L2 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

Theory and Practice

Edited by **Ioannis Galantomos**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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PREFACE

In recent years there has been a significant number of studies focusing on how speakers interpret and produce figurative language, the role and functions of figurative language in everyday human communication, the issues that figurative language poses for second language (L2) learners and the kind of instruction needed in order to make L2 figurative vocabulary teaching more feasible. The common feature shared by these studies is that figurative language is an important and integral aspect of a wide range of language activities. In other words, figurative language is not taken to be a deviation from standard communication, but reflects the many ways speakers organize, conceptualize and externalize their experiences. In terms of L2 instruction, it has been shown that figurative language is closely related to enhanced communicative competence in the target language and that a variety of teaching approaches address the issues raised by the multifaceted background of figurative language.

In light of the above, this volume has two aims. The first is to offer an overview of theoretical issues related to figurative language. The second aim is to offer tangible teaching tips and classroom interventions useful for L2 practitioners and material designers. Although we have tried to follow a middle course and not to adhere to a particular theory, many chapters reflect applications of Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL). ACL-driven teaching research has shown that ACL theoretical tenets and pedagogical techniques can lead to lexical precision and enhance long term retention of L2 figurative vocabulary. Thus, there is no claim that all existing theories and instructional methods are found in this volume.

This volume consists of ten chapters, ranging from theoretical considerations to L2 teaching practices. Galantomos opens this volume with an overview of first language (L1) and L2 figurative language. The next two chapters are authored by Liontas who argues that figurative language deserves much higher degree of attention than currently given. From this perspective, such attention must go well beyond the treatment figurative language currently enjoys in both curricula and research. It requires the systematic address of figurative language across the curriculum, from elementary school to university. In addition, Liontas introduces several idiomatics practices which can be applied to L2 figurative language instruction. In the next chapter, Galantomos addresses the role and place of

figurative language within Cognitive Linguistics. Tsaknaki explores the uses of humorous cartoons and figurative elements in the L2 classroom, whereas Jiménez-Muñoz examines the impact of the integration of several classroom approaches in an undergraduate bilingual-programme. Galantomos and Antomiadou assess the integration of figurative language in Greek as an L2 textbooks. The following chapter, authored by Skoufaki, evaluates two idiom teaching proposals within ACL and draws conclusions about the effectiveness of the two ACL proposals and their pedagogical applications. Williams and Doiz test the applicability of the blended methodology on the retention of 18 figurative expressions across three levels of linguistic difficulty from three different conceptual metaphors. Finally, Galantomos and Skourmalla introduce certain instructional steps, ideas/suggestions and processes in order to provide an effective and feasible way for teaching figurative language in a FL context. Additionally, they have developed activities to practice the teaching of emotions in Greek as an L2 context.

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CHAPTER ONE

L1 & L2 FIGURATIVE VOCABULARY: THE BASICS

IOANNIS GALANTOMOS

Introduction

> "Figuration is not an escape from reality but constitutes the way we ordinarily understand ourselves and the world in which we live" (Gibbs, 1994: 454).

Figurative language is perhaps the most common aspect of creativity in everyday communication (Carter, 2004) and forms an integral part of ordinary language use, conveying dimensions of conventional knowledge and wisdom and social norms and practices found in every society (Gibbs & Beitel, 1995). Figurative language refers to speech where speakers usually mean something else than what they literally plan to say (Gibbs & Colston, 2012) and it is not a unified category but includes various figures, such as metaphors, idioms, irony, hyperbole and sarcasm (Cacciari & Padovani, 2012; Roberts & Kreuz, 1994). Gibbs (1994) argues that there is no single feature that is common to all figurative items. For example, metaphor involves the mapping of information between two conceptual domains, whereas irony consists of various forms of contrast (e.g. hyperbole and jocularity) (Gibbs, Wilson, & Bryant, 2012). Moreover, it has been shown that figurative language is ubiquitous in various texts and genres, such as academic discourse and performs key functions, such as evaluation judgements, agenda management, humor and topic change (e.g. Cameron, 2003; Semino, 2008).

The ability of understand and use figurative language comes with certain advantages, such as personal and professional success, successful social interaction (e.g. Thoma & Daum, 2006) and lexical precision (e.g. Hoang & Boers, 2018). For instance, successful idiom mastery has been associated with academic achievement (Nippold & Martin, 1989), whereas as poor

figurative language skills may contribute to the poor social performance of individual suffering from neurodegenerative diseases, such as schizophrenia (Mitchell & Crow, 2005).

The traditional view holds that figurative language is special to ordinary communication, is used mainly for artistic reasons, is distinct from anomaly, nonsense and literal usage, it can be easily paraphrased without meaning modifications and is based on/derived from literal language. Moreover, it is argued that children do not understand or use figurative language until the age of 11-12 years old and that there are figurative universals that are present across languages (Pollio, Smith, & Pollio, 1990). In particular, it is argued that:

1. Figurative language is special and does not occur in ordinary communication,
2. Figurative language is not useful in that it serves certain functions, such as deceit and artistic purposes,
3. Figurative language and literal use are psychologically distinct categories,
4. The paraphrase of figurative language equals to the same meaning,
5. Literal meaning is primary and therefore figurative language is dependent upon and stems from it,
6. Children understand and use figurative language at 11-12 years of age and
7. There are figurative universal features that appear across various languages, certain historical periods and cultural groups (Pollio, Smith, & Pollio, ibid.).

Despite the earlier peripheral role attributed to figurative language, it has been proven that figurative vocabulary is ubiquitous in ordinary communication. The pervasiveness of figurative language is shown in the estimates regarding the number of figurative expressions that are uttered by an average speaker on a daily basis. Hence, it has been found that a speaker produces approximately 4.7 million novel and 21.4 million conventional metaphors over a 60-year lifespan (Pollio, Barlow, Fine, & Pollio, 1977). Similarly, Glucksberg (1989) suggested that speakers use about six million figurative expressions per minute of discourse. The same pervasiveness is also evident in the language addressed to children. For instance, Nippold (1991) found that 6,7% of the sentences of the reading programs in the US primary schools exhibit an idiomatic expression. These findings led Jackendoff (1997) to argue that the proportion of fixed expressions and

single words are quite the same in a speaker's mental lexicon. In the words of Winner "if people were limited to strictly literal language, communication would be severely curtailed, if not terminated" (1982: 253).

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that many aspects of real-life discourse are not based on abstract thinking (= figurative) as they are perpetual, iconic, indexical and so forth (Danesi, 1993). As a matter of fact, Danesi (2008) mentioned that there are many degrees of literalness and non-literalness and that the dichotomy of literal and non-literal meaning is a misleading one. Lakoff (1986) and Gibbs, Buchalter, Moise and Farrar (1993) claimed that the notion of *literal* has at least five different meanings:

1. Conventional literality: ordinary language which is contrasted to poetic language,
2. Subject-matter literality: certain expressions used to talk about a particular topic,
3. Nonmetaphorical literality: language in which a concept is never understood in terms of another concept,
4. Truth-conditional literality: language that is objectively either true or false,
5. Context-free literality: language whose literal meaning is not affected by the lack of any communicative situation.

With that said, Gibbs (1994) argues that here is no comprehensive definition and account of literal meaning. In addition, it has been shown that speakers manifest different intuitions about literality subject to what aspects of it are being emphasized (i.e. conventional literality, subject-matter literality and so forth) (Gibbs, 1994). As a result, Gibbs & Colston (2012) suggest that it is more accurate to distinguish between *metaphoric vs non-metaphoric*, *idiomatic vs non-idiomatic* and by extension *figurative* and *non-figurative*.

For Levorato (1993), figurative language exhibits three main features. These are the lack of compatibility between speaker's meaning and utterance meaning, conventionality, and contextual dependence. The first characteristic refers to the discrepancy between a speaker's used words and their communicative value. Conventionality has to do with the frequency of usage of a particular figurative expression and its salience in the speakers' minds, which is particular to a language community. What is conventional and basic for L1 speakers, may not be salient at all, or to the same extent for L2 learners. Finally, the third feature of figurative language is its contextual dependence. Context is the necessary background for well receiving or not

with regard to the intended figurative meaning (Bromberek-Dyzman & Ewert, 2010).

Figurative language development

As said earlier, figurative language is pervasive in ordinary communication and we now know that figurative language comprehension and production is an integral aspect of children's overall language development (Özçalişkan, 2010). Previous research has indicated that children begin to comprehend and use metaphors shortly after their first words (Billow, 1981). Moreover, their figurative competence is progressive as they get older (Özçalişkan, 2010), that is it continues to improve throughout schooling and adulthood (e.g. Asch & Nerlove, 1960; Gentner, 1988; Waggoner & Palermo, 1989). This developmental sequence is evident when comprehension is tested with activities that focus on verbal paraphrase of the metaphorical statement (Johnson, 1991).

With respect to these developmental changes in children's ability to comprehend and produce figurative language, early pragmatic research on the development of figurative language comprehension assumed an initial literal interpretation which could lead to a figurative interpretation only if the literal analysis has failed (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1979). Researchers working within this theoretical framework postulated that metaphor understanding relies on children's capacity to build analogies between the entities/domains of a metaphor based on perceived similarities, that is metaphor was seen as a set of mappings among feature-based similarities (e.g. Billow, 1981; Epstein & Gamlin, 1994; Vosniadou & Ortony, 1983). The major finding of these studies was that preschool children (~ age 4.0) were able to construct analogical links between the two entities of a metaphorical expression based on perceptual similarity (Gardner, 1974; Gentner, 1977). However, it was not until the ages 7 to 9 that children could be able to rephrase or understand efficiently the meanings of a metaphorical statement (e.g. Billow, 1975; Waggoner & Palermo, 1989).

Apart from these contributions that viewed metaphor as an implicit comparison between two domains, there is research focusing on the study of systematic analogical mappings between psychological features and physical sensations. This line of research suggested a three-stage developmental sequence starting from ages 3-6 (literal analysis only), to the onset of metaphorical comprehension (ages 7 to 10) which eventually led to a full mastery of both literal and metaphorical meanings, that is the ability to understand mappings involving cross-domain comparisons (ages 11 to 14) (Asch & Nerlove, 1960; Cicone, Gardner, & Winner, 1981).

A radically different approach has been adopted by Özçalişkan (2005, 2007) and Stites and Özçalişkan (2013). These researchers introduced the cognitive linguistic approach[1] to the study of children's figurative language (and in particular metaphor) comprehension and production. Specifically, Özçalişkan (2005, 2007) and Stites and Özçalişkan (2013) examined various target domains (e.g. time, ideas and sickness) and two linguistic conditions (i.e. figurative and non-figurative). They found that early metaphor comprehension relies on a three-stage developmental pattern, at the age of 3, children cannot understand metaphors, at the age of 4, comprehension emerges as long contextual information (i.e. appearance of metaphors into stories) is provided and finally at age 5 where the verbal reasoning ability about metaphorical mappings is in place.

L1 & L2 models of figurative vocabulary development

Specific theories and models have been put forward to explain the comprehension and processing of first language (henceforth L1) and second language (henceforth L2) figurative language. These models mainly restrict figurative language to metaphor study, resulting in an incomplete picture of figurative language comprehension and use (Rundblad & Annaz, 2010) and focus on both children and adult use of metaphor.

L1 models of figurative vocabulary development

The various L1 models of figurative language processing that have appeared during the last decades focus either on the primary role of literal meaning or on the role of context (Gibbs & Colston, 2006). These theories and models are shown in FIGURE 1:

[1] Cognitive Linguistics emerged in opposition to the dominant theory in Linguistics, that is the Chomskyan Generative Grammar (Evans & Green, 2006). Cognitive Linguistics is a flexible framework, in that it is not a homogenous approach or a single theory of language but rather a collection of theories which share common features. Among these are the interrelation of language and human cognition, the notion of embodied mind and the role of metaphor and metonymy in conceptual structure (Lee, 2001). Under the cognitive linguistic approach, metaphor is a mapping between physical and abstract conceptual domains on the basis of bodily experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

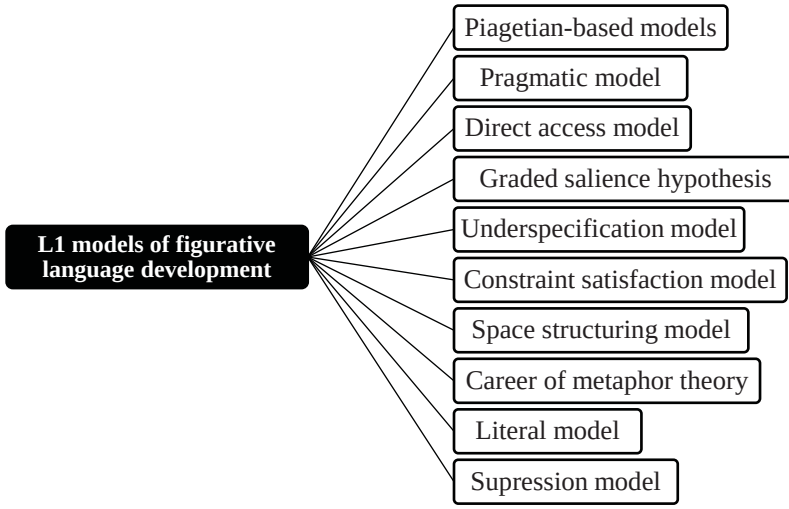

Figure 1: *L1 models of figurative language development*

To start with, the Piagetian-based position views figurative language as one of the highest mental abilities subject to rich mental patterns and metaphor comprehension as a process in which a new joint category is created from the combination of the constituent elements (tenor: the 1st noun, vehicle: the 2nd noun, Richards, 1936) of a metaphorical utterance (Piaget, 1962). Bruner, Goodnow and Austin (1956) claimed that speakers construct three types of categories (i.e. *disjunctive category*, *conjunctive category* and *relational category*) on the basis of their cognitive development, world knowledge and their preference for selecting conceptually- or perceptually-based categories. A disjunctive category is the easiest to construct because the elements of the category share an alternative group of abstract attributes. A conjunctive category is more difficult to be constructed because its elements must share the suitable value of various abstract attributes. Finally, a relational category is the most difficult because the elements of the category must share various abstract attributes and share the suitable correspondences among the attributes.

Based on the Piagetian-based model of metaphor comprehension, Siltanen (1986) proposed a four-stage model. Stage 1 (5 years old) accounts for the understanding of easy metaphors in a story context by constructing perceptual disjunctive categories and requiring the identification of one perceptual ground. In Stage 2 (6-8 years old), children construct disjunctive and conjunctive categories by identifying one or more perceptual grounds.

In addition, children are able to understand easy metaphors in a story-based context by identifying various perceptual grounds. In Stage 3 (9-11 years old), children construct disjunctive, conjunctive and a few relational categories by identifying one or more perceptual grounds. In addition, children are able to understand easy and moderately difficult metaphors in a story-based context by identifying various perceptual and conceptual grounds. Lastly, in Stage 4 (12 years old and up), children are able to construct all categories and comprehend easy, moderately difficult and difficult metaphors in a story-based context because they have gained higher levels of word and world knowledge.

According to Gibbs (2001), the most famous model is the *Pragmatic Model*, related to Grice (1975, 1978) and Searle (1979). Alternatively, Clark and Lucy (1975) label this model as the *Three-stage Model* after the number of processes that are activated for reaching the appropriate and most suitable interpretation of the intended word or sentence. The Three-stage Model emerged as a response to findings demonstrating that metaphors take a longer time to be processed than literal language (Janus & Bever, 1985). Hence, speakers construct a mental representation of the literal meaning of a word or a sentence. Secondly, they test this literal meaning against the context to decide whether it is plausible and suitable or not. If this is the case, then the meaning is accepted. If not, it is rejected. Thirdly, if rejection occurs, a new interpretation of the literal meaning takes place.

The *Direct Access Model* holds that speakers do not take additional time to understand figurative meanings. On the contrary, they can grasp the meaning of several figurative utterances directly without the mediation of literal meanings only if this figurative vocabulary is presented in realistic communicative contexts (Gibbs, 1994).

Giora (1997) proposed the *Graded Salience Hypothesis*. According to this Model, highly salient meanings are automatically processed during the initial stages of figurative vocabulary comprehension. Familiar metaphor processing is claimed to activate both its literal and its metaphorical meanings. On the other hand, unfamiliar metaphor processing will only give rise to its literal meaning as this kind of meaning is taken to be the most salient.

Put forward by Frisson and Pickering (2001), the *Underspecification Model* holds that initially an interpretation that is compatible with a word's figurative and non-figurative meaning will be activated. In other words, the initial meaning of any word is underspecified as to whether it is associated to its figurative or non-figurative meaning. The comprehension of a particular word will rely on the amount of context so as to prompt a particular (/appropriate) meaning, that is, if the context is rich, the

comprehension process will be faster, whereas if the context is poor or neutral, the comprehension process will be slower.

The *Constraint Satisfaction Model* (Katz & Ferretti, 2001) suggests that speakers, when reading a text, should construct a meaning that best fits the available information rather than construct alternative interpretations. The most successful interpretation is the one that is more coherent on the basis of the intended communication. Under this perspective, the comprehension of a figurative expression entails various linguistic and non-linguistic cues which taken together should best fit to the intended meaning.

According to the *Space Structuring Model*, proposed by Coulson and Matlock (2001) and following *Conceptual Blending Theory*[2] (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998), figurative language comprehension is based on complex correspondences among various spaces in conceptual integration networks. Hence, figurative language understanding involves the combination of conceptual structures, a claim that goes beyond the idea of a single mapping between the *source domain* and the *target domain*[3].

The *Career of Metaphor Theory*, developed by Gentner and Bowdle (2001) suggests that metaphorical correspondences between different concepts are feasible through comparison or categorization. In particular, this theory claims that conventional metaphors can be understood either by comparison or categorization, whereas novel metaphors can be comprehended only through comparison. Hence, the comprehension of metaphors demonstrated a shift, from categorization to comparisons on the basis of the degree of metaphor conventionality. Gibbs (2001) argues that the Career of Metaphor Theory is highly applicable to metaphors and raises questions whether it can be applied to other types of figurative language, such as metonymy or irony.

The *Literal Model* proposed by Chiappe and Kennedy (2001) holds that figurative language meanings are based on literal language. Under this perspective, classification mappings emerge when the topic and vehicle

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[2] Conceptual Blending Theory was developed by Fauconnier and Turner (1996, 1998, 2002) as a general cognitive model for meaning-making and the emergence of novel concepts (Birdsell, 2014). Conceptual blends are cases where two *input mental spaces* (= conceptual regions containing specific kinds of information, Evans, 2007) contribute some conceptual cues to a blended space on the basis of a more generic space (Kövecses, 2006). For blending to be operational, four spaces are involved, two input spaces, a blended and a generic space (Kövecses, 2006).

[3] Within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003), the target domain is the abstract conceptual domain which is being understood by relying on conceptual knowledge of the more concrete source domain (Kövecses, 2002).

share many properties, whereas, similarity forms are developed when the properties are few. According to Chiappe and Kennedy (ibid.), figurative vocabulary seems to loosen the restrictions that come with the literal forms.

Espoused by Gernsbacher and Robertson (1999), the *Suppression Model* suggests that metaphor interpretation is based on the process of suppression, in that metaphor understanding suppresses the irrelevant attributes and enhances the most suitable ones.

With respect to metonymy comprehension and acquisition, little research has been published (Panther & Thornburg, 2007). The only notable study is the one by Nerlich, Clarke and Todd (1999) who found that from about 5 years there is a remarkable increase in metonymical production. Earlier than 5 years their findings are ambiguous in that it is not clear whether the few metonymies that appeared in their subject's speech (at about 1 year) are based on contiguity relations or not. With reference to metonymy processing, Gibbs (1994) mentions two models, the *Error Recovery Model* and the *Concurrent Processing Model.* The first model holds that metonymic meaning is created only after the conventional meaning has been found not to be valid. Speakers start looking for alternative interpretations (i.e metonymic) after they have realized that sentences such as "The ham sandwich is getting impatient for his check" which is taken to violate Grice's maxim of Truthfulness. On the other hand, the second model assumes that meaning creation and meaning processes operate at the same time in the determination of tropological meaning.

Apart from the above mentioned general L1 figurative language processing models, in the relevant literature there have been developed specific models which account for idiom acquisition and processing. These models fall under three categories, the *noncompositional models* (or alternatively *direct look-up models*, Glucksberg, 1993) *(= idiomatic meaning is arbitrary, and its interpretation is based on idiom retrieval as a whole without any processing of the constituent elements. These models assume a separate mental lexicon for idioms other than the general word mental lexicon*), the *compositional models* (= *idiomatic meaning is based on both the literal meanings of the idiom elements and the specific interpretation of these elements within a given context*) and the *hybrid models* that include elements of both compositional and noncompositional theories (Cieślicka, 2015; Libben & Titone, 2008). The noncompositional models are attractive, because they can solve the problem of how idioms are processed faster than comparable literal expressions (Ortony, Schallert, Reynolds, & Antos, 1978). Nevertheless, idioms are not just single words lacking the possibility of internal modifications (Gibbs, Nayak, & Cutting, 1989).

The major noncompositional models include the *Acquisition via Exposure Hypothesis,* the *Idiom List Hypothesis* and the *Lexical Representation Hypothesis*. On the other hand, significant compositional models are the *Global Elaboration Hypothesis*, the *Idiom Decomposition Model*, the *Configuration Model* and the *Figurative Competence Model.* The third class of theories is represented by the *Hybrid Model* or the *Constraint-Based Model*. These models are shown in FIGURE 2.

In particular, the Acquisition via Exposure Hypothesis (Ezell & Goldstein, 1991) holds that children acquire idioms in a rote manner by being exposed to idiomatic language in their everyday discourse environment. Thus, familiar idioms will have an advantage over less familiar idioms.

Idiom List Hypothesis (Bobrow & Bell, 1973) holds that idioms are retrieved as a whole from a special idiom lexicon that can be accessed through an *idiom mode* of processing. According to the Idiom List Hypothesis, a literal interpretation is always attempted on an idiom and then the idiom mode is activated. Hence, literal analysis is obligatory, in that if the literal meaning of an idiom is rejected only then will its figurative meaning be retrieved.

Lastly, the Lexical Representation Hypothesis (Swinney & Cutler, 1979) posits that there is not a particular idiom lexicon, but rather idioms are retrieved as long words from the mental lexicon in the same manner as any other word. Moreover, literal and figurative meanings are processed simultaneously.

The Global Elaboration Hypothesis (Levorato & Cacciari, 1992, 1995; Levorato, Nesi, & Cacciari, 2004) argues that there is no special procedure for idiom comprehension. The same strategies that are activated for every word, be it literal, metaphorical, ambiguous and so forth are applied to idioms as well. According to this Hypothesis, when children encounter an idiom in text, they demonstrate certain skills, such as the ability to hypothesize about the meaning starting from the single word to the sentence level, the ability to prompt a particular meaning from its various possible ones, the ability to put aside non suitable meanings and finally the ability to monitor their own text comprehension.

The Idiom Decomposition Model (Gibbs, Nayak, & Cutting, 1989) holds that speakers attempt to do some sort of compositional analysis when encountering idiomatic expressions. When an idiom is decomposable, speakers will assign independent meanings to its constituent elements, so as to construct the final/overall figurative meaning. Longer processing times for analyzing nondecomposable idioms confirm the fact that speakers normally perform a compositional analysis on these idioms, as part of

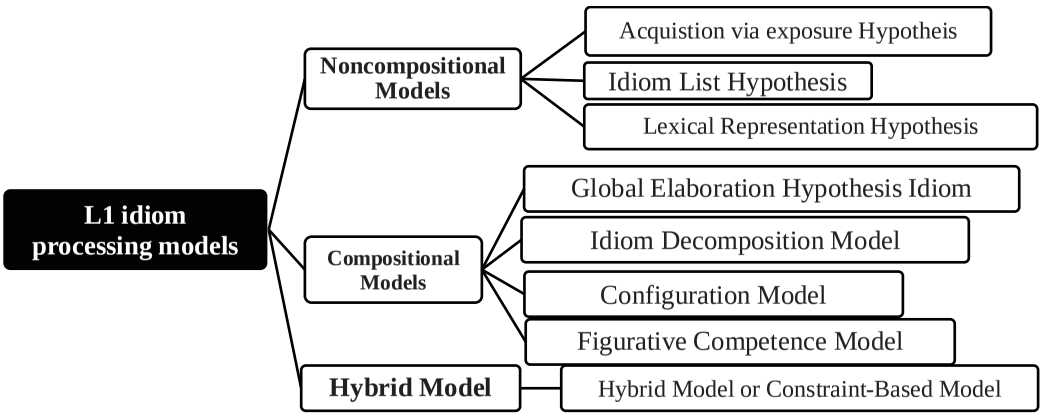

Figure 2: *L1 Idiom processing models*

figuring out their figurative meanings. In addition, the Idiom Decomposition Hypothesis does not comment on the probable activation of literal meanings of the constituent parts of an idiom during idiom processing. In other words, the analysis of each idiom element does not necessarily have to be a pure literal one.

The Configuration Model introduced by Cacciari and Tabossi (1988) holds that idioms are not listed separately from other words in the mental lexicon but rather their meaning is related to particular configurations of words that become available when sufficient contextual cues have made the configuration recognizable. The words that are members of the configuration are the same words that are accessed during comprehension of literal discourse. Hence, there is only one level of processing that is literal and sometime after the activation of the *idiom key* (= *the exact recognition point of the idiomatic expression*) the configuration emerges. At this point, the remaining elements of the idiom may not be processed in a literal manner.

The Figurative Competence Model proposed by Levorato and Cacciari (1995) aims at explaining the relationship between idiom acquisition and idiom processing and views the development of figurative competence as a sequential process exemplified in four (4) phases that qualitatively differ. During Phase 1 (up to 7 years old) children elaborate idioms piece-by-piece in a literal manner. During Phase 2, children are able to look for nonliteral interpretations based on their world knowledge and given a particular context. During Phase 3, children are able to focus on the intended, figurative meanings by considering features, such as the internal states of the speaker and his intentions. Finally, in Phase 4, the end point of idiom acquisition, children are able to produce idiomatic expressions as they have developed a full mastery of figurative language.

The Hybrid Model (Caillies & Butscher, 2007; Libben & Titone, 2008) holds that idiomatic expressions manifest both compositional and noncompositional behavior. In particular, idioms are noncompositional because they are stored as long words, that is they are represented as single entries and as a result they are retrieved directly from the mental lexicon. On the other hand, they are compositional, because they are represented as configurations (/word strings) and the literal analysis of their constituent parts allows inferring the original motivation that lies behind their figurative meaning. Due to the inferential process required for the retrieval of the meaning of a configuration, decomposable idioms take longer to be processed than nondecomposable idioms that are stored as long words. Within the Hybrid Model, idiom comprehension is a dynamic process in that it can interact with many types of relevant information (= constraints), such as, familiarity, word frequency and literal plausibility so as to construct

the intended meaning (Libben & Titone, 2008). Therefore, idiom understanding requires that speakers consider various linguistics and nonlinguistic information that best fit together so as to make sense of the intended meaning. Constraints are present and provide probabilistic evidence in favor of various alternatives that seem to best fit. The meaning is constructed when one alternative is the most coherent and suitable interpretation of what speakers are communicating (Gibbs & Colston, 2012).

L2 models of figurative vocabulary development

Despite the abundance of L1 figurative language processing models, the opposite stands for L2 figurative language, where most of the proposed theoretical models explore the applicability of L1 models in a foreign language context (Türker, 2016). The following research lines have been identified:

- investigation of whether L2 learners comprehend figurative language literally or figuratively. Most findings support the literal processing over figurative interpretation (e.g. Abel, 2003; Cieślicka, 2010, 2013; Liontas, 2003),
- representation of figurative expressions in the L2 mental lexicon. Findings suggest various patterns dependent upon frequency, compositionality (or lack of it) or familiarity (e.g. Conklin & Schmitt, 2008; Kecskes, 2000). There are studies pointing at L2 idiomatic expressions' retrieval as a single word (e.g. Jiang & Nekrasova, 2007; Nelson, 1992) and others arguing that decomposability plays a role in the manner idioms are processed (e.g. Cieślicka, 2006).

Although there are not particular L2 figurative language processing models, research on the interaction of cross-language similarity and the role of context, on idiom decomposability and familiarity and on initial literal analysis gave rise to three L2 idiom processing models. These are the *Idiom Diffusion Model of Second Languages*, the *Model of Dual Idiom Representation* and the *Literal Salience Model* (Cieślicka, 2015). These models are shown in FIGURE 3:

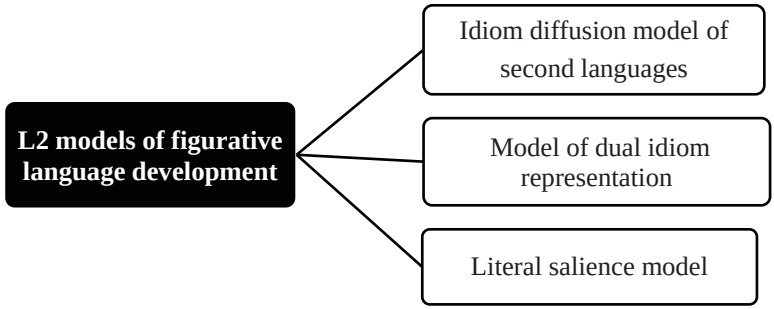

Figure 3: *L2 models of figurative language development*

More specifically, the Idiom Diffusion Model of Second Languages (Liontas, 2002, 2015) is a two-phase model. In the first phase, the *prediction phase*, the L2 learners form various hypotheses about the meaning of an L2 idiom's figurative meaning. These hypotheses are subject to factors, such as idiom transparency, lack or presence of meaningful context and its semantic distance (and/or proximity) from the corresponding L1 counterpart. In the absence of contextual cues, the L2 learner will exclusively rely on the literal analysis of the idiom's constituent elements. L2 idioms with identical L1 counterparts are the easiest to be understood and lack of context is not expected to influence their comprehension. L2 idioms with slightly different L1 counterpart will be cognitively demanding and their understanding will require the presence of some context. L2 idioms, with no equivalent L1 counterpart, will heavily rely on communicative optimal context. In the second phase, the *confirmation* or *replacement, reconstructive phase*, the L2 learner will verify, modify or reject the predictions formulated in the prediction phase by focusing on the most suitable contextual information and rejecting or modifying unlikely interpretations.

The Model of Dual Idiom Representation was first proposed by Titone and Conine (1994a, 1994b, 1999) and further developed by Abel (2003). This model builds on the notions of decomposability, frequency and familiarity and suggests that decomposable idioms have direct lexical entries of their constituent parts (*constituent entries*), whereas nondecomposable idioms have separate lexical entries in the mental lexicon (*idiom entries*). The more frequent an L2 idiom is, the more likely is to construct its own lexical entry. Due to less exposure to an L2, L2 learners do not develop as many idiom entries as the native speakers of the target language. Thus, they have to proceed with the literal analysis of the subparts of an idiom.

Finally, Cieślicka (2006) proposed the Literal Salience Model in order to account for leaning an L2 in a formal setting without exposure to the target language outside of the classroom. The basic argument of this model is that literal meanings of an L2 idiom are more salient than its overall figurative leaning. Salient meanings are those that are activated automatically and are most taken to be more basic regardless of contextual information. Given that L2 learners are learning the target language in a formal setting will be familiar with the literal meanings of the words they encounter and before they see those words in an idiomatic expression. Therefore, the literal meanings of those words will be more salient, and they will form stronger connections in their (i.e. learners') mental lexicon. The more an L2 learner encounters the figurative meaning of an idiom, the less salient the literal meaning of this idiom will become. As a result, the salience status will be affected by familiarity and repeated use. However, in a formal setting without the opportunity for engagement in authentic L2 communicative instances, it is unlikely for a total shift in salience status to occur.

In light of the above, it comes as no surprise the comment by Gibbs and Colston (2006) that there may not be a single theory of L1 (and by extension L2) figurative language comprehension, processing and use because the reasons for using various figures and the mental mechanisms involved in understanding these figures are quite different making it difficult to categorize under a single umbrella every figure, be it metaphor, idioms or metonymy. In the same vein, Gibbs, Wilson and Bryant (2012) claim that there is no single mental process that accounts for the production and processing of all members of figurative language.

L2 figurative vocabulary teaching

Despite the advances in L2 vocabulary teaching (e.g. Carter, 2012; Gardner, 2013; Read, 2000; Schmitt & Schmitt, 2020), figurative language has been given less attention in L2 instruction than it deserves (Lazar, 1996), although it is deemed to be an essential component of L2 communicative competence (Littlemore & Low, 2006a, 2006b). The marginal place of figurative language is reflected even in the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (henceforth CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) where metaphor appears three times (2001: 35, 110, 186), whereas idioms appear nine times (2001: 27, 66, 71, 74, 77, 112X2, 122X2). Two points deserve our attention here, first the two out of three uses of metaphor are metalinguistic ones, whereas only once appears as part of lexical competence in a way restricting its role as a rhetoric device or a figure of speech (Gutiérrez Pérez, 2017). Second, idiomatic knowledge appears

mainly at C1 and C2 CEFR levels (and only one time at B1) following that at A2 and B2 levels this type of figurative language is not necessary.

Littlemore and Low (2006a) argue that L2 learners do not exhibit native speaker skills in the target language. As a matter of fact, research findings indicate that developing figurative competence in an L2 is a challenging task and a major stumbling block for L2 learners. While for native speakers, figurative language is used effortlessly and usually unconsciously, when it comes to L2 learners the situation becomes more challenging (Alexander, 1987; Boers, 2000; Cieślicka, 2015; Lazar, 1996). That is, figurative language causes additional difficulties to L2 learners in cultural-related settings and thus affects their *pragmalinguistic* and *sociopragmatic competence* (Bromberek-Dyzman & Ewert, 2010). It is worth mentioning that the tendency/ability to comprehend and produce metaphors in L1 is closely related to the same tendency/ability in the target language (Littlemore, 2010). Even though L2 learners have the advantage of resorting to background knowledge and experiences of other languages, when it comes to figurative language certain difficulties arise (Littlemore & Low, 2006a). For instance, L2 learners may be unaware of conventions guiding the use of figurative language in the appropriate communicative instances (Low, 1988). In addition, they may be unaware of the cultural background of many figurative language expressions (Littlemore & Low, 2006a) and may not have access to the way many figurative multiword items are structured (Bortfeld, 2003).

Despite the peripheral role attributed to figurative language, many scholars have pointed out its importance in L2 fluency (e.g. Boers, 2000; Cieślicka, 2015; Littlemore & Low, 2006a, 2006b; Low, 1988; Yorio, 1989). In the words of Danesi "the true sign of proficiency […] is the ability to metaphorize in the target language" (1986: 193). Therefore, an inability to use figurative language accurately subject to context is the major reason why L2 learners do not attain native-like fluency (Kecskes & Papp, 2000). To put it another way, in an L2 context the various functions performed by metaphor and related structures (such as idioms) cannot really be ignored (Danesi, 1986). In light of the above, various terms have been introduced in order to describe the different aspects of L2 figurative language mastery and bring L2 learners' attention to it.

In particular, Levorato (1993) coined the notion of *figurative competence* in order to describe "the ability to deal with figurative language" (1993: 104). For Levorato and Cacciari (1992, 1995), figurative competence involves four main linguistic skills. Firstly, the ability to grasp the dominant, peripheral and polysemous meanings of a word and also the ability to perceive its syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Secondly, the

ability to go beyond a purely literal-referential strategy. Thirdly, the ability to use contextual information in order to create new figures of speech, and finally, the ability to understand the figurative uses of a linguistic structure.

In addition, Danesi (1986, 1992) introduced *metaphoric competence* which is broadly defined as the ability to understand and produce metaphors (Danesi, 1986, 1992). Low (1988) suggests that metaphoric competence is the sum of certain skills/abilities which are subject to variation under appropriate instruction. These skills are the following ones: First, the ability to construct plausible meanings when a given utterance contains contradictions and semantic anomalies. Second, the ability to understand the boundaries of conventional metaphors or distinguish the creation of novel ones. Third, the ability to combine acceptable entities in order to form comprehensible (new) metaphors. Fourth, the ability to interpret the potential meaning of an utterance, as a literal, metaphorical or both. Fifth, the ability to distinguish sensitive cultural connotations behind certain metaphors. Sixth, the ability to comprehend the various reference layers behind metaphors and finally, the ability to relate language statements in a coherent manner that are not so explicit.

For Littlemore (2001a), metaphoric competence consists of four components. These are the ability to create new metaphors (originality in metaphor production), the ability to find more than one accepted meaning for a conventional and a novel metaphor and the ability to find meaning in metaphor rapidly.

Cameron (1996) uses the term *metaphorical capacity* which includes four skills. The first skill is related to the negotiation of the various metaphor meanings by finding a resolution of incongruity. The second skill has to do with the automatic access of stored metaphorical meanings. The third skill is associated with the knowledge of whether metaphor use is appropriate and effective or not. The last skill is linked to the goals achieved through metaphor use.

Liontas (2015) based on the Chomskyan "competence-performance" dichotomy introduced, *idiomatic competence* and *performance* respectively. Idiomatic competence refers to the ability to identify and comprehend idioms accurately and appropriately in a wide range of contexts and includes both linguistic and pragmatic knowledge, whereas idiomatic performance is related to the actual use of the implicit competence, that is idiom production in diverse communicative settings. In our view, idiomatic competence includes not only the implicit knowledge of what is accurate and appropriate idiomatic language behavior, but also the ability to produce both conventional and authentic idioms. Just as with the place of metaphoric competence in L2 pedagogy, Yorio (1989) claims that idiomaticity is

essential in L2 instruction and the proper use of idioms stands as an indicator of native-like proficiency.

Building on the above competencies, *metonymic competence* was coined as well. Unlike metaphors and idioms, metonymy is the less studied feature in L2 learning and teaching. Nevertheless, the ability to identify, comprehend and use metonymies in everyday communication is referred to as metonymic competence (Denroche, 2015).

Littlemore (2001b) based on Gardner's (1983) *Multiple Intelligence theory* introduced a ninth kind of intelligence, namely *metaphoric intelligence*. Metaphoric intelligence is considered to be a specific skill and depends on two cognitive mechanisms, loose analogical reasoning and divergent thinking. Analogical reasoning refers to a speaker's ability to grasp the meaning of new phenomena using background and similar knowledge. On the other hand, divergent thinking is related to the generation of many equally acceptable responses for a given problem subject to quantity, variety and originality of answers (Littlemore, 2001b). Regarding the benefits and advantages that metaphoric intelligence brings to L2 classroom, Littlemore (2001b) argues that it enriches language production in the target language and enhances comprehension of metaphors. Moreover, metaphoric intelligence is likely to affect the communication strategies adopted by an L2 learner, such as the metaphoric extension strategies.

Finally, and given the importance of figurative competence in a learner's communicative ability, one could expect that this type of competence would be an integral component of the major models of communicative competence. However, only in Bachman's (1990) model the ability to comprehend figures of speech is categorized under *sociolinguistic competence*. Nevertheless, Littlemore and Low (2006b) showed extensively that metaphoric competence plays a crucial role in all areas of communicative competence. Similarly, Liontas (2015) classified idiomatic competence under sociolinguistic competence, but there is no reason not to assume that, as with metaphoric competence, idiomatic competence is an integral aspect of all components of communicative language ability.

Conclusions

To sum up, figurative language is far from being a decorative feature of esthetic value. Rather it is important and pervasive in everyday communication and serves various functions, such as topic of humor management. Instead of sticking to traditional/standard dichotomies, such as *figurative vs literal language/meaning* and given the different meanings the notion of literality exhibits, it proves to be more fruitful and accurate the

adoption of alternative terminology, such as *figurative vs non figurative language*. The complex nature of figurative language has given rise to various models of development, processing and use either from an L1 or L2 point of view. Nevertheless, it is argued that there may not be a single theory or model of L1 (and by extension L2) figurative language comprehension, processing and use because on the one hand the reasons and the goals for using figurative items and on the other hand the cognitive mechanisms involved in understanding these items do not fall under the same category. Hence, the task of categorizing every figurative item under a single umbrella seems to be quite difficult. Finally, studies investigating the role of figurative language in L2 instructional contexts have demonstrated the contribution of figurative language in a learner's overall communicative competence. However, this finding is not always reflected in L2 curricula or teaching materials placing thus figurative language at the periphery of L2 instruction. Nevertheless, influential work within traditions, such as Cognitive Linguistics and various experimental studies have laid the ground for a productive re-examination of figurative language and gave rise to terms, such as figurative competence or metaphoric intelligence in order to familiarize and raise L2 learners' awareness with the important role and the functions that figurative language demonstrates in L2 contexts.

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CHAPTER TWO

FIGURES OF SPEECH? GO FIGURE! A BAKER'S DOZEN SHOULD DO IT: IMAGINING FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

JOHN I. LIONTAS

Introduction

For better or worse, *figurative language*, combined with literary devices, rhetorical devices, or both, is not receiving the attention it deserves save for a few sporadic exceptions at the elementary through high school level. Even at those levels, despite inclusion of figurative language in the state curricula, coverage of figurative language, not to mention idiomatic language, barely receives any comprehensive treatment beyond a few lessons and some activities mostly centering on learning a few *idioms*, creating some *similes*, *hyperboles* and *onomatopoeia*, discussing certain *metaphors*, *personification* and *alliterations*, and maybe, just maybe pointing out some *allusions* and *anaphoras* for a bonus round, especially when discussing Dr. Martin Luther Kings, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" 1963 speech. Even then, rhetorical devices such as *parallelism*, *restatement*, *repetition*, and *analogy* barely receive lip-service treatment.

Nor are there any serious efforts mounted to dwell more deeply into the rhetorical triangle of *ethos*, *pathos*, or *logos* that characterizes and exemplifies a particular genre, context, purpose, or mode of communication. King's 'Dream' speech, for example, remains largely unread save for the famous *I have a dream* part of the speech. A complete viewing of the 16-minute speech is a notable and most rare exception. I should know as both my children are now in college. Even there, the cycle repeats itself. To put it mildly, at the tertiary level, emphasis on figurative language falls precipitously unless one studies literature (and poetry in particular), rhetoric, or communication studies. At the master's and doctoral level in language studies especially, figurative language treatment is almost

nonexistent. Few graduate students are confident that the answers they give to questions asked about idiomatics are 100% accurate. A perusal of the textbooks dealing with matters of second or foreign language acquisition or bilingual/multilingual education reveals that they barely mention idiomatics. Look up the index of a primary textbook in SLA and 'idiom' is almost nonexistent, irrespective of the publishing house that promotes the book's adoption across colleges and universities here and abroad. During my own studies in SLA in the mid-1990s, the two primary books that were presented to us as the "Bible" of SLA both failed to make any mention of idiom or idiomatics despite their singular focus on second language acquisition. Perhaps I am being a bit too critical here but do not take my word for it. Replay in your own memory your master's and doctoral studies courses (and the books your professors used to teach you about the acquisition of second/foreign languages) and you will soon have the answer you are seeking. As the saying goes, *the proof of the pudding is in the eating*, right?

And yet many of us—especially among international students who always wished to sound and act more naturally and natively—then, as now, had an interest in matters of idiomatics, considered such knowledge central to one's acquisition of another language, took surveys upon surveys making those views known to those brave investigators who toiled to research such linguistic and paralinguistic matters, and a select few of us even dissertated on diverse areas of *idiomatics*—the scientific study of *idiomatic* language and *figurative* language. Google 'idiomatics' and you will have about 26,200 results (as of November 7, 2020) about idiomatic expressions and idiom, none of which explain what *idiomatics* is and is not. Google 'idiomatics meaning' and again you will be asked if you meant to write "idiomatic meaning." If your answer is yes, you will have some 8,190 results to pass your time with. Conversely, if you search "idiomatics as a field," you are certain to have a field day with about 69,100,000 results, or so you think, none of which, unfortunately, will allow you to truly *have a field day* as defined in a dozen dictionaries. If you now wonder how this can be a level playing field, you are not alone. I too wondered about this for some time now, actually more like a quarter century, but I am not one to count time, for I know how like the grains of dry sand time slips through one's fingers.

Time flies indeed and I am, I am ashamed to say, a poor timekeeper. Wishing to level the playing field, I set out to kill two birds with one stone, not literally of course, with my chapter "Teaching Idioms and Idiomatic Expressions Across the Second Language Curriculum" in Hinkel's 2019 edited volume on *Teaching Essential Units of Language:*

Beyond Single-word Vocabulary. In rich detail, I defined *idiomaticity* for the reader as the monolexemic cover term containing seven syllables and 12 characters: ID-I-O-MA-TIC-I-TY. Number of syllables and characters aside, I argued therein that the cover term *idiom(aticity)* in endowed with a vast nomenclature that reaches beyond the widely noted pair of terms, 'idiom' and 'idiomatic,' not to mention 'idioma' (from Late Latin, tongue, dialect, language). I then discussed the pragmatic efficacy of teaching *idiomaticity* or *idiomatology*—the study of idioms and idiomatic language—across the second language curriculum.

Not wishing to revisit the arguments made therein, it is important to reiterate here that the last century alone saw hundreds upon hundreds of accounts from idiomatologists, phraseologists, and lexicologists alike who have attempted to define, describe, and explain *idiomaticity* from a number of theoretical perspectives and empirical paradigms. To no one's surprise, these accounts have generated many terms and related concepts emphasizing the theoretical emphasis pursued. I summarized these theoretical accounts under the heading "Much Ado About the Idiomaticity Labyrinth." Once entered, the Idiomaticity Labyrinth is certain to reveal more than 76 terms that are commonly applied to lexemes of repeated structures exhibiting language peculiarities that defy the expected rules of grammar and/or logic, each term carrying its own unique unitary meaning (see Liontas, 2019, Table 1, pp. 59-62). And while these terms and labels have indeed enriched and deepened the discussion of literal-idiomatic language or literal-figurative language, no matter how truncated their constellation actually is, they have also added to the overall cacophony and misapplication of terms and concepts associated with them. Comparing findings among studies purporting to investigate the same idiomatological phenomena of natural language use during comprehension and/or production has become increasingly more difficult to (see also Myles & Cordier, 2017).

So contextualized, I argued therein that

> "the field of idiomatics, as nascent as it is presently, is in desperate need of an easy-to-understand nomenclature of the very discipline it seeks to define: *idiomatology* (or *idiomaticity*), the study of idioms and idiomatic language. In no way am I suggesting that concerted effort be directed yet again to the compilation of idiomatic words and phrases. Such efforts have been undertaken for centuries by phraseologists and lexicologists alike, resulting in hundreds upon hundreds of lexica and specialized dictionaries. What I am calling for, however, is the need to offer descriptions (and terminology) that are authoritative, definitive, and comprehensive". (Liontas, 2019: 63, emphasis in the original)

Following my own sage advice, I both expanded and offered what I believe to be a richer definition of *idiomatics* in 2021 in my chapter "Attaining Knowledge of Idiomatics in the Age of Coronavirus and Beyond":

> "*Idiomatics* simply is the symbolic expression of inner thought and meaning creation. It is a highly organized and dynamic system of human communication expressed through speech, writing, and gesture by a group of people in a speech community. Despite variation among speakers, idiosyncratic traits aside, it consists of the use of words and utterances deeply rooted in a network of social dynamics of cultural interaction and pragmatic knowledge. Idiomatics is a set of codes of cultural symbols and signs for the communication of information, nearly always conveyed in a conventional and institutional way notwithstanding the particular variant of human language it represents. Idiomatics encompasses *idiomatic* language accepted in common (in)formal usage and *figurative* language best exemplified in the oral and written texts the effective practice of such ideographic and pictographic language mechanisms creatively marks therein to transmit cultural notions, sentiments, and meanings across time and space, and from one generation to the next. The subject matter of idiomatics is understanding the synergistic nature and organization of idiomatic-figurative knowledge in the mind in general and its purposeful, function-driven utilization in discursive and communicative contexts specifically. In short, *idiomatics* is an umbrella term covering every facet of human communication and symbolic cognition in all its manifestation, from information first cognized in the mind as emblematic content and then encoded into metaphorical messages to how such messages are actually spoken, written, or gestured, and, ultimately, interpreted in the social context in which they are productively so shared while adhering to the established sociocultural norms and practices of a speech community". (Liontas, 2021: 3, emphasis in the original)

Remaining true to my own calling for descriptions and terminology that are *authoritative*, *definitive*, and *comprehensive*, that is, not wishing for the above definition of *idiomatics* to become my Achilles heel anytime soon, I set out to foster a new kind of knowledge concerning the reconstructive nature of idiomatics understanding and production in English by *leveling the playing field* (a verb phrase) between *idiomatic language* and *figurative language* since neither one of them, on their own accord, were representing *a level playing field* (a noun phrase). For good measure, under "Key Terms and Definitions" (Liontas, 2021: 32, emphasis in the original), I provided a more laconic definition for *idiomatics* in general and *idiomatic language* and *figurative language* in particular:

> **Idiomatics:** The scientific study of *idiomatic* language and *figurative* language. Idiomatic language is the natural mode of expression and phrasing of a language, that is, language that uses, contains, or denotes peculiar or characteristic expressions, words, or phrases native speakers would routinely use and consider natural and correct. Figurative language is the extraordinary creative use of language that deviates from the conventional work order and plain meaning to suggest meaning rather than directly giving meaning, that is, any figure of speech that plays imaginatively with the meaning of words in order to build and furnish layers of meaning beyond the purely literal for particular descriptive effect.

Armed with such definitions, this chapter now asserts three key arguments, all of which I deem worthy of note in furthering discussion on *figurative language*. Far from representing a complete list, the three arguments discussed next suffice to put figurative language through its paces, both literally and figuratively.

Putting Figurative Language through Its Paces

First, *idiomatics nomenclature* is in need of a serious facelift, and not only cosmetically. Those of us working in diverse disciplines and fields, not only in second language acquisition, language education, idiomatology, or lexicology, have to date created a labyrinthine mosaic of terms, labels, and concepts that are becoming exceedingly knotty to differentiate between and among them with clear-cut boundaries and sharp demarcation lines. Unknotting all of them, streamlining most of them, and culling some of them is not a futile pursuit. All this and more I already argued in great detail in my 2019 chapter "Teaching Idioms and Idiomatic Expressions Across the Second Language Curriculum" (Liontas, 2019). I see no need for duplication here save for one comment: to see progress made in idiomatological phenomena of natural language use, from comprehension to production, the nomenclature closely associated with idiomatics will need to be revisited, redefined, refined, and reexplored anew, systematically if need be, so that empirical findings derived from such targeted investigations may now be more aptly applied, accepted, and where appropriate, reanalyzed, recast, or simply refuted when the evidence would not bear on the interpretations given. The epistemology of idiomatics is too important to see such knowledge misapplied or misinterpreted again and again. Those who seek to understand how idiomatics knowledge develops in the mind, how it is acquired in real situations, and how it is used across modalities, genres, and media, both print and digital, can no longer afford to make excuses for a nomenclature that remains, at best,

"unruly" (Moon, 1997: 43) and, at worse, a "terminological stew" (Hinkel, 2017: 46). This "cacophony" of terms, definitions, and categories, as I characterized it (Liontas, 2019, p. 66), must soon give way to more precise language of investigation if the results of future studies, especially those claiming significance or strong correlation, are to be believed and accepted as viable in the years ahead. A keen understanding of what exactly is being investigated and under what particular experimental paradigms will no doubt usher a new era of idiomatics research here and abroad, irrespective of the language being investigated. Most assuredly, a more systematic account of idiomatics will soon emerge, which, in turn, is likely to impact the ways the teaching-and-learning of idiomatics, from elementary school to doctoral study, will hereafter be structured pedagogically both in materials and settings to guide philosophical disquisitions of the *breadth and depth of understanding idiomatics purposefully and naturally*.

Second, *idiomaticity* is *not* a "puzzle to be solved" or a "riddle wrapped in mystery inside an enigma" (Liontas, 2018a). Idiomaticity is all around us, in every language the world over, in us. It lives, it grows, it evolves with each new generation willing to leave its time stamp of approval behind it. It is as natural as the air we breathe, the thoughts we have, the messages we convey across time and space, and from one generation of speakers to the next. Idiomaticity is what makes us native speakers of the language we speak, sign, and gesture in unique cultural ways, always unapologetically. Idiomaticity is what unites us, what makes us "us." Idiomaticity is what gives us a distinct "voice," a voice we learn to recognize and follow from the cradle to the grave. Anything less than that and we are doomed not to recognize language as our own language. Identity dies first—language follows.

Third, *idiomatics* is language native speakers use to communicate their cognition of the world both in conventional and creative ways. Often we beg, borrow, or steal the language we need to express our thoughts and needs in ways that do not require protracted constructions, explanations, or paraphrases. Speed is the name of the game we play. Fluency the result. Nativeness the trophy we hoist high above our heads. Deviations certain to raise one or more eyebrows. Sometimes we 'borrow' less from the punch bowl of conventionality and institutionalization to create 'more with less.' We do not have to. We choose to. We chose to play with the words, the sounds, the forms our language accepts. We choose to compose words, phrases, and expressions that appear to defy logic and syntactic structure only to cut a figure or paint a face so beautiful certain to launch a thousand ships again. Beauty is in the eye of the beholder always. At other times, methodically we choose to metamorphose a world into a stage where all

peoples are merely players and parting such sweet sorrow, where the pen is said to be mightier than the sword, where the wind whispers the buzzing sounds of the forest still. In this world of crafty creation, reality meets imagination, meaning hides in plain sight, language takes the road less travelled. In the minefield of ideas, literal and non-literal language zig and zag their way back to the playing field of interpretation. No U-turns allowed here. And still at other times, we explicitly employ extended metaphors to further expand upon the analogy painted in words and sounds. By design, an extended metaphor can extend over multiple lines or throughout the work to draw a larger comparison or parallels between two unlike things or two ideas, thereby making complex things and/or ideas all the more memorable or tangible.

To wax philosophical, if only for a trio of paragraphs, sports-related metaphors (phrases, clichés, or idioms) are pervasive in American cultural discourse. Not only do they represent the common culture that is ingrained in our mind, more importantly, perhaps, they are the public doublespeak oozing conventional wisdom. From sea to shining sea, as the song goes, sports metaphors are routinely coded, stored, retrieved, and shared when so needed during communication. In sports, as in life, (visual-auditory) metaphors become the analogies—the field of play—where meaning makes its home. In them, language comes alive. From one word to another, metaphors transpose meaning to score fast points on comprehension. How many points is a matter of nuanced interpretation. As Albert Einstein purportedly once said, “Life is just like a game, First, you have to learn the rules of the game and then play it better than anyone else.” Or perhaps, “Life is like a game of chess” or “Life is” more “like a game of cards.” If the latter, it is best to play the hand you have. For how you play your hand makes all the difference, not the cards you have been dealt. And if indeed “Life is just a game” and we “make the rules,” then all we have to do is play it with heart and give it our best shot, right? Or maybe, we are just the players in the only game called life. After all, life is a game. Just play the game. But remember, you can’t win them all! You win some, you lose some. That’s just the way the ball bounces. If we only knew now what type of ball that is or, at least, the name of the ball—baseball, basketball, beach ball, billiard ball, bocce ball, bossaball, bowling ball, cricket ball, dodgeball, exercise ball, fistball, foam ball, football, futsal ball, golf ball, handball, Hooverball, hurling ball, jorkyball, korfball, lacrosse ball, lawn ball, medicine ball, paddle ball, pelota, playground ball, racquetball, rattan ball, rinkball, rugby ball, skee ball, soccer ball, softball, squash ball, stickball, table tennis ball, tennis ball, volley ball, water polo ball, wiffleball—surely, that would alleviate much searching and guessing. Last

time I checked, bowling balls, billiard balls, and bocce balls, for example, are not known to bounce much. Still, that's a lot of balls, for sure! I stopped counting after the third dozen or so. I am sure I must have dropped a ball or two counting. Hindsight is so 20/20. I trust no one will ask me to keep all these balls in the air. Too many balls in the air, impossible to do, I say.

How to get the ball rolling here with all these balls is a whole new ball game, especially if we still do not know what 'ballgame' it is or the rules we need to observe. Knowing these two characteristics alone would narrow this ball exercise considerably. For starters, we could "address the ball" if we were playing golf. But I am not sure golf is the name of the game here. We could also "carry the ball" or "drop the ball." But you cannot do that in golf, it is against the rules. Wait! I take it back. Actually, you can "drop the ball" (or "take a drop") straight down from knee high if your golf ball is in a hazard or out of bounds. The referee also "drops the ball" between two soccer players when the game has been stopped. But as far as I know, you do not "carry the ball" in basketball, volleyball, or soccer, but you do so in football, rugby, and dodgeball. Come to think of it, in gridiron football (or simply football), also known as North American football, you actually *fumble* (the loss of the football by a ball carrier during a play) when you "drop the ball." Most definitely, you do not want to "drop the ball" before you cross the goal line for a touchdown. You would in fact be dropping the ball in more ways than one, literally speaking, no need to list here the many 'compliments' (Sike!) you are certain to receive afterwards, right? Way too many comparisons and parallels here and we haven't even scratched the surface. How many balls still to go? Don't answer that! On second thought, all this mental exercising is giving me a headache.

Perhaps it would be best if we just "keep our eye on the ball" if we want to "play ball," whatever ballgame that is. Or we could just "spot the ball" or "run with the ball" without "dropping the ball"? Now that is a new wrinkle on waxing philosophical, I am sure of it. How is anyone supposed to "stay on the ball," much less "have a ball," if the "ball is in your court"? Quite honestly, I am awfully tired doing mental ball gymnastics here only to find myself yet again "behind the eight ball." Just take me out to the ball game! Any ball game, please! Maybe life is more like a game of football (if I only knew which 'football' to play). Nomenclature galore, for sure

Returning to our discussion of (extended) metaphors, those of us familiar with American football, for example, will not need much explanation to visualize and understand the complexity of the game during college football homecoming weekend, a weekend that is as American as

apple pie. However, those unfamiliar with the game, especially those who hear "football" but think literally *football* (as it is known in the rest of the world, *not* "association football" or "soccer"), may well need some targeted scaffolding in decoding the many references therein to help them make the right connections and draw multiple parallels between them with what they appear to see, hear, or read like so:

> *Down to the Wire the Pigskin Flies — A Homecoming Football Game*
>
> The hour is near. Just beyond the dim blue horizon a ball of fire is set to touch down. Lights flicker in the distance. An ocean of people awaits the homecoming football game long coming. The stadium is packed to the gills. Anticipation fills the air like a giant balloon ready to burst its helium. The goalposts are secured. Moving them as in times past a logical fallacy not soon forgiven. The titans enter the field. First the guests, the literal language squad. Right behind them the home team, the figurative language squad. Like a giant tsunami they hit the 120-yard field only to stop for the occasional high five and some much needed elbow rubbing near the 50-yard line. On the sidelines, cheerleaders cheer their teams in reciting tones, chanting slogans in unison, dancing highly intense choreographed routines. Nearby, the marching band plays the team's fight song. The captains from each 11-member team and the head referee soon meet at the center of the playing field for the coin toss: *Heads I win, tails you lose!*
>
> The literal language team wins the coin toss and elects to kick the oval shaped ball to the opposing team from their own 35-yard line to start the game. Eleven players from each side take their positions ready to make battle. And what a battle it will be! Having won control of the ball, the offense of the literal language team takes the field, including the quarterback, halfback, receivers, tights ends, and the center. The figurative language team sets its own formation to receive the ball.
>
> You can sense the electricity in the air. Like canned sardines freed from captivity, crowds of people begin to move up and down, raising their arms in sync. A sight to behold, for sure! From the top rows to the bottom seats of the stadium, section by section, a metachronal rhythm wave effect rolls its way clockwise all around

the stadium. The energy is palpable, the kick-off is seconds away. The season's most anticipated game is set to begin in 5, 4, 3, 2, 1… An ultra shrill 115-130 decibels tone pierces the air first, your ears second, spittle is blowing everywhere.

Time to play ball.

The crowd erupts in applause and jubilation. The literal language team punts the ball down field. The figurative language team has to catch the ball and try to advance it as far back toward the kicking team as possible. They go for a touchback and start their drive on their own 20-yard line. The line of scrimmage is set. It is only a matter of time before they score their first touchdown. All they have to do is advance the ball 10 yards toward the goal each time with the four "downs" they have. Failure to make the 10-yard mark results in the loss of the ball or in punting the ball downfield on the fourth down.

During play, one referee (lead official) and six other officials (umpire, head linesman, line judge, back judge, field judge, and side judge) oversee fair play and monitor both game clock and play clock. Throughout the four 15-minute quarters of official game play divided into two halves of 30 minutes, triangles are read and misread, formations change, special teams (punter, place kicker, kick returner, long snapper) enter and exit the game for specific plays, running plays replace passing plays, defensive players try to tackle the quarterback behind the line of scrimmage to cause a "sack," rules are broken and enforced, infractions are recorded, penalties are called, games are delayed, false starts and holding interrupt the flow of the game, and "red zones" are commonly announced prompting much discussion among coaches whether it is best to pass or run the ball into the end zone in the final twenty yards. Timeouts are called, decisions are quickly made, words are set into play action. Advancing the ball into the opponent's end zone all but certain now. Six points soon to grace the scoreboard. Please, please, let it be so! And then an extra point just for kicking the ball between the uprights of the goalposts and above the crossbar, not under the crossbar—this is not soccer after all. A two-point conversion after scoring a touchdown is not a far-fetched idea, either.

The fans are at the edge of their seats, many on pins and needles, nail-biting a habit not soon kicked. Here we go. The ball is in play. It is in the air. Oh no, it gets picked, fumbled, recovered, fumbled again, and then recovered again for the touchdown. *Say it ain't so!* I am afraid it is! A close call, for sure, despite twin fumbles, an interception, and an improbable touchdown. Six points secured, now for the extra one point… or should they go for two? Would fate smile upon the figurative language team again? Does fortune favor the bold?

Not today. The ball is snapped. It is in the air. It is intercepted by the opposing defensive literal language lineman. Everyone on the defense blockers they soon become. Down the sideline the ball carrier runs for a "pick six." Oh my, he succeeds in triumphant fashion. And then an extra point just for good measure. How quickly fortune changes hands. How quickly time flies. Four quarters later, the score is still 6:7. Down to the wire the battle of titans goes!

The clock is ticking down. Five seconds remain. No rest for the weary. But can the figurative language team come from behind to win the game? It is now or never. The last play. Outside the pocket, the quarterback flings the ball with all his might into the end zone. No time left on the clock. The moonshot ball hangs in the air for 64 yards. A high arc paints the starry night. Each second of flight a lifetime of wait. Eyes closed, Hail Mary prayers in the lips of many, fingers are crossed and double-crossed and triple crossed. And why not? All bets are off now. A deafening silence blankets the field of play so much so you could hear pins dropping right, left, and center. And then both teams jump up in the air to catch the pigskin coming down at the receivers right in the middle of the end zone. Amidst the chaos of pushing, pulling, and boxing out, an offensive tight end player reaches up into the night and snags the ball out of the air.

Touchdown!

The jubilant home crowd erupts into a paroxysm of celebration. A chaotic wonder of cheers and applause fills the air. The stands shake like an earthquake. Bodies convulse in aftershock after aftershock. Friend or foe, hugs and kisses all around. Noise and

movement everywhere. A crush of screams and cries not soon forgotten. Many storm the field. Like an avalanche rumbling down the mountain they go. Others hang their heads in utter despair. Tears streaming down their cheeks like waterfalls. Tissues in short supply.

The scoreboard tells the story: Figurative Language 12 – Literal Language 7.

A score so close yet so far now for all those who came from far and away to say what they mean and mean what they say. But not today! Today, figurative language was put through its paces and came out victorious: words, phrases, and sentences played the game in an unconventional and non-literal manner; characters and storylines came alive in the reader's mind; mood evoked feelings still lingering fresh in the mind; suspense drove the story down the field; imagery painted escapes dressed in sports metaphors and human behavior easily remembered; unfamiliar cultural conventions became familiar in expressive description; and language left everything on the field of play—from the first image to the last pass her true colors she showed even when Chronos himself froze time to watch in awe the rocket pass spiral through the evening stars.

A miracle pass? Perhaps. A breathtaking Hail Mary catch? For sure. A touchdown for the ages? No question about it. No tall tales need be told here. A game-winning throw that is now the stuff of legends. The rest is history, both literally and figuratively. As the saying goes, it was the Hail Mary pass that *snatched victory from the jaws of defeat.* And for many of us who still prefer *football* over football, who fail to apperceive the subtle nuances of idiomatics beyond the purely literal for particular descriptive effect, not to mince words here, we are but a lowly MMQB acronym—a Monday Morning Quarterback, an armchair quarterback, a dime a dozen—no more, no less.

And yes, down to the wire the pigskin flies. I should know. I was there.

Life is short. Make every play count.

Literature Review

The last four decades alone have seen an explosion of research concerning matters of idiomatics, idiomaticity, formulaicity, metaphoricity, and phraseology. The nomenclature alone is as diverse as the individuals who toiled to define, understand, discern, and explain their domain area and significance in both first and second language learning and teaching. Those not familiar with the available literature to date would be hard pressed to keep the different theoretical strands apart or reconcile them under a single terminological umbrella. The various theoretical perspectives pursued, not to mention the means by which different researchers and language professionals practiced those ends, are manifold and rich in nuance, each adding a distinct layer of understanding to the structured system of cognitive communication called *language*. How the people of a particular country or region choose to employ that system productively in spoken, signed, or written symbols to convey cultural meaning in expressive, informative, and directive means remains one of the greatest challenges few researchers and language professionals know how best to present in easy-to-digest bites of information the most relevant implications for teaching and learning without resorting to industry-specific jargon or specialized language.

A scant review of the literature, let alone a comprehensive appraisal of the viewpoints followed, reveals that researchers from various disciplines respect different foci and different interpretations. More specifically, some focus on idiom variation, others offer explanations on the role multiword building blocks play in explaining L1-L2 differences (Arnon & Christiansen, 2017), others explore the role of formulaic language in language learning, and still others provide persuasive arguments for native-like selection and fluency (Howarth, 1998a). According to Pawley and Syder (1983), language is indeed repetitive, and grammar rules for combining words, phrases, and sentences are not the sole building blocks of linguistic productivity, a position with which Pinker (1999) disagrees. Important to note here is the evidence several corpus investigations provide with respect to multiword sequences (e.g., Jaworska, Krummes, & Ensslin, 2015; Wolter & Yamashita, 2015). Consistent with Jackendoff (1997) and DeCock, Granger, Leech, and McEnery (1998), multiword sequences abound in language and even account for nearly 50% of the language native speakers produce in either speech or writing. Similarly, Erman and Warren (2000) and Schmitt and Carter (2004) maintain that formulaic sequences constitute a considerable part of human discourse both in comprehension and production, epitomize native-like speech, and

facilitate language acquisition (Boers, Eyckmans, Kappel, Stengers, & Demecheleer, 2006; Conklin & Schmitt, 2012; Kecskes, 2006; Moon, 1997).

Capturing the idiosyncratic nature of such structures is not an easy proposition even when machine-learning techniques are directly applied (Culicover, Jackendoff, & Audring, 2017), not to mention the perceived difficulties second language learners seem to have when asked to produce rare words, complex lexical units, multiword sequences, or situation-bound utterances (Arnaud & Savignon, 1997; Kecskes, 2000; Laufer, 2000; Wray, 1999, 2002). And yet, all such sequences are considered progressively important in processes of language development and acquisition (Pawley & Syder, 1983; Van Lancker Sidtis, Cameron, Bridges, & Sidtis, 2015), their importance in language representation and processing notwithstanding (Goldberg, 2006; Jackendorf, 1997).

Following Wray (2017) and Wray and Perkins (2000), multiword sequences perform important communicative functions during speech events—maintaining fluency being one of them, facilitating first and second language acquisition being another (Arnon & Christiansen, 2017; Boers, Eyckmans, Kappel, Stengers, & Demecheleer, 2006; Nekrasova, 2009; Theakston & Lieven, 2017). Indeed, knowledge of such sequences, structures, chunks, clusters, or bundles are key in acquisition and production (Sprenger, Levelt, & Kempen, 2006; Wood, 2002), first and second language writing (O'Donnell, Römer, & Ellis, 2013), academic written English (Howarth, 1996, 1998b; Hyland, 2012; Schmitt, 2004), university spoken and written registers (Biber & Barbieri, 2007), first-year business and engineering university textbooks and EAP textbooks (Wood & Appel, 2014), contemporary coursebooks and EFL/ESL textbooks (Hsu, 2008; Koprowski, 2005), and second language pedagogy (Martinez, 2013), despite pronounced difficulties in identifying them objectively in the literature or correctly translating them (Carrol & Conklin, 2014; Carrol, Conklin, & Gyllstad, 2016; Isobe, 2011; Zhang, Yang, Gu, & Ji, 2013; Zhang, van Heuven, & Conklin, 2011).

Metaphorical thought to understanding of culture and society, especially the major dimensions of metaphor variation in human experience (natural discourse), Kövecses (2005) aptly explored to show how the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor can simultaneously explain both universality and diversity in metaphorical thought as well as the cultural and social boundaries that signal distinct discontinuities. Moreover, the presentation of etymology and cultural variation both as a strategy and a variable for learning, comprehending, and remembering figurative idioms (Boers, Demecheleer, & Eyckmans, 2004a, 2004b; Boers, Eyckmans, &

Stengers, 2007), hypothesizing about the origin of figurative idioms (Boers, 2001), the use of pictures to impact mnemonic effectiveness (Boers, Lindstromberg, Littlemore, Stengers, & Eyckmans, 2008), the application of assonance to making phrases memorable (Boers, Lindstromberg, & Eyckmans, 2014), and pedagogic scaffolding to make learners aware of metaphor (Boers, 2000) are but some of the ways Boers, alone and with colleagues, has tried to address the need for idiomatic and figurative language. (For additional pedagogic-technological constructs detailing idiomatic learning across the curriculum, see Liontas, 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2018e, 2018f.)

Far from complete, the sources provided heretofore underscore the position idiomatics holds in human communication in general and, more specifically, in the products humans create to voice their thoughts and aspirations in idiomatic and figurative language, respectively. What follows is a sample of idiomatics practices (IP) that collectively exemplify some of the most promising practical ideas heretofore discussed. Because of space limitations, only those that have withstood the test of time are presented next. These are listed in Table 1.

IP	Idiomatics Practice Name
IP01	A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step
IP02	The more the merrier…
IP03	The low-hanging fruit
IP04	A ship without a port of call
IP05	Back to square one! But this time, one step back, two steps forward
IP06	A diamond in the rough
IP07	Nothing ventured, nothing gained
IP08	I Have a Dream!
IP09	Variety is the spice of life
IP10	Easy as ABC
IP11	Looking deep into the mind's eye
IP12	Ask (and it shall be given to you). Seek (and you shall find). Knock (and the door shall be opened)
IP13	Casting your net far and wide
IP14	Don't follow the path. Blaze the trail
IP15	It's all Greek to me!
IP16	Behind the curtain
IP17	Tick Tock - Tick Tock. Time's a wasting
IP18	A picture is worth a thousand words
IP19	Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee

IP20	No Figure Left Behind (NFLB)
IP21	A horse of a different color
IP22	Worth every penny
IP23	No holds barred
IP24	Moderation in all things, especially moderation
IP25	The light at the end of the tunnel is not an illusion. The tunnel is. Keep moving!
IP26	Pushing the envelope
IP27	Roads lead to Rome, but time flies

Table 1: ***Idiomatics Practices (IP01-27)***

Numbering 27 in total, the first baker's dozen (IP01-13) I present in this chapter. The remaining I present in the chapter that follows next (cf. Chapter 3). Each IP is couched in a familiar expression that sets the overall tone for the ideas presented therein. Where necessary, concrete examples or advice are offered to ease the presentation or explication of ideas. Oftentimes, an idea continues and expands into the next, thereby further extending the power of its applicability. Even so, none of the ideas presented or advice offered are exhaustive in nature, and many adaptations or modifications are indeed possible here depending on local context and needs. Appositely, teachers are counseled to use their professional judgment and adapt them to their own context and students, as desired. After all, I assert, *it takes a village to raise a speech figure!*

Figures of Speech? A Baker's Dozen Should Do It

IP01 — A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. Embrace the language of the standards and develop a curriculum that befits your local context. Review and select those district and statewide standards that specifically address literal and idiomatic/figurative language. The *Common Core State Standards*, for example, provide a wealth of information, from Kindergarten to Grade 12, of critical import to the teaching and learning of literal and nonliteral language. Both the comprehensive K-5 section and the two content area-specific sections for grades 6-12—one for English Language Arts (ELA) and one for history/social studies, science, and technical fields—include in their respective strands a strand-specific set of College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards that is identical across all grades and content areas. More precisely, the K-5 and 6-12 ELA have Reading, Writing, Speaking,

and Listening, and Language strands; the 6-12 history/social studies, science, and technical subjects section focuses on Reading and Writing, and both strands have grade-specific standards addressing end-of-year expectations. Collectively, the key features of these standards address reading (text complexity and the growth of comprehension), writing (text types, responding to reading, and research), speaking and listening (flexible communication and collaboration), and language (conventions, effective use, and vocabulary). Additionally, three appendices (Appendix A, B, and C) contain important ancillary materials astute teachers would find hard to dismiss entirely or relegate to the sidelines without cause. Supplementary material on reading, writing, speaking and listening, and language, as well as a glossary of key terms can be found in Appendix A. Text exemplars illustrating the complexity, quality, and range of reading appropriate for various grade levels with accompanying sample performance tasks are found in Appendix B. Lastly, annotated samples of at least adequate performance in student writing at various grade levels are included in Appendix C.

Those language performance standards that align with lesson plans or unit themes on identifying, analyzing, or interpreting literal and nonliteral meaning of words and phrases, in particular, should be given high priority. Key here is to help make these standards accessible to your students as they advance through the grades and demonstrate command of standard English and acquire and use a wide-ranging vocabulary of literal and nonliteral language. Helping them build strong knowledge of idiomatics; understand an author's (or speaker's) assumptions and premises; weigh the validity of assertions and the completeness of reasoning; respond to the varying demands of audience, task, and purpose; value constructive and relevant evidence of both oral and written text interpretations; appreciate nuances in tone and meaning connoted by single words, a set of words, or entire sentences; demonstrate independence and collaborative spirit as warranted by the task assigned; employ multimedia technology and digital resources purposefully and adeptly while respecting the strengths and limitations of such authentic media; and, finally, understand other perspectives and cultures representing diverse human experiences and worldviews through the power that is *language proper* are all apposite curricular considerations defining general and cross-disciplinary literacy expectations across grade-specific standards.

Collectively, the language performance standards offer practical 'language' specificity and, notably, a much-needed flexibility to design integrated curricula that truly meet students' needs and interests befitting their intellectual capacity and natural curiosity to learn about language that

many a time does not literally state what it figuratively means. Teachers are thus free to select from the resources available to them the materials and tools they believe, based on their professional judgment, will best measure their students' English language growth of literal and nonliteral language across grades and within targeted performance standards. A cogent division of communicative reading, writing, listening, and speaking purposes encompassing an extensive range of idiomatic texts helps define what students are expected to know and be able to do *with* language, *through* language, and *in* the language they seek to master. Even more importantly, a well-developed, content-rich distribution of high-volume speech figures and (non)print texts in online, offline, and hybrid media forms, flanked by grade-specific standards and build-in expectations, can and should reflect the greatest possible range in student multisensory needs and interests, including multiple intelligences and learning styles, intellectual maturity and abilities, and learning rates and achievement levels. Such rigorous academic preparation is likely to ensure maximum participation by teachers and students alike, and, in the process, solidify the truism that even the longest and most difficult ventures have a starting point, for in the sage words of Taoist philosopher Lao-tzu, *the journey of a thousand miles begins beneath one's feet.* Embracing the language of the standards, one standard at a time, is akin to placing one foot in front of the other. In time, teachers and students will arrive at their desired destination armed with native-like control of conventions and vocabulary, for the feet always follow the eyes, at least as long as the eyes stay laser focused on the destination, metaphorically speaking that is!

IP02 — The more the merrier… Assemble copious samples of idiomatic and figurative expressions representing common types of nonliteral language. A great many resources are already available online and ripe for pedagogical treatment. Curtail your excitement to collect too many resources. There are a myriad of them 'out there' and trying to collect them all is as futile as *putting the cart before the horse*. Instead, begin with a ship, not a fleet. As the saying goes, *The more the merrier, but also the messier*. Look for quality of material, not quantity of expressions assembled no matter the excitement of the hunt. As you update and refine the selection criteria, in time, you can always multiply the resources consulted and add to your high-prized collection of expressions. Quality always trumps quantity no matter how clicheic the alliteration.

IP03 — The low-hanging fruit. Always begin the hunt for resources and expressions with *the low-hanging fruit* first. There is no need to expend a

lot of time and effort when your own classroom materials and textbooks already include a number of literal and nonliteral language samples. Any search action that can be undertaken quickly and easily as part of a wider range of searches to produce ripe, delectable results should precede gains arduously obtained. Even so, be wary not to rest on your laurels for too long.

IP04 — A ship without a port of call. Beware of creating a culture where students believe they are not responsible to search for and select their own representative samples of literal and nonliteral language. *Beating the bush* can only flush a limited number of birds out of the brush before continuing doing so becomes akin to *beating a dead horse*. Exercise caution when asking students to widen their search for idiomatic and figurative language. There is nothing worse than being *a ship without a port of call*. Each *port of call* needs to embody an intermediate stop. Just as a ship on its scheduled journey needs a port of call for unloading and loading of cargo or taking on supplies or fuel, similarly, students need explicit and purposeful directions how best to identify, analyze, or interpret literal and nonliteral meaning of words and phrases by readily available means. Remember: *success breeds success*. And nothing succeeds like success.

IP05 — Back to square one! But this time, one step back, two steps forward. Model the thought process students are to emulate when *mining a text for meaning*—from literary to prose texts—or specific textual types (argumentative, descriptive, expository, functional, informational, narrative, procedural, recounts) for idiomatic or figurative language. For example, *factual texts* written to inform, instruct or persuade by giving facts and information are different from *literary texts* meant to entertain or elicit an emotional response by using language to create mental images. By design, the *text structures* (i.e., how the text is patterned or organized) between factual texts and literary texts differ from one another, just as each text employs different types of *text features*. Accordingly, students need to learn to identify and recognize common text structures (e.g., cause/effect, comparison/contrast, classification, definition, description, pattern/process, problem/solution, pros/cons, sequence/chronological order) and conventional story elements (backstory, B-plots, characterization, flashback, flash-forward, foreshadowing, external or internal problem/conflict, main/supporting characters, plot/text structure through the rise and fall of action, point of view, red herrings, relationships, resolution, setting(s), theme, tone) found in various text types. Equally, they should be schooled in taking advantage of all available text features to determine what is

important to the text and to them. Readily available story or article *components* that are not the main body of text (e.g., contents, index, glossary, headings, special print type, bold words, sidebars, pictures, captions, labeled diagrams, graphical tables) supply additional scaffolds students need to take full advantage of in mining a text for meaning.

IP06 — A diamond in the rough. Expose students to a variety of music, film, or writing styles and genres—action, adventure, anthology, autobiography, ballads, biography, comedy, comics, crime/urban fiction, culinary, diaries, documentary, drama/melodrama, elegy, fantasy, Film-Noir, guide, health, history, horror, journals, literature, musical, mystery, novels, ode, picture books, poetry, prose, romance, religion, satire, science fiction, self-help, song, sonnet, spirituality, textbooks, (legal/medical/noir) thriller, tragedy, travel, trilogy, war, westerns—and help them learn how best to exploit text and (rhetorical) context within a narrative (or within a text) to understand the set of circumstances or facts that surround a particular event, situation, person, idea, word(s), or passage. To develop control over a particular genre, discuss and analyze text structure, context, and language first. Thereafter, engage your students in joint text construction and model for them your 'think-aloud' thought process as you come across nonliteral language. Note particular forms, functions, and purposes the author is deliberately exploiting via creative dialogical/narrative discourse perspectives (e.g., schematic structure, linguistic/discourse features, lexico-grammatical patterns, cultural context) to exercise creative control over relevant vocabulary and shared experiences that help situate in place and time societal values and beliefs. Notable linguicultural practices or expressions exemplifying (un)stated power relationships or social institutions found interspersed throughout the body of the (written or spoken) text should be given particular attention as such practices/expressions often acknowledge the context and the times in which the text was first created and used. Exercise discretion when coming across euphemisms, sarcasm, or verbal, situational, or dramatic irony your students may have difficulties to decode and interpret accurately. 'Colorful' language, while omnipresent in many period and contemporary texts, songs, and movies, for example, should be 'handled with kid gloves,' unless its use is academically warranted or permissible. Most importantly, help them understand how to *read between the lines*, including those referencing existing or present-day slang and 'other' crypto messages, when encountering different types of forms of text or genres. Not everything that is written (or said) is to be taken literally, just as every idiomatic expression the author crafted is not an idiom or a

literary device requiring painstaking textual analysis, comparison, or interpretation.

IP07 — Nothing ventured, nothing gained. Expose students to a wide range of authors and help them uncover the writer's style. What sets every author's writing apart from all others and makes it unique in style or appeal is a road trip worth taking. And just as every *journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step*, following the prudent advice of Lao-tzu, here too teachers are counseled to begin with a select few authors known to employ nonliteral and idiomatic/figurative language. In time, feel free to add to the initial list of authors and equally permit students to make their own recommendations. With each new addition, have students share how individual authors dress up (or down) their literary style to fit the specific context, purpose, or audience their writing is addressing. For example, have students read the opening paragraph of Charles Dickens' renowned vivid historical novel, *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way – in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only." (Book I-Recalled to Life, Chapter I-The Period), and have them note the many rhetorical *anaphoras* (a word or group of words is repeated at the beginning of two or more successive clauses or sentences) and *antithesis/paradox* (a juxtaposition of opposite ideas, a statement contrary to popular belief) present therein.

Beginning with the novel's title, which sets the iconic stage of comparison for the highs and lows paralleled in the story to come, have students analyze each line and have them describe the deliberate author-replicated paradox of comparison and contrast of two situations and environments afflicting two cities, Paris and London, during the tumultuous time of the French Revolution, the time of extreme opposites, the time of chaos, conflicts, despair, and happiness, the time of controversies and contradictions. Have students extrapolate from the marked use of back-to-back antithetical statements—the superlative degree of comparison only—how Dickens adds emphasis and unity to the successive clauses full of doubles, and thereby succeeding in describing in a balanced or parallel construction the chaos and extreme difference in the

social classes at that time. How does the anaphoric repetition of "it was" use redundancy to dramatic effect? Do the continual anaphoric repetitions and the many antithetical statements of "best of times/worst of times," "age of wisdom/age of foolishness," and so on, propel the reader forward into the world Dickens is setting up? Does the crafty use of combining *parallelism*—a scheme in which parts of a sentence repeat—with antithesis create wonder and drama in the reader's mind? How does parallelism structures and adds emphasis to each idea presented in contrasting pairs? How does parallelism establish pattern and balanced rhythm and shape to the opening passage here?

Those wishing to go beyond the opening lines of the famous novel, *A Tale of Two Cities,* should be encouraged to keep on reading to discover Dickens "other" rhetorical/literary devices and figurative language employed with rich descriptive detail throughout the fast-paced, action-packed, romantic novel, among them a plethora of *metaphors*, *symbolism*, *similes*, *personification*, *hyperboles*, and *repetition*. With each new discovery, students should contemplate Dickens' reasoning for the use of these devices in writing this thrilling novel, the many themes (e.g., belief, brutality, despair, fate, foolishness, hope, incredulity, injustice, love, redemption, sacrifice, wisdom) he explores, the variety of characters he shapes and molds in imaginative, poetic ways, and the vivid imagery he paints with dramatic flair in the many episodes to come to create atmosphere, comment on his characters, and free the spirit of the late eighteen century at the outbreak of the French Revolution. Others could search for prime examples of *antithesis* in literature ("Give every man thy ear, but few thy voice." - *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare) or in famous quotes ("That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." – Neil Armstrong), and still others could compile a list of memorable uses of *anaphora*, also called *epanophora*, in pop culture (movies, television, advertising, music) or well-known speeches, such as the one Winston Churchill famously delivered to the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom on June 4, 1940, one of the defining speeches during the second world war: "We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills. We shall never surrender."

IP08 — I Have a Dream! Epitomize student exploration of authors with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s most famous speech, *I Have a Dream,* by far

the best known in American history. Situate and contextualize both historically and socially the closing speech given on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963. Carried live on major television networks, his momentous "I Have a Dream" speech was the impetus of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Have students watch a video of the speech first. Permit students to voice any comments they wish to make at this time. Clarify any lapses of understanding they may have about the historical climate in which the speech was given or any precursor events that led to the speech. Inform students that while they will be watching the speech a second time, they will be asked to underline and label examples of literary terms present in the printed copy of the speech. Following the end of the second playback video, permit students some extra time to reread the speech and organize their findings into the various rhetorical terms, including *alliteration, allusion, anaphora, assonance, (extended) metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, parallelism, personification, simile,* and *synecdoche*. Next, have students appreciate the power of the civil rights message by openly discussing the many rhetorical devices and figurative language employed masterfully. If differences of opinion surface, use students' understanding of the various terms and devices as an added opportunity to revisit and reteach specific knowledge domains of literal and nonliteral language. Most importantly, empower students to review their findings as a class and take note of their developing understanding of rhetorical and/or literary devices.

IP09 — Variety is the spice of life. Help guide students' focus on the (con)text surrounding each writing selected for sampling and textual analysis. All authors, without exception, consider their contexts in crafting their sentences. Uncovering the ways authors shape their texts and contexts illuminates the inventive ways in which authors unapologetically employ their craft to give the words flight never before so creatively conceived until their debut. They do so most skillfully by employing literary elements (word choice, word patterns, sentence arrangement/structure, idiomatic/figurative language) to bring unique richness and clarity to the (con)text and, more importantly, to convey text meaning and to establish through vivid imagery the desired mood and tone for the objects, actions, and ideas represented in the visual representations nesting in our minds. Among the many literary techniques relevant to style or the language chosen to attain the (rhetorical) effect many desire, yet few ever hope to realize fully, are, in alphabetical order, *alliteration, allusion, assonance, analogy, anaphora, antiphrasis, antistasis, antistrophe, aphorism, binomial, cacophony, cliché, connotation, consonance, contrast, denotation,*

diction, dissonance, ellipsis, epanalepsis, epigraph, euphemism, euphony, extended metaphor, hyperbole, idiom, imagery, inversion, irony, isocolon, jargon, juxtaposition, litotes, meiosis, merism, metaphor, meter, metonymy, mood, neologism, onomatopoeia, oxymoron, parable, paradox, parallelism, paralipsis, periphrasis, personification, proverb, pun, repetition, restatement, rhyme, rhyme scheme, rhythm, satire, simile, slang, symbol, synecdoche, synonymia, tautology, theme, tone, tricolon, trinomial, truism, understatement, voice, zeugma, and *zoomorphism.* Collectively, these literary techniques, though many in number indeed, embody but a small sample of the variety of techniques writers consciously employ to create visual representations of ideas in our minds. Once they enter our mind's eye, these "mental pictures," and the sounds they evoke with each triumphant repetition or word play, are notoriously hard to erase from our collective memory despite efforts to the contrary. At a moment's notice and without delay, each one of us is able to recite countless stockpiles of phrases when so prompted, and we do so efficiently and effectively with the least amount of mental effort, many a time intuitively and without even being aware when, where, or how we learned the way we did learn how to employ them accurately and appropriately within culturally-approved practices and behaviors both in comprehension and production. William Cowper's poem, "The Task" (1785) is an excellent starting point: "Variety is the very spice of life, that gives it all its flavor."

IP10 — Easy as ABC. Provide easy-to-follow instructions on how one should annotate a poem, for example. Make students aware of the steps necessary in performing meaningful annotations: *reflecting* on a poem's title; *clarifying* words and ideas whose meanings are not easily discernible from a mere reading of the words alone; *summarizing* the sense of each stanza while pondering the tone of the poem; *underlining* or *highlighting* uses of figurative language or literary devices; *commenting* on author motivation to employ such language and devices to achieve rhetorical effect, stress specific points, emphasize meaning, emotions and ideas, make writing more descriptive and effective, enhance meaning of words and set poetic moods, make (in)direct references to persons, places, things or ideas of historical, cultural, literary or political significance known to the reader, appeal to the emotions of the audience to persuade, inspire, motivate, and encourage readers/listeners to think or act in a certain way; *analyzing* poetic form (rhyme scheme, rhythm, momentum, word patterns, punctuation, shape, line length); *interpreting* poetic theme (messages conveyed/implied; explanations offered/hidden in the poem's title, form, and/or theme); and, finally, *evaluating* persuasive techniques designed to

influence the audience with the help of emotionally charged language or rhetorical devices, such as parallelism, restatement, repetition, and analogy. Have students employ similar 'text mining' techniques with a range of environmental, recreational, occupational, and information texts (e.g., Advertisements, B-Day Cards, Bills, Biographies, Birth Announcements, Books, Cartoons, Definitions, Directories, Emails, Encyclopedias, (Non)Fiction, Headlines, Health, Horoscopes, Invitations, Labels, Lists, Magazines, Manuals, Maps, Memos, Movie Critiques, News Stories, Newspapers, Poetry, Price Tags, Professional Literature, Recipes, Signs, Songs, Social Media Posts, Stock Reports, Tickets, Want Ads, Weather Reports, Web Links). Above all, make sure that any directions students are offered are easy to understand and follow. Equally important, ensure that a variety of directions is provided in the structured input students receive based on authentic multimedia/ multisensory texts. Additionally, assure students that the aural/visual input they are to receive, just as the written/ spoken output they are expected to produce, represents an ascending degree of difficulty requiring them to not only hear, view, and read, but also write and speak a wide range of figures of speech present in multiple forms of print and digital materials. A sample of those directions/language functions requiring students to *create, explain, highlight, identify, interpret, note, read, report, underline, write,* and many more, is presented in Table 2 below:

Nonliteral Language Comprehension and Production Directions
Language functions practicing nonliteral language…
Analyze, answer, argue, assemble, assess, author, catalog, categorize, characterize, compare/contrast, choose, circumscribe, clarify, combine, complete, compose, connect, conclude, confirm, conjecture, contemplate, convert, convince, corroborate, (re)create, debate/defend, decide, decipher/decode, define, deduce, describe, design, detail, differentiate, discriminate, dissect, distinguish, document, dramatize/role play, embed, emphasize, evaluate, explain, express, extrapolate, fix, form, guess, highlight, hypothesize, identify, indicate, infer, insert, interpret, judge, justify, label/name, list, narrate, note, order, outline, paraphrase, persuade, postulate, predict, propose, question, read, record, recount, refute, relate, repeat, rephrase, report, resolve, restate, reword, separate, shorten/abbreviate, skim/scan, solve, specify, speculate, state, substantiate, summarize/synopsize, supplement, support, surmise, tell, underline/underscore, unscramble, validate, verify, write, etc.

Based on authentic multimedia/multisensory texts featuring nonliteral language…
Underline/highlight or note any examples of hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb) in the following multimedia/ multisensory texts.
The following are extracts from novels, poems, songs, videos, magazines, newspapers, advertisements, headlines, and movies. Identify if these extracts contain hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb) and underline/highlight or note what is being exaggerated (compared, equated, personified, alliterated, repeated, imitated, alluded to, deliberately echoed, symbolized, pictured, idiomatized, conveyed).
The following are cartoons (comic strips, graphic novels, ads, promotions, pictures, headlines, posts) taken from well-known newspapers, online magazines, and social media outlets. Decide if these cartoons (comic strips, graphic novels, ads, promotions, pictures, headlines, posts) represent examples of hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb) and if the language employed therein attains the desired effect. If indeed they do, which craft (visual/imagery, audible/sound choices, word choice/(non)literal meanings, structural/text style) is the author creatively employing to achieve the desired effect?
Based on sentences featuring nonliteral language…
Are the following sentences examples of hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb)? Explain why or why not.
For each of the following sentences, explain the meaning of the hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb).
Complete the following sentences by using hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb).

For each of the following sentences, first identify the use of hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb), then explain why it is used.
For each of the following sentences, first identify what is being exaggerated (compared, equated, personified, alliterated, repeated, imitated, alluded to, deliberately echoed, symbolized, pictured, idiomatized, conveyed), and then explain the hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb).
Fill in the FLW with the appropriate/missing information (see Table 3).
Student output featuring nonliteral language…
Write three (four, five, ten) sentences of your own, incorporating the following hyperboles (similes, metaphors, personifications, alliterations, assonances, onomatopoeia, allusions, anaphoras, symbolisms, imagery, idioms, proverbs).
Write three (four, five, ten) sentences of your own which employ hyperbole (simile, metaphor, personification, alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, allusion, anaphora, symbolism, imagery, idiom, proverb).
Create your own hyperboles (similes, metaphors, personifications, alliterations, assonances, onomatopoeia, allusions, anaphoras, symbolisms, imagery, idioms, proverbs) and embed them naturally in your own texts or dialogs.

Table 2: ***Directions for Comprehension and Production of Nonliteral Language***

IP11 — Looking deep into the mind's eye. Provide students with structured practice to distinguish literal phrases from nonliteral phrases. Help them explore how exclusive word selections frequently encountered structure meaning and tone in (con)text. More importantly, help students see how figurative language (or figures of speech) is used as a literary tool an author uses to help readers visualize, or see, what is happening in a story or poem. Ask them to rationalize how specific figures of speech evoke multisensory experiences literal language alone would so struggle to

create in spoken or written discourse. Challenging students to use their imagination expands their way of thinking and, furthermore, emboldens them to draw sharp differentiations among the differing pictorial representations conjured by the literal meaning and nonliteral meaning alike and the proper paraphrase associated with each expression selected.

IP12 — Ask (and it shall be given to you). Seek (and you shall find). Knock (and the door shall be opened). Encourage students to showcase their understanding of the difference between literal meaning (words say and mean exactly what they say) and figurative meaning (words state one thing, but mean another thing entirely). Help them explain in their own words what happens when the meanings of the individual words comprising an expression cannot be relied upon to mean what they state literally. Beyond that, have students introduce their own selection of "A Few Good Expressions" everyone in class should learn to appreciate. Expanding upon the literal thought process that leads to accurate idiomatic/figurative interpretations is targeted constructive instruction, bar none. Above all, it is the students that instruct other students on how to avoid the 'easy-to-fall-in' trap of expressions that state one thing literally, yet mean something entirely different figuratively. As such, any investment of time and effort is well worth the price deep learning requires of all involved.

IP13 — Casting your net far and wide. Expand upon the different types of figurative language (e.g., alliteration, allusion, anaphora, assonance, hyperbole, idiom, imagery, metaphor, onomatopoeia, personification, proverb, simile, symbolism) one at a time and offer them easy-to-understand definitions along with easy-to-remember examples. Have students retell in their own words their understanding of the various figures of speech. To this end, offer students a text extract containing figurative language and ask them to identify/define and explain the examples of figurative language listed on their *Figurative Language Worksheet* (FLW). For ease of presentation, the FLW could display three columns—*Name*, *Identify/Define*, *Explain*—of which only the first column is completed with the name of a figure of speech (see Table 3).

Figurative Language Worksheet		
Text Type	**Text Extract**	**Source**
Name	**Identify / Define**	**Explain**
Alliteration		
Allusion		
Anaphora		
Assonance		
Hyperbole		
Idiom		
Imagery		
Metaphor		
Personification		
Proverb		
Onomatopoeia		
Simile		
Symbolism		
Other…		
Important Notes		

Table 3: ***3-Column Chart: Name-Identify/Define-Explain***

Students are to read the text first, identify/define corresponding samples of figures of speech in column two next, and, lastly, explain in their own words why their chosen sample is the correct figure of speech in column three. Important notes about text and speech figures should be noted where applicable.

Conclusions

In this chapter I argued for according attention to figurative language on a much higher degree than currently given. Even so, attention cannot be unplanned, unintentional, or unorganized with marginal results at best. For optimal results, such attention must go well beyond the treatment figurative language currently enjoys in both curricula and research. It requires both planning and purpose that is couched in a firm resolve to systematically address figurative language across the curriculum, from elementary school to doctoral study. It is an arduous process that does not come to an end only because we mentioned a few figures of speech, only because we asked students to locate a few of them in the literary texts we discussed in class, or only because some students were able to produce a number of specific figures, thereby offering us but a small measure of their mastery of figurative language. Figures of speech are not words or phrases to be collected as exotic exemplars of language as if doing so would make the call for action any less urgent, any less potent. Nor are figures of speech words or phrases to be stripped of their intentional deviation from ordinary language use just to showcase their potential for literary or rhetorical effect. Doing so would only exacerbate the shortcomings of past practices, none of which need reduplication in the months and years ahead.

Far from it! What is needed most presently is a keen understanding of what *idiomatics* entails, from descriptions and terminology that are *authoritative*, *definitive*, and *comprehensive* to fostering a new kind of knowledge concerning the reconstructive nature of idiomatics understanding and production in English and other languages. But to do so successfully, one must also be willing to *level the playing field* between *idiomatic language* and *figurative language* since, on their own, neither one of them is able to represent *a level playing field.*

Proper *idiomatics nomenclature*, I argued, is a necessary first step. Those unwilling to do so would be hard pressed to offer cogent arguments for research findings that are not likely to become subject to notions of falsification. Said simply, experimental paradigms can no longer afford to become the arena where idiomatics research fails to attain its distinct voice. Neither an unruly terminological stew nor a cacophony of terms,

definitions, and categories will ease understanding of the *breadth and depth of understanding idiomatics purposefully and naturally,* lest we are willing to upend, if need be, the teaching-and-learning of idiomatics, from elementary school to doctoral study, in order to guide philosophical disquisitions certain to affect the production and dissemination of future print and non-print materials that are informed by cutting-edge research and pedagogy not soon disqualified. Nurturing the voice of idiomatics in the very language we think, speak, read, write, listen, sign, and gesture in unique cultural ways is what makes us native speakers of a language. It is what makes us cultural ambassadors. Alone in the inception of ideation, the use of figurative language is but one half of the story called *nativeness*. To be idiomatic is to have full control over one's language. That involves both comprehension and production that is effective and efficient, and, even more importantly, culturally appropriate and linguistically accurate. And fluency the fluid medium through which language attains its communicative power in an unapologetic manner, always expressed in distinct cultural norms and practices. Combined with figurative language, idiomatic language supplies the other half of the nativeness story. Thus, idiomatics is the language native speakers use to interconnect idiomatic and figurative language in conventional and creative ways, not always without some false starts or misunderstandings warranting further explication. Thus, it is not unreasonable to postulate that cognition of the world around us is the dynamic interplay of conventionality, institutionalization, and transferability from one domain to another, always within the cultural constraints imposed upon the language itself, not to mention the peculiar linguistic and paralinguistic features through which language expresses itself across time and space. And meaning perceived is meaning apperceived. Everything else is white noise.

Several metaphors, often presented in extended fashion, were then playfully employed to contextualize the arguments heretofore presented. The cacophony of terms, definitions, and categories were analogously juxtaposed with a series of ballgames without expressly naming the ball itself, the type of ball used during game play, or the ways the ball seemed to bounce ever so freely from one play to the next. Couched in distinct figures of speech, a think-aloud procedure ensued to crystalize the challenges one is sure to face when waxing philosophical on sports-related metaphors steeped in American cultural discourse. These represented the field of play where comprehension and nuanced interpretation sought to make battle during homecoming weekend. Football was the game chosen to scaffold understanding of the codes inherent in the rules and nomenclature of the game itself.

In 1,453 words an original short story, *Down to the Wire the Pigskin Flies*, was then presented to exemplify the game of American football amid several metaphors and other figures of speech while underscoring the connections and parallels between football and *football*. Tradition of college football homecoming weekend was awash with vivid imagery, a battling storyline moved the ball up and down the field the literal language team and figurative language team playfully embraced, suspense kept the mood in check long after time froze in the evening stars to see the pigskin fly like a comet in disguise, its long dusty tail resembling a bright waterfall unlike any other before it. Throughout the story, figurative language was put through its paces to amplify in rich detail the subtle nuances of idiomatics beyond the purely literal for particular descriptive effect. And *Make every play count* a fitting epigram for figurative language requiring no further explanation.

A brief literature review followed only to position idiomatics within the larger arena of human communication. The first 13 of 27 IPs total were then presented in a logical progressive order to cement the pedagogy of figurative language proposed herein. None of the sample IPs presented in this chapter made claims of completeness. Collectively, they comprised a baker's dozen practices that have been applied across the curriculum with notable success. Classroom tested and student approved, these IPs also provided a viable framework around which figurative language may be structured systematically for the benefit of all learners, irrespective of prior language preparation or glocal contexts.

In closing, while it may well *take a village to raise a speech figure*, it also takes keen attention to details to imagine figurative language within the larger picture called language in general and idiomatics in particular. As the medium of human communication, language serves the details idiomatics employs productively in spoken, signed, or written symbols to convey cultural meanings in expressive, informative, and directive means. Without language, idiomatics serves no purpose. Without idiomatics, language's communicative function is found wanting in many areas. Figurative language is but one of those areas language routinely dresses in words, phrases, and expressions. Here we need only remember that, habitually, the meaning of meaning hides in plain sight so much so that it is often found not only in the figures of speech, but also in the figures of thought, sound, diction, and pragmatics the culture bestows upon the discoursal contexts in which these are productively so used. One can only wonder what it will take to raise the other figures. *Go figure!* … or just read the chapter that follows next, "A Baker's Dozen Plus One for the Road: Reimagining Figurative Language" (cf. Chapter 3).

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CHAPTER THREE

A BAKER'S DOZEN PLUS ONE FOR THE ROAD: REIMAGINING FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

JOHN I. LIONTAS

Introduction

In 2018, in *Exploring Figurative Language Across the Curriculum*, I framed the issue for figurative language as follows:

> "There is no denying it. There is no escaping it. *Figurative language* is omnipresent in the English language. Found in the poems we love, the songs we sing, the news we read, the literature we enjoy, figurative language is the colorful literary device authors judiciously employ to make both fiction and non-fiction interesting and realistic. It is the brush of imagination poets use to paint pictures with words to change or enhance the normal meaning of words. It is the pen of creation authors use to craft meaning that is deeper and more exciting than the literal meanings of the words or expressions themselves. Said simply, figurative language is laconic language that must be "figured out" precisely because the words or expressions employed, in the way and manner in which they are being employed, do not mean what they literally state. As a result, the intended meaning the speaker or writer is pursuing must be figured out and interpreted anew within the context in which these words (or expressions) were used creatively for maximum rhetorical or communicative effect". (Liontas, 2018a: 1)

Following that account was an explication of the *figures of speech* literary authors often use to craft their ideations in creative, nonliteral ways for emphasis or dramatic effect, to add special effects or alterations to the stories they write, to compare or describe things in unusual ways, or to state literally what they mean to say figuratively when economy of words, expression of ideas in laconic ways, or references evoked outside the text are needed the most. Amid these figures of speech are *alliteration,*

allusion, assonance, cacophony, cliché, hyperbole, idiom, imagery, irony, metaphor, metonymy, onomatopoeia, oxymoron, paradox, personification, proverb, pun, rhyme, sarcasm, simile, slang, symbolism, synecdoche, and *understatement*. Individually and collectively, these figures of speech, also known as *rhetorical figures* or *stylistic devices,* not only add rhetorical force to a spoken or written passage, freshness of expression, or clarity, more often than not, they "help add definition to the English language, apply color, variety and interest, and awaken the imagination in inventive new ways across time and space" (Liontas, 2018a: 2). They do so by taking full advantage of the idiomatic and figurative character the English language enables ever so creatively.

Many of these notions I already explored in my preceding chapter "Figures of Speech? Go Figure! A Baker's Dozen Should Do It: Imagining Figurative Language" (see Chapter 2 in this volume). Here, I expand upon *idiomatics* and present an extended metaphor for language both as a city and a global city—from city to megacity to metropolis to megalopolis to global city. Expansion, transformation, and variation are the distinct signs along the idiomatics journey I describe. In keeping with the "football" metaphor of my previous chapter in this volume (cf. Chapter 2), I then present "baseball" as this chapter's (extended) metaphor to introduce the remaining idiomatics practices, all of which help us reimagine figurative language in pedagogical constructs that, laconically expressed, cut a dashing figure not soon forgotten.

Idiomatics Prolegomena

Language a City

Think on this: *Language is a city to the building of which every human being brought a stone*. Now think on this: If transcendentalist philosopher and essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) is right, if *language* is indeed "a city to the building of which every human being brought a stone," then *idiomatics is a megacity where high-rises pierce the clouds to scrape the face of the sky*. And not only that: skyscrapers soar into the air to erase the sky, they stretch towards the clouds, they sway in the wind. Above the ground, their superstructure stands tall and strong. Below the ground, the substructure is built on the solid rock found deep beneath the soil. Poured concrete is strengthened with steel rods and beams. Towering over public buildings, the iron or steel frame 'skeleton' of these supersized buildings is inventively designed to stomach earthquakes and heavy winds, especially those gale force winds (of time), both literally and figuratively.

Elevators travel the floors, frequently hundreds of them stacked like pancakes. They embody the core of the building even when hidden deep inside a pyramid. From the basement to the penthouse and back, elevators zoom up and zoom down in two shakes of a lamb's tail. Inclinators are a notable exception. Preventive maintenance is a foregone conclusion.

Higher than the highest mountain, those mega-tall structures that are built with steel or reinforced concrete frameworks and curtain walls of glass or polished stone on a wider and wider base quickly become iconic landmarks the world over. Tension and compression are the forces that make the built structure rigid, the center of gravity secured many feet beneath the ground. To reach new heights, they all dig deep. They stretch over urban areas, they set human senses ablaze with dizzying neon lights and sounds not soon ignored. They become the central place of a country, state, or region, often the central or principle place of all human activity where 'stones' are manufactured, shaped, and traded in a galloping pace still. Over time, language settles to take a rest, to (re)define its culture, to take account of its growing size, to give meaning to its special linguistic character.

From one generation to the next, certain words, phrases, expressions, and sayings gain in popularity. In time, they conventionalize their peculiar status, they institutionalize their meaning, they signify the development of a particular region at a specific point in time like no other period before it or after it. And with each new generation of city builders, architects, and planners, the urban landscape changes, evolves, and grows dynamically both diachronically and synchronically. New types of *settlements emerge* (affect, conventionality, compositionality/compositeness, collocability, conventional phrases, formal inflexibility/flexibility, figuration, figurativeness, form-meaning relationship, informality, metaphoric transparency, proverbiality, semantic opacity institutionalization), *developments give way to innovation* (abstract grammatical frames/rules, alteration of word order, building blocks, morphemes, whole clause or sentence), *generational preferences bear witness to rapid expansion* (binomials/ trinomials, chunks, colligations/collocations, compounds, formulaic language/ sequences/speech, gambits, holophrases, idiomatic expressions/phrases/ speech routines, lexical bundles/chunks/patterns/phrases, lexicalized expressions/stems, multi-morphemic phrases/sentences/sequences/strings/ units, multiword constructions/ expressions/items/phrases/units, phrasal verbs, phraseological units or phrasemes/phraseologisms, prefabricated expressions/patterns/routines, prefabs, recurrent word combinations, routine/social/speech formulae, sayings/ catchphrases, situation-bound utterances, tournures). A great many stand the test of time. Others overstay

their welcome. And still others wilt and die a lonely death. A select few travel abroad in search of new lands never to be heard again. Others become *calques* either in part or in whole, literally. Pardon the expression, but copycats abound among the new users willing to take words or phrases translated word-for-word from one language into another to create a habitual stock phrase in the target language. In time, calques (loan translations) and loanwords (words adopted from one language and incorporated into another without any translation or little to no modification) combine to expand their influence. Adoption papers are lost, insights into etymological origins a time-consuming undertaking, word lore a constant companion. The study of true senses through the years a linguistic nuance few learn to appreciate. Language a living thing. It grows, it adapts, it evolves. It denotes and connotes meaning and knowledge across time and space. It represents the living identity of humanity in and of itself.

Put simply, *language is the expression of thought sprawling unabated across fertile terrains*. With every new generation of users, language leaves its stamp on society itself. Through technological advancements, products, and experiences, communication is invented anew in the culture of its peoples. Therein boundaries of behaviors and shared attitudes are ascribed in dynamic contexts, patterns are codified in cultural norms, body language is qualified in social practices. Function and purpose exercise assertive power over specific social factors and societal development. Informational, aesthetic, expressive, phatic, and directive language functions combine with communicative purposes in social interactions to share our ideas, thoughts, and feelings with others. Both in abstract and symbolic ways, cultural criteria pronounce and, to a large extent, rationalize the different ways that different people use language to interchange information, messages, and understandings about the past, to crystallize the perceptions of the present in the values and beliefs our world creates, and ultimately, to construct and maintain the reality of the future underlying intellectual adaptation and flexibility. Urban sprawl over large expanses of land now a distant memory. A once megacity becomes a metropolis, a metropolis a megalopolis, a megalopolis a global city. But there is more to this metaphor than meets the eye. In this global city the plot thickens. Mystery fills the air. Variation joins expansion and transformation. Complexity adds to freight and shipping charges worldwide.

Idiomatics a Global City

In this global city, *idiomatics* is at home. Here, *high-rises pierce the clouds to scrape the face of the sky*, not always metaphorically. Simply put, *idiomatics* is "the symbolic expression of inner thought and meaning creation. It is a highly organized and dynamic system of human communication expressed through speech, writing, and gesture by a group of people in a speech community. Despite variation among speakers, idiosyncratic traits aside, it consists of the use of words and utterances deeply rooted in a network of social dynamics of cultural interaction and pragmatic knowledge" (Liontas, 2021: 3). Furthermore, *idiomatics* is "a set of codes of cultural symbols and signs for the communication of information, nearly always conveyed in a conventional and institutional way notwithstanding the particular variant of human language it represents" (Liontas, 2021: 3).

Variation, even when separated by a common language like English, is commonly seen in the ways people speak and write. American and British variations in dialect, accent, spelling, vocabulary, collective nouns, prepositions, tense, past tense verbs, auxiliary verbs, and irregular/ regular verbs, and tag questions, to mention but some of the most common variations, are commonplace. Lexical differences in register use of words and phrases abound, their particular denotations/connotations often misunderstood or misinterpreted. Shared meanings frequently find different usage, which often can, and do, cause unwarranted confusion or embarrassment. Because of the multitude of the anecdotes available, it is best to take all such differences *with a pinch of salt.* Or is it *with a grain of salt*? Does it really matter if it is a "pinch" or "grain" as long as the stated similarities, differences, or both, are worth their (weight in) salt?

Not wishing to rub salt in the wound wittily, it suffices to say that the divergence between American English and British English, mutual intelligibility aside, is actually the quality of being *idiomatic*, the special character of a particular language, dialect, group, style or manner related to, pertaining to, or conforming to the usual manner or mode of expression. Said peculiarity is uniquely characteristic of native speakers speaking their language naturally, fluently, and, above everything else, idiomatically, whether across the pond or, colloquially, down under. The quality of being *idiomatic*—from Ancient Greek ἰδιωματικός (*idiōmatikós*, "related to an idiom"), from ἰδίωμα (*idíōma*, "idiomatic")—is characterized by using, containing, or denoting expressions that are natural to a native speaker. It is the proficient use of idiomatic expressions resembling or conforming to that of a native speaker that makes speech idiomatic and natural in

expression, albeit not always sans evolution, stylistic change, or frequency of use (Liontas, 2015).

To cut a long story short, *idiomatic language*, irrespective of nomenclature applied (Barkema, 1996; Gibbs, 1995), is prosaic language that is conventionalized, institutionalized, and easily recognized and accepted as natural speech among native speakers, even when dressed in words that frequently go together or in fixed expressions and canned phrases that are easily committed to memory as whole phrases, conventional speech routines, or ritualized moments of everyday communication, whereas *figurative language* is multilayered language that contains and creatively uses organic figures of speech and literary or rhetorical devices and techniques to symbolically pierce the ears and mind of the reader or listener in order to build mood and elicit strong emotion, conjure mental images defying literalness, and give flight to creativity and imagination beyond common, ordinary meaning or effect (see also Bortfeld, 2002; Gibbs, 1994; Glucksberg, 2001; Palmer & Brooks, 2004).

So argued, this chapter builds upon the tenets of my previous chapter on idiomatics (see Chapter 2 in this volume) and expands upon the first 13 idiomatics practices (IP) presented therein. In what follows next, I forgo yet another extensive review of the literature to date and present the remaining 14 IPs I have successfully employed in my own teaching over the years (see, for example, Liontas, 2015; 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2018e, 2018f). These instructional pursuits have stood the test of time, and many of them have even been applied in several foreign languages across several levels of instruction and levels of proficiency. Collectively, these pursuits represent a great variety of knowledge of idiomatics students are certain to enjoy—from kindergarten levels to doctoral levels—following adjustments in task complexity and expectations of idiomatics production. Astute readers are again asked to make modifications where deemed necessary to meet their own glocal contexts in which they teach and work. Collectively, the two chapters offer 27 distinct tasks, activities, and projects—a baker's dozen times two plus one for the road—students could be, and should be, asked to engage in so that neither idiomatic nor figurative language is *left out of left field* or *comes out of left field*. In the collection of instructional pursuits presented next, and in keeping with the extended ball metaphor first described in the previous chapter (cf. Chapter 2), I shall now switch play from football to baseball, *the great American pastime*. My apologies to all fans of *football* worldwide, *the people's game*.

To begin with, inform students of their new ball responsibilities and ask them to take their outfield positions—the right fielder, the center

fielder, and the left fielder. When the ball is hit hard enough (translation: when the activity, task, or project is presented to them), regardless of outfield positioning, it is their job to catch the ball (translation: to convert directives into manageable propositions that have the potential to produce laudable results). Should the ball touch the ground, inform them that all is not lost yet. They should retrieve the ball and throw it back to the infield. Remind them that there is always a batter who hits the ball and a base runner whose job it is to sprint towards the home plate. And with balls flying and base runners sprinting, they should keep their eye on the left fielder, who will no doubt scoop up the ball and throw it to the baseman on home plate. Covering all bases is not a bad advice here. For sure, no one wants to be out in left field. On the contrary, with each task, activity, or project, they should strive to hit a home run even though no one really expects them to do so right off the bat. To bat a thousand is a rare occasion, not an expectation.

If at times, they need to touch base, they could do so. At other times, a group member may well have to go to bat for someone else. And still at other times, a group member may well strike out despite efforts to keep his or her eye on the ball. No one should feel off base or regard himself or herself as a pinch hitter. "Three strikes and you are out" should not scare anyone from playing ball, not hardball, even when down to the last out. Extra innings not uncommon even after the ninth inning. But not stepping up to the plate is not an option group members should entertain too often even when someone wishes to throw them a curve ball just for kicks. Inform them that each practice is a whole new ball game. No rain checks are issued here. With each new opportunity to step up to the plate, hit or miss, they should just swing for the fences. Hitting one out of the park is a wonderful feeling, especially when given the chance to knock the cover off the ball. A triple play, though rare, is not an impossible act to achieve during the same continuous play.

A baker's dozen plus one for the road

From **IP01 — A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step** to **IP13 — Casting your net far and wide**, a kaleidoscopic account of figurative language underscored the need to address the *breadth and depth of understanding idiomatics purposefully and naturally*. The 14 IPs that follow (IP14-27) build upon such knowledge in creative new ways. Herewith *A Baker's Dozen Plus One for the Road*.

IP14 — Don't follow the path. Blaze the trail. For more advanced students, the FLW could make use of the same three-column format by varying the information given in the first two columns. While some rows could include only the name of a figure of speech, others should include only text samples of figurative language. Irrespective of the information the teacher is willing to provide, students are to complete the missing information in each row and column by filling in the table given to them. Alternatively, the teacher could offer students *In the Spotlight* reproducible forms, an easy-to-fill-out worksheet in the form of a table. Irrespective of speech figure highlighted, students are to complete the information and be prepared to share with others when called upon to grab the spotlight (Table 1).

Note that *students do not know what they think they know until they are able and willing to teach it to someone else*. In so doing, they should also declare themselves willing to defend the definitions for the choices made and the examples used. Pointing out and underscoring the differences between the various figures of speech helps solidify their overall understanding of figurative language. For optimal results, copious samples of such figures of speech should be used productively for comprehension to strengthen their evolving understanding of what figurative language is and is not. Student-produced "Wanted Posters," "Missing Posters," "Lost & Found Posters," or "Motivational & Inspirational Posters" depicting a particular figure of speech with its corresponding definition and one or two representative examples (with pictures where appropriate) could easily adorn the walls of a classroom.

In the **Spotlight**	[_____ _____] Write expression here

Literal Definition	**Idiomatic Definition**
Literal Illustration	**Idiomatic Illustration**
Sentence/Text Using the Idiom	
Important Notes	

Table 1: ***In the Spotlight***

IP15 — It's all Greek to me! Students should be prepared not only to highlight what each type of figurative language is (e.g., a *simile* is a…; a *metaphor* states that…; *personifications* give…; *alliteration* is the repetition of…; *onomatopoeia* is the imitation of…; *symbolism* occurs when…; *hyperbole* is an intentional…; *imagery* involves…; *idiom* is an expression that…) but, more importantly, to identify and recognize each type within authentic audiovisual and print materials. Where appropriate, distinct pairs of figures of speech should be used to further enhance the

similarities and/or distinguish the differences between *adage-aphorism, adage-proverb, adynaton-hyperbole, alliteration-assonance, alliteration-paroemion, allegory-extended metaphor, anthropomorphism-prosopopoeia, anthropomorphism-zoomorphism, apostrophe-personification, auxesis-hyperbole, binomial-trinomial, circumlocution-periphrasis, climax-anticlimax, denominatio-metonymy, euphemism-dysphemism, euphony-cacophony, homographs-homonyms, homonyms-homophones, hyperbole-overstatement, meiosis-understatement, metonymy-synecdoche, neologism-archaism, parable-extended metaphor, personification-prosopopoeia, pun-paronomasia, rhythm-parallelism, simile-metaphor, thesis-antithesis,* and the like. Depending on student interests and intellectual maturity, care should be taken not to overdo the nomenclature here, as much of it is likely to remain *all Greek to them,* both literally and figuratively. Instead, more emphasis should be placed on figures of speech exhibiting nonliteral or idiomatic language in authentic (con)texts.

IP16 — Behind the curtain. The selection of authentic (con)texts notwithstanding, students should be asked to decide whether a sentence, a paragraph, a text, a stanza, a song, or a video segment, for example, contains figurative language, the type of figurative language it is, what it means in the context in which it is used, and, finally, whether the author achieved the desired effect by its use. At all times, students should be prepared to declare the purpose of a figure of speech, how said purpose is conveyed, and what is being emphasized by the use of a particular figure of speech. Concerning *hyperbole,* for example, students could be asked a series of questions: *What is a hyperbole? Why do we use hyperbole? How is hyperbole used by (song)writers and poets? Where do you expect to find the use of hyperbole?* Successful answers could then be followed by specific *hyperbole*-practice tasks. Again, students could be asked to read a text extract to underline or highlight any examples of hyperbole. Depending on student ability and indefatigable pursuits of self-discovery, teachers should feel free to disclose the number of hyperboles contained in the text selected. Conversely, teachers may choose to offer students a number of sentences and ask students to decide whether the sentences offered are indeed examples of hyperbole. Declarations of “Yes” or “No” aside, students should explain what the hyperbole means in the sentences containing them. Equally, they should explain why particular sentences do not employ hyperbole or how these sentences could be modified to include effective use of hyperbole.

IP17 — Tick Tock - Tick Tock. Time's a wasting. Alternatively, teachers could offer students a number of sentences containing different types of figurative language. Students should read the sentences and identify them accordingly. Teachers could also offer students a number of examples containing *alliteration*. Students read out loud the alliteration examples as fast as they can, avoiding any and all tongue twister errors in the process. Thereafter, students should organize themselves into groups of four and write, having selected a letter from the alphabet, their own twisters for others to read. The group with the most challenging twister is the winner of this creative writing contest. Groups could also be challenged to write as many *onomatopoeia* words as they can recall within preset time limits (approximately 3-5 minutes). The group with the most onomatopoeia words (e.g., *bam, beep, boom, buzz, chug, click, crack, crash, fizz, gobble, honk, pop, quack, ring, roar, slap, snap, splash, squeak, squirt, tick-tock, whoosh*) is declared the winner of this brainstorming contest. The remaining groups should be given the same amount of time in which to write two to three descriptive sentences containing examples of the winning group's onomatopoeia words.

IP18 — A picture is worth a thousand words. Teachers could also provide students with lists of ten nouns, adjectives, verbs, and prepositions, for example. Using one item from each list, students could be asked to write grammatically correct sentences exemplifying various types of figurative language. Individuals able to select all items from the lists provided should be declared the *Champions of Figures of Speech*. Similarly, teachers could provide students with a number of common (or less common) *symbols* and ask students to declare what each symbol stands for or what ideas and ideas each could represent. Symbols could be drawn, presented in pictures or graphics, or included in print materials. Irrespective of symbol presentation mode, students should be asked specifically what a particular symbol symbolizes or means in a particular context. A similar result could also be achieved here with *hyperboles* embedded in sentences or cartoons. Here, too, students could be asked to justify their understanding of how the particular use of a hyperbole emphasizes a particular point, adds excitement or humor, or capitalizes in its co-occurrence within similes and metaphors, for example. Particular states or conditions of happiness, anger, frustration, excitement, or despair, for example, present fertile ground for students to write their own sentences exemplifying creative uses of hyperbole defying literal description. *Imagery*, for example, is omnipresent in poetry and songs. Teachers could have students mine the text to uncover the imagery the

author uses to create mental pictures via the five senses (sight, touch, taste, smell, sound). As students annotate the text, they select the sense that is activated by the author's use of imagery. Based on representative imagery examples, students could also be asked to write their own texts employing creative imagery.

IP19 — Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee. A great many such images can be actualized in the very use of *simile* and *metaphor* respectively. A common rhetorical feature in poetry and song, students could be asked to read a text and underline the similes and/or metaphors employed in the text. Based on the context of the sentence/stanza, students should then write their respective meanings and amplify their answers with additional description (i.e., how the comparison is achieved in each simile or how the two 'things' being compared are similar in each metaphor). Where necessary or desired, students could also reverse a simile (*Life is like a box of chocolates*) into a metaphor and a metaphor (*Life is a highway*) into a simile. They should then contemplate whether the author's intended simile/metaphor meaning is lost or retained by such reversals.

IP20 — No Figure Left Behind (NFLB). Provide students with multiple opportunities to interact with literal and nonliteral language in a variety of contexts over time. Whenever possible, make instruction lively and kinesthetic with many build-in repetitions and visual supports and rehearsals. Along the way, help them integrate the new vocabulary words into their writing. Seek depth, not coverage of idiomatic/figurative expressions for the sake of coverage or variety. Help students step into the colorful, imaginative world the author has created, and show them step-by-step how best to follow the footprints left behind. Explain how to read closely to question and infer an author's (un)stated intention and/or meaning behind the use of a particular word or phrase. Importantly, point out the power of context and how context epitomizes both meaning and use of idiomatic forms old and new. Model explicitly how best to employ labels to describe specific details (evidence from the text) of characters, actions, ideas, things, and so on. Call attention to notable text features, artistic elements, word choice, mood, tone, senses, feelings, pictures, and any similarities/differences found within the text under examination and other similarly written texts by the same author or multiple authors. Denote the careful and deliberate craft and structure of the language proper the author artistically created and highlight how word and sound choices intersect and blend with audible and visual structural and print features. Help students recognize and learn to appreciate the sensory

images and allusions found in a text (poem, song, story, drama, myth, headlines, advertisement, movie). Ask them to close their eyes and describe their own visualizations based on the sensory details they mined from the text. Alternatively, instruct them to note compelling sensory images as they read a text. Using their notes, ask them to draw what they visualize in their mind's eye. This is particularly effective with *vivid phrasal idioms* denoting memorable images not soon forgotten, especially since the literal and idiomatic meaning is ubiquitous in the combined denotative/connotative use of the constituent words comprising the idiomatic expression in question.

IP21 — A horse of a different color. Encompassing to the extent possible all types of figurative language, students could be asked to read a text and highlight representative examples of figurative language by employing a different color for each type. Poem, songs, and short stories, for example, are prime sources of rich figurative language use and should be accorded the attention they deserve by teachers and students alike. A figurative language worksheet (FLW) could easily be assembled for students to label and explain their answers, thereby offering concrete evidence of their developing understanding of figurative language in general and of specific figures of speech in particular. An answer key could also be provided at the end of the activity to clarify erroneous answers given. By extension, a test could easily be developed from all these examples of figurative language. Specifically, students could be provided with definitions of figures of speech wherein students would need to write in the space provided the correct type of figurative language. Teacher- or student-generated definitions of various types of figurative language could equally comprise the testing material here.

IP22 — Worth every penny. Depending on student ability and degree of difficulty desired, the number of definitions offered need not match the number of figures of speech offered. Similarly, the number of sentences containing figurative language need not always match the number of figures of speech offered. Alternatively, sentences employing figures of speech could be followed by four or five choices, each choice representing a different type of figurative language. To add a degree of difficulty, different choices should be made available for each sentence, thereby alternating both the type and choice of figurative language available for selection. Pictures depicting nature, everyday life, symbols, monuments, and the like could easily serve as prompts for students to describe the picture while employing a range of figures of speech. Students at the lower

levels of language proficiency could be asked to write three to four sentences describing the picture provided, followed by the type of figure of speech they used to describe the picture. Conversely, students at the more advanced levels of language proficiency should be asked to describe the picture in paragraph form while noting the type of figure of speech used therein. As a bonus, students should title the picture using appropriate figurative language and proceed to write a poem or a song about it. Students gifted with musical or theatrical talent could subsequently perform their song/ poem publicly for all to enjoy and appreciate.

IP23 — No holds barred. Representative examples of high quality of figures of speech could be written on strips of paper or index cards and placed in a container. Entire class is divided in two or more groups. Each student draws a strip or a card and reads the representative sentence (variant phrase, paraphrase, definition, etc.). The group being challenged has 10-15 seconds to correctly guess the type of figurative language employed. If the group being challenged is unable to offer an answer or if the answer given is incorrect, the group posing the challenge earns the points and proceeds to challenge another group. When all strips or cards have been read, the group with the most points wins the *No Holds Barred Figurative Challenge*.

IP24 — Moderation in all things, especially moderation. With each successful cycle of figurative learning, teachers are free to add other figures of speech to the activities/tasks heretofore discussed. Caution should be exercised, however, not to overwhelm students with too many figures of speech all at once. *Variety may well be the spice of life*, as the saying goes, but teachers should equally heed the sage advice that *a bird in the hand is always worth two in the bush*. So argued, additional types of figures of speech should be added to the list only after students have been able to 'master' a particular type. In turn, mastery of a particular type of figurative language must involve and evolve from *conceptual control* through *partial control* to *full control*, both in comprehension and production (Liontas, 2015). Consequently, input and output are critical components in the development of figurative and idiomatic language and both need to be pursued with zeal and dedication across the elementary, secondary, and tertiary curriculum if competence in idiomatic and/or figurative speech is to be attained by those seeking to master and use English naturally and with a purpose. To maximize the cycle of idiomatic and figurative learning, students must be afforded structured opportunities to declare and solidify their evolving understanding of diverse figures of

speech, especially the role(s) ascribed to them by inventive writers across time and place: *Decoration* and *Clarity*.

IP25 — The light at the end of the tunnel is not an illusion. The tunnel is. Keep moving! While *decoration* and *clarity* serve distinct communicative roles in speech and writing, neither is trying to overshadow the other, at least not overtly. Instead, in the hands of expert writers like William Shakespeare, Robert Frost, and Maya Angelou, there is a highly choreographed high-wire act not to overemphasize one to the detriment of the other, as both are needed to add color and interest while also awakening the imagination of the reader (listener) the writing is artistically addressing. Without decoration and clarity, writing would be uninteresting, unoriginal, and uninspiring. Complex subjects and ideas would remain but mere footnotes long forgotten in the annals of literary history. Without decoration and clarity, 'the pen' may never be 'mightier than the sword,' so wrote English author Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1839 in his historical play, *Cardinal Richelieu*, "The pen is mightier than the sword," no matter the crafty poetic force behind the metonymic adage so simply yet powerfully conveyed through its long memetic use. And contrary to what William Shakespeare has melancholy Jacques say in the opening three lines of the soliloquy and poem, *As You Like It* (Act II, Scene VII: "All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players; They have their exits and their entrances…"), the 'world' would cease to be 'a stage' purely because 'all the world is' not literally 'a stage.' And if the 'stage' is unable to be 'all the world,' as Shakespeare so metaphorically affirms, would 'all the men and women' still be 'merely players' or would they need to exit the show post haste and secure employment elsewhere? Reading through the remaining twenty-five lines, students will soon discover *alliteration*, *anaphora*, *consonance*, *hyperbole*, *metaphor*, *personification*, *repetition*, and *simile* adorning this widely-acclaimed and universally-commented poem for its eloquent use of figurative language. They may even come to appreciate therein the epitome of the age-old sage maxim «Παν μέτρον άριστον» "Pan metron ariston" ("Everything in moderation") first expressed by the Greek poet Cleovoulos (Cleobulus) of Rhodes, a native of Lindos, and one of the Seven Sages of Greece, in the 6th century B.C.

IP26 — Pushing the envelope. The power of the maxim "Everything in moderation" now firmly established, students should be encouraged to produce their own (con)texts displaying literal and nonliteral language. With so many figures of speech and prefabricated expressions readily

available, they should pursue *moderation in all things*, including moderation itself, for native language discourse is anything but a thoughtless barrage of figurative speech *ad nauseum*. Just as "everything must have a limit," students should always strive to emulate authentic speech that unapologetically balances decoration with clarity and literal language with nonliteral language. They could be asked to mimic their favorite author's style by writing (or creating) their own figures of speech, one expression at a time. In time, their products should be collected, organized thematically, and displayed in print or digital creative formats for all to appreciate. Those exhibiting superior quality should be recognized accordingly in their respective category, and awards could and should be presented for artistic merit, following in the footsteps of the Oscars, during the *Annual Language Academy Awards for Figurative Language.* Without making claims to completion, Table 2 presents 34 such award categories teachers may wish to consider here.

Best Actor/Actress in a Leading Figurative Role	Best Idiomatic Visual Effects
Best Actor/Actress in a Supporting Figurative Role	Best Figurative Art Direction
Best Original Figurative Screenplay	Best Animated Figurative Feature
Best Original Figurative Story	Best Idiom Costume Design
Best Adapted Figurative Screenplay	Best Alliteration/Assonance/Consonance Mixing
Best Figurative Title Writing	Best Onomatopoeia Sound Editing
Best Silent Idiom Film	Best Oxymora List
Best Foreign Idiom Film	Best Funny Puns One Liners
Best Idiomatic Short Film	Best Exaggerated Hyperboles
Best Live Action Short Figurative Film	Best Greek, Biblical, Literature or Historical Allusions
Best Animated Figurative Short Film	Best Wise Words and Tales
Best Figurative Documentary Short Subject	Best Litotes/Meioses or Invented Neologisms
Best Figurative Documentary Feature	Best Collection of Say This Five Times Fast Tongue Twisters
Best Figurative Videography	Best 10 Slang Terms that Will Stand the Test of Time
Best Idiom Pantomime	Best Unique and Artistic Figurative Production
Best Simile or Metaphor in a Poem	Best Figurative Cartoon
Best Metonymy or Synecdoche in a Song	
Best Use of Figurative Language in a Dialog	

Table 2: *And the award goes to…*

Preceded by *Language Academy Awards Nominations and Invitations*, winners should be awarded Oscar-like gold award trophies during the black tie, *cravate noire*, awards banquet. Dressed to the nines, nominees and guests can now enjoy an unforgettable evening that is certain to *set the Thames on fire* and leave your fellow colleagues *green with envy*, all in good measure and good ol' figurative fun, bar none.

IP27 — Roads lead to Rome, but time flies. Important to underscore here is that while *all roads may indeed lead to Rome, Rome wasn't built in a day*. Figurative language may indeed radiate outwards from its literal language use just as when in the days of the Roman Empire, resembling spokes of a wheel, all the empire's roads radiated out from the capital city, Rome. And though they were laying bricks every hour, 'Rome wasn't built in a day,' as listed in John Heywood's *A Dialogue Conteinyng the Nomber in Effect of all the Prouerbes in the Englishe Tongue* (c. 1538), from the medieval French phrase, *"Rome ne fut pas faite toute en un jour"* (published around 1190 in the collection *Li Proverbe au Vilain*). Learning about literal and nonliteral language use takes time, a lot of time actually, and, literally, mountains of patience, persistence, and perspiration, for all things are difficult at first before they become easy. A conquering virtue by any measure imaginable, patience is the resolute companion of prudence, the key to life-long perseverance, the imbalanced contest of perspiration and progress. It is the teacher's sacred duty to help all students understand more than they can say confidently, think more than they can express idiomatically, and notice more than they can realize linguistically. In time, enduring the tolerance of failure is the direct result of unwavering commitment and resilience to express communicative needs and wants in a manner befitting native idiomatic behavior. In the end, it is the teachers' attitude toward idiomatic and figurative language that determines the students' altitude of idiomatics success.

Conclusions

Language is idiomatics. Idiomatics is language. Language is the lifeforce of a culture, the lifeblood of its peoples. Idiomatics competence is the result of having full control over language, over idiomatic and figurative language, not the cause of it. Without meaning, language is but sound. With meaning, idiomatics is the language painters sing and poets paint. In idiomatics, our identity is revealed—dynamic, flexible, tailored thoughts are dressed in words, words in phrases, phrases in communicative constructs that can often mystify the intellect in awe and wonder, yet

seldom fail to transfer intended meaning in context. In context, idiomatics enters the confessional booth to bare its soul. Outside of context, idiomatics is but a collection of lexica where nuances of word meaning seek asylum in alphabetic order. And there they wait and wait, to be opened, to be read, to be explored, one book, one page at a time. Turning the page as challenging as reading the fine print. Time flies, stuck together pages abound, some even permanently, dust and dust mites the only residents still paying rent with a cashier's check awash with allergy symptoms, bookworms not invited. A closed book for sure, an open book doubtful. And reading between the lines the oldest trick in the book, bar none.

How best to read between the lines the 27 idiomatics practices presented here in two chapters have tried to address head on (see also Hinkel, 2017; Holmes & Moulton, 2005; Moon, 1997). Still others would need to be addressed in the months and years to come. In the meantime, all of us involved in idiomatics can take some comfort knowing that the present edited volume, diverse as the topics herein are, has provided a unique platform through which to raise our collective voice on matters of figurative language and beyond. Individual pursuits aside, it is prudent to remember that curricula the world over are only as strong as the language in which these are written and the demands placed upon learners and teachers alike. Imagining figurative language within such frameworks a necessary first step. Reimagining figurative language the icing on the cake. Walking the talk and talking the walk an approach worth practicing. Taking a leap of faith not an unreasonable expectation. To see who salutes, we must raise the flag. Only then will we know truly who walks the walk, and who talks the talk.

And last but not least. The curriculum, from elementary to university, remains the battlefield of ideas to which all students are invited to muse whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of figurative language long nesting in an author's mind, or to take arms against a sea of speech figures, and by deciphering conquering them. For there's the rub ardently to be so wish'd: To teach, or not to teach nonliteral language, that is the question that must give us pause. That is the question that thirsts for answers whispering in the wind. That is the question that burns the mind, puzzles the intellect, tests our mettle. Thus, language, with its infinite shadings of light, shadows and colors, does make warriors of us all, and thus we seize the ever speaking words locked away in the armory of our mind to paint emotional pictures the blind can see, sounds the deaf can hear in booming silence, unspoken wonders our heart can speak in a mosaic of visions born *in language*, *of language*, and *for language*. This is

the living melody in everything across time and space, the quiet whisper of secrets we follow blindly, the unstated perfection of saying more with less. Literal language ends where nonliteral language begins. And somewhere in between, between these two worlds of light and shadow, of literalness and figurativeness, of convention and invention, the language lives, breathes, and marches to the beat of her own drummer, arriving and departing all at the same time. There is no destination. Only the unending journey of self-discovery beneath one's feet. Full of promise. Full of kaleidoscopic wonder. One expression at a time. Today. Tomorrow. Forever.

That is how it is. And that is how it should be.

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CHAPTER FOUR

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AND COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

IOANNIS GALANTOMOS

Introduction

Within mainstream philosophical thought the decontextualization of language, meaning and thought was the norm. Thus, it was just a matter of time for a new paradigm to appear and lay the ground for rethinking these well-established views. In the early 1970s Cognitive Linguistics emerged in opposition to the dominant theory in the field, that being the Chomskyan Generative Grammar[1] (Evans & Green, 2006; Lee, 2001).

[1] The Chomskyan view of language is heavily based on Cartesian philosophy. Moreover, Chomsky has adopted ideas from Jakobson, Postal and his teacher Zeillig Harris (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The major tenets of Cartesian philosophy are summarized by Chomsky (1966) as follows:

1. Thought is independent of body.
2. Reasoning is related to mind and not the body.
3. Each entity in the surrounding world contains an essence that gives it the form of the thing it is.
4. The ability for rational thought and language is what differentiates humans from other primates.
5. Precise human reasoning can only be linked to mathematical models.
6. Reasoning is a correspondence between symbols and things/events and such correspondences are based on formal rules.
7. The ability to understand and use language is the ability to make complex ideas/meanings out of simpler ones.
8. Thought is based on certain innate concepts which are not learned through experience.
9. Understanding and mind operation are feasible by building on the human mind and its functions.

Cognitive Linguistics is a flexible framework, in that it is not a homogenous approach or a single theory of language but rather a collection of theories which share common features. Among these are the interrelation of language and human cognition, the notion of embodied mind and the role of metaphor and metonymy in conceptual structure (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007). In other words, Cognitive Linguistics seeks to answer the following fundamental questions:

1. What does it mean to know a language?
2. How languages are acquired? and
3. How are languages used in ordinary language communication? (Taylor, 2002).

Figurative language plays an important role in Cognitive Linguistics. In particular, Cognitive Linguistics has offered the context for reassessing the role, the place and the functions of figurative language in everyday communication, seeing it as an integral aspect of language and cognition rather than an artistic or a decorative device used by talented speakers (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014).

The basic ideas of Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive scientists challenged the Chomskyan view on language and mind and offered a radically different idea of the language system (Verspoor, 2008). The cognitive linguistic approach is more humanistic and holistic because it claims that language is an integral aspect of human cognition (Tyler, 2012). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) summarize the major findings of Cognitive Science as follows: firstly, the mind is embodied, secondly, thought is mainly unconscious and thirdly, abstract concepts are mostly metaphorical. In this respect, figurative language stands no longer at the periphery of everyday communication but serves various functions and constitutes a crucial feature of many genres and communicative contexts, be they ordinary or academic (Kövecses, 2002). Moreover, within Cognitive Linguistics, the notions of *categorization* and *construal* are re-asessed and a fresh outlook is offered on them.

Embodied cognition

The idea of embodied cognition holds that cognition is shaped by the physical properties of the world we inhabit (Scorolli, 2014). Thus, cognition relies on the sensory motor simulations of actions, events and states that

become evident through language (Kaschak, Jones, Carranza, & Fox, 2014). The idea of embodied cognition reflects the ongoing discussion on the neural dimension of language and thought. This approach holds that thought is physical and is carried out by neural circuits that make thought meaningful (Lakoff, 2012). For Pexman (2019), the embodied approach to language understanding and use is one of the most exciting developments in Cognitive Science. Meteyard, Rodriguez Cuadrado, Bahrami and Vigliocco (2012) claim that there is a continuum of embodied cognition consisting of two poles, ranging from an unembodied to a strongly embodied one. In a similar vein, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) label the first generation of Cognitive Science as disembodied and literal and the second generation as embodied, in the sense that abundant research data point at the strong dependence of abstract concepts and reasoning on the body. Most theories of embodied cognition fall between these two poles (Pexman, 2019).

According to Gibbs (2006), there are three interdependent levels of embodiment. These are the *neural embodiment*, the *phenomenological embodiment* and the *cognitive unconscious*. Neural embodiment refers to the structures that characterize concepts and cognitive properties on the neurophysiological level. The phenomenological level refers to everything a human knows about the environment, the body and the various experiences he is engaging in. Finally, the cognitive unconscious includes all the necessary information about language processing (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Wilson summarizes the basic claims of embodied cognition in the following ways:

- Firstly, cognition is situated, in that cognitive activity takes place in the ordinary language practice.
- Secondly, cognition is tile pressured, in that cognition must be understood under certain limitations that arise from the interaction with the environment.
- Thirdly, cognition relies on the environment in order to reduce the cognitive workload.
- Fourthly, the environment is a component of human cognition and
- Fifth, cognition is intended to act and finally, off-line cognition is body based, in that even when there is no close relationship with the world, the cognitive activity exploits mechanisms that evolved through previous interaction.

Categorization

A related concept to the embodied mind is *categorization*. Categorization refers to the cognitive ability of making categories based on perceived similarity (Taylor, 2002, 2003). The ability to categorize objects and states is evident in all humans regardless of their home place and the culture they share. As a matter of fact, categorization makes the surrounding environment meaningful (Kövecses, 2006). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that categorization is a consequence of the way human cognition is embodied. In the words of Lakoff and Johnson: "Living systems must categorize. Since [humans] are neural beings […] categories are formed through embodiment". Hence, categories are an essential aspect of human experience (1999: 19).

Categorization is an inevitable and unconscious process, although it is accepted that a small percentage of the various concepts are formed by conscious acts of categorization. In addition, it is not marginal to cognition (Lakoff, 1987); rather, it is as basic as any other human property. Moreover, it concerns more abstract concepts, such as events, emotions, actions, states and less concrete entities (Lakoff, 1987).

Cognitive Linguistics claims that all linguistic units, such as words and morphemes are in essence distinct, but related categories organized around a central meaning. Therefore, a category, such as "word" is a semantic network (Verspoor & Tyler, 2009). Forming categories is a complex and demanding cognitive process (Kövecses, 2006). Barsalou (1992) identified five steps, a speaker undertakes in order to form and acquire categories:

- First, the most basic properties of an entity are perceived.
- Second, similar category representations are being looked for.
- Third, the most similar representations are selected.
- Fourth, inferences can be drawn about a concept and finally,
- The necessary information about the category is stored in memory.

The cognitive unconscious

The cognitive unconscious refers to the finding that most of the human thought operates on the unconscious level. In other words, thought operates beneath the level of cognitive awareness so fast that it cannot be grasped and focused on (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Thus, humans are not able to fully access the interior of their minds. The cognitive unconscious is structured and includes not only mental, automatic operations, but also general knowledge, beliefs and ideas, that is, human implicit knowledge in

total (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Furthermore, it creates the abstract entities that are used in everyday reasoning (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

Metaphor

The traditional approach to metaphor holds that it is a figure of speech and a property of words used for artistic/literary purposes by talented speakers (Kövecses, 2002).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) challenged these well-entrenched ideas and introduced the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT). According to this approach, abstract concepts are mainly metaphorical. They are neural structures that allow humans to form and acquire their categories and reason and do not merely reflect the surrounding world but are shaped by human physiology. Moreover, metaphor is conceptual, it is not based on similarity and it is used effortlessly in ordinary language practice. In other words, metaphor is a major phenomenon that occurs throughout the whole range of human communication and all texts or genres (Cameron & Stelma, 2004; Knowles & Moon, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) as well as a cognitive process which serves as the basis for the understanding of more abstract concepts in terms of more concrete domains (Grady, 1997, 1999).

The understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain is called *conceptual metaphor* (and is conventionally written in small capital letters). The two conceptual domains that participate in the comprehension of a metaphorical statement have special names, the more abstract domain (= the domain being described) is called *target domain*, whereas the more concrete domain (= the domain in terms of which the target is described) is called *source domain*. Between these two domains systematic correspondences are developed, in that elements of the target domain correspond (/are linked to) in a coherent manner to elements of the source domain on the conceptual level. These correspondences are called *mappings*. The particular grouping of a source and a target domain give rise to *metaphorical linguistic expressions* (which are conventionally written in italics), that is the linguistic manifestations/reflections of a particular conceptual metaphor in everyday/ordinary communication (Evans & Green, 2006; Kövecses, 2002, 2006; Knowles & Moon, 2006). This analysis and terminology are illustrated in TABLE 1:

LOVE IS A JOURNEY		
Source: JOURNEY	**mappings**	**Target:** LOVE
travelers	→	lovers
vehicle	→	love relationship
journey	→	events in the relationship
distance covered	→	progress made
obstacles encountered	→	difficulties experienced
decisions about direction	→	choices about what to do
destination of the journey	→	goal of the relationship

Table 1: ***The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Evans & Green, 2006: 295)***

Apart from the basic mappings, there are more ideas that source domains map onto target domains. These additional mappings are called *entailments* or *inferences*, as certain aspects of the source domain are not explicitly mentioned but can be easily inferred. Thus, in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, travelers can get lost, they can fail to reach their destination and so forth. None of this additional information is explicitly stated, but it can be inferred due to the rich knowledge a speaker has about many source domains that are carried over to the target domain (Evans & Green, 2006; Kövecses, 2006).

In the same vein, as far as conceptual metaphors are concerned, only certain aspects of either the source or the target domain, participate in meaning construction. More specifically, only a part of the target domain is highlighted, whereas other aspects are hidden. This process is called *metaphorical highlighting* and it is applied to the target domain, whereas the utilization of certain aspects of the sources domain in order to understand a target domain is called *metaphorical utilization* (Kövecses, 2002, 2006). Hence, the mappings can only be partial (Kövecses, 2002). For example, in the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR the adversarial nature of argument is highlighted but it is hidden that an argument usually involves coherent thinking and organized development of a particular topic (e.g. *He won the argument, I couldn't defend that point* and so forth) (Evans & Green, 2006).

It has been proven, that a source domain may apply to several domains and vice versa, that is a target domain may be attached to several source domains. The former case is called the *scope of the source domain*, whereas the latter case is called the *range of the target domain* (Kövecses, 2003, 2006). For example, the source domain HAPPINESS is used to understand target domains, such as INSANITY (e.g. they were crazy with happiness),

NATURAL FORCE (e.g. we were carried away with happiness) and VITALITY (that put some life into them) (Kövecses, 2002). On the other hand, target domains vary significantly in the number of source domains they can be attached to. Some target domains are quite productive in that they are highly metaphorized concepts, while others have only a few source domains. For example, the vertical dimension UP is attached to many source domains, such as CONSCIOUS IS UP, HAPPY IS UP, HEALTHY IS UP, VIRTUE IS UP, GOD IS UP, MORE IS UP and so forth, whereas target domains, such as FAMILY are more restricted (e.g. SOCIETY IS FAMILY) (Kövecses, 2002, 2006).

Finally, metaphor serves many functions, some of which include explanation, textual structuring, ideology, problem solving, humor, memorability and informativeness enhancement (Richardt, 2005), evaluation judgements, agenda management, humor and topic change (Cameron, 2003; Semino, 2008). It was these qualities that made Hoffman (1983) claim that in real life discourse words have more connotative meanings rather than denotative ones.

Construal

In addition to the above-mentioned fundamental propositions, Gießler (2012) also discusses the notion of *construal*. Construal refers to a human's ability to approach a particular situation in many different ways. That is, the words a speaker uses to describe a particular phenomenon can never offer a pure objective view of this phenomenon, because pure objectivity cannot exist in ordinary communication. In this way, some aspects of a state will be more noticeable than others (Littlemore, 2009). These different ways of taking various perspectives into account constitute different ways of acquiring concepts (Lee, 2001). Talmy (2000a, 2000b) suggests that each language provides speakers with a wide range of alternative representations in order to understand an event. These alternative representations offer different construals on a particular phenomenon (Langacker, 1987/1991). Sometimes these different construals are related to cultural differences and are a consequence of cross-cultural variation in conceptualization (Gießler, 2012). Cognitive Linguists provide a four-way classification of construal operations. These are *attention* (= the part of a state of affairs in which a speaker is more interested), *perspective* (=the reference point from which a speaker views a phenomenon), *constitution* (= the degree of a speaker's proximity to a particular phenomenon) and *categorization* (= the ability of humans to structure various sense around broader networks) (Kövecses, 2006; Langacker, 1987/1991, 2007; Littlemore, 2009; Verhagen, 2007).

Metonymy

Metonymy has always been considered a poor cousin to metaphor (Gibbs & Colston, 2012) although, like metaphor, it is pervasive in language (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014). Moreover, like metaphor, metonymy has been analyzed as a pure linguistic device. Therefore, the traditional view on metonymy holds that it is a figure of speech, where a word is used in place of another word subject to contiguity relations (Kövecses, 2002). Contrary to this approach, the cognitive linguistic approach defines metonymy as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, that of target, within the same domain, or ICM" (Kövecses, 2002: 145).

From this perspective, metonymy is both conceptual (= *conceptual metonymy*) and linguistic (*metonymic linguistic expressions*) (Littlemore, 2009). In the same vein, there are the *vehicle entity* (= the word or expression used metonymically) and the *target entity* (= the intended meaning or referent) (Knowles & Moon, 2006). This is represented in the scheme "B for A", where "B" is the vehicle entity, and "A" the target entity (Evans & Green, 2006).

Metonymy is divided into two major types, *categorical metonymy* and *frame metonymy*. Categorical metonymy reflects the relationship between a larger category and a smaller subcategory which nevertheless is part of the large category. On the other hand, frame category refers to the relationship between parts of the same frame. An important type of frame metonymy is *part-whole metonymy*, where a part is mentioned as a way of referring to the whole of which it is a constituent part (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014).

Metonymy can be used to perform a variety of functions, such as reference (= it allows speakers to refer to entities without having to go through lengthy descriptions), euphemism (= avoidance of reference to a state causing embarrassment), evaluation and vagueness (Littlemore, 2009).

Although there are cases where metaphor and metonymy interact (resulting in metaphtonymy, see Goossens, 1990 and Barcelona, 2003 for detailed surveys), both figures are quite distinct on the basis of the following aspects:

- Metonymy is based on contiguity, whereas metaphor on similarity,
- Metonymy involves a single domain, whereas metaphor two conceptual domains,
- Metonymy provides access to a single domain, whereas metaphor is used to provide access to a whole system through various correspondences,

- Metonymy is both conceptual and linguistic, whereas metaphor is only conceptual (Kövecses, 2002).

Idioms

Contrary to the standard view of idioms[2], Cognitive Linguistics offers a rather radical alternative to idiom comprehension and processing that exhibits more systematicity, as opposed to arbitrariness and can enhance idiom learning and retention especially in an L2 context (Boers, 2001). In particular, the common assertion shared by the traditional view and the cognitive linguistic approach to idioms is that their meanings cannot be completely predicted from the meanings of their constituent words.

However, the cognitive linguistic alternative as regards this lack of full predictability is the notion of *motivation* (Kövecses, 2002). In brief, motivation refers to a speaker's capacity to understand and process an idiomatic expression by reactivating or remotivating its figuration, that is to make sense of why a particular idiom has the particular meaning and not another one (Langlotz, 2006). In other words, motivation makes the idioms look appropriate in language (Lakoff, 1987).

The cognitive linguistic view of idioms holds that the majority of them are motivated, in that their meaning is not arbitrary but arises from three cognitive mechanisms, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy and *conventional knowledge* (= knowledge shared by the members of language community for a conceptual domain) (Kövecses, 2002) or a link of the form "*image + knowledge + metaphor*" (Lakoff, 1987). Psycholinguistic research has shown that many idioms rely on these cognitive devices, are conceptual in nature and arise from the recurring patterns of embodied activity that are believed to shape cognition (Gibbs & Colston, 2012). To put it in another way, speakers have demonstrated in numerous studies tacit knowledge of the metaphorical motivation of many idioms. This tacit knowledge is easily retrieved through the mental images that speakers have for certain imageable idioms (Kövecses, 2002).

Lastly, based on the aforementioned idioms that are associated with mental images are called *imageable idioms* (Lakoff, 1987). For Boers and Demecheleer (2001) the property of imageability is a matter of degree. Hence, it is legitimate to assume that the higher degree of imageability is

[2] The standard theory of idioms holds that they are dead metaphors (Fraser, 1993), they are a matter of language and independent of each other or of any conceptual system (Kövecses, 2002) and they should be learnt through rote memorization as their meaning is arbitrary (Szczepaniak & Lew, 2011).

associated to higher degree of semantic transparency. In that respect, transparent idioms will be more "guessable" than the opaque ones and therefore more easily teachable in a foreign language context (Boers & Demecheleer, 2001).

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CHAPTER FIVE

TOUCHING UPON CRUCIAL ISSUES IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM BY MEANS OF METAPHOR AND HUMOUR

OLYMPIA TSAKNAKI

Introduction

From time to time, humanity faces critical issues that affect different domains of life activity and either a small or large number of people or the entire world population. The problem starts in a specific part of the planet and then it spreads rapidly to the rest of the world causing people to be more or less anxious. Such a contemporary phenomenon was the global financial crisis that affected the world mainly during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The effects of the crisis were not merely economic; its severity also exerted a major social impact. In 2003, an epidemic called SARS affected a number of countries and caused many deaths, similarly to the effects that the pandemic influenza H1N1 had in 2009.

Nowadays, the demon that inhibits people all over the world from continuing the normal flow of their lives because of the unprecedented upheaval and the fallout caused in many domains listens to the name coronavirus disease-2019 (COVID-19) and is due to the emergence of the acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). The conclusion that a crisis of this magnitude does not exclude any profession or person, including education, is evidenced.

> "The COVID-19 pandemic has created the largest disruption of education systems in history, affecting nearly 1.6 billion learners in more than 190 countries and all continents" (United Nations, 2020: 2).

Nowadays, education is trying to regain a foothold. Guidelines for safety and hygiene were released and online courses were planned and delivered in difficult circumstances. Impact on everyday life but also on learning, teachers, students, and every educational establishment's staff should not be ignored. A scenario we do not wish to live is the prolongation of the current situation. Nevertheless, faced with tomorrow's uncertainty, and in order to ensure the proper running of educational systems, educators should endeavor to adapt to the new requirements.

In this article, our purpose is to present how crucial issues that have preoccupied people around the world and had been incorporated to our daily life can be explored in the foreign language classroom with levity and humour. We will single out figurative language and humour in cartoons referring to coronavirus and we will propose ways to integrate them into the FFL classroom. Our corpus is composed of 130 verbal – French-speaking– and non-verbal cartoons published on French-speaking websites or on social media and created by inspired French-speaking cartoonists, comic artists and illustrators (e.g. Babouse, Karim Bouguemra, Michel Cambon, Patrick Chappatte, Charmag, Emmanuel Chaunu, Antoine Chereau, Frédéric Deligne, Xavier Delucq, Élise Gravel, Jiho, Nathalie Jomard, Kak, Benjamin Lacombe, Marc Large, Lasserpe, Raphaël Livingston, Dominique Mutio, Plantu, Nicolas Vial, Willis from Tunis, Zep). It was elaborated during an eight-month period, beginning in March 2020, when the WHO officially characterized the COVID-19 outbreak a pandemic.

On Humour

As Krikkman points out: "Most of the humour theories ever proposed are actually mixed theories, and many contemporary researchers believe that humour in its totality is too huge and multiform a phenomenon to be incorporated into a single integrated theory" (2006: 28).

Several linguistic humor theories such as the General Theory of Verbal Humour (Attardo & Raskin, 1991; Attardo, 1994, 2001), Arthur Koestler's bisociation theory of humour (Koestler, 1964) or Victor Raskin's script-based theory of jokes (SSTH) (Raskin, 1985) have been developed[1]. Rivers of ink have also been consumed by researchers in order to discover commonalities and differences between metaphor and humour. Nowadays, "There seems to be general agreement that understanding verbal (as well as non-verbal) humor implies the activation of higher-order cognitive

[1] For a brief presentation of contemporary humour theories, see Krikkman (2006).

processes" (Brône et al., 2006). We cannot fail to mention another linguistic theory, the incongruity-relevance theory. An important component of humour that surprises the receptors is incongruity (Berger, 1993; McGhee, 1979), however, "Many agree on the point that it is not the incongruity but the congruous resolution of the apparent incongruity that makes a certain situation funny" (Mulder & Nijholt, 2002). Black humour is a sub-type of humour where dramatic and tragical situations or events are viewed from a humorous perspective. As Connard contends: "Black humor describes a type of humor that attaches itself to the grotesque, morbid or suffering. […] Black humor requires a character to underplay the seriousness of the situation. His incongruous, nonchalant dialogue contradicts the gravity of the moment" (2005: 11-12).

As a result, humour can be a stimulus for encouraging discussions in classroom, although it has received negative publicity from time to time. "Academic institutions generally do not enjoy reputations as breeding grounds for humour" but "Humor is free and available to anyone", as claimed by Black and Forro (1999: 166). Humour can be beneficial if we deal with it in a discerning and effective way. According to recent publications, humour has been proved motivational in many subjects, both in theoretical and practical education, at all educational levels (Brenes Reyes, 2014; Flowers, 2001; Friedman et al., 1999; Noon, 2017; Ziegler, 1998). It is also a useful tool in the foreign language classroom (Csajbok-Twerefou, 2011; Cruz, 2019; Schmitz, 2002). Szirmai (2012) argues that humour should form part of syllabi. In addition, it can also be efficiently used in online courses (Granato 2016). Wagner and Urios-Aparisi (2011) provide interesting references regarding the usefulness of humour in teaching effectiveness, student learning, creation of an enjoyable classroom environment, higher student motivation, more positive evaluations of teachers by students and enhanced teacher immediacy in the classroom. Since "Humor is a universal phenomenon but is also culturally tinted" (Jiang et al., 2019), apart from the linguistic content, learners of a foreign language should also face the cultural differences arising from different cultural backgrounds.

> "Humour is understood to reduce anxiety and stress, build confidence, improve productivity, heighten interest, reduce boredom and encourage divergent thinking, yet it has been difficult to establish positive value for humour in helping student learning" (Ziegler, 1998).

According to Torok et al. (2004), humor as a teaching tool can help people in different ways:

> Humor appropriately used has the potential to humanize, illustrate, defuse, encourage, reduce anxiety, and keep people thinking.

Garner claims that "Humor can serve as a bridge between educators and students by demonstrating a shared understanding and a common psychological bond" (2006: 177).

As in spoken communication, non-verbal and paralinguistic features, very important in the two-way communication, can enhance interpersonal involvement (Tannen, 1983: 82), while the same happens in cartoons on the part of the reader (Marín-Arrese, 2008[2]). Involvement is "an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel, which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words" (Tannen, 1989: 12). Facial expressions are "basic cues of emotional information" (Kong, 2019). "Simple and highly exaggerated facial expressions" are used in comics in order to make emotions identifiable by the public (El Refaie, 2012: 202). The intended emotional effect can be achieved because, independently of age, we can recognize ourselves and "heroic" exploits and experiences we had, that had influenced our family, town and country, in these particular expressions**.** It is needless to say that the analysis of psychological and linguistic aspects of humour complexity is beyond the scope of this article.

Billig (2005: 185) wrote that humour does not flourish only in happy societies. On the contrary, in particularly critical social and political circumstances, humour can serve to show that people have not become a victim of the circumstances. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that not everyone treats humor in the same way since it is something subjective and controversial that can easily embarrass the interlocutor or a wider audience if the speaker is not prudent enough. "One person's harmless bit of teasing will be another's cruelty" (Billig, 2005: 8). This can also happen in the context of school. For this reason, some sensitive issues should not be touched on or treated in a humorous way. As Tauber and Mester (1994: 64) argue, humour in class must be "constructive", a "nonhostile humor directly related to the educational message". It is the teachers' responsibility to guarantee that none of the learners will feel any emotional harm.

[2] Emotional involvement is among the basic components involved in the humour process (Marín-Arrese, 2008).

On Metaphor

According to the model of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2002), we can understand a conceptual domain which is abstract and subjective (target domain) in terms of another conceptual domain which is concrete and commonly experienced (source domain). The conceptual metaphor was "firmly established as one important component of a general theory of metaphor" (Steen, 1999: 57) and it was endorsed by researchers. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mention many examples of metaphor we use in everyday life and in various domains like technical, scientific or business discourse. The conceptual metaphors take shape through language, although they are not a matter of language but an issue of the mind. Conceptual blending is another cognitive mechanism used in humorous cartoons (Coulson, 2000, 2002, Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, Turner & Fauconnier, 1995).

> "The essence of the operation is to construct a partial match between two input mental spaces, to project selectively from those inputs into a novel "blended" mental space, which then dynamically develops emergent structure" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003: 57-58).

Apart from the conventional metaphors, which are known metaphors, there are also the creative metaphors that "are unique in that neither the creator nor the audience has encountered the metaphor before" (Beaty & Silvia, 2013). An innovative stimulus is more pleasurable than a familiar one (Giora et al., 2004). A creative metaphor can be more pleasing than a conventional one. It can also be persuasive and attractive (Jansen et al., 2010). The Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Theory of Blending can be considered as complementary. The latter is often concerned with novel metaphors (Grady, Oakley, & Coulson, 1999).

Linguistic meaning and the human conceptual system are not considered as independent. Under this assumption, the teacher of a foreign language can raise the awareness of learners in this matter and treat metaphors as relevant to the conceptual system. Many researchers acknowledge the value and effectiveness of metaphor awareness in foreign language education, especially in the case of vocabulary learning, including idioms (Kövecses & Szabó, 1996). Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that, besides the usefulness of the use of metaphor in the classroom, there are also obstacles impeding its effectiveness that we should not ignore. If there are intercultural differences in the underlying conceptualization, learners are not able to benefit from this approach

(Hoang, 2014). "Metaphorical competence" (Danesi, 1986) modified at "Conceptual fluency" (Danesi, 1993) is defined as "the ability to give appropriate structural form to all kinds of meanings, literal and non-literal that constitute the semantic system of the L2" (Danesi, 2008: 233) and it should be integrated into language learning. It can be built in the foreign language classroom if the teacher knows how to learn "strategies of employing metaphorical thought" that could help learners deal with figurative language (Irujo, 1993: 217, Kövecses & Szabó, 1996). According to Hoang (2014): "From the cognitive linguistic point of view, learners need to activate the knowledge of the source and target domains in order to process a metaphor. For a language learner, this would mean the mobilization of the learned source and target domains of the target language while activating and/or suppressing features of the source and target domains of their L1 at the same time".

The traditional view of idioms in the foreign language classroom is an obstacle to the understanding of their nature (Kövecses, 2002: 200). Metaphoric competence can contribute to the overall communicative language ability of a foreign language learner (Littlemore, 2001; Littlemore & Low, 2006). Andreou and Galantomos (2008) propose a conceptual syllabus for teaching metaphors and idioms in a foreign language context. Figurative language and humour in cartoons can have a positive impact on children's, young learners' and adults' skills development. However, it is worth mentioning here that the approach of a cartoon type, e.g. a political cartoon, could be more suitable for adult learners than children due to their analytic abilities, reasoning power, learning capacity and other advantages (Saville-Troike, 2006: 15, 88).

Interaction between participants could lead to a significant development of speaking and writing skills. Common experiences can even motivate young learners who could discuss on measures taken, be informed on measures taken in other countries and develop critical thinking as responsible world citizens. To achieve the desired results, it is reminded that the teacher should find the appropriate trigger cartoon and approach it from a pedagogical perspective. The selection should be based on the age, cognitive capacity and level of knowledge of the learners. In addition, background knowledge about the world as well as sufficient knowledge of current events is necessary to uncover inferential meanings. Serious consideration must be given to extralinguistic culture-bound references, as well as intralinguistic ones (Pedersen, 2005).

On Multiliteracies and Multimodality

The progress of technology and the diversity of communication channels changed the pedagogy of literacy (The New London Group, 1996). The multimodal research is in bloom because of "the increasing significance of cultural and linguistic diversity in global economy and the complexity of texts with respect to nonlinguistic, multimodal forms of representation and communication, particularly, but not limited to, those affiliated with new technologies". (Jewitt, 2008). On the same wavelength, multimodality is an interesting contemporaneous approach. Traditional literacy was questioned because it emphasized only one semiotic system, the discourse. However, messages are delivered through more than one mode (Kress & van Leeuwen's, 2001). Cartoons belong to the category of multimodal texts as they can combine visual and textual parts. However, they can deliver a message without verbal content as well.

Representation of SARS-CoV-2 and COVID-19

Cartoons in the context of COVID-19 deal with everyday life since the outbreak, that is during the lockdown imposed on most countries and after the deconfinement. The major topics they also deal with are health policy, impacts on economy, political attitudes and decisions, controversial figures and relations between countries. Although humour, which is prevalent in cartoons, makes people smile or laugh, it is also a means of remedying a serious problem.

COVID-19 IS A DANGER could be a general metaphor. ILLNESS IS WAR is a well-known metaphor. According to Sontag (Goatly, 2007: 49), the military metaphor first appeared in the 1880s, "where bacteria were identified as causing disease by entering the body". Since then, military operations are organized by the body to face and defeat the enemy. COVID-19 IS AN ADVERSARY is a metaphor used abundantly. The manifestation of the above-mentioned metaphor can be realized through text and image[3], i.e. when Emmanuel Macron, current President of the French Republic, informs citizens that they are at war, they respond surrounded by packaged goods supplied from the supermarket that they are "ready to resist attacks[4]"[5]. Another example of combination is the cartoon showing a troop of hairy people who saved lives by staying at

[3] Webpages referenced here were accessed during the research period.
[4] Translation in English.
[5] https://www.flickr.com/photos/chorisar/49669199141

home, untidy but proud, in a parade after the confinement[6]. Verbal examples include words like *guerre, libération, explosion, troupe, soldat, combat, lutte, déminage, tranchée, stratégie, vaincre, attaquer* (war, liberation, explosion, troop, soldier, combat, struggle, demining, trench, strategy, defeat, attack) and idioms such as *(tirer) à bout portant* which means to fire a weapon from a very close distance. In nonverbal examples, a man carries a sword and/or a shield.

Metonymic associations of war heroes are also used. The medal awarded to healthcare workers is not a medal only of the sport sector, for athletes-winners, but also a medal won on the battlefield[7].

The theory of conceptual integration takes shape in the humorous blended space of several cartoons. In the cartoon[8] described here, humour is the result of the cultural model activated and the mapping between Input 1, a gladiator and a wild animal, and Input 2, Italian people and the coronavirus. The frame is a duel in Ancient Rome. The Italian combatant, wearing a mask that reminds in appearance Colosseum and carrying a shield with the Italian flag on it, is trying to kill the threatening coronavirus. The cartoon evokes the difficulty of the Italian society in exterminating the coronavirus. COVID-19 IS AN EARTHQUAKE is another metaphor. As it is described in a cartoon, the U.S.A. are the epicentre of COVID-19[9]. On this point, we would like to mention that, given the limited number of cartoons used in this research, we regard metaphors which are possibly not systematic as conceptual metaphors.

SARS-CoV-2 is a living creature

In the question: "Are viruses alive?", most scientists would agree that viruses are not regarded as living creatures. Even though they can be disastrous for a living organism, they are biological entities which are devoid of cellular life. This nonhuman entity is shown as human in a lot of cartoons. The ubiquity of SARS-CoV-2 is underlined by the presence of a little, generally in shades of red or green in coloured cartoons, spherical creature with a crown-shaped appearance in almost every place anyone could imagine. The virus is presented as a human being who is moving, traveling with people, entering homes or classrooms unwittingly or

[6] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/a-venir-le-defile-du-deconfinement/

[7] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/apres-la-crise-les-soignants-attendront-des-actes/

[8] https://www.reddit.com/r/europe/comments/ffyocy/italy_against_the_coronavirus_by_the_french/

[9] http://acheterenespagne.fr/coronavirire-des-dessins-pour-rire-ou-sourire/

mocking them people underestimating measures taken by them. This entity is smiling satisfied that it has already become part of people's lives. Marianne remains a prisoner. The virus sometimes is presented as a terrorist who organized a terrorist attack in 2020 using sneezing as a weapon[10] and sometimes as a friend helping the humanity by fighting against pollution, the increase in the price of fuel or globalization[11]. SARS-CoV-2 IS AN INVISIBLE LIVING CREATURE is another ontological metaphor. The virus joined pupils while entering school or is sitting at ease in the back seat of a car or on the roof accompanying the family who is leaving the city to avoid it[12]. In addition to this approach, it can also appear as a bicycle wheel[13], a school bag[14] or a basketball ball[15]. It also replaced the meatballs in the famous spaghetti eating scene in the "Lady and the Tramp"[16].

Economy

The health crisis could not leave the economic life and activities untouched. The containment had an impact on the global market. We identified the following metaphors: ECONOMY IS A BUILDING removed by a crane in the effort to eliminate the virus that causes COVID-19. ECONOMY IS A LIVING CREATURE, either presented as a patient lying in a bed at a hospital or a person who is dying.

Black humour is also present. As regards the era following the coronavirus disease, we can read in a cartoon: "I lost my job during the lockdown, but I can finally beg at the cafés' terraces"[17].

An example of blending is the mapping between the story of the folk hero of Switzerland, William Tell, and the crucial role of the French government in treating the pandemic, with all its consequences, in order to keep the country's economy alive. The French President, covered in sweat, is standing in front of the figure of the French economy who has at the top

[10] https://twitter.com/hashtag/lerhumedelaterreur
[11] https://www.pinterest.fr/pin/788270741018140924/
[12] https://lannexedugrumeauland.blogspot.com/2020/04/covid-19-journal-de-bord-jour-11.html
[13] https://le1hebdo.fr/journal/actualite/journal-covid-19-67.html
[14] https://www.pinterest.fr/pin/585608757785813638/
[15] https://business.facebook.com/pg/JoeufHomecourtBasket/posts/
[16] https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/nouvelle-aquitaine/haute-vienne/rire-du-coronavirus-caricaturistes-du-salon-saint-just-martel-1818718.html
[17] https://www.facebook.com/141327875970123/photos/a.145374158898828/2401770426592512/?type=3&theater

of her head the virus. The blended space represents a new conceptualization where remedies to save the French economy require accuracy, calmness and relevant choices[18].

The health crisis had also impact on the climate crisis. Economy is presented like a car ready to restart the engine and, inevitably, pollute the environment[19].

Contradiction provoked by the antonymic relation between *ouvrir* (open) and *fermer* (close) creates irony in the following example[20]. The French President, with the mask right on his eyes instead of nose and mouth, is saying that the mask is the solution for the economic crisis of COVID-19. The following is written on the caption: "The government is opening its eyes. Wearing a mask becomes compulsory."

Public Policy – Measures

> "Units of the figurative lexicon […] potentially possess *two conceptual levels*: they can be interpreted at the level of their literal reading and at the level of their figurative meaning, which both can be activated simultaneously" (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen, 2018).

The visual literal interpretation of idioms can trigger humour. When measures against COVID-19 infection started to loosen in France on May 11, traveling outside a department was still subject to restrictions as the distance should not be more than 100 klm from home *as the crow flies* (*à vol d'oiseau*). During the confinement, citizens had to fill out an *attestation* if they wanted to get out of their house. A cartoon presents with humour the use of technology by the competent authorities to this effort (drones equipped with a claw machine)[21]. The moving image of another cartoon shows a citizen who fixed feathers on his arm ready to fly as a bird daring to say: "As the crow flies (*À vol d'oiseau*), it is not going to be easy)"[22].

[18] https://www.cartooningforpeace.org/en/editos/behind-the-health-crisis-the-economic-crisis/
[19] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/le-medef-demande-un-moratoire-sur-des-mesures-ecologiques-et-environnementales/
[20] https://dessin-humoristique.fr/
[21] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/france-une-commande-de-651-drones-qui-derange-en-pleine-epidemie-de-covid-19/
[22] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/deconfinement-fais-comme-loiseau/

In the following example[23], both the literal and figurative meaning of the word *sale* (dirty) are activated. The French President says: *À cause du coronavirus, on supprime l'argent sale* (Because of the coronavirus, we cut the dirty money).

In so doing, the French Government is accused of supporting the banks. The idea of not touching banknotes or coins, because these objects could transmit the virus, is a point of view that benefits the banks.

The map colouring departments of France according to their vulnerability was compared to a *ratatouille*[24], a traditional French stew made of coloured vegetable layers.

As regards the first aid products in the fight against the coronavirus disease, alcohol hand sanitizers and masks, they have their share in cartoons. The latter are, in several cases, personified. MASK IS A HUMAN BEING. In a cartoon[25], a mask calls another mask: *Morue!*, a word meaning, in slang, prostitute. The hydroalcoholic gel also became a very important product. Citizens became too reliant on its consumption as if they were dependent, used in medical terms, on alcohol. *L'association des hydroalcooliques anonymes* (Association of anonymous hydroalcoholics) was created to enable members to stay away from abusing gel[26]. The coronavirus diagnostic test is also an element used and discussed a lot. The dialogue in the following cartoon[27] highlights the ambiguity of the word *négatif* (negative): "–You are negative. –I am told all the time".

Another example of the parallel activation of the literal and figurative meaning of an idiom is the following[28]. The President of the French Republic is sitting on a chair, in the spotlight, having in front of him a high top hat while in the caption the following is written: "Is Macron going to eat his hat live?". "Manger son chapeau" is a fixed expression the meaning of which is "to admit that I was mistaken, to recognize my error". By means of the image used, eating a hat, the great difficulty we encounter to admit a mistake to someone is expressed. It is noteworthy to remind here that, in political cartoons, the knowledge of the political topics, the political culture and the events carried out is required.

A campaign was launched to inform people how to wear a mask properly to reduce the spread of the virus. On the Facebook page of SOS

[23] https://dessin-humoristique.fr/
[24] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/deconfinement-en-rouge-ou-vert/
[25] https://www.facebook.com/pg/Nathalie-Jomard-103641416345805/photos
[26] http://acheterenespagne.fr/coronavirire-des-dessins-pour-rire-ou-sourire/
[27] https://www.sinemensuel.com/dessin/voir-le-flacon-a-moitie-vide/
[28] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/emmanuel-macron-une-allocution-pour-rassurer/

Médecins France[29], the federation posted an educational and humorous message with two images, we might say, borderless panels and the following text: *Porter votre masque comme ça … reviendrait à porter votre slip comme ça!* (Wearing your face mask like this … is like you are wearing your underwear like this). Humour is created by means of a simile, the comparison made between the mask and the underwear and the improper wearing. If nudity is still considered as a taboo, the use of a not socially acceptable image is a technique that surprises the citizen.

The restriction measures taken had a negative effect on physical or mental health of people. However, they also had a positive impact on the environment as pollution was reduced. In a cartoon[30], the Earth, delighted, with a glass of red wine in hand, says: "I revived! Cheers!" and, in another one, the animals are also very satisfied[31].

Deconfinement

During the period of deconfinement the employees returned to work but outdoor life and in particular conditions at work like the wearing of a mask or social distancing were reminiscent of a jail. Entering home after his first day in the office, the husband says to his wife that the guards were nice and that he had the right to a visiting room with the HR Director.[32]

In the following cartoon, humour is based on an invented word, the "trouillomètre". This is a device in form of a thermometer, but, instead of measuring temperature, it measures the *trouille* (fear) of citizens to get out of home during the period of deconfinement. Social distancing on public transport during rush hours was difficult to implement in Paris and other big cities. Cultural stereotypes helped the creator of a cartoon to propose some interesting ways to avoid people. Among the ways that would ensure respect, there are the Indian or the Mexican one. In the Indian way, carrying some snakes, preferably cobras, seems to be effective to protect

[29] https://m.facebook.com/SOSmedecins.France/photos/a.595418010518982/3039801556080603/?type=3&source=57
[30] https://www.sinemensuel.com/dessin/sante-confine/
[31] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/avec-le-confinement-la-nature-reprend-ses-droits/
[32] All examples mentioned in this paragraph were taken from: https://www.urtikan.net/: https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/deconfinement-reprise-du-travail/, https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/deconfinement-la-peur-de-sortir/, https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/deconfinement-en-metro-cest-injouable/, https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/deconfinement-metro-boulot-covid/

yourself. In the Mexican way, one needs to wear a big sombrero and to carry big cactus plants.

Another cartoon dealing with public transport during the deconfinement makes use of a slightly, but substantially, modified form of *Métro, boulot, dodo* (Metro, work, sleep). *Dodo* is replaced by *covid*. The cartoon presents Death, in his symbolic figure, as a passenger who is traveling by metro. His outfit terrorizes people. He is dressed in a black cloak and holds a scythe[33]. Besides the fact that the wearing of a mask was generally respected in public transport, the high traffic in some very busy lines made the effort extremely difficult and therefore extremely dangerous for health.

Healthcare

The outbreak has been central to the concerns of national and international health authorities who, as it was proven, were not always prepared to handle a crisis of this extent. THE VIRUS IS A BURDEN the health team carries on shoulders sighing[34]. The effects were multiple in this domain. In hospitals, often in state of emergency, the medical and nursing staff was exhausted[35]. The pictorial representation of the metonymic idiom *tirer sa langue* (stick tongue out) expresses their Herculean effort and the need to get a second wind[36]. The staff[37] as well as the necessary equipment and supplies were lacking. Medical equipment that is not available is compared to other objects. Accoutrements such as raincoats, sea glasses or plastic kitchen gloves are provided instead of medical uniforms[38].

The effort to combat infection was considered as a race and healthcare workforce became the key actor who worked tirelessly in hospitals for all those in need. Medals were awarded to those successful competitors. Black humour, once again, serves the cartoonist. Several cartoons show that notwithstanding the benefits this professional team was entitled to, the

[33] "Both the catharsis and superiority theories of humour help explain how characters in a text, as well as participants who engage with that text, use black comedy as a technique for coping with death. These two theories also reveal the ways in which the experience of black humour moulds, enhances and disrupts people's relationships." (Murray, 2007, 193)

[34] https://www.blagues-et-dessins.com/tag/blague-sars-cov-2/page/2/

[35] https://iderco.wordpress.com/2016/01/11/la-compassion-antidote-du-burn-out-des-soignants/

[36] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/cest-lheure-du-deconfinement-noublions-pas-nos-soignants/

[37] https://twitter.com/delucqx/status/1243436234296492032

[38] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/des-dessins-pour-les-soignants-7/

race still fails to meet the requirements, e.g.: "We are out of bandages. Can you lend me your medal ribbon?"[39] Another cartoon[40] represents the shortage of supplies in masks. The box that should contain these supplies was empty; however, the box with the medals was full. Healthcare professionals, as well as other professionals, were also identified as *les vrais premiers de cordée* (the real leaders of climbing), expression which provoked a confrontation on the political scene of France[41]. PUBLIC SERVICE HEALTH CARE IS DOWN is represented in the example where public service is deteriorating[42].

In the following cartoons, hospitals are conceptualized as a sinking ship. Because of the fact that health service plans have been modified in order to provide the best treatment to cases of COVID-19, other services were reduced. The danger is hospitals' bankruptcy. The cartoon presents a hospital sinking at sea[43]. In another cartoon[44], The *Centre Hospitalier Universitaire* of France is compared to the Titanic where the passengers are doctors and nurses. In the following cartoon[45], humour is associated to the use of an enunciation in the context of a hospital instead of that of a restaurant. In front of the emergency exit doors, an ambulance and three attendants carrying a stretcher with a patient on it are waiting outside. They are looking at the doctor, surprised, as he is asking if they have made a reservation. Even the role of the police has been influenced by the arrival of the coronavirus in our lives. In the first panel of a cartoon, a woman is calling the police, the public service charged with the prevention of crime and protection of properties, because she thinks a burglar has entered the house. At the other end of the telephone, a police officer is asking her if she is sure about it because they are very occupied with COVID-19. In the second panel, the same woman is calling again the police and, this time, she says that her son is giving a party with 30 guests. The police officer says that they are coming immediately.[46]

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[39] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/des-moyens-plutot-que-des-medailles-des-soignants-agaces/

[40] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/lacteur-michel-piccoli-est-mort-a-lage-de-94-ans/

[41] https://www.blagues-et-dessins.com/tag/blague-premiers-de-cordee/

[42] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/vent-de-grogne-dans-les-hopitaux/

[43] https://m.facebook.com/PierreKroll/photos/a.274763745994/10158000646825995/?type=3&__tn__=-R

[44] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/des-dessins-pour-les-soignants-5/

[45] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/coronavirus-letat-durgence-sanitaire-prolonge/

[46] https://twitter.com/ornikkar

Teleworking

Tranquility, comfort and safety are the words written at the top of a cartoon[47] that combines verbal and non-verbal expression. These three words characterize teleworking. The truth, however, is that young children leave no room for hope. In this cartoon, the expected scenario would be a calm place at home and a rewarding experience, nevertheless the resolution comes from the elements on the image which lead to the opposite interpretation. The cartoon, in an attempt to emphasize the situation, presents the mother, who is a teleworker, restricted in a small cage, trying to work. Around her, there are road signs like "Baby crossing", "Work in progress", "No entry". On the contrary, in another cartoon, parents reacted and took measures against their turbulent children[48].

The confinement period

The serious repercussions observed during this period on some people's health are described here: "First assessment of confinement: Another flat encephalogram"[49] or here: "The confinement gets crazy" (*fou*). *Fou* is a linguistic feature that conceptualizes confinement as a mental illness. Unrealistic scenarios are used to create humour and persuade readers that the confinement changed many things. They are in front of a scenario containing children urging their father to let them throw garbage on the street[50]. Another scenario which is not likely to be realized is a recipe for cookies with no ingredients, because of their absence on supermarket shelves[51].

Berger (1993: 16) encompasses "exaggeration" in the techniques he believes can generate humour. An elderly couple disagrees on who of them has been the braver one in the past. The old man says that he was proud to be a soldier in the trenches during the war. In contrast, after the COVID-19 era, the old lady considers that she has the right to be proud because she went to the supermarket during the period of the confinement

[47] https://mamanelfeetsonetoile.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/onbosse.png
[48] https://www.dordognelibre.fr/app/uploads/sites/4/2020/03/dl-5-2.pdf
[49] https://m.facebook.com/babouse1er/posts/2434991853480361?locale2=zh_CN
[50] https://twitter.com/ornikkar/status/1246541519500316675
[51] https://lannexedugrumeauland.blogspot.com/2020/04/covid-19-journal-de-bord-jour-21.html

that has lasted several months[52]. Visual hyperbole is a technique used in cartoons. It was particularly used to describe the panic-mongering resulting from measures taken during the confinement period. As regards the supermarkets, shopping trolleys were overflowing, they were full of basic necessities such as food. This frenzy referred to toilet paper, in particular, and several cartoons presented customers with mountains of packages ready to be stored at home or already occupying space at home[53]. The Statue of Liberty holds in her right hand a roll of toilet paper, instead of the torch, and in her left hand she carries a six-pack of toilet paper[54]. Descartes is presented to carry under his arms some rolls of toilet paper while he is saying, paraphrasing a well-known saying of his: *Je pense donc j'essuie.* (I think so I wipe)[55]. In the same vein, selling toilet paper on the black market for 250 euros/roll indicates in a humorous way that consumers rushed out to buy it[56].

Adjusting to life at home was not always easy. During the period of containment, citizens were presented as prisoners and houses as a jail. In the cartoons[57], home is a larger piece of land. Road signs that give information on directions and show the distance to objects in the house or the weather forecasting that refers only to the rooms of the house show the unexpected presence of these signs indoors or the conception of the house as a large-scale surface. In a dialogue between neighbours, the answer to the question about the destination during the Easter holidays evokes humour: "We hesitate between the living room and the dining room". Ambiguous words, homonymous or polysemous, are an interesting part of vocabulary acquisition in foreign language learning. The incongruity-resolution theory can be applicable in lexical ambiguity that was engaged as an effective instrument to address living conditions during the lockdown. At first, incongruity is created (*Les claquettes redeviennent à la mode.*) and then it is resolved. *Claquettes* are related to tap dancing but, in

[52] https://www.facebook.com/pg/Nathalie-Jomard-103641416345805/photos/?tab=album&album_id=104015079641772

[53] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/coronavirus-fievre-acheteuse/

[54]https://www.facebook.com/103641416345805/photos/a.104015079641772/2946273602082558/?type=3&theater

[55] https://www.blagues-et-dessins.com/

[56] https://www.facebook.com/pg/Nathalie-Jomard-103641416345805/photos/?tab=album&album_id=104015079641772

[57] https://www.cartooningforpeace.org/editos/scenes-de-confinement-mieux-vaut-en-rire/

familiar register, they also mean the flip-flops[58]. The image reveals the meaning of the ambiguous word.

Proverbs used with changes in content to satisfy the needs of the cartoonist is not an unknown technique. The French proverb *Chacun son métier et les vaches seront bien gardées*, which means, "In order for everything to be fine, you need to mind your own business before examining your neighbour's." was modified to *Chacun son confinement et les virus seront bien gardés* to show that everybody had his or her particular way of living during the lockdown. The cartoon presents a woman sitting comfortably on her chaise longue saying harsh words to another who, in contrast to her, is exercising on a gym bike[59].

An issue that was discussed between people or on Internet sites during home containment was haircuts and hairstyle. This problem inspired the creators of cartoons. The first cartoon[60] is a movie poster, which is a source of multimodal metaphors. "The movie poster integrates various symbolic systems, such as words, pictures, colors, etc., and brings more intuitive and vigorous visual experience to audiences." (Feng 2017: 330). We can mentally project a person without hair treatment for several months behaving like a zombie strolling around "thirsty for straightening, brushing and balayage". The image of two people with hair that needs care, reminding us of the way these fictional creatures walk, reinforces the message. The second cartoon[61] describes nonverbally the disappointment of people who asked to have a haircut from the people who were confined with them – "France now has 65 million hairdressers" - caused by the result of this action.

Relationship problems also took the shape of a cartoon as illustrated here: "-When the lockdown is over, what would you really enjoy for a vacation? -To go alone."[62].

Additionally, providing a peaceful family life was a very difficult task for parents. When the father in one comic says that the Olympics are canceled in Tokyo, the mother responds among three kids, a dog and a cat

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[58] https://www.urtikan.net/dessin-du-jour/mode-et-confinement/

[59] https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3044956982214219&id=103641416345805&comment_id=3053449624698288

[60] https://www.facebook.com/103641416345805/photos/a.104015079641772/3013128628730388/?type=3&theater

[61] https://twitter.com/fdeligne/status/1248516939573583873

[62] http://acheterenespagne.fr/coronavirire-des-dessins-pour-rire-ou-sourire/

that made the living room a playing field that they are not canceled at home. [63]

With the imposition of lockdown, some people traveling outside the country encountered difficulties in returning. On the other hand, as shown in the cartoon described[64], an expatriate who has to stay confined in the hotel, is rather satisfied with the developments. The humour is established through the contrast between the lax attitude he maintains, smoking in the pool, as well as his smile, and his words: "I'll have to stay at the hotel. How sad!"

In the field of work, professionals did their best and, most of them, have surpassed themselves. The ordinary citizens lying on the sofa are considered superheroes on such a scale like Superman[65]. The next cartoon[66] is similar in character since it concerns the unsung heroes of the situation. On the façade of Pantheon, in Paris, one can read: *Aux grands hommes la partie reconnaissante* (To the great man, the grateful home country). In the cartoon, a man erases *grands hommes* and writes *petites mains.* The humour is achieved by means of contrast and metonymy.

Information posters

Apart from the cartoons, we thought that it was also important to make reference to information posters that tried to inform people on measures against COVID-19 through humour.

On these posters[67], the metaphor THE VIRUS IS AN INVISIBLE LIVING CREATURE is also present. The virus is represented as a person wanted by the authorities, a pupil entering the classroom or queuing up in the toilets to wash their hands or a simple creature who is keen to invade our houses. As we have already seen in another cartoon, the virus is also represented as a tiring enormous burden that people's shoulders must bear. Well-loved cartoon heroes were also invited, through their creators' eye, to contribute to combating the pandemic and help prevent the spread. An example is Titeuf[68] who was required to explain to the broad public, and

[63] https://www.cartooningforpeace.org/editos/scenes-de-confinement-mieux-vaut-en-rire/
[64] https://dessin-humoristique.fr/
[65] https://lannexedugrumeauland.blogspot.com/2020/03/covid-19-journal-de-bord-jour-5.html
[66] https://www.lopinion.fr/blog/qui-se-moque-t-on/dessin/crise-sanitaire-prise-conscience-215210
[67] http://elisegravel.com/?s=Corona+virus+
[68] https://www.ligneclaire.info/stop-covid-19-100350.html

especially to young people, the safety and prevention actions which needed to be implemented in schools, hospitals and other public services. By means of cartoons, facial expressions and speech bubbles, Zep, the creator of the famous boy with the blond puff, brings into play humour and metaphor. In the poster regarding our behavior during the phase of deconfinement, Titeuf helps vulnerable people as if he was a superhero.

Conclusions

The goal of this chapter was to explore the possibilities of releasing the potential of humorous cartoons and of figurative elements in the foreign language classroom, in today's times of crisis. The particular character and the gravity of the global COVID-19 crisis made us all participants in facing all challenges presented. On a smaller or larger scale, the COVID-19 issue offers a wide range of subjects appealing directly to the experiences or feelings of learners. Looking at facts from humorous point of view reminds us of cases when we tackled the crisis with solidarity and efficiency but, also, that we must continue to act responsibly. A lot of research has shown that humour awareness and metaphor awareness should be encompassed in the teaching procedure. Even if humour and crisis, in the first place, seem to be incompatible, teachers can find the right balance and benefit foreign language learning.

> Humour has the potential to question received wisdoms and untroubled shibboleths, to provoke critical thought and resistance through the use of the absurd, and to generate solidarity and support for peoples and communities affected by dislocation and hardship. (Dodds & Kirby, 2013).

Therefore, it would be preferable not to decommission the heavy weaponry of humour but preserve it and use it in an appropriate and sensible way. On the other hand, the awareness of metaphor and the use of metaphorical concepts can have beneficial effects in the foreign language classroom by promoting the development of new ways of thinking and approaching language.

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CHAPTER SIX

IS EXPLICIT INSTRUCTION THE BEST TEACHING APPROACH TO FIGURATIVENESS? NUANCES FROM BILINGUAL CONTEXTS

ANTONIO JIMÉNEZ-MUÑOZ

Direct instruction and figurative language

Despite the recent emphasis on evidence-based education, research on teacher effectiveness enjoys a long tradition in an attempt to link teacher behaviour to individual learning gains, so that methods and approaches can be validated beyond their contexts of situation. Evidence-based educational research has to navigate the "constant gap between quantitative and representative studies (as large-scale assessments) on one hand, and interpretative studies (as action research scenarios, classroom ethnography, case studies, etc.) on the other hand" (Fäcke, 2014: 286). To do so, it should rely on mixed methods: using experimental and non-experimental approaches, observations and data-based research. One way to achieve such complexity without the disengagement between methodology and research is to design "research by practitioners" as "a source of evidence for practice" (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005: 16). The role of the practitioners is relevant to explain their grounded judgement in complex learning situations; they can also actively help design research processes of data collection, analysis and evaluation that suit their methodology and gain insight from their knowledge of the students and their intuition on student progression.

Studies in this line of research have focused on the product as much as the process, with a suitable emphasis on what the instructor does during teaching and how this is related to learning gains. The first and foremost question to be asked, though, is whether it is possible to identify in teacher performance any elements that are sufficiently stable to be combined in patterns that correlate systematically with learning gains by students. Certainly, classroom practice will vary as much as individual instructors do,

but the fundamental idea of finding evidence-grounded best practice to be reproduced in similar contexts is too grand to be relinquished by such variation in teaching practice. In this respect, if classroom practice is too varied, at least it must be possible to ascertain the effectiveness of more global, overarching approaches such as direct instruction (where teachers explicitly deliver content and set expectations) vs. indirect instruction (where learners interact with teacher-provided materials so as to build their own skills and knowledge). In the former, the teacher is able to involve students in learning tasks suited to their level of cognitive ability, and strongly directs their behaviour and the time they spend on learning (Engelmann & Steely, 2004). In its classical conceptualization, direct instruction results in "academically focused, teacher directed classrooms using sequenced and structured materials […] where goals are clear to students, time allocated is sufficient and continuous, coverage of content is extensive, the performance of students is monitored, questions are at low cognitive levels so that students can produce many correct responses and feedback is immediate and academically oriented" (Rosenshine, 1979: 38).

However, for the best part of the last forty years in pedagogical literature direct instruction has been criticised as both outdated and intrinsically authoritarian. The rise of developmental approaches such as constructivism or – now largely discredited – theories of learning styles assumed that students' ability to learn heavily relies on their current developmental stage, their individual ability to construct or derive knowledge, or their own unique approach to learning, so that teaching must be focused on their interaction with resources facilitated or independently researched, rather than with the teacher as expert purveyor of information. This rise of indirect learning, in which the ideas and feelings of students are central and the teacher becomes a facilitator, is believed to be more modern, since the gains of direct instruction in cognitive areas are thought to be compensated by the advantages of indirect instruction in fostering motivation to learn, successful self-ideation and learner independence. Also, it displaces pressure and responsibility away from teachers: direct instruction builds on the assumption that all students can learn with well-designed instruction (thus, any potential failure must be methodological), whereas in indirect instruction when a student is not learning it has to do with their own skills, commitment or learning dynamics affecting their performance.

From a theoretical standpoint, such a controversy is partially fallacious. Both direct instruction and constructivism, for one, assume that students infer from materials and case studies at hand. What they differ on is how these are most efficient. Direct instruction holds that learning works best when the presented materials and tasks are carefully chosen and designed,

are as unambiguous as possible, there is an intended sequence to ease inference when learning new concepts, and it typically involves the fewest possible steps to induce learning. Furthermore, motivation and student satisfaction with learning have also been deemed to be at play in direct instruction: not only can it result in higher student achievement, but also the washback effect of such positive experience is expected to reinforce their self-conceptualization and self-esteem (Barbash, 2012).

These considerations aside, within the scope of evidence-based studies, at least in principle, the effectiveness of overarching paradigms is always best assessed via comprehensive data, such as that compiled in meta-studies. The National Institute for Direct Instruction maintains a list of hundreds of recent experiments proving the usefulness of a more teacher-led, explicit approach to content and skills (2019), and longitudinal meta-studies have contributed to reveal that direct instruction is far from superseded (Coughlin, 2014; Stockard et al., 2018). The latter meta-analysis explores the statistical relevance of 328 studies over the last 50 years, to find that "significantly stronger results appeared for [..] reading, math, and spelling" and that "contrary to expectations, training and coaching of teachers significantly increased effects in only one analysis (language)" (Stockard et al., 2018: 23). Such findings do not only seem to point at a general effectiveness of direct instruction methods in general education but also unearth a stronger correlation – or an implicit precondition for successful teaching – in teacher qualification and training when language is at the core of the intended learning.

Language use in essential in many educational contexts, but more so when learners use a vehicular language which differs from their mother tongue, such as English for Specific Purposes (ESP), English for Academic Purposes (EAP) or English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI). As an integral part of linguistic creativity, one of the most elusive aspects is rooted in the difference between literal and figurative language, since both metaphor and metonymy have long been shown to appear in specialised scientific and technological language (Dalke, Grobstein, & McCormack, 2006; Durán-Escribano & Argüelles-Álvarez, 2016; Koteyko & Atasanova, 2016). Figurativeness is a language use that has been, traditionally, conceptualised as an extension of literal meaning (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Cognitive linguistics has highlighted how such figurative uses can be an indication of idea associations, world views and larger "conceptual mappings" (Lakoff, 1987).

In addition to theoretical considerations, some empirical research has looked into metaphor and metonymy and their effect on L2 learning. Willinger et al. (2019) found that metaphor identification and comprehension

progressively increased through high school. In tertiary education, Azuma (2005) and Aleshtar and Dowlatabadi (2014) show strong correlations between ESP undergraduate metaphorical competence and linguistic competence, such as vocabulary size and depth. That is to say, students with higher language proficiency were more metaphorically competent as well. Liardet (2018) carried out a longitudinal study that explored the different ways EAP learners evaluate meanings metaphorically in their academic writing; learners' development of interpersonal grammatical metaphor was evidenced via the analysis of a specialised corpus of argumentative essays, which showed an increase in the frequency of metaphors and a gradual development toward more metaphoric competence among these learners across two years of university study. However, many questions arise, as situated within the discussion above; are these gains a by-product of learner aging? Or, on the contrary, does the way students are instructed have any effect on their development of figurative language awareness? Are these, in any case, consistent among students sharing a common context, or generally applicable to other L2 students?

From the studies above, it may seem that grasping figurative language is uncomplicated. However, Littlemore et al. (2010) carried out two experiments to examine the use of metaphor and metonymy in academic and professional discourse that dispel such a misconception. The first concluded that metaphors are widely used in academic lectures, and they present severe difficulties to international students even when lectures do not contain a high proportion of metaphors. Students experienced considerable difficulty in explaining the metaphorical items and were largely unaware of the problems that metaphor interpretation presented to them. The second study looked into the use of metonymy among university staff belonging to a particular discipline. They found that "metonymy is used by members of a discourse community in ways that are unique to that community although there are also links with metonymic usages in the wider English-speaking community" (Littlemore et al., 2010: 208). Metonymy, thus, presented problems to non-native speakers attempting to enter the discourse community, and members of the community were largely unaware of these difficulties, as they never attempted to paraphrase their metonymies. Clearly, these contradicting results need further exploration, which must include empirical research into classroom practice and how instructional approaches can potentially help alleviate the inherent difficulties figurative language presents to learners of English within specialised academic contexts.

Research questions

The aims of the present study can be formulated into research questions, as follows:

1. Is there a relationship between the degree being studied and student ability to identify figurative uses of language?
2. Is there a link between students' degree and their ability to identify specialised or literal language?
3. Is there any correlation between students' overall figurative language awareness and their instruction method? If so, can any instruction approach, including no instruction, be deemed significantly more effective?
5. Is figurativeness a challenge for ESP students, even after teaching interventions are implemented?

Participants

The study analyses the impact of the integration of several classroom approaches on bilingual-programme undergraduate perception of figurativeness in their respective disciplinary language. The approaches used for each cohort use either direct or indirect instruction, a blended approach in the integration of ICT (or not at all) and – as some of the studies stated above suggested that time itself explained developmental changes – receiving no formal focused instruction aiming to foster figurative language awareness. Participants are undergraduates in the first year of several degrees (Geography, Business, and Chemistry) in a medium-sized university in Spain. The University of Oviedo was founded in 1608, and it currently caters for circa 26,000 students, with over 2,000 teaching staff. It comprises 31 faculties which teach over 150 degrees; 17 of these degrees and most masters' programmes are taught in English. These degrees are bilingual, combining both Spanish and English tuition in various weights. Despite there is some variance in the actual number of credits taught in English in each degree, first-year students always study half of their modules in English. Students promote from Spanish high-schools, which ensure a B1 level of English as a foreign language, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2018). It assumes that students can "can follow a lecture or talk within his/her own field, provided the subject matter is familiar and the presentation straightforward and clearly structured" (57) and "can reasonably fluently sustain a straightforward description of one of a variety of subjects within

his/her field of interest, presenting it as a linear sequence of points" (69). However, the government-mandated university entry tests do not measure spoken performance or listening comprehension, arguably the most needed skills in tertiary education, particularly in the first year. Despite applicants for bilingual degrees are required a 70% pass in their entry English paper, is it often the case that the last two years of baccalaureate they have focused on grammar, reading and writing skills only, due to the format of entry tests. This washback effect is typical in Spain: it generates greater variability in EMI-student language competence, with undergraduates with strikingly differing proficiency levels and mixed-ability skill sets (Aguilar & Muñoz, 2013; Hernandez-Nanclares & Jimenez-Munoz, 2017).

More than 500 students have participated in the study, data being collected over the academic years 2017-2018 and 2018-2019:

	Female	Male	Total
Geography	42	113	155
Business	147	84	231
Chemistry	61	77	138
Total	250	274	524

Table 1. ***Participant distribution by sex and degree***

Methodology

Their lecturers, who had participated in EMI professional training and had been contacted the 2016-2017 academic year, helped the research by submitting texts they would use in their second-semester lessons. They were also interviewed on their teaching style and attention to language, and agreed to follow a specific given approach with regard to figurative language awareness. In most cases, this meant no change or very little change from their usual approaches, specifically in cases of indirect instruction, either ICT-enhanced or not. For direct instruction, some seminar leaders were given examples of metaphor or synonymy use as drawn from their selected texts, and were asked to foreground these in class via paraphrasing, highlighting, giving examples, elicitation, etc. Thus, in each of the degrees a number of parallel teaching approaches are present, with students distributed as follows:

	Direct instruction	Blended direct instruction	Indirect instruction	Blended indirect instruction	No instruction	Total
Geography	36	26	56	22	15	155
Business	69	54	45	42	21	231
Chemistry	24	32	37	33	12	138
Total	129	112	138	97	48	524

Table 2. ***Participant distribution by teaching approach used***

Towards the end of the first semester in their academic year, students who were new to EMI degrees were asked to complete a multi-choice test targeting aspects of metonymy, metaphor, and simile from a meaning-based perspective. Forty-eight students who, for individual reasons, had failed to attend lessons – attendance is not compulsory – were also able to fill an online version of these tests. The questionnaire was common to the three degrees involved, and collected other demographic information such as sex, age, L1, their use of English in an immersive context, their performance of extra-curricular activities and their perceived CEFR level. The test consisted in assessing the ability to identify contextual usage of words regarding their figurative and literal meanings in three fields of study: Geography, Business, and Chemistry. The data used in the study came from a corpus of one hundred and fifty written texts, fifty from each of the fields of knowledge under study, as provided by instructors. The texts were materials used by lecturers in second-semester lessons.

The instrument was constructed by analysing these texts for metaphors following Steen's three-dimensional taxonomy (2011), which allows for a distinction between the non-deliberate versus deliberate uses of metaphor and it includes two further oppositions between conventional versus novel metaphor (conceptual structure) and simile versus metaphor (linguistic form). Following such distinctions, it is considered here that a metaphor is used deliberately when users are aware of its foundation in a cross-domain mapping and opt for this figurative use, while a metaphor is used non-deliberately when there is no more usual or more frequent alternative in the specialised domain. The frequency of an expression is analysed quantitatively using the British National Corpus, and the use of a high-frequency expression in the BNC corpus or the OED is therefore tagged as conventional. The opposition between conventional and novel metaphors refers to the conceptual properties of metaphors; that is, there can be, potentially, expressions which are not part of conventional language use,

and whose mapping offers novel ways to conceptualise objects or ideas. An example in our Business subcorpus is *word of mouse*, referring to online comments and ratings given by users through websites and social networks, thus repurposing *word of mouth* into its technologically updated version. Finally, the opposition between simile and metaphor refers to the primarily linguistic properties of metaphors, often marked linguistically by words such as like or as, among others. These criteria, based on Steen's taxonomy, were rigorously applied in each subcorpus to identify each type of metaphor in the specialised texts. For the analysis of metonymies in these texts the key metonymy types in Littlemore and Tagg (2016) were applied. Thus, a clear distinction between whole-and-part metonyms and part-and-part metonymies is kept. The former is further subdivided into things and part, scale, constitution, event, category and member, and category and property. Part-and-part metonymies include as major categories action, perception, causation, production, control, possession, containment, location, sign and reference, and modification.

The test for each degree contained fifty short multiple-choice questions. Thirty out of the fifty questions that made up the test were drawn from each of the three corpora and were specific to each field of study and their subdisciplines. Of these thirty, twelve items concerned metaphor and metonymy and another six items were instances of specialised terms (terms with a unique, specialised meaning). The remaining ten items were common to the three tests and included three metaphors, three metonymies and four specialised items from more general English. Students were asked if the word in bold could be linked to another meaning, or if it was a unique use. They were given four options; if they could think of a different use of the word, they had to circle the option they thought was the correct one. Otherwise, they had to select the option entitled *Specialised*. The test was introduced by some examples like the one below for a better understanding and clarification of the test. Students could not use any extra material or help to fill it in.

She has a good **head** for numbers.			
A	Specialised	B	The person in charge of an organization
C	The member of a group	D	The front part of a boat

Table 3. ***Sample test question***

Students were then given 30 minutes to complete both the background information questionnaire and the test of figurative language. At a later stage, their answers were collated and tabulated. Data was then analysed using R version 3.6.1 (R Core Team 2019). Test reliability was calculated on the full dataset from which the data reported below were selected.

Results

The mean score when successfully identifying figurative language and average literal choice score obtained in each degree were compared. Table 4 below breaks down results per degree. The Chemistry group achieved the highest score (normalized to 100), followed by Business and Geography. Chemistry undergraduates obtain better results in the identification of figurative tropes, but results are nevertheless relatively poor:

Degree	Avg. score	SD	IQR	0%	25%	50%	75%	100%	n
Business	59.07	6.33	8	5	13	17	21	31	155
Chemistry	67.87	4.58	7	7	11	17	21.5	24	231
Geography	47.83	4.03	6	9	11	14	17	23	138

Table 4. ***Mean figure identification score and distribution per degree***

As mentioned in the introduction above, one of the often-missing aspects in empirical research in developmental language awareness is the study of density, or the distribution of scores among the informants. That is, valuable insights – often obscured by mean results – can be drawn from observing how these scores are distributed. As Figure 1 below shows, Business students are normally distributed – not necessarily expected in non-parametric variables – while Chemistry shows greater disparity, with very few of Geography students being able to perform to a decent level:

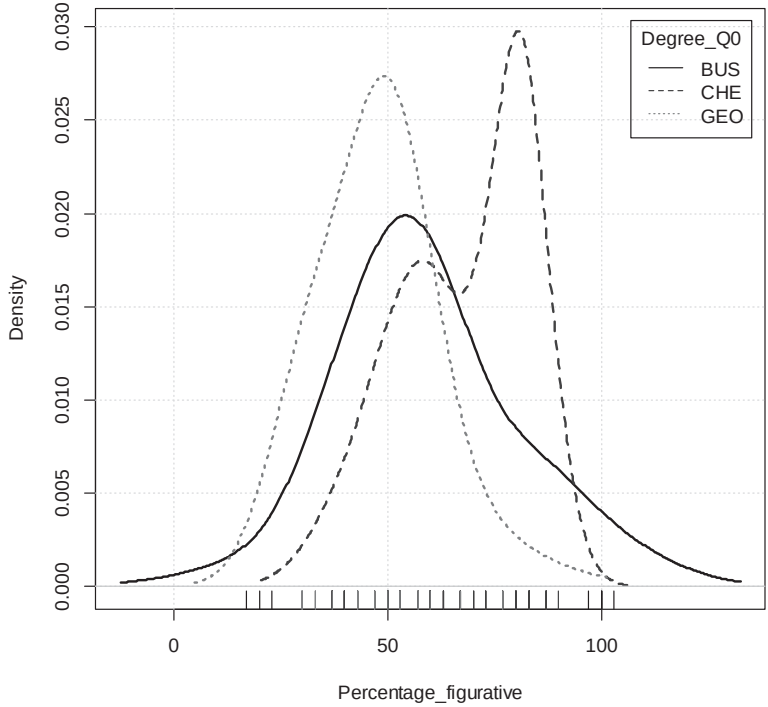

Figure 1. *Figure identification score density per degree*

With respect to the percentage of literal meaning choice according to degree, Table 5 below shows that the highest mean was found in Geography, followed by Chemistry and, finally, Business. This may seem be at odds with previous results in Table 4, but Geography undergraduates are also the ones who more frequently mistakenly think figurative terms are specialised:

Degree	Avg. score	SD	IQR	0%	25%	50%	75 %	100 %	n
Business	36.63	15.8	16	9.5	20	34.5	40	44	155
Chemistry	40.71	8.84	9.5	20	34.5	40	44	68	231
Geography	44.82	13.71	16	24	36	42	52	72	138

Table 5. ***Literal meaning identification by degree***

In this case, as Figure 2 below shows, all three degrees are normally distributed, which means that their abilities to identify literal or specialised uses are less varied than their grasp of figurativeness:

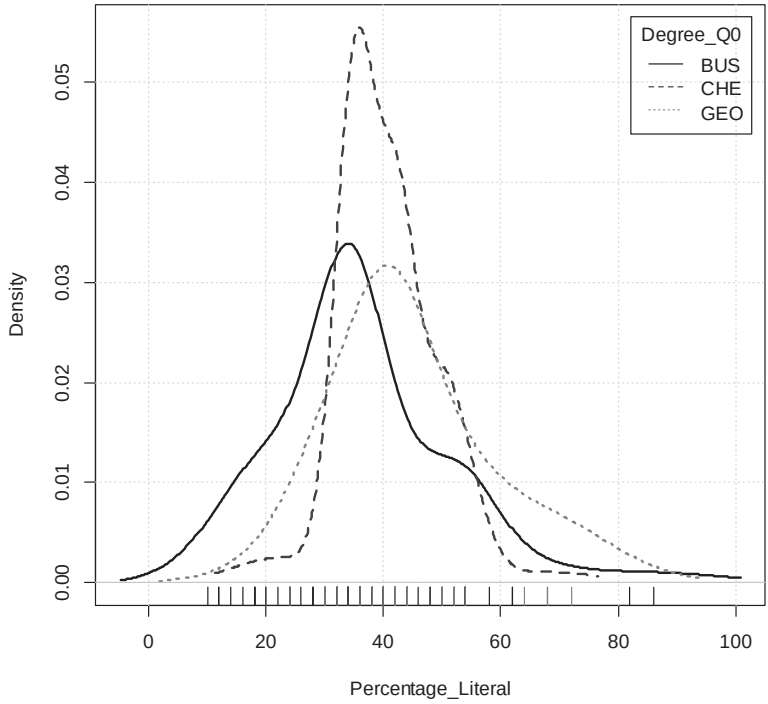

Figure 2. *Literal meaning identification score density per degree*

Finally, when results are grouped per teaching approach, distinct results are offered: Direct instruction is clearly more successful than indirect instruction, and their blended approaches are behind the achievement of face-to-face instruction. Finally, receiving no instruction seems to lead to poor performance in the identification of literal meanings, with also the least variation among such informants:

Approach	Avg. score	SD	IQR	0%	25%	50%	75%	100 %	n
Direct Instruction	85.2	9.11	33	0	80	83	88.5	100	129
Blended Direct Instruction	69.86	11.99	34	0	63	67	83	87	112
Indirect Instruction	62.97	9.86	33	0	53	60	83	23	138
Blended Indirect	51.63	10.55	40	0	43	50	57	77	97
No instruction	32.59	7.23	26	0	30	33	37	43	48

Table 6. ***Mean figure identification score and distribution per approach***

Observing the density of these instructional approaches is illuminating, since it can be clearly perceived that most students under direct instruction excel, while those following direct blended and indirect instruction also perform better than those with indirect blended and no instruction:

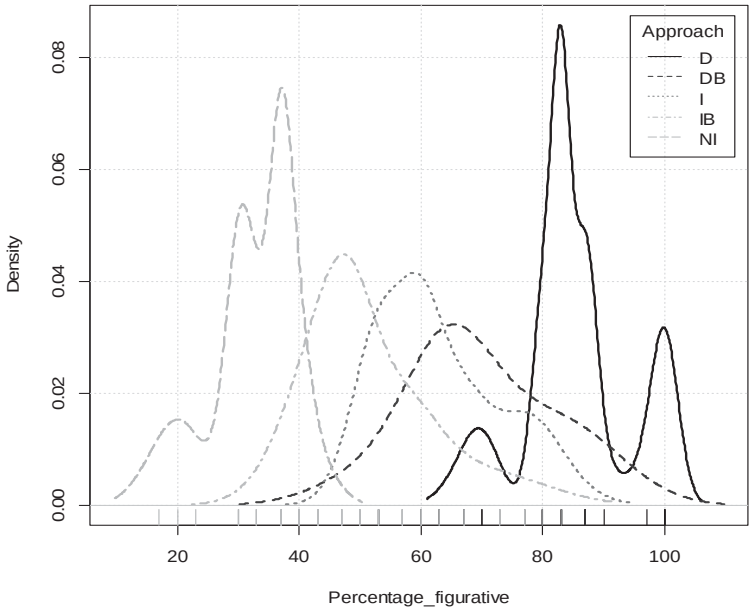

Figure 3. *Figure identification score density per approach*

However, student success when identifying literal or specialised terms seems to be independent from the actual methodological approach followed, or receiving no instruction. Also, greater variance was found:

Approach	Avg. score	SD	IQR	0%	25%	50%	75%	100 %	n
Direct Instruction	36.16	9.69	38	0	31	36	41	54	129
Blended Direct Instruction	44.86	11.01	30	0	33	44	54	62	112
Indirect Instruction	39.14	14.13	70	0	30	36	48	82	138
Blended Indirect	40.75	14.87	76	0	32.5	41	46.5	86	97
No instruction	39.28	15.92	58	0	27	40	51	72	48

Table 7. ***Mean literal identification score and distribution per approach***

Such homogeneity can also be perceived when observing results graphically, with a relatively normal distribution which would be relevant to the contextualization and discussion of these results:

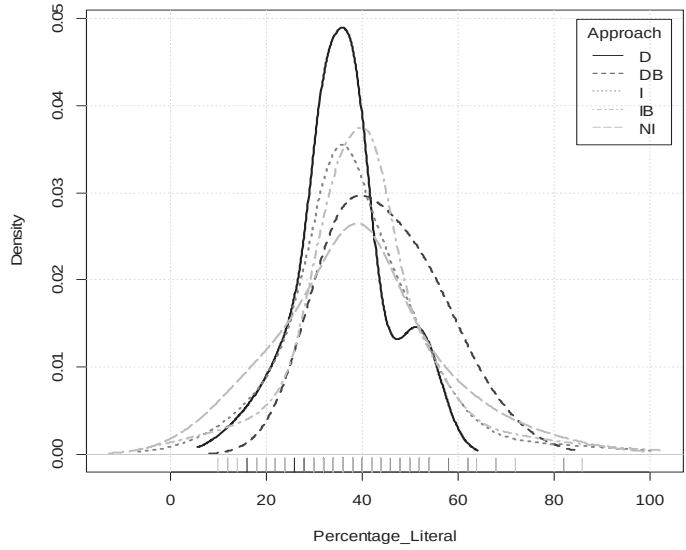

Figure 4. *Literal identification score density per approach*

Paying attention to individual variables, average scores seem to be affected by a number of factors. First, both taking all the degrees into account and also considering each one separately, the higher the student level the higher the score is:

LEVEL - avg. Score	BUS	CHE	GEO	ALL
A2	41.67	62.07	46.3	50
B1	49.03	67.03	42	52.7
B2	62.63	75	62.23	66.6
C1	62.37	86.67	N/A	74.52
C2	98.33	N/A	N/A	98.33
Avg. Score	62.8	72.69	50.18	68.43

Table 8. ***Average figure identification score per language level***

Additionally, the misidentification of figurative language as a literal use tends to diminish as level increases. This is evident both in general and when degree results are analysed separately, despite slight variations in the intensity of such changes per increasing level of competence:

LEVEL - avg. Score	BUS	CHE	GEO	ALL
A2	52.67	65.9	74.43	64.3
B1	52.53	67.93	78.67	66.4
B2	66.43	70.33	68.9	68.6
C1	52.37	66.67	N/A	59.52
C2	50	N/A	N/A	50
Avg. Score	54.8	67.71	74	61.8

Table 9. ***Average literal identification score per language level***

Since maturity has also been cited as one of the factors in the awareness of figurativeness, students' performance when noticing that a term was only literal has also been analysed by age group. The highest score was found among the youngest participants and the lowest score corresponded to the oldest ones. Literal meaning was the preferred option by the older students,

who greatly overestimated figurative language as literal; however, that is also the case with the youngest informants:

Age	Score	Literal overestimation
Over 27 (<1990/1991)	56.5	+37.5
23-26 (1990 – 1995)	31.56	+11.8
19-22 (1995 – 1999)	38.29	+19.17
18 (1999/2000)	61	+41

Table 10. ***Relationship between score, literal choice and age***

Finally, a Pearson correlation or regression analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between the collected variables (degree, age, L1, period of time in immersive context, extra English courses taken, CEFR level and leisure in general and as individual extra-curricular activities performed) and the figure and literal identification scores. This analysis (Table 11 below) revealed a moderate positive impact on the score due to Leisure and CEFR Level, the impact of leisure being stronger (0.35026698). No significant impact on percentage of literal meaning selected by students was found. However, emails, reading books, and face-to-face speaking are more relevant than the rest of extra-curricular activities. In the case of percentage of literal choices in students' responses, there are no strong correlations to be mentioned:

	Figure score	Literal score
Degree	-0.08070081	0.21806379
Age	0.06590989	-0.19798091
L1	0.22956517	0.06837943
Leisure	**0.35026698**	-0.02467832
Months	0.16145198	-0.01145796
Extra	0.01984099	-0.17323622
Level	**0.31280431**	-0.13929223
Music	-0.00618924	-0.17311997
Books	0.17647053	0.03864142
Websites	-0.00478443	-0.08443342
Speaking	0.18732953	-0.17164996
Phone	0.1117058	0.1682127

Emails	0.2027941	0.05854121
SocialN	0.03005351	-0.01296878
Videos	0.14193263	0.02392322
Other	0.1348788	0.08100109

Table 11. ***Relationship between figurative score, literal choice and individual factors***

Discussion

In light of these results, answers to the research questions for this study can be further discussed in a more nuanced manner.

The first research questions pondered upon the relationship between student degree and their ability to identify figurative uses of language. As it can be observed in table 4, Chemistry students performed better, followed by Business and Geography; figure 1 also shows that these results are very different for Chemistry and slightly different for the other two degrees. Some authors have linked academic achievement, intelligence, and working memory to a better grasp of structural and higher-order language, and reading achievement (Nippold & Taylor, 2002). However, such an understanding seems alto to be a precondition, so that the "nonliteral meaning in language represented by higher order or figurative language becomes essential for competent social functioning and academic achievement" (Cohen et al., 2013: 733). The higher achievement in some degrees can be partially explained by the cut-off grade for Chemistry (7.94), which may hint at higher grades during high school and in entry tests (entry grades are a 60-40% weighted mean of school grade point average and entry tests average). However, Business is 5.05 and Geography is 6.25, so it seems that academic achievement, at least when prior to university, cannot explain on its own why these degrees perform distinctively. However, as table 8 reveals, the average score is related and consistent with language level: there is a parallel progression in scores as language level increases, and also CEFR language level is one of the strongest correlations in the study (Table 11 above). This, together with external factors such as prestige – the Chemistry department is among the Spanish top in research, grants and patents – may explain why these students perform much better than the rest.

The second research question discusses whether such a link can be established between the degree a student is enrolled in and their ability to identify specialised or literal language. The assumption, from literature above, is that figurative language expressions "coincide to a certain extent

with crucial areas […] such as scientific ontologies, the conceptual reference of terminological units, the structure of scientific and technical domains, and specialised knowledge representation" (Faber 2012, 1), rather than the superseded assumption that specialised domains and figurative language are at odds. However, the difference seems "not qualitative but quantitative, which means they feature the same elements and grammar structures in different proportions," or are "marked by a different frequency of use of certain structures" (Oxbrow et al., 2017: 132). That is to say, the amount of these may differ according to the discipline at hand. In this case, Table 5 reveals that Geography students identify more literal or specialised terms than Chemistry or Business, although differences are more marginal than in the case of figure identification. This apparent lack of relevant distinctions is also perceivable in the normal density in Figure 2. However, as Table 10 shows, there is also considerable overestimation of literal elements; i.e., students guessed which items were specialised because they thought many items were so. Hence, what it reveals is a particular mindset, more prominent in Geography than in Business, to consider most terms – known or not – as specialised. Modern understanding of ESP is that of a highly specialised use of language, following Hyland in observing "the particular subject-matter needs and expertise of learners […] which are appropriate to the purposes and understandings of particular academic and professional communities" (2002: 385) in curricular design. However, this seems to instil in learner minds a predisposition towards the misidentification of expressions as specialized, which may hinder their progress, as well as their cognitive apprehension of metaphor and metonymy.

The third research question delved into a key issue for this study; if a correlation can be found between students' overall figurative language awareness and the way they have been instructed, then there is a possibility that one of the instruction approaches would be the most effective. Results are clear and consistent: undergraduates who received Direct Instruction for twelve to fourteen weeks greatly outperformed (77.53 per cent correct items) those who used Indirect Instruction (57.3, with a 22.23 lead to direct instruction) and those with no instruction (32.59, with 52.61 point difference to direct instruction). The blended version of each approach yields significantly worse figure identification scores than when delivered face-to-face (Blended Direct Instruction performed 15.34 worse than face-to-face and Blended Indirect Instruction performed 11.34 worse than in-class tuition). These results are consistent with pre-existing literature, both theoretical and empirical. There is a need to foster the figure awareness in students, particularly if language learners are aiming at a proficient or professional use of the language; this would in turn accelerate the

acquisition process of more natural disciplinary discourse. Others have supported positive correlations between language competence and figure awareness (Azuma, 2005; Chen & Lai, 2012; Kalyuga & Kalyuga, 2008; Littlemore, 2001; O'Reilly & Marsden, 2020), as results in Table 8 corroborate. However, it has also been shown here that the instructional approach can greatly improve such awareness: the comparison with no-instruction students shows that, while direct instruction seems best, any manner in which figure awareness is tackled would entail an improvement.

The final research question ponders whether figurativeness remains a challenge for ESP students. Many authors (Cooper, 1999; Littlemore & Low, 2006; Nacey, 2013; Türker, 2016) have revealed the challenges that learners can be confronted with when using specialised domain similes and analogies, metaphoric or cultural knowledge, metonymy intuition and the activation of relevant networks of features so as to arrive at the correct contextual interpretation of a given expression. Average results from Table 6 – those instructed get 67.42 of the items right, and those receiving no figure-focused instruction obtain a dispiriting 32.59 – confirm that, despite efforts by lecturers, there is still room for improvement and, as revealed by the distributions in Figure 3, there is much disparity among students. The positive uptake can be that instruction yields results regardless its approach, and that these seem to be relatively coherent per degree, with relatively normal distributions; therefore, pedagogical interventions may be able to tackle figurative awareness with a more comprehensive approach. Individual variables seem to have very little effect on such figure awareness, with leisure time and language level (also interrelated) having an influence on particular results, as shown in Table 11.

Pedagogical implications

Barely a decade ago, it was not uncommon to read how learning a second language "is not the same as studying science" and, "most worryingly of all, it still remains singularly unclear how far direct instruction actually facilitates acquisition" (Low, 2008: 217). More recently, studies on academic vocabulary acquisition have revealed that voluntary reading yields better results than direct teaching (McQuillan, 2019). While these considerations fail to notice the many variables at play, what may be true for language acquisition at large, or even specialised vocabulary, may be radically different from the case at hand. Being aware that language acts figuratively goes beyond lexical acquisition (understood as the incorporation of expressions into students' personal repertoire as units of single meaning) and into more varied, playful and creative ways of using such expressions

in context. In this case, the markedly better results obtained by direct instruction may seem to indicate that such an approach needs to be embraced as the way forward in the much-needed fostering of figurative language awareness (Garrett & Cots, 2019) so as to be able to foster independent skills on the learner.

However, how to actually maximise these gains has been a debate for long time. Some theorists have stressed the effects that cross-cultural competence has on metaphor (Kathpalia & Carmel, 2011) and metonymic awareness (Jimenez-Munoz & Lahuerta, 2017; Littlemore, 2015). Others, such as MacArthur (2010), have recommended its incorporation in the writing process as relevant to target domain language and suggested that students must be taught how to "use figurative language creatively, appropriately, and, at times, persuasively" (Littlemore & Low 2006: 203) in their writings. One crucial problem arises: in EMI contexts, where students are learning both disciplinary content and skills, English competence – which, as per the findings above, seems crucial to figurative language awareness – is more a prerequisite for content learning than an explicit instructional target. Consequently, students are not asked to write as elaborately, since the focus in generally on content, rather than form. This makes more nuanced linguistic awareness – including the use of figures of speech – a secondary goal, which complicates the evidenced need for more complex language to better adjust to disciplinary discourse, on the one hand, and to facilitate language acquisition, on the other.

Following indication in some conceptual frameworks for the teaching of metaphor awareness within a lexical approach (Andreou & Galantomos, 2008; Boers, 2004; O'Reilly & Marsden, 2020) and the metonymy taxonomy used to create the tests (Littlemore & Tagg, 2016), with some pedagogical guidance on metonymy teaching (Barcelona, 2010) indicating that the best way to raise awareness on metonymies is to show examples of different typologies. On this occasion lecturers were shown instances of both metaphor and metonymies, and quickly identified more cases in their disciplinary discourse, with a strong emphasis on non-literal meanings. They were told to highlight these cases in their lessons – in the case of direct instruction – and to make sure they would introduce such metaphors and metonymies in their materials – in the case of indirect instruction – both face-to-face and online. One possible explanation why indirect instruction was more successful because it was more interactive and students could ask questions and provide their own examples as pertinent to the topic being discussed or discipline-specific usage. This is coherent with theoretical recommendations to use awareness-raising activities such as L1-L2 translation, discussion, and comparison (Deignan et al., 1997). Finally,

another reason to favour direct instruction can be, beyond evident success in raising language awareness, the fact that metaphor processing by language learners may entail more conscious processes – and therefore be less automatised – than metaphor processing by native speakers. In direct instruction here, the difference seemed that the "querying routines" (Littlemore & Low, 2006: 52), where learners were encouraged to ask direct questions about lexical meanings and began developing their own parallels with the figures they would encounter in new texts. Such is only facilitated by direct instruction, with a teaching approach that encourages active interaction with figurative language – theoretically, also possible indirectly – but with the ability to confirm and expand with an expert tutor. Such seems to increase learner autonomy and student ability to comprehend and use figures in their second language, as pertinent to their specialised domains. However, it has an additional benefit in EMI contexts in tertiary institutions: it may help the also welcome improvement in lecturer linguistic knowledge, language awareness and interactive pedagogy skills.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

LOOKING FOR THE PLACE OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN TEXTBOOKS OF GREEK AS AN L2

IOANNIS GALANTOMOS & ALIKI ANTONIADOU

Introduction

Nowadays it is widely accepted that figurative language is not an arbitrary phenomenon that lies at the periphery of everyday language use, but it plays a crucial role in how humans define, understand, categorize and manage the world (Beger, 2016; Beger & Smith, 2020; Gibbs & Colston, 2012; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Additionally, it has been proven that figurative language is pervasive in various contexts, be they regular communication or academic discourse and it performs key functions, such as evaluation judgements, agenda management, humor and topic change (e.g. Cameron, 2003; Semino, 2008). For instance, metaphor (the most well studied figure of speech) serves many functions, some of which include explanation, textual structuring, ideology, problem solving and humor (Richardt, 2005). Given the above, it's only natural that figurative language pervades everyday life and human dialogue (Beaty & Silvia, 2013).

More particularly, it has been found that a speaker produces approximately 4.7 million new and 21.4 million conventional metaphors over a 60-year-long lifespan (Pollio, Barlow, Fine, & Pollio, 1977). Similarly, Erman and Warren (2000) estimated the fixed expressions at 52.3% in their sample of written discourse. The above findings led Gibbs (1994) to argue that the human mind is primarily based on figurative language as it arises naturally from everyday human effort to make sense of and manage the surrounding world.

In the context of foreign language (henceforth FL) instruction, figurative language plays an important role in a learner's overall communicative

skills (Danesi, 1986, 1992; Liontas, 2015; Littlemore & Low, 2006). FL practitioners agree that success in foreign and second language (henceforth L2) teaching and learning are heavily dependent on acquiring, understanding, using and producing figurative language. On the other hand, an extensive body of L2 teaching studies suggest that managing figurative language in a foreign language context is a challenging process and a stumbling block for L2 learners (e.g. Alexander, 1987; Boers, 2000a, 2000b; Bromberek-Dyzman & Ewert, 2010; Cieślicka, 2006, 2015; Conklin & Schmitt, 2008; Howarth, 1998; Kathpalia & Heah, 2011; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Lazar, 1996; Niemeier, 2017; Wray, 2000). While figurative language is pervasive in a speaker's first language and is acquired effortlessly, it is less frequently used in L2 settings (Güngör and Uysal, 2020; Kecskes, 2007).

Specifically, Steinel, Hustijn and Steinel (2007) found that L2 learners' idiomatic competence was significantly low with regard to their overall vocabulary mastery. Howarth (1998) concluded that there is a lack of awareness of the true importance of collocations (and phraseology in general) in L2 instruction, whereas Ellis, Simpson-Vlach and Maynard (2008) and Cieślicka (2010) proved that even highly proficient L2 learners experience difficulties understanding and using idioms and show a tendency to rely on literal interpretation for unknown idiomatic expressions in an L2. In the same vein, Kathpalia and Heah (2011) analyzed a significant body of L2 student writing so as to identify the type of problem L2 writers have with collocations. They concluded that there is a lack in the use of figurative language. In particular, their findings indicated that although learners attempt to use various types of metaphors, such as grammatical and textual ones in their texts, these metaphors tend to be quite unidiomatic. In this perspective, they strongly suggest that L2 teachers promote the development of metaphorical competence among their learners. Finally, Littlemore, Chen, Koester and Barnden (2011) found that the participants in their study failed or experienced problems to understand about 42% of the words that were used figuratively in the context of academic lectures. More interestingly, these participants were not aware of their misinterpretations.

In light of the above findings, Littlemore (2009) attempted to explain these recurrent data and offered various interpretations. For instance, she claimed that this low familiarization of L2 learners with figurative language can be attributed to their low attention to figurative aspects of language, to lack of figurative language availability in learners' active vocabulary and to the fact that figurative language relies on marked phraseology contrary to the most basic senses of a word for which they

usually do not have marked phraseology. A further explanation for the inability of L2 learners to use figurative language effectively may be related to the peripheral place of figurative language in L2 pedagogy. In the same vein, MacArthur (2010) suggested that the ability to understand and use figures of speech, such as metaphors will depend on the resources that learners will have at their disposal to study figurative language.

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (henceforth CEFR) was introduced in 2001 by the Council of Europe in order to describe in a comprehensive, systematic and holistic way what an L2 learner is expected to learn and use, so as to handle the target language appropriately and effectively in a wide range of communicative contexts. In addition, the CEFR provides the basis for the explicit description of teaching objectives, material content and teaching and assessment methods. These goals are achievable through the establishment of three basic levels, A, B and C (A: Basic user, B: Independent user, C: Proficient user) with a six-scale proficiency descriptors' scheme ranging from A1 (the lowest), A2, B1, B2, C1 to C2 (the highest) (Council of Europe, 2001).

Even though figurative language enhances a learner's communicative competence in the target language, the CEFR seems to ignore this contemporary understanding of figurative language's role and place in L2 pedagogy. In particular, metaphor appears three times, whereas idioms nine times (the terms *figurative language concept/conceptual (knowledge, competence, fluency, mastery)* and *metonymy* do not appear at all). Regarding the suitable proficiency level at which familiarization with figurative language should take place, idiomatic knowledge appears mainly at C1 and C2 CEFR levels (and only once at B1) following that at A2 and B2 levels this type of competence is not necessary, whereas metaphor appears only once as part of lexical competence in a way that reflects an outdated view, restricting its role as a rhetoric device or a figure of speech (Gutiérrez Pérez, 2017).

The marginal role attributed to figurative language within the context of the CEFR offers ground for interpreting the difficulties L2 learners face when they should use L2 figurative language. In other words, these difficulties may be related to the place of figurative language in L2 pedagogy and the accompanying suggestions for the appropriate proficiency level at which instruction should take place. That said, Littlemore,

Krennmayr, Turner and Turner (2014) suggest that familiarization with figurative language should start at CEFR A2 onwards and towards this goal they introduced certain figurative language descriptors for each CEFR-based proficiency level.

Curriculum of Greek as an L2

In recent years there has been a growing interest in learning Greek as an L2, which can be associated with many factors, such as the influx of migrants and refugees, mobility within the European Union, enhancement of career prospects in the wider Balkan region, willingness of Greek expatriates to keep their Greek identity by preserving and upscaling their knowledge of the Greek language and so on (Charalabopoulou, 2010). Subsequently, this interest resulted in the design of many CEFR-based textbooks ranging from proficiency levels A1 to C2 (Council of Europe, 2001). Moreover, in 1994 the Center for the Greek Language (Gr. Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, ΚΕΓ) was established in order to serve as the sole research body for all issues related to Greek as an L2 certification worldwide. In 1999 the first exams for Greek as an L2 certification took place. The initial Curriculum of Greek as an L2 was arranged around a 4-proficiency level scheme (A: the lowest, B, C, D: the highest). In 2010, the Centre for the Greek Language adapted this 4-proficiency level scheme to CEFR's six-scale proficiency descriptors' scheme ranging from A1 (the lowest), A2, B1, B2, C1 to C2 (the highest), whereas in 2013 introduced the new (/updated) Curriculum of Greek as an L2. In the latest edition of the Curriculum of Greek as an L2, figurative language appears at B2 level onwards.

The study

Building on the above-mentioned analysis, we carried out a study in order to explore the place of figurative language in textbooks of Greek as an L2. Given the importance of figurative language in L2 instruction, one might wonder whether figurative language found its place in textbooks development and in particular in coursebooks of Greek as an L2. Hence, the present study investigates the extent to which figurative language is present in textbooks of Greek as an L2.

In particular, the present study addresses the following research questions:

1. Do textbooks of Greek as an L2 reflect the principles that lie behind the CEFR-based proficiency levels and subsequently Curriculum of Greek as an L2?
2. Do textbooks of Greek as an L2 embed activities related to figurative language?
3. What type of activities related to figurative language instruction are suggested by the authors?

Materials

For the purposes of our study, we conducted informal interviews with experienced Greek language instructors asking them what textbook they usually use for each Greek as an L2 proficiency level when teaching adult Greek language learners. Their answers were then classified and we compiled a corpus of thirty (30) textbooks of Greek as an L2 published from 1994 to 2018. All of the textbooks are addressed at adolescents and adult Greek language learners (cf. APPENDIX 1 for a full list of the textbooks that made up our corpus).

More specifically, the corpus we analyzed here consists of six (6) A2 textbooks, eight (8) B1 books, nine (9) B2 books and seven (7) C1-C2 textbooks (see FIGURE 1). At this point it should be mentioned that two (2) textbooks categorized under CEFR-based B2 level cover language material of previous levels as well. These textbooks are A2.5 and B2.8 (cf. APPENDIX 1 for the codification of the selected textbooks).

In addition, the textbooks that made up our corpus have been released by private-run Greek publishing houses or by public organizations/institutions, such as the Center for the Greek Language/Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (Gr. abbr. ΚΕΓ), or the Institute of Modern Greek Studies (a research unit of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). The textbooks published before 2010 have been adapted to the four-language level scheme as described in the Presidential Decree 363 (Government Gazette 242/29.10.1998, v. A΄), whereas the textbooks after 2010 follow the CEFR-based proficiency level classification.

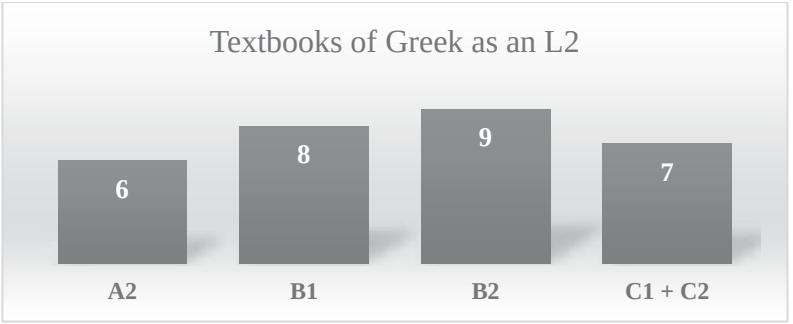

Figure 1: *Number of textbooks per CEFR-based proficiency levels*

Procedure

The method used in our study was a simplified qualitative Content Analysis based on theme identification. The first theme was figurative language instruction in each textbook in general. The second theme was the appearance or not of figurative language activities in each textbook and finally the third theme was the compliance of the selected textbooks with the guidelines provided by both the CEFR and the Curriculum of Greek as an L2.

Results

The detailed analysis of the textbooks based on the three (3) above themes (which broadly reflect the three (3) research questions as well) yielded interesting findings.

In general, we can identify two broad categories of textbooks, those published after 2010 and those published before 1998. The first category of textbooks reflects the suggestions made by the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 in a more systematic and compliant way. On the other hand, textbooks published before 1998 present a mixed picture, some of them scarcely mention figurative language, whereas others from the very first unit include figurative language instruction.

In particular, textbooks published after 2010 follow the guidelines which appear in the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 and include certain figurative language items, such as metaphorical phrases or idioms following the detailed guidelines offered by the Curriculum of Greek as an L2. On the contrary, the textbooks published before 1998, either scarcely mention figurative language or embed figurative language from the first unit. This

is probably due to the fact that there was not an official Curriculum of Greek as an L2 before that and authors designed their material based on their teaching practices and intuitions. Regarding the introduction of figurative language activities, it can be said that these appear actually at the last three levels (i.e. B2, C1 and C2).

More specifically, at A2 level, in the textbooks published before 2010, figurative language appears in the context of a basic vocabulary that is expected to facilitate Greek language learners to meet daily communication needs. However, the metaphorical background of many phrases is not straightforward. In other words, Greek language learners get familiarized with certain phrases which serve as everyday communication facilitators without explicitly being taught about their (i.e. the phrases) metaphorical background. On the other hand, in textbooks published after 2010, figurative language activities are related to a preceding text without explicit instruction regarding their figurative connotations (cf. TABLE 1).

Occasional introduction of figurative language (in certain units)		**Systematic introduction of figurative language** (in each unit)	
Figurative language is presented in lists/vocabulary activities (without explicit teaching of the figurative background)	**Figurative language appears in tables** (the figurative background of phrases is straightforward)	**Lists of idioms/ metaphorical phrases** (the figurative background of words/phrases is straightforward)	**Figurative language activities** (the figurative background of words/phrases is straightforward)
6 textbooks (/6) (A2.1, A2.2, A2.3, A2.4, A2.5, A2.6)	**2 textbooks (/6) (A2.2, A2.3)**	**none**	**none**

Table 1: ***Figurative language at CEFR A2 level***

At the B1 level, in addition to figurative language items lists, comprehension and vocabulary activities are introduced. In particular, textbooks published before 1998 include in each unit lists with figurative expressions irrelevant to the unit they appear. On the other hand, the textbooks published after 2010 include figurative language activities that

are relevant to the topic of each unit. Indeed, there is a clear tendency towards increasing numbers of metaphorical expressions and idioms in this type of exercises. Therefore, it is legitimate to conclude that the textbooks published after 2010 include an increased number of activities which raise figurative language awareness (cf. TABLE 2).

Occasional introduction of figurative language (in certain units)		**Systematic introduction of figurative language** (in each unit)	
Figurative language is presented in lists/vocabulary activities (without explicit teaching of the figurative background)	**Figurative language appears in tables** (the figurative background of phrases is straightforward)	**Lists of idioms/ metaphorical phrases** (the figurative background of words/phrases is straightforward)	**Figurative language activities** (the figurative background of words/phrases is straightforward)
5 textbooks (/8) (B1.4, B1.6, B1.2, B1.5, B1.8)	**4 textbooks (/8) (B1.4, B1.6, B1.3, B1.2)**	**1 textbook (/8) (B1.1)**	**1 textbook (/8) (B1.7)**

Table 2: ***Figurative language at CEFR B1 level***

The B2-C2 textbooks introduce figurative expressions in a more systematic way than the textbooks designed for lower levels. This finding is associated with the guidelines provided by the Curriculum of Greek as an L2. According to these guidelines, from B2 onwards, Greek language learners should acquire figurative language mastery. In particular, the study of sixteen (16) textbooks targeted at B2 onwards showed that vocabulary tables include metaphorical expressions without explicit reference to their literal meaning. In textbooks published between 1999-2010, figurative language activities are related to vocabulary enrichment. In other words, various vocabulary activities (e.g. matching, gap filling, multiple choice) include, among others, words/phrases that are used figuratively. The majority of these activities do not mention the figurative background of the word/phrase in question. Additionally, in the textbooks published after 1999, vocabulary activities are linked to the topic of each unit and thus it is easier for Greek language learners to infer the meaning of figurative language based on contextual clues. Occasionally there are

cross cultural activities in that Greek language learners are asked to find the equivalent of a Greek proverb/figurative word/phrase in their first language. Finally, in one (1) textbook published before 1998 there is systematic appearance of figurative language items, such as idioms, metaphors and proverbs in each unit. However, there is explicit reference to their figurative meaning. In some textbooks (3 out of 16 textbooks at B2-C2 levels), published after 1999, each unit includes exercises that are expected to foster figurative language comprehension, use and production (cf. TABLE 3).

Occasional introduction of figurative language (in certain units)		**Systematic introduction of figurative language** (in each unit)	
Figurative language is presented in lists/vocabulary activities (without explicit teaching of the figurative background)	**Figurative language appears in tables** (the figurative background of phrases is straightforward)	**Figurative language is presented in lists/vocabulary activities** (without explicit teaching of the figurative background)	**Figurative language appears in tables** (the figurative background of phrases is straightforward)
8 textbooks (/9) (B2.1, B2.2, B2.3, B2.4, B2.5, B2.6, B2.7, B2.8)	**3 textbooks (/9) (B2.4, B2.6, B2.8)**	**1 textbook (/9) (B2.3)**	**1 textbook (/9) (B2.9)**

Table 3: ***Figurative language at CEFR B2 level***

At C1 & C2 levels, the systematic engagement with the figurative language is introduced, in that the authors of textbooks do not isolate vocabulary activities from figurative language awareness activities. In five (5) textbooks, a host of figurative language activities is found (for instance idiom learning activities highlighting the topic/theme or focusing on the verb). Recent textbooks introduce figurative language through short dialogues and written speech production activities (such as storytelling in which students are told to use as many figurative idioms as possible). In addition, Greek language learners are encouraged to look for figurative language in the online corpora compiled by the Centre for the Greek Language. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the textbooks published

after 2010 introduce figurative language through literary texts. However, it is up to every instructor to use these texts as they do not include any vocabulary information or activity (cf. TABLE 4).

Occasional introduction of figurative language (in certain units)		**Systematic introduction of figurative language** (in each unit)	
Figurative language is presented in lists/vocabulary activities (without explicit teaching of the figurative background)	**Figurative language appears in tables** (the figurative background of phrases is straightforward)	**Figurative language is presented in lists/vocabulary activities** (without explicit teaching of the figurative background)	**Figurative language appears in tables** (the figurative background of phrases is straightforward)
4 textbooks (/7) (C1/C2.3, C1/C2.4, C1/C2.5, C1/C2.6)	**2 textbooks (/7) (C1/C2.5, C1/C2.6)**	**0 textbooks (/7)**	**3 textbooks (/7) (C1/C2.7, C1/C2.1, C1/C2.2)**

Table 4: ***Figurative language at CEFR CI & C2 levels***

Discussion

The present chapter provides several insights into the place of figurative language in textbooks of Greek as an L2. Our results demonstrate the differential role that the year of publication plays regarding the introduction of figurative language into textbooks of Greek as an L2, the type of activities and the degree of compliance to the guidelines set by the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 designed by the Centre for the Greek Language. Thus, the year of publication seems to serve as the starting point for providing answers to our three (3) research questions.

In light of the above findings, and with reference to the first research question, figurative language activities are introduced more frequently as the proficiency level grows. In other words, it seems that figurative language instruction is closely related to the higher CEFR-based proficiency levels as in the lower ones there is low utility and limited introduction of figurative language.

Regarding the second question, there is a clear shift in the way figurative language is presented in textbooks of Greek as an L2. The first category of textbooks represents coursebooks published before 2010 and depicts a mixed picture. On the one hand, figurative language is presented either context-free or in short texts from the first unit or it is presented in lists without further information, regarding their distribution, their suitable discourse context and their communicative functions. The second category represents textbooks published after 2010. These teaching materials comply with the guidelines set by the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 (which in turn reflects the CEFR) and introduce figurative language in a more coherent way despite the lack of a text-driven approach, in that there is no use of authentic material that will familiarize Greek language learners with everyday language use.

Finally, with reference to the third research question, authors rely heavily on structural activities (e.g. gap filling, multiple choice) avoiding authentic material that will expose Greek language learners to actual language use and assist them in achieving communicative purposes. In addition, authors avoid designing separate figurative language activities and instead practice it under regular vocabulary ones.

Teaching applications

Our study has certain teaching implications for Greek as an L2 textbooks' developers and for Greek as an L2 policy makers in general. These implications are related to current findings and techniques regarding figurative language instruction, such as those introduced by Applied Cognitive Linguistics.

Firstly, and given the ubiquity of figurative language in everyday discourse and its contribution to a learners' communicative competence, there should be a reconsideration of the place the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 attributes to figurative language. Building on Littlemore et al. (2014), it is suggested that the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 should embed figurative language instruction from A2 onwards. Dong (2004) admits that figurative language instruction seldom takes place in the beginning stage of L2 teaching for fear of overwhelming L2 learners with the multiple layers of meaning. On the other hand, it has been shown that this limited experience with figurative language severely affects learners' reading comprehension and writing performance (Dong, 2004). Thus, there is a need for explicit figurative language teaching from the early stages of L2 instruction as learners start brainstorming ideas, concepts and the various meanings of the words (Thompson, 1986). Towards this goal,

Littlemore and her colleagues (2014) set the ground for the development of a set of descriptors of metaphor use which can stand as the basis for similar Greek as an L2 figurative language descriptors.

Secondly, the introduction of such a set of figurative language descriptors calls for a reconsideration of teaching goals regarding figurative language instruction and development. To this end, it is argued that the goal of figurative language instruction should be the development of *figurative competence.* This type of competence is defined as: "the ability to deal with figurative language" (Levorato, 1993: 104).

Thirdly, redefining figurative language teaching goals will account for aspects, such as the errors L2 learners make when dealing with the conceptual system of the target language. This type of error is called "conceptual errors" (Danesi, 2016) and occurs when L2 learners use L1 items to convey L2 concepts (Danesi & Grieve, 2010). Thus, having introduced figurative competence as an equal teaching goal and a necessary communicative skill, the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 will shed light on this common, yet neglected type of error which hinders communication in an L2 (Danesi, 2008).

As a consequence of the third teaching implication comes the fourth one related to the professional development of L2 instructors. L2 practitioners should raise their awareness to the pervasiveness of figurative language in everyday communication as well as in educational/academic contexts and to the ways they can effectively introduce figurative language into their teaching practices. Moreover, additional training will allow them to enhance their learners' figurative language interpretation, production and long-term memory retention skills (Littlemore, MacArthur, Cienki, & Holloway, 2012; Low, Littlemore, & Koester, 2008).

Moreover, through further training, L2 instructors will have the opportunity to get familiar, practice and apply current techniques and teaching tools, such as those provided by Applied Cognitive Linguistics. The cognitive linguistic theory of figurative language holds that it is conceptual in nature, it is not based on similarity and it is used effortlessly in ordinary language practice. From this perspective, metaphor is a major phenomenon that occurs effortlessly throughout various discourse activities (Knowles & Moon, 2006) and a cognitive process which stands as the basis for the understanding of more abstract concepts (=target domain), such as *love* and *ideas* in terms of more concrete domains (=source domain), such as *buildings*, *food* and *plants* (Grady, 1999; Kövecses, 2002).

In terms of L2 instruction, cognitive linguists argue that instead of mere memorization, figurative language instruction should rely on the

notion of *motivation*. Motivation underlies the meaning of many figurative expressions in that it highlights the systematicity of them. Lakoff (1987) argues that it is more fruitful to deal with motivated knowledge rather than arbitrary one. Arbritariness was once believed to be the major property of figurative language. Empirical studies with L2 learners have already provided evidence for the beneficial role that semantic motivation plays in understanding, use and retention of figurative language (e.g. Beréndi, Csábi, & Kövecses, 2008; Boers, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2013; Boers & Demecheleer, 2001; Deignan, Gabrys, & Solska, 1997; Dong, 2004; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996).

Lastly, figurative language instruction calls for updated textbooks that will address figurative language in a holistic way and its various communicative functions. It is suggested that a combination of both structure and communication oriented activities will enhance Greek language learners' ability to interact strategically and in appropriate and effective ways in the target language (Danesi, 1986), given that mastery of conventional figurative language leads to lexical precision (Hoang & Boers, 2018). Additionally, figurative language activities can be based on cross-cultural comparisons which have been proven to help L2 learners to acquire not only figurative language, but concepts as well (and thus avoiding conceptual errors). Research has shown that bringing L2 learners' attention to cross-cultural variations will activate their conceptual knowledge and raise their awareness with issues related to language, culture and thought (Boers, Demecheleer, & Eyckmans, 2004; Dong, 2004; Littlemore, 2004).

Conclusions

We set out to investigate the place of figurative language in textbooks of Greek as an L2. It was found that the year of publication plays a role since textbooks published before 1998 occasionally present figurative language, whereas those published after 2010 show more systematicity and compliance with the guidelines set by the Centre for the Greek Language. In addition, the higher the proficiency level the more figurative language activities are present in the selected textbooks. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that certain steps should be taken for figurative language to find its place in Greek as an L2 instruction and make the learning process more meaningful and discourse-dependent. For instance, figurative language instruction should be explicit and an integral part of Greek as an L2 teaching, rather than a peripheral/marginal one. In addition, it should take place from the early stages of second language acquisition and rely on

authentic context and cross-cultural comparisons. Moreover, professional development initiatives should be undertaken by Greek language policy bodies and teaching associations so as Greek as an L2 instructors to be more sensitive, flexible and open to current instructional methodologies that have been proven to play a beneficial role in figurative language teaching.

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Appendix 1

Textbooks used in the study

A2				
No	**Title**	**Publication**	**Authors**	**Publisher**
A2.1	Ελληνικά με την παρέα μου 1	1999	Αμπάτη Α., Γαλαζούλα Μ., Μαγγανά Α., Μιχαλακοπούλου Π., Παπαδοπούλου Δ. Πουλοπούλου	ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ (ΟΕΔΒ)
A2.2	Επικοινωνήστε Ελληνικά 1	2002[α,β]	Αρβανιτάκης Κ., Αρβανιτάκη Φ.	Δέλτος
A2.3	Ελληνικά Α	2010	Σιμόπουλος Γ., Παθιάκη Ε., Κανελλοπούλου Ρ., Παυλοπούλου Α.	Πατάκης
A2.4	Εκμάθηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας, Α1/Α2	2011	Αγάθος Θ., Γαλαντόμος Ι., Ιντζίδης Β., Καραντζόλα Ε., Ρουμπής Ν. Σιμόπουλος Γ.	Ινστιτούτο Διαρκούς Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων, Πρόγραμμα ΟΔΥΣΣΕΑΣ
A2.5	Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα 1 (Α1-Α2)	2012	Γκαρέλη Ε., Καπούλα Ε., Μοντζολή Μ., Νεστοράτου Σ., Πρίτση Ε., Ρουμπής Ν., Συκαρά Γ.	Γρηγόρης
A2.6	ΚΛΙΚ στα ελληνικά Α2	2013	Καρακύργιου Μ., Παναγιωτίδου Β.	ΚΕΓ

B1				
No	Title	**Year**	**Authors**	**Publisher**
B1.1	Τα ελληνικά ως δεύτερη γλώσσα	1994	Βαλσαμάκη-Τζεκάκη Φ., Χαραλαμπόπουλος Ε.	ΙΝΣ-ΑΠΘ
B1.2	Νέα Ελληνικά για μετανάστες, παλιννοστούντες, πρόσφυγες και ξένους	2002	Δεμίρη- Προδρομίδου Ε., Καμαριανού-Βασιλείου Ρ.	Μεταίχμιο
B1.3	Τα ελληνικά είναι ένα παιχνίδι	2003	Βαλσαμάκη-Τζεκάκη Φ., Καμαριανού Ρ., Κανέλλου Κατούδη Ε.	ΙΝΣ ΑΠΘ
B1.4	Επικοινωνήστε Ελληνικά 2	2003[α,β]	Αρβανιτάκης Κ., Αρβανιτάκη Φ.,	Δέλτος
B1.5	Ελληνικά με την παρέα μου 2	2004	Αμπάτη Α., Γαλαζούλα Μ., Μαγγανά Α., Μιχαλακοπούλου Π., Παπαδοπούλου Δ., Πουλοπούλου, Μ.	ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ (ΟΕΔΒ)
B1.6	Ελληνικά Β΄	2012	Παθιάκη Ε., Σιμόπουλος Γ., Τουρλής,	Πατάκης
B1.7	ΚΛΙΚ στα ελληνικά Β1	2014	Καρακύργιου Μ., Παναγιωτίδου Β.	ΚΕΓ
B1.8	Μαθαίνουμε ελληνικά: Ακόμα καλύτερα!	2016	Αντωνίου, Μ., Γαλαζούλα, Μ., Δημητράκου, Σ., Μαγγανά, Α.	Κέδρος

B2				
No	**Title**	**Year**	**Authors**	**Publisher**
B2.1	Επικοινωνήστε Ελληνικά 3	2002[α,β] (Ανατύπωση 2016)	Αρβανιτάκης Κ., Αρβανιτάκη Φ.,	Δέλτος
B2.2	Συνεχίζοντας	2004	Διακουμή Ι., Παρασκευοπούλου Χ., Παυλοπούλου, Α.	Ελληνοαμερικανική Ένωση
B2.3	Τα Νέα Ελληνικά για Ξένους	[4]2007 (24η Ανατύπωση) 1η έκδοση 1973	Συνεργασία του διδακτικού προσωπικού του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του ΑΠΘ	ΙΝΣ- ΑΠΘ
B2.4	Ανακαλύπτοντας το κείμενο	2009	Αγάθος Θ., Γιαννακού Β., Δημοπούλου Β. & Τσοτσορού Α.	Φιλομάθεια
B2.5	Εμβαθύνοντας στα ελληνικά	2011	Βαζάκα Μ., Κοκκινίδου Μ.	Μεταίχμιο
B2.6	Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα 2 (Β1-Β2)	2013	Γκαρέλη Ε., Καπούλα Ε., Μοντζολή Μ., Νεστοράτου Σ., Πρίτση Ε., Ρουμπής Ν., Συκαρά Γ.	Γρηγόρης
B2.7	Τα λέμε… Ελληνικά	2015	Αντωνίου, Μ., Αστάρα, Β., Δετσούδη, Ζ.	Γρηγόρης
B2.8	Μαθήματα ελληνικών	[3]2015 (1η έκδοση 1999)	Μόσχου, Δ. & Χατζηθεοδωρίδης, Γ.	University Studio Press
B2.9	ΚΛΙΚ στα ελληνικά Β2	2016	Καρακύργιου Μ., Παναγιωτίδου Β.	ΚΕΓ

C1 & C2				
No	Title	**Year**	**Author/s**	**Publisher**
C1/C2.1	Ελληνικά για προχωρημένους (ομογενείς και αλλογενείς)	1997	Παναγοπούλου Ε., Χατζηπαναγιωτίδη Α.	ΙΝΣ- ΑΠΘ
C1/C2.2	Η γλώσσα που μιλάμε στην Ελλάδα	2004	Σπυροπούλου Μ., Θεοδωρίδου Θ.	University Press Studio
C1/C2/3	Στρατηγικές Ανάγνωσης	2006	Βαζάκα, Μ	Μεταίχμιο
C1/C2.4	Ελληνικά: Από το κείμενο στη λέξη. Αθήνα	2008	Βασιλάκη Ε., Λασκαρίδου Μ. , Μιχαλακοπούλου Π., Πουλοπούλου Μ.,	ΟΕΔΒ
C1/C2.5	Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα 3 (Γ1-Γ2)	2014	Γκαρέλη Ε., Καπούλα Ε., Μοντζολή Μ., Νεστοράτου Σ., Πρίτση Ε., Ρουμπής Ν., Συκαρά Γ.	Γρηγόρης
C1/C2.6	Τα «καλώς κείμενα» για προχωρημένους	[3]2017 (1η έκδοση 2010)	Γαβριηλίδου Γ.	University Studio Press
C1/C2.7	ΚΛΙΚ στα ελληνικά Γ1	2018	Καρακύργιου Μ., Παναγιωτίδου Β.	ΚΕΓ

CHAPTER EIGHT

GUESSING AT THE MEANING OF UNKNOWN L2 IDIOMS: APPLIED COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

SOPHIA SKOUFAKI

Introduction

Inferring the meaning of unknown vocabulary from context was first proposed as an effective first-language (L1) vocabulary learning technique in the 1980s (e.g., Nagy & Anderson, 1984; Nagy & Herman, 1987). Since then, this proposal has been modified many times. In Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL), meaning inference has been mainly seen as helping L2 learners memorise the form and meaning of figurative vocabulary.[1] In terms of L2 idiom instruction, Cognitive Linguistics (CL) theory has been combined with the meaning inference method in two ways. The first is having learners infer the meaning of L2 idioms considered to be underlain by Conceptual Metaphors (CMs) and/or metonymies. The second is having learners infer the meanings of L2 idioms while offering them metaphoric and/or metonymic clues about these meanings. These proposals have not yet received a thorough evaluation although related research questions have been addressed experimentally.

This chapter aims to evaluate the two proposals. First, the theoretical arguments for idiom meaning inference will be summarized. The chapter will then focus on a review of experiments testing the effectiveness of the two idiom instruction proposals. Finally, the chapter will consider these threads of evidence to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the two ACL proposals, their pedagogical applications, and relevant future research.

[1] For a detailed overview of this and other ACL approaches to teaching and learning vocabulary in a second language see Boers & Lindstromberg (2008).

Guessing at the meaning of unknown L2 idioms: theoretical perspectives

Irujo (1984) suggested that teachers should instruct L2 learners on how to guess idiom meanings from context because this instruction could lead to the development of an idiom-meaning guessing strategy and hence to the learning of more idioms than can be taught in class. In a later publication, Irujo (1993) argues that focusing students' attention on the features of idioms through urging them to guess at their meaning in context may lead to better learning since the idioms that seem to be learned best are the most transparent ones. Lennon (1998) has also proposed that learners be encouraged to guess at the meaning of idioms. His rationale is that guessing will involve deeper processing and should therefore lead to better retention.

Guessing at the meaning of unknown L2 idioms: ACL perspectives

Early ACL studies examined, among other things, whether a) an informal introduction to CM Theory would implicitly prompt learners to use their knowledge of CMs to guess at the meaning of L2 idioms and b) learners would remember better idioms whose meanings they had guessed at. Based on the findings of these studies, later studies asked participants to guess at the meaning of idioms via the use of conceptual metaphoric or other clues. These kinds of research will be reviewed in the following two sections, respectively.

ACL studies involving the unassisted inference of an L2 idiom's meaning

Kövecses and Szabó (1996) and Boers (2000) examined the role that raising learners' awareness to CMs can play in spontaneous idiom-meaning guessing and idiom learning. Kövecses and Szabó (1996) examined whether Hungarian adult intermediate-level learners of English, once they have been introduced to the concept of CMs, can use their knowledge of CMs strategically to guess at the meaning of phrasal verbs with *up* and *down* and whether they use such knowledge on their own initiative when they have not been informed about CMs. In the instruction phase of the experiment, half of the participants were presented with the Hungarian equivalents of the phrasal verbs. The other half of the participants received the same input but also saw these idioms grouped

according to the CMs which underlie them as well. In the test phase, participants had to fill out sentences with *up* and *down*. Half of the sentences contained the phrasal verbs from the learning phase and the rest contained phrasal verbs that had not been taught. The participants in the CM condition performed better than those in the no-categorisation condition in terms of the untaught items. The researchers concluded that it was the CM instruction that enabled students to use CMs to guess at the meaning of novel phrasal verbs. However, participants could have used any number of different strategies to reach their interpretations of the novel phrasal verbs and not only rely on CMs. In Boers (2000), for example, participants used their knowledge of equivalent words in their native language and Kövecses and Szabó (1996) consider L1 transfer as a possible confound in their experiment. Moreover, because participants were not randomly assigned to conditions the better performance in the CM condition was perhaps due to individual learner differences (e.g. differences in English language proficiency and motivation) rather than the instruction method.

The third experiment in Boers (2000) builds on Kövecses and Szabó's (1996) method and rationale. Participants were French-speaking learners of English. CMs were used to group phrasal and prepositional verbs with *up*, *down*, *in*, *out* and other prepositions. For example, *blow up* and *cut down* appeared under the title 'MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN' and *come up with an idea/solution* and *find out something* appeared under 'VISIBLE IS OUT AND UP; INVISIBLE IS IN AND DOWN'. The test phase involved a cloze test where among the words to choose from there were also words that had not been taught. The finding which is relevant to our discussion is that, unlike in Kövecses and Szabó's (1996), participants who had received the CM vocabulary instruction did not correctly use more novel words than those who had received the functional vocabulary instruction. Boers (2000) supposes that the novel items might be instantiating CMs different from those used in the instruction phase and/or they were low in transparency.

Skoufaki (2006, 2008b) is partly related to the issue of whether learners can use CMs on their own initiative when they guess at the meaning of unknown L2 idioms. In this study, one research question was which knowledge constructs seem to be used while participants guess at the meaning of idioms.[2] This question was addressed by having participants describe the train of thought that led them to an interpretation of an idiom

[2] This aspect of the study is reported in Skoufaki (2006). For the details of the procedure, results, and conclusions relating to this issue, see Skoufaki (2006: 112-113, 120-129, 131-132), respectively.

immediately after supplying it. CMs were the second least utilised knowledge structure in both the context (5% mean usage) and the no-context (6% mean usage) conditions. The very low spontaneous use of CMs during idiom-meaning guessing may explain why in Boers (2000) participants in the CM condition did not use correctly more novel words than the participants in the functional condition. More generally, as Boers and Lindstromberg (2008: 33-34) comment in their review of the pilot of this study, reported in Skoufaki (2005), introducing learners to CMs and expecting them to guess which CMs underlie unknown idioms is unlikely to be an effective idiom-learning method. In other words, if learners are encouraged to guess at the meaning of idioms by using their conceptual metaphoric knowledge, they should at least be supplied with the CMs which underlie these idioms.

Boers and Demecheleer (2001) also examined the effects of unassisted idiom-meaning inference. L2 learners were explicitly asked to guess at the meaning of imageable idioms, which, following Lakoff (1987: 447), were defined as "idioms that have associated conventional images". Idioms with imagery more frequent in the L2 (English) than in the L1 (French) were less easily guessable to L2 learners than those with metaphorical imagery that is more frequent in the L1 or equally frequent. At least 35% of the given definitions for an idiom pointed to the same general metaphorical meaning as the original one. Based on this finding, Boers and Demecheleer (2001) proposed that students be encouraged to guess at the meanings of imagistic idioms. However, as they admitted, the number of idioms used was too small to generalise the results. Moreover, only a small percentage of meaning guessing was completely successful. Therefore, it seems that inferring the meaning of an idiom correctly is very difficult, at least when learners are not given any unambiguous clues about its meaning.

Given the discouraging results in Boers (2000) about the effect of spontaneous use of CMs on idiom learning after learners have been introduced to CM Theory and the lack of robust evidence for the correct guessing of the meaning of idioms in Boers and Demecheleer (2001) as well as the evidence of only occasional use of CM during idiom-meaning guessing in Skoufaki (2006), one may conclude that the unassisted idiom-meaning guessing method is unlikely to work. However, in the studies which will be reviewed in the following section, this instruction method was enhanced through the provision of a link between the form and the meaning of the idioms. Will the results of such studies be more encouraging for the idiom-meaning guessing proposal?

ACL studies involving the assisted inference of an L2 idiom's meaning

In Csábi (2004), teenage Hungarian intermediate-level learners of English were first taught meanings of the verbs *hold* and *keep*. They were then taught phrasal verbs containing these verbs (e.g. *hold back something* and *keep in something*), and, finally, VP idioms containing these verbs (e.g. *hold one's head up* and *keep something under one's hat*). In the phrasal-verb and VP idiom-teaching conditions, learners were either given clues about the motivation of their form or just given their meaning in Hungarian. They were not asked to guess at the meaning of the expressions they were presented with, but they usually voluntarily said their interpretations and in many cases these were correct, so, then, Csábi did not have to give the L1 equivalents (Csábi, personal communication). After each instruction phase, learners were instructed to memorise the forms and meanings of the expressions they had just been taught. A cloze test followed, where the whole expressions were missing. The same cloze tests were administered to participants one day after the treatment in the first experiment and two days after it in the second experiment.

Two kinds of data analysis were conducted. First, conditions were compared in terms of the number of correct answers given to the cloze tests. Second, conditions were compared after collapsing between the correct answers and those which were not completely correct but at least included the correct verb. For all kinds of expressions, the scores of the 'motivations' condition were superior to those of the 'Hungarian meaning equivalents' condition. Idioms were "the most difficult to remember, since the number of correct results was the lowest there" (Csábi, 2004: 248). Another noteworthy result was that, in the second experiment, the number of entirely correct answers was higher when just the Hungarian idiom meanings were given to the learners than when their motivations were explained as well. However, when the correct and the nearly correct answers were combined, the latter condition had a significantly higher score. These results may be taken to indicate that, whenever idioms were guessed at with the help of their motivations, guessing led to superior results in form retention rather than the mere presentation of idiom meanings. However, since meaning guessing was done out of the students' initiative, the results cannot be completely attributed to learners' meaning guessing attempts. The higher score for the traditional instruction method when totally correct answers were counted indicates that the length (and maybe other factors, such as low transparency) of VP idioms may block the beneficial effect that idiom-meaning guessing can have on memorisation.

In Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2007) learners were again asked to guess at the meaning of idioms but in a computerised multiple choice task. This study is one of the experiments on etymological elaboration by Boers and his colleagues. "Etymological elaboration" refers to the instruction of idioms which involves guessing at their etymology. Participants were undergraduate second- and third-year Dutch-speaking students of modern languages, majoring in English at a college for higher education. Different idioms were shown to each year group. The second-year students were presented with three series of 25 idioms while the third-year students were presented with three series of 30 idioms. Results were analysed for each series of idioms. In the experimental condition, participants were asked to identify the domain of experience from which each idiom stems (e.g. gardening, buildings) and then identify the meaning of each idiom. In the control condition, these tasks were reversed.

For the second-year students' data, in two out of the three series of idioms the comparison between the conditions indicated significantly more frequently correct meaning guessing for the etymological-task-first condition. For the remaining series of idioms, the difference was not significant. Participants in the third-grade series were too few to draw conclusions from their data, but the difference between conditions was significant in all idiom series and in the same direction as for the second-year students. This finding indicates that inferences are more likely to be correct when participants are given clues about the motivation of idioms' forms.

Another finding of Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2007) is also relevant to our discussion. "With the exception of one trial (2nd year, series B), students who had been given the opportunity to use etymological information to try and figure out the idiomatic meaning of the expressions seemed more likely to remember the expressions than students who had perhaps resorted to blind guessing when doing the identify-the-meanings exercises" (Boers, Eyckmans, & Stengers 2007: 16-17). They interpreted this result by assuming that when students are given the etymological elaboration exercise first, this processing functions as a prop to their meaning guessing whereas when the order of exercises is reversed, the etymological exercise functions just as a mnemonic technique. This finding is also encouraging for a method where learners are encouraged to guess at the meaning of idioms with the help of some clues about their meaning.

The second study reported in Beréndi (2005) and Skoufaki (2008a) offer learners CM clues to assist them in their idiom-meaning guessing. These experiments push the inferencing task to its limits by asking learners

not to choose from idiom definitions in multiple choice tasks but to think of their own definitions.

In Beréndi (2005) participants were first year English majors at a college in Hungary. In the first phase of the experiment, in the experimental condition participants were introduced to the notion of CMs whereas in the control condition there was a discussion about the difficulty of idiom learning. The second phase was the same between conditions; participants read a text which included VP idioms, phrasal verbs and metaphoric words about the concept of anger. In the third phase, the experimental group saw these lexical items in groups under metaphorical-theme titles and the control group saw them in random order. Finally, all learners did the same cloze test immediately and two days later. This cloze test was also given to participants who could be traced after five months.

Both groups were asked to guess at the meaning of the target lexical items and write their interpretations in Hungarian. Both the control and the experimental group produced high mean percentages of correct interpretations, but the experimental group produced significantly more. The mean scores in the immediate cloze test were high for both groups but significantly higher for the experimental group. Although in the cloze test administered two days later, scores did not differ significantly between conditions, in the cloze test administered five months later, experimental group performed significantly better than the control group. Responses to a questionnaire which examined participants' their memory of the original input indicates that the experimental group did not remember that idioms had been presented in metaphoric groups. The experimental group's claim that they did not try to find underlying metaphors in new vocabulary in order to learn it agrees with the conclusion drawn from the experiments summarised in previous sections that learners are unlikely to spontaneously use CMs as clues in idiom-meaning guessing.

The other results indicate that students benefitted from the provision of the metaphoric titles in terms of both their inferences of idioms' meanings and the retention of their forms. However, these results should be interpreted with caution, mainly due to the possibility of a confound in the experiment. Rather than being caused by this specific categorisation principle, the higher mean scores in the cloze tests may be due to the fact that in the experimental condition the idioms were presented in groups whereas in the control condition they were not. Psycholinguistic experiments on the effects of presenting learners with categorised versus uncategorised vocabulary items indicate that any kind of grouping except a semantic one would lead to better memorisation than no grouping at all, since grouping of input seems to be congruent with people's preferred

learning methods (e.g. Tinkham, 1997; Waring, 1997)[3].

Skoufaki (2008a) examines whether the combination of the guessing method with the grouping method is more effective than the grouping method in terms of idiom form and/or meaning retention. This design was motivated by Hulstijn's (2003) conclusion that what determines vocabulary retention is the processing that takes places during learning rather than afterwards and the encouraging results for assisted idiom-meaning guessing in Csábi (2004) and Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2007)[4]. The rationale was that if Hulstijn's claim is correct, one would expect the hybrid method to be more effective, because such a combination would involve the information given by the grouping method in the process of learning an idiom rather than just in its memorisation after it has been taught.

This experiment also compared the effect of meaning- and form-focused practice tasks on performance in an immediate cloze test, an issue which has not been examined in any other ACL experiment on idiom-meaning guessing. Learning-test congruency effects have been found in many areas of psychological research, including L2 vocabulary-instruction research. For example, Barcroft (2002) found higher retention scores for the L1 meaning equivalents of L2 words when the L2 words had been taught through a semantic rather than a structural elaboration task and the reverse result for the retention of L2 word forms. Participants were Greek advanced learners of English. In the first phase of the experiment, in Condition 1, participants were asked to read through two pages with figurative expressions (mainly VP idioms) about morality and comprehension. These figurative expressions appeared in metaphoric groups and together with glosses in Greek and with sentences illustrating their meaning. In Condition 2, participants were presented with the same expressions in the same metaphoric groups but without the definitions and examples and were asked to write what they guessed each expression meant on the basis of the cues they were given by the metaphoric titles.

The second phase of the experiment involved the practice of the target items. Participants were asked to read texts which included, in italics, all the expressions they had been taught previously and then they were given three minutes to jot down their answers to questions each of which included one of the taught expressions. They were instructed to answer each question by expressing the meaning of the taught items in their own

[3] A categorisation is called 'semantic' if the words share a superordinate term (e.g. 'pencil', 'envelope', 'pen' are all kinds of 'stationery').

[4] For a detailed description of the materials and procedure of this experiment see Skoufaki (2006: 210-215); for a briefer version see Skoufaki (2008a: 112-114).

words. In the subsequent informal discussion, I recorded their answers where necessary. A third condition was included in the experiment so that the secondary aim of the experiment would be achieved. It was identical to Condition 1 except that in the practice phase, students were given production exercises (cloze tests) to do in the practice as well as in the test phase (whereas in condition 1 the practice phase included comprehension tasks). A comparison of the results in the test phase (which will be summarised below) between conditions 1 and 3 was expected to indicate any learning-test congruency effects.

The test phase was the same for all conditions. First, participants had to do a cloze test where parts of some of the target vocabulary were missing. Then they had to answer some questions, each containing one of the idioms taught and requiring knowledge of the idiom's meaning to be answered.

In terms of the cloze-test results, Condition 2, which combined the conceptual metaphoric categorisation of the target items with guessing at their meaning, led to significantly higher scores than Condition 1, which just presented the target items in conceptual metaphoric groups. Therefore, the hypothesis that guessing assisted by a conceptual metaphoric categorization of input would be more effective than the presentation of input in conceptual metaphoric groups is supported in terms of input-form retention. Therefore, this experimental result agrees with the one in the second study by Beréndi (2005) summarised above. The fact that (unlike in Beréndi's study) conditions 1 and 2 are identical except for the inclusion of the guessing task in condition 2 further supports the idea that this finding is due to the effect of the guessing task in condition 2 rather than to any other factor.

No significant difference was found in form retention between conditions 1 and 3. Therefore, this study does not show any convincing evidence of learning-test congruency effects.

In the meaning-retention test, the meaning-guessing condition did not generate significantly higher scores than either of the other two conditions. This finding agrees with studies indicating that the retention of the meaning of new words is *not* higher when students are encouraged to guess at their meaning (e.g. Mondria, 2003). Since a learning-test congruency effect in terms of meaning retention would be indicated if more correct answers to the meaning-retention test were given in condition 1 than in condition 3, the non-significant difference among conditions also indicates a lack of learning-test congruency effects in terms of the meaning retention of VP idioms.

The studies reviewed in this section indicate that guessing at the meaning of L2 idioms with the help of conceptual metaphoric, metonymic and etymological clues leads to more effective idiom learning than unassisted idiom-meaning guessing or the presentation of idioms in conceptual metaphoric groups accompanied by their definitions. In this way, idiom-meaning guessing assisted by raising learner awareness of CL constructs seems to be more effective than presenting idioms in groups or guessing at their meanings without the provision of any relevant clues. However, to make claims about the effectiveness of language teaching methods in the actual classroom, various factors need to be considered apart from the results of applied linguistic experiments. The last section of this chapter will examine the pedagogical implications of the ACL work reviewed and will suggest avenues for further relevant ACL research.

Pedagogical considerations and directions for future research

The usefulness of the idiom-guessing method (both in its unassisted and in its assisted version) can be questioned for practical reasons. According to Skoufaki (2008a), because guessing at idioms' meaning is time-consuming, once learners understand the usefulness of this method, such exercises should be given as homework rather than done in class. Another intrinsic disadvantage of this method is that increased failure to guess at the meanings of idioms correctly could demotivate some learners. Therefore, although in Skoufaki (2008a) assisted idiom-meaning guessing led to higher idiom retention, perhaps presenting idioms in conceptual metaphoric groups with their definitions and illustrative examples is more appropriate.

The issue of learner motivation brings us to the more general issue of individual learner differences. Given that the presentation of idioms in conceptual metaphoric groups is considered to evoke mental images, studies which test whether the tendency of some people to think in terms of mental images ('high-imagers') or in terms of propositions ('low-imagers') affects lexical item retention are relevant to our discussion. Two of the studies reported in Boers et al. (2008) are of particular interest to our discussion.

The first study, Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2006), correlated scores in the idiom-meaning guessing multiple choice task and in the cloze tests which followed it with the ratings of learners in a questionnaire used to establish whether a learner is a high- or low-imager. The correlations showed that high-imagers scored significantly higher than low-imagers in

both the meaning guessing and the cloze test tasks.

The second study examined whether providing learners with pictures would help low-imagers to improve their scores in these tasks. The provision of these pictures seems to have helped low-imagers improve their performance in both multiple choice tasks as there was no significant correlation between the imager scores and scores in these tasks. Moreover, a comparison of the mean scores in the idiom-meaning guessing multiple-choice task with those of the learners in Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2006), where no pictures were provided together with the etymological feedback, shows that the former were significantly higher than the latter. However, the scores in the cloze tests were not significantly different between the two experiments. The non-significantly different scores in the cloze tests between the experiments were attributed to a possible distraction of attention from the verbal feedback due to the addition of the pictures. The finding that the high-imagers scored worse than the high-imagers in the earlier experiment was attributed to the neglect of the written feedback by these learners because they focused their attention on the pictures. These findings indicate that the role of individual learner differences on the effect of ACL versions of the idiom-meaning guessing method may be significant and that small differences in the procedure change its effect on meaning guessing and idiom retention.

The nature of the idioms which can be taught via this method is also an issue that should be examined with further experiments. These idioms should certainly have a metaphoric or metonymic meaning but must also meet other requirements, as two of the studies reviewed here indicate. Boers and Demecheleer (2001) show that it is easier to infer the meaning of imagistic idioms with source domains which are salient in the L1 than that of idioms with source domains equally or less salient in the L1 than in the L2. Skoufaki (2008b) shows that a smaller variety of interpretations is given by L2 learners for high- rather than for low-transparency idioms. Nevertheless, in these experiments, the level of L1 source domain salience and of transparency, respectively, were not enough to guarantee high levels of correct guesses.

The issue of which idioms are appropriate for such a kind of instruction is particularly important because idioms are very diverse. The "characteristics of idioms are scalar, so an idiom may not possess a specific feature at all whereas another idiom may possess it to the maximum degree" (Skoufaki 2006, 9). Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994) list the following dimensions in terms of which idioms vary: conventionality, informality, affect, fixedness, figuration. Skoufaki (2006) adds to this list the dimension of transparency, which has been the focus of recent research (e.g. Ramonda,

2019; Hubers, Cucchiarini, & Strik, 2020). Perhaps similar experiments to the ones reviewed here should be conducted with idioms which vary along some of the other dimensions.

Some of the studies reviewed here indicate avenues for further research. The studies by Csábi (2004) and Beréndi (2005) did not have only immediate idiom-retention tests but also delayed ones. Skoufaki (2008a) included a practice phase in order to examine the effect of different kinds of practice tasks on memorization. Finally, the etymological elaboration studies by Boers and his associates asked learners to do the same task with series of 25-30 idioms at a time, so these learners have had the opportunity to understand the nature and benefit of the tasks they were doing more than the participants of the other experiments reviewed here. These research threads could be combined in longitudinal studies examining the long-term effects of sustained idiom instruction following different CL-inspired methods in different experiments or experimental conditions. If this instruction method is used with many different groups of idioms and if each idiom is encountered more than once in practice exercises, the long-term effects of this method will be more likely to be considerable.

Finally, the more or less better results in the last experiment in Boers et al. (2008) than in Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2006) indicate that more than one CL-inspired approach can be combined and compared with single approaches. The different approaches can be complementary, as in the aforementioned experiment in Boers et al (2008), where the pictures help to assist memorisation of idiom form rather than idiom-meaning guessing, or they can act cumulatively, that is, each of them can give a different kind of clue about idiom meanings in idiom-meaning guessing tasks or give a different kind of idiom-form memorisation prop. Research reviewed in Boers and Lindstromberg (2008) indicates that the various kinds of motivations posited by Cognitive Linguists (and conveniently categorised in Radden & Panther, 2004) have been used in ACL studies on vocabulary learning. Therefore, drawing the learners' attention to the CMs and metonymies underlying idioms is only one way in which teachers can help learners to learn and memorise vocabulary. Perhaps giving learners information about the motivated nature of idioms from various viewpoints can considerably assist in the learning of this difficult kind of vocabulary.

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CHAPTER NINE

LET'S KICK THE IDEA AROUND: USING A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO TEACH FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

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Introduction

Figurative or non-literal language, intrinsic to everyday communication, is comprised of a "mixed bag" of linguistic phenomena that includes collocations, metaphors, metonymies, and phrasal verbs (Kövecses & Szabó, 1996: 327), as well as other multi-word expressions such as idioms (Boers, 2000a), and even "turns of phrase that have no other apparent linguistic merit than that 'we just say it that way'" (Wray, 2000: 465). While it is unlikely that the average native speaker is aware of just how many figurative expressions have made their way into their everyday interactions, language learners, on the other hand, are likely to be more conscious of their prevalence since they are "confronted with figurative discourse" throughout the learning process (Boers, 2000b: 553). Indeed, figurative language can undoubtedly present obstacles on the path to L2 proficiency.

Traditionally, it was not uncommon for idiomatic expressions to be regarded as 'unteachable'—and hence 'unlearnable'—due to their lack of systematicity and apparently arbitrary and non-logical nature (Glucksberg, 2001; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Szczepaniak & Lew, 2011), or simply sidelined as anomalies (Fraser, 1970, in Wulff, 2012). This difficulty seemingly restricted their use to a minority of advanced speakers and justified the tendency to suppress their usage with most other learners (Littlemore & Low, 2006). Likewise, theorists treated idiomatic expressions as simply a matter of language that randomly paired forms with "special overall meanings" (Kövecses & Szabó, 1996: 328), akin to words, rather than being embedded in any human conceptual system.

However, as a reaction to this approach, Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1980b) argued that much of figurative language is not arbitrary and that it is in fact organised under metaphorical themes. Under Lakoff and Johnson's Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (CTM) (1980a, 1980b), metaphor as a linguistic device is freed from its traditional role of ornamental language employed primarily in literature and poetry (Boers, 2000a, 2000b; Charteris-Black, 2000). They argued that the way we view our world is structured via metaphorical conceptualisations that allow us to express the abstract in tangible terms. These metaphorical conceptualisations are revealed in figurative expressions and are so ingrained in our conceptual makeup (Boers, 2000a) that we actually no longer recognise them as metaphorical, but they underlie our everyday speech. For example, the expressions *cheer up* and *I'm feeling down* instantiate the conceptual metaphors of HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN respectively. Thus, under this approach, certain lexical choices are made because they are "more congruent with habitual human perceptual and cognitive experience" (Boers 2013: 211), consequently counterbalancing the traditional view that idioms are "frozen elements of a language" with arbitrary meanings (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen, 2005: 8). This organisation of figurative language into metaphorical clusters sparked hope amongst foreign language teachers and learners alike, as "it suddenly looked like great chunks of language which had hitherto seemed un-teachable could be made easier to learn after all" (Boers, 2011: 227-228), inspiring a wave of research into the most effective ways of teaching it in the foreign language classroom (Boers & Demecheleer, 1998; Boers, Eyckmans, & Stengers, 2007; Boers & Lindstromberg, 2008; Wray, 2000), as well as in English medium instruction (EMI) (Charteris-Black, 2000; Henderson, 2000; Herrera & White, 2000). By analysing figurative language in terms of metaphorical themes and categorising idioms into their relevant conceptual metaphor (or source domain), it is expected that learners transform this knowledge from arbitrary into motivated, which is ultimately easier to remember as they make sense of the figurative language (Lakoff, 1987).

Against this background, this chapter aims to test a blended metaphor-based cognitive semantic approach to teach figurative expressions in the L2 classroom. It addresses the following overarching research question: Is the cognitive semantic approach helpful in teaching target expressions of different degrees of complexity? More specifically, three different aspects of idiom learning (Boers, 2000b) and the validity of the cognitive training to understand novel expressions are investigated in the following four research questions:

1. Can a cognitive semantic approach facilitate the retention of the *meaning* of figurative language equally across three different levels of language complexity? Are the effects maintained a week after the instruction of the expressions?
2. Can a cognitive semantic approach facilitate the retention of the *form* of figurative language equally across three different levels of language complexity? Are the effects maintained a week after the instruction of the expressions?
3. What is the impact of a cognitive semantic approach on the *production* of figurative language across three different levels of language complexity? Are the effects maintained a week after the instruction of the expressions?
4. Are the students who have received metaphor awareness training able to understand novel figurative expressions better than students who have not received the treatment?

The results of research questions 1 through 4 will be viewed in light of the students' responses in a questionnaire designed to gauge their reactions to a cognitive-based approach to learning figurative language.

The Study

This study consisted of two experiments and a student questionnaire. The first experiment tested the applicability of a cognitive approach to language of varying complexity. It stems from research undertaken in Shaffer (2005), in which three groups of university students were taught the same eight idioms, but with differing approaches: a Conventional Group provided with an idiom-meaning-example worksheet, a Metaphor Group provided with the conceptual metaphor, and an Image Group provided with both the conceptual metaphor and an image. All groups were tested on their recall of the idioms in an immediate and a delayed post-test. Results indicated that the Image Group outperformed the other groups in both retention of the meaning and the precise lexical makeup of the idioms. Shaffer then tested another group, the Non-Conceptual Metaphor Image group, who studied a different set of idioms *not* based on conceptual metaphor, accompanied by their meaning, example sentences, and an image. His findings were consistent in that the group exposed to *both* conceptual metaphor and image outperformed the group that was only exposed to examples and an image. The conclusions drawn propose that the learning of idioms is increased within a blended methodology of conceptual metaphor and imagery.

Nonetheless, Shaffer's (2005) conclusion is limited by the fact that it was only tested with idioms of a similar degree of difficulty. Since the average L2 learner will encounter figurative language of varying complexity, it was convenient to put the blended methodology suggested by Shaffer to the test by modifying the target language difficulty. As regards said idiomatic difficulty, Cieślicka (2015) highlights two principal conditions: semantic similarity with the L1 and transparency, the latter referring to how easy it is to deduce the metaphorical motivation from the idiom's literal interpretation.

The second experiment was designed to observe if the participants could apply their newly acquired metaphorical awareness to novel figurative expressions that had not been previously explained by the teacher, and the results were compared with those of a control group lacking such competence. A questionnaire, which gauged students' reactions to the cognitive approach, was also distributed and the students' answers analysed.

The Participants

The participants for experiment 1 were 20 Spanish L1 students from extra-curricular English classes in Pamplona (Spain), who were working towards the B2 level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages scale and were aged between 13 to 15 years old. They attended the same school, where the principal method of instruction was Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). They had similar levels of exposure to English outside the classroom, as they were taught by the same extra-curricular teacher for 3 hours a week. The teacher in question was also one of the authors of this study. In experiment 2, 19 of the 20 aforementioned participants were compared against a control group, which consisted of 18 learners of ESL, also working towards a B2 proficiency level. These participants mirrored the experimental group in their learning profile and shared the same teacher.

The Method

Prior to the first experiment, a pre-test was administered to confirm that the participants were not familiar with the target phrases. Then, materials were piloted on students of the same proficiency level to ensure they were understandable, and no changes were required. During experiment 1, 18 figurative phrases categorised into three degrees of difficulty (basic/medium/difficult) were taught to the same group of students over 6 weeks, using the blended methodology of conceptual metaphor and imagery suggested by Shaffer (2005). Each group of 6 expressions instantiating a specific metaphoric theme were taught during a 20-minute session, tested

immediately and then again after one week. After this, the students answered a questionnaire that gauged their attitude towards the combined methodology of conceptual metaphor and imagery as a learning tool. They also ranked all 18 expressions in order of difficulty, in order to observe whether their judgements aligned with the three categories.

For the basic group of idioms, care was taken to select phrases that are relatively accessible as regards their ease of association to the given metaphor, in order to satisfy Cieślicka's (2015) definition of transparency. Another aid to idiom learning according to Cieślicka is the existence of an equivalent conceptual counterpart in the L1. Thus, taking Lakoff and Johnson's (1980a) CTM as a basis, we gathered a set of expressions that revolved around the source domain of fish to talk about people and proposed the metaphoric theme PEOPLE ARE FISH, a metaphoric theme that also exists in Spanish. The metaphorical language reveals that the source domain of *fish* can refer to the target domain of *people*, and this particular source-to-target mapping produces expressions such as *to be quite a catch* 'to be a good prospective partner', or *to be packed in like sardines* 'to be in a place so full of people there is no room to move'. Within this conceptual metaphor, the target domain of people can be described as a type of fish (*to be a cold fish* 'to show no emotion'), as acting like a fish (*to drink like a fish* 'to drink a lot of alcohol'), or as having the physical form of a fish (*to be green around the gills* 'to look ill'). The target phrases, referred to as the basic level, are: *to be hooked (on something*); *to be a big fish in a small pond; to be a cold fish; to be quite a catch; a big fish; to drink like a fish.*

The expressions were taught using a cognitive semantic approach, whereby the participants were introduced to CTM (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a). A discussion regarding the source domain of the expressions was carried out to add concreteness and aid retention of meaning and form. The expressions were also accompanied by visual representations that illustrated the source domain, as suggested by Shaffer (2005). Then, an immediate post-test evaluated the participants' retention of *meaning* via a matching exercise, and their retention of *form* via gap fills. In order to add a further dimension and test for *productive* skills, another test inspired by Boers (2000b) was administered, whereby they had 10 minutes to respond to a fictitious question published in an advice column, using as much figurative language as they could. A delayed post-test consisting of the same exercises was administered one week later.

The second set of figurative language in the medium level was selected from a list used in Shaffer's (2005) study and instantiates the metaphor IDEAS ARE BALLS. The expressions included are: *to kick the idea around; to be on the ball; to bounce an idea off someone; to put a spin on it; to start*

the ball rolling; to toss out a suggestion. Given that this conceptual metaphor does not exist in Spanish, any search for an L1 conceptual equivalent in a parasitic processing fashion will not be of much use to the learner (Cieślicka, 2015). Moreover, some individual vocabulary items are more novel for the intermediate learner (such as 'bounce', 'spin' and 'toss'). Therefore, this set was considered to be of moderate difficulty and will be referred to as the 'medium level'. As before, these expressions were also taught under a cognitive approach. Immediate post-tests evaluated the participants' retention of *meaning* and *form*, as well as their *productive* skills by responding to a fictitious friend's text message with as much figurative language as possible. An identical delayed post-test was administered one week later.

The third and final set of idioms categorised as the difficult level was taken from the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID, selected from a list used in Boers (2000b). Although this conceptual metaphor can be found to motivate certain idioms in Spanish, such as *estar a punto de estallar* 'to be about to explode', Soriano (2003) identified various cross-linguistic differences that may obscure the intermediate learner's understanding. These include the lack of certain sub-mappings in Spanish (e.g. the effect of anger on the person is steam), the fact that certain sub-mappings of the conceptual metaphor are more linguistically conventionalised in English (e.g. the effect of anger on the person is boiling), and finally, differences in the degree of linguistic elaboration (e.g. anger as an explosion is more elaborated in English). Furthermore, owing to the higher number of challenging lexical items for intermediate learners (such as 'boiling', 'steamed', 'simmer', 'flip', 'lid', 'fuming'), as well as a higher quantity of phrasal verbs that are notoriously difficult for learners of English (Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003), both the literal and the figurative meanings become even more opaque. The 6 target phrases are: *to be boiling with anger; to be all steamed up; to blow up at someone; to simmer down; to flip your lid; to be fuming.* These expressions were taught according to the same cognitive approach as the previous lessons. Once more, an immediate post-test evaluated the participants' retention of *meaning* and *form*. As for *productive* skills, the participants wrote about a time when they were angry, using as much figurative language as possible. A delayed post-test consisting of the same exercises was administered one week later.

Experiment 2 investigated whether the students who had been exposed to the cognitive semantic approach were more capable of understanding novel figurative language selected from unseen metaphoric themes than students who had not. In order to test this, the experimental group which was made up of the 19 of the 20 students from the first experiment and a control group with 18 new students who had not received any such input on

idiomatic language were given 15 minutes to read a short text adapted from Wright (2012). The text contained 12 figurative expressions instantiating the metaphoric themes MOODS ARE WEATHER (*to come storming in; to breeze in; to feel under the weather; to give a warm welcome; to be a bit wet; to leave a cloud; to brighten up*), and PEOPLE ARE LIQUID (*to flood in; to pour out; to go with the flow; a surge in the crowd; a flow of people*). Neither of these metaphoric themes had been studied by either of the groups, and the students were not told that the expressions belonged to these themes. After the 15 minutes, both groups were required to explain the figurative expressions in their own words in a comprehension test in order to gauge their understanding of the target phrases. The tests were then collected and corrected to give a mark out of ten. The results from this test were compared between the experimental and the control group.

Results

The analysis of the data for experiment 1 (Table 1) shows that the mean scores for the retention of meaning, the retention of form, and accurate production of the figurative phrases decrease at each level of difficulty (maximum mean score: 6). The only test that does not follow this pattern is the test for form in the medium category (3.1 in the immediate post-test, compared with 3.6 in the delayed post-test). If scores are considered vertically, students performed better on the meaning tests than on the form tests, and also performed better on the form tests than on the production tests. Again, the only test that varies from this pattern is the delayed post-test on form at the medium level, which yielded a higher mean score (3.6) than the test on meaning (3.25). Finally, if scores are considered horizontally and across difficulty levels, there are clear differences in student performance that for the most part, support the grouping of the expressions, as the mean scores for the basic level expressions are higher than those of the medium level expressions, which are in turn higher than those of the difficult expressions. The only test that reverses this trend is the meaning test at the difficult level, which yielded higher mean scores (4.65 and 4.25) than the medium level (3.75 and 3.25).

	Basic		**Medium**		**Difficult**	
	Immediate	Delayed	Immediate	Delayed	Immediate	Delayed
Meaning	5.85	5.65	3.75	3.25	4.65	4.25
Form	4.25	4.15	3.1	3.6	2.6	2.4
Production	4.15	3.2	2.1	2	1.85	1.75

Table 1: Mean scores for all tests

The MANOVA conducted aimed to ascertain whether the level of difficulty of the figurative language significantly affected the students' ability to retain the meaning of the expressions, their form, and to produce them successfully at Time 1 (T1) and Time 2 (T2), which corresponds to the first three research questions of the study. In the MANOVA for T1, the factor of difficulty shows a statistically significant Wilks' Lambda value of 0.483 ($p < 0.001$). Therefore, the difficulty of the figurative expressions had a significant effect on how well students remembered them directly after the teaching input, for both meaning and form and in terms of productive skills. Post-hoc tests revealed that although this held true for all three dimensions of memory retention, there were differences between difficulty levels (Table 2).

Test	Difficulty	Compared with	p-value
Meaning	Basic	Medium	0.00
		Difficult	0.013
	Medium	Difficult	0.079
Form	Basic	Medium	0.04
		Difficult	0.002
	Medium	Difficult	0.525
Production	Basic	Medium	0.00
		Difficult	0.00
	Medium	Difficult	0.824

Table 2: MANOVA post-hoc results for T1

In the immediate post-tests (T1), differences in students' ability to retain the meaning of the figurative expressions, to correctly recall their constituent lexical items, and to produce them are statistically significant when we compare across basic and medium, and basic and difficult levels. However, the difference in difficulty is not significant between medium and difficult levels. In other words, it seems that the difference in difficulty between these two groups did not significantly affect the retention of meaning or form, or the production of lexical forms.

In the MANOVA analysis for the delayed post-tests (T2), even though the Wilks' Lambda shows a significant effect of difficulty level ($p < 0.001$), post-hoc tests revealed that some differences had emerged between the different test types after one week had elapsed (Table 3).

Test	Difficulty	Compared with	p-value
Meaning	Basic	Medium	0.00
		Difficult	0.034
	Medium	Difficult	0.169
Form	Basic	Medium	0.492
		Difficult	0.002
	Medium	Difficult	0.041
Production	Basic	Medium	0.064
		Difficult	0.02
	Medium	Difficult	0.881

Table 3: MANOVA post-hoc results for T2

There are statistically significant differences between the basic and difficult levels for students' retention of meaning, of form and accurate production of the figurative language after one week. There are also significant differences between the basic and medium levels for students' retention of meaning, and between the medium and difficult levels for the retention of form. However, there are no differences between the basic and medium levels for form retention and accurate production, nor between the medium and difficult levels for meaning retention and accurate production of the expressions.

Three repeated measures ANOVAs were carried out to find out whether the significant difference that the variations in difficulty level exert is also affected by time for the retention of meaning and form, and production. Three separate tests were conducted which also correspond to the first three research questions. As confirmed by previous MANOVA tests, the difficulty level had an effect on the retention of the meaning of figurative language, the retention of the lexical form, and the students' accurate production of the figurative expressions (in the three cases $p < 0.001$). In contrast, the time factor did not yield a significant p-value, since there is no significant difference in the retention of the meaning of the figurative language over time ($p = 0.105$), retention of form ($p = 0.789$) or production ($p = 0.058$). This is reflected in the interaction factor, as the p-value is not significant (retention of meaning: $p = 0.855$, retention of form $p = 0.464$, and production $p = 0.139$). Therefore, there was no significant interaction effect between the variables of difficulty and time.

However, the p-value for the time effect was a close call for the production tests, and hence suggests that time was almost a significant factor. In order to investigate this further, a t-test was run on production scores at T1 and T2 to find out which difficulty level was producing significant differences over time. Results show that students' ability to accurately produce the basic level figurative phrases significantly reduced over time ($p = 0.012$). This significant p-value therefore accounts for the almost significant effect of time when all three difficulty levels are considered.

It is also useful to observe whether the students' ranking of the 18 expressions from the questionnaire aligned with the basic/medium/difficult categorisation. ANOVA results of the absolute differences (i.e. the numerical difference between the researchers' rating and that of each student) reveal the students' ratings generated a significant difference between the basic and medium level ($p = 0.022$), and the basic and difficult level ($p = 0.036$) of figurative expressions. However, according to their ratings, the students distinguished no significant difference between the medium and difficult levels ($p = 0.982$).

Results for experiment 2 in which the original participants were compared against a control group in their ability to understand 12 novel figurative expressions reveal that although neither group scored particularly high (the mean score was 5.32 and 4.06 for the experimental and the control group, respectively), it is evident that the experimental group performed significantly better than the control group when alpha is set at 0.05 ($p = 0.023$).

Finally, students' responses in the 6-question questionnaire designed to gauge their reactions to the cognitive approach in learning the figurative expressions were found to be very positive. In particular, 85% of the participants enjoyed the mixed methodology (Question 1), answering 'agree' or 'strongly agree' on a Likert scale which ranged from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. When asked to explain this rating some common themes emerged, including the fact that the method was better for learning (11 participants), that it was funny, interesting and imaginative (3 participants), and easy to understand and put in practice (3 participants). Question 2 asked participants if they thought they would be able to remember the expressions in the future, to which 60% responded with 'agree' or 'strongly agree', although a quarter of the participants were not sure of the long-term benefits of the methodology. In line with Question 1, results from Question 3 show that 90% of participants would like to learn more idiomatic expressions using the blended methodology. 90% of participants also agreed that metaphor awareness helps them to learn a new

figurative expression (Question 4), and 100% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the images associated with each figurative phrase helped them to learn it (Question 5). Finally, 70% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that trying to identify the underlying conceptual metaphor will be a future strategy they will use when faced with unknown idioms (Question 6).

Discussion

The first research question to be answered is whether a cognitive semantic approach can facilitate the retention of the *meaning* of figurative language equally across three different levels of language complexity, and over time. When considering mean scores, it is clear that retention was not equal across the different levels of language complexity: the mean scores were higher for the basic level expressions, followed by the difficult level and then the medium level. Indeed, the significant impact of the difficulty level on results was confirmed by the MANOVA test. Although the fact that the participants performed better at remembering the meaning of the difficult expressions than the medium ones seems paradoxical, statistical analysis of student perception of the difficulty of the expressions also revealed that the difference in complexity between these two upper levels was not significant. The same result was also obtained one week after the cognitive teaching input. Nevertheless, as predicted, the blended methodology of the cognitive approach definitely favoured the basic figurative expressions. Boers (2000b) provides three reasons why this may be the case: the relative transparency of the figurative expressions in this group, the intermediate proficiency of the learners, and the linguistic overlap between the L1 (Spanish) and L2 (English). Boers (2000b: 557) speculates that "transfer from L1 to the target language can speed up the learning process", which is possible since the underlying conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE FISH also exists in Spanish, providing expressions such as *ser un pez gordo* 'to be a big fish'.

The impact of the cognitive approach on retention of the meaning of the expressions over time was also studied. We can observe that the mean scores for the meaning tests decreased only slightly one week after the cognitive input. According to the Repeated Measures ANOVA, this slight decrease was not statistically significant. In other words, contrary to what one may expect, participants were able to remember most of the expressions successfully after one week. Although at first glance this appears to be a positive outcome, it must also be mentioned that perhaps one week was not sufficient time to see any significant changes in retention. Given that Boers

(2004: 216) questions the capacity of a "one-off eye-opener" on conceptual metaphor to lead to real long-term gains in retention, it would be insightful to raise the participants' metaphor awareness on several occasions over a longer period of time and test their retention accordingly.

The second research question aimed to establish if a cognitive approach could facilitate the retention of the *form* of figurative language equally across three different levels of language complexity, and over time. Firstly, by considering the mean scores of the form tests, it becomes apparent that participants performed better at remembering the form of the figurative language of the basic level, followed by the medium and then the difficult level. Although the MANOVA test confirmed that difficulty level was indeed a significant factor in participant retention of form in the immediate post-tests, the difference in complexity between the medium and difficult levels was not significant. In contrast, in the delayed post-tests, language complexity was only a factor when comparing the basic and difficult expressions, and medium and difficult expressions. Secondly, the factor of time was also taken into account. The participants behaved as expected with the basic and difficult expressions, that is, there was a slight decrease in mean scores after a week. However, participants actually performed better in the delayed post-tests on form at the medium level than they did in the immediate post-tests. In this case, it is useful to scrutinise the types of mistakes the participants made at each moment in time. At T1, mistakes were mainly due to participants mixing the lexical items of the 6 expressions (e.g. "start rolling the idea around" instead of "start the ball rolling", and "bounce the suggestion" instead of "toss out the suggestion"). On the other hand, at T2, the mistakes displayed a more creative use of the language as completely new items were introduced (e.g. "reject the idea off", "set the idea off", and "put a positive speed"). Therefore, although participants produced more correct answers after a week, a comparison of the mistakes suggests that while at T1 they remembered the individual words but not their precise format, at T2 they had forgotten many of these words and resorted to drawing from their wider vocabulary.

In short, as the factor of time was not significant in the retention of the form of the figurative expressions, it can be assumed that the participants were, in general, able to remember their lexical makeup considerably well over the week period. However, inconsistencies across difficulty levels, coupled with the fact that one week is potentially too short to observe any significant attrition, motivate a need to replicate this study over a longer period of time. In this regard, other studies which have included a longer time lapse between the intervention and post-test have reached ambiguous conclusions with regard to long-term retention of form. For example,

although Beréndi, Csábi and Kövecses (2008) found that after five months the experimental conceptual metaphor group still outperformed the control group in a gap-fill test, a questionnaire revealed that the experimental subjects had mostly forgotten the instruction on conceptual metaphor. They remembered that the expressions had been 'grouped' in some way, but had not used metaphoric themes to help them remember figurative vocabulary.

The third research question aimed to determine the impact of a cognitive semantic approach on the *production* of figurative language across three different levels of language complexity, and over time. A comparison of the mean scores reveals that participant performance when producing the target phrases gradually reduced across the three difficulty levels. It is evident that this skill was the hardest of the three for this particular sample in accordance with Boers (2011). As before, the MANOVA tests revealed that despite language complexity being a significant factor for production overall, in the immediate post-tests this was only true when comparing the expressions from the basic and medium levels, and basic and difficult levels. In contrast, the delayed post-tests showed that this difference in difficulty was only salient between the basic and difficult levels. This can be accounted for by the considerably low scores in the production task at the difficult level. As the cognitive approach has encouraged the learners to undergo a "semantisation" of their vocabulary learning, a demanding cognitive technique that requires breaking the phrase into chunks and analysing them, then it can prove difficult when they are subsequently required to "make the acquired knowledge easily accessible for usage" (Boers, 2011: 252) by reassembling those chunks. In terms of time, this factor almost had a significant effect on the accurate production of the figurative language. This is understandable given that it appears to be the most challenging of the three test types. Intriguingly though, when analysed further with independent t-tests between T1 and T2, it turned out that it was in fact the basic level tests that were producing this result. This paradoxical result could be due to the fact that at the basic level, participants were novices in the field of conceptual metaphor and therefore were not as adept at applying it to their active usage. This would emulate Boers' (2004) hypothesis that recurring activities on metaphor awareness have a beneficial effect in that they foster a metaphorical insight that can be applied to other figurative phrases.

The final research question asks whether the participants who received input under the cognitive approach are more able to understand novel figurative language than a control group that did not receive any treatment. For both groups, mean scores out of ten barely reached over the half-mark, which exemplifies the difficulty in applying metaphor awareness

independently in order to understand novel expressions that have not been explicitly linked to an underlying metaphor by a teacher. This is an essential skill according to Boers (2000b: 564), who reports that "metaphor awareness can only be fruitful in the long term, however, if learners are capable of identifying metaphoric themes and of categorizing idioms independently". Despite this difficulty, results showed that the experimental group performed significantly better than the control group. While the control group only had contextual clues as an aid to understanding, the experimental group had both the context and an increased metaphor awareness to help them figure out the meaning of the figurative language. It is possible that known vocabulary in the surrounding sentences supported participants in activating the source domain, and subsequently deducing the meaning of unknown words. For example, participants could activate the source domain PEOPLE ARE LIQUID with the word *flow*, which might help them to understand the meaning of *flood in* in an adjacent phrase. Indeed, it was often the figurative phrases that were not accompanied by a known word from the same source domain that yielded the lowest scores and hence proved to be the most difficult for the participants to understand. For example, *feeling under the weather* 'feeling ill', which was accompanied by no contextual clues to suggest the conceptual metaphor MOODS ARE WEATHER, was only correctly interpreted by 3 students in the control group and 2 students in the experimental group.

Finally, a reflection on student opinion gathered in the questionnaire can offer insight into the quantitative data obtained from the tests. Given that a large proportion (85%) enjoyed the blended methodology of conceptual metaphor and imagery, and 90% would like to learn more idioms with this technique, it is convenient to observe whether this aligns with their performance on the post-tests. Despite the fact that the results show that time overall was not a significant factor for the retention of meaning, form, nor production, just 60% of the students thought that they would remember the figurative expressions in the future. This reflects the idea that perhaps one week was not long enough to truly test the durability of the blended methodology suggested by Shaffer (2005). In addition, 90% agreed that thinking about the conceptual metaphor helped them to learn idioms, and 100% thought so about the image. While this cognitive stimulation proved useful for retention in experiment 1, with largely positive results, when the cognitive underpinning and visual reinforcements were withdrawn for experiment 2, the students' interpretations of the novel figurative language were not so accurate, even though they did perform better than the control group. This is reflected in question 6 of the questionnaire concerning the future use of conceptual metaphor to understand new figurative expressions,

to which responses were less homogenous with 15% of students responding negatively. This, coupled with the weaker results obtained in the comprehension test, suggests that the blended methodology works best for the learning and remembering of figurative expressions, but has its limits when being applied to unguided interpretation. Therefore, the use of conceptual metaphor under a cognitive approach can help learners to understand the motivations behind figurative expressions when these are provided by the teacher, and when supported by pictorial illustrations they can aid retention, but cannot guarantee that a learner will be able to accurately and independently predict the meaning of a new idiom. Along these lines, Boers (2011: 243) concludes that correct interpretations by the learners cannot be guaranteed since linguistic motivations are more suited to providing "retrospective explanations" than fostering "predictive power".

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to add to previous research on the use of a blended methodology of conceptual metaphor and imagery in the teaching of figurative language to learners of English as a second language based on Shaffer (2005). In particular we asked whether this approach is conditioned by language complexity. To that end, it tested the applicability of the blended methodology on the retention of 18 figurative expressions across three levels of linguistic difficulty from three different conceptual metaphors: basic (PEOPLE ARE FISH), medium (IDEAS ARE BALLS) and difficult (ANGER IS A HOT FLUID). Similar to Shaffer (2005), it tested this retention of meaning and form over a period of one week, but added the dimension of the participants' *production* of the figurative language. In addition, it also elucidated the effects of the blended methodology on the subjects' independent interpretation of novel figurative expressions and gauged student satisfaction with the methodology to learn these expressions.

The results show that this methodology was more successful in facilitating the retention of the meaning and the form, as well as accurate production, of the basic expressions than the medium or difficult ones. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to note that the results revealed a certain overlap in complexity between the expressions categorised into medium and difficult levels. Furthermore, in general, the students performed best at remembering the meaning of the expressions, then remembering the form, and finally producing them in a written task, which supports both the claim that cognitive semantics prioritises meaning over lexical form (Stengers et al., 2016), and the belief that cognitive semantics facilitates recognition

rather than production of idiomatic language (Boers, 2011). It was also revealed that retention was maintained over time, however it is postulated that the relatively short time lapse of one week was not enough for significant attrition to occur. Another positive outcome is that students that had undergone the cognitive treatment were more equipped to independently understand new figurative language in a comprehension test, even if this presented a challenge to them and interpretations were often erroneous. Therefore, while the overall benefits of using a blended methodology of conceptual metaphor and visual representations in the learning of figurative language have been confirmed, this must be taken with caution when applying it to different expressions, different dimensions of learning, and unguided understanding of new figurative expressions.

When reflecting on the theoretical perspectives underpinning the study, certain observations are to be made. Firstly, during the classroom activities the participants engaged in an active discussion about the literal meanings of the key words for each expression. Once they knew the underlying conceptual metaphor, they were required to translate the word into Spanish and to consider how this might give clues to the figurative meaning. The literal meaning and conceptual metaphor were then simultaneously illustrated in a visual representation. The activation of the literal meaning prior to understanding the figurative meaning aligns with Ciéslicka's (2006) L2 idiom comprehension model, as literal salience helped to establish a semantic connection with the conceptual metaphor and is contrary to Gibbs' (1980) Direct Access Model, according to which idioms are stored and accessed directly as whole units. Further research on the validity of one model over the other needs to be carried out. Secondly, Matlock and Heredia (2002) claimed that beginner learners rely heavily on the literal translation, whereas advanced learners are more equipped to jump straight to the figurative meaning. However, given that the participants in this study are not beginners but rather intermediate English learners, it seems that literal translation is useful at the first encounter regardless of proficiency in order to establish the motivation behind the expression and add concreteness, subsequently laying the foundations for a direct figurative interpretation to develop in the future.

The results of this study have some methodological limitations. Firstly, as previously mentioned, the categorisation of the expressions into three levels of difficulty was not completely consistent between the researchers and the participants. Secondly, due to issues of accessibility, the small sample size limits the generalisation of the findings to a wider population. Furthermore, in retrospect, it would have been useful to administer the comprehension test to the same participants before and after the cognitive

instruction, in order to observe if a heightened metaphor awareness assisted the *same* learners in correctly construing the meaning of unexplained figurative expressions from new unidentified conceptual metaphors. Finally, based on Schaffer (2005) the participants were tested only one week after the initial cognitive input. However, it would have been insightful to test them again after one month in order to make the variable of time more robust.

As for the pedagogical implications, the study has revealed that the methodology of accompanying conceptual metaphor with imagery is conditioned by the language complexity and what the learner is expected to remember (i.e. meaning, form, or ability to produce). By disseminating findings to teachers and teaching institutions, this would enable the language teacher to adapt the methodologies to the needs and abilities of the students. Secondly, the language teacher needs to be aware that their judgement of what is a difficult or easy figurative expression to learn may not coincide with their students' perceptions. Lastly, the study supports the call for figurative language to be given a more prominent role in foreign language teaching: not only can the language be systematised and motivated, which ultimately helps learning, but given the degree of student satisfaction with the cognitive approach, it can also give way to dynamic activities that provide learners with a window into how the target language speakers view the world around them.

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CHAPTER TEN

APPLYING COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS TO DESIGNING MATERIAL FOR FIGURATIVE VOCABULARY IN GREEK AS AN L2

IOANNIS GALANTOMOS
& ARGYRO-MARIA SKOURMALLA

Introduction

Since the seminal work *Metaphors we live by* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003), there has been a growing recognition that figurative language is an integral aspect of human communication, an important part of everyday language. One of the most interesting and challenging aspects of human communication is that speakers do not always mean what they say and hence there is the constant need to grasp the meaning of various non-figurative expressions that effortlessly occur in various discourse contexts (Bortfeld, 2017). Hoffman (1983) pointed out that words have more figurative meanings than denotative ones and that these meanings are in frequent use. In the same vein, Cameron and Deignan (2006) and Zanotto, Cameron and Cavalcanti (2008) found that naturally occurring speech abounds in figurative language even though it is not quite certain that speakers are fully aware of its figurative background, especially during real-time oral (and/or written) communication.

The contemporary view of figurative language holds that figurative language is not a marginal feature of everyday language practice, but, based on an extensive body of research (e.g. Gibbs, 1994, 2008, 2017; Kövecses, 2005; Knowles & Moon, 2006), it is pervasive in various discourse contexts and exhibits key functions, description, explanation, exemplification, clarification, summation, agenda management, humor, evaluation and topic change being among them (e.g. Cameron, 2003; Semino, 2008). For example, metaphor (the most well studied figure of speech) serves various

functions, some of which include explanation, textual structuring, ideology, problem solving and humor (Richardt, 2005).

L2 figurative language instruction

Given the ubiquity of figurative language in human language and communication and across various genres, it follows that second language (henceforth L2) figurative language development is also a crucial feature of L2 mastery (Hoang & Boers, 2018). As a matter of fact, nowadays, there is an increasing body of research establishing the beneficial role of figurative language knowledge in an L2 learner's overall communicative competence. L2 figurative competence is highly relevant to L2 learning, teaching and testing from the lowest to the highest L2 proficiency levels, given that figurative language capacity fosters a learner's sociolinguistic, illocutionary, grammatical, discourse and strategic competence (e.g. Littlemore, 2009; Littlemore & Low, 2006a, 2006b; Piquer-Píriz & Alejo-González, 2020). Low (1988) claims that L2 figurative language skills can foster comprehension and processing of previous issues/new ideas, extend thought and attract attention. Additionally, figurative language can help L2 learners express themselves creatively and originally (Gardner, Kircher, Winner, & Perikins, 1975) and can sharp their readiness to engage in a new conversation (Dirven, 1985). In the words of Danesi "the true sign that the learner has developed communicative competence is the ability to metaphorize in the target language" (1986: 9).

Nevertheless, the above ability is still not seen as a core one. The only model of communicative competence that mentions metaphor under sociolinguistic competence is the one developed by Bachman (Littlemore & Low, 2006b). In the same vein, the Common European Framework of References for languages (henceforth CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) also seems to ignore this contemporary understanding of figurative language's role and place in L2 pedagogy (Nacey, 2013). In particular, metaphor appears three times, whereas idioms nine times throughout the CEFR.

Regarding the teaching status of figurative language in the L2 classroom, Dong (2004) argues that figurative language is not taught regularly due to fear of overwhelming learners for the multiple layers of word meanings. Thus, the limited exposure to figurative language affects learners' reading comprehension and writing skills. Memorization based on random L2 figurative items' lists with their corresponding learners' first language equivalents, is the most common teaching practice for learning and using figurative expressions (Nandy, 1994). However, such an approach

does not highlight the close relation between linguistic form, human conceptual system and the encyclopedic knowledge speakers of a certain speech community share (Chen, 2019) and as a consequence short retention may occur (Brown, 2000). Kövecses and Szabó (1996) claim that figurative language is taken to be the most difficult aspect of L2 learning and teaching by both L2 instructors and learners, whereas Littlemore, Chen, Koester and Barnden (2011) found that the participants of their study experienced difficulties with lexical items out of which 41-42% involved metaphor. Littlemore and Low (2006b) assumed that the reasons for not teaching figurative language appropriately lie in its difficulty -in the sense that figurative language is hard to be treated in a clear, rule-governed manner- its association with Literature and Rhetoric and finally in L2 practitioners' intuitions that vocabulary instruction can take place without any particular reference to figurative language and its functions. Nevertheless, the ubiquity of figurative language and its well-established role in L2 instruction do not allow mistreatment of it.

In view of the above, there is a need for reconsidering the role of figurative language in L2 instruction and for adopting teaching approaches that will shed light on the systematicity that pervades figuration. Hence and in the words of Xiao, figurative speech "deserves a more systematic pedagogical treatment" (2016: 810).

Cognitive Science & Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive science explores the mind and its function in relation to processes, such as memory, learning, attention, perception, consciousness and reasoning (Taylor, 2002). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) point out that there are two traditions of Cognitive science, each one presenting different commitments and arguments.

The first generation of Cognitive science evolved in the 1950s and 1960s and built its claims around disembodied and literal thought. Metaphorical language was deemed to be deviant and not an integral aspect of ordinary conventional language (Kövecses, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The second generation of Cognitive science emerged in the 1970s. Its findings reveal the centrality of embodied cognition and its imaginative features. In particular, the body is seen as playing a decisive role in the way humans think and use language. Moreover, the mind is not only literal, but also figurative. Thus, processes, such as metaphor, metonymy and radial categories are not peripheral to language and thought but constitute equal aspects of them (Gibbs, 2006; Kövecses, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

Cognitive Linguistics, which emerged in the early 1970s, opposed from the very beginning to the Chomskyan Generative Grammar (Evans & Green, 2006; Lee, 2001). The fact that Generative Grammar focused on syntax marginalized other aspects which are related to language, such as cultural, anthropological, psychological, historical and social, which were of interest to scholars who studied the relation between language and meaning (Hijazo-Gascón & Llopis-García, 2019). Cognitive Linguistics is not a homogenous approach or a single theory of language, but rather a collection of theories which share common features. Among these are the interrelation of language and human cognition, the notion of embodied mind and the role of metaphor and metonymy in conceptual structure (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007; Hijazo-Gascón & Llopis-García, 2019).

In particular, Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) pointed out that abstract concepts are mainly metaphorical. Moreover, metaphor is conceptual which means that it is not based on similarity and it is used effortlessly in ordinary language practice. In other words, metaphor is a major phenomenon that occurs throughout the whole range of human communication (Cameron & Stelma, 2004; Knowles & Moon, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) and a cognitive process which serves as the basis for the understanding of more abstract concepts in terms of more concrete domains (Grady, 1997, 1999).

The understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain is called *conceptual metaphor* (and is conventionally written in small capital letters). The two conceptual domains that participate in the comprehension of a metaphorical statement are labeled as *target domain* (= the more abstract domain/the domain being described) and *source domain* (= the more concrete domain/the domain in terms of which the target is described). The relationship between the two domains is represented in the scheme "A is B", where "A" is the target domain and "B" the source domain (Evans & Green, 2006). Between these two domains, systematic correspondences are developed, in that elements of the target domain correspond (/are linked to) in a coherent manner to elements of the source domain at the conceptual level. These correspondences are called *mappings*. The particular grouping of a source and a target domain gives rise to *metaphorical linguistic expressions* (which are conventionally written in italics), that is the linguistic manifestations/reflections of a particular conceptual metaphor in everyday/ordinary communication (Evans & Green, 2006; Kövecses, 2002, 2006; Knowles & Moon, 2006).

Accordingly, metonymy is both conceptual (= *conceptual metonymy*) and linguistic (*metonymic linguistic expressions*) (Littlemore, 2009). Conceptual metonymies consist of a *vehicle entity* (= the word or expression used metonymically) and the *target entity* (= the intended meaning or

referent) (Knowles & Moon, 2006). This is represented in the scheme "B for A", where "B" is the vehicle entity, and "A" the target entity (Evans & Green, 2006).

Finally, the cognitive linguistic view of idioms holds that the majority of idioms are motivated, in that their meaning is not arbitrary, but arises from three cognitive mechanisms, namely, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy and *conventional knowledge* (= knowledge shared by the members of language community for a conceptual domain) (Kövecses, 2002) or from a link of the form "*image + knowledge + metaphor*" (Lakoff, 1987). Idioms that are associated with mental images are called *imageable idioms* (Lakoff, 1987). Imageable idioms that exhibit a higher degree of imageability are expected to be more transparent, more "guessable", contrary to the opaque ones. Therefore, transparent imageable idioms will be more easily teachable in an L2 context (Boers & Demecheleer, 2001).

Applied Cognitive Linguistics

Major shifts in language theory inevitably affect teaching practices (MacArthur, 2010). As a matter of fact, the quality and quantity of empirical studies with L2 learners led many researchers to recognize a distinct subfield, *Applied Cognitive Linguistics* (e.g. Bielak, 2011; Niemeier, 2005; Pütz, Niemeier, & Dirven, 2001).

Empirical studies have already provided evidence for the beneficial effect of a cognitive linguistic-based instruction on L2 figurative language learning and retention (e.g. Beréndi, Csábi, & Kövecses, 2008; Boers, 2013; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Velasco Sacristán, 2005). These studies have focused on learning about the origins of figurative language (e.g. Boers, 2001), inferring figurative meanings based on contextual information (e.g. Boers, 2000), figuring out the meaning of imageable idioms (e.g. Boers & Demecheleer, 2001), organizing figurative language around broader figurative themes (e.g. Boers, 2000) and participating in activities regarding cross-linguistic comparisons among L1 figurative expressions and their L2 equivalents (e.g. Deignan, Gabrys, & Solska, 1997).

Building on the above-mentioned findings, Niemeier (2005) suggests that cognitive linguists should make L2 learners aware of the systematic motivation of the meanings of various figurative expressions. In addition, L2 instructors should help learners realize and understand processes, such as categorization and metaphorization. Under this perspective, the major task of language practitioners when applying a cognitive linguistic-driven teaching is to increase the motivation in language behavior and use it

through cognitive processes that are embodied in human experience (Barsalou, 2008; Gibbs, 2006).

Adopting a cognitive linguistic approach to L2 pedagogy, inevitably highlights new concepts, such as *metaphoric, metonymic* and *idiomatic competence* respectively. In particular, metaphoric competence is broadly defined as the ability to understand and produce metaphors (Danesi, 1986, 1992). On the other hand, idiomatic competence refers to ability to identify and comprehend idioms accurately and appropriately in a wide range of contexts and includes both linguistic and pragmatic knowledge (Liontas, 2015), whereas the ability to identify, comprehend and use metonymies in everyday communication is referred to as metonymic competence (Denroche, 2015).

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

The Council of Europe published the CEFR in 2001 in order to provide a systematic description of the various aspects of L2 instruction, assessment and curricula development across its member-states (Council of Europe, 2001). Under this perspective, the CEFR aims at highlighting L2 learners' needs, clarifying and organizing L2 learning goals, guiding the design and implementation of L2 learning materials and activities and providing a basis for the assessment of L2 learning goals (Little, 2006).

With reference to L2 figurative language instruction, the CEFR adopts a rather outdated stance on figurative language since little attention is given to aspects of figurative language, such as metaphors and idioms. In particular, throughout the whole document, metaphor appears three times, whereas idioms appear nine times (the terms *figurative language concept/conceptual knowledge, competence, fluency, mastery* and *metonymy* do not appear at all). Moreover, familiarization with figurative language is suggested to take place mainly at C1 and C2 CEFR levels (Gutiérrez Pérez, 2017). However, Littlemore, Krennmayr, Turner and Turner (2014) suggested that familiarization with figurative language should start at CEFR A2 onwards. Towards this goal, Littlemore, Krennmayr, Turner and Turner (2014) introduced certain figurative language descriptors for each CEFR-based proficiency level.

Learning/Teaching material development

Material development is deemed to be both a practical undertaking and an academic field of study. As a practical undertaking it involves the

production, adaptation and circulation of materials. As an academic field it explores the principles according to which materials are designed, written, implemented and evaluated (Tomlinson, 2012). There are various types of published materials, such as materials for particular age groups, materials for specific purposes, reference materials and materials for exam preparation (Richards, 2015).

Tomlinson (2008) argues that materials for L2 learners at all proficiency levels must provide exposure to authentic texts in the target language and opportunities for meaningful communication, rather than to focus on the teaching of linguistic forms. Authentic material will stimulate interest, highlight aspects of language use, which might otherwise have gone unnoticed, and increase learners' awareness of how the target language encodes vocabulary and concepts and how it is used in everyday language practice to achieve fluency, precision, appropriacy and effect. In addition, materials should include activities that will assist L2 learners in noticing and discovering for themselves discourse features of various communicative contexts. Therefore, materials should provide various communicative opportunities for L2 learners to actually engage in contextualized language experiences, produce meaningful language and gain valuable feedback on the effectiveness and appropriateness of their attempts to become autonomous in the target language. In order for the above beliefs to have a positive impact on L2 learners' experience with the target language, learning materials should be principled, coherent and relevant to L2 learners' actual needs (Tomlinson, 2008).

With reference to L2 figurative language material development, Danesi (1995) introduced the notion of a concept-based material, in the form of a *conceptual syllabus*. In a conceptual syllabus, units may be organized around conceptual domains, such as *love, time, weather, ideas, age* along with grammatical (/formal) and communicative information regarding their status and functions in ordinary language use (Danesi, 1995). Additionally, in a conceptual syllabus, units could be planned around salient and highly productive concepts of the target language (Danesi & Grieve, 2010).

Procedure for designing a cognitive linguistic-based instructional material

What follows is a road map for providing L2 instructors with tangible, standardized principles, steps and procedures which can be used to optimize instructional methods and processes for teaching L2 figurative language.

Background

Cognitive Linguistics is a cognitively demanding approach (Gutiérrez Pérez, 2017). L2 learners are not language specialists. Thus, learners are expected to manifest variable aptitude to the tenets, terminology and teaching tools of a cognitive linguistic-based instruction. For this approach to be beneficial to L2 learners, the advantages should become straightforward from the very beginning (Boers & Lindstromberg, 2006).

Motivation is central to human cognition (Lakoff, 1987) and its main advantage is that it highlights the systematic, coherent and not arbitrary background of various figurative expressions (Boers, 2003).

Given that figurative language is not only linguistically, but also culturally grounded (Pavlenko, 1996), context-sensitive figurative language instruction is expected to enhance cultural consciousness (Liontas, 2015).

At this point it is essential to point out that a cognitive linguistic-driven instruction should be seen as a supporting technique and not as the sole means for L2 vocabulary instruction (Boers, 1999), given that not all concepts are figurative (Danesi, 1992, 2008), many language items can not fall under certain conceptual metaphors and do not give rise to mental images (Boers, 2000). Hence, a language practitioner should rely on a combination of instructional methods that will address both literality and figuration in various discourse contexts.

Given the ubiquity of figurative language in everyday discourse, L2 learners should be exposed to it from early on, that is from CEFR-based A2 proficiency level. The work by Littlemore and her colleagues (2014) can serve as a starting point for the development of more detailed, systematic, principled and coherent figurative language descriptors for each CEFR-based proficiency level.

Practical issues

With reference to more practical issues that are expected to rise when designing a cognitive linguistic-oriented teaching material, it is suggested that figurative language appear in context since contextual information is thought to facilitate sentence comprehension (Peleg, Giora, & Fein, 2004). Context-based figurative language presentation (contrary to the presentation of figurative language in zero-context) enhances understanding and processing (Liontas, 2001). Moreover, the selected texts should be authentic in order to be interesting and increase learners' motivation (Peacock, 1997). It has been proven that authentic material leads to oral, reading and writing

skills development (Allen, Bernhardt, Berry, & Demel, 1988; Berardo, 2006; Miller, 2003).

Second, L2 learners should be explicitly told that metaphor is ubiquitous in ordinary discourse (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). MacLennan (1994) advocates that figurative language instruction will be fruitful only if L2 learners will be explicitly told that metaphor is an integral aspect of everyday communication and thus it cannot be ignored.

Third, L2 learners tend to connect images to figurative language (Gibbs, 1994; Gibbs & O' Brien, 1990). Picture-based idiom presentation has proven a facilitating factor for idiom learning and retrieval (Szczepaniak & Lew, 2011). According to Boers (2001), learning verbal information through mental imagery is expected to facilitate idiom learning and long-term retention. In general, visual and graphic organizers will result in organization and clarity, trigger prior knowledge, analyze concepts, provide opportunities for interaction with key content at a more complex, cognitively demanding level and highlight important aspects of figurative language (Mallette, 2020).

Fourth, Piquer-Píriz (2006, 2008, 2011a, 2011b) argues that for cognitive linguistic-oriented instruction to be successful, L2 learners need to be familiarized with the core senses of polysemous words which are present and of everyday use in any classroom. Barlow & Kemmer (2000) suggest that it is not necessary for a L2 learner to know all the meanings of the words in the target language, but it is rather important to be familiar with general patterns that are applicable to many instances. In other words, if a learner knows the basic/core meaning of an L2 word and is familiar with strategies, such as metaphor and metonymy, then s/he will be able to understand, use and produce the semantic extensions (/figurative meanings) of these words.

Fifth, regarding the issue of figurative language organization, Boers (2000) and Sökmen (1997) point out that organized vocabulary is better learnt than random lists. It has been shown that grouping unknown language items under a larger network will facilitate the retrieval and long-term retention of these items (Baddeley, 1990). Boers (2000) has shown that the lexical organization of figurative language under conceptual frameworks raises learners' metaphor awareness. In general, vocabulary organization that reflects wider mental frameworks can stand as an aid to memory (that is long-term vocabulary retention), since it can strengthen memory representations, foster retrieval and enhance attention skills (Brewer & Nakamura, 1984). Liu (2008) lists a number of criteria according to which figurative language classification can take place. Therefore, figurative language classification can be based on grammatical structure (e.g. phrasal verb, verb plus a noun and so forth) and function (e.g. working as nouns or

verbs), on the motivating concept (e.g. ANGER, LIFE, HAPPINESS), on origin (e.g. from animals, cooking or food), on topic (e.g. difficulty, advice), on activity (e.g. dating, eating), on key-words (e.g. "hand", "water") and finally on semantics (e.g. positive, negative). It is suggested that the figurative language inventory is accompanied by comprehensive information, such as the semantics, the syntactic behavior and the spelling of the listed lexical items. It has been proven that the information provided to an L2 learner during vocabulary training can enhance vocabulary retention and form strong lexical representations (Tseng, Doppelt, & Tokowicz, 2018).

Sixth, a major implication that comes with the notion of conceptual syllabus is that L2 instructors must arrange their figurative language teaching based on the scheme "A is B".

Lastly, research has shown that raising L2 learners' awareness of the origin of figurative language can contribute to their long-term retention and eventually to better vocabulary acquisition (Boers, 2000, 2001; Boers, Eyckmans, & Stengers, 2007). Thus, it will be beneficial for L2 learners to familiarize themselves with patterns of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences and similarities (Boers & Demecheleer, 2001).

Sample activities

Building on the above ideas, sample activities based on Cognitive Linguistics follow. The target language is Modern Greek, and emotions have been selected as the topic of these activities. Although emotions are said to be private (Lazarus, 1999) and culturally dependent experiences that do not provide access to others, many scholars have presented data suggesting that emotions are embodied in universal experience and are found across various, genetically unrelated, languages (Kövecses, 2005). In other words, the universality of emotions' claim is based on universal features of human physiology (Kövecses, 2002). Therefore, emotions exhibit universal attributes (Ekman & Cordaro, 2011; Izard, 1971, 1994; Matsumoto, Keltner, Shiota, Frank, & O' Sullivan, 2008; Tomkins, 1962, 1963).

In the foreign language (henceforth FL) context, there is a growing body of studies manifesting emotions' importance in the learning process (Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, & Perry, 2002) in L2 instruction, in particular (MacIntyre, & Gregersen, 2012; Méndez López, & Peña Aguilar, 2013; Dewaele, 2015). Similarly, in the Curriculum of Greek as an L2 (Αντωνοπούλου, Βογιατζίδου, & Τσαγγαλίδης, 2013) developed and circulated by the Centre for the Greek Language the importance of emotions is stressed as well. As a consequence, emotions' teaching appears as a

separate language function of the communicative goals in each Greek as an L2 proficiency level.

The following activities deliberately do not aim at a particular proficiency level and it is at Greek instructors' discretion to adapt them to the level they believe they are suitable for.

Activity 1

Learners are given the standard dictionary definitions of metaphor, simile and metonymy (with relevant examples) and they are encouraged to comment on them.

[Individual work leading to group work]

The definitions for metaphor follow:

• **Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής** (1998)
(γραμμ.) σχήμα λόγου κατά το οποίο η σημασία μιας λέξης επεκτείνεται αναλογικά και σε άλλες συγγενικές λέξεις, που συμβαίνει να έχουν κάποια μικρή ή μεγάλη ομοιότητα με αυτήν: *Στην έκφραση "κρυστάλλινη λογική" υπάρχει ~*

• **Λεξικό Μπαμπινιώτη** (2002)
ΦΙΛΟΛ. Σχήμα λόγου, κατά το οποίο ένα αντικείμενο ή μια αφηρημένη έννοια δεν εκφράζονται με το αντίστοιχο κυριολεκτικό τυπικό στοιχείο της γλώσσας, αλλά υποδηλώνονται με άλλη λέξη ή φράση με την οποία έχουν ένα ή περισσότερα κοινά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά: *ο χειμώνας της ζωής* (αντί *τα γηρατειά*), *έχει κορμί λαμπάδα* (αντί *ίσιο κορμί*), *κοιμάται με τις κότες* (αντί *κοιμάται νωρίς*), «*στέγνωσε η αγάπη […] σε τρύπιες ψυχές* « (Γ. Σεφέρης)

• **Χρηστικό λεξικό της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας** (2014)
ΓΛΩΣΣ. σχήμα λόγου κατά το οποίο μια λέξη ή φράση χρησιμοποιείται με διαφορετική από την κυριολεκτική της σημασία, σε ορισμένο γλωσσικό περιβάλλον, προκειμένου να καταστεί πιο αισθητό, εκφραστικό το νόημα· βασίζεται σε μια λανθάνουσα αναλογία ή ομοιότητα ανάμεσα στη λέξη που λέγεται και σε αυτή που εννοείται: π.χ. παγερό βλέμμα. ||Νεκρή ~ (: αυτή που μέσω της κατάχρησης έχει χάσει τη μεταφορική της σημασία, π.χ. διαπλεκόμενα συμφέροντα). Βλ. παρομοίωση. ΑΝΤ. κυριολεξία.

Activity 2

Learners should be explicitly told about the notions of *conceptual metaphor* and *conceptual metonymy*. To exemplify the new terminology and the ways they organize figurative vocabulary, learners can be given examples of figurative language related to a particular concept, let's say *happiness* or *time*.

[Group work]

e.g.
Discuss the following sentences:
2.1 Μην σπαταλάς τον χρόνο μου
2.2 Αυτή η εφαρμογή θα σε γλυτώσει από πολύ χρόνο
2.3 Πρέπει να προχωρήσουμε γιατί δεν έχουμε πολύ χρόνο

Activity 3

Learners should be told (through various examples and explicit teaching) that figurative vocabulary learning through the medium of Applied Cognitive Linguistics can be fruitful because a great deal of systematicity, coherence and semantic motivation is present in many figurative language items.

[Group work]

Activity 4

Learners are given various figurative idioms and expressions and are encouraged to find and discuss the mechanisms that contribute to the motivation of these figurative expressions. In the case of figurative idioms, more emphasis should be given on the mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy and less on conventional knowledge

[Group work]

e.g.
Underline the figuratively used words/expressions and discuss the motivation underlying them:
4.1 Πετάει στα σύννεφα
4.2 Έχεις μείνει πολύ πίσω στο διάβασμά σου και πρέπει να επιταχύνεις
4.3 Τα επιχειρήματα που άκουσα δεν είναι πολύ αδύναμα
4.4 Ρίχνουν γέφυρες συνεννόησης προκειμένου να αποφύγουν άσκοπες διενέξεις

Activity 5

Learners are asked to describe the mental images that emerge when they heat a particular figurative word/expression.

[Individual work]

e.g.
Underline the figuratively used words/expressions and discuss the motivation underlying them:
5.1 Ο χωρισμός του τον άδειασε από συναισθήματα
5.2 Με ένα μεταπτυχιακό θα φτιάξεις ένα πολύ πιο ενδιαφέρον προφίλ
5.3 Πρέπει να κάνεις άνοιγμα στον Κώστα για να αποφύγεις κι άλλους καβγάδες
5.4 Η Ελλάδα οικοδομεί γερές συμμαχίες με χώρες της νοτιοανατολικής Μεσογείου

Activity 6

Watch the video and then complete the sentences about Rylie:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=baCiIbAqUms

[Individual work]

6.1 Η Ράιλι νιώθει ότι της κόβονται τα πόδια όταν
_____
6.2 Τα δάκρυα της Ράιλι τρέχουν ποτάμι
όταν_____
6.3 Η Ράιλι είναι τρελή από τη χαρά της
όταν_____
6.4 Η Ράιλι κατακλύζεται από θυμό
όταν_____

Activity 7

Draw each face in order to better represent the emotion described in the short sentence.

[Individual work]

Μου ανεβαίνει το αίμα στο κεφάλι

Μου κόβονται τα πόδια

Activity 8

Make a collage of emotions with the faces drawn in the previous activity. Share it with your classmates.

[Individual work]

Activity 9

Discuss in pairs what words/expressions do you use in your first language in order to express the feelings below?

[Group work]

9.1 Πότε νιώθω θυμωμένος/θυμωμένη; (When do I feel angry?)
9.2 Πότε νιώθω φοβισμένος/φοβισμένη; (When do I feel scared?)
9.3 Πότε νιώθω χαρούμενος/χαρούμενη; (When do I feel happy?)
9.5 Πότε νιώθω λυπημένος/λυπημένη; (When do I feel sad?)

Activity 10

Use your imaginative skills to explain what the two pictures might have in common? Provide examples.

[Group work]

10.1

Βαρύς

Λύπη

10.2

Καταιγίδα

Λύπη

10.3

Κρύο

Αδιαφορία

Activity 11

A friend SMSs you. What would you advise him/her?

[Group work]

Είμαι στο σπίτι και άκουσα έναν δυνατό θόρυβο από το μπαλκόνι, με έχει κυριεύσει ο φόβος και δε ξέρω τι να κάνω!

Τόση ώρα σου λέω τι με απασχολεί αλλά μου φαίνεσαι παγερά αδιάφορος/αδιάφορη!

Σκέφτομαι ότι μου είπε ψέματα και με κατακλύζει ο θυμός!

Activity 12

The text that follows refers to anger management. Complete the sentences with the words in the box:

[Individual work leading to group work]

νιώθετε πεσμένοι/-ες, κλείνετε τα μάτια, να σας φτιάξουν τη διάθεση, ανεβαίνει το αίμα στο κεφάλι, σας ανεβάσει, μας κατακλύζει ο θυμός, γεμάτος/η θυμό ,κυριεύσουν, των εκρήξεων θυμού

Συμβουλές για τη διαχείριση του θυμού

Νευριάζετε εύκολα όταν οδηγείτε το αυτοκίνητό σας ή με συγκεκριμένα άτομα; Μήπως νιώθετε να σας _____ (1) σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις μέσα στην ημέρα; Ο θυμός μπορεί να είναι ένα φυσιολογικό και υγιές συναίσθημα, αλλά είναι σημαντικό να τον αντιμετωπίζουμε με θετικό τρόπο, καθώς ο ανεξέλεγκτος θυμός μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε άσχημα αποτελέσματα, τόσο την υγεία, όσο και τις σχέσεις μας.

Τα κυριότερα συμπτώματα _____ (2) είναι απόρροια της αύξησης της αδρεναλίνης και μπορεί να περιλαμβάνουν αύξηση των παλμών και της αρτηριακής πίεσης, αύξηση του ρυθμού αναπνοής κ.ά.

Είστε έτοιμοι να μάθετε να ελέγχετε τον θυμό σας; Ξεκινήστε με τις παρακάτω 10 συμβουλές διαχείρισης θυμού…

Νο 1: Κάντε ένα διάλειμμα

Το μέτρημα μέχρι το «10» όταν νιώθουμε να _____ (3), δεν αποτελεί μια μέθοδο μόνο για παιδιά. Πριν αντιδράσετε σε μια τεταμένη κατάσταση, αφιερώστε λίγα λεπτά για να αναπνεύσετε βαθιά και μετρήστε μέχρι το 10, καθώς αυτό μπορεί να βοηθήσει στην εκτόνωση του θυμού σας. Εάν είναι απαραίτητο, απομακρυνθείτε για λίγο από το πρόσωπο ή την κατάσταση που σας εξοργίζει, μέχρι τα συναισθήματά σας να υποχωρήσουν.

Νο 2: Μόλις ηρεμήσετε, εκφράστε το θυμό σας

Όταν είστε σίγουροι πως σκέφτεστε καθαρά, εκφράστε την απογοήτευσή σας με σίγουρο και ήρεμο τρόπο. Δηλώστε τον προβληματισμό και τις ανάγκες σας ξεκάθαρα και ειλικρινά, χωρίς να πληγώνετε τους άλλους ή να προσπαθείτε να τους ελέγξετε.

No. 3: Κάντε κάποιου είδους άσκηση
Η φυσική δραστηριότητα μπορεί να προσφέρει μια διέξοδο για τα συναισθήματά σας, ειδικά εάν νιώθετε έντονο θυμό. Βγείτε για ένα γρήγορο περίπατο ή για τρέξιμο, ή περάστε λίγο χρόνο για να κάνετε άλλες αγαπημένες δραστηριότητες. Η φυσική δραστηριότητα διεγείρει διάφορες χημικές ουσίες στον εγκέφαλο που μπορεί να σας βοηθήσουν να είστε πιο χαλαροί και να _____ (4).
No 4: Σκεφτείτε πριν μιλήσετε
Όταν είστε _____ (5) είναι εύκολο να πείτε κάτι που θα μετανιώσετε αργότερα. Αφήστε λίγη ώρα για να σκεφτείτε πριν πείτε οτιδήποτε και επιτρέψτε και στους άλλους να κάνουν το ίδιο.
No 6: Επικεντρωθείτε στο πρόβλημα
Για να αποφευχθεί η κριτική ή η διάθεση επίρριψης ευθυνών -που θα μπορούσε μόνο να αυξήσει την ένταση- επικεντρωθείτε στο τι μπορεί να γίνει για να λυθεί το πρόβλημα. Μην _____ (6) στο πρόβλημα, να μιλάτε και να είστε ξεκάθαροι και συγκεκριμένοι.
No 7: Μην μένετε θυμωμένοι/-ες
Η συγχώρεση είναι ένα ισχυρό «όπλο». Αν επιτρέψετε στο θυμό και σε άλλα αρνητικά συναισθήματα να σας _____ (7), μπορεί να καταλήξετε να _____ (8) και αδικημένοι/-ες, χωρίς να ισχύει πάντα αυτό. Αλλά αν μπορείτε να συγχωρείτε κάποιον που σας εξόργισε, μπορείτε να μαθαίνετε από αυτή την κατάσταση. Δεν είναι ρεαλιστικό να αναμένουμε από τον καθένα να συμπεριφέρεται ακριβώς όπως θέλουμε ανά πάσα στιγμή.
No 8: Χρησιμοποιήστε το χιούμορ
Το να τα δείτε όλα πιο «χαλαρά» μπορεί να βοηθήσει να διώξετε την ένταση και να _____ (9). Μην χρησιμοποιείτε όμως σαρκασμό, καθώς μπορεί να πληγώσει τον άλλο και να κάνει τα πράγματα χειρότερα.
No 9: Αποκτήστε δεξιότητες χαλάρωσης
Όταν βρίσκεστε σε ένταση, προσπαθήστε να χαλαρώσετε με μερικές απλές πρακτικές: κάντε ασκήσεις βαθιάς αναπνοής, φανταστείτε μια χαλαρωτική σκηνή, ή επαναλάβετε μια ήρεμη λέξη ή φράση, όπως «χαλάρωσε».
Μπορείτε επίσης να ακούσετε μουσική ή να κάνετε οτιδήποτε άλλο σας χαλαρώνει.
No 10: Να ξέρετε πότε να ζητήσετε βοήθεια
Το να μάθετε να ελέγχετε το θυμό σας, μπορεί να είναι μια πρόκληση. Εξετάστε το ενδεχόμενο να ζητήσετε βοήθεια από κάποιον ειδικό. Δοκιμάστε συμβουλευτική ή ατομικά μαθήματα διαχείρισης θυμού.
[SOURCE: *https://thesecretrealtruth.blogspot.com/2013/12/10.html*] (with adaptations)

Activity 12

Now you have filled in the blanks, answer the following questions:
12.1 What can anger cause?
12.2 Is anger related to other emotions?
12.3 When do you get angry?
12.4 Is anger management necessary? Elaborate on your answer.

[Group work]

Activity 13

Suppose you are a blogger. Just like the previous text (see Activity 10), write a blog post about happiness and ways to pursue it.

[Individual work leading to group work]

Activity 14

Match the headlines that follow with the appropriate emotion in the box:

[Individual work leading to group work]

χαρά, λύπη, φόβος, αδιαφορία, ανησυχία

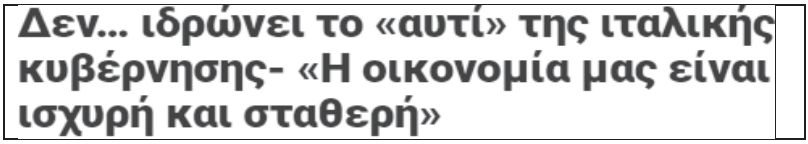
14.1

NEWSIT / ΤΟΠΙΚΑ ΝΕΑ / **Βοιωτία: Γύρισε το κεφάλι του δεξιά και τον "έλουσε κρύος ιδρώτας"...**	

14.2

«Τα δάκρυά μας έτρεχαν ποτάμι»	

14.3



14.4

14.5

Activity 15

Two friends, Mikel and Ahmet talk about their day. Read the dialogue and discuss:
15.1 What emotions do they express?
15.2 What words/expressions helped you identify their emotions?

[Individual work leading to group work]

Μικέλ: Καλησπέρα! Επιτέλους ήρθες, κάθομαι σε αναμμένα κάρβουνα, περιμένω να μου πεις τα νέα από τη δουλειά!
Αχμέτ: Γεια σου Μικέλ, συγγνώμη που άργησα. Θέλεις να καθίσουμε κάπου; Δε μπορώ να πάρω τα πόδια μου.
Μικέλ: Ναι, φυσικά! Πώς ήταν η μέρα σου;
Αχμέτ: Σήμερα ήταν μία δύσκολη μέρα, γεμάτη περιπέτειες. Το πρωί ξύπνησα πολύ ανεβασμένος και πήγα όπως πάντα να πάρω το λεωφορείο από τη στάση. Δυστυχώς όμως θυμήθηκα ότι ξέχασα να πάρω μαζί μου τα εργαλεία που μου είχε ζητήσει ο Λέο. Έπρεπε λοιπόν να γυρίσω σπίτι να τα πάρω. Όταν έφτασα στη δουλειά ο Λέο με περίμενε έτοιμος να εκραγεί. Κατάλαβα αμέσως ότι κάτι είχε συμβεί και του ανέβηκε το αίμα στο κεφάλι. Τότε με έλουσε κρύος ιδρώτας, νόμιζα ότι θα με έδιωχνε.
Μικέλ: Τι έγινε μετά; Τι σου είπε ο Λέο;
Αχμέτ: Τον ρώτησα αν είναι καλά και του ζήτησα συγγνώμη που άργησα. Εκείνος όμως δε με άκουγε. Δεν του καιγόταν καρφί για όσα έλεγα,

φαινόταν ότι είχε τις μαύρες του. Του είπα για τα εργαλεία και αυτό του έφτιαξε τη διάθεση. Του είπα όμως και κάτι ακόμα κατάφερα να τον κάνω να πετάξει από τη χαρά του.
Μικέλ: Μα καλά τι του είπες;

Activity 16

Write the rest of Ahmed and Mikel's conversation.

[Individual work leading to group work]

Activity 17

Choose one of the following sentences and act it out for the class. Your classmates should guess which one you are acting out.

[Individual work leading to group work]

17.1 Πετάω στα σύννεφα
17.2 Είμαι γεμάτος χαρά
17.3 Πήρα την κάτω βόλτα
17.4 Νιώθω πεσμένος σήμερα
17.5 Ο θυμός του χτύπησε κόκκινο
17.6 Από τότε που γνώρισε τη Μαρία είναι στον έβδομο ουρανό

Activity 18

Now you are familiar with figurative language used to describe emotions in Greek, try to categorize all the new figurative words/sentences into broader metaphoric themes (=conceptual metaphors)

[Individual work leading to group work]

Conclusions

To sum up, this chapter highlighted the importance of figurative language in L2 instruction despite the peripheral place attributed to it even within the context of the CEFR. Cognitive Linguistics' tenets have been adopted as the most promising framework for teaching L2 figurative language in a structured and coherent way. Empirical studies with L2 learners have shown that the teaching of figurative language based on conceptual metaphors and

metonymies can accelerate learning of figurative language, contribute to long-term retention and lead to lexical precision. Furthermore, both cognitive linguistic-based instruction and learning material can enhance deep-level understanding of figurative language, stimulate interest, shed light on its systematic background and focus on potential cross linguistic variation. Towards this goal, certain instructional steps, ideas/suggestions and processes have been presented in order to provide an effective and feasible way for teaching figurative language in a FL context. Additionally, activities to practice the teaching of emotions in Greek as an L2 context have been developed.

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