

# Food As a Source Domain of Metaphor in Korean and English\*

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**Choi, Youngju. (2014). Food As a Source Domain of Metaphor in Korean and English.** *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*. 22(4). 121-141. Since Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor has been considered to be conceptual. That is, the metaphor is not restricted to the rhetorics of literature but, as a main cognitive tool, is prevalent in many kinds of conceptualization domains, including ordinary language. This understanding has led to the influx of discoveries of metaphors in everyday speech. These discoveries have focused on how a target concept is conceptualized using various source concepts. Cross-linguistic comparison have also been based on a target concept as in the comparison of ANGER and HAPPINESS metaphors in English and Chinese by Yu (1995). This paper, however, discovers and compares various metaphors related to a source concept, *food*, in Korean and English. It explains how different concepts are metaphorically understood as food concepts in the two languages. The result shows that the two languages share metaphors connecting the 'food' concept with more abstract concepts such as *humans, human temperament, lust, emotion, life, idea, information and knowledge, time, mood*, etc. This commonality is explained by the universal bodily experience of food related concepts such as cooking, eating, tasting, and digesting. However, it also reveals that some of the metaphors are conceptualized differently in Korean and English, depending on which aspect of the source domain is highlighted.

**Key Words:** metaphor, metaphoric conceptualization, food as a source domain

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## 1. Introduction

Since Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live by*, it has been widely accepted that metaphor affects our thinking process as an important cognitive tool. Therefore it is not restricted to use in the rhetoric domain of literature but prevalent in our cognitive system, which is then reflected in our mundane language. This understanding has led to the influx of discoveries on metaphors in everyday speech (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a 1980b, Lakoff 1993, Grady, Taub and Morgan 1996, and Grady 1997, inter alia).

However, the discoveries are mainly of different source domains used for a target concept such as LOVE, LIFE or ANGER. For example, the target concept *love* is understood through various source concepts as shown in LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS A CONTAINER, LOVE IS A PATIENT, LOVE IS MAGIC, LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE, LOVE IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL, LOVE IS A PLANT and so on. There is rarely research focusing on a source concept, if ever. Even rarer are cross-linguistic comparisons of how various target concepts are understood through one source concept. Yu (1995) compares metaphors in English and Chinese but his main concern is comparing metaphors based on the two target concepts *anger* and *happiness*.

To fill the gap, this paper will try to find and compare various metaphors using the source concept 'food' in Korean and English. The food concepts are tightly related to our bodily experiences such as cooking, eating, tasting, and digesting, which are shared by all human beings as essential elements for human survival, but other experiences, such as ingredients of food, preparation of food, and preference of flavor, are distinctive to each culture. Because the experience of 'food' is ubiquitous while at the same time influenced by cultural differences, food-related metaphors offer a good candidate for cross-linguistic examination.

## 2. Conceptual Metaphor

Primary metaphors MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN and KNOWING IS SEEING are observed in the expressions *His income went down* and *His answer*

*was clear*, which are used in everyday conversation. The metaphors arise due to their strong experiential basis. Experiences of pouring water into a cup and of seeing the level rise make it possible to conceptualize the metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN. Similar experiences, such as adding more things on a stack seeing the stack rise higher, tighten the connection between the conceptual domain of quantity and that of verticality. The correspondences in real experiences between MORE and UP and between LESS and DOWN extend to abstract concepts which are not in the realm of real experiences, providing the basis for correspondences in the metaphorical expressions *Prices rose* and *Exports are down*. Similarly, the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING is grounded in everyday experience; most of our experiences reach us visually.

(1) a. MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN

Prices *rose*. His income went *down*. Unemployment is *up*.

Exports are *down*. The number of homeless people is *very high*.

b. KNOWING IS SEEING

I *see* what you are saying. His answer was *clear*.

This paragraph is *murky*.

He is so *blinded* by ambition that he never noticed his limitations.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980a, Lakoff 1993)

Along the same vein, the physical experience of *a journey* serves as a source for understanding the abstract concept *a purposeful life* in the metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In most cases, we have to move to reach a destination and acquire an object in order to achieve a goal. Thus, the final destination is the place where you achieve your goal and your movement to this destination can be construed as a journey in life.

(2) A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY

He got a *head start* in life. He's *without direction* in his life.

I'm where I want to be in life. I'm *at a crossroads* in my life.

He'll *go places* in life. He's never let anyone *get in his way*.

He's *gone through* a lot in life. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a, Lakoff 1993)

The metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY also uses the same *journey* domain as a source for a different target domain, *love*. “The lovers correspond to travelers; The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle; the lovers’ common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey; difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel” (Lakoff 1993: 207).

The two domains share not only linguistic expressions, but inferences drawn from the domain of journey are also shared by the domain of *love*. When two persons are in love with each other, they try to make it go somewhere to reach their life goals which correspond to common destinations in a journey. While pursuing their life goals, they may meet difficulties which correspond to impediments of a journey. Then they will struggle to get over the obstacles. When their struggle works, their love will move again but if they fail, spinning their wheels, their relationship will remain nonfunctional. If each of the two lovers abandon the other, they hit a dead-end street.

### (3) LOVE IS A JOURNEY

Look *how far* we’ve come. It’s been a *long, bumpy road*. We can’t *turn back* now. We’re *at a cross roads*. We’ll just have to go our *separate ways*. The relationship isn’t *going* anywhere. We’re *spinning our wheels*. Our relationship is *off the track*. The marriage is *on the rock*. Our relationship has hit a *dead-end* street. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a, Lakoff 1993)

Cross-linguistic comparison of metaphors related to the concept of food is not unprecedented. Khajeh (2012) compares food metaphors of English with those of Persian, especially focusing on THOUGHT AS FOOD, TEMPERAMENT AS FOOD and LUST AS FOOD. Berrada (2007) also compares food metaphors of Moroccan Arabic with those of Classic Arabic and claims that food-related metaphors, such as IDEAS ARE FOOD and TEMPERAMENT IS FOOD are shared by the two languages.

Ding (2009) demonstrates that English examples related to *bread* reflect dependence of English-users on bread as their staple food as shown in *to earn one’s bread* and *bread and butter* while many Asian cultures heavily depend on rice. Su (2002) compares food-related metaphors in English with those in Chinese, paying attention to the conceptualization of thought as food. Su relates

*ingredients of food, flavor of food, preparation of food and digestion of food with content, quality, production, and comprehension of thought, respectively.*

However, previous research has been conducted with a restricted focus; it has only compared some of food related metaphors in English, which had already been discovered, with those of other cultures. This paper aims for a more thorough understanding of how various concepts are metaphorically conceptualized using food concepts in two languages, Korean and English, mining new metaphors in the *food* domain.

### 3. Korean and English Metaphors Related to *Food* Concepts<sup>1)</sup>

#### 3.1. HUMANS ARE FOOD

Human beings are frequently conceptualized as food. Their surroundings cook and/or eat them with various reasons and in diverse ways. The metaphor A PERSON IS A CONTAINER OF LIQUID which boils up when angry and melts when happy is observed as in (4a,b) and (5a,b). The metaphors BOTHERING IS COOKING ((4c) and (5c)) and BOTHERING/DESTROYING IS EATING ((4d, e) and (5d, e, f)) are similarly found in both cultures. However, the process of bothering people is described by different ways (*pokkki* 'sauteing' vs grilling) due to the cultural variation in the method of cooking. The metaphor CONTROLLING IS COOKING is widely used in Korean, as shown in (4e), (4f), and (4g), but it is hardly observed in English.

- (4) a. ney malul tuluni nay soki **pwukulpwukul kkulhnunta**  
 your words hear my insides boiling.sound boil  
 'What you say makes me boil up'
- b. ney mali nal **nokinunkuna**  
 your words me melt.down  
 'What you say melts me down'

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1) All the English examples in the paper are from the website *google.com*.

- c. na kuman **pokkala**  
me not.any.more fry  
'Do not bother me any more'
- d. nal mos **capa mekese** antalinya?  
me not catch eat be.annoyed  
'Do you really want to bother/hurt me?'
- e. ku salam **kuwe salmkika** elyewe  
the person bake boil difficult  
'It is difficult to persuade the person to do what I want him to do'
- f. onulnaluy kyengceyeyse pinkonun yuksini anila  
today's economy poverty body not  
yenghonul **camsikhanta**  
soul gradually.eat  
'Poverty eats up your soul instead of your body these days'
- g. neyka nalul **ccemccye mekullyeko** hanunkuna  
you me steam eat.intend.to try  
'You want to make me a push-over so you can manipulate me'
- h. ku salam **yolihaki** elyewe?  
the person cook difficult  
'Is it difficult to control the person?'

- (5) a. She's making me **boil up**.  
b. She **melts** me like butter.  
c. Don't play detective. You can't **grill** me, I'm an adult.  
d. What is **eating** him?  
e. The obsession to own a car was **eating up** my brother and his friends.  
f. How long will it be before the frustration **eats at** you?

### 3.2. HUMAN TEMPERAMENT IS (COOKED) FOOD

Human temperament is conceptualized as 'cooked food' in many cultures<sup>2</sup>). The metaphor HUMAN TEMPERAMENT IS COOKED FOOD is observed in both cultures though Korean mainly uses 'salty' and 'pungent' as in (6b) and

2) See Berrada (2007) for the similar examples in Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic.

(6c) while English uses 'sweet', 'sour' and 'saucy', as in (7a), (7b), and (7c). Also, in Korean, people without a salty taste, as in *singewun salam* 'bland people' are construed as those without a strong personality but in English, the expression *bland people* is not used. In both languages, bad temperament is easily connected to a bad or rotten taste, as in (6f) and (7f).

- (6) a. neyka nalul **kanul** **polye** hanunkuna  
 you me taste see try  
 'You are testing waters with me'
- b. ne cengmal **ccata/ hancwusokumita**  
 you really salty/ hancwu.salt  
 'You are such a penny pincher'
- c. nay **maywun** **mas** com polay?  
 my spicy taste little want.to.see  
 'Do you want a piece of me?'
- d. salam oyay ili **singkewe?**  
 person why this.much not.salty  
 'You are bland'
- e. ku inkan **masi kasse /ssekesse**  
 the bastard taste went /rotten  
 'The bastard is crazy and is not who he used to be'
- f. ku yeca **pap masiya**  
 the woman rice.meal taste.be  
 'That woman is disgusting'
- (7) a. You are so **sweet!**  
 b. She is a **sour** old lady.  
 c. She's **saucy**.  
 d. He is an **unsavory** character.  
 e. He is **a bad apple/a rotten egg**.

### 3.3. A SEXUAL PARTNER IS FOOD

The metaphorical conceptualization of 'lust' is closely related to food in both

cultures, as shown in (8) and (9). The metaphors LUST IS APPETITE, HAVING SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS EATING, and A SEXUAL PARTNER IS FOOD are found in many cultures (See also Na (2003), Khajeh (2012), and Emanation (1999) for the similar metaphorical conceptualization of lust in Korean, Persian, and Chagga, respectively), being candidates for universal metaphors.

- (8) a. ku yeca cham **mekumcikhakey** sayngkyessta  
 that woman very be.delicious looked  
 'That woman looked very sexy'
- b. nitul yeca **tta meke** pwasse?  
 you.guys women pluck eat try  
 'Did you guys have sexual intercourse with women?'
- c. mollay hwumche pon yeca mosupey **chimul cilcilhulyessta**  
 secretly steal peep girl's appearance mouth.water drool  
 'Secretly peeping at a girl made me drool'
- d. cangkatulko **yeca masey chwuyhay** salassta  
 after.getting.married woman taste get.drunk lived  
 'After getting married, he stayed intoxicated at the taste of women'

- (9) a. He's **devouring** her from within.  
 b. He gently chews on her bottom lip, lapping and tugging with an **appetite for lust**.  
 c. I wouldn't mind a taste of her.  
 d. Stop **drooling** after her. You never have a chance.  
 e. Check out those **delicious** curves.

### 3.4. WEATHER IS A COOK AND HUMANS ARE FOOD

The metaphors HOT WEATHER IS A COOK and HUMANS ARE FOOD are shared by both cultures. The expressions, *boil* and *steam*, are also shared as in (10a,b) and (11a,b). In Korean, the metaphor HEAT IS FOOD is also used. The combination of *tewuy* 'heat' and *mek-* 'eat' means 'feeling very hot,' as in (10c).

- (10) a. onul nalssika wulilul **salmnunkuna**  
 today weather us boil  
 'It is boiling hot today'
- b. onul **phwukphwuk** **ccinunkuna**  
 today steaming.sound steam  
 'It is steaming hot today'
- c. **tewuy mekessta**  
 heat ate  
 'I feel very hot'
- (11) a. People had gone up to the middle of the Chilean desert and were camping out in **the boiling hot days**.  
 b. The air is **steaming hot**, the sun piercing.

### 3.5. EMOTION IS FOOD

Emotions are treated as food as shown in the metaphor FEELING EMOTIONS IS TASTING/EATING as in (12a, b) and (13c). Emotions can be hidden when swallowed and preserved when they stay in your mouth with the metaphors HIDING EMOTIONS IS SWALLOWING ((12c, d) and (13a, b)) and KEEPING EMOTIONS IS KEEPING FOOD IN ONE'S MOUTH ((12e)).

- (12) a. nansayng cheum **sulpumul maspoassta**  
 after.birth first.time sadness tasted  
 'I felt sad for the first time'
- b. **kep mekese** tomangchyesse  
 fear eat ran.away  
 'I ran away because of fear'
- c. kunun casikul ttenaponayko kasumsokulo **sulpumul samkyessta**  
 he child let.go inside.heart sorrow swallow  
 'He swallowed his sorrow when his child left him'

- d. ku ainun onulto emmaeytayhan  
 the child today.also towards.his.mom  
**kuliwum-ul samkiessta**  
 feeling.of.longing swallowed  
 'The child swallowed his longing for his mom today'
- e. maum katuk **hayngpokul mekumko** cipul nasessta  
 mind full happiness keep.in.the.mouth house left  
 'He left his house with full of happiness'

- (13) a. **Drink your pain<sup>3)</sup> and swallow your sorrow.**  
 b. I had to **swallow my pride** and admit that I was wrong.  
 c. Life is like making tea! **Boil your ego, evaporate your worries, dilute your sorrows, filter your mistakes & get taste of happiness.**  
 (<http://rishikajain.com/2011/04/28/get-taste-of-happiness>)

### 3.6. LIFE IS FOOD

In both cultures, the metaphor LIFE IS FOOD is prevalent and bitterness and sweetness are the main tastes used to understand life experiences.

- (14) a. **cicko pokkko** sanun caymika ettay?  
 stewing frying live fun how  
 'How much are you enjoying your life?'
- b. insayng **ssun mas tan mas** ta poassta  
 life bitter taste sweet taste all saw  
 'I experienced all the bitter and sweet tastes of life'
- c. sal **masi nanta / an nanta**  
 live taste spring.from / not spring.from  
 'Life tastes good/bad'

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3) In English, *pride* is also considered as food to be swallowed, as in (13b). In Korean, however, *pride* is taken as something straight because it has to be folded or bent when given up, as in *caconsimul cepta*, which literally means 'fold one's pride' or *caconsimul kwuphita*, which literally means 'bend one's pride.'

d. silpayuy **ssun** **canul** **masyesta**

failure bitter cup drank

'Someone failed'

- (15) a. Why do people say life is **bittersweet**?  
 b. I drank from the bitter cup of life.  
 c. What do you do when you **lose your appetite** for life?  
 d. My life has **turned sour**.  
 e. Enjoy life **sip by sip** not **gulp by gulp**.  
 f. She had learned to **swallow** life whole rather than merely **nibble** at it  
 edges (Newman 1997: 222)

### 3.7. IDEAS ARE FOOD

Ideas are treated as food in Korean and English<sup>4</sup>). They are *fresh*, if new, *unripe*, if not fully developed, *baked* or *cooked*, if created. Even though two cultures have the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD in common at the generic level, the metaphor NEW IDEAS ARE FRESH FOOD is the only one shared at the specific level. Two prominent differences are observed. First, when you eat an idea, it is forgotten in Korean as in (16c) while it comes into your head in English, as in (17e). It seems that when food is taken, its disappearance is emphasized in Korean, while in English, the fact that food goes inside the body is more important. The second difference is that the preparation of food very often serves as a source for the target concept 'coming up with new ideas' in English as in (17b), (17c), and (17d), but in Korean, it is hardly observed.

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4) The metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD is well observed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The examples are shown in (i).

(i) What he said *left a bad taste in my mouth*. All this paper has in it are *raw facts, half-baked ideas, and warmed-over theories*. There are too many facts here for me to *digest* them all. I just can't *swallow* that claim. That argument *smells fishy*. Let me *stew* over that for a while. Now there's a theory you can really *sink your teeth into*. We need to let that idea *percolate* for a while. That's *food for thought*. He's a *voracious* reader. We don't need *spoon-feed* our students. He *devoured* the book. Let's let that idea *simmer on the back burner* for a while. This is the *meaty* part of the paper. Let that idea *jell* for a while. That idea has been *fermenting* for years. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 46-7)

- (16) a. kuket cham     **sinsenhan**   **sayngkakita**  
           it     very     fresh           idea.be  
           'It is a fresh idea'
- b. **selikun sayngkak**   hampwulo   malhaci   mala  
           unripe idea           recklessly say       not  
           'Do not talk about raw ideas without thinking much'
- c. wuyay cakkwu   **ku sayngkak-ul**   **kka**           **mekci?**  
           why     very.often the thought       open/peel   eat  
           'Why do you forget the idea very often?'
- (17) a. Whether it's a new sensation or **a fresh idea**, every outside stimulus  
           is first converted into electrical signals as it enters the cranium.
- b. We've been busy **cooking up new ideas** for your next meeting or  
           event.
- c. I'm writing, because I know in the back of my brain ideas are  
           **cooking** all the time.
- d. **A half-baked idea** is okay as long as it's in the oven.
- e. What you **feed into your mind** will determine what you manifest in  
           your life.
- f. Our minds are always **hungry for new ideas and insights**.

The metaphors ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE IS EATING FOOD ((18a, b, c) and (19a, b)) and UNDERSTANDING IS DIGESTING ((18d) and (19c)) are similarly used in both cultures.

- (18) a. cengpo   **pyensik**           itaylo     cohunka?  
           information picky.eating   this.way   good  
           'Is it okay to allow this unbalanced intake of information?'
- b. han pwunyauy chaykeyman ppacinun tokse   **phyensik**  
           one area       book.only   fall.into   reading picky.eating  
           wuyay nappunka?  
           why     bad  
           'Why is it bad to be a picky reader?'

- c. ne    nay   mal    ala    **mekkeysse**<sup>5)</sup>?  
 you   my    words   know   eat.possible  
 Can you understand what I am talking about?
- d. haksupnunglyekun   kicon   cisikul   **sohwahanun**   nunglyekita  
 learning.ability    existing   knowledge   digest    ability.be  
 'Learning ability is the ability to digest existing knowledge'

- (19) a. The truth is always hard to **swallow**.  
 b. She is an avid reader and she often sets aside an hour or two each weekend to **devour** a book.  
 c. I am going to teach you how to read and **digest** a book.  
 d. The **appetite** for knowledge--wanting to know things--is very strong in humans.

### 3.8. TIME AND MOOD IS FOOD

Gradual progress towards the peak in terms of time and atmosphere is called ripening in Korean and English, using the metaphor GRADUAL PROGRESS IS RIPENING as in (20a, b) and (21a, b). In (21b), *China* metonymically represents the political atmosphere of China. The metaphor WASTING TIME IS EATING is commonly observed in both cultures as in (20c, d) and (21c).

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5) The expression *mek-* 'eat' means 'hear' in this context because Korean has similar expression as in (i), with the different verb *tut-*, which means 'hear'. Eating represents hearing by the metonymy MOUTH FOR EAR; what you hear is through your ears is understood as what you eat through your mouth. The same metonymy applies to the example in (ii) where the verb *mek-* can be replaced by *tut-*.

- (i) ne    nay   mal    ala    **tutkeysse**?  
 you   my    words   know   hear  
 'Can you understand what I am talking about?'
- (ii) namcatuli   cipanilul   hakoto    **yokul**    **meknun**   iyuka   mwuenkayo?  
 guys           house.chore   do.in.spite.of   swear.words   eat       reason   what  
 'What is the reason guys are blamed even when they do the house chores?'

- (20) a. kumumpamto **ike kapnita**  
 new.year's.eve.night be.ripe go  
 'The night of New year's eve is passing away slowly'
- b. pwunwuykika **mwulu iknunta**  
 mood gradually be.ripe  
 'The mood rises up gradually'
- c. kuke mantultapomyen **sikan** ta **capa mekcyo**  
 it during.making time all catch eat  
 'It will take all your time to make it'
- d. nay **sikan kka mekci** ma  
 my time open eat not  
 'Do not waste my time'
- (21) a. **The time is ripe** for great societal changes.  
 b. **Is China ripe for** a revolution?  
 c. Preparing for lectures **eats up all my time.**

### 3.9. WHAT YOU LIKE IS SWEET FOOD

The metaphor ENTERTAINING THINGS ARE SWEET FOOD is observed both in Korean and English as in (22) through (25). In Korean, *sweet* modifies things that only seem good but aren't so. Examples in (23a) are naturally compatible with negative predicates such as deceiving, tricking, etc; *talcomhan soksakimey caysanul ta nalyessta* 'He blew his entire fortune on temptation-driven investment'. However, English use of the word *sweet* has no such connection with the discrepancy between exterior and interior. Even *sweet nothings* in (25d) have a truly positive meaning. Another difference is that the metaphor WHAT YOU LIKE IS SWEET FOOD is only found in English. For example, concrete things such as *clothing, people, and houses* are all compatible with the taste *sweet* in English, when they are good, as shown in (25b) and (25c). However, in Korean, the taste *sweet* does not go with concrete concepts as shown in (23b).

- (22) taltalhan sosel/ nolay/ yenghwa  
 sweet novel/song/ movie  
 'sweet novel/song/movie' (enjoyable novel/song/movie)
- (23) a. talkhomhan iyaki/ mal/ sayngkak/ kkwum/ soksakim/ yaksok/  
 sangsang/ sinhonyehayng/ yuhok  
 sweet story/words/thought/whispers/dream/promise/imagination/  
 honeymoon/temptation  
 b. \*talkhomhan os/ cip/ ai/ kabang/ salam/ theyipul  
 sweet clothes/ house/ child/ bag/ people/ table
- (24) sweet novel/song/music/melody/movie
- (25) a. **sweet** story/ words/ thought/ dreams/ promise/ imagination/  
 temptation  
 b. **sweet** dress/house/girl/child/bag/people/table.....  
 c. That's so **sweet** of you!  
 d. The old couple whispered **sweet** nothings to each other before  
 falling asleep.

### 3.10. WHAT IS INTERESTED IN IS FOOD

The metaphor TAKING WHAT YOU ARE INTERESTED IN IS BITING OR NIBBLING is used in Korean and English as shown in (26) and (27).

- (26) talkhomhan pwutongsan twuca **yuhok**  
 sweet estate investment temptation  
**tepsek mwulesstaka** nangphaypoassta  
 greedily bite experience.failure  
 'My temptation-driven investment in real estate turned out to be a total failure.'
- (27) Our house was on the market for six months and there wasn't a single **nibble**.

### 3.11. WHAT IS TAKEN IS FOOD

The metaphors TAKING SOMETHING IMMORALLY OR THOUGHTLESSLY IS EATING and PROVIDING SOMETHING BAD IS FEEDING are observed in Korean and English as in (28) and (29). Note that, in Korean, the concept of 'eating' and feeding is related to immorality but in English, it is related to gullability.

- (28) a. aipayduka neysbwuk      sicangmaceto      **camsikhayssta**  
 ipad      netbook      market.also      nibbled  
 'Ipad took the netbook market gradually'
- b. ilponi      yakumyakum      toktolul      **camsikhay**      **kanta**  
 Japan      bit.by.bit      Tok.island      nibble      go  
 'Japan is gradually taking the Tok island'
- c. kuka      **kongkumul/ noymwulul**      **meke**  
 he      public.funds / bribe      eat  
 hoysaeyse      haykotanghayssta  
 company.from      be.fired  
 'He got fired because he embezzled money from his company funds'
- d. mwuncikieykey      **noymwulul**      **mekiessta**  
 to.door.keeper      bribe      fed  
 'We bribed the door keeper'
- e. kueykey      **hanpang**      **mekiessta**  
 to.him      one.blow      fed  
 'I punched him'
- (29) a. He'll **eat up** whatever the broker tells him.  
 b. She **ate up** my compliments.  
 c. He really **eats up** the publicity.  
 d. They kill hundreds of rhinos to **feed** the Asian black market for traditional medicine.

### 3.12. LOVER IS SWEET FOOD (English)

As in (31), various sweet foods are used to call one's lover in English, but in Korean, it is not usual to call a lover a sweet food.

(30) If your boyfriend is not **sweet** to you, does it mean that he doesn't love you?

- (31) a. honey                      b. sweetie                      c. sweetiepie                      d. love muffin  
 e. sugar                      f. cupcake                      g. honeybun                      i. sweetpea  
 j. muffy/muffin                      k. cutey pie.                      l. sugar plum                      m. pudding  
 n. toosieroll

### 3.13. INCOME IS FOOD (Korean)

Earning money is expressed as 'eating' in Korean, as in (32). When your earning is satisfactory, it is expressed as *salty* in Korean, as in (32b), leading to the metaphor SATISFYING IS TASTING SALTY.

- (32) a. namuy                      **ton**                      **mekkika**                      swuypcika                      anhta  
 other's                      money                      eat                      easy                      not  
 'It is not easy to earn money'  
 b. onul                      swuiipi                      **ccapccalhantey**  
 today                      income                      salty  
 'Today, we earned a lot of money'

### 3.14. CARS ON THE ROAD IS FOOD (Korean)

In Korean, traffic jam is called *kyothong cheycung* which means cars on the road are understood as food to be digested. The metaphor MAKING THINGS MOVE IS DIGESTING is exploited here.

- (33) **kyothong cheycungulo**                      yeycengpota                      nucecyessta  
 traffic                      indigestion                      planed.time.than                      became.late  
 'Due to the traffic jam, (I arrived) later than is expected'

### 3.15. Summary

In sum, Korean and English hold a common process of metaphoric conceptualization, using food concepts due to the fact that the bodily

experiences of cooking, eating, tasting, and digesting food are shared. The concept *cooking* is used for understanding the concept *bothering people* in Korean and English. It is because cooking changes ingredients with high heat which is not easily bearable. Cooking is also mapped onto the concept *controlling people* in Korean and *creating ideas* in English because the aspect of manipulating ingredients is focused on in Korean while the aspect of creating food is highlighted in English.

The concept *eating* serves various metaphoric targets, including destroying, wasting time, feeling and hiding emotions, taking and possessing things, acquiring knowledge, and having sexual intercourse in Korean and English. Destroying and wasting time is related to the aspect of the disappearance of food after eating. The concept of *food disappearance* is used for understanding the concepts *time killing* and *destruction of things*. Eating has the aspect of letting the food go inside your body and this aspect can be easily connected to the concepts *feeling and hiding emotions*, *taking and possessing* and *acquiring knowledge*. Finally, sexual desire and happiness are understood as hunger/appetite and satiety, respectively. In English, unlike Korean, lovers are called as various sweet food such as *honey*, *sweetie*, and so on, showing a cultural preference of sweet food. Korean also has its unique metaphor related to eating; the concept *earning money* is related to eating.

The concept of *tasting* is mapped with the concepts *recognizing human temperament*, and *experiencing emotions and life*. Tastes vary and some are pleasant while others are not. The pleasantness is related to how you feel about your experiences with people, life and emotions. Finally the concept of *digesting* is related to *understanding* in both languages as in many other languages. It is because the process of food changing into energy serves for understanding the process of knowledge comprehension, using the primitive metaphor MIND IS BODY. DIGESTING IS UNDERSTANDING because the bodily procedure of food digestion is used for the concept of the cognitive procedure of knowledge understanding. Cars on the road is understood as food to be digested in Korean.

### 3. Conclusion

Comparison of Korean and English food metaphors reveals that most food related metaphors are shared by both languages due to the universal experience of cooking, eating, tasting and digesting. The bodily experiences of the procedures all serve as sources for more abstract concepts such as *humans, human temperament, lust, emotion, life, idea, information and knowledge, time, mood*, etc. in both languages.

However, the comparison also reveals that some metaphors are conceptualized differently in Korean and English, depending on which aspect of the source domain is highlighted. First, the concept of cooking, for example, is used for *human temperament*, in Korean, but the same concept is used for *ideas* in English, as shown in the Korean metaphor CONTROLLING PEOPLE IS COOKING and the English one CREATING IDEAS IS COOKING.

Second, the preference of taste is different in the two languages. Korean is more interested in *salty* as in the metaphor SATISFACTION IS SALTINESS. Also, whether a person is salty or bland tells you his personality. But, *sweet* is the most preferable taste in English, as frequently found in the expressions with the metaphors A LOVER IS SWEET FOOD and WHAT YOU LIKE IS SWEET FOOD.

Finally, there are certain metaphors that have no corresponding or similar metaphors in the other language: Understanding *cars on the road* and *income* through food is only observed in Korean and understanding lovers as various kinds of sweet food is only observed in English.

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