p. 351; Semino, 2007, p. 2, Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 232). Semino (2007, p. 2) refers to this individual working of authors by the concept of mind style. However, it is argued that the conceptual metaphors used by writers and poets are similar to those used in discourse and everyday life (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 59). It may be assumed then that studying one genre (e.g. short stories, poems, fictions, etc.) in literature will provide a ground for an investigation of the cultural impact on metaphorical conceptualization.
Short stories, like other literary genres, are rich sources of this indispensable cognitive tool that function as the reflection of their writers’ “coherently organized” experiences as well as the cultural contexts of the time when they were composed.

2.3 Cognitive linguistics and metaphor in literature

The formalist approach to literature and metaphor, i.e. the intentional violation of linguistic conventions to create aesthetic effects, had its impacts on the current linguistic view of literary texts. Semino and Steen (2008, p. 233) argue that the formalist approach has motivated a new linguistic approach that is the emergence of cognitive metaphor theory. They point to a consensus among different approaches to literature that there is a “discontinuity” between metaphor in literature and metaphor elsewhere and suggest that it is grounded on the creativity and originality of literary instances (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 233).

Kövecses (2010a, p. 53) points to cognitive and linguistic devices employed in the creation of novel images from conventional everyday thought. Extending is one instrument by which the artist adds a new conceptual element to the source domain in order to create a novel metaphorical expression of a conventional metaphor like *Two roads diverged in a wood*, which is a new artistic realization of *LIFE IS A JOURNEY* metaphor (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 53). Elaboration is recognized as another linguistic tool by means of which the artist looks at the same source domain in an unconventional way.

The influence of cognitive metaphor theory on literary scholars has led to a new standpoint of metaphorical uses, especially in literary works, where scholars suggest a reflection of the artist’s individual worldview rather than his/her mere style. Semino and Steen (2008, p. 239) exemplify Emily Dickinson, in their quotation from Freeman (1995), and argue that her poetry is a reflection of her personal distinctive conceptual metaphors like *LIFE IS A VOYAGE IN SPACE*. They argue that such metaphors are recognized as idiosyncratic and in contrast with “the culturally dominant conceptual metaphors”, the formation of which was for the creation of a new worldview (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 239). In other words, it is a creative use of conventional metaphor that reflects the peculiar worldview and subjective experiences of the writer and is deliberately used to have a unique effect on the reader. Although, the role of contextual factors in the formation of creative use of metaphors is not denied, it is asserted that universal rules of cognitive processing has a constraining impact (Richardson & Steen, 2002, p. 4).

Thus, not completely rejecting the notion of creativity and originality in literary metaphors, cognitive linguists stress the conceptual system as contributing to such artistic creativity (Richardson & Steen, 2002, p. 2; Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 239; Kövecses, 2010a, p. 49). Richardson and Steen cite Gibb’s (1994) notion that metaphors and other rhetorical figures are reflections of basic cognitive processes by means of which a creative mind has the capacity for figurative thought and fictional representation (2002, p. 2). Overall, it is suggested that creativity is paramount in literary metaphors, although recent studies show that even everyday language in discourse is not free from creative manipulation of conventional metaphors (Semino & Steen, 2008, p. 241).
2.4 Metaphor identification and deliberateness

Metaphor identification in literature and discourse is a recent subject of metaphor studies, although the first sparks of the idea were struck by Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980, p. 206) “theory of representations for human concepts”, a theory that according to Steen et al. (2010, p. 1) led to the emergence of cognitive linguistics. Stressing on the existence of basic metaphors in everyday conceptual system of human being, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 207) suggest, in their theory, a cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor and a necessity for a scientific method to understand a “class of phenomena” by means of metaphorical concept. Having proposed the need for a scientific and reliable method to identify metaphor in discourse, Gerard Steen may be recognized as the pioneer in this realm of metaphor studies. Following his proposal, the Pragglejaz Group, comprised of a group of metaphor researchers including Steen himself, worked on the issue and developed the “Metaphor Identification Procedure” (MIP) in 2007. This procedure that has been tested and proven effective in some linguistic registers such as conversation, fiction and academic discourse in English and Dutch, comprises a series of instructions that help in identifying metaphorically used lexical units in discourse (Steen et. al, 2010).

According to Steen et al. (2010, p. 9), in this linguistic analysis, metaphorical meaning is realized as the indirect meaning driven from similarity (image-schema) or cross-domain mapping. In simple words, MIP helps the analyst to distinguish metaphors from direct words and their basic senses. To do this, they pinpoint lexical units with two basic and contextual meanings (or two conceptual domains), decide whether the latter is understandable when compared with the former, and if they do, mark them as metaphorical (Steen, 2008, p. 5). For example, when the lexical item HEAD with its basic meaning ‘top part of body’ is used in a context with a secondary meaning, e.g. ‘leader of group’, which is understandable when compared with the former, then we can decide that the lexical word HEAD is used metaphorically in that context. A cross-domain mapping between the two different but comparable conceptual domains, likely to be linked through metonymic or metaphoric relations, makes the comparison possible.

Describing three different levels of cognitive representations, i.e. words, concepts and referents, Steen (2008, p. 7) proposes the idea that in the process of metaphor analysis in discourse, we move from words and their activated concepts with direct syntactical positions in the text, to their referents and their indirect abstract representation of the content of the message. The conceptual mapping between concepts and their referents, as he says, brings about coherence in discourse (Steen, 2008, p. 7) and makes it possible to construe the metaphorical meaning.

Thus, metaphor identification is based on the assumption that metaphors are distinguishable from words used directly (Steen, 2008, p. 5). MIP highlights the significance of the distinction between direct and indirect metaphor. Direct metaphor is defined as a conceptual domain with direct language use that acts as a medium for a metaphorical comparison with its surrounding topic, like the example of doctor-patient relationship in the following excerpt:
[Many system developers] seem to think that you can ask a businessman what his requirements are and get an answer that amounts to a draft system specification. A doctor doesn’t ask his patient what treatment to prescribe. The patient can explain only what the problem is. It is the doctor that provides the remedy. (...) A user may have a deep knowledge of business problems, but knowing little about computers, has no idea how they should be tackled (Steen, 2008, p. 10).

Steen (2008, p. 12) stresses that this type of metaphor is less frequent than indirect metaphor, but identifiable following the same principles that is by contrast between “contextual and basic senses of words”.

Metaphor identification is based on a three-dimension distinction: the linguistic dimension of direct and indirectness, the conceptual dimension of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of deliberateness and non-deliberateness. Steen (2008, p. 13) argues that direct metaphor is deliberately metaphorical, since the source domain is explicitly expressed or from a communicative perspective, leaves the addressee to a conscious cross-domain mapping to understand the concept. However, Steen (2008, p. 14) suggests that not all direct metaphor is deliberate and not all conventional metaphor is non-deliberate. He brings up an example to clarify the issue:

I want to thank my partner in this journey, a man who campaigned from his heart and spoke for the men and women he grew up with on the streets of Scranton and (...), the Vice President-elect of the United States, Joe Biden (Steen, 2008, p.15).

As he explains, the words in and this are conceptually conventional and linguistically indirect; and they are not communicatively deliberate, since they do not urge the addressee to construct a cross-domain mapping in order to understand one concept in terms of another. But the word journey has a different situation, where both conventional and non-metaphorical meanings are applicable here. It is a metaphor that is indirect and conventional as well as direct in the context, in a sense that it offers both the metaphorical sense of the journey (reflecting the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor) and the basic sense of the journey, since “a political campaign involves a lot of journeying” (2008, p. 15). He goes on to conclude that a deliberate metaphor has intended meaning, which is the communicative motive of metaphor to change perspectives and to urge the addressee to look at the local topic from another angle (Steen, 2008, p. 15). Accordingly, it is the communicative property of deliberate metaphor that requires some awareness by the language user who uses metaphor as a means of communication.

Up to this point we have discussed the systematicity of metaphor in communication and that how communication will be most effective if communicators are aware of the context, the metaphor user’s intentions, and the deliberateness of a metaphorical word use to convene a sense other than its textual meaning. Literature and literary texts are among the most prolific territories where conventional and novel metaphors born (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 71) and due to their unique contexts that are fruits of unique artistic minds, they call for a special attention.
3. Methodology

As we mentioned in our introduction, this comparative study has a special focus on metaphors in literary texts and particularly in short stories in order to investigate the cultural impacts on their formation. To do this, we have to identify metaphors technically and then try to analyze the concepts specially those constituting their source domains in the process of cross-domain mappings, and finally pinpoint any traces of culture in the selection of such concepts by language users. The initial step before metaphor analysis, thus, is to identify lexical units that are functioning metaphorically in the two contexts. The metaphor identification procedure in this study is based on the contemporary procedure developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), the *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (MIP).

MIP is a linguistic tool to identify metaphors in natural discourse and has proved to be the first step ever in the improvement of methodological aspect of metaphor identification (Steen et al., 2010, p. 4). Through a linguistic analysis of lexical units, this procedure aims to provide a reliable systematic methodology to pinpoint words that are used metaphorically. The Pragglejaz Group proposes the following four-step procedure:

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.
   (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. (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3)

As Steen et al. (2010, p. 6) have attested, this procedure provides an operational way of finding all metaphor in actual usage. Accordingly, in MIP, metaphor is viewed based on both indirectness and similarity. Indirectness of metaphor is regarded as a good starting point but not enough to identify linguistic metaphors. The procedure’s target of identification is the linguistic representation of metaphor and it is practicable if the analyst can explore the possible nonliteral similarity or the relationship of two senses of a word or a set of words by comparison (Steen et al., 2010, p. 10). To Steen et al. (2010, p. 10), the comparison between the two senses, is realized by a similarity between two concepts, and their contrast may be explained by a metonymic transfer of the two
concepts due to their continuous relationship, such as the metonymic relationship between “houses and occupants”. Accordingly, the comparison has a conceptual nature and is attached to the distinction between the two conceptual domains (Steen et al., 2010, p. 10).

The linguistic realization of cross-domain mappings at the level of lexical units is the domain targeted by MIP. Accordingly, lexical units are analyzed systematically for metaphorical use because these units represent a clear relationship between words, concepts and referents (Steen et al., 2010, p. 10). It is elaborated that when a referent related to a word and its concept is not part of the current domain of discourse, the word and its activated concept has been used metaphorically. The cross-domain mapping of the word and its concept allows for the inference of the intended referent and makes it possible to be integrated into a coherent discourse realization (Steen et al., 2010, p. 13).

The Pragglejaz Group (2007, p. 25) also emphasizes on the use of external resources like dictionaries and other corpus materials and they recommend analysts to consult these resources to establish the basic meanings of words. However, they express their insistence on careful choosing dictionaries that best fit to the goals of the project. They base their claim on the fact that dictionaries that “provide very general, abstract meaning for words” are more useful to grasp metaphorical and non-metaphorical aspects of meanings (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 25). Following the same principle, this study’s metaphor identification process involves consultations with some advanced dictionaries that consist both abstract and concrete physical meanings of words in the two languages.

To analyze the identified metaphors in the context, this study follows Kövecses’s method. In his attempt to analyze linguistic metaphors, Kövecses looks at their underlying concepts that constitute a conceptual metaphor and pictures the cognitive activities in the mind of a speaker by means of schematic structures (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 202). In a systematic set of correspondences, he maps the elements of source domain onto their correspondences in the target domain. However, he pays special attention to two categories of conceptual metaphors: generic-level and specific-level metaphors. He sees the reason behind similar conceptualization of an emotion in genetically different languages and cultures in some universal motivation for them to emerge and suggests that (near-) universality of emotion metaphors comes from universal aspects of human body (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 197).

He points to generic-level concepts involved in the formation of these metaphors, like the concepts of CONTAINER and ANGER in the generic-level metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. He also looks at many emotions as being conceptualized with specific-level concepts. Specific-level concepts are those filled in a detailed way, for example the specific-level concept for CONTAINER is filled with the concept of body in English, while it is filled with the concept of body together with the head, as a principal container to hold the hot fluid, in Hungarian (Kövecses, 2010a, p. 198). The schematic structure of each conceptual metaphor provides, among others, the ground for a discussion on (near-) universality or culture-specificity of metaphors, which is the ultimate aim of this study.
4. Material

In line with the study’s aims, the two short stories from among Persian and English short stories, ‘The Luncheon’ by Maugham and ‘Roast Goose’ by Jamalzadeh, are selected to be the subject of our metaphor identification and analysis. Before identifying and analyzing the metaphorical expressions applied in these stories and their underlying conceptual metaphors, we need to have a general knowledge about the writers and their cultural background knowledge as well as the socio-cultural contexts of their times, to be able to interpret their metaphorical use of language. Afterwards, having reviewed the subject and theme of each story, we will decide on the most dominant metaphors that are also common between them through MIP. For our purpose, we will also use some external resources including dictionaries and other references that will be introduced hereafter.

4.1 Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh

Sayyed Mohammad Ali Jamalzada was born in 1892. His father, Sayyed Jamal al-Din Esfahani, was a gifted orator and well-known clergy. He used his talent to criticize the despotic government of Qajar in Iran and was executed as one of the main leaders of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1907. Jamalzada was educated in traditional schools in Iran and decisively affected by the personal qualities of his father. In April 1906 and at the age of 14, Jamalzada left Tehran for Beirut where he lived for less than two years and then moved to Paris. He studied law in Lausanne and then went back to Berlin. However, Jamalzada never became indifferent to the fate of his fellow Iranians and was profoundly defending ancient Iranian values while promoting as well as propagating European liberal democratic ideas.

As Moayyed accurately said, Jamalzada is the product of two worlds, “the despotic whimsy that destroyed his father and the progressive form of society found in Europe” (Moayyed & Sprachman, 1985, p. 1). Jamalzada’s works include essays, novels, short stories, autobiographies, reviews, scholarly monographs, anthologies and translations. As Ehsan Yarshater precisely summarizes, “a profound belief in the dignity of man, a deep aversion to political oppression and to all forms of cruelty, and a firm conviction in education as the chief means of ensuring freedom and well-being for society inspire much of his work” (Moayyed & Sprachman, 1985, p. X). Jamalzada’s works in general depict the Persian society of the early decades of the 20th century. In his short stories, he humorously describes the Persian milieu as he himself had lived and observed it and all characters in his stories are typical Iranians of the time (Moayyed & Sprachman, 1985, p.10).

4.2 Iran in 1921

Iran at the beginning of the 20th century was undergoing a drastic process of change from a traditional to a modern society. The Qajar dynasty was in decline and political instability was overwhelming. Also, Iran was involved in Anglo-Russian rivalry for
power in Asia. The socio-economic domination of Iran by Russia and Great Britain as well as despotism, corruption, and ineptness of the Shahs of Qajar gave rise to a sense of national humiliation. These in turn, led to public outrage and ask for change of the regime through the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (for the causes of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran See, for example, Abrahamian, 1979). Therefore, by the beginning of the 20th century, the Iranian political system was in decline; the new modern political order as a result of the Constitutional Revolution was far away, famine and poverty were pervasive and the standard of living was very low. This condition continued until the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Qajar dynasty and the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925 (For a brief review of Iran’s economic situation at the beginning of the 20th century see, for example, Hakimian, 1997).

4.3 William Somerset Maugham²

William Somerset Maugham was born in France in 1874 and moved to Kent when he was an orphan of ten years old. Developing stammer about this time led to his very restricted relationships and contributed to his shy and quiet way of dealing with others. In University of Heidelberg, he studied philosophy and literature and then in London he trained and qualified as a physician. He conducted his year’s medical practice in the slums of the East End London. Based on his bitter experience in the East End he wrote two books: his first novel *Liza of Lambeth* in 1897 and his critically acclaimed autobiographical novel Of Human Bondage published in 1915.

During the World War I, Maugham served in the British Intelligent Service. In 1914 he worked as a physician in the British Red Cross ambulance unit attached to the French Army. In 1916 he went to Geneva and then Petrograd as the British Secret agent. It was in Geneva and Petrograd that he found material for his novel *Ashenden*, or the British Agent published in 1928. During and after the Great War, Maugham travelled in India and Southeast Asia; all of these experiences were used to write his later stories and novels such as *The Moon and Sixpence* (1919) and *On A Chinese Screen* (1922). He spent most of the Second World War in the United States. In 1944 he moved back to England and in 1946 returned to his home in France where he lived until his death in 1965.

4.4 England in 1924

The First World War ended in victory for Great Britain and the Allies. Although the Great War was devastating, its end brought peace and prosperity for Great Britain. For the British aristocracy including merchants’ life had never been better. The British society especially women were influenced by the experiences during the war. Since

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² This information is derived from the following sources:
women were forced to work in factories due to the presence of manpower in the battlefields; they acquired a certain degree of independence. Women over 30 also were given the right to vote and by 1928 this right was extended to all women over the age of 21. In 1921 state primary education became free. By the mid-1920s, however, the post-war period of prosperity ended and a period of depression, deflation and decline in Britain’s economy commenced. As a result, unemployment rose to over 2 million and poverty amongst the unemployed compared unusually with the wealth of the middle and upper classes. Thus, while the 1920s began with an economic boom, it ended in an enormous bust.

4.5 ‘Roast Goose’

This is a story of a middle-class civil servant young man. He is to host a party after his promotion in his job and a bet that he and his friends had made, based on which the one who is promoted has to give a party and serve others with a roast goose. He is a newly married man. He and his wife are having a big party for the first time and despite their poor economic condition, they believe it has to be held perfectly. However, due to insufficient number of plates and cutlery for all the invitees, and cultural tradition and superstitions that prevents them from borrowing things from neighbours, they are forced to have two parties in two separate days.

The plight begins when the first group of guests is soon coming and the host and his wife realize that they have only one goose at hand. However, buying another goose at this day, that is a New Year holiday with stores being all closed, is almost impossible. The story reaches to its peak, when the host is left with one choice that is to keep the goose safe for the second party. He is in his utmost anxiety after his talks with Mostafa, one of his distant and economically low-social-class relatives, to discourage guests from eating the goose. Mostafa, dressed up and pretending to be from a noble class, who has travelled all around the world and is very educated, utters what the host has dictated to him. Nevertheless, he fails to control his manner and takes a bite of the roast goose, which motivates the others to eat up the whole goose even after all they had.

The story ends when the host kicks his fake noble guest out of his house, while he is wearing the host’s best suit. That is when he keeps saying, az māst ki bar māst³ ‘accusing the times is but excusing ourselves’.

4.6 ‘The Luncheon’

This is a flashback story of twenty years ago, when a young author took a woman, an admirer of his stories, to luncheon at one of the most expensive restaurants in Paris, at her request. The woman was exploiting him mercilessly by pretending an interest in his writing. The author also pretended to be urban, and gallant. He had to keep up a smiling hospitable face, while was suffering desperation when his guest, who claimed she never ate anything for luncheon, ordered some of the most expensive dishes.

³ For producing an appropriate Persian transliteration for the relevant terms used in this essay, I followed System of Transliteration of Arabic and Persian Characters (2013).
The author, on the other side, exposed the false motives of modest eating habits, of the middle classes with a touch of humour. He was not a rich man and had never even thought of visiting that restaurant, nor did he possess the art of refusing her request. Estimating the cost of ‘The Luncheon’, he even decided to cut down coffee from his menu, so that he could have enough for himself for the next two weeks. She kept enjoying the meal, while the young man kept wondering about the bill. The bill of fare was soaring above his expectations. The horribly expensive dishes made him even more desperate and yet he had to quell his emotions.

Adding to worsen the situation, she ordered for desert, while announcing “she never ate anything for luncheon - just a bite”. Finally, she picked up a peach from the large basket the waiter had offered, protesting that her meal was just a snack, and that she could certainly enjoy it. The bill was finally paid, and the young author found himself with just a few Francs for the tips, and not a penny left in his pocket for the whole month. However, he believes now, after twenty years, that he has his revenge, when he meets the woman suffering from obesity.

**5. Analysis**

In the previous section, we had a very short but concise look at the two writer’s bibliographical information and the era in which they wrote their short stories including the ones that are subject to our study. Having read and presented summaries of the two stories, we also acquired a general knowledge of their subjects and themes. Now, we can step forward for the analysis of the stories, attempt to identify common metaphors, and provide a discussion related to our research questions.

As Kövecses (2010a, p. 71) states, in biographical stories, we can detect a non-linguistic metaphor based on which the whole story is plotted. ‘The Luncheon’ and ‘Roast Goose’ are both first person narrations, where the life stories seem to be structured based on the metaphor **LIFE IS A ONE WAY ROAD**. Each narrator gets into a path by his own choice and cannot escape what is meant to be his destination. Accordingly, both stories have a negative mood of desperation and anxiety that is also generated by the attitudes of the narrators. Thus, readers look at the events in the story from the narrators’ eyes and feel the same way as they do. Narrators’ perspectives, however, may very well be influenced by the external elements of their local cultures and societies. How does each narrator view his situation and its unpleasant consequences, and how does he perceive people who eat beyond their capacity, are among the emotions that may be expressed under the impact of the cultural context of the time. In our analysis of the identified metaphorical units and metaphorical expressions, we will highlight any potential cultural element that may have influenced the formation of their relevant expressions.

After a careful examination of every single lexical unit of the two stories, we have extracted units that are used metaphorically and are most relevant to our subject emotions, anxiety and greed. The results for the English text are yield mainly based on Macmillan and partly according to Longman online dictionaries, and the results for the Persian text are yield mainly based on Dehkhoda encyclopaedia and partly according to
Moein online dictionary. In what follows, we will see how metaphors are identified based on MIP. The findings correspond with application of MIP’s step 3, by means of which decisions are made on the meaning of each lexical unit in the context, its basic meanings in other contexts and finally whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning, while it is understandable when compared with it.

This said we have to admit that the MIP-based analyses that will be presented in the following sections are mainly subjective and based on the author’s interpretations, which makes them open to questions and subject to other interpretations.

5.1 Metaphor identification and analysis in ‘The Luncheon’

This section seeks to demonstrate the procedures of metaphor identification and analysis applied to the story of ‘The Luncheon’ with a focus on the emotions, which are subject to our analysis. A collection of six metaphorical expressions is presented here, which is comprised of three greed metaphors followed by three anxiety metaphors. Lexical units contributing to the construction of metaphorical expressions and thus realization of their underlying conceptual metaphors are identified based on a series of decisions made through MIP. We use boldface italics to mark the identified lexical units within each extract. Decisions on each unit are made through a three-step procedure, which are presented below. Also, we will discuss whether a metaphor is the manifestation of the socio-cultural context of the language. In the final part of this section we will have a summary of the results and a concluding remark.

5.1.1 Metaphors of Greed

1. “The smell of the melted butter tickled my nostrils as the nostrils of Jehova were tickled by the burned offerings of the virtuous Semites. I watched the abandoned woman thrust them down her throat in large voluptuous mouthfuls, and in my polite way I discoursed on the condition of the drama in the Balkans.”

   TICKLE (verb)
   a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘if something tickles you, it makes you feel pleased’ (Macmillan sense 2)
   b. **Basic meaning:** ‘if something tickles you, it touches your skin gently and gives you a pleasant feeling’ (Macmillan sense 1)
   c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more concrete while the contextual meaning is abstract concerning the pleasant feeling of an idea.
   **Comparison:** Yes, we can understand pleasant feeling by an idea by means of feeling tickled by an object.

Throughout the story, the narrator depicts the woman’s appetite and greed by different expressions. Here, however, he describes his own strong desire to have the appetizing
asparagus, while he has to suppress his appetite due to their high price and his low financial situation. He describes how the pleasing smell of the melted butter makes him hungry and expresses his emotion by the metaphorical expression *the smell of the melted butter tickled my nostrils*. This expression is the realization of the GREED IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION metaphor and its schematic structure is illustrated below:

(8) GREED IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION

A. Source: ‘A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION’

a. The pleasure \(\rightarrow\) eating
b. Tickle of the nostrils as a pleasurable physical sensation \(\rightarrow\) strong desire of the greedy person
c. The nostrils \(\rightarrow\) the greedy person
d. Tickling \(\rightarrow\) the strong desire to eat

As we will see in section 5.2, extract 12, the conceptual metaphor GREED IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION also exists in Iranian speakers’ cognitive system, although they express it differently by words such as *mast shudan* ‘being intoxicated’ by the smell. Thus, we can label this metaphor as a near-universal metaphor.

2. “I watched the *abandoned* woman *thrust* them down her throat in large voluptuous mouthfuls, and in my polite way I discoursed on the condition of the drama in the Balkans.”

ABANDONED (adjective)

a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘behaving in a wild and uncontrolled way’ (Longman sense 3)

b. **Basic meaning:** ‘left completely alone by the person that was looking after you’ (Longman sense 2)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more concrete concerning the state of being left alone while the contextual meaning is more abstract concerning the state of uncontrolled behaviour.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand uncontrolled behavior by means of left alone with no control.
Looking at the woman swallowing food forcibly down her throat, while he has to harness his desire for those appetizing dishes, the narrator describes the woman’s greed with the metaphorical expression *I watched the abandoned woman*. This expression is reflecting the generic-level GREED IS LACK OF SELF-CONTROL metaphor and the specific-level GREED IS AN UNLEASHED ANIMAL metaphor.

(9) **GREED IS AN UNLEASHED ANIMAL**

A. Source: ‘UNLEASHED’ Target: ‘GREED’

a. Captive animals \(\rightarrow\) controlled eating desire
b. The leash \(\rightarrow\) the control of eating behaviour
c. To unleash a captive animal \(\rightarrow\) to set free the desire and have no control over it

We mark this metaphor as near-universal, because as we will see in section 5.2, extract 7, it is also available to the Iranian Persian speakers in its generic-level. We will see that the Persian speakers express this metaphor differently by words like qahtī-zadīgān ‘famine sufferers’, who act as if they have no control over their eating behaviour.

3. “I watched the *abandoned* woman *thrust* them down her throat in large voluptuous mouthfuls, and in my polite way I discoursed on the condition of the drama in the Balkans.”

**THRUST (verb)**

a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘to push something somewhere roughly’ (Longman sense 1)
b. **Basic meaning:** ‘to make a sudden movement forward with a sword of knife’ (Longman sense 2)
c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more precise and the contextual meaning concerning the general concept of forcible pushing of something is less precise.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand rough violent motion of pushing something somewhere by means of sudden movement with a knife or sword.

Viewing the woman as an abandoned animal, the narrator expresses her eating behaviour as a violent movement by the metaphorical expression *thrust them down her throat*. This expression is the realization of the generic-level metaphor GREED IS PHYSICAL FORCE, the specific-level metaphor of which may be GREED IS TO PUSH SOMETHING THROUGH A PASSAGE. Therefore, the schematic structure of its concepts will be as follows:

(10) **GREED IS TO PUSH SOMETHING THROUGH A PASSAGE**

A. Source: ‘TO PUSH SOMETHING’ Target: ‘GREED’
THROUGH A PASSAGE’

a. To push  
  to swallow the food

b. Passage  
  throat

c. The object of pushing  
  the mouthfuls

d. When people push something through a passage,  
  when people swallow the mouthfuls down their throat
  force to make it pass the passage  
  they are eating with greed

This metaphor is marked as (near-) universal, since as we will witness in section 5.2, extract 13, the Iranian speakers also express the same metaphor with a similar lexical unit furū burdan ‘plunge’ to express greed.

5.1.2 Metaphors of Anxiety

4.  “My heart sank a little. I knew I could not afford caviar, but I could not very well tell her that.”

HEART (noun)

a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘your feelings and emotions considered as part of your character’ (Macmillan sense 3)

b. **Basic meaning:** ‘the organ in your chest that makes blood flow around your body’ (Macmillan sense 1)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning involves a concrete physical organ while the contextual meaning is abstract concerning the emotions

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand emotions by means of liveliness and blood flow in our body

SINK (verb)

a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘to become worse’ (Macmillan sense 4)

b. **Basic meaning:** ‘to go below the surface of a soft substance’ (Macmillan sense 1)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning concerns a concrete physical lowering change of situation while the contextual meaning involves worsening of a situation.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand worsening of quality by its physical lowering.

Having witnessed the woman’s appetite and desire for an expensive and luxurious dish like caviar, the narrator expresses his anxiety by the metaphorical expression *my heart sank a little*. This expression is based on the generic-level metaphor ANXIETY IS DOWN. Accordingly, the specific-level metaphor will be recognized as ANXIETY IS
SINKING. The underlying schematic structure of its concepts is illustrated in the following mapping:

(11) ANXIETY IS SINKING

A. Source: ‘SINKING’                      Target: ‘ANXIETY’
    a. The floating container      ➔      the heart
    b. Load of the container       ➔      worries
    c. Overload of the container   ➔      too much worries
    d. When the container is       ➔      when people have too much
       overloaded more than its     worries, their emotional condition
       capacity, it sinks             gets worse to the state of anxiety

We also identify this as a near-universal metaphor. In general, we can claim that negative emotions in Persian language and culture are also realized by a downward orientation. In Persian, the downward orientation of emotion is realized via multiple source domains. One source domain for fear, that is shared by Persian and English, is BODY IS CONTAINER FOR FEAR, which is realized differently by the expressions *dilish huri riixt* ‘his heart was poured’ in Persian (Mashak et al., 2012, p. 203) and *my heart sank* in English. However, as we will witness in section 5.2, extract 14, downward orientation is another source domain, which is also shared by the two languages. This source domain is also realized differently in the two languages, where *sinking* in English and *khāk bar sar shudan* ‘being buried’ in Persian are used to realize the metaphor FEAR IS DOWN.

5. “Madam wants to know if you have any of those giant asparagus.” I asked the waiter. I tried with all my *might* to *will* him to say no.

MIGHT (noun)

a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘authority, influence’ (Macmillan sense 1)
b. **Basic meaning:** ‘physical strength’ (Macmillan sense 2)
c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more concrete concerning physical strength while the contextual meaning is more abstract concerning authority

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand influence by physical strength.

WILL (verb)

a. **Contextual meaning:** ‘to make something happen by wishing for it very strongly’
   (Macmillan sense 1)
b. **Basic meaning:** ‘to want or intend something to happen’ (Macmillan sense 3)
c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more basic than the contextual meaning.
**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand making something to happen by intending that to happen.

Stressing on the word *giant*, the narrator describes ironically the worrisome situation where the size of the asparagus implies its high cost and a power that can be used to defeat him. He sees the waiter as a rival who can use such power and put him in a disturbing situation; therefore, attempts to confront him by his own power of influence to overcome the anxiety. He expresses his situation by the metaphorical expression *I tried with all my might to will him to say no*, which is the realization of the metaphor ANXIETY IS WAR, the schematic structure of which comes below:

(12) ANXIETY IS WAR

- **Source:** ‘WAR’
  - a. The rival → the person’s worries
  - b. War start when a party → anxiety begins when a person want something to happen → want their worries to stop
  - c. Use of power in war → use of influence in time of anxiety
  - d. Trying different strategies to win the war → exerting all the influence to overcome the anxiety
  - e. Defeat against the rival → dominance of anxiety

As we will discuss in section 5.2, extract 18, the same generic-level metaphor also exists in Persian language, however there are different specific-level metaphors, which are realized by metaphorical expressions such as *māsidan-i tutiʾi* ‘succeeded plot’. Therefore, we can maintain here that this metaphor is also near-universal.

6. “We waited for the asparagus to be cooked. Panic **seized** me. It was not a question now of how much money I should have left over for the rest of the month, but whether I had enough to pay the bill. It would be **mortifying** to find myself ten francs short and be obliged to borrow from my guest.”

**SEIZE (verb)**

- **Contextual meaning:** ‘if a feeling or emotion suddenly affects someone very strongly’ (Macmillan sense 4)
- **Basic meaning:** ‘to suddenly and firmly hold someone by a part of their body or clothing’ (Macmillan sense 1)
c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is concrete and a physical action of holding firmly and suddenly while the contextual meaning is abstract concerning the overcome of an emotion

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand conquering of an emotion by holding someone firmly and suddenly

Using the word *mortifying*, the narrator attempts to convey the feeling of anxiety when facing the embarrassment of borrowing money from his guest. He expresses his anxiety by the metaphorical expression *panic seized me*. However, it is reflecting the specific-level metaphor ANXIETY IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, the schematic structure of which is illustrated below:

(13) ANXIETY IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE

A. Source: ‘AN OPPONENT IN THE STRUGGLE’
   a. The struggling opponents → the person and their panic
   b. The struggle → the attempt to control each other
   c. Seizure → control
   d. To be seized → to become under the control of anxiety and panic

The metaphorical use of *farā girīftan* ‘surrender’ in Persian and *seize* in English are almost identical when they refer to the state of anxiety and we mark this as a (near-) universal metaphor.

In sum, in our attempt to identify and analyze emotion metaphors of anxiety and greed in the English story, ‘The Luncheon’, we found that metaphors identified and analyzed in this story are highly universal of their generic-level and almost no culture-related elements were detected in their construction. As well, with a quick and brief reference to the identified Persian metaphors in section 5.2, we found that there are cases that the same generic level is conceptualized by different specific-level metaphors.

**5.2 Metaphor identification and analysis in ‘Roast Goose’**

This section seeks to show the procedure of metaphor identification as well as the analysis of the identified metaphors in the original Persian text of ‘Roast Goose’ with a focus on emotions, which are subject to our study. A collection of eleven metaphorical expressions is presented here, which is comprised of seven greed and four anxiety metaphor⁴. Lexical units contributing to the construction of these metaphorical

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⁴ Although metaphors have been identified form the original Persian text, we have presented the literal translations for the extracts including the lexical units that are identified as metaphorical. However, in some cases we have also offered free translations in parentheses to help the reader grasp the concepts.
expressions and therefore realization of the underlying conceptual metaphors are identified based on decisions made via MIP. The three-step decision making process offered by MIP on whether a lexical unit is used metaphorically are presented below. Also, we will analyze if a metaphor is the manifestation of the local context of the language via cross mapping its concepts into their more concrete correspondences. In the final part of this section we will have a summary of the results and a concluding remark.

5.2.1 Metaphors of Greed

7. “Dīgar-ān ki muntazir-i chinīn harfī budand, fursat nadād-i mānand-i qahtī-zadīrān bi jān-i ghāz uftād-and ‘others, who were waiting for these words, didn’t hesitate and fell on the life of the goose (invaded the goose) like famine sufferers.’”

jān ‘LIFE’ (noun)
a. Contextual meaning: hayāt ‘existence’ (Dehkhoda sense 10)
b. Basic meaning: badan ‘body’ (Dehkhoda sense 7)
c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is more concrete while the contextual meaning concerning existence is more abstract.
Comparison: Yes, we can understand existence by means of body.

uftād-an ‘FALL’ (verb)
a. Contextual meaning: hamle burd-an ‘to invade’, furū raft-an dar ‘to dive in’ (Dehkhoda sense 38)
b. Basic meaning: furūd āmad-an ‘to approach’ (Dehkhoda sense 17)
c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is more precise concerning the act of approaching while the contextual meaning concerns diving in and is less precise.
Comparison: Yes, we can understand divining in by the concept of approaching

Likening his guests to qahtī-zadī-gān ‘famine sufferers’, who have aggressive desire to eat and no control over their behaviour, the narrator expresses their greed by the metaphorical expression bi jān-i ghāz uftād-and ‘they fell on the life of the goose (they invaded the goose)’. This expression is the realization of the generic-level metaphor GREED IS LACK OF SELF-CONTROL, the specific-level metaphor of which is GREED IS AGGRESSIVE INVASION. Therefore, the schematic structure of its concepts will be as follows:

(14) GREED IS AGGRESSIVE INVASION

A. Source: ‘AGGRESSIVE INVASION’
    a. The object of invasion ➔ the food
    b. The act of invasion ➔ the act of eating with strong desire
    c. The aggressive invader ➔ the greedy person
    d. Invasion is a threat by ➔ greed is a threat by the greedy
As we saw in section 5.1, extract 2, the same generic-level metaphor exists in English with a different linguistic realization. We explained that the English speakers describe greedy people as abandoned animals and here we see that the Iranian speakers describe them as qahīt-zādi-gān ‘famine sufferers’ and conceptualize their greed as an act of aggressive invasion. The impact of socio-cultural context in such conceptualization is detectable. We can see the traces of Jamalzadeh’s care and concern about the life and fate of his fellow citizens, when he talks about the goose as if it is a victim of invasion by people who have turned into wild beasts due to a state of famine and crisis. He even describes the guests ironically on behalf of the narrator as alien creatures who do not confine themselves to the meat, but also eat the bones of their own people.

8. “Du sā’at bā’d mihmān-hā bidūn-i takhalluf, tamām-u kamāl duri mīz halqi zādi dar sarf kard-an-i sīghi-yi “bala t-u” ihtimām-i tāmmī ḍāsht-and ‘In two hours, all the guests had come and circled around the table and did their best to drill the verb devour (did their best to devour all the food).’”

sarf kard-an, tasrīf ‘DRILL’ (verb)

a. Contextual meaning: huvīydā kard-an ‘to make visible (to act)’ (Dehkhoda sense 3)

b. Basic meaning: bar-āvard-an-i ba’zī kalām rā az ba’zī dīgār ‘to inflect different forms of a verb or a noun’ (Dehkhoda sense 7)

c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is more precise concerning the derivation of the verb while the contextual meaning concerns the actual performance of the action. Comparison: Yes, we can understand an act by means of drilling its relevant verb.

bala t-u kard-an ‘DEVOURED’ (verb)

a. Contextual meaning: māl-i mardum khurd-an, ghasb kard-an ‘to take hold of other’s property forcibly’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)

b. Basic meaning: khurdān ‘to eat and swallow’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)

c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is concrete and concerns swallowing food while the contextual meaning is abstract and concerns taking hold of something forcibly.

d. Comparison: Yes, we can understand forcible consumption of others’ properties by means of fast swallowing of food

To show the strong desire of his guests to eat, when they come at the table with enthusiasm and eat up everything he had to serve, that is everything he could afford, the narrator uses the metaphorical expression dar sarf kard-an-i sīghi-yi bala t-u ihtimām-i tāmmī ḍāsht-and ‘they did their best to drill the verb devour’. This expression, which is a representation of the high influence of Arabic language in the language of that era, realizes the generic-level metaphor GREED IS A PHYSICAL FORCE. However, the specific-level metaphor is GREED IS PLUNDERING, the schematic structure of which is as follows:
(15) GREED IS PLUNDERING
A. Source: ‘PLUNDERING’ Target: ‘GREED’
   a. Plunderer → the greedy person
   b. To plunder → to grab and eat forcibly and with greed
   c. The plundered object → the food

This metaphor and the lexical units engaged in its construction are highly influenced by Arabic language. The Arabic language influence in Iran goes back to the nineteenth century; however, despite the official move by the Iranian government in 1934 to “purify the national language” (Lorents, 2010, p. 35), it continued to be pervasively used in Iran especially by clergies and religious quarters. Jamalzadeh also implies, with this metaphor, the prevailing sense of insecurity among people, when he refers to the goose ironically as one of the host’s properties that is being taken hold of by others.

9. “Mīgu-yī ... īn qadr khurdi-’im ki nazdīk ast bi-tarak-īm ‘You would say, we have eaten too much, we are about to burst.’”

Tarak-īd-an ‘BURST’ (verb)
   a. Contextual meaning: dard kard-an-i uzwi ‘to feel pain’ (Dehkhoda sense 3)
   b. Basic meaning: shikāft-an-i shikām az purī wa anbāshti-gī ‘the split of stomach because of its fullness’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)
   c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is concrete concerning the actual split of stomach, while the contextual meaning is abstract concerning the pain due to too much eating.
   Comparison: Yes, we can understand pain by means of split of stomach.

In a situation of desperation where the roast goose has to be kept safe for the next party, the narrator directs his cousin, Mostafa, to encourage the guests, indirectly and politely, not to eat the goose. Mostafa has to express how full they are after eating all the food they were served and not able to eat anymore. The metaphorical expression he uses implies the greed where he says, nazdīk ast bi-tarak-īm ‘we are about to burst’. This expression is the realization of the generic-level metaphor GREED IS PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER, given that there is a metonymic relationship PART IS WHOLE between STOMACH and BODY. However, the specific-level metaphor is GREED IS BURST OF A CONTAINER, the schematic structure of which is illustrated below:

(16) GREED IS BURST OF A CONTAINER
A. Source: ‘BURST OF A CONTAINER’ Target: ‘GREED’
   a. The container → the stomach
   b. The load of the container → the eaten food
   c. Overloading of the container → greed
   d. The pressure inside the → the pressure of too much food
   e. When the pressure is beyond the tolerance of the container, it bursts the stomach
This metaphor may also be affected by cultural impacts. The same lexical unit tarak-id-an ‘burst’ is commonly used in Iranian Persian metaphors as a result of exaggeration in referring to an utmost degree of a painful and annoying experience, such as pain because of hasrat ‘regret’ and hisādat ‘envy’, pain in throat in time of bughz ‘tears’, and pain in stomach in time of wala ‘greed’. The Iranian speakers picture these emotional conditions as an overloaded container that may split due to too much pressure from the inside.

10. "Mumkin ast baz yiki az ayyām-i hamīn bahār, khidmat risād-i az nu dilī az azā dar-āwar-īm ‘We may step by again one of these spring days to console our grieving stomach.’"

azā ‘GRIEF’ (noun)
   a. Contextual meaning: gursnigi ‘starvation’ (Dehkhoda sense 4)
   b. Basic meaning: mātam, musībat ‘sorrow and misery’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)
   c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is more precise concerning sorrow than the contextual meaning concerning hunger.

Comparison: Yes, we can understand hunger by means of sorrow.

Following his instruction to Mostafa, the narrator uses another metaphorical expression to describe greediness. The metaphorical expression dilī az azā dar-āwar-īm ‘console our grieving stomach’ is the realization of the generic-level metaphor GRIEF IS AN UNPLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION and the specific-level metaphor is GREED IS CONSOLATION.

(17) GREED IS CONSOLATION
   A. Source: ‘CONSOLATION’  
      a. Grief  
      b. The grieving person  
      c. Consolation of the grief  
      d. The desire to make the sad person feel better  
   Target: ‘GREED’  
      starvation and emptiness of stomach  
      the empty stomach  
      eating in order to fill the stomach  
      the strong desire to have food, greed

This is clearly a metaphorical expression that, although realizing an unpleasant physical sensation as a generic-level, represents specifically the situation of famine and poverty at that era in Iran. It depicts greed and strong desire to eat by people who live with very low standards and try to survive the life-threatening situation and relieve their misery.

11. “Guftam, ... īn bad-bakht-hā sāl-i āzigār yik-bār barāy-ishān chīnin pā-yī mī-uft-ad wa shikam-hā rā muddat-ī-st sābun zad-i-ānd ki kabāb-i ghāz bakhurand wa sā at-shumārī mīkunand ‘I said, ... These unfortunate men only have such opportunity once a year and they have been soap scouring their stomach (they have been preparing their stomach) to eat the roast goose and they are counting down.’"
sābun ‘SOAP’ (verb)

a. **Contextual meaning:** *muʃarrāh-i jism* ‘enlivening, vitalizing’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)

b. **Basic meaning:** *ān chīzī bāsh-ad ki bi-dān jāmī wa amšāl-i ān shuy-ānd* ‘a substance used to wash and clean’ (Dehkhoda sense 3)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is concrete and concerns the substance while the contextual meaning is abstract and concerns the effect of the substance.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand an effect by means of its cause.

sābun zad-an ‘SCOUR’ (verb)

a. **Contextual meaning:** *umīd-i chīzī rā dar sar parwarānd-an* ‘to have a strong desire for something’ (Moein sense 2)

b. **Basic meaning:** *shust-ān-i chīzī bā sābun* ‘to scrub and polish something by soap’ (Moein sense 1)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is concrete and concerns polishing while the contextual meaning is abstract and concerns hoping.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand having a desire for eating by scrubbing and preparing (the stomach) for it.

shikam ‘STOMACH’ (noun)

a. **Contextual meaning:** *khurd-an* ‘to eat’ (Dehkhoda sense 6)

b. **Basic meaning:** *batn wa ān jūz’ az badan ki rudi-ha dar ān waği’ shudi-ānd* ‘a part of the body between chest and pelvic where the main parts of digestive system is also located’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more precise and concrete concerning the physical structure and location of digestive system while the contextual meaning concerns the act of eating.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand eating by means of digestive system.

Having viewed his guests as unfortunate men who have been waiting for a good meal for a long time, the narrator implies their ultimate desire to eat, with the metaphorical expression *shikam-hā rā muddat-ā-st sābun zadi-ānd* ‘they have been soap scouring their stomach’. This expression may be viewed as the realization of a blended metaphor that is the entailment of the generic-level metaphor HAPPINESS IS VITALITY. The blended spaces involved are soap scouring, greed, and vitality. Soap scouring the body was considered by Iranians of Jamalzadeh’s era as preparation for a party or a feast that would bring about happiness and satisfaction after having as much food as desired.

If we conceive soap scouring as the means for happiness, then the event of vitality as the production of happiness is related to the means by THE MEANSE FOR THE EVENT metonymic relation in the source. Also, if we conceive greed as the cause of happiness, then vitality is related to the cause by an EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymic relation in the target. Therefore, the blended metaphor GREED IS SCOURING THE STOMACH AND VITALITY will be a combination of the cause of happiness and vitality from the target, and a combination of the means of greed and vitality from the source.
SCOURING THE STOMACH IS VITALITY
GREED IS VITALITY
GREED IS SCOURING THE STOMACH

(18) GREED IS SCOURING THE STOMACH AND VITALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. SOURCE2: SCOURING THE STOMACH</th>
<th>SOURCE1: VITALITY</th>
<th>TARGET: GREED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Soap</td>
<td>the vitalizing object</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Stomach being soap scoured</td>
<td>being vital</td>
<td>feeling strong desire to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Soap scouring quest for vitality</td>
<td>vitalized object</td>
<td>greed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Soap scoured the stomach</td>
<td></td>
<td>the greedy person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This metaphorical expression has its root in the times before Jamalzadeh, when majority of people didn’t have bathrooms in their houses due to their high poverty. As explained above, it was part of the culture that people used to take bath in public bathrooms once a while for important occasions. One very important occasion for taking a bath and soap scouring their bodies was when they were going to attend parties or ceremonies and eat as much as they desired and it was considered as very important and vital occasion. Since then, this expression has been common among Iranians, when they want to imply the ultimate desire to eat or have something.

12. “Na-kun-ad bu-yi ghāz mast-ash kun-ad ki dāman-ash az dast bi-raw-ad ‘I was praying that he wouldn’t get intoxicated by the smell of the goose and lose his control.’”

mast ‘INTOXICATED’ (adjective)

a. **Contextual meaning:** gharq-i khushī wa shādī ‘overwhelmed by joy’ (Dehkhoda sense 6)

b. **Basic meaning:** sharāb khāri-‘ī ki sharāb dar wiy asar kard-i bāshad ‘drunk’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)

c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more concrete and precise than the contextual meaning.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand being overwhelmed by joy by means of being drunk.

Talking about Mostafa, who is supposed to act in a way that convince others not to touch the roast goose, the narrator expresses his concern by the possibility that the smell of the goose may make him lose his control and forget everything they had planned for by the metaphorical expression Na-kun-ad bu-yi ghāz mast-ash kun-ad ‘praying that he wouldn’t get intoxicated by the smell of the goose’. This metaphorical expression is the
realization of the generic-level metaphor GREED IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION and the specific-level metaphor GREED IS INTOXICATION. The schematic structure of the concepts of this metaphor is illustrated below:

(19) GREED IS INTOXICATION
A. Source: ‘INTOXICATION’ Target: ‘GREED’
   a. The intoxicating object → the smell of the food
   b. The intoxicated person → the greedy person
   c. Intoxication makes a person → greed makes the person lose his control and act without worrying about its consequences

As we saw in section 5.1, extract 1, the Persian and English speakers share the same way of conceptualizing greed in its generic-level. However, the specific-level metaphor GREED IS INTOXICATION seems to be affected by ancient Iranian cultural impacts. Although the same way of conceptualization may also exist in English, it is very common in an oriental society like Iran. In Iran, with its long tradition of mysticism, the ultimate joy of a spiritual lover is viewed as being entranced for the sake of the beloved, which is the consequence of being mast ‘intoxicated’. This way of conceptualization also exists in everyday life, where a person with strong desire to eat is seen as an intoxicated person who acts uncontrollably to satisfy his desire.

13. “ajab dar īn ast ki furū burdan-i luqmiḥā-yi piyāpay abad-an jilu-yi sidā-yash rā ni-mīgīrīft ‘I wondered how the successive Plung of mouthfuls did not block his speech.’”

furū burdan ‘PLUNG’ (verb)
a. Contextual meaning: dar zīr burd-an ‘to take something down, to dig in’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)
b. Basic meaning: balʿid-an ‘devour’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)
c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is more concrete and the contextual meaning is more abstract concerning taking down.
   Comparison: Yes, we can understand taking something down in by means of devouring it.

This metaphorical expression is the realization of the generic-level metaphor GREED IS PHYSICAL FORCE and the specific-level metaphor GREED IS TO PRESS SOMETHING INTO A PASSAGE. The schematic structure of the concepts of this metaphor is as follows:

(20) GREED IS TO PRESS SOMETHING INTO A PASSAGE
A. Source: ‘TO PRESS SOMETHING INTO A PASSAGE’ Target: ‘GREED’
   a. To press → to swallow with strong desire
   b. Passage → throat
   c. The object of pressure → the mouthfuls
   d. Pressure of something → swallowing the mouthfuls
As we observed in section 5.1, extract 3, this metaphor also exists in English both in generic and specific levels and we can mark this as (near-) universal.

5.2.2 Metaphors of Anxiety

14. “Ayāl-am harās-ān wārid shud-i guft: ‘khāk bi sar-am mard-i hisābī. agar mā im-ruz īn ghāz rā barāyī mihmān-hā-yi imruz bīy-āwar-īm, barāyī mihmān-hā-yi fardā az kujā ghāz khāh-īm āward?’ ‘My wife entered the room panicked: “I shall spread dust on my head (I shall bury myself) man! If we bring this goose for our today guests, where are we going to get another goose for our tomorrow guests?”’

khāk ‘DUST’ (noun)
- **Contextual meaning**: mazār ‘grave’ (Dehkhoda sense 4)
- **Basic meaning**: turāb ‘earth, dust’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)
- **Contrast**: Yes, the basic meaning is more precise and concerns dirt while the contextual meaning concerns the graveyard and grave
- **Comparison**: Yes, we can understand grave by means of earth

sar ‘HEAD’ (noun)
- **Contextual meaning**: qārār, ārām ‘patience, peacefulness’ (Dehkhoda sense 14)
- **Basic meaning**: tan ‘the body’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)
- **Contrast**: Yes, the basic meaning is concrete while the contextual meaning concerning peacefulness is more abstract.
- **Comparison**: Yes, we can understand peacefulness by means of body

khāk bi sar ‘DUST ON HEAD’ (adjective)
- **Contextual meaning**: zālīl, muhātāj ‘distressed, devastated’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)
- **Basic meaning**: musībat did-an ‘mournful’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)
- **Contrast**: Yes, the basic meaning concerns mournfulness and is more precise than devastation, the contextual meaning.
- **Comparison**: Yes, we can understand devastation by mournfulness.

Coming into the room with panic, because of their embarrassing situation, the narrator’s wife expresses her anxiety by the metaphorical expression khāk bar sar-am ‘I shall bury my body’. This expression is a representation of the generic-level metaphor ANXIETY IS DOWN and its specific-level metaphor is ANXIETY IS BEING BURIED. The schematic structure of its concepts is illustrated below:

(21) ANXIETY IS BEING BURIED
- **Source**: ‘BEING BURIED’
  - **Target**: ‘ANXIETY’
  - **The body** ➔ patience
  - **To spread dust on the body in burial** ➔ to lose patience and feel worried
As we observed in section 5.1, extract 4, the realization of the metaphor ANXIETY IS DOWN was different in English, where it was expressed by the metaphorical expression *my heart sank*. However, the reason for the different realization of the same generic-level metaphor in Persian lies in the fact that it is to convey the image of death and disaster, which involves the emotion of hopelessness, fear and anxiety. To the Iranian speakers, anxiety is equal to death, so they conceptualize it as being buried (Sharafzadeh & Zareé, 2012). Jamalzadeh applies very often such expressions to imply the difficult situation of Iran during his time and the insecure condition of his fellow citizens.

15. “Gufiam: ‘Mustafā jān lābud mulfāt shud-i-ī matlab az chi qarār ast. Mi-khāh-am nishān bi-dah-ī chand mard-i hallāj-ī wa az zīr-i sang ham shudi im-rūz yik ḥadad ghāz-i khub wa tāzī bi har qiymat-i shud-i barāyi mā piydā kunī’ ‘I told him: ‘Dear Mustafa! You have probably noticed what we have got into. Show me how well you can handle it and bring us a fresh, nice goose and take it for any price even if you have to take it from under a stone (bring it no matter how hard it is to catch).’”

*zīr* ‘UNDER’ (adverb)

a. **Contextual meaning:** tahammul kardan ‘tolerating’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)
b. **Basic meaning:** naqīz-i bālā ‘opposite of on’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)
c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is more precise than the contextual meaning concerning tolerance.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand tolerance by means of under (the weigh).

*sang* ‘STONE’ (noun)

a. **Contextual meaning:** wazn ‘weight’ (Dehkhoda sense 5)
b. **Basic meaning:** sakhrī ‘rock’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)
c. **Contrast:** Yes, the basic meaning is concrete and concerns rock while the contextual meaning is abstract and concerns weigh.

**Comparison:** Yes, we can understand weight by means of rock.

Considering the rough situation of urgent need for another goose, the narrator asks Mostafa to get them out of anxiety by the metaphorical expression *az zīr-i sang ham shudi* ‘from under a stone’. This is another realization of the generic-level ANXIETY IS DOWN, the specific-level metaphor of which is ANXIETY IS BEING UNDER A STONE. The schematic structure of the concepts is as follows:

(22) **ANXIETY IS BEING UNDER A STONE**

A. Source: ‘BEING UNDER A STONE’

 Target: ‘ANXIETY’

a. Stone → worries
b. Weigh of the stone → burden of worries
c. Being under the stone → being under the burden of worries

and feel the anxiety
d. Taking something out from \( \rightarrow \) getting rid of anxiety
under the stone

As we can see here, this expression is another realization of the metaphor GREED IS DOWN, which is rooted in another cultural context of Iran before and during Jamalzadeh’s era. The lexical unit stone receives its metaphorical meaning when defined as a burden that makes the condition difficult to find or take something. Why stone is used to imply such burden? It may have its roots in the history of ancient Iranians who used to bury or hide their valuable belongings under stones in order to save them in secure places so they would be difficult to be found or taken away. Finding these valuable objects was a painstakingly effort that brought about a state of relief. Thus, we may mark this metaphor as culture-specific.

16. “… dar īn ruz-i iyād, qiyd-i ghāz rā bāyad bi kullī zad wa az īn khīyāl bāyad munsarif shud, chun dar tamām-i shahr yik dukān hāz nist. Bā hāl-i istīsāl pursīd-am, pas chi khāk-i bi sar-īm bi-rīz-am? ’…in this New Year day, you have to forget the goose and give up the idea, since there is no store open in the whole city. I asked with a sense of eradication (desperately): “Then what kind of dust should I spread on my head (how should I bury myself)?’”’

\( \text{istīsāl ‘ERADICATION’ (noun)} \)
\( \text{a. Contextual meaning: parīshān wa sargashti ‘desperation’ (Dehkhoda sense 3: mosta’sal ‘eradicated’)} \)
\( \text{b. Basic meaning: az bīkh bar-kand-i ‘rooting out’ (Dehkhoda sense 1)} \)
\( \text{c. Contrast: Yes, the basic meaning is concrete concerning the state of being rooted out while the contextual meaning is abstract and concerns the feeling of desperation.}

\( \text{Comparison: Yes, we can understand desperation by being eradicated.} \)

The anxiety is inferred from the situation, where no store is open during the New Year holiday and there is no hope for finding another goose. The narrator expresses his anxiety by the metaphorical expression bā istīsāl ‘with a sense of eradication’. This expression is the realization of the generic-level metaphor ANXIETY IS NATURAL FORCE and its specific-level metaphor is ANXIETY IS ERADICATION, the schematic structure of which is as follows:

(23) ANXIETY IS ERADICATION
A. Source: ‘ERADICATION’ \( \rightarrow \) Target: ‘ANXIETY’
   a. The plant \( \rightarrow \) the person
   b. The plant’s roots \( \rightarrow \) the person’s courage
   c. The roots are out \( \rightarrow \) the person loses his courage
   d. In eradication, a plant is rooted out \( \rightarrow \) in anxiety, the person is desperate

The metaphorical use of being rooted out when anxiety overcomes seems to represent the time, when poverty was ruling the society and its devastating result was to lose
ground. The lexical unit, however, is another example of Arabic language influence in Iranian Persian language that was and continues to be very commonly used in Iran. The extensive use of Arabic as a highly derivational and inflectional language has contributed to the construction of a vast number of metaphors in Persian, which are, at the same time, very concise. This way of conceptualizing anxiety seems to be affected by culture, at least in its specific-level, although, the generic-level metaphor appears to be universal.

17. "... pas chi khāḵ-ī bi sar-am bi-rīz-am? ‘Then what kind of dust should I spread on my head (how should I bury myself)?’"

It is in the same situation that the narrator expresses his anxiety again by the same metaphorical expression chī khāḵ-ī bi sar-am bi-rīz-am ‘how should I bury myself’. For the underlying conceptual metaphor of this expression and the schematic structure of its concepts, you may review the extract 14.

18. “agarchi chishm-hā-yishān bi ghāz dukht-i shud-i bud, khāẖ-ī nakhāẖ-ī juz tasdīq-i harf-hā-yi mustafa wa bāli wa albatti guft-an chārī-’ī na-dāšt-and. Did-am tum’ti-ī-yī mā dārad mīmāsād ‘although, their eyes were locked on the goose, they had no choice but to agree with Mostafa willy-nilly and say yes and OK. I realized that our plot was effective.’”

\[tum’ti-‘PLOT’ (noun)\]
\[a. \text{Contextual meaning: } muqaddami chīnī barāyī wusūl bi amrī ‘Set up to achieve something’ (Dehkhoda sense 7)\]
\[b. \text{Basic meaning: } āmādi nimād-an ‘Preparation’ (Dehkhoda sense 2)\]
\[c. \text{Contrast: } Yes, the basic meaning is more precise that the contextual meaning. \text{Comparison: } Yes, we can understand a set up by means of preparation.\]

This metaphorical expression is the reflection of the generic-level metaphor ANXIETY IS WAR and the specific-level metaphor ANXIETY IS CONSPIRACY. Given that CONSPIRACY and WAR are related based on CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymic relation, we can draw the schematic structure of the concepts of this metaphor as follows:

\[(24) \text{ ANXIETY IS CONSPIRACY} \]
\[\text{A. Source: ‘CONSPIRACY’} \]
\[\text{b. Effectiveness of a plot} \]
\[\text{d. The commission of the conspirator is furtherance of the conspiracy} \]
\[-\text{acts to get rid of anxiety} \]
\[-\text{overcoming the anxiety} \]
\[-\text{the anxious person} \]
\[-\text{the aim of the anxious person} \]
\[-\text{is to overcome their anxiety} \]

As we mentioned in section 5.1, extract 5, English and Persian languages share the same metaphor in the generic-level. However, the realization of the same generic-level is
different in the two stories with the English speakers using the lexical unit *might* and the Persian speakers using the lexical unit *tuti i* ‘plot’ to defeat anxiety as the rival in a war. This difference may also have its roots in the atmosphere of insecurity and instability in the era of Jamalzadeh, when a sense of fear was prevailed that there were conspiracies underfoot by secret agents of colonial countries.

In sum, the identified and analyzed metaphors of anxiety and greed in the Persian story of ‘Roast Goose’ revealed a high degree of culture-specificity especially in the specific-level of metaphors. Metaphors of anxiety and greed are mainly the realization of the socio-cultural as well as political context of Iran in the time of Jamalzadeh. It is worth mentioning that many of these metaphors may have a history much older than Jamalzadeh’s time, but survived to the time being.

6. Conclusion

This study had a look at metaphor as a communicative process from a conceptual metaphor perspective. In a line of thought that we developed here, the process of metaphor formation in a natural communicative system, that is the authentic contexts of literary texts, was examined in a comparative study of two languages. Two genetically distinct languages were selected, due to the study’s aim to target the external force of culture that impacts the process of metaphor formation. Two short stories of Persian and English languages, Jamalzadeh’s ‘Roast Goose’ and Maugham’s ‘The Luncheon’, respectively, were selected to be subjects of this study. Due to the main goal of this study, we were limited to decide on certain stories with a similar subject and theme so to be able to pinpoint comparable metaphors and analyze their construction processes. (Near-) contemporariness of the stories was also considered, due to the fact that the cultural context of every language is flexible and subject to change in the passage of time especially in the modern era, and the high influence of globalization in communicative technologies. We have to add here the limitations of space and time in this study that restrained the scope of metaphors to be analyzed.

Accordingly, this study targeted metaphors of emotion connected to greed and anxiety that were common and more dominant in the two texts. This choice of scope was grounded on the linguistic theories discussed in section two that emotion metaphors are (near-) universal of a generic level, because they are the entailments of metonymic relation to universal physical experiences. However, taking benefit from the comprehensive study by Kövecses (2000) on emotions and metaphors as the ground for our study, we strived to detect the impact of local context on the linguistic realization of some universal physical sensations. To add something to Kövecses’ (2000) analysis, we decided to identify and analyze two emotions of greed and anxiety that seem to be absent in his book.

Then, the investigation of metaphor structures and their formation processes was conducted initially based on the identification of lexical units that are used with their less concrete contextual meanings and contribute as well to the formation of metaphorical expression. These units were identified through the application of MIP.
that is a procedure developed by Pragglejaz group (2007). Lexical units that were marked as metaphorical showed some drastic differences in realization of emotions, especially in the case of Persian metaphors. However, through mechanical procedures of mapping relevant concepts of each metaphor and based on the identified units, we explored the conceptual processes that take place in the cognitive system of speakers in each language. It was an attempt to establish authentic evidence and justification for difference conceptual and linguistic realization of emotions in different cultures. The conceptual mappings and their analysis followed Kövecses’ (2010a) method.

As we put at the outset we were going to answer three main questions as follows:

1. What are the cultural imprints in Persian and English metaphors and to what extent does understanding such imprints improve the cross-cultural understanding of the two nations?
2. What accounts for the usage of common metaphors in these culturally distinct languages from a conceptual metaphor perspective?
3. What accounts for different metaphors used in thematically similar stories with different cultural contexts from a conceptual metaphor approach?

Therefore, our main and modest findings may be presented as follows. First this study confirmed that culture and local context is a powerful force in conceptualization of abstract concepts such as emotions. This force leads to some drastically distinct conceptualization and realization of concepts from one to another language, to the extent that it makes them incomprehensible for foreigners to a language. This is due to distinct mapping of image-schemas in the process of conceptualization, where the abstract concept of emotion is mapped into a different physical image as its correspondence. Different conceptual mapping has its roots in the context that surrounds human beings and creates their world and experiences. As well an effective cross-cultural communication seems to be very much dependent on understanding the world of foreign speakers. These metaphors are marked as culture-specific.

Secondly, by our research we found a good number of metaphorical expressions that are based on metonymic relations of the concepts acting formally as metaphors. This group of metaphors is regarded here as universal, for they are either common or easily perceptible by different speakers.

Thirdly, findings of the study show cases where foreign metaphorical realization of a concept is, if not readily, comprehensible for an outsider and it happens when a metaphor shares its generic-level with the other language community. These metaphors are labelled as near-universal metaphors.

In sum, this study confirmed that metaphor is, to some extent, influenced by culture and that understanding the culture may greatly improve cross-cultural communications. It also tried to show that cultures in spite of their differences use common metaphors in expressing similar contexts, though different metaphors may also be used in similar situations.
References


