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COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND ITS APPLICATION IN SPANISH/L2 TEACHING: TOWARDS A MORE MEANINGFUL LEARNING OF THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTION

LINGÜÍSTICA COGNITIVA Y SU APLICACIÓN EN LA ENSEÑANZA DE ESPAÑOL/L2: HACIA UN APRENDIZAJE MÁS SIGNIFICATIVO DE LA EXPRESIÓN DE LA EMOCIÓN

Tesis doctoral

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TITULO: *COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND ITS APPLICATION IN SPANISH/L2 TEACHING: TOWARDS A MORE MEANINGFUL LEARNING OF THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTION*

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TÍTULO DE LA TESIS:
Lingüística Cognitiva y su aplicación en la enseñanza de Español/L2: hacia un aprendizaje más significativo de la expresión de la emoción
Cognitive Linguistics and its application in Spanish/L2 teaching: towards a more meaningful learning of the expression of emotion

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INFORME RAZONADO DEL/DE LOS DIRECTOR/ES DE LA TESIS
(se hará mención de la evolución y desarrollo de la tesis, así como de los trabajos y publicaciones derivados de la misma).

Al comienzo del curso académico 2017-18, la doctoranda pidió al Prof. Antonio Barcelona Sánchez, Catedrático de Gramática y Semántica del Inglés de la Universidad de Córdoba ser el Director de la Beca FPU que pensaba solicitar para realizar la presente tesis, a lo cual el citado catedrático accedió, visto el excelente expediente académico de la graduada solicitante, que obtuvo su Beca en un concurso muy competitivo de ámbito nacional con una calificación muy alta. Dado que el profesor Barcelona se tendría previsiblemente que jubilar unas semanas antes de la terminación de la Beca, la Administración impuso el nombramiento de un codirector de la Beca y tesis en la misma universidad de acogida, para lo que el citado profesor propuso a su compañera de Departamento, la Profesora Dra. Doña Olga Blanco Carrión. Asimismo, la solicitud de la Beca contó con el apoyo del Grupo de Investigación de Lingüística Cognitiva de la Universidad de La Rioja dirigido por el Prof. Dr. D. Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Catedrático de dicha Universidad. Posteriormente, a la vista de la entusiasta involucración de la profesora Dra. Dña. Reyes Llopis García en la supervisión directa de la parte experimental y aplicada de la tesis, desarrollada principalmente en su Departamento de la Universidad de Columbia, se decidió por parte de los hasta entonces dos codirectores de la tesis solicitar a las instancias correspondientes la incorporación de esta profesora como tercera codirectora, solicitud que fue debidamente aprobada.

El esqueleto de la tesis que ahora se presenta para su defensa es el proyecto que se presentó para la obtención de esa Beca, y que, como es natural, se ha ido perfeccionando y matizando a lo largo de la elaboración de la tesis. El objetivo de la tesis es aplicar la Lingüística Cognitiva al estudio de varios contrastes léxico-gramaticales, semánticos (especialmente las metáforas y metonimias) y pragmáticos entre el inglés y el español, tanto para aumentar el conocimiento científico sobre estas cuestiones como para, a partir de los contrastes identificados entre ambas lenguas, hacer una detallada propuesta docente para la enseñanza del español a angloparlantes y diseñar un estudio experimental con estudiantes de español como lengua extranjera en la Universidad de Columbia, y estudiar empíricamente la utilidad de esa metodología docente de inspiración cognitivista en la adquisición más efectiva del español como segunda lengua o lengua extranjera (ELE). Ese objetivo se ha cumplido a plena satisfacción de los codirectores firmantes.

La temática de la tesis es variada, pero ha sido tratada con gran rigor científico, tanto en el análisis como en el tratamiento estadístico de los datos. Incluye temas como la expresión de la emoción mediante los verbos de afección, la construcción con verbos sicológicos del español (*psych-verb construction*), las construcciones de cambio de estado y el papel de la metáfora conceptual en ellas, las construcciones con verbos de percepción táctil, especialmente *tocar* y sus extensiones figurativas e idiomáticas, la expresión escrita de la ironía, y la expresión lingüística de las emociones. Las conclusiones generales de la tesis son muy convincentes.

Esta tesis consiste en un compendio de trabajos y publicaciones previas de la doctoranda. Esos trabajos y publicaciones se relacionan en el capítulo 1 de la tesis. Para no alargar innecesariamente este informe con esa misma relación, se remite a ese capítulo para su consulta. Ahí se puede comprobar que dichos trabajos previos constituyen el resto de los capítulos de la tesis, a excepción del capítulo 6 y del 16 (conclusiones). Por ello, y dado que algunos de esos trabajos son de este mismo año, no cabría esperar que se hubieran derivado de la tesis más de uno o dos trabajos. No es este el caso. Los siguientes trabajos derivan de esta tesis y demuestran la productividad de esta investigadora:

Martín-Gascón, B (2022). La expresión de la emoción en Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios. Propuesta didáctica para el aula de ELE. *Signos ELE.* 1-24. https://p3.usal.edu.ar/index.php/ele/article/view/5475/7387

Martín-Gascón, B. (2021). El léxico en el discurso feminista y antifeminista en España y Estados Unidos: un estudio fraseológico y cognitivo sobre "feminista" y "feminazi" en Twitter. Sistemas fraseológicos en contraste: enfoques computacionales y de corpus: computational and corpus approaches, eds. G. Corpas Pastor, M. R. Bautista Zambrana & C. M. Hidalgo Ternero (pp. 71-100). Granada: Editorial Comares.

Martín-Gascón, B. (2020). Las cláusulas 'Experimentador-Objeto': análisis de corpus y propuesta didáctica. Creating doctoral networks Vol. VIII: "The research of the future". UCO Press Editorial: University of Cordoba.

Martín-Gascón, B. (2019). Gramática Operativa: una propuesta innovadora para el aula virtual de español lengua extranjera. Innovación educativa en la sociedad digital, eds. T. Sola-Martínez, M. García-Carmona, A. Fuentes- Cabrera, A. Rodríguez-García & J. López-Belmonte, (pp. 2024-2037). Madrid: Editorial Dykinson.

En prensa:
Martín-Gascón, B. The feeling of loneliness and abandonment in Almodóvar's *The Flower of My Secret*: A didactic unit for the ELE class. *Forum lingüístico*. https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/forum

Martín-Gascón, B. El lenguaje del amor, de la seducción y del engaño en *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios.* Una propuesta didáctica en clase de ELE. *DobleLe. https://revistes.uab.cat/doblele/issue/view/v7*

Por todo ello, se autoriza la presentación de la tesis doctoral.

Córdoba, 02 de mayo de 2022

Firma del/de los director/es

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Abstract

The present dissertation, within the field of Cognitive Linguistics applied to Spanish/L2 teaching, presents a collection of 13 published and under-review papers. Among the motivations that have guided this work is the lack of experimental research within the field of CL and Spanish/L2 instruction that presents empirical evidence of the benefits of bringing these two disciplines together. Based on a prior cognitive and contrastive analysis of frequent constructions (i.e., psych verbs, metaphorical expressions with *ponerse* and *tocar*, and ironic utterances), a series of empirical studies are conducted with Spanish/L2 learners at different proficiency levels, from beginner to advanced. The linguistic constructions under study have several aspects in common. First, they are used to express emotions; second, their acquisition in an instructional setting has been considered a real challenge; and third, their inclusion in the curriculum has been heretofore rather neglected. A wide variety of corpora has been used for the analysis of the target constructions: from textbooks, which are the material to which learners are most directly exposed, to corpora from Sketch Engine, Twitter, and interviews with native speakers, among others. Based on findings and in search for further empirical validation, an innovative CL pedagogy has been designed and further implemented at different levels with a large number of students at a North American university. As a novelty, L2 learner performance has been evaluated via assessment tests that, in coherence with the theoretical approach adopted and in line with its cognitive-based pedagogical application, have been carefully designed. Overall, results from the empirical studies examining the effects of a CL-based methodology for both pedagogical material and assessment test design yield statistically positive effects for the cognitive group in comprehension and production tasks at each proficiency level. These promising findings reveal the productivity of this method, as the learning of the target forms scaffolds and, as a result, learners' communicative, metaphorical, and ironic competences are enhanced. The inclusion of a broader range of psych-verbs at lower levels, of change-of-state and tactile constructions through metaphor awareness, and of verbal ironic cues in the Spanish/L2 curriculum along with their treatment from a CL perspective are advocated. Such an approach should be put into practice in the day-to-day L2 classroom experience and in empirical research looking at the effects of a CL pedagogy. The positive findings in this research highlight the importance of embracing a CL-inspired method for Spanish/L2 teaching and assessing. They also call for a methodological change in the type of assessment. Such transformation requires the learning of Spanish –a language at great expansion– to build from linguistic assumptions from which it is possible to operate. Furthermore, the empirical studies here reported contribute to the small but growing body of literature that researches L2s other than English.

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List of Abbreviations

Articles written in English:

Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL)

British National Corpus (BNC)

Cognitive Group (COG)

Cognitive Linguistics (CL)

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

Conceptual Metaphor (CM)

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (CTM)

Control Group (CON)

Curricular Plan of the Instituto Cervantes (CPIC)

Emotional reaction (ER)

Foreign language (FL)

Graphic Interchange Format (GIF)

Informants (INF)

Information and communication technologies (hereinafter ICT)

Key Word in Context (KWIC)

Language Acquisition Device (LAD)

Lexical-Constructional Model (LCM)

Linguistics Experts (LE)

Metaphor and Metonymy Identification Procedure (MMIP)

Metaphors dictionary (MD)

Native speakers (L1 speakers)

Online Dictionaries (OD)

Phraseological Unit (PU)

Pseudo-Copulative Change-of-State (PCOS)

Second Language (L2)

Spanish as a Foreign Language (ELE in the native language acronym)

Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors (TEM)

Traditional Group (TRAD)

Verbal Irony (VI)

Articles written in Spanish:

Corpus del Español (CE)

Español como Lengua Extranjera (ELE)

Experimentador Objeto (EO)

Experimentador Sujeto (ES)

Gramática Cognitiva (GC)

Gramática Operativa (GO)

Lenguas Extranjeras (LE)

Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las Lenguas (MCERL)

Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes (PCIC)

Tecnologías de la Innovación y de la Comunicación (TIC)

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"Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss nichts von seiner eigenen."

[Goethe, 1833]

"To learn a language is to have one more window from which to look at the world."

[Chinese proverb]

"Language is a collective human creation, reflecting human nature,
how we conceptualize reality, how we relate to one another. And then by
analyzing the various quirks and complexities of language, I think we can
get a window onto what makes us tick."

[Pinker, 2005]

"The fact that grammar is meaningful, not an autonomous formal system, creates the
potential for new and different approaches in teaching and learning it (…) Learning
grammar does not have to be the soulless internalization of arbitrary restrictions."

[Langacker, 2008]

"By understanding, and so being able to explain the usage-based nature of meaning
development (…), language teachers are likely to be in a better position to assist their
students in learning what (…) appear to be unrelated and seemingly arbitrary meanings
associated (with every linguistic form)."

[Tyler, 2012]

"Feelings or emotions are the universal language and are to be honored. They are
the authentic expression of who you are in your deepest place."

[Judith Wright]

"You can't show me a sentence, word, or phoneme that is meaningless; by its
nature, language is packed with meaning and emotion."

[Kenneth Goldsmith]

To my mother

Cuando emprendas tu viaje a Ítaca
pide que el camino sea largo,
lleno de aventuras, lleno de experiencias.
No temas a los lestrigones ni a los cíclopes
ni al colérico Poseidón,
seres tales jamás hallarás en tu camino,
si tu pensar es elevado, si selecta
es la emoción que toca tu espíritu y tu cuerpo.
Ni a los lestrigones ni a los cíclopes
ni al salvaje Poseidón encontrarás,
si no los llevas dentro de tu alma,
si no los yergue tu alma ante ti.
Pide que el camino sea largo.
Que muchas sean las mañanas de verano
en que llegues - ¡con qué placer y alegría! -
a puertos nunca vistos antes.
Detente en los emporios de Fenicia
y hazte con hermosas mercancías,
nácar y coral, ámbar y ébano
y toda suerte de perfumes sensuales,
cuantos más abundantes perfumes sensuales puedas.
Ve a muchas ciudades egipcias
a aprender, a aprender de sus sabios.
Ten siempre a Ítaca en tu mente.
Llegar allí es tu destino.
Mas no apresures nunca el viaje.
Mejor que dure muchos años
y atracar, viejo ya, en la isla,
enriquecido de cuanto ganaste en el camino
sin aguantar a que Ítaca te enriquezca.
Ítaca te brindó tan hermoso viaje.
Sin ella no habrías emprendido el camino.
Pero no tiene ya nada que darte.
Aunque la halles pobre, Ítaca no te ha engañado.
Así, sabio como te has vuelto, con tanta experiencia,
entenderás ya qué significan las Ítacas.

[Konstantino Kavafis]

Chapter 1 [Introduction]

1.1. Cognitive Linguistics: a theoretical field

Explaining how language works and describing languages are not trivial tasks. Accordingly, these have been an attractive and controversial object of study for many scholars since ancient times. Greek philosopher Plato and Aristotle already reflected upon the complex interconnectedness between language, thought, and reality. For Plato, language was not a product of convention; it rather served to discern the nature of things. Plato's 'forms' were meant to embody linguistic meaning and reference. This fundamentally realist theory of meaning was inherited by Aristotle, whose ontology appeared in its relationship with the logos (discourse). According to Aristotle, it was language and its meaning that elucidated the basic structure of reality.

Today, there is a large number of linguistic theories (functionalism, structuralism, generativism, cognitivism…) that share the common objective of understanding what language is. However, they examine it from (occasionally) radically different theoretical and methodological viewpoints. In this thesis, the theoretical perspective adopted is cognitive linguistics (hereinafter CL), a multidisciplinay approach consisting in different models with a common ground with regard to the nature and acquisition of language. CL, as a linguistic, yet interdisciplinary movement, studies language in relation to other facets of cognition, on which language draws. It profits from the insights of neighbouring and overlapping disciplines in cognitive sciences such as psychology, neuroscience, philosophy or cultural anthropology.

The cognitivist paradigm, and more specifically, CL, emerged in the late 1970s and succeeding decades as a reaction to objectivist semantics and the successive versions of generative grammar (see foundational work by Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987; Talmy, 1985, 1988). What was labeled in the late 70's and early 80's as the 'cognitive revolution' allowed researchers to open the doors of knowledge and gain deeper insights into the 'black box' of the mind. Among the major contributions of cognitivism, we can highlight its contributions to the understanding of the mind, thought, and reason. For cognitivists, the mind is inherently embodied, thought is mostly unconscious, and abstract concepts are mostly metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Therefore, reason is perceived as embodied, unconscious, and imaginative to a certain extent, emotionally engaged, and

shaped by human conceptual systems. In this line, CL conceives language as an integral and indivisible part of human cognition and thought. Language and thought are thus embodied and affected by their grounding in experience. For cognitive linguists, language is not an objective representation of reality, but it rather represents perceptions of reality.

CL assembles diverse sub-models and methodologies to study language from the perspective of its relationship with cognition, building on the premise that language is to a certain extent a window into cognition, for linguistic expressions tend to be motivated by the cognitive processes and the underlying conceptual representations. From construction grammar in L1 (Croft, 2001; Goldberg, 1995, 2006) to operative grammar in L2 (Ruiz Campillo, 1998, 2005), going through conceptual theories of metaphor and metonymy (Barcelona 2000; Kövecses, 1986; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Panther & Radden, 1999), and unified accounts of verbal irony (Ruiz de Mendoza & Lozano Palacios, 2019b), these models within CL are based on a series of basic underpinning principles, their backbone. These epistemological bases or fundamental tenets are linguistic non-modularism, the blueprint view of linguistic meaning and the usage-based view of language (Barcelona & Valenzuela, 2011; Bybee, 2008; Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007; Goldberg, 2006; Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Cadierno, 2019; Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012; Johnson, 1987; Kemmer and Barlow, 2000; Langacker, 1987; Tomasello, 2005).

The first one is in relation to the cognitivist view of language as a product of other general cognitive abilities (e.g., attention, perception, categorization, conceptualization, reasoning, memory, etc.,) rather than of a special purpose (Language Acquisition Device – LAD), as posited by Chomsky (1965, and subsequent work). Learning a language, as learning about other aspects of the world, involves focusing the speaker's attention on the surroundings, remembering episodes, categorizing experience, and determining patterns from stimuli, among others (Ellis, 2002, 2006). The CL perspective, based on the assumption that our interpretation of how the linguistic system functions –its underlying structure and how we acquire it– is to be understood in terms of the aforesaid cognitive processes, therefore abandons the idea of the modularity of the mind and rejects any unitarian cognitive enterprise that claims that language acquisition is possible thanks to an autonomous LAD containing universally valid principles for languages. In turn, CL conceives language as a reflection of the interaction of psychological, social, cultural, and communicative considerations.

This holistic conception in which language interacts with other cognitive capacities (Langacker, 1999) can be portrayed in the way this approach addresses the different linguistic levels. For CL theorists, morphology, lexicon, semantics, syntax and pragmatics are a single continuum of symbolic structures whose representation is conceptual, and prominence is assigned to semantic and pragmatic meaning over syntactic patterns. CL eschews the imposition of problematic dichotomies as, e.g., lexicon versus grammar, and seeks a unified account of linguistic structure. The semantics of lexical units in isolation cannot be analyzed nor understood unless the peripheral syntactic and pragmatic elements that surround them are considered. In the same vein, syntax and pragmatics cannot be separated from semantics, for different syntactic combinations create or reflect diverse conceptualizations. That is, the relation between semantics and syntax is a two-way direct one and linguistic forms are motivated by communicative intention. It can be deduced from this that CL holds that the form-meaning duality plays a central role in building a language.

Regarding the second principle, which refers to linguistic symbology, embodiment and motivation, Barcelona and Valenzuela (2011) highlight the role of human experience and interaction with the world (basic bodily or physical experience and social or cultural experience) and the idea that linguistic forms do not have inherent meaning in themselves but are rather motivated by function. This view is in conflict with the view of the linguistic sign as mainly arbitrary, that is, it opposes the Saussurean structuralist paradigm so prevalent in the 20th century. It is contended that meaning resides in the mind and, therefore, linguistic forms only show a limited blueprint of our conceptual structures. Literal and figurative language, as well as thought, are no longer seen as arbitrary and unmotivated, but as symbolic, since they arise from the biological nature of our bodies and are based on our physical, social, and cultural embodied interaction with the world (Johnson, 1987). Through language, our body and mind are construed as one single entity (Littlemore, 2009). From one embodied mind to another, language is used to structure and communicate information and experience, and as such, language learning implies determining structure from usage. Cadierno and Robinson (2009) explain this process as "learning from specific usage events the particular (…) set of constructions that are conventionalized in a given speech community" (p. 246). Communication, on the other hand, is no longer viewed as the exact replication of the speaker's conceptual structures in the addressee's mind; it is rather seen as a process whereby the input provided by the

speaker is interpreted by the addressee on the basis of the latter's own conceptual structures and encyclopedic knowledge (Reddy, 1993).

This idea is in line with the cognitivist assumption of language as being usage-based, which alludes to the overarching principle that knowledge of a language is based on the accumulated knowledge of actual usage and generalizations made on frequent usage events (Bybee, 2008; Givón, 1995; Goldberg, 2006; Ibbotson, 2013; Langacker, 1987; Tomasello, 2005). A usage-based conception of language defends, in agreement with the CL paradigm, that the complexities of language emerge not as a consequence of a language-specific instinct but as a result of the interaction of cognition and use. Thus, departing from generativist and structural traditions, which support that language is a synchronic system that is autonomous from the cognitive and social matrix of linguistic use, for usage-based theories language constitutes a dynamic, emerging and adaptative system. The usage-based position is closely allied with the above-mentioned CL view of linguistic levels as part of a single continuum of meaningful symbolic structures used for the purpose of relevant communicative goals. Lexical items, idioms, and syntactic schemas, among others, are all treated as parts along a continuum of specificity (Fillmore et al., 1988; Langacker, 1987), which can be seen as variations of an underlying productive schema. A usage-based conception of language also implies that any theoretical hypothesis or statement must be empirically validated through real data from speakers by using different methodological instruments (e.g., linguistic corpora, experiments, etc.).

This brief overview exemplifies the complex, yet dynamic nature of CL as a theory. Works in English by Croft and Cruse (2004), Evans and Green (2006a), Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2006), and Ungerer and Schmid (2013), or those in Spanish by Cuenca and Hilferty, 1999; Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Valenzuela, 2012; and Inchaurralde and Vázquez, 1998, present introductions into the field of CL. The remainder of this introductory chapter focuses on the application of CL concepts to second language (L2) teaching, more specifically in Spanish/L2 and presents a proposal that bridges both fields. In what follows, further detail about the applied field of Spanish/L2 teaching is provided by highlighting the intricateness and the aspects to be considered when teaching an L2 in an instructional environment. The great expansion of the Spanish language in the world, and accordingly, the increased interest for Spanish theoretical and applied research will be addressed (1.2.). Section 1.3. offers a brief overview of research conducted in the field of L2 pedagogy within the CL paradigm and shows the wealth of English/L2 studies as

compared to those on Spanish/L2. Potential reasons for this imbalance are discussed and the need for more experimental research is advocated. An empirical challenge for research in applied CL with regard to the design of assessment tests is presented in section 1.3.1. Section 1.4. uses the CL tenets introduced in this section (1.1.) and presents studies incorporating these principles in the teaching of English and Spanish as L2, which the different papers included in this thesis deal with. To conclude this section, a few beneficial examples of CL-informed practices are outlined. In light of what has been presented in the aforementioned sections, section 1.5. offers the thesis proposal for bringing together CL and Spanish/L2 and sets the main goals as well as the steps followed to achieve them. Each of the 13 studies included in this thesis (1.5.1.-1.5.13) are briefly presented and the common ground and general harmony that vertebrate all of them is established. Finally, section 1.6. concludes with some final remarks and clarifications with regard to terminology and format throughout the papers.

1.2. Spanish/L2 teaching: an applied field

If examining how the linguistic system works is a daunting mission, explaining how a language should be taught is equally intricate, let alone an L2 in an instructional setting where authentic input is rather scarce. In teaching a language, numerous factors must be considered, for they can play a key role in the meaningful assimilation and retention of aspects of that language. For instance, adequate descriptions informed by a linguistic theory and by empirical and applied research –conducted by both linguists and language instructors– is an essential step prior to their didactic application into the L2 classroom. Paramount as well is to apply certain criteria to choosing the linguistic content, the methodological techniques and the procedures that aim to not only foster learners' communicative skills (production and comprehension) –along with the intercultural, personal, and social competences– but also to favor the assessment of the learning process.

In this regard, research in the field of applied Spanish/L2 is experiencing tremendous growth, which is evidenced by the increasing number of didactic materials, research projects, doctoral dissertations, journals, collective works and handbooks dedicated to offering innovative research and methods in the past two decades (see Cadierno et al., 2019, pp. 2-3 for a comprehensive list of references; to name but a few: Geeslin, 2018; Muñoz-Basols et al., 2014; Muñoz-Basols et al., 2019; Sánchez Lobato & Santos Gargallo, 2004).

This growing interest in Spanish/L2 in didactic materials as well as in theoretical and applied research is consistent with the rising amount of native (L1) and L2 speakers of Spanish in the world. According to the most recent annual *El español en el mundo* (Cervantes Institute, 2021), published each October for the past eleven years, the number of potential Spanish users amounts to 591 million, six million more than the preceding year. As reported by this institution, Spanish is the second most spoken language by L1 speakers (after Mandarin Chinese), with 493 million speakers, and the third most studied language, with over 24 million L2 speakers (more specifically 24,069,206). Spanish is therefore becoming one of the most demanded languages, and consequently, in today's global world the importance of this emerging language cannot be denied. For that reason, the need for effective teaching and, consequently learning of Spanish/L2 is increasing exponentially.

As derived from this section and from the previous one, both CL and research on Spanish/L2 are experiencing a great expansion and a growing interest. Therefore, the next purpose of this dissertation is to question whether these two fields can benefit each other.

1.3. CL applied to L2 teaching: a brief overview

The last few years have seen a proliferation of studies in the field of L2 pedagogy highlighting the potential benefits of a CL approach in the teaching and learning of an L2. The prominence of English, the *lingua franca,* in most spheres of life (from science to economics, culture or education) has made it acquire a high position in comparison to other languages. As a result, English/L2 has been the primary object of study for scholars working within the CL paradigm. Pioneering investigations of an exploratory nature in the 90s examined the applications of CL in the teaching of English/L2, focusing on highly polysemous linguistic expressions, e.g., phrasal verbs and prepositions (Deignan, Gabrýs & Solska, 1997; Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Lazar, 1996; Lindstromberg, 1996; MacLennan, 1994; Ponterotto, 1994). These authors, among others, argued that if their proposals for complex expressions were fruitful, then these could extend to any other linguistic form. The first decade of the present century marked a major turning point with the publication of collective volumes by Pütz et al. (2001a, 2001b), which examined the use of CL theory in teaching the English tense system, idioms, metaphors, or the role of prototypes, among others. These were gradually followed by a proliferation of studies combining theoretical and empirical monographs and studies exploring the implications of CL tenets in English/L2 teaching (Bielak & Pawlak, 2011, 2013; Boers &

Lindstromberg, 2008; De Knop & De Rycker, 2008; De Knop et al., 2010; Holme 2009; Lazar, 2003; Littlemore & Juchem-Grundmann 2010; Littlemore & Low 2006b; Low et al., 2010; MacArthur et al., 2012; Niemeier, 2008; Niemeier & Reif, 2008; Piquer-Píriz & Alejo-González, 2020; Rudzca-Ostyn, 2003; Zanotto et al., 2008) and learning process (Alejo, 2010; Boers, 2000, 2004; Boers et al., 2009; Condon, 2008; Dirven, 2001; Doiz & Elizari, 2013; MacArthur & Littlemore, 2008; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Skoufaki, 2008; Verspoor & Lowie, 2003), or in both fields (Achard & Niemeier, 2004; Cadierno & Eskildsen, 2015; Ellis & Cadierno, 2009; Littlemore 2009; Robinson & Ellis, 2008; Tyler 2012). These works have been of great relevance to gain more insights into the interconnection between CL and the teaching-learning process. Yet, as Hijazo-Gascón and Llopis-García (2019) posit in the introduction to their special issue, more attention to other L2s is both needed and crucial for scholars who work on these languages and their instruction, as well as for validation and representability of the field in general.

In this regard, despite its growing interest, most recent and less numerous have been the studies focusing on the acquisition and teaching of Spanish/L2. Cadierno and Hijazo-Gascón (2013) already highlighted the scarce and incipient research conducted in this field nearly ten years ago. More recently, in the introduction to their collective volume, Cadierno et al. (2019) continue to advocate for the necessity of more studies where CL and Spanish/L2 join forces. Piquer-Píriz and Alejo-González (2018) also underline this caveat in CL research, and Tyler and Huang (2018) call for the inclusion of different L2s to demonstrate the suitability of the CL approach for learners with various L1s. One of the reasons for this lack of dialogue might have been the gap in collaboration between linguists and language instructors. Suffice it here to mention Achard's (2004) perspective with regard to linguistics and education. The author insists that there has been a persistent disagreement between instructors and linguists. On the one hand, teachers do not always apply what L2 teaching and acquisition theories dictate, and many theoreticians, on the other, have never taught a real class, and thus ignore what teaching an L2 language inside the four walls of the classroom implies. In this line, Vygotski (1986) had already illustrated this point by claiming that practical applications without a well-grounded theoretical basis were fruitless. Conversely, Langacker (2008) states that "unless they are themselves experienced language teachers, the advice of linguists on language pedagogy is likely to be of no more practical value than the advice of theoretical physicists on how to teach pole vaulting" (p.7). Llopis-García (2016) adds on this theory versus real-life

context issue when she highlights the need of a "mutually informative" relationship between linguists and instructors (p.30).

This lack of collaboration is in line with yet another factor that affects the proliferation of empirical studies that apply CL concepts in L2s that are different from English. Firstly, most current Spanish/L2 textbooks in the market still offer a notional-functional pedagogical approach to the teaching of grammar and lexis in their presentation of content, both still largely understood as foreign objects of descriptive rules and lists of concepts (Llopis-García & Hijazo-Gascón, 2019, Martín-Gascón, papers 1, 2 this thesis). Although new professional development programs and masters on innovative teaching approaches based on linguistic theories are gaining ground, teaching professionals are mostly (and directly) exposed to textbooks that do not feature an approach that treats language as embodied, symbolic, and usage-based. Secondly, as Piquer-Píriz (cf. Llopis-García, 2021) emphasizes, the CL approach demands for specific teacher training, which, albeit progressively taking off, is not included in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (*CEFR*) nor in the inventory of the *Curricular Plan of Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC* in the native language acronym). Thirdly, since CL is a theory-intensive approach, having a deep understanding of this paradigm requires a great commitment and buy-in, which might lead, as a result, to a more limited accessibility and less receptiveness on the side of L2 instructors (Dolgova & Tyler, 2019, p. 961). Last but not least, the lack of experimental research rather than exploratory and qualitative studies, or the still too small amount of quantitative research, are indicative that there still remain a long way before achieving effective collaboration between these two fields. An additional problem lies in the assessment typology, i.e., assessment tools remain unchanged, which favors traditional instruction over cognitive-based pedagogies that veer from typical tests (Llopis-García, 2021, Martín-Gascón, papers 6, 8, 11 this thesis; Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio, paper 3 this thesis),

Among the studies analyzing the positive outcomes of applying theoretical concepts from CL to Spanish/L2, the main contributions have mainly focused on the acquisition of the language (e.g., Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006; Cadierno et al., 2016; Ibarretxe-Antuñano et al. 2016). While some scholars have made descriptive proposals based on the cognitive model (e.g., Castañeda Castro & Ortega Olivares, 2019; Delbecque, 1996; Cuenca, 2010; Maldonado, 1999, 2000, 2019), others have explored the didactic gains inspired in CL assumptions (Acquaroni Muñoz, 2008a; Hijazo-Gascón, 2011; Lantolf & Bobrova, 2014). With regard to research bringing together the field of CL and that of Spanish/L2

teaching, authors such as Alonso Raya et al. 2011, Castañeda Castro (2004, 2006, 2012, 2014), Castañeda Castro and Melguizo Moreno (2006), Llopis-García (2011a, 2011b, 2015, 2016), or Maldonado (2008), among others, have contributed to gaining more insights into this natural cohabitation. The area that has received the most attention in both the learning and pedagogical fronts has been cognitive grammar, with Langackerian concepts (e.g., categorizations, perspective, profiling) used to enhance grammatical explanations (see Castañeda Castro, 2012 and Castañeda Castro & Alhmoud, 2014 for a broad review of cognitive grammar terms for advanced levels of Spanish/L2).

Recent experimental research has examined the impact of pedagogical interventions based on cognitive principles in the acquisition of different linguistic phenomena in the Spanish language and has shown the effectiveness of a CL-based methodology. Empirical applications to Spanish/L2 have been approached from a variety of CL areas in the latest collective volumes by Llopis-García and Hijazo-Gascón (2019) and Ibarretxe-Antuñano et al. (2019): from polysemy to motion event typology or cognitive grammar, to construction grammar and discourse. Albeit scarce, empirical studies like the one conducted by Llopis-García (2009, 2019), in which the author explores the pedagogical benefits of combining a CL-informed pedagogy with a focus-on-form instruction have proven to show the systematic and pedagogically productive symbiosis of both approaches, this being in line with previous studies like those by Bielak and Pawlak (2013) or Cadierno (2008). More specifically, Llopis-García's study focuses on the teaching of mood selection in relative, temporal, and concessive clauses. According to her findings, German learners of Spanish/L2 (A2/B1 level) who received a cognitive-based and focus-on-form instruction were able to both interpret and produce mood selection well beyond the mood-based contents of their level, showing increasing learning gains even as the difficulty and complexity of the target forms increased as well.

Gómez-Vicente (2019a) studies the expression of four emotions (anger, happiness, sadness, and self-esteem) in Spanish/L2 by French native speakers (B1 and B2 levels) based on a written corpus of Spanish and French narratives. The author analyzes different aspects, i.e., the type of construction, the grammatical categories used to convey emotions, the type of verb employed according to a dynamicity criterion, and the metaphorical resources used to express emotion. Results showed that narratives in Spanish were less dynamic (i.e., higher number of adjectives and middle voice constructions, lower number of dynamic verbs and transitive constructions) than those by the Spanish native speakers in the control group. Gómez-Vicente appeals to difficulties

and strategies used by speakers when conveying emotional events in an L2. In another recent experimental study, Colasacco (2019) applies a cognitive approach –based on cognitive grammar and processing instruction– to the teaching of deictic motion verbs (*ir, venir, llevar, traer*) to German and Italian learners of Spanish/L2 (B1 level). Her findings showed that students having received a cognitive instruction exhibited better performance in the use of the target forms and established more accurate form-meaning connections than students who were exposed to a traditional instruction.

Despite the growing interest for joining forces between CL and Spanish/L2 instruction, there is still a long way to go until CL reaches textbooks and steady classroom practice. This, along with the lack of CL-informed pedagogical materials and experimental studies that present empirical evidence of the benefits of bringing together these two fields, has been one of the motivations that has guided this thesis. It is, therefore, an outstanding task to reconcile both fields so that the learning of Spanish/L2 builds from linguistic assumptions from which it is possible to operate and teach this language. The way to achieve this is by combining a theoretical and practical orientation that serves as a basis for further empirical studies combining CL and the teaching of Spanish/L2. Consequently, this type of research can help Spanish instructors integrate cognitive assumptions into the teaching of this language. Yet, a prior and very important step before the pedagogical application is the design of well-founded material and data collection and assessment tools. This thesis aims to contribute to the existing literature and provide a more comprehensive picture of L2 teaching and learning research beyond English as the language object of study. So far, the dialogue between CL and L2 teaching is promising and worth exploring, yet, as Hijazo-Gascón and Llopis-García (2019) stress, "with yet more exciting findings to come" (p. 7).

1.3.1. The CL applied challenge: well-founded assessment tools

As highlighted at the end of section 1.3., a key step prior to pedagogical intervention is the design not only of theoretical materials, but also of coherent assessment tests to evaluate students' learning gains. Although the number of empirical studies on the productivity of CL approaches to L2 teaching is growing, papers that finally see the light as publications are only a fraction of the work presented at conferences. As argued in Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio (paper 3 this thesis) and as contended by Alonso-Aparicio and Llopis-García (2019) and Llopis-García (2021, 2022), one of the main reasons might be that their findings do not match the hypotheses posed in favor of

the superiority of CL approaches over traditional ones. Yet, this does not align with the literature on L2 pedagogy (Castañeda Castro, 2014a; Ibarretxe-Antuñano et al., 2019) and clashes with L2 instructors' experience (Llopis-García, 2022). This latter fact explains that a key factor in preventing statistically significant results for the cognitive approach is the design of assessment tests that only measure learners' performance via traditional tasks for correct-vs-incorrect options (e.g., grammaticality judgements, true or false, fill in the blanks).

Traditional tests are the constant companions of students in regular classroom evaluation. Cognitive-based methods for assessing, however, include embodiment, saliency of communicative intent, semantic motivation, and form-meaning pairings, among others, which departs from the more arbitrary and automatic answers of traditional testing. Assessing the effects of a novel cognitive-based instruction with traditional methods therefore puts "cognitive student groups" at a great disadvantage. In this uneven scenario, when no statistical differences between the traditional and cognitive groups are reported in CL experimental studies, this should not be interpreted as a failure for the cognitive-based instruction, but rather as a remarkable success of students in the cognitive condition (Llopis-García, 2021). To address this caveat, the empirical studies presented in this thesis that compare the effects of cognitive and traditional approaches (Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio, paper 3; Martín-Gascón, paper 6 and 8) focus on overlooked effects of assessment typology by presenting a methodological design that is coherent with the theoretical enterprise adopted.

1.4. CL assumptions and their benefits for L2 teaching

The theoretical tenets described in section 1.1. have been the basis of research in the field of CL applied to the teaching of L2s. Firstly, and following the CL principle of language as understood in relation with other cognitive abilities, perception and attention become key concepts in the study of language. On top of that, these cognitive abilities have a practical application to L2 instruction in relation to profiling, saliency, and perspective. From Gestalt psychology it is known that we focus attention on specific aspects of an event. Through language, humans encode events depending on the salient elements that we wish to highlight. This, applied to L2 pedagogy, can be translated into teaching prepositions through making different aspects such as surface (*on*) or containment (*in*) salient (Tyler et al., 2011), or by explaining tense mood in subordinate clauses by underlining how the subjunctive suspends its profile, whereas the indicative

profiles its action equally to the verb in the main clause (Llopis-García, 2019). It can even be done by presenting psych-verbs by drawing learners' attention to the salient element (either the qualities of the stimulus or the experiencer's state) or to the cause or origin of the projection (Martín-Gascón, papers 1, 2 this thesis; Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio, paper 3 this thesis).

Furthermore, the CL assumption that language is symbolic has been addressed by construction grammar (Goldberg, 1995, 2006) and the lexical-constructional model (LCM) (Butler 2009; Butler & Gonzálvez, 2014; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2013), which consider all linguistic items, from morphemes to idioms, as learned pairings of form (including phonemic and prosodic form) and meaning (including "pragmatic" meaning). Studies in English/L2 acquisition have found that learners favor constructions (e.g., transitive, ditransitive, resultative and caused motion) over verbs (Gries & Wulf, 2005; Liang, 2002; Valenzuela & Rojo, 2008). In line with the idea that language is a symbolic form-meaning association, CL conceives such a pairing as motivated, that is, embodied. When speakers produce utterances like *Their anger simmered down* or *She was in high spirits* to convey emotions, conceptual metaphors grounded in our physical and bodily experience like ANGER IS A HOT LIQUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER or HAPPINESS IS UP are at work.

The symbolic and motivated nature of language has clear advantages for L2 instruction. Studies in favor of this view have shown the pedagogical benefits of, for instance, enhancing learners' metaphoric thinking to understand linguistic metaphors and to use language creatively (Juchem-Grundmann, 2010). Accordingly, Lantolf and Bobrova (2014) have also encouraged the incorporation of figurative language through metaphors in the Spanish classroom and have offered pedagogical examples to teach emotion metaphors. Providing learners with experience-based and motivated tools such as colour metaphors has also been addressed by Niemeier (2017) with English/L2 as the target language.

With respect to Spanish/L2, Martín-Gascón (papers 12, 13 this thesis) has studied the role of metaphors in animated colorful and iconic images as a pedagogical resource to teaching complex expressions of emotions in the Spanish/L2 remote classroom. This was done by using different classroom methodologies and following Newby's (2012) learning stages in the didactic sequences proposed. Building from results from a prior cognitive and contrastive analysis of frequent Spanish and English expressions with the tactile verb *tocar* 'touch' related to positive and negative emotions (Martín-Gascón, paper 7 this

thesis), innovative pedagogical techniques have been implemented (Martín-Gascón, paper 8 this thesis). These practices included, among others, highlighting the underlying metaphoric mappings and incorporating metaphorical visual cues in motion that explicitly focus the attention on the bodily motivation or on relatable and experiential metalanguage. The aim was to both teach and assess a list of metaphorical constructions eliciting emotions. Showing learners that language is mainly motivated and not mainly arbitrary has also been addressed in the description and teaching of Spanish psych-verb constructions (Martín-Gascón, papers 1, 2 this thesis; Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio, paper 3 this thesis). For instance, the causative relationship between experiencer and stimulus or between causer and patient can be explained by the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, as proposed in Kövecses (1997).

Other ways of exploiting the symbolic and motivated nature of language have been to offer a unified and motivated explanation for different Spanish change-of-state verbs, advocating for a multi-level family of change-of-state constructions that captures the specificity of fully saturated constructions and more general abstract patterns (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Cheikh-Khamis, 2018). Similarly, Martín-Gascón's (papers 4, 5 this thesis) studies, based on an explanation along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning, provide an analysis of the Spanish resultative change-of-state construction "*ponerse* 'put CL' + adjective" and an implementation of these constructions in the Spanish/L2 classroom (Martín-Gascón, paper 6 this thesis).

Finally, yet importantly, in relation to the CL principle that language learning is influenced by exposure to frequent patterns, Tomasello (2005) affirms that constructions of a language are learned through linguistic experience when communicating with speakers of a community. On the one hand, frequency of input is paramount for reinforcing linguistic connections between form and meaning (Bybee, 2008). On the other, if language proficiency is based on frequency and usage, theoretical assumptions and hypotheses need to be supported by actual use or data evidence. Lakoff's (1990) famous "Generalization Commitment", which is subordinate to the "Cognitive Commitment", included this methodological concern, as he observed that cognitive linguists were committed to generalizing based on linguistic evidence, that is, to finding usage patterns that elucidated linguistic structure. In line with this, a usage-based perspective perceives use as a shaper of linguistic form and as the foundation for learning a language (Ellis et al., 2016).

This tenet contributes to enriching CL-based pedagogical practices for L2 instruction, as it gives priority to teaching frequent constructions in the target language. In this regard, corpus linguistics, which reveals frequency patterns and meaning in context, becomes a great ally for providing evidence for CL applications to L2 teaching. The use of corpora not only enhances the exhaustivity of data examination, but it also provides authentic and valid examples of language (written and oral) in use. Using corpus linguistics for informing classroom materials has been shown to improve both didactic design and L2 teaching and learning (Dolgova & Tyler, 2019). For instance, grammatical structures that are grounded in authentic contexts have been included in a variety of grammar reference books (e.g., Carter & McCarthy, 2006; McCarthy et al., 2014; Reppen, 2012). The study of complex, yet frequent, Spanish linguistic constructions conveying emotions has been carried out by looking at a variety of sources (Martín-Gascón, papers 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13 this thesis). For instance, the treatment of psych-verbs has been explored examining different corpora which are frequently consulted by academic advisors, instructors, test designers and learners of Spanish/L2: The *PCIC* and 36 Spanish textbooks (papers 1, 2 this thesis).

The *PCIC*, along with the British National Corpus and the Spanish Web Corpus have served as a corpus for the analysis of the change-of-state construction *ponerse* followed by an evaluative adjective in papers 4 and 5. Constructions with the tactile verb *tocar* have also been examined looking at the Web and Dialects in the *Corpus del Español* (Davies, 2016) and the *PCIC*. The English equivalents were collected from different corpora as a means of data triangulation: online dictionaries such as Collins Cobuild, Cambridge Dictionary, Merriam Webster and Urban Dictionary; Wilkinson's (2013) *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors* and Sommer and Weiss' (2001) *Metaphors dictionary*; and from four bilingual informants –a British speaker, two Americans and an Australian– and two linguistics experts (paper 7 this thesis). The observation of usage patterns in ironic utterances drawn from data collected from social media (Twitter) has been also carried out (papers 9, 10 this thesis). This was done using an instrument of analysis designed to retrieve information through computational elements in the Spanish and United States territories. Findings from all these studies using corpora with the target constructions in context have served as informed options for later applications in the Spanish/L2 classroom at different levels of expertise, from more basic to more advanced university courses (psych-verbs, paper 3; constructions with *ponerse,* paper 6; constructions with *tocar,* paper 8; verbal ironic utterances, paper 11).

Overall, these cognitive principles contribute to the study of a language and of L2 pedagogy by fundamentally opposing traditional accounts in both the degree of the arbitrariness of the postulated rules, and the number of graphic illustrations that accompany linguistic descriptions and explanations (Bielak & Pawlak, 2013, p. 83). With regard to this, special attention has been paid in the different papers of this thesis to different cognitive mechanisms (e.g., embodiment, saliency, perspective, categorization, vision, metaphor, metonymy, irony, among others), which are all linked to and reflected in the structure of language, as well as in its use, acquisition and teaching.[1] According to Llopis-García (2016), these conceptual tools might create "opportunities for languaging", which she further explains as "the ability to create the meaningful communication of our experience through language use" (p. 36).

Examples of CL-informed pedagogical practices include, among others, replacing endless lists of rules and exceptions that require sheer memorization in order to raise the learner's awareness of form-meaning connections, so that once the learner recognizes these connections, he or she will be more prone to remember them and use language ingeniously. Visual cues including arrows or coherent colors for text can also become effective tools that help learners identify linguistic resources that allow them to convey meaning (Castañeda Castro, 2012, p. 265; Llopis-García, 2016, p. 45). Other CL practices involve individual and collaborative tasks, using sequences of input (comprehension) and output (production) activities that facilitate the comprehension of the target linguistic expression and its production through meaningful practice, finding common foundations in the students' L1 and L2, and boosting language reflection and critical thinking. The pedagogical exploitation of these concepts in the L2 classroom gives structure to the unorganized "jungle of foreignity", as Llopis-García (2021) refers to it, and allows for motivated and meaningful learning, enhanced language acquisition and improved understanding of the L2 conceptualization.

1.5. Bridging the gap between two fields: a proposal

In light of the evidence for the emergence of Spanish/L2 and for the current gap in research on applied CL to Spanish/L2 teaching and learning, the papers included in this dissertation aim to contribute to research in the fields of CL and Spanish/L2 by offering CL-informed descriptions and pedagogical applications that present empirical evidence

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[1] The understanding of visual inputs involves most of the other cognitive abilities.

of the benefits of bringing together both disciplines. Accordingly, the work presented here applies concepts of CL at a Spanish/L2 university environment to teaching different emotion expressions that are common but hard to acquire at different levels of expertise. It aims at scaffolding student learning and at enhancing their communicative competence.

Language is narrowly linked to the expression of emotion. According to Fussell (2002), humans express and share their feelings through words as a fundamental human activity that allows for a healthy physical and mental state. Fussell adds that how well these emotions are expressed and understood is key to individual well-being and interpersonal relationships. However, expressing emotions in a language other than the L1 is an arduous task. In this regard, learning an L2 is a cognitive and emotional activity, and learning to communicate emotions in the L2 is of utmost importance, for it helps students to not only adjust their pragmatic strategies when interacting with natives and interpret their interlocutors' communicative intention to avoid misunderstandings, but also to gain confidence and position themselves within a new emotional and linguistic identity.

In view of the foregoing, the objective of this thesis is twofold: The first objective, of a more descriptive and corpus-based nature, is to analyze the conceptualization and expression of emotion in Spanish and English considering CL tenets by considering the various cognitive mechanisms and processes involved (i.e., embodiment, saliency, perspective, categorization, vision, metaphor, metonymy, and verbal irony). The second goal consists in the design and implementation in the Spanish/L2 classroom of cognitive-based didactic material and assessment tools that stem from findings derived from the first objective.

All the studies are grounded in a variety of models within the CL paradigm: cognitive and operative grammars, construction grammar and the LCM, conceptual theories of metaphor and metonymy, and CL accounts of verbal irony. They focus on complex, yet frequent linguistic aspects used to convey emotion whose learning and teaching in the Spanish/L2 classroom are a real challenge, and whose inclusion from basic to advanced levels in the pedagogical curriculum has been so far quite neglected. The linguistic constructions under study, following the CL rejection of arbitrary dichotomies, are studied as part of a single continuum of meaningful symbolic structures. Furthermore, each paper gives attention to a series of universal didactic-cognitive concepts and to the association (similarities and differences) between the L1 (English) and L2 (Spanish) of learners / participants. Based on a variety of methodological instruments with actual use

and real data from L1 and L2 speakers (e.g., different linguistic corpora, classroom experiments), all studies included here allow for empirical validation of the hypotheses formulated.

Below is the detail of the different studies that vertebrate this work. The order of appearance responds to the following criteria: the linguistic structure under study (first, psych-verbs; second, metaphorical motion constructions with *ponerse*; third, metaphorical tactile constructions with *tocar*; fourth, verbal irony), the type of research conducted (descriptive and corpus-based studies are first included and then empirical and applied ones) and finally, the level of instruction at which the linguistic constructions have been implemented (from beginners to intermediate and advanced, heritage-speakers and bilinguals).

1.5.1. Paper 1: Published in RLA

The first paper, written in Spanish, tackles the complex yet frequent linguistic phenomena of Spanish psych-verb constructions (with experiencer as syntactic object or as subject, e.g., *me gusta* 'I like', *odio* 'I hate') and their treatment in some of the best-sold textbooks on the market. Motivated by the observation of a poor inclusion of verbs of affection as well as a traditional and descriptive approach followed by mainstream textbooks, the study analyzes the inclusion and usage of the target constructions in levels A1, A2 and B1, which results in the exploration of 36 textbooks and 70 units from a cognitive and operative grammars perspective. Cognitive mechanisms such as saliency, the semantic and referential roles of experiencer and stimulus or the notion of valence (Talmy, 1985, 2000) are also addressed. Findings corroborate the hypothesis of an unsystematic treatment of psych-verbs (e.g., psych-verbs in negative emotions are not fully exploited until B1 level and they are not explicitly targeted nor explained considering aspects of the cognitive model) and show how these latter depart to a great extent from the inventory of emotions of the *PCIC* with regard to the contents assigned to each level. Considering the limitations observed in the textbooks and the *PCIC,* the basis of an operative and cognitive grammar material is proposed.

1.5.2. Paper 2: Published in BJTLLL

Based on findings from the previous study, the second paper –also written in Spanish– focuses on the psych-verb construction with experiencer as object (e.g., *me gusta* 'I like', *me asusta* 'I am afraid of') considering cognitive processes such as saliency, perspective

(projections) and metaphor. Starting from the hypothesis that the grammatical explanation included in Spanish/L2 textbooks does not contemplate communicative and cognitive aspects, the study analyzes these constructions more exhaustively, i.e., looking closely and qualitatively at their treatment in each unit and level, and considering a list of 20 communicative and cognitive criteria inspired and adapted from investigations about cognitive, operative and communicative applied grammar (Alhmoud & Castañeda Castro, 2015; Bielak & Pawlak, 2013; Newby, 2012; Ruiz Campillo, 1998, 2005). Results from a qualitative analysis evidence an overall communicative treatment, yet a formalist and cognitively poor one as well, which would partly account for Spanish/L2 learners' difficulties in acquiring these constructions.

1.5.3. Paper 3: Under review in Applied Linguistics

Paper 3 examines whether a CL-based approach to both teaching and assessing the complex Spanish psych-verb construction at a beginners' level leads to greater learning outcomes than a traditional one. As a novelty in the field of CL applied to the L2 classroom, the two empirical studies presented here address overlooked effects of assessment typology in L2 learning. The last two decades have seen a proliferation of empirical research searching for evidence of the effectivity of cognitive approaches for L2 learning, yet studies have only been partly successful in eliciting data that truly favors the cognitive group. In this paper, we contend that this is due to assessment design, which typically measures L2 performance through traditional evaluation tasks. The two studies reported, a pilot study ($n = 59$) and a larger replication ($n = 160$), were conducted following a pretest/posttest/delayed posttest design for three research conditions (control, cognitive and traditional). Data collection consisted of a cognitive-inspired assessment for interpretation and production tasks. Results from the two studies reveal that after instruction the cognitive group significantly outperforms the traditional in both tasks. These findings are in line with the hypothesis posited regarding the positive outcomes in the learning of difficult L2 grammatical constructions of an instruction and assessment that are based on CL tools (i.e., metaphor, saliency, conceptualization, visuals, semantic referential roles, perspective, among others).

1.5.4. Paper 4: Published in Studia Linguistica

Moving now to another difficult construction for Spanish/L2 learners to acquire and for instructors to teach, the fourth paper explores the cognitive motivation of the Spanish

resultative change-of-state construction "*ponerse* ('put CL') + adjective" (e.g., *ponerse rojo* 'turn red') along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning. An analysis of the *PCIC* to identify expressions that potentially convey metaphors and metonymies in relation to motion and emotion shows results that lead to a list of metaphorical constructions that are further examined looking at their context through Sketch Engine in the Spanish Web Corpus. Following Barcelona's (2002) metaphor and metonymy identification procedure and focusing on constraints in the lexical and constructional structure A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION is contemplated so as to examine whether this conceptual metaphor is attested in Spanish (whether it plays a role and if so, of what kind). It is presumed that the metaphors in connection to the constructions object of study systematically motivate the meaning of the change-of-state verb *ponerse* in Spanish when coappearing with an evaluative adjective, as long as the fact that the latter profiles an arousal state of short duration.

Due to word-count limitation and following reviewers' advice, the analysis of the English counterparts was not included in the previous study. For content coherence purposes, a chapter of this thesis following Paper 4 will present the analysis and results derived from the British National Corpus (BNC). These findings show the prevalence of the motion verbs 'get' and 'go' to express the same metaphorical meaning as *ponerse*.

1.5.5. Paper 5: Under review in Acta Linguistica Hafniensia

Paper 5 aims to offer a metaphor-based analysis of two rather neglected metaphors in the conceptual metaphor theory literature (EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES and A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION) by looking at the description of the semantic relation between the literal meaning of the Spanish change-of-state construction '*ponerse* + adjective' and its figurative meaning. Furthermore, the study also explores Spanish/L2 learners' awareness of everyday metaphors and reflects upon the pedagogical benefits of incorporating the cognitive approach in the Spanish/L2 classroom targeting at enhancing learners' metaphoric and linguistic competences. In light of findings from the analysis of conceptual metaphors and from empirical data seeking evidence on the psychological reality of metaphorical thoughts, a cognitive-based pedagogical proposal is presented. This research supports the idea that building bridges between theoretical and applied disciplines is paramount for investigations in both fields to evolve.

1.5.6. Paper 6: Pre-accepted for Special Issue on motion construal in IRAL

The empirical study here presented compares two methods (cognitive and traditional) for teaching and learning metaphorical motion constructions in Spanish. It also targets the development of learners' metaphoric competence in the L2. The cognitive instruction combined cognitive parameters and insights from the conceptual metaphor theory with multimodal content, whereas the traditional followed a communicative and formalist approach to language based on most current L2 textbooks. A group of 33 A2+ students from a North American university participated in the experiment. As in Paper 3, assessment tests were designed inspired by CL tenets and measured learners' general metaphor comprehension (Task 1), metaphor original production (Task 2), and performance in the comprehension (Task 3) and production (Task 4) of *ponerse* change-of-state constructions. Results show that a cognitive methodology proves to be significantly more beneficial for all 4 tasks. Although students receiving a traditional instruction improve across time, students from the cognitive group evince statistically higher performance in metaphoric competence and in comprehension and production of the target constructions. These findings, in line with those in Paper 3, indicate that a cognitive-based instruction, when followed by a coherent assessment, is an effective approach to learning difficult change-of-state constructions. In light of the promising results, the inclusion of metaphor and change-of-state constructions at earlier levels is advocated in the Spanish/L2 classroom.

1.5.7. Paper 7: Published in Sintagma

The next investigation is a study on semantic extensions in the field of tactile perception in Spanish and English that follows a corpus-driven approach and a contrastive and cognitive analysis to identify the most frequent concepts co-occurring with the verb *tocar* 'touch' in relation to the expression of emotion (e.g., *tocar fondo* 'to hit rock bottom') in order to shed light on the underlying metaphorical and metonymic mappings. Based on a variety of corpora (for Spanish: the Web and Dialects in the *Corpus del Español* (Davies, 2016) and the *PCIC*; for English: online dictionaries such as Collins Cobuild, Cambridge Dictionary, Merriam Webster and Urban Dictionary; Wilkinson's (2013) Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors and Sommer and Weiss' (2001) Metaphors dictionary; and from four bilingual informants –a British speaker, two Americans and an Australian– and two linguistics experts), a set of 23 frequent metaphorical constructions is examined.

Results show for the most part shared metaphors and metonymies in both languages, but also language-specific ones. For instance, both AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, which is based on the primary or basic-level MIND-AS-BODY metaphor, and CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy, are observed cross-linguistically in most tactile verb constructions, whereas metaphors such as ANGERING SOMEONE IS AFFECTING HER/HIS NERVES or ANNOYING PEOPLE ARE DISEASE or the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy are mostly evidenced only for English. These findings corroborate the hypothesis that conceptual extensions of perception verbs are mostly a cross-linguistic phenomenon. Based on the underlying metaphorical and metonymic mappings, a conceptual taxonomy that will serve as a basis for a cognitive-based material is elaborated.

1.5.8. Paper 8: Under review in Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada (RESLA)

Paper 8 presents empirical research focusing on innovative pedagogical techniques to both teach and assess a list of frequent metaphorical tactile constructions eliciting emotions in the Spanish/L2 classroom. More specifically, it examines the effects of a cognitive-based instruction and assessment on A2+ learners' metaphoric competence and comprehension and production of these constructions. The study adds to the growing body of research exploring the role of explicitly teaching metaphor in an L2 instructional setting. As in Papers 3 and 6, it brings together insights from CL and conceptual metaphor theories (e.g., visuals, conceptualization, metaphors, metonymies) for the design and implementation of a CL pedagogy along with a coherent assessment. The study follows a pretest/posttest/delayed posttest design for three research conditions (control, cognitive and traditional). Data are derived from four tasks measuring general metaphor comprehension and production, as well as target metaphorical tactile constructions comprehension and production. Results of the statistical tests show that after instruction the cognitive group outperforms the traditional in all tasks, which reveals that a CL and metaphor-based instruction and assessment become a fruitful approach to learning metaphorical constructions at intermediate levels.

1.5.9. Paper 9: Published in Springer

In this chapter, a new basic figure of speech different from metaphor or metonymy is under study. Just like metaphor and metonymy, verbal irony is grounded in cognitive operations of a certain kind. In the case of this latter, the mental activity at play is that of contrasting concepts, which enables the detection of conceptual clashes (Ruiz de

Mendoza, 2020). As opposed to oral communication where irony is normally accompanied by suprasegmental features (stress, facial expression, etc.,), written-form irony –although pervasive in social media discourse– is rather difficult to both represent and perceive for L1 speakers. Furthermore, studies on modeling irony and irony detection in social media have examined verbal irony from a traditional perspective and have ignored the mental process that the participants experience during an ironic speech act. Paper 9 examines Spanish verbal irony in terms of cognitive modeling (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2011; Ruiz de Mendoza & Masegosa, 2014) based on bigdata. More specifically, the corpus, based on an application retrieving tweets in real time and disseminating them according to specific criteria, is built retrieving 1,793 tweets from Spanish-speaking users in the Spanish territory, which are further analyzed and codified manually examining the type of echo (explicit and non-explicit), whether the utterances are positive or negative and the type of irony markers, among others. Results show that irony is frequently misconceived and, consequently, additional cues such as explicit ironic hashtags are used to prevent readers from interpreting messages literally, especially in explicit-echoic ironic cases. Findings also evidence the use of a wide range of features closer to orality (i.e., interjections, punctuation marks, vowel enlargement, capitalization, derivational suffixes and laughter) and features closer to written text (i.e., echoic markers: *claro que sí* 'yeah sure'; constructions with qualitative adjectives: *dramática muerte* 'drastic death', with intensifiers: *qué pena* 'what a shame', with psych-verbs: *me encantan los lunes* 'I love Mondays', or with metaphorical and metonymic mappings*: el próximo sábado culés y leones como un solo hombre* 'next Saturday culés and leones as one man').

1.5.10. Paper 10: Pre-accepted in John Benjamins

In a follow-up study examining verbal irony based on Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) development of the echoic account, an in-depth cognitive and qualitative analysis of tweets aiming to examine how American-English users conceptualize and convey irony in Twitter in comparison with the Spanish users in the prior study is carried out. The dataset initially consisting of 1,157,773,379 tweets from 248 countries and 66 languages was first reduced to 27,517 tweets from English-speaking users in the United States using the words "irony", "ironies", and "ironic", and then to 495 tweets evincing implicit and explicit-echoic irony. In line with findings in Paper 9, results from this study show a higher use of positive and explicit-echoic irony to the detriment of implicit and negative irony. Furthermore, common patterns in some of the elements of the two-feature category

proposed in the study with Spanish verbal irony are found. For instance, American-English users also resort to features closer to orality such as interjections, punctuation marks and laughter in their tweets, and to written features such as constructions with both intensifiers and psych-verbs (e.g., *What a perfect time to mess the game up / I hate making the decision on who ima go with #irony*). Departing from results in the Spanish language corpus, temporal expressions (e.g., *#GOP was once about protecting homeland. Now all about tearing down our #FBI and other vital institutions. #ironic*) and rhetorical and tag questions (*Haha is Twitter still a thing?? #ironic / He would know, wouldn't he? Irony, anyone? #IRONY*) are used by American-English users to convey irony. Findings from both studies are the basis of a later implementation in the Spanish/L2 classroom, where the study of irony has not yet been welcome. By drawing attention to the similarities and differences in the linguistic representation of irony, language instructors can offer preliminary informed options for the design of pedagogical proposals that enhance not only learners' linguistic competence, but also their intercultural awareness.

1.5.11. Paper 11: Under review in Porta Linguarum

Building from findings in Papers 9 and 10, the empirical study reported here implements a cognitive-based pedagogical material to teach irony with regard to the expression of positive and negative emotions, which has been a rather neglected aspect in reference documents (e.g., *PCIC* and *CEFR*) and L2 textbooks. Participants were 87 intermediate and 82 advanced students from a North American university. Among all participants, some were heritage speakers and others from the advanced groups considered themselves as English-Spanish bilinguals. Data were collected cross-sectionally during a 75-minute classroom session following a pretest/posttest design to measure irony production and identification. A linguistic background and language use questionnaire was also administered prior to instruction. The results showed a significant improvement in ironic production and identification after the intervention for students in the two proficiency levels. Although advanced students were significantly better in the production task, no significant difference was found between the two groups for the irony recognition tasks. These findings highlight the importance of explicitly teaching irony at lower levels and not relegating it to C1-C2 levels as recommended by the *PCIC* and the *CEFR* to avoid misunderstandings in the L2 and potentiate learners' intercultural awareness and communicative competence.

1.5.12. Paper 12: Published in Adaya Press: Redine

Paper 12 and Paper 13 focus on applications of CL-informed descriptive materials to teach emotion metaphors and complex metaphorical expressions in the Spanish/L2 remote classroom. Both studies are carried out in the context of private lessons with four North American students as they learn Spanish. No assessment tests are designed and implemented prior and after instruction, as students are presented to a practice that fits their daily classroom activities with no evaluation. The applied proposals depart, therefore, from an empirical design; however, they serve as a foundation for future material and assessment design to be further implemented with a bigger sample. Hence, the two studies open new avenues and an ongoing continuation outside this thesis for building future bridges between descriptive proposals and empirical studies. Both papers use the information and communication technologies as a basis for enhanced motivation, especially in the present situation derived from the COVID-19 pandemic, with universities and private lessons following a remote and hybrid teaching-learning model.

Paper 12, written in the Spanish language, aims at fostering the comprehension and production of figurative language. It offers a communicative-and-cognitive-based pedagogical proposal that exploits the metaphoric competence using the flipped classroom methodology through Microsoft Teams and EdPuzzle. The didactic sequence responds to cognitive principles and to Newby's (2012) learning stages of awareness or noticing (towards the target metaphorical emotion expressions), conceptualization and hypotheses formulation (associating linguistic metaphors and conceptual metaphors and establishing connections with the L1), proceduralization of linguistic knowledge (meaningful practice) and linguistic performance (written production of metaphorical constructions with regard to emotions).

1.5.13. Paper 13: Published in Dykinson

Paper 13 explores the role of metaphors present in GIFs (a multimodal text) as a pedagogical tool in the teaching of two basic emotions (happiness and sadness). To do so, based on research concerning metaphors and emotions in the context of CL, a pedagogical proposal addressing complex constructions to convey happiness and sadness is designed also in line with Newby's (2012) learning phases, which consider the learner's perspective and focus on the four above-mentioned stages that need to be accomplished in the learner's mind. Instagram is used as an online pedagogical tool and GIFs are exploited as a didactic resource to enhance metaphoric competence. GIFs, as potentially

conceptually rich concepts, invite learners to actively participate in the construction and interpretation of the message, thus engaging them in the communicative act. From a cognitivist perspective, its structure of compelling repetitiveness and endless motion allows for content selection and emphasizes salient features of a certain emotion word or expression. Since CL conceives language based on the speaker's perception and ability to build mental images to interpret more abstract concepts (i.e., emotions), GIFs, as moving images, can contribute to enhancing Spanish/L2 learner's expression of emotion as well as their metaphorical and communicative competences.

As outlined in this section and as will be further elaborated on the papers, particular attention has been paid to each step, from applying specific criteria to choose the linguistic constructions, through the CL-informed descriptions offered, the methodological techniques applied, the procedures followed or the material and evaluation tools designed, to the didactic application in the Spanish/L2 classroom. It is expected that the contributions included in this thesis will offer valuable insight on the teaching and learning of some difficult aspects of the Spanish language from the lens of the CL paradigm.

1.6. A note on terminology and format

When writing the papers included in this thesis, some theoretical and methodological unifying decisions were made from the outset so that the papers would be consistent with the CL approach adopted in the dissertation and with its focus on the application of CL to L2 teaching. However, the editorial guidelines and thematic orientation of the journals to which the papers were submitted needed also to be considered. For example, in line with the cognitivist rejection of arbitrary dichotomies, the linguistic expressions that are studied in the dissertation are approached as part of a single continuum of meaningful symbolic structures. However, in papers 9 and 10, the umbrella term 'phraseological unit' instead of 'construction' was used to refer to the ironical utterances found in Twitter, as suggested by the reviewers and editors of the two collective volumes on computational and corpus-based phraseology where the papers have been accepted/published. In terms of terminology, too, the terms Spanish as a 'second language' (L2) and Spanish as a 'foreign language' (ELE in the native language acronym) are used indistinctly when referring to the acquisition of the target language in an instructional or mixed (natural and formal) context. Likewise the terms 'acquisition' and 'learning' are also employed interchangeably, thus departing from Krashen's (1985) distinction between acquisition as

an unconscious process, just like the one that children undergo when being exposed to their L1, and learning as a conscious process, which, according to Krashen, results in a separate system of L2 rule knowledge. With regard to the formatting criteria, efforts have been made to have as coherent a structure as possible, but also inevitably considering the journals submission guidelines for e.g.., citation style within text, inclusion of appendices in open-access repositories.

Chapter 2 [Paper 1]

PSYCH-VERBS IN ELE TEXTBOOKS: A COMMUNICATIVE-AND-COGNITIVE-BASED ANALYSIS

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

Cognitive and Operative Grammars as language teaching approaches advocate the unbreakable link of form-meaning, thus recognizing the semantic contribution offered by every grammatical element. Still, its application in the Spanish as a Foreign Language (ELE in the native language acronym) classroom has not yet been fully exploited. In this respect, it is useful to address the difficulties that arise when ELE learners acquire Experiencer-Object clauses with psych-verbs. An additional obstacle to the matter lies in the traditional and descriptive approaches followed by textbooks. Therefore, the study aims at exploring these expressions from the perspective of the above-mentioned approaches in 10 of the best-sold textbooks on the market (levels A1, A2 and B1, resulting in a total of 36 textbooks and 70 units) and at examining how they adjust to the emotion inventory of the *Curricular Plan of the Instituto Cervantes* (*CPIC*). Results corroborate the hypothesis regarding the poor and unsystematic treatment of psych-verbs in the *CPIC* and textbooks and show how these latter depart to a great extent from the *CPIC* with regard to the contents assigned to each level. Considering the limitations observed in the textbooks, we propose the basis of an operative didactic material that incorporates the semantic-referential roles of Experiencer and Stimulus.

2.1. Introducción: el componente cognitivo en las cláusulas de verbos de afección

La Lingüística Cognitiva (LC) es un enfoque de estudio del lenguaje que centra su atención en los hablantes, especialmente en sus capacidades cognitivas, y los concibe como creadores de la lengua. El hablante, influido por su experiencia perceptiva y emocional elige deliberadamente de entre las formas lingüísticas proporcionadas por su lengua aquellas que le permiten mantenerse fiel a su intención comunicativa. Así, la manera en que percibe e interpreta el complejo mundo que lo rodea (es decir, su representación mental) i.e., el dominio de las emociones repercute, por ejemplo, en el uso de unos verbos psicológicos u otros (representación lingüística). Este tipo de verbos (i.e., me apasiona, detesto, etc.,) pertenecen a una categoría más general, denominada 'psych-verbs', que expresa eventos de proceso mental y que recoge los verbos de sensación física, emoción, cognición, volición y percepción (Miglio, Gries, Harris, Wheeler, Santana-Paixão, 2013; Verhoeven, 2007).[2] Esta asociación entre pensamiento y lenguaje implica la existencia de valores prototípicos de los elementos gramaticales, lo que, en el ámbito de la adquisición de lenguas extranjeras, y más en concreto del Español como Lengua Extranjera (ELE), se traduce en que el estudiante cuenta con las herramientas necesarias para combinarlos y así asimilar su significado gramatical.

Si el docente de ELE dirige la atención del aprendiente hacia el contraste de significados y el valor unívoco de los aspectos gramaticales más dificultosos, esto es, cómo cada forma crea una imagen mental distinta, este le facilitará una comprensión más profunda de cómo se estructura el mundo en la lengua meta (para una bibliografía actualizada sobre LC y enseñanza de ELE, véase Ibarretxe Antuñano, Cadierno López y Castañeda Castro, 2019). Obsérvense, por ejemplo, el concepto prototípico de 'declaración (indicativo) - no declaración (subjuntivo)' puramente de la Gramática Cognitiva (GC) que define al modo verbal en español (Ruiz Campillo, 2007) o la sistematicidad didáctica en cuanto a la explicitación de criterios unificadores a la hora de organizar el qué enseñar y en qué nivel (i.e., la clasificación de emociones según su connotación que ofrece este estudio evidencia esta sistematicidad, puesto que permitirá posteriormente desarrollarlas por nivel de dominio y extenderlas desde niveles básicos hasta niveles avanzados de aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras - LEs).

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[2] Para el presente estudio, nos referiremos a los verbos de emoción como verbos psicológicos o de afección indistintamente.

En relación con esta búsqueda del valor único y permanente de una forma y el objetivo final de *querer significar*, destaca la Gramática Operativa (GO) (Ruiz Campillo, 2007), un acercamiento cognitivo y operativo a la gramática basado en la reducción de los valores gramaticales a un significado permanente. Se trata, por tanto, de un enfoque centrado en la enseñanza de formas y en la intención comunicativa del hablante que se sitúa dentro del marco de la LC y la GC. Así, la GO es una gramática significativa que proporciona las herramientas necesarias al aprendiente para que este exprese sus emociones de manera competente. A este respecto, las investigaciones cognitivas de Talmy (2000), y particularmente la noción de 'valencia' en relación con los verbos de afecto, han aportado luz a la conceptualización de la emoción. En el caso del español, los verbos que expresan emociones, sensaciones físicas y estados de ánimo que codifican al experimentador como objeto son más frecuentes que en otras lenguas indoeuropeas o indoiranias.[3]

Este tipo de construcciones 'inversas', que muestran al experimentador como una entidad receptora de energía psíquica cuyo estado es consecuencia del efecto de un estímulo externo, resultan dificultosas para los aprendices de ELE en contextos de instrucción donde el *input* es escaso.[4] Como consecuencia, el estudiante fosiliza inconscientemente aspectos léxico-gramaticales propios de su lengua materna. No obstante, esto dependerá, en parte, de las reflexiones que se lleven a cabo en el aula y de la correcta explotación de las posibilidades ofrecidas por la GC. Por otro lado, en las estructuras que lo subjetivizan, el efecto surge intrínseca y libremente (Talmy, 2000). Al describir una situación afectiva, este autor subraya las diferencias lexicales en los verbos de afecto que son motivadas por los diferentes roles semántico-referenciales en un episodio determinado y cuyo uso varía según el foco de atención,

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[3] Obsérvense los siguientes ejemplos contrastados con hablantes nativos:
Español: *Tengo miedo a las arañas* (-) / *Me dan miedo las arañas* (+)
Portugués: *Tenho medo de aranhas* (+)
Francés: *J'ai peur des araignées* (+) / *Les araignées me font peur* (-)
Alemán: *Ich habe Angst vor Spinnen* (+)
Inglés: *I fear/ am scared of spiders* (+) / *Spiders frighten/scare me* (-)
Neerlandés: *Ik ben bang voor spinnen* (+) / *Spinnen maken mij bang* (-)
Griego: Φοβάμαι τις αράχνες (+) / Με φοβίζουν οι αράχνες (-)
Persa: ترساندند را من ها عنکبوت / (+) ترسیدم ها عنکبوت از من (-)
[4] Tanto el experimentador como el estímulo son elementos conceptuales de nuestra experiencia.

i.e., si el aspecto saliente son las cualidades del estímulo (Figura 1) o si es el estado del experimentador (Figura 2).[5]
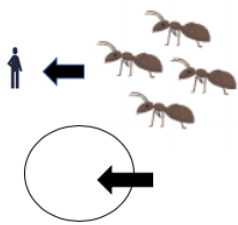
Figura 1. *Me dan miedo las hormigas*

Figura 2. *Tengo miedo a las hormigas*

Siguiendo la definición de 'emoción' que proponen Mulligan y Scherer (2012), válida en un marco cognitivo, las representaciones lingüísticas objeto de estudio designan episodios mentales deliberados que experimenta el sujeto a través de los sentidos y la memoria, y que duran un tiempo relativamente corto. El objeto de estos episodios afectivos puede ser "externo o interno, real o ficticio, concreto o abstracto" (Mulligan y Scherer, 2012, p.348). Es la intencionalidad de dichos episodios perceptuales la que explica el carácter intencional de las emociones. Así, cuando el hablante afirma '*me molestan los petardos',* su aversión recae en el estímulo externo, ficticio y abstracto que son *los petardos* que parece escuchar o que recuerda por experiencia. Estudios como el de Kleinginna y Kleinginna (1981), en búsqueda de una definición consensuada de las emociones, las categorizan con base en los fenómenos emocionales o los aspectos teóricos enfatizados en su conceptualización.

Los autores abogan por una definición formal que permita diferenciar las emociones de otros procesos psicológicos. Arguyen que la emoción es "un complejo conjunto de interacciones entre factores subjetivos y objetivos mediados por sistemas neuronales y hormonales" (p.355) que pueden (a) dar lugar a experiencias afectivas, (b) generar procesos cognitivos, como efectos perceptuales con alto impacto emocional, (c) activar ajustes fisiológicos, y (d) llevar a comportamientos comúnmente expresivos, con objetivos específicos y adaptativos. Así, aunque el debate sobre este constructo y su diferenciación frente a otros episodios perceptuales, como los sentimientos o los estados de ánimo, ha sido y continúa siendo objeto de estudio en diferentes disciplinas (en la

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[5] Ejemplos de elaboración propia.

actualidad destacan las investigaciones de grupos interdisciplinares como LEIDE, 2017, de la Universidad de Alcalá; o CISA, 2013, de la Universidad de Ginebra), para los propósitos de esta investigación nos referiremos a estos episodios de relativa corta duración como emociones, siguiendo las definiciones de los autores anteriormente citados.

Pese a los grandes avances en la teoría cognitiva, la enseñanza de ELE y, sobre todo, el diseño de materiales, siguen mostrándose algo reacios a abrirle las puertas a la enseñanza explícita de significados gramaticales en términos cognitivos y operacionales, tal y como el análisis de manuales aquí presentado pondrá de manifiesto. Si bien la LC ha sido y sigue siendo muy estudiada desde una perspectiva teórica, todavía adolece de un número parejo de estudios empíricos que permitan establecer un punto de unión entre teoría y práctica. Por otro lado, aunque se trata de un enfoque basado en el uso de la lengua, su aplicación todavía carece del diseño normalizado de materiales didácticos en contextos de instrucción de LEs, sobre todo del español. No obstante, en los últimos años se ha presenciado una mayor proliferación de investigaciones centradas en la aplicación del modelo cognitivo a la enseñanza-aprendizaje de ELE. A este respecto, destaca el volumen recientemente editado por Ibarretxe Antuñano et al. (2019), donde se incluyen estudios que versan sobre propuestas descriptivas y datos empíricos con pautas para ayudar a instructores a integrar la LC en el aula. Así, es fundamental sumarse a estas propuestas, trasladar los resultados de estas y de futuras investigaciones al aula de ELE, reformular el tipo de material al que está expuesto el aprendiente y no limitarse a la postulación de principios teóricos. En esta línea, la idea que presenta Llopis García (2018) al referirse a la LC como ejercicio pedagógico integrador de estilos de aprendizaje basados en la comprensión holística y el conocimiento experiencial se suma a la regeneración de la didáctica de ELE predominante y al distanciamiento del aprendizaje lineal marcado por las unidades de los manuales.

Para que se produzca dicho cambio radical en la enseñanza de ELE es necesaria la creación de materiales didácticos centrados en potenciar la asimilación significativa y lógica de las representaciones lingüísticas en esta lengua. Igualmente, el diseño de materiales debe complementarse con una formación y reflexión en la formación de los docentes de ELE. De esta manera, el docente se alejará de la gramática taxidérmica y discursivista, y el aprendiente será consciente del *qué,* del *porqué* y del *para qué*, y podrá improvisar y crear su propia comunicación. El paso previo al diseño y aplicación de un material de corte cognitivo es el análisis metodológico exhaustivo de los manuales

actuales de ELE, así como del *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC*), documento de referencia para docentes de ELE. Este análisis es la clave que nos permitirá abrir las puertas a futuras contribuciones empíricas para así enriquecer la enseñanza-aprendizaje del español.

Asimismo, aunque la expresión de la emoción ha sido objeto de estudio en diversas lenguas (Barcelona y Soriano, 2004; Dewaele, 2018; Ivaz, Costa y Duñabeitia, 2016; Kövecses, 2000; Molinaro, 2020; Ogarkova, Soriano y Gladkova, 2018; Soriano, 2016) y la alternancia en estructuras de Experimentador Sujeto (ES) (i.e., *adoro*) y Experimentador Objeto (EO) (i.e., *me encanta*) se ha investigado en el ámbito de la psicolingüística, la adquisición y el análisis de corpus (Hartshorne, Pogue y Snedeker*, 2015; Melis, 1999; Miglio et al., 2013; Vázquez Rozas, 2012),[6] salvo omisión involuntaria, todavía no se ha llevado a cabo ninguna investigación exhaustiva sobre su tratamiento en los manuales de ELE de mayor difusión, medio didáctico al que más expuestos están los aprendientes durante su proceso de aprendizaje en contextos de instrucción. Por este motivo, el presente estudio tiene como objeto explorar y tomar conciencia de la manera en la que las editoriales de mayor impacto por su presencia en el mundo de ELE tratan las expresiones de verbos psicológicos en español. Para ello planteamos dos hipótesis: por un lado, nuestra experiencia docente nos lleva a presuponer que ningún manual del mercado actual trabaja suficientemente los verbos psicológicos o de afección desde niveles iniciales de aprendizaje-enseñanza de ELE; y, por otro, pronosticamos que no se abordan las expresiones meta desde un modelo cognitivo y operacional, ignorando así que todo fenómeno léxico-sintáctico posee una motivación semántico-conceptual[7].

Dicho esto, las preguntas de investigación (PIs) que guiarán el estudio son las siguientes: (PI1) ¿Cómo se clasifica la expresión de la emoción en el inventario del *PCIC*?; (PI2) ¿Qué expresiones lingüísticas aparecen en el *PCIC* para cada emoción y

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[6] Hartshorne et al. (2015) exploran la variabilidad en estas estructuras y cómo esta aparente inconsistencia es el resultado de las diferencias en la representación léxico-semántica de este tipo de verbos. Melis (1999) analiza una muestra de un total de 839 cláusulas SO con verbos causativos emocionales extraída de textos mexicanos de finales del siglo XX. En su estudio multifactorial, Miglio et al. (2013) trabajan a partir de parte del corpus analizado por Vázquez Rozas (2006) y del Corpus de Español de Davies (2002) un total de 1.656 casos. Vázquez Rozas (2012) examina el uso de los roles semántico-referenciales de construcciones SE y SO a partir del corpus *ARTHUS*, a través de la base de datos *ADESSE.*

[7] Considerando los dos tipos de expresiones objeto de estudio (ES y EO) y de acuerdo con el principio cognitivo de no-sinonimia (Goldberg, 1995), "si dos construcciones son sintácticamente diferentes, estas deben ser semántica o pragmáticamente distintas" (p.67).

cómo se presentan por niveles (A1-B2) ?; y (PI3) ¿Cómo tratan los manuales de ELE de mayor difusión la expresión de la emoción a través de los verbos de afección? (PI3.1) ¿Se ajustan al *PCIC*? (PI3.2) ¿La trabajan desde un modelo de corte cognitivo y operacional? Para dar respuesta a estas PIs, se analizará, en primer lugar, el inventario de emociones del *Plan del Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC*), vademécum en la enseñanza de ELE. Posteriormente, se centrará la atención en cómo los 10 manuales seleccionados en cada uno de los niveles analizados, desde el A1 hasta el B1 (sumando así un total de 36 manuales examinados) se ajustan al *PCIC* y se explorará hasta qué punto incorporan el componente cognitivo. Finalmente, se propone el diseño de un material didáctico de corte cognitivo que parta de las limitaciones de los manuales y que se base en los roles de experimentador y estímulo. Este estudio es un primer paso hacia la regeneración de la didáctica de ELE imperante y hacia un distanciamiento del aprendizaje lineal marcado por las unidades de los libros de texto.

2.2. Metodología

El análisis del corpus seleccionado se basa en la tradición metodológica de la lingüística aplicada de corte cognitivo, puesto que se trata de un estudio exploratorio-cuantitativo-interpretativo (paradigma mixto propugnado por Grotjahn, 1987). La razón que subyace a la elección de dicho método es la unificación de diversas metodologías de investigación que proporcionen un entendimiento más profundo sobre la inclusión de estas estructuras problemáticas por su naturaleza en el *PCIC*.[8] Así, mediante un método no experimental, se recogieron datos de naturaleza cualitativa extraídos del inventario de elementos léxicos de los manuales. Estos se sometieron a un simple análisis estadístico con vistas a medir los resultados de forma objetiva. A continuación, se llevó a cabo un análisis interpretativo.

2.2.1. Técnicas de recogida de datos

Para la recogida puramente cuantitativa de datos se empleó una hoja de cálculo de Excel donde se incluyeron los resultados codificados del análisis de las expresiones meta del *PCIC* y de los manuales más actuales existentes en el mercado de ELE. Asimismo, se

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[8] Resulta necesario enfatizar que el estudio aborda unas estructuras léxicas específicas de expresión de la emoción: los verbos psicológicos que poseen carga emocional y no toda la casuística de expresiones de afección (i.e., '*Eres la mejor*').

diseñó una plantilla por unidad para la recogida de información tanto cualitativa como cuantitativa sobre el número de expresiones de cada emoción (el 'tipo': el deseo, y la frecuencia o 'caso': "quiero", "me gustaría", etc.,), el contexto en que aparecen (i.e., durante la explicación del ejercicio, el cuerpo, la sistematización puramente gramatical y/o la producción) y su función comunicativa (ver Anexos 1 y 2).[9]

A partir de los datos obtenidos y anotados por unidad, se creó una segunda plantilla para cada manual (Anexo 3) para elaborar un informe detallado del tratamiento de las estructuras meta según 20 criterios comunicativos y cognitivos (Tabla 1) inspirados en diversas fuentes (Bielak y Pawlak, 2013; Newby, 2012). De esta manera, a partir de los indicadores especificados, se buscaba concluir sobre el posicionamiento teórico adoptado por los manuales estudiados respecto al uso de las estructuras objeto de estudio para la expresión de la emoción. Se pretende que estas técnicas de trabajo desarrolladas (i.e., las plantillas) sirvan de instrumento de análisis para futuras investigaciones.

Tabla 1. Criterios *comunicativos* y cognitivos

1. Estructura el aprendizaje del elemento lingüístico en torno a 4 fases: concienciación lingüística, conceptualización y formulación de hipótesis, procedimentalización del conocimiento y actuación lingüísticas en tiempo real
2. *Aprendizaje por tareas*
3. Imposición de la reflexión explícita durante la presentación, la realización, (la corrección) y (la discusión)
4. *Profundidad del procesamiento*
5. Elementos gramaticales significativos
6. Gramática motivada por la semántica subyacente
7. Factores pragmáticos y discursivos incluidos en el cambio de significado de los elementos
8. Descripción y sistematización de recursos gramaticales
9. Análisis semántico detallado del elemento gramatical
10. Valor conceptual otorgado
11. Existencia de un metalenguaje claro y accesible
12. Integración de ilustraciones pictóricas acompañando la descripción de la expresión meta
13. *Filtro de implicación*
14. *Integración interpersonal y social*
15. *Personalización*
16. Incorporación del factor lúdico y humor
17. Desafío
18. Léxico sencillo
19. *Uso verosímil de la lengua meta: autenticidad del proceso comunicativo*
20. *Evaluación vs. Aprendizaje*

[9] Los Anexos se encuentran disponibles en la plataforma de libre acceso *Open Science Framework* (Center for Open Science, 2013), en la siguiente dirección: https://osf.io/6kdw4/quickfiles.

2.2.2. Procedimiento y corpus seleccionado

Previo al análisis exploratorio de manuales, las emociones y sus correspondientes expresiones lingüísticas contenidas en el *PCIC* fueron estudiadas y categorizadas por dos expertos lingüistas. El *PCIC,* que se encuentra disponible en la página web del Centro Virtual Cervantes (Instituto Cervantes, 2006), es un documento de consulta obligatoria tanto para autores de manuales como docentes de ELE. Se trata de una obra muy reputada porque incluye las distintas variedades del español y desarrolla detalladamente sus inventarios de especificaciones. Conforme al *MCERL* (Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las Lenguas), estándar internacional que define la competencia lingüística en una escala de niveles desde un A1 hasta un C2, el *PCIC* fija los Niveles de Referencia (Consejo de Europa, 2002) y establece los contenidos a partir de unos objetivos organizados en torno a las tres dimensiones del alumno: la de hablante intercultural, la de agente social y la de aprendiente autónomo. Así, los contenidos integrados en el inventario del *PCIC* sirvieron de referencia para el análisis del corpus seleccionado.[10] En cuanto a las referencias a la expresión de la emoción, en la actualización más reciente del documento europeo incluida en el *Companion Volume* (Consejo de Europa, 2017), aunque desde un nivel A1 se espera que el alumno sea capaz de utilizar palabras y frases simples para expresar cómo se siente, es, sobre todo, a partir del nivel B1 donde las emociones adquieren relevancia. Otros referenciales, como el MAREP (Consejo de Europa, 2004), que sigue un enfoque plural de variedades lingüísticas y culturales, destaca, asimismo, la importancia de conocer las diferencias en la expresión verbal de los sentimientos y emociones en las distintas lenguas, aunque no detalla un nivel específico.

La muestra de manuales analizada se compuso de 10 libros de texto para adultos correspondientes a los niveles A1, A2 y B1 del *MCERL* procedentes de editoriales importantes (i.e., Difusión, Anaya) en este ámbito (ver Anexo 4: editoriales, manuales, niveles, autores y año de edición).[11] En la selección del corpus se consideraron aspectos

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[10] Puesto que el *PCIC* presenta los inventarios por bloques A1-A2 y B1-B2 y presuponemos que la mayor riqueza de verbos de emoción se encuentra en este último nivel, para el análisis del *PCIC* hemos contemplado expresiones hasta el nivel B2 como punto de partida. No obstante, este nivel no se ha explorado en los manuales, ya que partimos de la base de que es fundamental incorporar el estudio de la expresión de la emoción desde niveles básicos.

[11] *Gente Hoy* (Martín Peris y Baulenas, 2013, 2014); *Campus Sur* (Rosales Varo et al., 2017); *Bitácora* (Sans Baulenas, Martín Peris, Garmendia, Conejo, 2018); *Aula Internacional* (Corpas, García, Garmendia, Sans Baulenas, 2013, 2014); *GBE* (Alonso Raya et al., 2011); *Nuevo Prisma* (Equipo Nuevo Prisma, 2012, 2014, 2015); *Etapas* (De Dios Martín y Eusebio Hermina, 2012; De Dios Martín, Menéndez y Eusebio

como la variedad de enfoques (cognitivo, léxico, por tareas y nocio-funcional, principalmente), la actualidad de sus últimas ediciones y su presencia en el aula de ELE en enseñanza reglada y no reglada (i.e, en instituciones como el Instituto Cervantes). Los procedimientos utilizados para la identificación de las expresiones lingüísticas objeto de estudio en las diferentes unidades fueron: el poder ilustrativo del título de la unidad (i.e., '¡Ay ¡Qué dolor!', 'Nos gustó mucho'…), la temática con la que suelen aparecer (enfermedades, gastronomía, etc.,), los contenidos funcionales (expresar sentimientos y emociones) y léxico-gramaticales (el verbo "gustar") y palabras clave como 'construcciones valorativas', 'sentimiento', etc. La validez de dichos procedimientos (i.e., selección de manuales y fases de análisis) fue testada mediante la revisión de un segundo especialista del ámbito de ELE. Aunque somos conscientes de que los verbos psicológicos pueden aparecer en textos y actividades de unidades que no abordan explícitamente este tema, consideramos que el total de 36 manuales y 70 unidades observadas (Anexo 5: unidades seleccionadas de cada manual) constituyen una muestra considerablemente amplia para extraer resultados ilustrativos del panorama contemporáneo del tratamiento de estas estructuras en manuales de ELE.

2.3. Análisis e interpretación

2.3.1. PI 1 ¿Cómo se clasifica la expresión de la emoción en el inventario del PCIC?

Las estructuras que el *PCIC* recoge para la expresión de la emoción a través de verbos de afección aparecen por primera vez en la sección *Gramática*, apartado *12: El sintagma verbal*, descritos como verbos psicológicos de emoción psíquica y física. En el caso del nivel A1, se presenta el verbo *gustar* y en el nivel A2, los verbos *encantar* y *doler*. Asimismo, en la sección *Gramática*, en el apartado *15: Oraciones compuestas por subordinación* del nivel B1, las oraciones subordinadas sustantivas los introducen: '*Me da miedo hablar*', '*Me encanta que me llames*' y '*Me encanta ir al cine*'. Es, sin embargo, en el apartado *3. Expresar gustos, deseos y sentimientos* de la sección *Funciones* donde se incluyen las expresiones meta repartidas en el inventario de los diferentes niveles (Tabla 2). La mayoría de los subapartados trabajan la *expresión* de estas (i.e., *preferencia:*

Hermina, 2010; Equipo Entinema, 2010); *¡Genial!* (García Sánchez, Mena Octavio, Méndez Santos, Tudela Capdevila, Cruz Moya, 2018; Herrero Fernández, Martínez-Delgado Veiga, Planelles Almeida, Torrado Solo de Zaldívar, Cruz Moya, 2017); *AgenciaELE* (Fernández et al., 2018; Gil et al., 2017)*; Método* (Cárdenas Bernal, Hierro Montosa, Robles Ávila, Peláez Santamaría, 2018a, 2018b; Esteba Ramos et al., 2017). Se trabajó con las ediciones digitales cuando fue posible.

'*Prefiero que empieces tú*'), aunque hay algunos que ponen el énfasis en la *pregunta* (i.e., *preferencia:* '*¿Prefieres que vaya yo?*').

Tabla 2. División de subapartados del *PCIC* en "expresar" y "preguntar por"

Expresar	3.2. gustos e intereses, 3.3. aversión, 3.5. preferencia, 3.6. indiferencia o ausencia de preferencia, 3.8. deseos, 3.10. planes e intenciones, 3.10.1. planes e intenciones frustrados, 3.12. alegría y satisfacción, 3.13. tristeza y aflicción, 3.14. placer y diversión, 3.15. aburrimiento, 3.76. hartazgo, 3.17. enfado e indignación, 3.18. miedo, ansiedad y preocupación, 3.19. nerviosismo, 3.20. empatía, 3.21. alivio, 3.22. esperanza, 3.23. decepción, 3.24. resignación, 3.25. arrepentimiento, 3.26. vergüenza, 3.27. sorpresa y extrañeza, 3.28. admiración y orgullo, 3.29. afecto, 3.30. sensaciones físicas
Preguntar por	3.1. gustos e intereses, 3.4. preferencias, 3.7. deseos, 3.9. planes e intenciones, 3.11. estado de ánimo

2.3.1.1. PI 1: propuesta de mejora[12]

Por un lado, ya que el apartado *3. Expresar gustos, deseos y sentimientos* habla de la 'expresión', se recomendaría incluir los subapartados de '*preguntar por*' (i.e., "preguntar por gustos e intereses: '*¿Te gusta que te regalen flores?*', nivel B1) dentro del apartado que incluye la expresión de tales emociones: '*expresar*' (i.e., "expresar gustos e intereses: '*Me encanta que me llames*', nivel B1) y, así, se focalizaría la atención en cómo expresamos formalmente la emoción: experimentador + verbo + estímulo.

De la misma manera, algunas emociones aparecen integradas en un mismo subapartado, como *el miedo, la ansiedad y la preocupación*, y podrían dividirse en tres tipos, puesto que designan emociones diferentes. Así, expresiones como '*me preocupa*' o '*me da miedo*', incluidas dentro de un único subapartado, pero que señalan dos emociones negativas diversas, se clasificarían separadas. En otros casos, se observa este razonamiento de división semántica, pero en expresiones opuestas (*3.5. preferencia y 3.6. indiferencia o ausencia de preferencia*). Sin embargo, dicha distinción no se extiende al resto de emociones, que incluyen las expresiones lingüísticas de ausencia de la emoción

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[12] Las propuestas persiguen ser descriptivas, con un carácter recomendable, y no prescriptivas.

en cuestión dentro de una misma[13]: *'(no) me entusiasma / me fascina / me apasiona / me vuelve loco'* (*3.1. gustos e intereses*).

Igualmente, llama la atención que en el título del apartado se establezca una distinción entre el gusto, el deseo y los sentimientos, puesto que, aparte de sentimientos, no solo se presentan el gusto y el deseo, sino un mayor elenco de emociones y estados de ánimo (i.e., *sensaciones físicas, nerviosismo, alegría,* etc.). Así, otro de los puntos que ocasiona una doble problemática es el *3.11. Estado de ánimo* (Tabla 3). Este subapartado no solo presenta la función únicamente de '*preguntar*', excluyendo la posibilidad de '*expresar estados de ánimo*', sino que es un hiperónimo que no designa el estado de ánimo en concreto al que hace referencia. Tampoco se ha tenido en cuenta la expresión de *3.10. Planes e intenciones* ni de *3.10.1. Planes e intenciones frustrado*s, puesto que no están relacionados con las formas lingüísticas meta (EO y ES).

Tabla 3. 3.11. Preguntar por el estado de ánimo

B1	B2
¿Qué te pasa?	¿Qué te ocurre?
¿Te pasa algo?	¿Cómo te encuentras / sientes?
¿No te pasa nada?	
¿Todo bien?	
¿(No) estás (cuantif.) enfadado…?	
¿No estás enfadado conmigo?	
¿Estás muy mal?	

Por último, las emociones no aparecen siguiendo un criterio de clasificación determinado y consideramos importante establecer una división según su connotación en positivas, negativas y neutras o ambiguas[14]. Una vez distribuidas, en la Tabla 4 observamos un número relativamente proporcional entre positivas y negativas.

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[13] Para que haya una coherencia en la clasificación, la "*Indiferencia o ausencia de preferencia*" la incluimos dentro de "*Preferencia*" para el análisis cuantitativo y se comenta el uso de una u otra en el estudio cualitativo.

[14] Denominamos emociones neutras o ambiguas a aquellas que pueden tener una connotación positiva o negativa según la situación y contexto lingüístico: i.e., '*me sorprende que llegues ahora*', '*siento haberte contestado mal'*. La nueva taxonomía se ha establecido y validado adaptando la clasificación del *PCIC* por juicio de dos expertos lingüistas.

Tabla 4. Emociones clasificadas según connotación

Positivas (10)	Afecto / Gustos e intereses / Admiración y orgullo / Preferencia / Deseos / Alegría y satisfacción / Placer y diversión / Empatía / Alivio / Esperanza
Negativas (12)	Decepción / Tristeza y aflicción / Resignación / Vergüenza / Aversión / Aburrimiento / Hartazgo / Enfado e indignación / Miedo / Ansiedad / Preocupación / Nerviosismo
Neutras (3)	Sensaciones físicas / Sorpresa y extrañeza / Arrepentimiento

2.3.2. PI2: ¿Qué expresiones lingüísticas aparecen en el PCIC para cada emoción y cómo se presentan por niveles (A1-B2)?

Tras las observaciones mencionadas, nos centramos ahora en las expresiones lingüísticas (subtipos) de las emociones objeto de estudio (tipos) que servirán de referencia en el análisis de manuales (Anexo 6: Expresiones lingüísticas por emoción y nivel del *PCIC*). El inventario del nivel A1-A2 destaca por no incluir un gran elenco de expresiones lingüísticas, sobre todo, el nivel Acceso (A1). En este nivel inicial, el *PCIC* solo presenta la expresión del gusto e interés, la preferencia y el deseo —todos ellos de afectación positiva— con los verbos *gustar*, *preferir* y *querer*. Así, la expresión de la indiferencia o ausencia de preferencia, emoción opuesta a la preferencia no aparece en este nivel, ni se indica en el nivel Plataforma (A2). Otras de las emociones de las que no se hace mención en el nivel Plataforma son el hartazgo, la empatía, la esperanza, la decepción, la resignación, el arrepentimiento, y la vergüenza. Se trata, en su mayoría, de emociones con connotación negativa, cuya expresión lingüística no se introduce hasta el nivel Umbral (B1). Asimismo, algunas expresiones para emociones como el alivio, la sorpresa y extrañeza y la admiración y orgullo no se han considerado para el análisis, ya que no trabajaban los verbos psicológicos en cuestión (i.e., ideófonos: '*¡Uf!*').

Los niveles B1 y B2 (Umbral y Avanzado) introducen, en cambio, un abanico más amplio de los verbos meta. Al igual que en niveles inferiores, no se han considerado para el análisis aquellas expresiones que, denotando emociones, se alejaban del objetivo de este trabajo (i.e., '*¡Qué rabia!*', '*¡Así es la vida!*', etc.). Como consecuencia, emociones como la resignación y el arrepentimiento no presentan los verbos psíquicos hasta el nivel B2. En el caso de la decepción, el *PCIC* no recoge directamente ningún tipo de expresión en el nivel Umbral. Los subtipos de la emoción de preocupación se trabajan únicamente en los niveles Umbral y Avanzado. Las expresiones lingüísticas que la describen se

analizarían cuantitativamente contabilizando cada expresión objeto de estudio y considerando aquellas cuya matriz es idéntica dentro del mismo nivel como un solo subtipo (Tabla 5).

Tabla 5. Expresiones lingüísticas de la preocupación consideradas para el análisis cuantitativo

Preocupación (*n=6*)	
B1 (*n=3*)	**B2** *(n=3)*
Estoy preocupado (*n=1*)	*Me preocupo si* (*n=1*)
Me preocupa (que) (subj. presente) (*n=2*)	*Me preocupa que* (subj. pasado) (*n=1*)
	Me importa que (subj. pasado) (*n=1*)

Así, los niveles Umbral (*n=79)* y Avanzado (*n=159)* incluyen una mayor variedad de expresiones en comparación a los niveles Acceso (*n=4)* y Plataforma (*n=19)*. En el nivel B2 se presenta prácticamente el doble de expresiones que en el B1; este, a su vez, incluye 60 subtipos más que el nivel A2, que introduce 15 expresiones por encima del A1, nivel que tan solo presenta 4. Por tanto, frente al número reducido (*n=23*) de diferentes expresiones lingüísticas que presenta el inventario de los niveles A1 y A2, el del B1 y B2 ofrece un número significativamente más elevado (*n=238*). Del mismo modo, el número de expresiones de cada tipo de emoción según la connotación (ver Anexo 7: Nº de expresiones según connotación por nivel) crece a medida que el nivel de dominio aumenta, sobre todo en el paso de los niveles bajos al nivel Umbral (Gráfico 1).
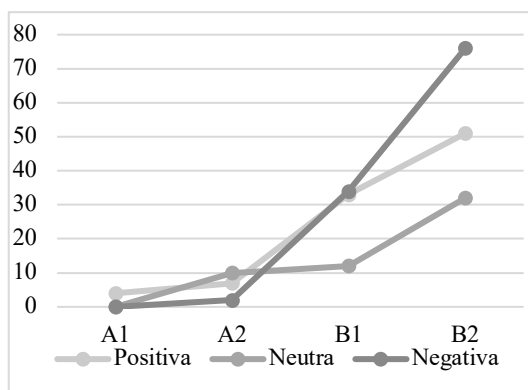
Gráfico 1. Expresiones lingüísticas según connotación entre niveles

En el caso de las emociones positivas, en el nivel A2 se observa un aumento reducido con respecto al nivel inferior (75%); no obstante, al pasar al nivel Umbral, la diferencia es considerablemente mayor (371,42%)*,* como también ocurre, incluso más

extremadamente, en el paso al nivel Avanzado (545,45%). El contraste entre el número de emociones neutras en los niveles A1 y A2 (*n=0; n=10,* respectivamente) con el del Umbral (*n=12)* no resulta tan significativo como sucede en el de las emociones positivas. Llama la atención el incremento de expresiones entre niveles del mismo inventario (del A1 al A2: *n=10*; del B1 al B2: 166,66%). En cuanto a las emociones que tienen una implicación negativa, estas quedan relegadas a los niveles más altos. Así, mientras que en el A1 no se introducen y en el A2 se incluyen tímidamente (*n=2)*, el paso al nivel Umbral marca una clara diferencia, con un total de 34 subtipos. En el último nivel analizado en el *PCIC* se observa un incremento del 123,52% con respecto al B1. De acuerdo con el tratamiento según el nivel de la lengua (Tabla 6), en el B1 estas guardan el equilibrio deseado (33 expresiones para emociones positivas y 34 para negativas), le sigue de cerca el nivel B2 (51 y 76 subtipos, respectivamente), se aleja más el A2 (7 y 2) y se llega al desequilibrio total en el nivel A1 (4 y 0).

Tabla 6. Porcentajes según connotación por nivel

	+	+/-	-
A1	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
A2	7 (36,84%)	10 (52,63%)	2 (10,52%)
B1	33 (41,77%)	12 (15,18%)	34 (43,03%)
B2	51 (32,07%)	32 (20,26%)	76 (47,79%)

2.3.2.1.PI2: propuesta de mejora

Para el análisis cuantitativo (Anexo 8: Plantilla Excel con datos cuantitativos del *PCIC* por emoción y nivel), no se han considerado las expresiones lingüísticas que aparecen en negativa: *(no) me interesa* —a no ser que estas no tengan un equivalente afirmativo: '*no soporto*' / '*soporto**' o los casos en que la negación supone un cambio de emoción: '*no me importa*' / '*me importa*'. Por otro lado, ya que la investigación se centra en el estudio de los verbos psicológicos, se separaron aquellos subtipos que respondían a la estructura 'Experimentador-Sujeto' (ES / yo: *quiero*) de aquellos de construcción 'Experimentador-Objeto' (EO / me: *me gustaría*) (ver Anexo 6 para una división de expresiones ES y EO por emoción y nivel). De esta manera, la expresión del aburrimiento, por ejemplo, se exploró separando los subtipos como aparecen en la Tabla 7.

Tabla 7. Clasificación de expresiones según el rol semántico del Experimentador

Aburrimiento	
Experimentador- Sujeto	Me aburro (B1)
	Me aburro de + inf. (B2)
Experimentador-Objeto	Me aburre (B1)
	Me aburre que (subj. presente) (B1)
	Me aburre que (subj. pasado) (B2)

Se contabilizaron las expresiones lingüísticas del *PCIC* cuyas construcciones respondían a las estructuras indicadas. Igualmente, se clasificaron según su connotación y dividieron en los diferentes niveles. Esta categorización de los diferentes tipos (emociones) y subtipos (expresiones lingüísticas) sirve como punto de referencia para el posterior análisis de manuales.

En el nivel Acceso, el número de expresiones cuya cláusula codifica al experimentador como objeto es tan solo una (*me gusta*) frente a la presencia algo mayor de expresiones donde es sujeto, como *quiero y prefiero* (*n=3)*. En cambio, el nivel Plataforma no incluye ninguna expresión de este último tipo para las emociones positivas, centrándose en presentar expresiones EO como, por ejemplo, *me encanta, me gustaría, me interesa* (*n=7)*. En cuanto a las emociones neutras y negativas, el nivel A2 presenta un total de 9 y 2 expresiones, respectivamente, en las que el experimentador coincide con el rol sintáctico de sujeto gramatical y solo un subtipo EO (*me duele*) en la expresión de las sensaciones físicas. Así, antes de llegar al nivel Umbral, el *PCIC* establece un total de 23 expresiones lingüísticas para las distintas emociones (positivas: 11: *me gusta, me encanta* etc.; neutras: 10: *me duele, tengo dolor…;* negativas: 2: *odio, no soporto*). Llama la atención el número reducido de expresiones negativas y el hecho de que para emociones con esta connotación no se haya introducido todavía la cláusula EO.

El número de expresiones aumenta considerablemente en el nivel Umbral, especialmente las de estructura ES para emociones positivas y negativas (20: i.e., *me divierto* y 25: i.e., *me preocupo*, respectivamente). En emociones neutras, los subtipos en los que el experimentador es sujeto siguen siendo más comunes que en los que es objeto (9 frente a 3). En total, el número de expresiones de este último tipo es de 25 frente a más del doble en expresiones ES (*n=54*). Finalmente, las expresiones que incorpora el *PCIC* para el nivel Avanzado, nivel que no se ha considerado para el análisis de manuales, ascienden a un total de 159, siendo aquellas del tipo ES (*n=90*: i.e., *me harto*) relativamente más frecuentes que las EO (*n=69*: i.e., *me divierte*). Mientras que las

expresiones incluidas en el *PCIC* que denotan emociones positivas y negativas aparecen de manera muy equilibrada (positivas: 25-EO y 26-ES; negativas: 38 de cada tipo), el número de expresiones donde el experimentador es el sujeto activo para las emociones neutras se cuadriplica con respecto a aquellas de EO (26 frente a 6) (Tabla 8).

Tabla 8. Expresiones ES y EO en el nivel Avanzado del *PCIC*

Emoción	ES (*n*=26)	EO (*n*=6)
Sensaciones físicas	Tengo una sed, un hambre, un frío, un calor, un sueño horrible / espantoso Paso sed, hambre, frío, calor, sueño Estoy hambriento, helado Estoy, me siento, me encuentro cansado / agotado Me he hecho daño con / en Tengo, siento un dolor horrible / espantoso No estoy, no me encuentro nada / demasiado bien	Me cansa / Me agota / Me hace daño
Sorpresa y extrañeza	Estoy sorprendido / extrañado / asombrado de No me lo esperaba	Me sorprende / Me extraña / Me asombra que (subj. pasado)
Arrepentimiento	Siento / Lamento que (subj. pasado)	

Por tanto, a lo largo de los cuatro niveles analizados, el *PCIC* incluye más expresiones cuyo sujeto responde al rol semántico de experimentador que al de estímulo: 49 expresiones de emoción positiva (*te deseo, admiro,* etc.), 44 de neutra (*tengo frío…)* y 65 de negativa (*me desespero...*) en contraposición con 46 de positiva (*me apetece, me entretiene*, etc.), tan solo 10 de neutra (*me sorprende / extraña,* etc.) y 47 de negativa (i.e., *me desespera*).

Así, se puede observar cómo en un nivel inicial el *PCIC* simplemente introduce la expresión del gusto e interés mediante solo dos expresiones lingüísticas: *me gusta* (EO) y *quiero* (ES). Aparte de *me gusta,* el *PCIC* no incluye hasta el nivel Plataforma ninguna otra expresión EO. Sí presenta, aunque también tímidamente, la expresión de la preferencia (*prefiero*) y del deseo (*quiero). La expresión del gusto, de la preferencia y del deseo aparece de nuevo tratada en el nivel Plataforma en expresiones EO como *me gustaría* (gusto y deseo), *me encanta, me interesa* y *SN / Infinitivo es interesante* (gusto), y *me gusta / interesa más* (preferencia). No obstante, destaca la expresión de las sensaciones físicas y de la aversión, que aparecen por primera vez. En el caso de las sensaciones físicas, la única expresión EO es *me duele*, siendo el resto ES: *tengo sed / hambre / frío / calor / sueño, estoy cansado / mal / enfermo, tengo dolor de.* Para la

aversión, las dos expresiones que presenta el *PCIC* en este nivel también son de este último tipo: *odio, no soporto.*

Los niveles B1 y B2 presentan un elenco mucho más amplio de expresiones lingüísticas de la emoción que los niveles iniciales. En el nivel B1 se presentan por primera vez emociones positivas como el afecto, la alegría y satisfacción, el placer y diversión, la empatía, el alivio y la esperanza; emociones neutras, como la sorpresa y extrañeza; y emociones negativas, como son la tristeza y aflicción, la vergüenza, el aburrimiento, el hartazgo, el enfado e indignación, el miedo, la preocupación y el nerviosismo. Sin embargo, algunas de estas nuevas emociones positivas (i.e., la empatía, el alivio y la esperanza) no incluyen ninguna expresión ES ni EO. Se podrían haber incorporado expresiones como *me tranquiliza, me da tranquilidad, me esperanza, me da esperanza.* De hecho, este tipo de expresiones EO no aparecen hasta el nivel Avanzado en el caso de algunas emociones: *me pone contento / de buen humor* y *me hace ilusión,* para expresar la alegría y satisfacción; *me divierte / entretiene,* para el placer y diversión; *me cansa*, para el hartazgo; *me pone nervioso / histérico* y *me desespera* para la expresión del nerviosismo.

El nivel Avanzado, por otro lado, presenta todavía nuevas emociones, lo que desvela que, en la teoría, según los criterios de contenidos del *PCIC*, los alumnos de ELE no están expuestos a elementos léxicos que contengan expresiones con los verbos de afección en cuestión y que designen emociones como la admiración y orgullo, el arrepentimiento, la decepción, la resignación y la ansiedad hasta llegar al nivel B2; si bien, esto no significa que el alumno no sea capaz de expresar esas mismas emociones con otros mecanismos lingüísticos. La única de estas emociones que incluye la expresión lingüística cuya conceptualización responde a la estructura EO es la decepción: *estoy decepcionado / desilusionado* y *me decepciona / desilusiona.* Puesto que en el resto de las emociones nuevas del B2 se presentan expresiones lingüísticas que en la lengua sí tienen equivalentes de EO, se podrían haber incluido estos (i.e., *me impresiona / fascina / enorgullece,* para la admiración y orgullo; *me agobia / inquieta,* en el caso de la ansiedad).

Por otro lado, cabe resaltar algunos patrones generalizados, como, por ejemplo, el uso de expresiones EO con *infinitivo* o *SN* en los niveles iniciales, con *subjuntivo presente* en

el nivel B1 y con *subjuntivo pasado* en el B2 (Tabla 9). Este "reciclaje" de matrices se explica por la introducción del subjuntivo a partir del nivel Umbral.[15]

Tabla 9. Expresiones "recicladas" en niveles superiores al introducir el subjuntivo

(A1) Me gusta	(A2) Odio / No soporto
(B1) Me gusta que (subj. presente)	(B1) Odio / No soporto que (subj. presente)
(B2) Me gusta que (subj. pasado)	(B2) Odio / No soporto que (subj. pasado)

Asimismo, gran parte de las expresiones ES siguen la estructura *estar + adjetivo* o *tener + sustantivo* (*estoy avergonzado / ilusionado / enfermo* etc., y *tengo sed / interés / miedo,* etc.). También se incluyen expresiones ES y EO en las que el significado semántico ya viene integrado en el propio verbo (*me avergüenzo, me decepciona, me aburro, me aburre…*). Se observa, aparte, cómo a partir del nivel B1 muchas de las expresiones EO incluyen la forma *a alguien* (afectado) + *dar* (verbo de afectación) + *emoción: me da miedo / igual / pena / vergüenza / asco / rabia,* etc. No obstante, el *PCIC* no presenta una serie de expresiones cuyos correspondientes ES o EO sí introduce y que no supondría un mayor esfuerzo ni incluirlas ni, en el caso del aprendiente de ELE, aprenderlas. Véase el caso de expresiones ES, como *me alegro / enamoro / impresiono* y cómo el *PCIC* no contempla las expresiones *me alegra / enamora / impresiona.* De la misma manera, contempla expresiones EO (*me pone furioso, me sorprende / extraña / decepciona / desilusiona / deprime*) cuyos equivalentes ES no incluye. Igualmente, expresiones como *me pongo triste* (ES) y *me pone triste* (EO), no incorporan sinónimos donde el verbo contenga el significado semántico *(me entristezco* y *me entristece).*

2.3.3. PI3: ¿Cómo tratan los manuales de ELE de mayor difusión la expresión de la emoción a través de los verbos de afección? (PI3.1) ¿Se ajustan al PCIC? (PI3.2) ¿La trabajan desde un modelo de corte cognitivo y operacional?

Para el análisis de manuales hemos explorado, por un lado, el tratamiento de las emociones según su connotación y el número de expresiones de cada tipo—ES y EO—

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[15] Según la *GBE,* se considera *matriz* a la palabra o conjunto de palabras que inducen el modo de la cláusula subordinada que les sigue.

en los niveles A1, A2 y B1 de cada manual[16][17]. Con los resultados obtenidos, hemos realizado un análisis contrastivo con respecto al uso que hace de estas el *PCIC*. Finalmente, hemos estudiado cómo se incorpora el componente cognitivo en los manuales, partiendo de la hipótesis de que probablemente se abordan las expresiones meta desde un punto de vista léxico, sin considerar la semántica. Si bien, por un lado, el manual es solo una parte de la muestra de la lengua a la que el aprendiente de ELE tiene acceso y, por otro, las guías del profesorado incorporan recomendaciones didácticas complementarias, por motivos de extensión se ha limitado el análisis a los libros de texto.

2.3.3.1.Manuales analizados

El manual *Gente Hoy (A1-B1)* (ver Anexo 9 como ejemplo) trata únicamente la expresión del gusto e interés y de la preferencia en el nivel A1, pero no aborda el deseo, emoción que el *PCIC* incluye desde el nivel Acceso. En el nivel Plataforma, se trabajan exactamente los mismos estados de afectación que se habían presentado en el nivel A1, alejándose así de las directrices del *PCIC* al no incluir la expresión del deseo, de las sensaciones físicas y de la aversión. De esta manera, este manual no sistematiza hasta el nivel Umbral las emociones neutras y negativas. Asimismo, este nivel introduce expresiones de la preferencia que no aparecen contempladas en el *PCIC*: *me viene bien / mal.* En cuanto al número de subtipos, en el *PCIC* se sigue el mismo patrón tanto en las expresiones EO como en las ES. Así, se observa un incremento a medida que el nivel aumenta (ES y EO: A1 *n=4* / A2 *n=19* / B1 *n=79*; EO: A1 *n=1* / A2 *n=8* / B1 *n=25*). Por otro lado, el *PCIC* incluye en total más subtipos que codifican el experimentador como objeto (68 frente a 34). Sin embargo, *Gente* incorpora significativamente más casos de expresiones lingüísticas en el nivel Acceso que en el Plataforma e introduce en total más del doble de casos de EO (346 frente a 160 de ES).

Al igual que el manual anterior*, Campus Sur (A1-B1)* trabaja desde el nivel A1 emociones como el gusto e interés y la preferencia, pero no es hasta el A2 cuando introduce el deseo. Aparte del deseo, y siguiendo las directrices del *PCIC*, incluye en el nivel Plataforma emociones como el gusto e interés y la emoción negativa de la aversión.

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[16] El orden escogido para presentar el análisis de los manuales de ELE es aleatorio y simplemente responde al orden cronológico en que fueron explorados.

[17] En el caso de la *GBE*, la expresión de la emoción se introduce solo en el nivel A2 y B1. De *¡Genial!* hemos examinado simplemente los niveles A1 y A2, ya que el nivel B1 no se había publicado en el momento del análisis.

Sin embargo, no menciona la preferencia o a las sensaciones físicas. Estas últimas no se tratan en ninguno de los niveles analizados. Sí presenta en el nivel A2 emociones que el *PCIC* se reserva hasta el nivel Avanzado como la alegría y satisfacción o el afecto y la falta de afecto —si bien estas dos ya no se vuelven a explotar en el B1—. En este último nivel del manual se trabajan tímidamente dos nuevas emociones (la envidia y la curiosidad) y se introducen expresiones —*me motiva* (esperanza) *me estresa* (nerviosismo), *me tranquiliza* y *me relaja* (alivio)—que no aparecen categorizadas en el *PCIC*. Al igual que en el manual *Gente,* se presentan numerosos casos más en el nivel A1 (103) que en el A2 (26) en cuanto a las expresiones EO, y en total, estas superan con creces las construcciones de ES (226 frente a 38).

A diferencia de los manuales previamente analizados, *Bitácora (A1-B1)* introduce desde el nivel A1 las emociones negativas con la expresión del nerviosismo, que el *PCIC* no incluye hasta el B1. En el nivel Plataforma se centra en el gusto e interés y el deseo y presenta por primera vez la preferencia, pero se aleja del *PCIC* al no tratar las sensaciones físicas y la aversión. Todas estas emociones las introducir nuevamente en el B1 al tratar el subjuntivo junto a otras emociones que aparecen por primera vez (el afecto, la alegría y satisfacción, la sorpresa y extrañeza, la vergüenza, el aburrimiento, y el enfado e indignación). En cuanto al número de casos, *Bitácora* sigue el mismo esquema que los manuales anteriores y se aleja del patrón observado en el *PCIC*: (ES y EO: A1*n*=89 / A2 *n*=33 / B1*n*=197; EO: A1 *n*=80 / A2*n*=31 / B1 *n*=155). Asimismo, introduce un total de casos EO significativamente más elevado (266 frente a 53 del *PCIC*).

En cuanto al manual *Aula Internacional (A1-B1)*, este sigue las directrices del *PCIC* en los niveles A1 y A2, a excepción de la aversión, cuya expresión no presenta a sus aprendientes hasta el nivel B1. El afecto, el placer y diversión, y emociones negativas como la vergüenza, el miedo y la preocupación se incluyen únicamente en el nivel A2, mientras que el *PCIC* no las considera hasta el nivel Avanzado. Del mismo modo, al margen del gusto e interés y de la admiración y orgullo (no incluidas en el *PCIC* hasta el B2), el manual no presenta ninguna otra emoción positiva ni neutra en el nivel B1 y se centra, principalmente, en las negativas. También se aleja del *PCIC* al incluir un número más elevado de expresiones en el nivel Acceso que en el Plataforma y el Avanzado (A1*n*=108 / A2*n*=70 / B1*n*=93), así como de expresiones totales de EO en comparación con las de ES (210 frente a 61).

La *Gramática Básica del Estudiante de español (GBE) (A2-B1)*, a diferencia del resto de manuales analizados, recoge únicamente los principales aspectos gramaticales del

español. Las emociones no se trabajan hasta la sección 4 (Verbos), en el apartado 33 sobre indicativo y subjuntivo. Por tanto, las introduce junto con el subjuntivo en el nivel Avanzado, a excepción del deseo, que se incluye en ejercicios del A2. La *GBE* presenta el doble de emociones de connotación positiva que negativa y excluye las neutras (el gusto e interés, la preferencia, el deseo y la alegría y satisfacción frente a las negativas de la aversión y del enfado e indignación), que tan solo incluyen una expresión por emoción. La *GBE* es el único manual que realmente sigue al *PCIC*, al incluir más casos de expresiones ES (29 frente a 13).

En el nivel Acceso, el manual *Nuevo Prisma (A1-B1)* tan solo incluye la expresión del gusto e interés y de las sensaciones físicas. Estas últimas las trabaja, igualmente, en el siguiente nivel junto con el resto de las emociones incluidas en el A2 por el *PCIC*, a excepción de la aversión. Asimismo, en el A2 se estudian nuevas emociones que no aparecen en el *PCIC*: la seguridad y confianza y en el Umbral, la envidia. En este último nivel, el manual incluye tímidamente la admiración y orgullo y la decepción, cuyo tratamiento en el *PCIC* no se presenta hasta el B2. Siguiendo las directrices del *PCIC* en cuanto al número de expresiones trabajadas, *Nuevo Prisma* presenta un aumento proporcional (A1n=49 / A2n=81 / B1n=104). No obstante, difiere del *PCIC* en el tratamiento significativamente mayor del total de expresiones EO (184 frente a 50).

Aunque en *Etapas (A1-B1)* se trabaja gran diversidad de emociones en el nivel A1, no se profundiza en ninguna de ellas, salvo en las sensaciones físicas. Para el nivel A2, el manual sistematiza las mismas emociones incluidas en el *PCIC* a excepción del deseo y la aversión. En el caso del nivel Avanzado, la expresión de las emociones negativas no se trabaja prácticamente. Al igual que *Nuevo Prisma*, *Etapas* sigue las directrices del *PCIC* en tanto que presenta un aumento considerable a medida que aumenta el nivel y difiere, como el manual anterior, al incluir en total casi el doble de expresiones EO (149 frente a 79 ES). Llama la atención que, en el caso de las expresiones EO, solo haya un caso en el nivel A1: (A1n=1: *me gustaría* / A2n=71 / B1n=77).

Los niveles analizados (A1 y A2) del manual *¡Genial! (A1-A2)* incluyen la expresión del gusto e interés y de la preferencia en ambos casos, y del deseo y las sensaciones físicas solamente en el nivel Plataforma, alejándose del *PCIC* en la ausencia del deseo y de la aversión en el nivel A1 y A2 respectivamente. Sin embargo, no se trabajan las emociones negativas en ninguno de los niveles. En cuanto al número de expresiones incluidas, *¡Genial!* sigue el patrón observado en la mayoría de los manuales analizados: el nivel Plataforma, a diferencia de lo que indica el *PCIC*, incluye casi la mitad de casos que el

nivel Acceso. Asimismo, las expresiones EO abundan a lo largo del manual (174 frente a 23).

AgenciaELE (A1-B1) sigue las directrices del *PCIC* en los niveles A1 y A2, a excepción de la aversión, emoción que el manual no incluye en ningún nivel. A diferencia del *PCIC*, hay una pobreza total en cuanto a la variedad de las emociones en el nivel B1, puesto que simplemente estudia el gusto e interés y el deseo, todas ellas de connotación positiva. Asimismo, difiere del *PCIC* en cuanto al número de expresiones que presenta en cada nivel, siendo el nivel Plataforma el que más expresiones introduce —como se ha observado en la mayoría de los manuales— y el nivel Avanzado el que menos (al igual que *Aula Internacional*). De la misma manera que en otros manuales, el número total de expresiones EO es considerablemente superior (204 frente a 80).

El último manual analizado, *Método de español (A1-B1)* presenta, al igual que *Aula Internacional* y *AgenciaELE,* coherencia con las emociones del *PCIC*. La única diferencia es que no hay excepciones en cuanto a no abordar una emoción en concreto. En esta línea, las sensaciones físicas, presentadas por el *PCIC* en el nivel Plataforma, este manual las sistematiza ya desde el nivel A1. En cuanto al B1, se presentan relativamente el mismo número de emociones que en niveles inferiores y hay un equilibrio entre el uso de emociones positivas (gustos e intereses y deseos) y las negativas (tristeza y aflicción, aversión y aburrimiento). En el caso de las expresiones lingüísticas que aparecen a lo largo del manual, *Método de español* invierte el patrón del *PCIC*, ya que el número de expresiones decrece a medida que el nivel aumenta: (A1n=341 / A2n=108 / B1n=72), patrón observado asimismo en *¡Genial!* y, al igual que la mayoría incluye en total un número considerablemente mayor de EO (422 frente a 99). Tras el análisis, nos planteamos si la tendencia de algunos de estos manuales a seguir o no las recomendaciones marcadas por el *PCIC* podría estar relacionada con otra tendencia a la observación de unos manuales a otros.

2.3.3.2.El componente cognitivo en los manuales explorados

En cuanto al tratamiento de las estructuras meta, cabe destacar que ninguno de estos manuales las aborda explícitamente desde el principio ni parte del modelo cognitivo (Anexo 10: análisis detallado por manual). Todos responden al paradigma comunicativo clásico, que trabaja metodologías nocio-funcionales, por tareas y de acción. La excepción la presenta la *GBE,* que sigue un enfoque de acción y cognitivo, aunque no para la expresión de la emoción. Por lo general, el *input* gramatical se descubre inductiva y

progresivamente y su explicación se limita a la sistematización de las formas verbales flexionadas en las diferentes personas gramaticales y a ejemplos.

Así, los manuales *Gente, Aula Internacional, Etapas, Método* y *AgenciaELE* presentan las cláusulas meta alejándose de la relación *forma-significado* y potenciando la reflexión en torno a la parte morfosintáctica de los verbos de emoción. En el caso de *AgenciaELE,* se habla de 'dos tipos de verbos diferentes', lo cual reduce positivamente el uso de metalenguaje, pero no se profundiza más. *Campus Sur* trabaja el componente cognitivo en mayor medida, al ofrecer una explicación visual con flechas y detallar que verbos como gustar, encantar o interesar provocan un efecto en alguien (el complemento indirecto), que es quien recibe la acción. *Bitácora* también aborda únicamente estos tres verbos, a los que denomina 'de afección', refiriéndose al sujeto no como la persona que experimenta sino como 'la cosa que produce el sentimiento'. Asimismo, potencia la reflexión lingüística al comparar estas estructuras con la lengua materna (L1) del aprendiente, lo que fomenta la resonancia emocional inherente a la L1.

Por otro lado, la *GBE*, material de apoyo para el aprendizaje autónomo, trabaja desde un enfoque cognitivo la oración subordinada (con verbo en subjuntivo), pero no la matriz léxica, la cual presenta a partir de listas de memorización, aspecto que difiere de la filosofía operativa del manual. En el caso de *¡Genial!* se trabajan los verbos meta, designados como 'verbos de valoración o afección' y se explica que el sujeto es 'lo que nos gusta o valoramos'. Igualmente, se centra la atención en el contraste *gusta-gustaría* en términos de función, focalizando así la atención en el binomio *forma-significado*. No obstante, en su conjunto, en todos los manuales se muestran las estructuras SE y SO de manera artificiosa, ya que son reducidas a sus aspectos más formales y a taxonomías que no contemplan el *porqué* del hablante a la hora de utilizar una forma u otra. Al excluirse el significado gramatical, que es la base de cualquier valor pragmático y discursivo, los alumnos están expuestos a casuísticas contradictorias y contraproducentes en la evolución de su aprendizaje.

2.3.3.3.Propuesta de mejora didáctica

Para la creación de material didáctico (Anexo 11) consideramos la corrección del tratamiento de las expresiones meta y una serie de criterios comunicativo-cognitivos (Bielak y Pawlak, 2013; *GBE*, 2011; Newby, 2012) que buscan explotar significativamente el tratamiento de la expresión de la emoción, focalizando la atención en los diferentes roles que adopta el experimentador. El objetivo de esta propuesta es

romper con la visión formal de la gramática presente en la mayoría de los manuales en cuanto al tratamiento de estas cláusulas. En relación con los principios cognitivos, uno de los aspectos considerados es que la secuencia se articule en torno a las cuatro fases de aprendizaje propuestas por Newby (2012): la primera, de concienciación lingüística de los alumnos hacia la forma meta; la segunda, una fase de conceptualización y formulación de hipótesis; la tercera, de procedimentalización del conocimiento lingüístico, es decir, de práctica significativa; y la última fase, basada en la actuación lingüística en tiempo real, donde el alumno incorpore los aspectos gramaticales trabajados. Igualmente, el material debe prestarse a la reflexión gramatical explícita durante las fases de presentación, realización, corrección y discusión para que este comprenda y automatice la estructura lingüística meta (expresión de la emoción) y distinga los diferentes usos de esta (cláusulas ES y EO). Es imprescindible centrar la atención en este contraste de significados para que el aprendiente interiorice la motivación semántica que subyace a la gramática y los factores pragmático-discursivos incluidos en el cambio de significado. Para ello, la explicación gramatical que presentamos ofrece una descripción consistente, unívoca y operativa del contraste entre los verbos psicológicos de ES y EO. De esta manera, el aprendiente llevará a cabo un ejercicio de reflexión cuyo resultado le permitirá asimilar la sistematicidad de los recursos gramaticales y prevenir errores potenciales.

Por otra parte, con el objeto de apoyar y facilitar la comprensión y el procesamiento de los significados gramaticales, las actividades emplean elementos figurativos y cognitivos como símbolos, colores e imágenes que ilustran el uso del valor de la forma. Este poder ilustrativo no solo ayuda al estudiante a visualizar mentalmente la intención comunicativa y la percepción del hablante, sino que lo acerca a la lengua meta y le permite establecer conexiones con su bagaje lingüístico (lengua materna y otras LEs). Esta apelación a los constructos / conceptualizaciones ya existentes en la mente del hablante para crear otras nuevas, según Arnold (1999), facilita la adquisición y retención a largo plazo de la forma lingüística. De la misma manera, consideramos que las analogías entre las estructuras lingüísticas y la percepción visual (Teoría de la *Gestalt*, también adoptada por enfoques cognitivistas) potencian la asimilación y retención de los roles que adoptan los participantes en las cláusulas de verbos de afección y, por ende, de las cláusulas problemáticas de EO.

A la integración del elemento visual hemos incorporado el factor lúdico, para así crear un ambiente de trabajo distendido en el que el alumnado viva una experiencia gramatical positiva y afectiva. Al tratarse de una secuencia centrada en la expresión de la emoción,

el humor y lo lúdico cobran todavía más sentido. Por último, a la hora de diseñar la secuencia, se han tenido en cuenta aspectos como la existencia de un léxico y un metalenguaje claros y accesibles (numerosos estudios han identificado correlaciones positivas entre la conciencia metalingüística y el dominio en la LE: Sorace, 1985; White y Ranta, 2002), para que así el alumno centre su atención en el significado de la forma. No obstante, la claridad de la explicación y de los elementos que rodean a la estructura meta no implica que no haya desafío. La resolución de cada tarea debe suponer un reto y debe contemplar el error, ya que, si no hay evidencia del problema, este reincide hasta llegar a fosilizarse. Por tanto, si bien la corrección reactiva no puede abordarse explícitamente en los materiales, puesto que pertenece al momento de práctica docente, las tareas se diseñaron previendo las posibles problemáticas y previniéndolas mediante la concienciación forma-significado.

2.4. Recapitulación y conclusiones

La LC y en concreto la GC han experimentado grandes avances desde sus inicios en los años 80, aunque su aplicación conceptual carece de la creación abundante de materiales de instrucción gramatical. Como hemos observado, se trata de un modelo cuyas características fundamentan teóricamente la práctica de docentes interesados en que sus alumnos extranjeros procesen y adquieran la lengua significativamente (Castañeda Castro, 2014; Llopis García, Real Espinosa y Ruiz Campillo, 2012). Ese puente entre teoría y práctica resulta, por tanto, un requisito *sine qua non* para la asimilación de un área dificultosa en la adquisición de ELE, como son las cláusulas EO en verbos de afección, y para el desarrollo de una competencia comunicativa motivada en todas sus dimensiones para el alumnado. Por esta razón y partiendo de la premisa de que los principales libros de texto no trabajan suficientemente las emociones desde niveles iniciales a partir de una perspectiva cognitiva, hemos realizado un análisis de un corpus de manuales donde exploramos el inventario de emociones del *PCIC* y 10 de los manuales actuales de más impacto.

Tras analizar el tratamiento de la expresión de la emoción, observamos cómo estos manuales no se ajustan a los contenidos por niveles que propone el *PCIC*, pese a ser diseñados siguiendo las directrices del *MCERL* y del *PCIC*. Así, incorporan emociones y expresiones que el *PCIC* no recoge hasta niveles más avanzados, o que directamente no incluye. Algunas emociones, por el contrario, no se incluyen ni aparecen en niveles iniciales como propone el *PCIC*. De acuerdo con el *PCIC*, la mayoría presentan las

emociones positivas en los niveles más bajos, sin incidir en las negativas hasta niveles superiores, decisión carente de lógica, puesto que esto no permite al estudiante expresarse en todo el rango emocional en niveles donde el 'yo' y lo personal son el centro de comunicación. Asimismo, aunque la gran mayoría de los manuales explorados presentan un mayor número de cláusulas EO que ES, evidenciándose así la gran frecuencia de estas construcciones 'inversas', estas no se explican atendiendo al binomio forma-significado ni considerando los roles semántico-referenciales del experimentador y del estímulo. En lo referente a la explotación de acercamientos cognitivos, no se ha encontrado ningún manual que trate todo el elenco de verbos psicológicos desde esta perspectiva.

Los resultados obtenidos son el punto de partida de investigaciones venideras en el ámbito de la didáctica de ELE, ya que sirven de base para el diseño de propuestas pedagógicas fundamentadas en una metodología cognitiva, operativa y de acción, que presenten construcciones dificultosas como las de EO partiendo de los roles de experimentador-estímulo.[18] En definitiva, consideramos que la LC debe seguir nutriéndose de la creación de materiales que animen al aprendiente a crear su propia narración y de estudios empíricos que potencien, por una parte, un aprendizaje más rápido y duradero del vocabulario, a la vez que una comprensión más profunda del sistema lingüístico meta; y, por otra, la mejora personal del instructor en su práctica docente.

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[18] El estudio empírico, junto al previo diseño de materiales, se está realizando así mismo como parte de mi proyecto de Tesis Doctoral.

Chapter 3 [Paper 2]

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH VERBS OF AFFECTION IN ELE: THE VOID OF THE COGNITIVE APPROACH IN TEXTBOOKS

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

This study addresses the issue of the teaching-learning process of emotions with reverse psych-verb constructions (e.g., *me gusta* 'that pleases me') in the Spanish as a Foreign Language (ELE in the native language acronym) classroom. In these constructions, an external object or event (the Stimulus) is felt to act on an Experiencer in order to engender within him or her a particular mental event. We further examine this type of constructions in 10 ELE textbooks in an attempt to elucidate their treatment and departing from the hypothesis that their grammatical explanation does not contemplate communicative-cognitive aspects. Results from a qualitative analysis show an overall communicative treatment of these linguistic forms, yet a formalist, unsystematic and cognitively poor one as well, which would partly account for ELE learners' difficulties in acquiring these constructions. Results point to the need to advocate the union of the communicative and cognitive approaches in order to master these grammatical elements and reach effective communication.

3.1. Introducción: el vacío de "la gran invitada de piedra" en el currículo comunicativo

La enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras (LE) ha experimentado en las últimas cuatro décadas cambios metodológicos de gran relevancia. Tras despegar gracias al enfoque comunicativo en los años 80 (Ellis, 1996; Littlewood y William, 1981; Mitchell, 1988; Swan, 1985) y ganar altura recientemente con la enseñanza por tareas, contenidos o proyectos (Ellis, 2017; Kokotsaki, Menzies y Wiggins, 2016; Lyster, 2017), la enseñanza del léxico empieza finalmente a aterrizar y a sentar sus bases. Ha pasado, por un lado, de centrarse en el docente de LE a situar en el centro de aprendizaje al aprendiente, y, por otro, de enfatizar el producto lingüístico final a detenerse en el propio proceso de aprendizaje de la LE. Sin embargo, esta mejora en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje no se ha desarrollado de la misma manera en el plano gramatical (Herbst, 2016; Larsen-Freeman, 2015; Tyler, 2012). Prueba de ello son los numerosos manuales de ELE que todavía muestran un enfoque nocio-funcional de la gramática y la estudian desde un punto de vista descriptivo y formalista (Llopis García e Hijazo Gascón, 2019; Martín-Gascón, 2020a). En esta línea, Ruiz Campillo (Sánchez Jiménez y Ruiz Campillo, 2017: 91) afirma que la gramática es la "gran invitada de piedra que se ofrece troceada y desistematizada como mero auxilio incidental para la *comunicación*" y añade que una visión formalista y funcional no deja espacio a una concepción comunicativa y lógica de la lengua.

La conceptualización y la expresión de la emoción ocupan un papel fundamental en la cognición, ya que los procesos afectivos y cognitivos interactúan y se ven afectados los unos por los otros (Panksepp et al., 2017; Taub et al., 2019). En el caso del aprendizaje de una LE, la emoción y la cognición adquieren, si cabe, un rol aún más relevante, puesto que el alumno no solo debe aprender a gestionar la expresión de la emoción, tarea ya difícil, sino que ha de hacerlo usando un léxico y una gramática extranjeras. Esto puede, como resultado, aumentar la desmotivación en el aprendiente de ELE desde niveles iniciales (Méndez Santos y Llopis García, 2020) y, por ende, provocar la pérdida de interés y el abandono de la lengua, tal y como revelan investigaciones recientes (p. ej. Evans y Tragant, 2020; Tsui, Kooi y Sercu, 2017). A esta dificultad se le añade el hecho de que la expresión de las emociones se aborda, como la gramática en general, desde una perspectiva nocio-funcional y descriptiva. A este respecto, uno de los grandes retos para el aprendiente de ELE es la correcta asimilación de las construcciones inversas con Experimentador dativo y verbos psicológicos o de afección, como *me*$_{\text{Dat}}$ *gusta, me*$_{\text{Dat}}$

molesta, me$_{Dat}$ *encanta,* entre otras (verbos del tipo III de Belletti y Rizzi, 1988; Gascon, 1998; Halloran-González, 2020), por la especial relación sintáctico-semántica que las caracteriza (orden oracional OVS). Para el aprendiente de ELE, la forma lingüística en la que aparece el ente experimentador (p. ej. *me*) en las construcciones Experimentador$_{Dat}$ Objeto (EO) resulta una forma (en cierto modo) *opaca* que no se deduce implícitamente con facilidad. A pesar de tener la preeminencia oracional, esta ocupa el lugar prototípico de sujeto sintáctico y no de objeto. Si consideramos los principios de VanPaten (2004:18) a la hora de asignar papeles semánticos o gramaticales y, más concretamente, la estrategia del primer nombre, que arguye que el aprendiente asigna por defecto el papel de agente o sujeto al primer nombre o frase nominal que encuentra en un enunciado, no podemos dejar de enfatizar la necesidad de un acercamiento cognitivo y explícito en el tratamiento de estas construcciones EO.

Con el objetivo de tomar conciencia de la forma en la que las editoriales de mayor impacto en el mundo de ELE trabajan la expresión de la emoción, el presente estudio se centra en el análisis cualitativo del tratamiento de las construcciones EO en 10 manuales. Los niveles examinados corresponden a los niveles A1, A2 y B1 del Marco Común Europeo de Lenguas (MCER) (Consejo de Europa, 2002), sumando así 36 manuales y 70 unidades analizadas. Partiendo de los resultados principalmente cuantitativos de un reciente estudio sobre el tratamiento de las construcciones Experimentador Sujeto (ES) y EO en los manuales y de cómo estos se ajustan o no al inventario de emociones del Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes (PCIC) (Martín-Gascón, 2020a), examinamos el tratamiento de las construcciones inversas EO de manera aún más exhaustiva a partir de un informe elaborado a partir de 20 criterios cognitivo-comunicativos, que detallaremos y que consideramos esenciales a la hora de enseñar y aprender estas construcciones. Se pretende, así, analizar críticamente desde una perspectiva cognitiva y comunicativa el material al que está expuesto el aprendiente de ELE. Este primer paso es fundamental para reformular la docencia de estas expresiones lingüísticas dificultosas. El análisis propuesto aboga por la unión del enfoque cognitivo y comunicativo, coexistencia natural que nace de la importancia de incorporar en el currículo comunicativo la "gran invitada de piedra", instrumento esencial de una comunicación efectiva y satisfactoria.

3.2. La Lingüística Cognitiva y las construcciones con verbos de afección

La gramática cognitiva es una gramática significativa que facilita por naturaleza la unión sistemática y estructurada entre el aspecto comunicativo y el cognitivo. Se trata de

una visión transgresora de la gramática que concibe las formas lingüísticas en cuanto a sus significados. Así, una enseñanza gramatical basada en los presupuestos teóricos de la lingüística cognitiva estudia el lenguaje como una representación simbólica del mundo experiencial y construye el significado a partir de la forma y de la propia selección del hablante. Uno de los principios fundamentales que aleja a la gramática cognitiva de la gramática imperante es el rechazo de la separación entre los componentes de la lengua (semántica, léxico, etc.) (Langacker, 1999, 2008). Aboga, por tanto, por una extensión de la estructura simbólica a todos los niveles del lenguaje, incluyendo incluso la pragmática. Los principios de la gramática operativa de Ruiz Campillo (1998, 2005) coinciden, asimismo, con los postulados de la lingüística cognitiva. El autor define operatividad como la búsqueda del valor básico de una forma gramatical o de un significado. Este valor es el resultado de reducir la extensa lista de significados de una forma lingüística a una única forma que permita explicar el significado de esta por sí sola. De acuerdo con Ruiz Campillo (2005:2), el significado permanece "inalterado en su recorrido del morfema a la palabra, de la palabra a la oración y de la oración al discurso".

En esta línea, Llopis García (2011a:113) arguye que el poder de la concepción de forma y significado como una única unidad simbólica reside en la ampliación del concepto de estructura gramatical, que recoge todo tipo de formas lingüísticas: verbos, perífrasis verbales e incluso construcciones. Así, las estructuras gramaticales objeto de estudio son construcciones de afección compuestas por la unión convencional de una forma y de una función, cuyo significado es "no composicional". La gramática de construcciones (Goldberg, 1995, 2006), siguiendo esa línea de razonamiento, no establece una división entre la semántica y la pragmática, ya que defiende que los aspectos convencionales de una construcción vienen codificados dentro de la construcción.

La manera en la que percibimos e interpretamos el abstracto universo de las emociones, esto es, nuestra representación mental, influye en nuestra representación lingüística, es decir, en el uso de una forma lingüística u otra, de un verbo de afección u otro, de una construcción u otra. De ahí se desprende que la gramática cognitiva parte de una perspectiva experiencial, lo que implica una interconexión entre cuerpo, lengua, mente y mundo. A este respecto, estudios tipológicos en lenguas europeas defienden que la forma canónica de conceptualizar eventos de proceso mental es a través de estructuras argumentales donde el agente semántico, o Experimentador, es el Sujeto sintáctico (ES), y el Estímulo, el Objeto (Bossong, 1998; Croft, 2012; Haspelmath, 2001). Sin embargo,

en español, los verbos psicológicos que expresan emociones y que codifican al Experimentador como Objeto son muy frecuentes. En estas construcciones "inversas" (OVS), el Estímulo externo (sujeto sintáctico o *performative*) actúa sobre el Experimentador y genera en este un evento mental particular (p. ej. sentimiento de agrado). Por el contrario, en las estructuras que "subjetivizan" al Experimentador, ese estado o evento mental surge intrínseca y autónomamente, proyectándose en un objeto o evento externo (el Estímulo):

> Accordingly, with Stimulus as subject, an external object or event (the Stimulus) may be felt to act on an Experiencer so as to engender within him or her a particular mental event. Conversely, with Experiencer as subject, the mental event may be felt to arise autonomously and to direct itself outward toward a selected object. (Talmy, 2000:101)

Las investigaciones sobre patrones léxicos de Talmy (1985, 2000) y, más concretamente, la noción de *valencia* con respecto a los verbos de afecto, han aportado luz a este asunto, ya que en su obra se identifican modelos de valencia y se estudia el contraste en el dinamismo y en el control de dichos esquemas valenciales. Asimismo, al describir una situación afectiva, Talmy (2000:98) subraya las diferencias léxicas en los verbos de afecto (p. ej. ES-*like* / EO-*please*), que son motivadas por los diferentes roles semántico-referenciales y que afectan a la estructura gramatical de estas construcciones. Su uso varía, igualmente, según la dirección del origen o de la causa del estado mental (ver flechas en Figuras 1 y 2). Por tanto, podría concluirse que si el estado es el resultado de la proyección de un Estímulo —idea causante y externa al ente experimentador— (p. ej. la lluvia: el petricor, la frescura, etc.,) en un Experimentador, nos encontramos ante una construcción "inversa" (Figura 1), mientras que si la proyección se dirige desde un Experimentador hacia un objeto externo o Estímulo (Figura 2), estamos ante una construcción gramaticalmente prototípica (SVO).

♡♡♡
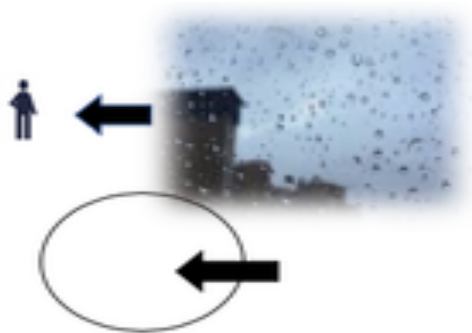
Figura 1. *Me encanta **la lluvia***
EO ← V ← Estímulo
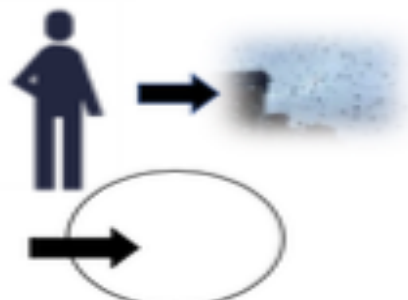
Figura 2. *Yo adoro la lluvia*
ES → V → Estímulo

También desde una perspectiva cognitiva, estas construcciones gramaticales pueden entenderse a partir de procesos metafóricos subyacentes. Como proponen Ruiz de Mendoza y Mairal (2007a) en su modelo léxico-construccional, la metáfora es un proceso cognitivo externo de coerción que permite una subsunción léxico-construccional. Las construcciones EO con verbos de afección (Figura 1) pueden interpretarse en términos físicos de fuerza (resultado de una coerción) cuando este tipo de verbos se integran en construcciones con relaciones causativas (motivadas por el verbo) entre los *subestados* (Experimentador y Estímulo). Esta relación se interpreta metafóricamente como una relación causativa entre *subeventos* (agente o causante y paciente). A este respecto, Köveceses (1997) propone la metáfora conceptual EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (LA EMOCIÓN ES UNA FUERZA FÍSICA) para ejemplificar la interpretación prototípica de dinámica de fuerzas en eventos causativos (Talmy, 2000).[19]

En el ámbito empírico, destacan investigaciones del campo de la psicolingüística y de la adquisición que exploran la variabilidad en estructuras ES y EO y cómo esta aparente inconsistencia es el resultado de las diferencias en la representación léxico-

[19] El estudio de adquisición anteriormente citado (González, 2020) analiza el ejemplo (a), con experimentador acusativo, como una oración causativa de cambio de estado y, a diferencia de nuestro posicionamiento teórico basado en los principios de la teoría conceptual de la metáfora (Kövecses, 1999) y del modelo léxico-construccional de Ruiz de Mendoza y Mairal (2007), analiza el ejemplo (b), con experimentador dativo, similar a las construcciones objeto de estudio, como una oración en la que no se produce un cambio de estado. Esto se aleja de la idea de que ejemplos como (b) puedan entenderse a partir de procesos metafóricos en términos de dinámica de fuerzas, resultantes de una coerción, como una relación causativa de cambio de estado.
(a) Los gritos de Fernando asustan a Luis.
(b) **A Luis**Dat **le** (Experimentador-paciente) asustan **los gritos de Fernando** (Estímulo-agente o causante).

semántica de este tipo de verbos, (p. ej. Halloran-González, 2020; Hartshorne, Pogue y Snedeker, 2015; Thompson y Lee, 2009). Asimismo, las propiedades semántico-sintácticas de los verbos de afección se han analizado en estudios de corpus (Ganeshan, 2018; Melis, 1999; Miglio, Gries, Harris, Wheeler y Santana-Paixão, 2013; Vázquez-Rozas, 2012). Aunque en el campo de la enseñanza de ELE destacan estudios reveladores sobre la valiosa aportación del modelo cognitivo (Gómez Vicente, 2019a, 2019b; Ibarretxe Antuñano, Cadierno-López y Castañeda Castro, 2019; Llopis García, 2011b; López García, 2005) y se han publicado propuestas didácticas específicas de corte cognitivo (p. ej. Acquaroni Muñoz, 2008a; Hijazo Gascón, 2011; Lantolf y Bobrova, 2014), salvo omisión involuntaria, más allá del análisis de manuales e inventario de emociones del PCIC en Martín-Gascón (2020a), no hay estudios hasta la fecha que examinen en profundidad estas construcciones con verbos psicológicos desde una perspectiva cognitivo-comunicativa en los manuales de ELE.

3.3. Metodología

El análisis cualitativo de los 10 manuales se realizó a partir de una plantilla (Martín-Gascón, 2020a) que incorporaba 20 criterios: 13 cognitivos y 7 comunicativos, inspirados y adaptados de investigaciones sobre gramática cognitiva, comunicativa y operativa aplicadas (Alhmoud y Castañeda Castro, 2015; Bielak y Pawlak, 2013; Newby, 2012, 2015; Ruiz Campillo, 1985, 2005), así como de publicaciones que interconectan la lingüística cognitiva con la *Gramática Básica del Estudiante de Español* (Alonso Raya et al., 2011) (p. ej. Llopis García, 2011c; Miquel López, 2008).

3.3.1. Manuales de ELE

Los 10 manuales de ELE analizados están destinados a un alumnado adulto y se corresponden con los niveles A1, A2 y B1 del MCER. Nos hemos centrado en estos tres niveles, ya que partimos de la hipótesis de que es fundamental incorporar el estudio de la expresión de la emoción ya en niveles iniciales, donde se explota la expresión del "yo" y de lo personal. Todos ellos proceden de editoriales punteras en el ámbito de ELE (Tabla 1). Para la selección de manuales se contemplaron 3 aspectos, principalmente: la variedad de enfoques, su presencia en la enseñanza reglada de ELE (universidades de EE. UU. y Europa, así como Institutos Cervantes) y la actualidad de sus ediciones (Figura 3).

Tabla 1. Editoriales y manuales analizados

Editoriales	Manuales
Difusión	*Gente Hoy*
	Campus Sur
	Bitácora
	Aula Internacional
	Gramática Básica del Estudiante de Español (GBE)
Edinumen	*Nuevo Prisma*
	Etapas
enCLAVE-ELE	*¡Genial!*
SGEL-Educación	*Agencia ELE*
Anaya	*Método de español*

En cuanto a la selección de unidades que trabajan la expresión de la emoción, se consideraron diversos aspectos. Por un lado, se tuvo en cuenta el título de la unidad. Así, unidades como "Gente con carácter", "Emociones", "Enfado o de buen humor", "Nos gustó mucho", "Sobre gustos, colores", entre otras, fueron elegidas por su poder ilustrativo y posible relación con el mundo de las emociones y los verbos de afección. Asimismo, se analizaron aquellas unidades que, por temática, podían incorporar la expresión de la emoción a partir de las construcciones objeto de estudio (experiencias, vacaciones, gastronomía, enfermedades, etc.). Los contenidos funcionales y léxico-gramaticales de las unidades se examinaron igualmente para identificar aquellos que encajaran. Se seleccionaron, así, unidades que incluían "la expresión de sentimientos y emociones", "el verbo *gustar*", entre otros. Por último, el cribado se complementó con la selección de aquellas unidades que incluyeran palabras clave como "sentimientos" (ver Martín-Gascón, 2020a). Consideramos que, a partir de la muestra final, compuesta por un total de 36 manuales y 70 unidades (Anexo 1),[20] podemos extraer resultados que ilustran el tratamiento de las construcciones inversas de EO en los manuales de ELE.

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[20] Por motivos de extensión, todos los Anexos se incluyen en el siguiente enlace, en la plataforma de acceso libre *Open Science Framework* (Center for Open Science, 2013): https://osf.io/b9vau.
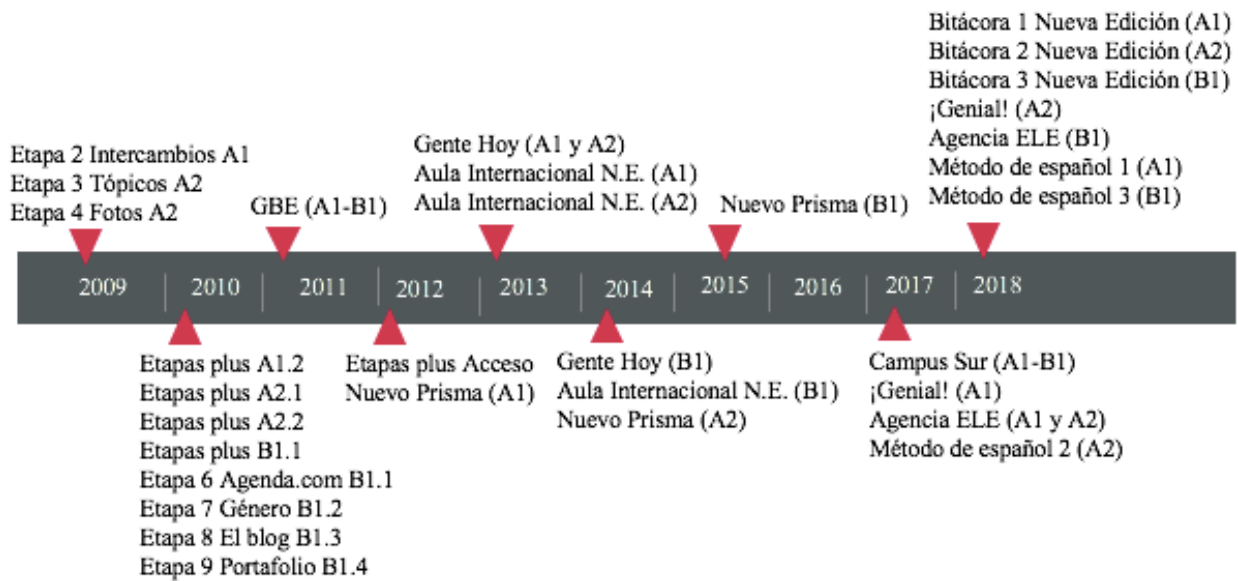
Figura 3. Año de edición de los manuales

3.3.2. Criterios cognitivo-comunicativos

Cada unidad se examinó a partir de un análisis cualitativo de los datos obtenidos respondiendo a los siguientes puntos que aportaban luz al tratamiento de las construcciones: función comunicativa e implicaciones pedagógicas (¿por qué aparecen las construcciones separadas o repetidas en más de una unidad?, ¿se les da el mismo uso?, ¿en qué contexto aparecen: explicación gramatical, implícitamente en el texto?), imágenes del índice, y lista de emociones y construcciones correspondientes por colores. Los manuales se analizaron a partir de una plantilla donde se especificaba una serie de criterios cognitivos y comunicativos y que permitía explorarlos de forma cualitativa (Anexo 2). Los aspectos cognitivos (Tabla 2) y los comunicativos (Tabla 3) permitieron dilucidar el posicionamiento metodológico de cada manual en torno a las estructuras meta u objeto de estudio. Esto se complementó con una discusión sobre el método y enfoque a los que respondían, el tratamiento de la gramática en las estructuras meta, una comparativa con los otros manuales y con ejemplos descriptores y cognitivo-comunicativos.

Tabla 2. Lista de criterios cognitivos

CRITERIOS COGNITIVOS
1) Estructura el aprendizaje del elemento lingüístico en torno a 4 fases: concienciación lingüística, conceptualización y formulación de hipótesis, procedimentalización del conocimiento y actuación lingüísticas en tiempo real
3) Imposición de la reflexión explícita durante la presentación, la realización, (la corrección) y (la discusión)
5) Elementos gramaticales significativos
6) Gramática motivada por la semántica subyacente
7) Factores pragmáticos y discursivos incluidos en el cambio de significado de los elementos
8) Descripción y sistematización de recursos gramaticales
9) Análisis semántico detallado del elemento gramatical
10) Valor conceptual otorgado
11) Existencia de un metalenguaje claro y accesible
12) Integración de ilustraciones pictóricas acompañando la descripción de la expresión meta
16) Incorporación del factor lúdico y humor
17) Desafío
18) Léxico sencillo

Por un lado, los criterios cognitivos se basaron en principios de la gramática cognitiva y operativa. Así, por ejemplo, se consideraron aspectos como la construcción del saber gramatical de manera explícita (Sánchez Jiménez y Ruiz Campillo, 2017:94), el poder significativo de las formas lingüísticas y la resolución a partir de la forma (Llopis García, 2011c:4; Sánchez Jiménez y Ruiz Campillo, 2017:100), la incorporación de recursos visuales diseñados al milímetro que permitieran crear una representación mental o conceptual ilustrando el valor de la forma (Llopis García, 2011c:3; Miquel López, 2008:7; Sánchez Jiménez y Ruiz Campillo, 2017:93), el desafío, la contemplación del error y la ruptura con los términos binarios (ciegos al significado) de correcto / incorrecto (Llopis García, 2011c:5; Sánchez Jiménez y Ruiz Campillo, 2017:100), la estructuración en fases del aprendizaje del elemento gramatical en torno al modelo de aprendizaje cognitivo propuesto en Newby (2015:27), entre otros. En cuanto a los aspectos comunicativos, Newby (2015:29-30) destaca criterios como la personalización, esto es, la facilitación de que el alumno pueda aplicar sus propios constructos, expresar sus propias ideas desde su perspectiva; la autenticidad en los procesos comunicativos desechando la manipulación artificial; y la interacción entre el alumnado y la implicación de este.[21]

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[21] Una explicación más extensa y detallada de los criterios cognitivos y comunicativos en relación con las estructuras meta se ha subido a la plataforma *OSF* y se encuentra en el enlace que aparece a continuación: https://osf.io/yswd4.

Tabla 3. Lista de criterios comunicativos

CRITERIOS COMUNICATIVOS
2) Aprendizaje por tareas
4) Profundidad del procesamiento
13) Filtro de implicación
14) Integración interpersonal y social
15) Personalización
19) Uso verosímil de la lengua meta: autenticidad del proceso comunicativo
20) Evaluación vs. aprendizaje

3.4. Resultados y discusión

Los datos presentados resumen los resultados más relevantes obtenidos del análisis exhaustivo de los 10 manuales (70 unidades y 36 manuales) explorados. Por un lado, mostramos cómo se tratan las emociones y las construcciones inversas por unidades en cada nivel y según su connotación y, por otro, exponemos críticamente la incorporación del componente cognitivo-comunicativo en cada manual.[22]

3.4.1. Por unidades y niveles

Los resultados obtenidos del análisis cualitativo por unidad y por nivel permitieron clasificar las emociones en positivas, negativas y neutras o ambiguas (Tabla 4). Estas últimas se refieren a aquellas emociones que, según el contexto experiencial y lingüístico, pueden tener una connotación positiva o negativa (p. ej. "me sorprende que llegues ahora"). La taxonomía de emociones (Martín-Gascón, 2020a) nos permitió examinar la presencia o ausencia de estas por unidad, nivel y manual. Así, en líneas generales, muchos manuales revelaron no incluir las construcciones EO para emociones negativas hasta el nivel A2 (*Aula Internacional* y *Método de Español*), hasta el B1 (*Gente Hoy* y la *GBE*) o directamente en ninguno de los niveles analizados (*¡Genial!* y *Agencia ELE*). Por el contrario, en cuanto a emociones positivas, observamos un mayor uso ya desde dominios básicos, sobre todo de la expresión de gustos e intereses, preferencia y deseos a través de construcciones inversas como "me gusta", "me interesa", "me gusta más", "me gustaría". A este respecto, sería interesante y relevante que el aprendiente de ELE pudiera acceder desde el nivel A1 a un mayor elenco de emociones negativas y neutras, para así poder expresarse en todo el rango emocional. De esta forma, por ejemplo, cuando se introdujera la expresión de la alegría con "me alegra" en un nivel A1, podría, de igual manera,

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[22] Se han incluido los resultados derivados del análisis cualitativo de las 70 unidades en la plataforma *OSF*, en la siguiente dirección: https://osf.io/8wxja.

presentarse junto a su opuesto "me entristece" en los manuales. Esto facilitaría el proceso de adquisición de dichas construcciones, así como reduciría la carga cognitiva que supone su asimilación, retención y producción.

Tabla 4. Resultados de emociones presentes por niveles y manuales: *emociones positivas, **neutras** y* NEGATIVAS

Gente Hoy	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, **sensaciones físicas, sorpresa y extrañeza*** A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia* B1: *afecto, gustos e intereses, preferencia, ausencia de preferencia, deseos, alegría y satisfacción, placer y diversión, **sensaciones físicas,*** TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, VERGÜENZA, AVERSIÓN, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN, MIEDO, PREOCUPACIÓN, NERVIOSISMO
Campus Sur	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia,* AVERSIÓN A2: *afecto, gustos e intereses, deseos, alegría y satisfacción,* TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, AVERSIÓN, NERVIOSISMO B1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, ausencia de preferencia, alegría y satisfacción, placer y diversión, alivio, esperanza, **curiosidad, sorpresa y extrañeza,*** ENVIDIA, TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, VERGÜENZA, AVERSIÓN, ABURRIMIENTO, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN, MIEDO, PREOCUPACIÓN, NERVIOSISMO
Bitácora	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos,* NERVIOSISMO A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, **sorpresa y extrañeza,*** B1: *afecto, gustos e intereses, preferencia, ausencia de preferencia, deseos, alegría y satisfacción, **sensaciones físicas, sorpresa y extrañeza,*** VERGÜENZA, AVERSIÓN, ABURRIMIENTO, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN, NERVIOSISMO
Aula Internacional	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos* A2: *afecto, gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, placer y diversión, admiración y orgullo, **sensaciones físicas,*** VERGÜENZA, MIEDO, PREOCUPACIÓN B1: *gustos e intereses, admiración y orgullo,* TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, AVERSIÓN, ABURRIMIENTO, HARTAZGO, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN, PREOCUPACIÓN
GBE	A1: ninguna A2: *deseos* B1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, alegría y satisfacción,* AVERSIÓN, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN
Nuevo Prisma	A1: *gustos e intereses, **sensaciones físicas,*** AVERSIÓN A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, alegría y satisfacción, placer y diversión, seguridad y confianza, **sensaciones físicas, sorpresa y extrañeza,*** TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN, PREOCUPACIÓN, NERVIOSISMO B1: *gustos e intereses, deseos, alegría y satisfacción, admiración y orgullo,* TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, VERGÜENZA, AVERSIÓN, MIEDO, PREOCUPACIÓN, ENVIDIA, DECEPCIÓN
Etapas	A1: *deseos, alegría y satisfacción, **sensaciones físicas,*** TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, ABURRIMIENTO, ENFADO E INDIGNACIÓN, MIEDO, NERVIOSISMO A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, alegría y satisfacción, **sensaciones físicas,*** ANSIEDAD B1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, ausencia de preferencia, deseos, esperanza, paciencia, **sensaciones físicas,*** VERGÜENZA, AVERSIÓN, MIEDO
¡Genial![23]	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, alegría y satisfacción* A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, **sensaciones físicas***
Agencia ELE	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos* A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, **sensaciones físicas*** B1: *afecto, gustos e intereses, deseos, **sorpresa y extrañeza***
Método de español	A1: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, **sensaciones físicas,*** A2: *gustos e intereses, preferencia, deseos, **sensaciones físicas,*** AVERSIÓN B1: *gustos e intereses, deseos, alegría y satisfacción, placer y diversión, **sensaciones físicas,*** TRISTEZA Y AFLICCIÓN, AVERSIÓN, ABURRIMIENTO, PREOCUPACIÓN

[23] En el momento de recogida de datos, enCLAVE-ELE todavía no había publicado el manual correspondiente al nivel B1.

Un ejemplo más detallado de los resultados extraídos de uno de los manuales, *Campus Sur,* se encuentra en el Anexo 3, donde se puede observar el análisis del manual (3 manuales: A1, A2, B1) y de 5 unidades (Tabla 5).

Tabla 5. Unidades del manual *Campus Sur* (niveles A1, A2 y B1)

Campus Sur (A1)
Unidad 0: Palabras
Unidad 3: Estereotipos
Campus Sur (A2)
Unidad 5: Experiencias
Unidad 8: Relaciones
Campus Sur (B1)
Unidad 18: Emociones

3.4.2. Por manuales

Tras el análisis por unidades, examinamos el componente tanto cognitivo como comunicativo en cuanto al tratamiento de las construcciones meta, esta vez por manuales. De nuevo, por motivos de extensión, presentamos primero los resultados cualitativos más significativos de cada manual, así como los resultados cuantitativos de dicho análisis, esto es, el grado (la puntuación) de incorporación de los componentes cognitivos, por un lado, y de los comunicativos, por otro lado. Incluimos, asimismo, como Anexo (4), la plantilla con el análisis cualitativo del manual *Método de Español*, para ilustrar la minuciosidad a la hora de examinar cómo se presentan estas expresiones dificultosas en los 10 manuales.[24]

Gente Hoy (A1-B1)

El primer manual analizado (Tabla 6) presenta las construcciones EO con verbos de afección en actividades que giran, en cierto modo, en torno a una línea secuencial de corte

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[24] El documento completo con el análisis cualitativo detallado de cada manual puede consultarse en la plataforma *OSF* en el siguiente enlace*:* https://osf.io/xrcu8. Aparte de la información recopilada, presentamos observaciones subjetivas a raíz del análisis del corpus. Queremos, por ello, destacar el carácter valorativo de la información revisada y recopilada, el cual se aleja del hilo expositivo que caracteriza al estudio.

nocio-funcional PPP ("Presentación-Práctica de precisión-Práctica de fluidez"), pese a ser de los primeros manuales en introducir el enfoque por tareas. Observamos cómo se potencia el trabajo colaborativo a través del procesamiento, la contextualización y la reflexión de las formas meta. No obstante, estas construcciones no se abordan desde una perspectiva cognitiva e incluso se aprecia la incorporación del modelo conductista (estímulo-respuesta) en algunos estadios de la secuenciación. Los verbos de afección se sistematizan explícitamente focalizando la atención en las formas verbales flexionadas y, en cambio, observamos una potenciación de la percepción implícita de las formas meta y sus significados.

Tabla 6. *Gente Hoy*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo
■	De los primeros: enfoque por tareas (línea secuencial algo nocio- funcional – PPP)
⇑	Fuertes: comunicativo, trabajo colaborativo, contextualización, reflexión lingüística, aprendizaje por tareas, metalenguaje y léxico sencillos
⇓	Debilidades: apenas se observa el componente cognitivo
◆	Gramática de las expresiones meta: no explícitamente desde el principio, solo al final de la unidad con ilustraciones, de manera gradual y guiada, aunque implícitamente en instrucciones y cuerpo, estructuras modelo, modelo conductista a veces (estímulo-respuesta), sistematización de las formas verbales flexionadas en las diferentes personas gramaticales, no destaca el componente cognitivo; exposición implícita a la lengua, percepción implícita de forma y significado, procesamiento, almacenamiento mental y uso
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 1.6/3

Campus Sur (A1-B1)

Campus Sur (Tabla 7) secuencia las actividades que presentan y trabajan la expresión de la emoción a través de tareas, se sirve de un uso auténtico de la lengua, de la reflexión lingüística y potencia el valor pictórico. En cuanto al tratamiento gramatical de las construcciones con verbos de afección, es más cognitivo que el manual *Gente*, pues presenta los gustos e intereses apelando a la diferencia entre "verbos de acción" y "verbos psicológicos" que provocan una reacción o efecto en alguien. Aborda el resto de las emociones de manera implícita en el texto y como listas de memorización en la explicación gramatical.

Tabla 7. *Campus Sur*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo
■	De los primeros: enfoque por tareas
⇑	Fuertes: + cognitivo que *Gente,* gramática desde un punto de vista más léxico y más innovador, uso auténtico de la lengua, reflexión lingüística, poder pictórico (flechas, colores, emoticonos)

⇓	Debilidades: gramática como lista de memorización, gustos e intereses desde una perspectiva cognitiva, pero no el resto de las emociones, poca presencia de expresiones meta
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: se abordan menos emociones y menos expresiones, no explícitamente desde el principio, contextualizadas, de manera gradual y guiada, aunque implícitamente en instrucciones y cuerpo, estructuras modelo (al igual que *Gente*), reflexión lingüística, al explicar los gustos e intereses sí diferencia entre "verbos de acción" y "verbos psicológicos" (*gustar, encantar*), que provocan una reacción o efecto en alguien (el complemento indirecto, quien recibe la acción), otras emociones ya no se trabajan cognitivamente
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 2.25/3

Bitácora (A1-B1)

Bitácora (Tabla 8) destaca por ser un manual comunicativo que parte de un enfoque léxico e innovador orientado a la acción y que busca vincular léxico y gramática, asumiendo la idea de un continuo entre léxico y sintaxis propia de la gramática cognitiva. Pese a que las construcciones inversas no se sistematizan desde un principio como se observaba en *Gente* y *Campus Sur*, los gustos e intereses, y más concretamente el verbo *gustar*, se trabajan atendiendo al aspecto semántico al hablar de experimentador y estímulo y referirse a este último como "la cosa que produce el sentimiento". Asimismo, esta explicación viene acompañada por un ejercicio de reflexión contrastiva con otras lenguas. No obstante, en la unidad 10 del nivel B1, "¿Enfado o de buen humor?", pese a girar el contenido en torno a la conceptualización y expresión de la emoción, esta no se estudia de manera cognitiva y destaca por presentarse como listas de memorización.

Tabla 8. *Bitácora*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo
■	Enfoque léxico (orientado a la acción)
⇑	Fuertes: + cognitivo que *Campus Sur* y *Gente,* gramática desde un punto de vista más léxico y más innovador, interfaz atractiva, metalenguaje accesible, muy visual y con situaciones auténticas, elementos visuales (flechas, círculos, rayas)
⇓	Debilidades: en el nivel B1 (unidad 10) donde todo gira en torno a la expresión de la emoción, no se trabajan desde una perspectiva cognitivista y se presentan en forma de lista de memorización, poca presencia de expresiones meta (como en *Campus Sur*)
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: vínculo léxico y gramática, contextualizadas, de manera gradual y guiada (como *Gente* y *Campus Sur),* al igual que en los anteriores manuales, no se sistematizan desde un principio y se presentan de manera más implícita, en niveles más iniciales, cuando se introducen por primera vez los gustos e intereses sí se abordan desde un punto de vista más cognitivo, habla de clases de verbos y presenta los verbos psicológicos como "verbos con dos agentes", pero al principio no distingue entre verbos *como tener, amar, leer* y verbos *como gustar, interesar* y *parecer*, más adelante aborda el verbo *gustar* desde un enfoque más cognitivo (habla de experimentador y de estímulo, de este último refiriéndose a él como "la cosa que produce el sentimiento") y contrastivo al compararlo con otras lenguas como el inglés, el francés, el portugués, el italiano y el alemán
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 2.45/3

Aula Internacional (A1-B1)

El último manual comunicativo *per se* de la editorial Difusión comparte con *Gente Hoy* la secuencialidad de PPP, a pesar de ser un enfoque orientado a la acción. Es comunicativo, ya que, entre otros aspectos, presenta imágenes lúdicas, situaciones auténticas en contextos tipificados entendidos como modelos y un metalenguaje accesible. Sin embargo, no hace uso de una lengua de "gestión de las tareas". En cuanto al factor cognitivo, aunque sí potencia la reflexión de la lengua, esta se caracteriza por ser más sintáctica que semántica (i.e., énfasis en la forma y no en el significado y la pragmática). Como los anteriores manuales, las expresiones meta se sistematizan atendiendo a la flexión verbal y a las personas gramaticales. En el nivel B1 se ofrece una explicación más cognitiva de algunos verbos psicológicos.

Tabla 9. *Aula Internacional*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo
■	Enfoque orientado a la acción (aunque, al igual que *Gente Hoy*, línea secuencial algo nocio-funcional – PPP)
⇑	Fuertes: reflexión sobre la lengua, imágenes lúdicas y significativas, metalenguaje claro (*nombres en singular*, *verbos*…), situaciones auténticas
⇓	Debilidades: pese a encuadrarse dentro del enfoque comunicativo, no utiliza una lengua de "gestión de las tareas", reflexión más sintáctica que semántica (más la forma que el significado), apenas incorpora el factor cognitivo, hasta el nivel B1 no se ofrece una explicación cognitiva del verbo *gustar* y de otros verbos de expresión de emociones
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: los contenidos gramaticales condicionan la selección de otros contenidos (léxicos, sociolingüísticos, pragmáticos y culturales), muestras de la lengua en contextos tipificados entendidos como modelos, las formas se describen según el contexto de emisión, implícitamente, no hay vínculo forma-significado, sistematización basada en la flexión verbal y las personas gramaticales
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 2.2/3

Gramática Básica del Estudiante de Español (GBE) (A2-B1)

La *GBE* (Tabla 10) es, por excelencia, el manual más cognitivo de ELE en el mercado, pues se caracteriza por fomentar la concienciación lingüística, así como la automatización, interpretación y producción contemplando el error y la retroalimentación explícita. Asimismo, ofrece descripciones rigurosas, operativas y fiables a través de un uso real de la lengua y del vínculo forma-significado, e ilustraciones pictóricas significativas. En cuanto al tratamiento de las construcciones EO, se introducen a partir del nivel B1 (salvo el deseo en el A2) como parte de la matriz al distinguir las subordinadas con indicativo y con subjuntivo. No se centra en la distinción y cambio de significado en la matriz entre oraciones como "Me alegra mucho que esté embarazada" y

"Me alegro mucho de que esté embarazada" y, por tanto, se aleja de un tratamiento cognitivo de estas, lo que choca con la filosofía del manual.[25]

Tabla 10. *GBE*

●	Conocido por ser: cognitivo
⇑	Fuertes (del manual): sistema gramatical significativo, uso real de la lengua, descripciones rigurosas, operativas y fiables, permite aplicar capacidades cognitivas de procesamiento de la lengua, relación binomio forma-significado, ejercicios de automatización, interpretación y producción, pasando por el error y corrección explícita, concienciación lingüística, elementos visuales figurativos
⇑	Fuertes (expresiones meta): metalenguaje y léxico accesibles, implicación del alumnado, incorporación del factor lúdico, uso auténtico de las expresiones, ilustraciones pictóricas significativas
⇓	Debilidades: la matriz u oración principal en el único apartado donde se trabajan emociones y no se explica desde una perspectiva cognitiva, se centra en la subordinada y en el contraste Indicativo vs. Subjuntivo, no se incluye la expresión de la emoción hasta el nivel B1, salvo la expresión del deseo
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: se presentan como listas de memorización
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 0.95/3

Nuevo Prisma (A1-B1)

Nuevo Prisma (Tabla 11), al igual que *Gente* y *Aula Internacional* es conocido por ser comunicativo, pero fomenta la práctica controlada. Entre los aspectos que lo hacen comunicativo, destacan sus actividades visuales, de contenido interpersonal y cooperativo, centradas en el alumno y en el aprendizaje y evaluación autónomas. Las expresiones meta se describen según el contexto de emisión y se presentan de manera más sistemática y haciendo una distinción entre estas y los verbos en construcciones EO (p. ej. *gustar, doler*). Así, se habla de algo que "ejerce la acción", lo que responde a una explicación semántica que apela a la dinámica de fuerzas y a la metáfora LA EMOCIÓN ES UNA FUERZA FÍSICA, y se fomenta la concienciación lingüística al mostrar los equivalentes de la lengua materna, como hacía *Bitácora*.

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[25] La *GBE* trabaja los pronombres de las construcciones objeto de estudio en un subapartado de la sección sobre pronombres personales, pero no lo hace desde una perspectiva cognitiva en el apartado de verbos, que es el que nos compete. El barrido de manuales contempló las construcciones de verbos de afección y la búsqueda se basó en estos únicamente. No se examinó, en este caso, la presencia del componente comunicativo-cognitivo en los pronombres personales, porque así se mantuvieron los mismos criterios de selección en los manuales y en la *GBE*.

Tabla 11. *Nuevo Prisma*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo, orientado a la acción y centrado en el alumno
■	Enfoque nocio-funcional (parecido a *Gente* y *Aula Internacional*) que fomenta la práctica controlada - PPP)
⇑	Fuertes: muy visual (uso de flechas), actividades de contenido interpersonal y cooperativas, aprendizaje autónomo y autoevaluación, metalenguaje claro
⇓	Debilidades: explica el gusto desde una perspectiva cognitiva, pero el resto de las emociones no, aunque los elementos son muy visuales no son muy representativos, hasta el nivel B1 no se sistematiza la expresión de emociones negativas
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: muestras de la lengua en contextos tipificados entendidos como modelos, la expresión del gusto se introduce de manera inductiva y guiada al principio, las formas se describen según el contexto de emisión, de manera más sistemática y distinguiendo las construcciones inversas de los otros verbos de Experimentador-Sujeto, habla de persona que "ejerce la acción" y de "mismo comportamiento" incluyendo el verbo "doler"), al igual que Bitácora, fomenta la reflexión contrastiva con la lengua materna
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 2.45/3

Etapas (A1-B1)

El manual *Etapas* (Tabla 12) también sigue un enfoque orientado a la acción, pero no es por tareas *per se.* Es comunicativo (i.e., hay incluso un apartado al final para que el aprendiente reflexione sobre lo adquirido, el metalenguaje es claro, se integran valores interpersonales y sociales en cada unidad, como en *Nuevo Prisma*), pero apenas se incorpora el componente cognitivo (i.e., no conecta la gramática con la comunicación, en las construcciones con verbos psicológicos se pide al alumno que observe, induzca la regla y produzca, sin foco en la forma ni reflexión explícita, los verbos de afección se abordan desde una perspectiva más sintáctica que semántica).

Tabla 12. *Etapas*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo orientado a la acción
■	Enfoque orientado a la acción al igual que *Nuevo Prisma, Aula Internacional* y *Gente,* no acaba de seguir un enfoque por tareas
⇑	Fuertes: incorpora tareas al final, apartado "Recordar" para reflexionar sobre lo aprendido en la unidad, metalenguaje accesible, integración interpersonal y social en cada unidad (como *Nuevo Prisma*)
⇓	Debilidades: la gramática se trabaja de forma tradicional y tiene un papel más secundario, no conecta la gramática con la comunicación, no hay reflexión contrastiva con otras lenguas/lengua materna
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: observar, inducir la regla y producir, se habla de sintaxis (infinitivo, subjuntivo al presentar estas expresiones), pero no se habla desde una perspectiva semántica, se centra en el subjuntivo y no en la matriz (como la *GBE*)
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 1.4/3

¡Genial! (A1-A2)

¡Genial! (Tabla 13) es un manual comunicativo, orientado a la acción y presenta un enfoque por tareas. Entre los puntos fuertes que lo caracterizan destacan, por un lado, la incorporación de contenidos marcados por el PCIC y del MCER, el uso de una lengua de gestión de tareas y la inclusión de un proyecto final. Asimismo, se trata de un manual actual que fomenta la interacción, la autoevaluación, la reflexión y el contraste formal. No obstante, se centra en las funciones comunicativas en vez de en los significados y las construcciones se presentan al principio en tablas sistematizadas y flexionadas. Es hacia el final de la unidad cuando al presentar el verbo *gustar* se refiere a este como "verbo especial" y describe al sujeto como "lo que nos gusta o valoramos".

Tabla 13. *¡Genial!*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo orientado a la acción
■	Enfoque por tareas
⇑	Fuertes: bastante comunicativo, sigue recomendaciones del PCIC Y del MCER, lengua de gestión de tareas y producto final (Proyecto), manual actual, incorpora las redes sociales, se fomenta la autoevaluación al final ("puedo", "conozco" y "comprendo"), se potencia a veces la reflexión y el contraste entre formas, pero más que de significado de funciones comunicativas, actividades muy interactivas, uso auténtico y verosímil de la lengua
⇓	Debilidades: foco en la flexión verbal más que en el aspecto semántico y de significado, pocos elementos visuales y no muy lúdicos
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: aunque se aleja de incorporar elementos cognitivos y aparecen en Tablas sistematizadas y flexionadas, al final de la unidad habla de "verbos de valoración o afección", incluso de "verbos especiales" y al referirse al sujeto dice que es "lo que nos gusta o valoramos"
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 2.05/3

Agencia ELE (A1-B1)

Agencia ELE (Tabla 14) se inscribe dentro del enfoque comunicativo, por tareas y orientado a la acción. En su presentación habla de metodología "de vanguardia" y, como *¡Genial!*, sigue las recomendaciones del PCIC y del MCER, es interactivo y usa lenguaje de gestión de tareas. Como ya observábamos en *Bitácora, Agencia ELE* se sirve enormemente del elemento visual a través de cómics y de material auténtico (p. ej. páginas web reales, billetes de RENFE) para describir situaciones comunicativas reales. Sin embargo, la gramática de las emociones no es tratada desde una perspectiva cognitiva y se centra en explicaciones que se alejan de la reflexión explícita y la conexión entre forma y significado.

Tabla 14. *Agencia ELE*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo orientado a la acción, metodología "de vanguardia"
■	Enfoque por tareas
⇑	Fuertes: bastante comunicativo, sigue recomendaciones del MCER y del PCIC, mucho elemento visual (como *Bitácora*), cómics como elemento visual que describen situaciones comunicativas auténticas, material auténtico (billetes de RENFE), páginas web…, se usa el lenguaje de gestión de tareas en la tarea final, actividades interactivas
⇓	Debilidades: no es muy cognitivo
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: se introducen de manera inductiva, se pide que produzcan antes de sistematizar las formas, es en el apartado "practica" donde se sistematizan, tablas con conjugaciones, habla de dos tipos de verbos diferentes, pero no va más allá ("yo no puedo bailar", "yo tampoco" y "a mí me gusta bailar", "a mí también"), al introducir el verbo *doler* la explicación es más bien sintáctica: los verbos como *gustar* o *doler* necesitan los pronombres de objeto indirecto (*me, te, le, nos, os, les*) haciendo hincapié en el objeto más que en el experimentador y el verbo de afección
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 1.8/3

Método de Español (A1-B1)

Método de Español (Tabla 15) es el último manual analizado y, como la gran mayoría, incorpora el componente comunicativo mucho más que el cognitivo. Sigue un enfoque por tareas (i.e., lengua de gestión de la tarea, muestras del uso real de la lengua, con ejemplos contextualizados, modelos de actuación, tarea final de evaluación) y se centra en explotar la comunicación y en la pragmática en el aprendiente. Aunque las actividades gramaticales apelan a la reflexión y al procesamiento de la información a través de la conceptualización y reconstrucción de conceptos lingüísticos, no da un valor prototípico a las formas meta ni marca puentes de unión entre estas y sus significados.

Tabla 15. *Método de Español*

●	Conocido por ser: comunicativo
■	Enfoque por tareas
⇑	Fuertes: centrado en el estudiante, en la comunicación y en la pragmática, muestras del uso real de la lengua en el espacio de inmersión (ejemplos contextualizados, textos como modelos de actuación…), se conceptualizan y reconstruyen conceptos lingüísticos potenciando la inferencia de los contenidos y apelando a la reflexión y el procesamiento de información, se practican formalmente los contenidos presentados para automatizar usos, lengua de gestión de la tarea y tarea final de evaluación
⇓	Debilidades: no es cognitivo a nivel gramatical, imágenes visuales, pero no significativas gramaticalmente
♦	Gramática de las expresiones meta: no cognitiva, gramática al servicio de la comunicación, en actividades de más guiadas/mecanizadas a más libres, explicación gramatical bastante sintáctica y no semántica
◊	Componente comunicativo-cognitivo: 2.1/3

Así, los resultados sitúan a manuales como *Bitácora* y *Nuevo Prisma* (2,45 respectivamente) encabezando la gráfica por su tratamiento más comunicativo-cognitivo de estas construcciones inversas (Figura 4). A estos les siguen gradualmente *Campus Sur* (2,25), *Aula Internacional* (2,2), *Método* (2,1) y *¡Genial!* (2,05). Los manuales *Agencia ELE* (1,8), *Gente* (1,6), *Etapas* (1,4) y la *GBE* (0,95) muestran un uso más reducido de los aspectos analizados.
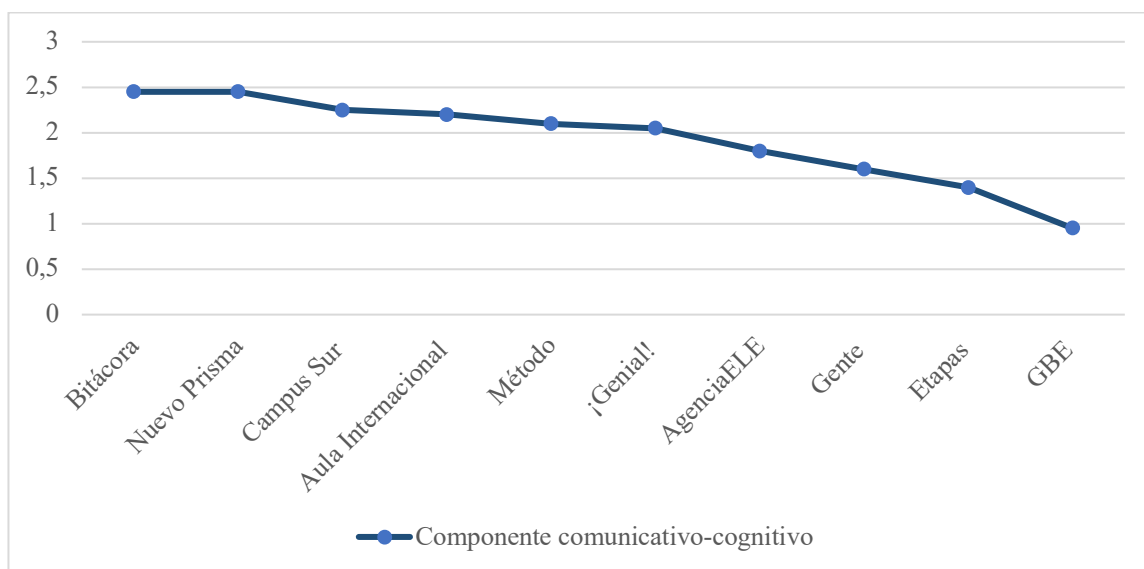
Figura 4. Incorporación del componente comunicativo-cognitivo por manual

En cuanto al grado de uso de cada componente (Figura 5), mientras que *Nuevo Prisma, Aula Internacional* y la *GBE* incorporan bastante equitativamente el factor comunicativo y el cognitivo, *Etapas, Gente* y *Agencia ELE* destacan por un gran uso de elementos comunicativos que no se corresponde con un tratamiento cognitivo similar de los verbos de afección. Por lo general, los manuales presentan un acercamiento mucho más comunicativo (por tareas, orientado a la acción) que cognitivo. Llama la atención la *GBE*, vademécum de la gramática cognitiva aplicada al aula de ELE, pero no en la expresión de la emoción con verbos de afección.
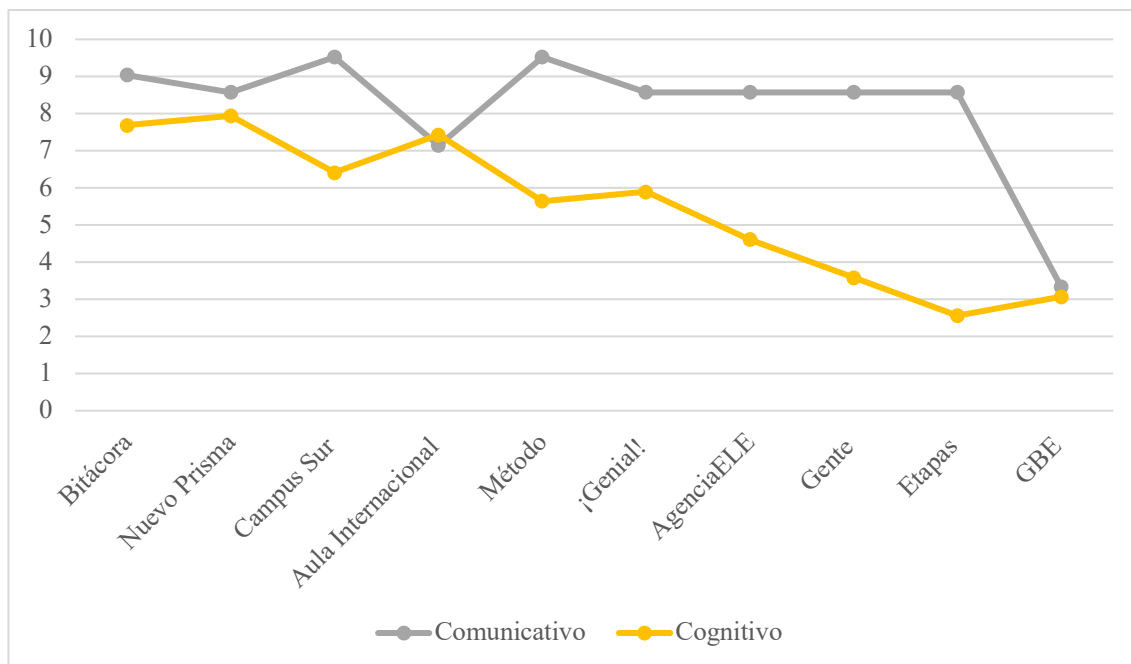
Figura 5. Incorporación del componente comunicativo y cognitivo

3.5. Conclusiones

Partiendo de un estudio previo centrado en el contraste de las construcciones EO y ES en los manuales de ELE y en una comparativa con el inventario de emociones del PCIC (Martín-Gascón, 2020a), la metodología de la presente investigación profundiza todavía más en el tratamiento cognitivo y comunicativo por unidad y por manual de las construcciones de EO. El estudio presenta resultados esclarecedores sobre el tipo de *input* que el aprendiente de ELE recibe de estas construcciones inversas con verbos de afección en el material al que está expuesto. Si bien los resultados no muestran el *input* de estas construcciones en su totalidad en el contexto de instrucción (para ello sería necesario seguir la técnica de indagación e investigación docente de observación de aula, método que consideraremos en futuras investigaciones), sí presentan el material de los manuales, eje articulador y guía principal en la que se apoyan docentes y alumnos.

Así, entre los objetivos perseguidos en esta investigación, planteábamos examinar críticamente desde una perspectiva cognitiva y comunicativa el material al que está expuesto el aprendiente de ELE. Los resultados nos llevan a concluir que, pese a responder casi todos al paradigma comunicativo clásico, ninguno de estos aborda las estructuras objeto de estudio partiendo del modelo cognitivo desde niveles iniciales y en

todo el rango emocional. Las construcciones inversas con verbos de afección se suman a la lista de elementos gramaticales que se ofrecen troceados y desistematizados "como mero auxilio incidental para la *comunicación*" (Sánchez Jiménez y Ruiz Campillo, 2017: 91). La exclusión del significado gramatical y la sistematización de estas formas lingüísticas atendiendo a los cambios en las formas verbales, esto es, reduciéndolas a sus aspectos más formales, y desatendiendo los cambios de significado según si el foco es el Estímulo o el Experimentador presuponen un tratamiento artificioso y memorístico de la gramática de las emociones. Así, los resultados evidencian la necesidad de establecer vínculos entre dos paradigmas, el comunicativo y el cognitivo, en la enseñanza de estas construcciones, ya que sin gramática no hay comunicación.

Chapter 4 [Paper 3]

TESTING THE EMPIRICAL VALIDITY OF APPLIED COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS: A STUDY FOR THE PSYCH-VERB CONSTRUCTION IN L2

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Under review

Abstract

This article lies within the field of Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL) and presents two empirical studies that address overlooked effects of assessment typology in L2 learning in an instructional setting. More specifically, it examines whether a cognitive-based approach to teaching and assessing the complex Spanish psych-verb construction results in greater learning outcomes than a traditional one. Although the last two decades have witnessed a proliferation of empirical research searching for evidence of the productivity of cognitive approaches for L2 learning, studies have only been partly fruitful in eliciting data that truly favors the cognitive condition. We argue that this is due to assessment design, which typically measures learners' performance via traditional evaluation tasks. To address this caveat, two studies were conducted following a pretest/posttest/delayed posttest design for three research conditions (control, cognitive and traditional): a pilot study ($n = 59$) and a larger replication ($n = 160$). Data collection entailed ACL-inspired assessment for interpretation and production tasks. Results from both studies show that after instruction the cognitive group significantly outperforms the traditional in both tasks. These findings indicate that a cognitive-based instruction, if followed by a coherent assessment, becomes a productive method for addressing difficult grammatical constructions in the L2.

4.1. Introduction: applied cognitive linguistics and L2

In the last three decades, scholars in the area of Applied Linguistics and more specifically, within the field of Second Language (L2) Acquisition and Pedagogy, have made efforts to elucidate theories and approaches to meet learners' needs (to name but a few, Cook, 1985, 2016; Ellis, 2012, 2015; Nunan, 1999; Van Patten, 2004, 2015). Cognitive Linguistics (CL), as an interdisciplinary approach to language, focuses on speakers' cognitive abilities and claims that our interpretation of how the linguistic system functions –its underlying structure and how we acquire it– is to be understood in terms of other cognitive processes, such as attention, memory, perception, reasoning, or mental processing (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Cadierno & Castañeda Castro, 2019). Furthermore, CL approaches are based on the experientialist view of human faculties and contend that language meaning is experiential, and thus embodied and symbolic (Ellis, 2019; Gibbs, 1996, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 2002). Departing from structuralist and generativist models, cognitivist approaches contend that frequency and meaning of forms, as usage-based properties, determine the mental representation of grammatical constructions (Tomasello, 2005). In this line and for the scope of L2 Acquisition and Pedagogy, Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL) has sought to gain deeper insights into how language conceptualization and representation work, as well as into their implication in the L2 teaching-learning process (Achard & Niemeier, 2004; Cadierno & Eskildsen, 2015; Ellis & Cadierno, 2009; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Cadierno & Castañeda Castro, 2019; Littlemore, 2009; Littlemore & Juchen-Grundmann, 2010; Robinson & Ellis, 2008; Tyler 2008, 2012).

Additionally, recent years have also witnessed a growing interest and proliferation of empirical research aimed at proving that cognitive-based approaches can enhance the learning of different aspects in the L2 over more traditional teaching (e.g., Alonso-Aparicio & Llopis-García, 2019; Boers & Lindstromberg, 2008; De Knop & De Rycker, 2008; De Knop, Boers & De Rycker, 2010; Holme, 2009; Llopis-García, 2010;). Most studies, however, have only been partly successful in eliciting data favoring the cognitive condition versus the traditional one. These outcomes differ from the cognitive-based L2 classroom reality, where both students and instructors report positive views and outcomes (Llopis-García, 2022; Suñer & Roche, 2019). Furthermore, according to Nacey (2017), Piquer Píriz (2021) and Llopis-García (2021, 2022), this type of research requires classroom time, specific teacher training and the so far almost non-existent appearance of ACL principles in both teaching materials and the *Common European Framework of*

Reference for Languages (*CEFR*). And finally, another limitation is the type of assessment tools used for empirical research in L2 acquisition and pedagogy. As claimed by Llopis-García (2018, 2019, 2021), these remain unchanged and favor traditional learning-teaching approaches in detriment of a more innovative, cognitive-based pedagogy.

Meanwhile, psych-verbs have been a challenging topic for linguists and psycholinguists due to the uneven and unsystematic ways in which they are represented in different languages. More specifically for the case of Spanish, psych-verb constructions have been widely studied because of their complex acquisition by L2 learners, especially by native speakers of languages that differ in terms of patterning and order of syntactic and semantic roles (e.g., Gascon, 1998; Marras & Cadierno, 2008; Martín-Gascón, 2020a, 2021a; Miglio et al., 2013). An additional difficulty to the L2 learning of psych-verb constructions lies in their unsystematic inclusion in textbooks and the prevailing notional-functional approach followed to teach grammar in instructional settings.

The study presented here addresses some of these caveats and contributes data to the growing number of studies of ACL and L2 learning in languages other than English (Llopis-García & Hijazo-Gascón, 2019). The target construction is that of psych-verbs for the expression of emotion at the Spanish/L2 elementary level (e.g., *me gusta*, 'I like'). The aim of this article is to explore whether a cognitive-based approach to both teaching and assessing Spanish psych-verb constructions results in greater learning outcomes than a traditional one. The underlying methodological idea is to "humanize" the expression of emotion already at early stages of L2 learning through the use of embodiment, perspective, the concept of salience and valence, and with regard to the roles of the *experiencer* and the *stimulus* (Talmy, 1985, 2000). Another of the caveats attended to with this study is the goal to break with the pervading typology of assessment typically employed by empirical research in L2 teaching and learning.

This article is structured as follows. First, the psych-verb constructions will be described in detail, as well as their implications in L2 teaching and learning**.** Second, an ACL view of these constructions for the L2 classroom will be introduced and detailed. Third, an empirical challenge towards ACL research with regard to the design and implementation of assessment materials will be discussed, showing a pilot study that addresses this issue. Then, the main study conducted will be presented alongside its methodological aspects. Special attention will be paid to the assessment tasks

implemented for data collection. The results will be reviewed in light of our research questions, and finally, a discussion of findings and the newly found implications for empirical testing and assessment design will follow.

To date no investigation has, to the best of our knowledge, examined the benefits of the ACL approach in the L2 teaching and learning processes using ACL-based assessment tests, nor have Spanish psych-verbs been empirically addressed from this perspective. The hypothesis posited here is that students' L2 learning outcomes of this target linguistic construction will be enhanced if they are coherently assessed with the same methodology of the ACL instruction.

4.2. The Spanish psych-verb construction: a theoretical and pedagogical challenge

Psych-verbs, i.e., verbs that express mental states, changes of state or psychological processes (Jackendoff, 1990; Levin, 1993), have consistently been an intriguing topic for linguists and psycholinguists alike because of their pervasiveness and peculiar grammatical behavior (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Croft, 1986; Dowty, 1988, 1991; Jackendoff, 1990, 2007; Levin, 1993; Van Valin, 1990, 2005; Vázquez Rozas, 2006, 2012; Zaenen, 1993). They constitute a general class that comprises verbs of affection (e.g., 'like', 'bother'), perception (e.g., 'see', 'touch'), cognition (e.g., 'know', 'believe'), and evaluation (e.g., 'appreciate', 'respect') (Bossong, 1998). The most prominent subclass with cross-linguistically identifiable semantic and syntactic characteristics is that of verbs of affect (Talmy, 2000), and accordingly, the term 'psych-verbs' has been often used to design this subcategory. Psych-verb constructions have been analyzed in a variety of languages due to the distinct and unsystematic ways in which they are represented (e.g., Italian in Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Brazilian in Cançado, 1996; Spanish in Fábregas, Marín & McNally, 2012; Mayoral-Hernández, 2012; Navajo in Jelinek & Willie 1996; English in Hartshorne et al., 2017, German in Klein & Kutscher, 2002, 2015; Mandarin Chinese in Liu, 2016; Sign Language of the Netherlands in Oomen, 2016). In Spanish, psych-verb constructions have been found to be ubiquitous in emotional talk and yet, difficult to be acquired by L2 learners, especially by native speakers of languages that differ in terms of patterning and order of syntactic and semantic roles from Spanish (Gascon, 1998; Marras & Cadierno, 2008; Martín-Gascón, 2020a, 2021a; Miglio et al., 2013).

The psych-verb construction therefore belongs to one of the areas of Spanish grammar that presents the most difficulties, especially for English native-speakers (González,

1998; Mayoral-Hernández, 2012; Montrul, 1997a, 1997b; Marras & Cadierno, 2008). This acquisitional struggle can be observed as a result of a conflict between the natural level of prominence of the object (the *experiencer*) and the prominence of the subject (or *stimulus*) in the Spanish psych-verb construction. In English such a correspondence between the natural prominence of the experiencer and its syntactic function does not occur (Marras & Cadierno, 2008, p. 246). Let us consider, for instance, the psych-verb *gustar* 'to please', whose most frequent English equivalent is 'to like'. The English grammatical construction casts its arguments in a prototypical way, that is, with a nominative subject and an accusative direct object based on the semantic roles of the participants, with experiencer and stimulus, respectively, as in 'I like Spanish Grammar' (Example 1). The Spanish equivalent *Me gusta la gramática española* (Example 2) casts the stimulus, i.e., the cause of the psychological state taking place in the mind of the experiencer, as the syntactic subject and the experiencer as an indirect object or dative, capitalizing, therefore, on the semantic roles (Miglio et al., 2013, p. 268).

(1) *I* exp/subj *like* psych-verb *Spanish grammar* stim/object (+freq.)

(2) *Me* exp/object *gusta* psych-verb *la gramática española* stim/subj (+freq.)

    Me dat   likes 3sg   the grammar Spanish sg.nom

    'Spanish grammar pleases me' (-freq.)

Hence, the structure of Spanish psych-verb constructions differs from that of English in how the two arguments semantically categorized as *experiencer* and *stimulus* surface as syntactic entities. In Spanish, the experiencer or entity that undergoes a certain emotion is coded as the indirect object (dative), while the stimulus that "causes some emotional reaction" (Dowty, 1991, p. 579; Talmy, 2000, p. 101) surfaces as the subject (nominative), as in (3). In English psych-verbs, however, the experiencer tends to be coded as the subject and the stimulus as the direct object, in a similar fashion to prototypical transitive constructions such as 'I drink coffee' (4).

(3) *Nos* exp/object *encantan* psych-verb *las vacaciones* stim/subj

      Usdat   love3pl   the holidays pl.nom

(4) *'We* exp/subj *love* psych-verb *holidays* stim/object'

Spanish verbs of affect can also appear in transitive constructions with the experiencer as subject (e.g., *amar* 'to love', *odiar* 'to hate'), yet most psych verbs appear only in an inverse construction (e.g., *encantar* 'to delight', *fastidiar* 'to be annoyed by'). Inverse constructions exist in many languages and tend to express the cross-linguistic tendency to encode the experience of feelings in a fundamentally different way from the encoding of canonical transitive actions (Viola et al., 2013, p. 268). Hence, inverse constructions are typologically linked to experiential predicates that are less transitive (Bauer, 2000; Bossong, 1998; Dahl & Fedriani, 2012) and as such entail a number of semantic properties, i.e., less volition, control and affectedness of the object than agentive ones (Dahl & Fedriani, 2012, p. 343). The English language can also lexicalize the experiencer as the object, as in (5); yet, it is more common to find the experiencer argument as the subject (6).

(5) *The children* exp/subj *like / hate / fear spiders* stim/obj

(6) *Spiders* stim/subj *please / disgust / frighten the children* exp/obj

According to the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (see Ellis, 1990, p. 25), the closer the correspondence of a linguistic structure of the L2 is to its equivalent in the L1, the easier it is learned, and vice versa. Since most frequent English psych-verb constructions make use of an experiencer-subject structure, while the equivalent expressions in Spanish (e.g., *gustar* 'to like', *encantar* 'to delight', *molestar* 'to be bothered by', *fastidiar* 'to be annoyed by', *interesar* 'to be interested by') recur to inverse constructions with experiencer as object, it is not startling that English learners of Spanish struggle with these constructions (Gascon, 1998, p. 70).

An additional problem that Spanish/L2 learners and instructors might encounter is the unsystematic and poor treatment of psych-verbs in instructional settings during the early stages of learning (Martín-Gascón, 2020a, 2021a). The prevailing notional-functional approach to grammar –still largely studied as a "foreign object" of descriptive rules and lists of concepts– offered by most Spanish/L2 textbooks in the market (Llopis-García et al., 2012, Llopis-García & Hijazo-Gascón, 2019) is also an issue. Mayoral-Hernández (2012) discusses the inaccuracies affecting the teaching and learning of psych verbs in relation to subject position. He claims that textbooks ignore the topic of postverbal subjects in these constructions and, as a result, they lose crucial generalizations that affect

all subjects in Spanish, such as the presence of determiners, overt agreement with the verb and the possibility to omit them (p.324). In two more recent studies, Martín-Gascón (2020a, 2021a) explores the inclusion and usage of psych-verb constructions in 70 units belonging to levels A1, A2, and B1 (according to the *CEFR*) from 36 Spanish textbooks. The author further examines how they adjust to the emotion inventory of the *Curricular Plan of Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC* in the native language acronym), a guideline instrument that aims to guarantee homogeneity and coherence in the academic world of Spanish/L2 teaching and learning. Results from quantitative and qualitative analyses show a haphazard inclusion and a great departure from the *PCIC* with regard to the contents assigned to each level. Negative emotions conveyed by psych-verbs are relegated to higher levels of proficiency, and while psych-verb constructions are treated following a communicative approach, it is still a formalist and cognitively poor one as well. Hence, although very few psych verbs are introduced at the A1-A2 levels (usually *gustar -to like-, encantar -to love-* or *interesar -to interest*), they are not taught with attention to meaning or communicative intent, but are rather reduced to their most formal aspect and to taxonomies that disregard why one linguistic form (e.g., experiencer as object and stimulus as subject) is used over another (e.g., experiencer as subject and stimulus as object). Formalist analyses have focused on the syntactic properties of psych verbs by using native-speakers' intuitions of constructions created *ad hoc* (e.g., Brewer, 1970; Comrie, 1989; Dahl & Fedriani, 2012). Typological and functionalist approaches have, on the other hand, concentrated on the semantic properties of arguments, highlighting the markedness of psych verbs as deviating from canonical transitive patterns (Vázquez Rozas 2006, 2012). Aligned with the latter, and in line with the cognitive tenets previously discussed, the Spanish psych-verb construction under study is approached in the next section from an ACL perspective, and more specifically, from a cognitive semantics approach.

4.3. ACL: A productive framework for teaching and learning Spanish psych-verb constructions

Considering the pedagogical challenges previously mentioned, as well as the differences in the mapping of the experiencer to different syntactic roles in English and Spanish, ACL in general, and cognitive semantics in particular, are presented as a productive framework for teaching and learning Spanish psych-verb constructions. This approach allows for a systematic explanation of the relationship between

semantic/conceptual structure and formal/linguistic representation, which can foster motivated and meaningful form-meaning connections for learners.

From the perspective of cognitive semantics, how speakers conceptualize an emotional state affects the way it is expressed in language (Talmy, 1985, 2000). In this regard, understanding that issues in L2 learning derive from specificities in the conceptualization of each language (i.e., how every discourse community experiences and perceives the world, and therefore how they communicate about it), a contrastive pedagogical strategy is to be advocated. Since learners tend to transfer from their L1 to the L2 (VanPatten, 2004, Cadierno, 2008, Boers, 2013), raising awareness of the grammatical variances between their L1 and L2 presents a pedagogical advantage and seems a rather necessary exercise for a correct assimilation of these difficult constructions.

The idea of linguistic conceptualization as being universal but not equal across languages is emphasized by Taylor (1993) and Littlemore and Taylor (2014), who advocate that language instructors must acknowledge that formal differences in construal between languages result from conceptual differences. In teaching, then, L2 learners need to be made aware of the conceptual image or representation associated with a given linguistic form.

Slobin (1996), following the foundational tenets of ACL, conceives language and its grammar as one, and as such, claims that only through form-and-meaning symbolic units can speakers communicate their perspective on a given situation (p. 76). According to this author, children learn particular linguistic patterns when acquiring their native language, which means that they learn to focus on specific dimensions of experience that are, in turn, embedded in the grammar of their L1 (Slobin, 1996). This has been termed *thinking-for-speaking* and links the conceptualization of sensorimotor experiences and encyclopedic knowledge to grammatical structure. Llopis-García (2011) emphasizes the impact of *thinking-for-speaking* in the L2 teaching-learning process, as she argues that the idea that language is a reflection of how a linguistic community perceives the world, humanizes and motivates the language classroom. Hence, as opposed to objectivist semantics, cognitive semantics defends the idea that languages are not neutral coding systems of an objective reality but "a subjective experience to the world of human experience" (Slobin, 1996, p. 91). Talmy (1985, 2000) argues that languages differ in terms of the type of information presented in the foreground and in the background, an idea also put forward in cognitive grammar by Langacker as 'profiling' (2008, 2016).

Talmy (2000) refers to this cognitive phenomenon as 'salience', i.e., "the degree to which a component of meaning, due to its type of linguistic representation, emerges into the foreground of attention or, on the contrary, forms part of the semantic background where it attracts little direct attention" (p. 128). Due to the complex nature of emotions, it becomes revealing to study how this is conceptualized and encoded in the lexicon and grammar of a given language. Emotional experience might be included as conceptual archetypes that provide the cognitive foundation for linking basic grammatical constructs to semantic characterization (Langacker, 1999). In this sense, languages can vary in the lexicalization of different facets of emotions and profile different participant roles as most essential in meaning. As suggested in previous theoretical studies, *experiencer* and *stimulus* are the two major roles involved in psych-verb constructions (e.g., Dowty, 1991; Jackendoff, 1990, 2007; Levin, 1993; Talmy, 1985, 2000). In this sense, the notions of 'salience' and 'valence' with regard to psych verbs have shed light on the conceptualization of emotion (Talmy, 2000, p. 98). When describing an affective situation, Talmy (2000) highlights the lexical differences in verbs of affect, which are motivated by distinct semantic and referential roles in a given episode and whose use varies according to the salience or focus of attention, i.e., if the salient aspect is a quality of the stimulus (see Figure 1) or if, otherwise, it is the state of the experiencer (see Figure 2). In this manner, when the speaker utters the sentence *Me fastidia tu alarma de las 5:00 am cada mañana*, 'I am annoyed by your 5:00 am alarm every morning', her aversion refers to the characteristics and implications of an external stimulus (e.g., sleep interruption and deprivation, unwelcome repetitive noise). Differences in lexical usage also vary according to the origin or cause of the emotional state (see arrows in Figures 1 and 2). Thus, when the projection is targeted from an experiencer onto an external entity or object categorized as the stimulus, we face a prototypical grammatical construction (Subj.>V.>Obj.). However, if the emotional state results from the projection of a stimulus onto an experiencer, it is linguistically represented through an inverse construction (Obj.>V.>Subj.).

Figure 1. *Odio / detesto   tu alarma*

sg.nom-*hate* 1sg   *your alarm* sg.dir.obj
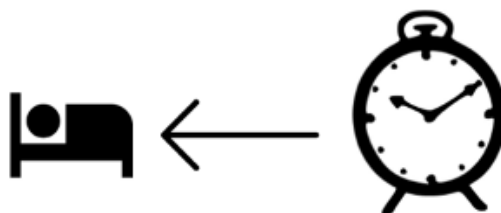
Figure 2. *Me   fastidia   tu alarma*

me dat *annoys* 3sg *your alarm* sg.nom

To our knowledge, there have been no published studies that have addressed the psych-verb construction in Spanish from a cognitive perspective and that have examined the benefits of the ACL approach in the L2 teaching and learning processes using ACL-based assessment tests. The following section addresses these questions.

4.4. The ACL empirical challenge: towards new avenues in assessing learning outcomes

In the intersection of Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL) with L2 teaching and learning, there has been a growing number of empirical studies on the effectiveness of a cognitive linguistic approach over a more traditional methodology of teaching (Lam, 2009; Alonso-Aparicio & Llopis-García, 2019; Martín-Gilete & Piquer-Píriz, 2021; Tyler, Mueller & Ho, 2011; among many others). Published papers, however, are a fraction of the number of studies that are presented at conferences but not beyond. The main reason seems to be that their findings and empirical validity do not match the hypotheses posed, i.e., the superiority of a cognitive approach vs. a more traditional method of instruction. This incongruity, however, does not match the literature on cognitive-based L2 pedagogy (Llopis-García et al., 2012; Castañeda Castro, 2014a,

2014b; Ibarretxe-Antuñano et al., 2019), nor the classroom experience of L2 instructors at large (Llopis-García, 2022).

Classroom-based empirical research in general is very complex and difficult to manage because there are many intervening factors at play: disparity of proficiency levels within the same level, student attendance or cognitive fatigue during posttests, the novelty of a researcher who teaches the instruction part of a study, or simply, the needs of a classroom setting with a curriculum to cover in a limited amount of time. At the curricular level, additionally, metaphoric competence and other cognitive-based notions are not part of either the *CERF* or the *ACTFL* (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) descriptors, so their absence in mainstream classroom textbooks and materials hinders their pedagogical potential.

The main hurdle that prevents statistically significant results for ACL, however, stems from a key methodological aspect: the design and implementation of assessment tests, as contended by Llopis-García (2018, 2019, 2021, 2022). To our knowledge, all studies conducted in the comparison of an ACL approach against a more traditional (notional-functional and communicative) method, have implemented pre- and posttests that measured learner performance via traditional tasks: grammaticality judgements (correct vs. incorrect), fill in the blanks, true vs. false, or multiple-choice exercises. This presents a major disadvantage for the cognitive-based group, since traditional tasks are what students are familiar with, and what presents less of a challenge for them in the assessment of instructional effects. These types of tasks are the constant companions of learners in regular classroom testing, and students complete them on the regular basis of their day-to-day instruction. ACL methods, however, focus on embodiment, semantic motivation, image-based form and meaning pairings, or the saliency of communicative intent. These pedagogical notions veer greatly from the more automated answer choices of traditional tasks, so assessing the effects of a novel, brand new instruction with traditional methods stacks the odds against the cognitive groups every time.

From this point of view, when studies report no statistical differences between the traditional and the cognitive groups, what can be inferred, instead of a failure for the cognitive instruction, is a tremendous success of the cognitive groups. The reason for this is that while the cognitive instruction introduced completely new ways of processing and understanding target forms, the (traditional) assessment used did not evaluate them at all. And yet, the performance of the cognitive group usually equals that of the traditional block, making the cognitive instruction effective despite the lack of coherent assessment.

With the study presented here, we posit that novel instructional methods require evaluation tasks that match the new way of learning, and that may therefore effectively measure the effects of their innovative approach.

The question to ask, then, remains: how would a cognitive linguistic group perform when given the chance to demonstrate new learning in cognitive-based assessment tasks? Since ACL approaches to L2 learning concentrate on embodied meaning, perspective, metaphorical mappings, and speakers' stance, among others, L2 learning should be assessed following the same novel methodology of the approach at stake.

4.4.1. The Pilot study

Prior to the main study, a pilot study was conducted to address these concerns and examine the feasibility of the methodology intended for the larger scale study. Students from a North American-based university taking online elementary Spanish/L2 courses participated in the study. The initial pool consisted of 59 learners from different course sections and was randomly assigned to one of the three research conditions: a control or comparison group (CON) ($n = 15$), a traditional instruction group (TRAD) ($n = 22$) and a cognitive instruction group (COG) ($n = 22$). Students were asked to complete three tests (pretest, posttest and delayed test), which took 20 minutes each. Each test was also delivered online via Wufoo and included two types of tasks: interpretation and production. On the basis of two criteria (i.e., having attended all experimental sessions and achieving scores of less than 60% in the pretest), the pool was reduced to a final group of 40 participants (CON = 6, COG = 18, and TRAD = 16). The COG experimental groups were taught using an ACL-based approach, and a more traditional teaching method consistent with mainstream textbooks was used for the TRAD. The CON received no instruction on the target form. Despite the small-sized samples ($n <20$), departure from normal distribution was found in most of the subsamples. Thus, nonparametric tests were selected for statistical analyses. In the Interpretation task, results from Friedman tests yielded a significant difference in test scores across the three testing situations only for the COG ($x^2(2) = 32.118$, $p = .000$) and a Wilcoxon signed-rank test revealed a statistically significant increase in scores ($Z = -3.732$, $p = .000$), with a medium effect size (r = .62). In turn, results from Kruskal-Wallis Tests showed a statistically significant difference between groups in the posttest ($H(2) = 31.527$, $p = .000$) and the delayed test ($H(2) = 28.366$, $p = .000$). Additionally, results from Mann-Whitney U tests revealed

differences between experimental treatments on the immediate posttest (Z = -4.913, p = .000) and on the delayed posttest (Z = -4.721, p = .000).

In the Production task, Friedman tests yielded a significant difference in test scores across the three testing situations for the TRAD ($x^2(2)$ = 11.220, p = .004) and the COG ($x^2(2)$ = 26.638, p = .000). In fact, Wilcoxon signed-rank tests revealed significant increases in scores for the TRAD (Z = -2.523, p = .012), with a medium effect size (r = .44), and the COG (Z = -3.627, p = .000), with a medium effect size (r = .60). On the other hand, results from Kruskal-Wallis Tests showed a statistically significant difference between groups in the posttest ($H(2)$ = 13.618, p = .001) and the delayed test ($H(2)$ = 16.872, p = .000). Also, results from Mann-Whitney U tests revealed differences between experimental treatments on the immediate posttest (Z = -2.669, p = .007) and on the delayed posttest (Z = -3.812, p = .000).

The promising results obtained in the pilot study led to a larger-scale replication in which all conditions were held constant for all variables involved. The following section addresses the main study.

4.5. The main study

4.5.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The objective of this article is to extend previous research on the effectiveness of an ACL-inspired pedagogical approach. To this end, the following research questions were explored:

1. (RQ1). What is the relative effect of an ACL-inspired approach and a traditional approach to teaching psych-verbs when knowledge is measured by means of ACL-inspired assessment interpretation tasks?
2. (RQ2). What is the relative effect of an ACL-inspired approach and a traditional approach to teaching psych-verbs when knowledge is measured by means of ACL-inspired assessment production tasks?

In light of the previously reviewed literature, the following hypotheses were posited: H1. An ACL-inspired pedagogical approach will render better results than a traditional pedagogical approach when knowledge of psych-verbs is measured by means of ACL-inspired interpretation assessment tasks; H2. An ACL-inspired pedagogical approach will

render better results than a traditional pedagogical approach when knowledge of psych-verbs is measured by means of ACL-inspired production assessment tasks.

4.5.2. Participants

Participants were recruited from an initial pool of 160 undergraduate students enrolled in eleven intact sections and attending their first semester of an online Spanish L2 basic course as part of their core curriculum at a university in North America. The eleven sections were randomly assigned to one of the three treatment groups: (a) a CON ($n =$ 41); (b) a TRAD ($n = 53$); and (c) a COG ($n = 66$).

The same two criteria as with the pilot study were put in place for sample selection. First, only those participants who scored below 60% in a pretest were included. Second, participants who were absent for one or more sessions during the experimental treatment were excluded. After these selection criteria, the initial pool of 160 students was reduced to 140 participants, distributed as follows: (a) CON ($n = 32$); (b) TRAD ($n = 49$); and (c) COG ($n = 59$).

4.5.3. Procedure

In order to examine linguistic learning when both instructional and assessment procedures align from an ACL-inspired perspective, a pretest/posttest/delayed posttest design was implemented. The experimental phase occurred during three regular class sessions (75 minutes each) and spanned approximately one week and a half. Session 1 involved the completion of a consent form as required by the human subjects committees regarding the design and duration of the study, plus the administration of pretests. No explicit information about the nature of the experiment was offered to the participants. Session 2 took place two days after Session 1 and involved both the instructional phase and the administration of posttests. During the instructional phase, both experimental groups were exposed to the target construction while the control group was exposed to an unrelated linguistic form. Posttests were administered immediately after the instruction. Session 3 was delivered four days after Session 2 and entailed the implementation of delayed posttests. Participants were allowed a maximum of 20 minutes for the completion of each test.

4.5.4. Instructional materials

Two instructional packages were designed and implemented: a traditional one (see Appendix A) and a cognitive counterpart (see Appendix B). The traditional teaching package was based on most market-ready textbooks and it involved the presentation of the target form, followed by a sequence of activities that required students to manipulate it in order to procedimentalize the new content. The presentation of the target form was carried out inductively by means of a text flooded with the target structure (Figure 3). Students were required to read and discuss the topic at hand through some comprehension checks. Next, the target form was presented through tables with the conjugation of psych-verbs (see also Figure 3), which also incorporated the metalanguage used with the COG as well, with the goal to ascertain that the TRAD would not be at a disadvantage during the assessment phase. The presentation and discussion of the target form spanned about 20 minutes, and afterwards, students were asked to work on the target form and think of and produce sentences to use the psych-verbs under study.

Figure 3. Sample of instruction in traditional-based package

Alternatively, the cognitive-based instructional package was inspired by ACL tenets with regard to psych-verbs. Parallel to the traditional package, the CL-based instruction also involved the presentation and practice of the target structure, as well as the traditional metalanguage present for the TRAD. The didactic sequence started by comparing psych-verbs to other verbs that follow the prototypical grammatical construction (Subj.>V.>Obj.) (Figure 4). For the next 20 minutes, the target form was explicitly presented through explanations that included cognitive-based aspects such as embodiment, motion, experientially-based metalanguage, the use of GIFs, or attention to the motivation behind the grammatical structure (see also Figure 4). In the final stage, learners were asked to practice what they had learned by creating a) sentences with verbs, stimuli and *experiencers* provided to them; and b) by coming up with new sentences themselves.

Figure 4. Sample of instruction in ACL-based package

4.5.5. Data elicitation instruments

Regarding the data elicitation and assessment tools, a pretest (Appendix C), a posttest (Appendix D), and a delayed posttest (Appendix E) were designed and delivered via Wufoo, a web application for the design of SurveyMonkey online forms. Each test included two tasks (interpretation and production) with multiple items each, and both used traditional and ACL-based concepts (e.g., subject vs. idea/performer), additionally showing the option "Skip it" to prevent students from guessing the answers (see samples in Figures 5 and 6).

The exercises in the interpretation task (see samples in Figure 5) were designed to elicit a form-meaning-image connection where learners had to match images to linguistic items by focusing on form, in order to apprehend the meaning of each construction. Items included the use of motivated metalanguage (experiencer/performer, stimulus/main idea) instead of just the traditional terminology (indirect object/dative, subject/predicate). Furthermore, the exercises did not focus on the concept of "correct/incorrect" for the answers, but rather on the representational understanding of the meaning behind the grammatical construction.

Figure 5. Samples of interpretation items in assessment tasks

The production task, on the other hand, included items at the sentence and discourse levels and required students to identify "who does what to whom" in the psych-verb construction. All activities linked the different grammatical components (subject, verb, indirect object) of these constructions with their semantic value and asked the students to differentiate experiencer vs. verb of affection vs. stimulus/idea, depending on the item (see samples in Figure 6).

"I LIKE THESE WOMEN *(estas mujeres)*" *(gustar)*

Complete the information ONLY with the VERB OF AFFECTION and the IDEA/PERFORMER
LEAVE THE SPACE FOR THE EXPERIENCER BLANK

" _____   _____   _____ "

Please write below:
a) verb of affection
b) idea/performer
(If you are not sure of the answer, write SKIP IT!) *

Complete the information ONLY with the EXPERIENCER.
LEAVE THE SPACE FOR THE IDEA/PERFORMER BLANK. Don't worry about the verb, it's left in the infinitive intentionally.

"I LOVE BRAD PITT"

"_____ ENCANTAR _____"

Write it below (only the experiencer):
(If you are not sure of the answer, write SKIP IT!) *

Figure 6. Samples of production items in assessment tasks

4.6. Results

4.6.1. Interpretation task

The first RQ examined the relative effectiveness of an ACL-inspired approach and a traditional approach to teaching psych-verbs when knowledge is measured by means of

ACL assessment tools in interpretation tasks. Table 1 displays the means, standard deviations, and confidence intervals of the interpretation scores for all three conditions.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Interpretation task

Time	Group	Mean	SD	95% CI
Pretest	COG ($n = 59$)	4.31	1.87	[3.82, 4.79]
	TRAD ($n = 49$)	3.82	1.45	[3.40, 4.23]
	CON ($n = 32$)	3.56	1.91	[2.87, 4.25]
Posttest	COG ($n = 59$)	9.98	0.93	[9.74, 10.23]
	TRAD ($n = 49$)	6.55	1.70	[6.06, 7.04]
	CON ($n = 32$)	4.41	2.03	[3.67, 5.14]
Delayed	COG ($n = 59$)	9.75	1.04	[9.47, 10.02]
	TRAD ($n = 49$)	8.08	1.51	[7.65, 8.52]
	CON ($n = 32$)	5.19	1.37	[4.69, 5.68]

Note. SD = standard deviation; CI = confidence interval.

The statistical analyses consisted of nonparametric tests as normality criteria were not met for all subsamples. To assess within-group differences across pretest, immediate posttest, and delayed posttest scores, Friedman tests were used. Results indicated significant differences in test scores across the three testing situations for the CON ($x^2(2) = 11.322$, $p = .003$), the COG ($x^2(2) = 92.327$, $p = .000$), and the TRAD ($x^2(2) = 65.742$, $p = .000$). Post-hoc analyses with Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were then conducted. For the TRAD, results revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -5.298$, $p = .000$), with medium effect size ($r = .54$). Indeed, the median score increased from 4.00 in pretest to 6.00 in posttest, to further 8.00 in delayed test. For the COG, results also revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -6.703$, $p = .000$), with medium effect size ($r = .62$). The median score increased from 4.00 in pretest to 10.00 in posttest and remained 10.00 in delayed test.

Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to assess between-group differences in the three testing situations. Results showed no statistically significant difference in test scores between baseline, traditional and cognitive conditions in the pretest ($H(2) = 3.064$, $p = .216$). However, a statistically significant difference in test scores between the three conditions was found both on the immediate posttest ($H(2) = 100.374$, $p = .000$) and on the delayed test situation ($H(2) = 84.580$, $p = .000$). Further, to examine the relative effectiveness of the ACL-inspired approach and the traditional approach, Mann-Whitney U tests were run in the three testing situations. Results revealed no significant difference between both experimental conditions on the pretest ($Z = -1.116$, $p = .265$). There was a significant difference between conditions on the posttest ($Z = -8.345$, $p = .000$) and on the delayed posttest ($Z = -5.675$, $p = .000$).

4.6.2. Production task

The second RQ surveyed the relative effectiveness of an ACL-inspired approach and a traditional approach to teaching psych-verbs when knowledge is measured by means of ACL assessment tools in production tasks. Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations, and confidence intervals of the interpretation scores for all three conditions.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Production task

Time	Group	Mean	*SD*	95% CI
Pretest	COG ($n = 59$)	1.78	2.19	[1.21, 2.35]
	TRAD ($n = 49$)	1.27	1.39	[0.86, 1.67]
	CON ($n = 32$)	1.06	1.53	[0.51, 1.61]
Posttest	COG ($n = 59$)	8.59	2.67	[7.90, 9.29]
	TRAD ($n = 49$)	5.35	3.43	[4.36, 6.33]
	CON ($n = 32$)	1.81	2.13	[1.04, 2.58]
Delayed	COG ($n = 59$)	8.97	2.90	[8.21, 9.72]
	TRAD ($n = 49$)	5.39	3.37	[4.42, 6.36]
	CON ($n = 32$)	2.78	2.45	[1.89, 3.67]

Note. *SD* = standard deviation; CI = confidence interval.

The statistical analysis consisted of nonparametric tests as subsamples were not normally distributed. Friedman tests were used to evaluate within-group differences across pretest, immediate posttest, and delayed posttest scores. Results indicated significant differences in test scores across the three testing situations for the CON (x^2(2) = 14.957, p = .001), the COG (x^2(2) = 89.876, p = .000), and the TRAD (x^2(2) = 51.158, p = .000). Next, post-hoc analyses with Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were conducted. For the TRAD, results revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores (Z = -5.755, p = .012), with medium effect size (r = .58). The median score increased from 1.00 in pretest to 5.00 in posttest and remained 5.00 in delayed test. For the COG, results also revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores (Z = -6.695, p = .000), with medium effect size (r = .62). Indeed, the median score increased from 1.00 in pretest to 9.00 in posttest and remained 9.00 in delayed test.

Kruskal-Wallis tests were run to test differences between conditions in the three testing situations. Results showed no statistically significant difference in test scores between groups in the pretest (H(2) = 2.487, p = .288). However, a statistically significant difference in test scores between the three conditions was found on the immediate posttest (H(2) = 66.235, p = .000) and on the delayed test situation (H(2) = 57.821, p = .000). Further, Mann-Whitney U tests were run in the three testing situations in order to examine the relative effectiveness of the two teaching approaches. Results revealed no significant difference between both experimental conditions on the pretest (Z = -0.610, p = .542). There was a significant difference between conditions on the posttest (Z = -4.895, p = .000) and on the delayed posttest (Z = -5.168, p = .000).

4.7. Discussion

The results of the statistical tests showed no significant differences in the pretest for any of the conditions in neither the interpretation nor the production tasks. However, after the instruction was implemented, results also revealed that the COG performed significantly better than the TRAD and the CON for both tasks in both posttests. These findings are in line with the results obtained in the pilot study and are also consistent with the two hypotheses posited, since students in the main study also performed more effectively in interpreting and producing the psych-verb constructions after a cognitive teaching session than those who received traditional instruction. The latter did show improved performance in both tasks and both tests after the intervention, yet the improvement in their learning outcomes was not superior to the COG, even when the

assessment also included the terminology that they had been exposed to during their instruction session. It is worth remembering that, as reported in previous sections, all empirical studies conducted to date have implemented a traditional assessment for data elicitation, and that the cognitive-based students, even without having received traditional instruction, still performed as well as the traditional group in the assessment.

The results presented here therefore confirm that a cognitive-based pedagogy, if followed by a coherent assessment that prioritizes form-meaning connections and meaning motivation (in agreement with Llopis-García, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022), becomes a productive method for teaching and learning difficult grammatical constructions of the L2 because it yields statistically significant learning gains for all students, but more so for the cognitive groups. Our findings are in agreement with the existing literature on ACL-based L2 teaching (Castañeda Castro, 2014a; Ibarretxe-Antuñano et al., 2019; Llopis-García et al., 2012; Nacey, 2017) and with the reported classroom experience of L2 instructors (Llopis-García, 2022), which advocate for and directly observe the potential benefits of the ACL paradigm in the L2 classroom for more memorable and effective teaching-and-learning processes.

More research is needed in order to replicate and corroborate the results here reported, i.e., the pedagogical advantages of teaching with a cognitive-based approach, as well as the need to assess student learning with the same techniques, instead of using the pervading traditional tasks like grammaticality judgements or fill-in-the-blank answers. Regarding limitations to the studies and recommendations for further research, due to the situation derived from the COVID-19 pandemic, both the pilot and the main study had to be conducted in language courses that were taking place in an online setting. Subsequent empirical investigations in which face to face, in-class conditions are implemented could help corroborate our findings. Additionally, this study contributes data to the small but growing body of literature that researches L2s other than English. More studies on Spanish and other L2s are desirable in order to assess the validity of the ACL-approach across different languages, cementing thus its idoneity for the communicative, meaningful, and competence-based L2 classroom.

4.8. Conclusion

Both the pilot and the main study presented in this paper confirm that an ACL-based instruction of the psych-verb construction in Spanish/L2 offers learners systemic and motivated explanations that are based on the embodiment and real-life perceptions of their

grammatical structure, and not on obscure morphosyntactic criteria presented as a property of the linguistic system alone. Focusing on these meaningful aspects lends validity to Langacker's (2008) claim that "learning grammar does not have to be the soulless internalization of arbitrary restrictions" (p.78). Departing from a traditional conception of grammar associated with long lists of rules and exceptions, a cognitive-based approach yields a more natural acquisition of psych-verb constructions, which can be obscure structures for many Spanish/L2 learners.

Our two studies render solid evidence in support of a continued exploration of ACL approaches to L2 teaching and learning, especially in light of the positive results that emerge from much-needed changes in the assessment of interpretation and production tasks. Traditional assessment design has focused on tests that were coherent with traditional instruction, including fill-in-the-blank or choose-the-correct-answer tasks (Kissling et al, 2018). But assessing a cognitive-based group who receives an innovative and novel instructional approach with traditional methods treats students unfavorably when measuring learning gains. If, however, assessment design considers cognitive techniques (i.e., form-meaning-image pairings, motivated understanding of meaning, or semantic identification of linguistic roles) while also including traditional terminology, all instructional groups can make learning gains, with the cognitive block in the statistical lead.

Additionally, the work presented here adds to the growing body of research conducted with L2 learners of languages other than English. The two studies offer further support to the field of ACL at large and contribute to the ecological validity of its methods. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first empirical study that examines the effects of a CL-based methodology for both instruction and assessment design. Consequently, it is also the first to evince significantly positive outcomes in learners' production and interpretation of a complex form in the L2, opening up new avenues of researching with Applied Cognitive Linguistics in the L2 classroom.

purview and approval of Columbia's Institutional Review Board for research with human subjects.

Appendices

All appendices have been submitted for review along with the manuscript and appear in the following link from the open–access website *OSF*: https://osf.io/xzmwq/?view_only=4659271c8aa741629bc60f1e1c656550

Chapter 5 [Paper 4]

WHY IN SPANISH "NOS PONEMOS CONTENTOS" BUT NOT "SATISFECHOS": A COGNITIVE-LINGUISTIC REVIEW OF THE "CHANGE-OF-STATE VERB PONERSE + ADJECTIVE" CONSTRUCTION

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

Constructionist approaches to language have often viewed metaphors and metonymies either as motivating factors or constraints on lexical-constructional integration (Goldberg 1995, 2006; the Lexical-Constructional Model: Butler & Gonzálvez 2014, Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014, Gonzálvez 2020). In a similar spirit, the present article provides a detailed study of the role of metaphor in the analysis of the Spanish resultative change-of-state construction "ponerse ('put CL') + adjective" by examining a list of metaphorical motion constructions of this kind, which are frequent in everyday language when describing temporary arousal states. By paying special attention to constraints in its lexical and constructional structure, we aim to examine whether the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION is attested in this type of construction in the Spanish language (i.e., whether it plays a role and, if so, of what kind). It is presumed that the metaphors under analysis in connection to "ponerse + adjective" constructions systematically motivate the meaning of this change-of-state verb in Spanish when coappearing with an evaluative adjective, as long as the fact that the latter profiles a normally temporary (short duration) arousal state.

5.1. Introduction

Within the context of the philosophy of embodied thought, some cognitive linguistics (CL) and constructionist approaches to grammar have regarded metaphor and metonymy as motivating factors more systematically than others on an ad hoc basis (see Panther, Thornburg & Barcelona 2009 for a discussion of that motivational role in grammar at length). This is even the case with Goldberg's (1995, 2006) Construction Grammar, which explicitly acknowledges the role of STATES ARE LOCATIONS in the resultative use of the caused-motion construction, and in a less-known development of this approach, the Lexical-Constructional Model (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014), which more aggressively postulates the systematicity of metaphor and metonymy as constraints on lexical-constructional integration, but only analyze a handful of examples in a programmatic way within the context of other theoretical pursuits. The importance of metaphor and metonymy in grammar has not been researched in enough depth, although there are exceptions, like the recent article by Gonzálvez (2020), which provides an in-depth analysis of the role of the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy in the intensification of nouns in Spanish predicative and attributive constructions. In a similar spirit, this article provides a detailed study of the role of metaphor in the analysis of the construction "*ponerse* + adjective" in Spanish. The pseudo-copulative change-of-state (PCOS) verb *ponerse* involves a transient change (physical or psychological) in the entity undergoing a particular event.[26] As a result, its lexical and constructional structure presents some specific internal and external constraints. Scholars have paid attention to their categorization (e.g., Conde 2013; Morimoto & Pavón 2007; Van Gorp 2017; phraseological studies by Corpas Pastor 1996, or Koike 2001), internal classification (e.g., Morimoto & Pavón 2007, Nilsson et al. 2014, RAE/ASALE 2009), and explanation (e.g., Conde 2013, Fente 1970, Van Gorp 2017). Yet, their complex nature, both syntactically and semantically, and the lack of a unified account renders the acquisition of PCOS constructions a real challenge and a target of interest for linguists.

For the purposes of the present study, we start out with a list of Spanish motion constructions frequent in everyday language when describing temporary arousal states (i.e., states of physiological activation or energy expenditure associated with an emotion), which are potential metaphorical expressions of the ubiquitous metaphor A CHANGE OF

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[26] Note that for a psychological change to take place, the affected entity must be a sentient being (i.e., a human or a higher-order animal like a dog: *El perro se puso triste* 'The dog became sad').

STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION (e.g., *Me pongo rojo* 'I get red'). In this line, we aim to examine whether the metaphor A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION is attested in Spanish by reading into each motion construction to recognize the type of underlying metaphor (and metonymy), as well as by addressing internal and external or higher-level metaphorical constraints based on the different realizations of the *"ponerse + adjective"* construction. In other words, we will ask ourselves why native speakers of Spanish utter constructions such as *ponerse triste* 'get sad' or *ponerse contento* 'get happy', but not *ponerse afligido* 'get distraught', nor *ponerse vergonzoso* 'get shy / timid', for instance. We contend that certain constraints are licensing factors that filter out impossible combinations of lexical items with the construction under analysis. By paying special attention to these semantic and metaphorical limitations in change-of-state constructions and their conceptualization, we offer a cognitively motivated explanation for a list of PCOS constructions. It is presumed that the metaphor under analysis in connection to *ponerse* constructions systematically motivates the meaning of motion verbs in Spanish when appearing along with an evaluative adjective as second predicate, as long as the latter is transient and conveys a normally temporary arousal state.

This study is structured as follows. To begin with, in section 5.2 we briefly describe the cognitive mechanism of metaphor and we put the emphasis on the developments of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (section 5.2.1) and on emotion (section 5.2.2) –focusing, more specifically, on the metaphor A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION. In section 5.3 we discuss the *ponerse* change-of-state construction and narrow down the scope of study to constructions with adjectival predicates in which the subject is an experiencer of the change and a self-mover in the spatial source domain. Literature on constraints on lexical and constructional integration processes is then presented alluding to the constructions under study (section 5.3.1). In section 5.4 (5.4.1) we introduce Barcelona's (2002) metaphor and metonymy identification procedure (MMIP). This procedure provides the researcher with a tool to read into a linguistic expression and recognize more easily the type of metaphors and/or metonymies, as well as their interaction, which are at work. Subsequently, in section 5.5, we show the results of the *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC*) corpus, aiming at identifying linguistic expressions that potentially convey metaphors and metonymies, in relation to motion and emotion (5.5.1). Based on those findings, in section 5.5.2 we look at the Spanish Web Corpus, where the linguistic expressions previously found are

examined in context, and we discuss our results in the light of the methodologies implemented. Finally, in section 5.6 we draw some concluding remarks and establish future lines of research to improve the Spanish as a Foreign Language (ELE in the native language acronym) teaching-learning process of these change-of-state constructions. To our knowledge, no investigation to date has explored the cognitive motivation of the "*ponerse* + adjective" construction using methodological insights from the metaphor identification procedure to enrich analytical work along the lines of the lexical-constructional account of meaning.

5.2. Metaphor: Physical and abstract change

A metaphor is a natural and unconscious mental mechanism where one experiential domain (donor domain) is partially mapped onto a different experiential domain (recipient domain), this latter being to some extent understood in terms of the other. In other words, in metaphor, unlike metonymy, we find a systematic set of correspondences between two domains of experience. Source and target are either "in different functional domains" (i.e., frames or idealized cognitive models, Barcelona 2011:53) or "not linked by a pragmatic function" (i.e., they do not follow a contextually shaped, inferential pathway) by being "in different taxonomic domains" (Barcelona 2002:346). This definition captures metaphor both as a *process* and a *product.* According to Kövecses (2017:1), "the cognitive process of understanding a domain is the *process* aspect of metaphor, while the resulting conceptual pattern is the *product* aspect".

Metaphor is also a productive way of semantic extension or polysemy (e.g., Deignan 1999a, 2020, Dirven 1985); we do not have a unique word for each object, action or abstract concept. Hence, it is a well-known phenomenon in lexicon, for it serves to economize on words allowing us to apply the same word to different contexts, so that existing linguistic resources are exploited and not necessarily new ones. Linguistic expressions of a metaphor cease to be metaphorical if the source domain meaning is lost and only the formerly figurative meaning is left (e.g., the adjective *sad* (latin *satis* 'enough') has lost its original sense, i.e., "full, satiated", extended to 'unhappy'. Others, on the other hand, remain "alive and kicking" and the old use remains under the same lemma as the literal meaning, thus broadening or extending the semantic range or meaning of the word. Consider the following primary metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1999) where an abstract concept (change) is systematically referred to in terms of a more

concrete one (motion). Whereas in (1a) the change is interpreted as physical, in (1b) the change can only be understood as metaphorical:

CHANGE IS MOTION: (1a) *Pierre* went into the room. – (1b) *Pierre* went into a coma.

Our perception of movement is completely embodied even before we start crawling, and this has been tested, for instance, in studies looking at newborn infants showing how they are sensitive to visual motion, via rapid responses to moving objects (see e.g., Simion et al. 2008; Valenza et al. 2006). Besides being one of the most basic and earliest human experiences, the perception and conceptualization of motion and, in particular, the linguistic expressions used to describe physical motion, are among those first acquired by native speakers and are notable for their high frequency (Miller & Johnson 1976:527). For this reason (their pervasiveness in experience), they are frequently used to talk about basic events such as changes of psychological state. Attending to changes of state has been found to begin as early as six months, when infants concentrate more on changes of state than on spatial changes without corresponding state changes (Woodward 1998, 1999).

Experiences that are harder to apprehend directly, such as emotions, are understood on the basis of more direct and easy-to-describe experiences, normally bodily ones. The linguistic expressions used for the conceptual primary orientational metaphors HAPPY IS UP (examples 2-5) and SAD IS DOWN (example 6) are clear instantiations of space projected onto emotions where words whose literal meaning belongs to the domain of space undergo metaphorical extensions to convey happiness and sadness.

(2) *I'm feeling* up *today.*

(3) *Your arrival* raised *my spirits.*

(4) ¡Arriba *ese ánimo!*

    Up   *that mood*

   '*Cheer* up*!'*

(5) *¿Qué puedo hacer para* levantarte *el ánimo?*

    What I-can do   to   raise-you *the mood*

    '*What can I do to* lift *your spirits?'*

(6) *Estoy* baja *de ánimos.*

    I-am   low *of moods*

    '*I'm in* low *spirits.'*

5.2.1. The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor and Developments

The earliest approach to conceptual metaphor emerges from Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), which served as a basis for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, relabeled as The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor – CTM, Lakoff 1993), which was developed in the 80's and succeeding decades and is considered as a preliminary effort to classify metaphors. CTM has contributed to changing our understanding of what the term *meaning* essentially refers to in contemporary semantics. One of the highlights from this Copernican revolution within the field of Linguistics is how metaphor is approached and understood from that moment onwards.[27] Metaphors start to be regarded as a set of cross-domain correspondences (i.e., mappings of one concept onto another) involving a reasoning process and carried out in everyday language. Hence, they are an open-ended,[28] imaginative and creative conceptual mechanism. Since for cognitivists language is a manifestation of general cognitive abilities, imagination – which is a basic human cognitive ability– becomes fundamental and worthy of attention. As a result, metaphors become universal didactic tools that allow us to reflect on the complexities of the mind.

See, for instance, the expression *I don't think this relationship* is going anywhere (Kövecses 2010:6) and its Spanish literal (lit. henceforth) equivalent *No creo que esta relación* vaya a ninguna parte. These are linguistic realizations of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:44), which, according to some of the developments of CTM (to name a few, e.g., Barcelona 2000, 2002; Gibbs 2015; Kövecses 2000, 2010; Ruiz de Mendoza & Peña 2005; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2007a) is a complex or enriched form of the primary metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (Grady 1997). Primary metaphors are the direct product of correlations that arise from basic experiences common to all humans. They have been claimed to be developed through conflation, that is, through an association based on experience between two conceptual domains. Yet,

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[27] This is not the only cognitively oriented metaphor theory proposed. There are different versions of metaphor theory (to name but a few, Fauconnier & Turner's 2008 blending theory; Lakoff's 2009 neural theory of metaphor; or Kövecses' 2008 emphasis on the idea of main meaning focus). See also Gonzálvez, Peña & Pérez (2013) for an updated revision of CTM and its recent developments and applications, and Kövecses' (2020) most recent book in which he tackles some of the weaknesses of "standard" CTM and proposes an extended view by offering new insights into the cognitive phenomenon of metaphor.

[28] Open-endedness varies according to the degree of conventionalization of the metaphor (see Barcelona 1997, 2002 for one of the earliest works on the open-endedness of metaphor; work by the cognitive psychologist Glucksberg 2001, 2006; and Ruiz de Mendoza's 2020 study, where he incorporates the notion of conventionalization into the CL account of metaphor and simile).

some scholars criticize this view pointing out the metonymic basis of primary metaphors, thus redressing the balance between metaphor and metonymy (i.e., Barcelona 2000, 2002, 2011; Radden 2002). Grady's account (1997) on primary metaphors presents an advantage in comparison to the preliminary approach to CTM, which is the power of generalization. According to his approach, abstract concepts such as love, or professional careers, are better understood in terms of the broader PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS metaphor than of LOVE IS A JOURNEY and A CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphors, respectively.

The complex metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION, which is based on the primary or basic-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Lakoff 1987), uses vocabulary of motion or change of location to express changes of state (see examples 7 and 8). Such a correlation between our location and how we feel, as well as between perceiving change of location and being aware of a change in our emotional state is one based on our bodily and physical experience with the world around us (see Figure 1).

A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION: (7a) *My mom* fell *straight* in love *with my dad*. – (7b) *My mom* fell on the floor.

STATES ARE LOCATIONS: (8a) *I* was *once* in love. – (8b) *I* was *once* in Yosemite.

DOMAIN OF SPACE   **DOMAIN OF EMOTIONS**

SOURCE   TARGET

CHANGE OF LOCATION   **CHANGE OF STATE**
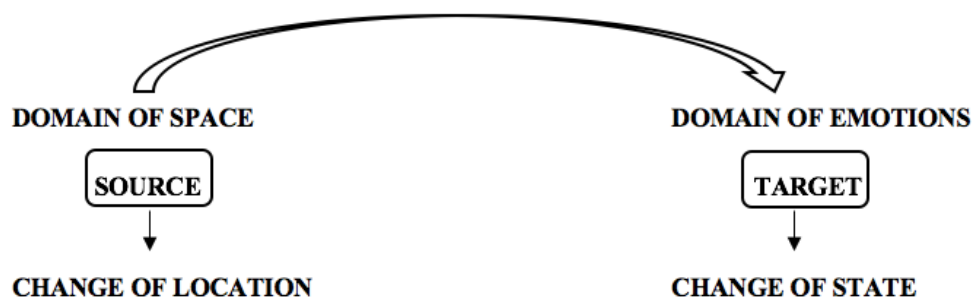
Figure 1. A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor

Lakoff (1987) contends that humans understand motion based on an image schema which has as structural elements a source, a path, a goal, and a direction. Hence, spatial motion occurs along a path (forward or backward motion) and it can be mapped onto a change of state. This involves the submapping of the spatial path onto the various stages in the change of state. If CHANGE, in general, and CHANGE OF STATE in particular, is understood as a linear progression, explained by means of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image

schema (Lakoff & Johnson 1999:147, Van Gorp 2017), the SOURCE of motion corresponds to the beginning and it is mapped onto the experiencer's *initial state*. The PATH within a location is mapped onto the *transition* from one state to another, i.e., to the development of the change of state. Lastly, the experiencer's GOAL is mapped onto the experiencer's *resulting final state* or *arousal state,* which corresponds to the achievement of the change of state (see Figure 2, where the two bounded regions represent the SOURCE and GOAL as well as the initial and final states; the black arrow stands for the PATH for abstract motion; and the intermittent arrow shows the temporary nature of the PCOS construction *ponerse rojo*; after its completion the experiencer will not remain in such a state and will go back to the initial one).
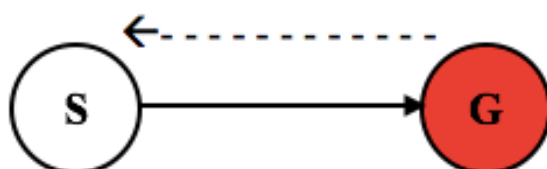
Figure 2. A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION: ponerse rojo

5.2.2. Metaphor and emotion

Emotions belong to an abstract domain whose expression was for long conceived as unstructured. Thanks to the contribution of cognitive linguists, and more specifically of CTM, the semantic structure of a list of emotions in both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages was found to be systematic and motivated, and in some cases universal. One of the pioneering works was Lakoff & Kövecses' (1987) study on anger conceptualization in English. Subsequent research has studied this emotion in other languages such as Chinese[29] (King 1989); Japanese (Matsuki 1995); Hungarian (Bokor 1997); Wolof (Munro 1991); English and Spanish (Barcelona & Soriano 2004); English, Spanish and Russian (Ogarkova, Soriano & Gladkova 2018); as well as other emotions such as fear and happiness in English (Kövecses 1991), love in Spanish and English (Barcelona 1992), or sadness in English (Barcelona 1986), among others.

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[29] For an extensive study on Chinese emotions, see Yu's (2009) work on the conceptualization of the Chinese HEART.

Emotions are mental states and thus are embodied in us and in our physiological and social experiences. It is exactly their physical and bodily grounding that makes emotions so special. As previously argued, the linguistic forms used to describe and talk about one emotion in particular (e.g., anger) show only a blueprint of our mental representations. In the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor, a set of sub-mappings of the conceptual structure of the source domain HEAT onto the specific target domain ANGER is naturally and systematically established. Yet, there exist other metaphors, e.g., CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION), whose conceptual structure applies to a broader range of emotions, since the target domain expresses result, referring to the transformation of someone's emotional state from one initial state into a wide variety of possible transient emotional states. This metaphor, although applied to changes of state in general (e.g., '*He* drank himself into a coma'), is restricted to the field of emotions in our analysis.

As observed in this section, lexical, syntactic and grammatical aspects of space are used to conceptualize states by replicating them. Linguistic configurations are shaped in such a way that they can be used to talk and reason about abstract –and, therefore, harder to be expressed– concepts, such as emotional states. In other words, the mental (in the sense of cognitive and/or conceptual) mechanism of metaphor, as well as its expression (linguistic and / or pictorial, gestural, musical, etc.), allow this linkage between physical space and abstract space or states.[30] The target of the metaphor under analysis is a process with an end-result, and it thus calls for a source domain based on (non)-instigated motion. Because space in general and motion and location in particular are accessible to our perception and cognition, we use them to categorize abstract relationships. Metaphor thus unifies both domains, the source and target, by generating polysemy. As a result, the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION also plays an important role in filtering out non-grammatical combinations of lexical items within a construction, as will be observed in the following section and in our analysis.

5.3. The change-of-state construction "*ponerse* + adjective"

Owing to its pervasiveness in both thought and everyday language, the CHANGE IS MOTION metaphor is expected to exploit motion verbs used as expressions for change of

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[30] Metaphor is mental (conceptual metaphors) and linguistic (metaphorical expressions) and its linguistic forms activate different ways of construing the same concept.

state. In the Spanish language, one of the most common verbs that conveys a transient change in someone's emotional state is the predicate *ponerse* 'put CL', generally considered as a pseudo-copulative (Alcina & Blecua 1975) or as a functional verb (Funktionsverb) in the Germanic tradition (Polenz 1963). The verb *poner(se)* (from latin *pōnere*) has originally a specific spatial meaning, which has gone through several metaphorical processes. The original meaning is still preserved (to put, place or station an entity at some location) and expressions such as *arma pōnere* 'put down weapons, lay down arms' are an indicator of how the old meaning is, which is caused motion (resulting in a new location of the theme, this new location pre-existing the motion). This meaning is very similar to the current sense of Spanish *poner* (Ernout & Meillet 2001). In examples 9 and 10, we observe how the metaphoric projection extends caused motion (9) to a caused emotional change (10):

(9) *Puse al   bebé   de pie.*
   I-put   to-the baby   of foot
   'I brought the baby to a standing position.'[31]

(10) *Puse al   bebé   de mal humor.*
   I-put   to-the baby   of bad humor
   'I put the baby in a bad mood.'

In the figurative extensions, the space is no longer physical but abstract, and instead of placing someone at a material external place, position or in a different body posture, it is an emotional state or a condition that is being metaphorically co-located within someone. In the case of the PCOS verb *ponerse*, the experiencer is either a mover whose motion is directly caused by another (animate or inanimate) entity (11) or a self-mover (12). The expressions conveying an emotion are based on our experience with space, where space becomes the source domain, and the experiencer's new and temporary arousal state, the target domain. According to Ibarretxe & Cheikh (2019), PCOS verbs involve a change in the composition of the entity undergoing a particular event. In their

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[31] It could be argued that *de pie* does not profile a location, but a bodily posture presented as resulting from body motion. Throughout this paper, we label CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION as source, as we include in this category all sorts of motion, including those involving partial, not holistic, spatial changes of a theme after moving. In this specific example, the baby was previously sitting or lying; when standing, his/her body does no longer occupy the same spatial coordinates as before.

proposal, based on specificity levels, the *ponerse* construction is said to express a temporary change, not necessarily intrinsic. The state of nervousness expressed in the construction *ponerse + nerviosa* is experienced by an entity either as a transient non-intrinsic change of state (11) or as a transient intrinsic one, with the state of nervousness originating directly from the experiencer (12).

(11) *Me ponen   nerviosa   los exámenes.*
put CL [myself]   nervous   the exams
'Exams make me nervous.'
(12a) *Me pongo   nerviosa.*
I-put CL [myself]   nervous
'I get nervous.'
(12b) *Me pongo   nerviosa   al   hacer exámenes.*
I-put CL [myself]   nervous   to-the do   exams
'I get nervous when taking exams.'

Hence, the PCOS construction *ponerse* + adjective can express position either at a particular spatial area (location), and thus can be regarded as a location verb,[32] or a particular state. We can find it in constructions where the interpretation is spatial/locative (13) or of state (14):

(13) *Me pondré   sentada (ahí/en el suelo) cuando empiece la obra de teatro.*
I-will put CL [myself] sitting (there/on the floor) when begins the work of theater
'I will sit down (there / on the floor) when the theater play begins.'

(14) *Me pondré   triste cuando empiece la obra   de teatro.*
I-will put CL [myself] sad   when   begins the work of theater
'I will get sad when the theater play begins.'

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[32] Note that when conveying a physical space or position, as in (13), the secondary predication (*sentada* 'sitting') is a participle adjective.

When referring to physical spaces, the location verb *ponerse* normally appears along with a prepositional phrase (15) or an adverbial one (16). Yet, there are also some expressions in abstract spaces (states) with prepositional phrases (i.e., *Me pone* de buen humor '*It puts me* in a terrific mood').

(15) *Carmen   se puso   en el salón.*
Carmen   put CL [herself]   in the living room
'Carmen went to the living room.'
(16) *Elena   se puso   detrás.*
Elena   put CL [herself]   behind
'Elena went behind.'

When referring to emotional states, adjectives are comparatively more common than when expressing literal locations: *Me pongo* contenta / histérica / colorada 'I get excited/hysterical/red', etc. These constructions involve a change in a physiological aspect (*colorado* 'red') or in the person's mood –implying a fast, non-voluntary change of state that can be either positive (*contenta* 'excited') or negative (*histérica* 'hysterical'). For the purposes of this research, special attention will be paid to the construction form [SUBJ VCL PRED], in which the *subject* is both an experiencer of the emotional change in the target and a theme in the source, as in examples (12) and (14). This theme can be presented as self-moving (and then is at the same time an agent in the source); this self-caused motion can in some cases be mapped onto self-caused emotional change (e.g., *Juan se puso nervioso a sí mismo a base de pensar que lo haría mal* 'Juan put himself nervous through thinking that he wouldn't succeed'*)*. Yet, most times, the verb *ponerse* is pseudo-reflexive or "middle" when used to express change of state (i.e., *Me puse roja de ira* 'I got red with anger' does not (normally) mean that the subject intentionally causes that change in herself). This is a lack of parallelism between the argument structure of this verb in the source domain and its argument structure in the target. More specifically, we will focus on cases where the PCOS verb *ponerse* is followed by an evaluative adjective (the secondary *predication*) and there is no expressed external circumstance (12a), as well as on those where the PCOS construction "*ponerse* + adjective" is accompanied by the expression of an external circumstance (e.g., *al hacer exámenes* 'when taking exams') (12b), which explains why the change of state is triggered in the experiencer. These PCOS constructions show, likewise, a subject who, despite

participating in the change-of-state event, has lost some control features present in an active agent. Maldonado (1999) refers to this type of subject as being simultaneously agent and experiencer (cf. Ibarretxe & Cheikh 2019:9).[33]

5.3.1. Constraints on lexical-constructional integration processes

The entrenched pairing *ponerse* + adjective, which is conventionalized and mostly non-compositional, can be referred to as PCOS or change-of-state construction, in the sense of Goldberg's (1995, 2006) Construction Grammar. In her framework, constructions are defined as fixed form-meaning pairings whatever their form or functional complexity. *Form* alludes to any type of linguistic structure (from phonemic to prosodic) and *meaning* refers to any type of semantic or pragmatic information. Constructions are claimed to carry meaning regardless of the items that compose them. The meaning carried by the PCOS construction under study is, as previously discussed, "X (subject/experiencer) undergoing a change of state Y (a new, and to some extent transient, arousal state)". In line with this, Goldberg (1995, 2006) acknowledges the role of the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS in the resultative use of the caused-motion construction. This correlation metaphor can therefore be used to motivate lexical-constructional integration. On the Goldbergian constructionist perspective, resultatives are viewed as metaphorical extensions of the caused-motion construction (Goldberg 1995:87). Yet, although related, these two constructions are distinct in that some predicates only occur in one or the other. See for instance (17), where the verb *hacer* 'make' only occurs in the resultative, yet in (18), *mover* 'move' cannot appear with a resultative construction:

(17) *Me hizo   feliz.*
    me it-made   happy
    'It made me happy.'
    Me hizo   *a casa.
    me it-made   at house
    'It made me at home.'

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[33] These characteristics (i.e., their middle-voice structure and their intransitive, pronominal character) are also shared by other PCOS constructions (Ibarretxe & Cheikh 2019:10). With changes of state in general, we could also refer to the subject as seldom agent (see, i.e., *Se puso hasta arriba de pasteles,* 'He pigged out on cakes').

(18) *Lo   moví   hacia atrás.*

     him   I-moved   to behind

     'I moved it backwards.'

     *Lo moví   *triste.*

     him I-moved   sad

     'I moved him sad.'

The Lexical-Constructional Model (LCM henceforth) is also a usage-based account of meaning construction reconciling insights from functional and cognitive constructionist views (Butler 2009, 2013, Butler & Gonzálvez 2014, Ruiz de Mendoza 2013, Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014), but it defines constructions as a form-meaning (or function) pairing where *form* enables access to *meaning*, and this latter is represented formally in a way that such processes have prevailed through use and have become entrenched in the speakers' mind. These processes are recognized as stably associated or potentially replicable by native or other competent speakers of the language with immaterial variation in their *form* and *meaning* (Ruiz de Mendoza 2013:237). The LCM recognizes the existence of constructional families and, in agreement with Goldberg's constructionist approach, claims that resultatives (transitive and intransitive ones) belong to the same family of constructions as caused-motion ones, for there are sufficient elements in common: an event (whether instigated or not) that causes an object to change location or state. In a study on meaning construction from the point of view of the descriptive tools of the LCM, Ruiz de Mendoza (2013) concludes that constructional structure mediates the syntactic realization of predicate meaning. In his view, meaning is not formed by assembling concepts, but rather by the conceptual scaffolding provided by the construction.

Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2007b, 2008, 2009, 2011) provide an exhaustive account of internal and external constraints on the cognitive operation of subsumption. The former are concerned with the semantic units encoded in a lexical or constructional template, whereas the latter refer to higher conceptual mechanisms such as metaphor and metonymy (2008:395). Subsumption is defined as a constrained process or a gradual meaning production mechanism consisting of the incorporation of lower levels of semantic structure into higher levels of "syntactically-oriented" structure (2009:16). Hence, the authors, following Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez (2003), defend the existence of a general principle of conceptual interaction in which

higher-level patterns incorporate lower-level ones, which serves to account for constructional templates interacting in constrained ways – "coercion", i.e., the resolution of a conflict between lexical and constructional denotata (Gonzálvez 2011, 2020: 159; Michaelis 2011). This alludes to Michaelis' (2003) Override Principle, which states that the meaning of a lexical unit conforms to the meaning of the construction in which it is embedded.

Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo's (2016) discussion of motion in the expression of result in English shows that adjective phrases are preferred when the experiencer or "affected entity" acquires a new humanly relevant property, yet it retains its essence. In line with Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo (2016), there exist constraints based on the low-level conceptual structure of the lexical items filling in the various constructional slots, which explains why constructions such as *José se puso* metálico ('metallic') are simply not said, for "metálico" is not a human property. Yet, apart from limitations on the low-level conceptual structure, there exist also constraints based on the high-level conceptual structure (i.e., generally the construction requires lexical predicates to have certain high-level properties, so utterances like *La considero en casa,* lit. 'I consider her at home' are incorrect, since the resultative element of the construction must be an evaluative adjective) and on re-construal of predicates. This latter happens as a motivation for "constructional coercion" over lexical predicates. In this respect, metaphor and metonymy play an important role and allow for constructions like *ponerse* + transient adjective. Regarding the positive constraints on lexical-constructional subsumption, the high-level metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION opens the door to a list of subcategorial conversions of predicates classified as CHANGE OF STATES. This is the case of predicates such as *convertirse, transformarse,* or the one under study: *ponerse,* which have a new (and temporary, in the case of *ponerse*) state goal and which tend to be marked, in their default syntactic expression, by an adjective (again, a one designating a transient property when appearing with *ponerse*), an adverb or a preposition.

Gonzálvez's (2009) study of object-related depictives also sheds some light into the PCOS construction *ponerse* + adjective in the sense that the pseudo-reflexive *se* profiles

the object of change and the adjective marks a secondary predication.[34] Gonzálvez (2007, 2009) shows how the evaluative subjective-transitive construction (e.g., *Lo veo conveniente,* lit. 'I see it convenient') in Spanish and English features some semantico-pragmatic restrictions on the noun phrase (e.g., *lo* 'it') and the secondary predication (e.g., *conveniente* 'convenient') which cannot be derived from the meaning of its components (Gonzálvez 2009:667). As the author highlights, this is evident especially in cases when the lower-level configurations exhibit coercion effects.

In a more recent study, Gonzálvez (2020) examines evaluative subjective resultative constructions as a type of resultatives, paying attention to their abstract configuration and higher-level schema. The author investigates metonymic coercion of nouns in predicative and attributive constructions and claims that the intensifier *muy* ('very') in present-day Spanish coerces the noun within its scope into encoding a positive or negative property of an entity or event through a generic for specific metonymic inferencing process (e.g., *un tema muy Madonna,* 'a very Madonna song') (Gonzálvez 2020:164). Another recent work by Ibarretxe & Cheikh (2019) aims at offering a unified account of the linguistic behavior of PCOS by proposing a multi-level family of change-of-state constructions based on the analysis of the verbs *hacerse* ('make') and *volverse* ('turn'). Their approach accounts for the specificity of saturated constructions (e.g., *María se volvió loca,* 'María went crazy') and the more general abstract patterns (e.g., [Subject *volverse* Adjective]). They also highlight the need to consider the specific meaning of the lexical verb, as it is the verb that is responsible for the meaning differences in the speaker's interpretation of the event and for the metaphorical understanding of the whole construction (e.g., *María se ha vuelto / hecho / puesto / quedado roja,* lit. 'María has turned / made / put / remained red') (Ibarretxe & Cheikh 2019:3).

5.4. Methodology

5.4.1. Corpus Analysis and Barcelona's (2002) MMIP

Corpus Linguistics has been shown to bring new insights into the study of metaphor as observed in works by Cameron & Deignan (2003), Charteris-Black (2004), Deignan's (1999b, 2005, 2008) pioneering papers and Wikberg (2006), among others. More

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[34] The term "profile", proposed by Langacker (1987), can be used as both a noun and a verb. It is used to refer to a *designatum* that stands out and is "profiled" against the base, which is the ground against which the profiled element is construed.

particularly, corpus-based methods have become in the last two decades one of the major empirical methods in the field of linguistics. Yet, in the case of metaphor research, corpus analysis had for long been disregarded, and, as a result, studies using introspective methodologies based on the researchers' intuition prevailed until the early 2000s. In contrast to this intuitive and unsystematic approach, methods that use corpora not only enhance the exhaustivity of data examination, but they also provide authentic and valid examples of language (written and oral) in use.[35]

For this study, we have started out with the hypothesis that emotional states are conceptualized in terms of motion prior to exhaustively examining the *PCIC,* which is a guideline instrument that guarantees homogeneity and coherence in the academic world of ELE teaching-learning. Figurative expressions that represent a repeated pattern were selected and we formulated the metaphor that served as an umbrella for a number of instances of a certain kind. This allowed us to identify linguistic forms expressing metaphors in relation to emotions and to narrow them down to constructions combining a motion verb and an adjective denoting change of emotional state. Yet, since conceptualization is the product of our experiential interaction with reality (Lakoff 1987), the different socio-cultural conditions articulate the way a speaker conceives the world. Hence, the study of metaphor can be enriched by adding a contextual analysis that allows for a deeper examination of the conceptual system of the target language, for metaphorical mappings can vary across time (diachronic variations). According to Deignan (2003), variations depend on the importance that a certain culture gives to a particular domain. Domains that are more salient in a specific culture are more likely to form metaphorical mappings. For this reason, an analysis of the target constructions was conducted using Barcelona's (2002) MMIP and looking at the Spanish Web Corpus to identify and describe the metaphorical structure in a given construction. In his procedure, he proposes two steps and four subordinate operations. He looks at the kind of mapping, the type of evidence that has to be sought and used, the classification of the mapping as an instantiation of a more general mapping, the functioning of the mapping in the textual example, and the possible metaphorical, metonymic or metaphtonymic complexity of the example. If the metaphor is documented enough in the literature on metaphor, step 1

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[35] It is important to also bear in mind the limitations of Corpus Linguistics with respect to metaphor and metonymy, as the figurativity of an utterance often depends on the broader context or on the interpreter's mind.

(examining where the mapping takes place) can be skipped as well as the first two operations of step 2 (looking for additional conventional linguistic expressions and for additional semantic and pragmatic evidence). Thus, the characterization step would be reduced to the last two operations of step 2 (recognizing the most general metaphorical mapping and describing the functioning of it within its context). Yet, since the gathering of data was based on intuition, we considered it relevant to follow each phase to identify and describe the metaphorical structures in as accurate and detailed a way as possible.

5.5. Results and discussion

5.5.1. The PCIC

The *PCIC* (Instituto Cervantes 2007) is a reference document that develops in a detailed and verifiable manner and sets the different reference levels (A1-C2) for Spanish following the recommendations of the Council of Europe (2001) in its Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). After having examined the document in detail, we elaborated a comprehensive list including potentially metaphorical expressions such as *Tengo unos nervios* (lit. 'I have some nerves'; idiomatic 'I have the butterflies'), *Estoy de buen humor* (lit. 'I am of good humor'; idiomatic 'I'm in a good mood'), or *Me pongo en tu piel* (lit. 'I put myself in your skin'; idiomatic 'I put myself in your shoes'), among others. Yet only constructions with the motion verb *ponerse* were examined (see Appendix A) and only the ones in which the PCOS verb collocates with an evaluative adjective were considered for further analyses.

The target metaphoric and mostly conventional constructions conveying different emotions were found in section *3. Expresar gustos, deseos y sentimientos* 'Expressing preferences, wishes and feelings' under a broader section named *Funciones* 'Functions' (Appendix B).[36] Levels A1 and A2 did not include any of the constructions under analysis. It is the inventory of emotions for levels B1-B2 that incorporates for the first time constructions where the person experiences a change of emotional state (see Table 1). B1 level includes mostly negative emotions (sadness, affliction, anger, indignation, and nervousness), and the positive emotions of happiness and satisfaction. B2 level introduces a new negative emotion: embarrassment.

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[36] Due to extension limitations, see all Appendices in the following Open Science Framework URL: https://mfr.osf.io/render?url=https%3A%2F%2Fosf.io%2F4cq3u%2Fdownload

Table 1. Emotions, linguistic expressions, and examples for levels B1 and B2

B1	Construction	Example
alegría y satisfacción *happiness and satisfaction*	me pongo contento	***Nos dicen algo agradable y nosotros nos ponemos contentos*[37]**
tristeza y aflicción *sadness and affliction*	me pongo triste	*Me pongo triste cuando escucho esta canción*
enfado e indignación *anger and indignation*	me pongo furioso	*Me puse furioso cuando descubrí que todo era mentira*
nerviosismo *nervousness*	me pongo nervioso / histérico	*Se puso nerviosa al ver que no había cogido el pasaporte* ***Que si me pongo histérica, me pegue una carrera y vuelva. Y que piense que todo esto es temporal y que no durará demasiado***
B2		
vergüenza *embarrassment*	me pongo rojo / rojo como un tomate	***Tú eres muy amigo suyo, ¿no? Neville se puso rojo, y sonrió*** *Se puso rojo como un tomate cuando descubrimos que nos estaba mintiendo*

Similarly, the *PCIC* adds two new constructions in both the C1 and C2 levels for emotions that had already appeared in previous levels (see Table 2). As observed, the adjectives that accompany the motion verb *ponerse* are of different kinds. All of them, except from *contento* ('happy'), lexically express negative emotions –*triste* ('sad'), *furioso* ('angry'), *nervioso* ('nervous'), *histérico* ('hysterical'). Co-occurring with the verb *ponerse,* the *PCIC* also presents adjectives allowing for literal and figurative readings (e.g., *enfermo* lit. 'sick' > fig. 'annoyed'; and color adjectives *colorado* +lit. 'red-colored' > -lit. 'red-faced' > fig. 'shamed'; *rojo* +lit. 'red' > -lit. 'blushing' > fig. 'red with anger'.

Furthermore, the *PCIC* does not recommend the introduction of this PCOS verb in the ELE classroom until B1 level. This suggestion is based on the premise that *ponerse* is to be presented along with other change-of-state verbs, such as *hacerse* (lit 'make oneself'; idiomatic 'become', 'turn'), *volverse* (lit. 'turn around'; idiomatic 'become'), *convertirse en* (lit. 'convert in'; idiomatic 'become'), *transformarse en* (lit. 'transform in'; idiomatic 'become') or *llegar a (ser)* (lit. 'arrive to (be)'; idiomatic 'become'), which are formally and semantically different.[38] This form-function heterogeneity renders the

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[37] No example is given by the *PCIC* for some of the emotions (examples in bold), and thus, the ones included were retrieved from the Spanish Web Corpus.

[38] Spanish, as opposed to other languages, does not have a verb that is used in a general way to express a change-of-state (i.e., French *devenir,* Portuguese *ficar,* Italian *diventare,* German *werden,* English *become*).

learning of such verbs a rather arduous task reserved for higher levels. Such difficulty is compounded by the diversity in the structure that each of these verbs requires, since some might take a prepositional phrase, others an adjectival phrase, and others, like *ponerse,* either choice. Furthermore, their meaning of change may vary and can be understood as physical or metaphorical. Yet, in terms of pedagogical impact, the inclusion of PCOS verbs at earlier stages (e.g., A2) focusing on one of their forms (e.g., *ponerse* + adjective) and on one basic meaning contrast (e.g., physical vs. metaphorical), as well as drawing attention to the conceptual and linguistic similarities between the learner's first and second language could be very beneficial for their correct acquisition.[39]

Table 2. Emotions, linguistic expressions, and examples for levels C1 and C2

C1	Construction	Example
enfado e indignación *anger and indignation*	me pongo enfermo	***Solo de pensar en él siento que me pongo enfermo***
vergüenza *embarrassment*	me pongo colorado	*Me imagino que se pondrá colorado al ver las fotos, ¿no te parece?*
C2		
enfado e indignación *anger and indignation*	me pongo rojo de ira/de rabia	***El joven se puso rojo de ira, gritó (…)*** ***Se puso roja de rabia y se fue***

5.5.2. The Spanish Web Corpus in Sketch Engine

One of the tools offered in Sketch Engine to work with a corpus is "Concordance". As stated in the introduction page of the users' manual, a concordance is a list with all the examples of the word or phrase searched, which appear in context. The query or keyword can be a word form, a lemma, a construction, or even a complex structure. When clicking "search", a KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance is automatically generated in red text, which allows to observe clearly the context to the right and left. The Spanish expressions extracted from the *PCIC* conveying change of emotion and using the motion verb *ponerse* + adjective were searched in the Spanish Web Corpus using the Concordance tool in their different forms, i.e., all the verb forms and persons (*me pongo contento, te pones contenta, se puso contento, nos pongamos contentas*, etc.). This corpus contains almost 100 million words compiled by using a list of URLs (varying from

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[39] The outcomes of the metaphorical analysis presented in this research are a first step in the developing of a didactic material to be further implemented in a follow-up study with English learners of ELE at the University of Columbia, NY.

philosophical online texts to online newspapers: e.g., *El Mundo*) provided by the University of Leeds and intended to serve as a resource for the study of the Spanish language. The analysis of the corpus allowed us to examine the metaphoric expressions in context.

Results from the query showed a total number of 14 tokens for the linguistic construction *ponerse contento* in the Spanish Web Corpus (example 19), 21 for *ponerse triste* (example 20), 17 for *ponerse furioso* (example 21) and, in the case of nervousness, 75 tokens for *ponerse nervioso* (example 22) and 9 for *ponerse histérico* (example 23) were found.[40] All these expressions belonged to B1 level in the *PCIC.*

(19) *Tú   notas   que   te pones   contento,   ella   lo nota y*

se pone   también contenta.

you note   that   you-put CL [yourself] happy   she   it notes and

she-put CL [herself]   also   happy

'You realize that you get excited, she notices it and she also gets excited.'

(20) *¡Venga!, no se ponga   triste. Ha   de aprender   a   superar*

estas cosas.

you-come not you-put CL [yourself] sad you-must of learn   to   overcome

these things

'Come on! Don't get sad. You must learn how to overcome these issues.'

(21) *Hay   gente que   se pone   furiosa cuando la pones en evidencia.*

There-are people that   put CL [herself] furious when   her put in evidence

'There are people who get mad when you poke fun at them.'

(22) *Y rápido, ¡o me pongo   nervioso!*

and fast   or I-put CL [myself] nervous

'And quickly or I'll get nervous!'

(23) *Te preguntan de qué demonios estás hablando (...) –   Te pones   histérico*

y les gritas.

you they-ask of what demons you-are speaking you-put CL [yourself] hysterical

and them you-shout

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[40] All the examples in the paper extracted from the Spanish Web Corpus are included in Appendix C showing the type of text or discourse in which the PCOS construction has been documented.

'They ask you what the hell you're talking about (…) You get hysterical and shout at them.'

Regarding the expressions *ponerse rojo / ponerse rojo como un tomate*, which refer to the emotion of embarrassment for B2 level, we encountered 16 and 6 cases, respectively (examples 24a and 24b). Embarrassment expressed through the construction *ponerse colorado* (C1) appeared a total of 16 times (example 25). Another expression that belonged to this level, anger and indignation with the expression *ponerse enfermo*, showed only 9 tokens (example 26). These same emotions, also included in the C2 level, but with the expressions *ponerse rojo de ira* and *ponerse rojo de rabia,* appeared only once in the case of the former (example 27) and the latter did not present any instantiation. Thus, apart from the construction *ponerse nervioso*, the remaining analyzed PCOS constructions showed little presence in the Spanish corpus, which allowed for a qualitative and more-in-depth analysis.

(24a) *Joder, solo de pensarlo   me pongo   rojo.*

   f*** only of thinking-it   I-put CL [myself]   red

   'Shit, just thinking of it I get red.'

(24b) *Se puso   rojo como un tomate y echó   a correr hacia el castillo.*

   he-put CL [himself]red like   a tomato and he-threw to run   to   the castle

   'He turned red and started to run to the castle.'

(25) *Aunque parezca mentira me pongo   colorada.*

   although it appears lie   I-put CL [myself] colored

   'Believe it or not, I do turn red.'

(26) *Solo de pensar en él, siento que me pongo   enfermo.*

   only of think   in him I-feel that I-put CL [myself] sick

   'I get sick just thinking of him.'

(27) *El joven se puso   rojo de ira, gritó,   maldijo   y   tiró   las botas al suelo.*

   the young put CL [himself]   red of anger he-shouted he-cursed and he-threw the boots to-the floor

   'The young man turned red with anger, shouted, cursed and threw the boots to the floor.'

With regard to the target constructions and the cognitive constraints on the expression of the CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor (further discussed in section 5.5.2.1), it is worth highlighting at this point that in Spanish, expressions such as *ponerse contento* ('get excited') or *ponerse triste* ('get sad') are commonly used, whereas Spanish speakers would not say *ponerse satisfecho*[41] ('get satisfied') nor *ponerse afligido* ('get distraught). Likewise, to express anger and indignation, the *ponerse furioso / enfermo / rojo de ira/de rabia* PCOS constructions are frequent in everyday language; yet, *ponerse enfadado* or *ponerse indignado* are simply not prototypical constructions to express a new temporary state of arousal in which the subject experiences those emotions. These findings are in line with RAE-ASALE (2009:2842), for they attest the co-appearance of *ponerse* with adjectives denoting circumstantial or episodic states, but not with participle adjectives. This departs from Morimoto & Pavón (2004:391), who defend that *ponerse* can appear with participles of predicates of psychological affection that denote states which diverge from what might be considered "normal" (e.g., *emocionado* 'thrilled', *descompuesto* 'decomposed'). Yet, the authors also claim, in agreement with our results, that the acceptability/grammaticality of this verb when appearing along with participles that do not carry markers[42] (intensifiers) of an extreme degree is dubious. Still, this does not apply to all participles (e.g., *Se puso muy *descompuesto* 'He became very shattered', *Se puso muy *satisfecho* 'He became very satisfied') where *descompuesto* and *satisfecho* allude to resulting states that have been accomplished and are not subject to temporary change. In relation to this, subsumption of the semantic structure of lexical items into constructional templates (i.e., high-level or abstract semantic representation of syntactically relevant meaning elements abstracted away from multiple lower-level representations) is, as has been discussed, regulated by internal and external constraints (Butler & Gonzálvez 2014:119-120). The former refer to lexical class constraints (i.e., Spanish pronominal verbs of affection like, for instance, *enfadarse* 'get angry', *avergonzarse* 'be ashamed of', *afligirse* 'to grieve' and *indignarse* 'be indignant' can be used to show the result of a new accomplished emotional state: e.g., *Se indignó,* 'He was indignant', while the PCOS verb *ponerse,*

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[41] This construction appeared only once; *ponerse enfadado* appeared twice; *ponerse afligido, ponerse indignado* and *ponerse vergonzoso* showed 0 cases.

[42] In relation to this, and following Gonzálvez's (2020) study, it could be argued that the intensifier combines with a participle and coerces it into having an adjectival construal. This categorial conversion is licensed by the high-level metonymy DEGREE OF INTENSITY FOR DEGREE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.

which expresses a normally temporary and spontaneous emotional state, cannot be followed by a participle adjective normally conveying the result of a psychological process (e.g., *Se puso enfadado* 'He got angry'), even though both involve a change of state in the subject. This lexical blocking accounts for the *quasi* non-existence of *ponerse* + participle adjective constructions. The reflexive verbs might block out or otherwise preempt the use of their potential metaphorical counterparts with *ponerse*. The latter (external constraints) are the result of high-level metaphoric and metonymic operations on the lexical items involved in the subsumption process (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2007b, 2008, 2011) and will be examined in more depth when discussing the systematicity of the metaphor under study in the next section.

Similarly, Spanish uses the construction *ponerse rojo* and *ponerse colorado,* but very rarely uses *ponerse vergonzoso*. This latter tends to be discarded from predicational contexts where it holds for animate beings, with the meaning to 'get shy / timid'[43], which are the ones under study. It can be used, although also rarely, with inanimate subjects when *vergonzoso* is metonymic for 'causing shame' (example 28). This causal meaning is found in dictionaries: "Se dice de lo que es motivo de vergüenza: *Un asunto vergonzoso*", 'Said of that which is a source of shame: A shameful affair' (DUE). In this example, the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy acts as a licensing factor. Furthermore, every adjective retrieved from the *PCIC* can also co-appear with the resultative state verb *estar* denoting an accomplished emotional state (e.g., *Estoy triste)*. Yet, as observed, the change-of-state verb *ponerse* does not always co-occur with all adjectival complements (e.g., *ponerse vergonzoso*) nor does it appear along with participial adjectives (e.g., *ponerse afligido*) conveying people's new and temporary states.

(28) *La situación se puso   vergonzosa.*

    'The situation put CL [itself] shy

    'The situation got shameful/embarrassing.'

(29) *Me puse   nervioso.*

    I-put CL [myself]   nervous

    'I got nervous.'

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[43] No example was found in the corpus. Still, we include one example with an animate subject from CREA, but we emphasize that it is a very rare construction: *Les llevan a filiaciones y la Madrileña se pone vergonzosa. ¡Que no quería desnudarse!* This construction can be used colloquially to express an ironical and somehow disapproving attitude, suggesting that the subject is a bit of a hypocrite.

(30) *Me puse   *vergonzoso*.

    I-put CL [myself]   shy

    'I got shy.'

The reason why (29) is possible but not (30) may lie in the non-transient nature of the property expressed by *vergonzoso*. Here, the metaphor creates a general framework for the use of a resultative adjective with a position verb, both with a non-material meaning. This lexical-constructional integration constriction happens as a motivation for constructional coercion over lexical predicates (Ruiz de Mendoza 2013), which accounts for A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION as the reason why speakers produce some predicates but not others.

The expression of emotions that persist in time normally requires intransient verbs, such as the static copular *ser* ('be') or the normally resultative verb *estar* ('be'), for the experiencer and the conceptualized emotional state correspond to the same entity. In this case, when the speaker describes her own states or changes of state, she shares an internal conceptualization of herself that includes, amongst others, her emotional states.[44] Thus, instead of using *ponerse,* Spanish speakers would utter *ser vergonzoso* (*n*=399) ('be shy / timid'), *estar satisfecho* (*n*=10,344) ('be satisfied')*; estar afligido* (*n*=115) ('be distraught); *estar enfadado* (*n*=1,740) ('be angry'); and *estar indignado* (*n*=727) ('be outraged'). The positive and negative emotions under study can be considered either emotional changes or emotional states depending on spontaneity and on how long the agent/experiencer undergoes them: +spontaneous and +temporary for emotional changes, -spontaneous and durational for emotional states. In the case of emotional changes (e.g., a change into sadness), they are linguistically represented with a PCOS verb, such as *ponerse,* followed by evaluative subjective resultative expressions that profile a spontaneous quality that does not necessarily imply a certain permanence (e.g., *ponerse triste*), although the same predicate could also profile a relatively durational emotional state, e.g., *estar triste*). Regarding emotional states (e.g., sadness), adjectives conveying a state that requires a certain duration (e.g., *afligido*) cannot co-appear with a change-of-state verb, such as *ponerse,* which also implies spontaneity. The concepts of spontaneity

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[44] It should be stressed at this point that when using these constructions with 2nd or 3rd person subjects (e.g., *Te pusiste nerviosa,* 'You got nervous') the speaker or conceptualizer is different from the experiencer (i.e., she is not profiled as the conceptualizer, but just as an experiencer).

and permanence in time, are, therefore, paramount to understand all elements of this PCOS construction, that is, not only the predicate, but also its complements. This cognitive constraint on the linguistic representation of the metaphor under study disagrees to some extent with findings in Ibarretxe & Cheikh's (2019) study, as it is both the lexical verb and the adjective (thus not only the verb), which are responsible for the semantic differences and the metaphorical interpretation of the PCOS construction.

5.5.2.1. *Barcelona's (2002) MMIP and the systematicity of* A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION *in the PCOS construction ponerse + adjective*

The metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION is rather well-known from the literature on CTM, and the emotions analyzed which are involved in a change of state or condition include those analyzed above (happiness and satisfaction, sadness and affliction, anger and indignation, nervousness, and embarrassment). This conceptual metaphor seems to be highly motivated and probably universal; yet, these aspects still need to be attested in the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION in Spanish. Hence, a further analysis is needed to i) gain a deeper understanding of the metaphorical mappings from the source onto the target domain and to ii) study the extent to which this metaphor might act as a licensing factor of lexical integration into the PCOS construction under study.

As Barcelona (2002) highlights, if the mapping is construed as a metaphor, we need to ensure that the mapping occurs between two domains that are not included in a broader functional or taxonomic domain. In the case of the analyzed PCOS constructions, there is a mapping from the source domain of temporary *location* to the target domain of temporary *states*. These are two independent taxonomies, in other words, both of them are discrete domains of experience, for *location* belongs exclusively to the taxonomy of space and *states* to that of emotions and emotional states. Yet, they can be conflated through experiential co-occurrence. We can call this metaphorical mapping STATES ARE LOCATIONS and when the experiencer assumes a new temporary state or condition, either internally caused, or produced by an external factor or stimulus, the mapping can be named A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION. Research has extensively focused on the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor and its related metaphors. Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo's (2016) study on English caused-motion constructions, for instance, shows the motivation of the metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION to express result. In the same line, in her works, Goldberg

(1995:87, 180; 2006:21) contends that resultative constructions only apply to arguments that can potentially undergo a change of state as a result of the action profiled by the verb. The CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor acts as a licensing factor of lexical integration into some constructions. In this case, it accounts for the relation between the semantics of the caused-motion construction and the resultative construction. The form of the metaphorical extension in the resultative under study (see Figure 6) is indirectly inherited from the caused-motion construction (see Figure 3) and directly from the *self*-caused-motion construction (see Figure 5). As claimed in the LCM, both the resultative and the caused-motion construction present an event (whether instigated or not) that causes an object to change location or state.

Figure 3. Active transitive caused-motion construction. Source Domain

(El joven)	*Lo (al niño)*	*puso*	*sentado / de pie*
(The youngster)	him (to the kid)	put	sitting / standing up
Sem. causer	THEME	cause-MOVE	GOAL
Syn. SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	ARG

Poner 'put' is a causative position locative verb that tends to correspond to the transitive caused-motion constructional meaning "X causes Y to move to location Z" (see Figure 3). In Figure 5, however, the locative verb *ponerse* can be explained as having the self-caused-motion meaning "X causes X to move to location Z", for the subject both performs and undergoes the action expressed by the verb. Similarly, *ponerse* can be used to metaphorically express, not only the meaning corresponding to Figure 4, i.e., "X causes Y to undergo the temporary state Z", but also the meaning corresponding to Figure 6, namely "X causes X to undergo the temporary state Z", within the resultative construction. In this latter, we observe how the subject or experiencer X undergoes a spontaneous and temporary arousal state Z.

(El joven)	*Lo (al niño)*	*puso*	*furioso*	*(con su actitud)*
(The youngster)	him (to the kid)	put	furious	(with his attitude)
Sem. causer	experiencer	cause-UNDERGO	result-GOAL	(direct cause)
Syn. SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	ARG	(ARG)

Figure 4. Active transitive resultative construction. Target Domain

This middle voice resultative construction involves no split representation of the self (see Figure 5), since it depicts a deponent event happening within the subject's dominion (Maldonado 1999).[45] As compared to the active transitive resultative construction, the subject in Figure 6 is both an agent (causer) and an experiencer of the action expressed by the verb (undergoing a change of state).[46] The subject's action cannot be thus distinguished from the object's affectedness. This is in line with Maldonado (2009:91), who highlights that one evident property of the representation for the middle construction is that, as opposed to the transitive or the real reflexive one, there is only one real participant. This metaphorical process depends, therefore, on the relationship between the actor and the object. In both cases, the actor and the object are the same – mover and self-moved, effector and effected. Yet, the actor's or effector's action (causing an emotional change) has a direct effect on the object (effected) in the evaluative resultative complements (see Figure 6), whereas in the self-caused motion construction, the actor is a mover whose movement is undergone by the moved entity (see Figure 5). In line with Gonzálvez's (2009) study, the clitic *se* in the PCOS resultative construction undergoes the change and the adjective marks a secondary predication.

	El niño ←→ *se*		*puso*	*sentado / de pie*
	The boy	CL	put	sitting / de pie
Sem.	**mover**	**self-moved**	cause-MOVE	GOAL
Syn.	**SUBJ**	**OBJ**	PRED	ARG

Figure 5. Self-caused-motion construction. Source Domain

	El niño ←→ *se*		*puso*	*furioso*	*(con su actitud)*
	The boy	CL	put	furious	(with his attitude)
Sem.	**effector**	**effected**	cause-UNDERGO	result-GOAL	(external cause)
Syn.	**SUB**	**OBJ**	PRED	ARG	(ARG)

Figure 6. PCOS resultative construction. Target Domain

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[45] By deponent we allude to an event that describes an action somehow intermediate between the active and the passive forms (in Latin grammar, the deponent conjugation affects verbs which have passive form but active meanings).

[46] We can also find utterances like *Los zapatos se pusieron negros* with no sentient being that can perform the experiencer role. In these cases, the subject is normally patient (mapped from theme).

Furthermore, the use of this *se* implies, as suggested by Maldonado (1999:16), a higher flow of energy and an *increased* participation. As opposed to Figure 4, or even to utterances such as *Su actitud lo puso furioso,* lit. 'His attitude put CL [himself] furious' or *Su actitud lo enfureció,* lit. 'His attitude infuriated him'*,* which go beyond the scope of this article, the experiencer in the PCOS resultative shows a higher level of involvement. The experiencer does not merely suffer a change imposed by an abstract external cause, but she participates in it with her emotionality and not with her rational control (Maldonado 1999:95).

As observed, this constructionist view conceives language as a hierarchical inventory of constructions in which high-level constructions, like resultatives, inherit features from low-level ones (i.e., caused-motion constructions) so that generalizations on both vertical and horizontal relations can be captured (Goldberg 1995:72-81). The choice of linguistic items that saturate these constructions is, therefore, not fully constrained. This results in a family of constructions interacting by means of inheritance relations, in this case, by metaphorical extension links.

The Spanish Web Corpus allowed us to gather a bigger sample of additional linguistic constructions of the metaphor under analysis. These additional instantiations had to satisfy the following two requirements: the linguistic expression of the source domain must be grammatically compatible with a linguistic expression of the target domain and the source domain expression must be interpretable (metaphorically) in the target domain (Barcelona 2002:250-251) thus creating a mapping between the two domains. Take example (23) which conveys a temporary state of nervousness and the corresponding spatial or locative constructions that code it: *Te pones histérico y les gritas - Te pones ahí / de pie / sentado y les gritas.*

The source domain construction *Te pones sentado*, where the secondary predication is a particle indicating the position of referent of the subject noun phrase (*sentado* 'sitting'), is more compatible with locative predicates (e.g., *en el suelo* 'on the floor'), since that locative expression can more naturally take up that role in the construction.[47] As evidenced in the results from the corpus analysis, in the non-literal use, it is very common to encounter an evaluative adjective as the resultative element of the

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[47] This construction is also less odd in a context in which the speaker describes or suggests the addressee's posture in a potential photograph or any other type of graphic representation (i.e., *Veo que te pones sentado en la foto*, 'I see you're sitting on the photograph', or *Tú, Paco, te pones sentado y tú, Antonio, te pones de pie y de perfil*, 'Paco, you sit down and you, Antonio, stand up and turn sideways').

construction (*Te pones histérico*) instead of the locative expression. *Ponerse* undergoes subcategorial conversion from a change of location verb requiring spatial complements (e.g., prepositional or adverbial phrases) to a change-of-state verb with an evaluative adjective. Such a conversion is observed as features from the source domain of position [– change + control] (Dik 1978: 55) are reversed to [+ change – control] in the change-of-state construction (e.g., from constructions like *ponerse de pie* – stand up / *de rodillas* – on one's knees / *tumbado* – lying down / *tendido de espaldas* – lying on one's back, to resultatives such as *ponerse histérico*). This feature reversal only occurs when the metaphorical transfer maps the construction in Figure 5 onto the construction in Figure 6 and not when it maps the construction of Figure 3 on that of Figure 4. In this case, +control is always attached to the causer of the change undergone by the theme>experiencer, which is a distinct participant lacking control in both constructions. Hence, although literal motion constructions might present participle adjectives as predicates indicating position, these usually appear along with prepositional or adverbial phrases specifying the location (e.g., *Te pones reclinado en la pared / ahí,* lit. 'You put CL [yourself] reclining on the wall / there) and, otherwise, are not very common.

Some of the general features of the family of object-related depictives (Gonzálvez 2009), more specifically of configurations that involve perception verbs or verbs of "mental processes" comprising the domains of "affection, perception, and cognition" (Halliday 1985:116-118), such as *ver* ('see'), also carry over to the change-of-state construction *ponerse* + adjective. For instance, the pseudo-reflexive direct object *te* in *te pones histérico* and *te* in *te veo histérico* refer to the undergoer of a change (in the case of the latter, *te* is also the bearer of the property *histérico*) and the adjective *histérico* marks a secondary predication in both cases. Yet, the PCOS verb *ponerse* adds the change of state component, which is a differentiating factor (see examples 31 and 32):

(31) *Te   veo   histérico.* - Object-related depictive attribute, evaluative subjective-transitive

you   I-see   hysterical

'I see you hysterical.'

(32) *Te   pones   histérico.* - Object-related depictive attribute, evaluative subjective-resultative

you-put CL [yourself]   hysterical

'You get hysterical.'

In this regard, we can use non-literal expressions such as *Veo ese comentario fuera de lugar* (lit. 'I see that comment out of place) or *Se ve fuera de lugar* (lit. 'She sees herself out of place'), but not **Veo ese comentario fuera del salón* (lit. 'I see that comment outside the living room') nor **Se ve fuera del salón* (lit. 'She sees herself outside the living room'). As Gonzálvez (2009:668) contends, the metaphorical extension STATES ARE LOCATIONS accounts for the fact that, despite their form, the object-related depictive secondary predicates are functionally equivalent to adjectives encoding a state and are suitable with verbs that bring into focus a cognitive (i.e., evaluative) sense as opposed to prepositional phrases with literal locative meaning. The prepositional phrase –and secondary predication– *fuera de lugar* is used metaphorically with a value of *inadecuado* ('inappropriate') and tends to be predicated with inanimate entities. When predicated with animate entities, it means 'uncomfortable, far from the normal situation or circumstances': *Se ve fuera de lugar* ('She feels out of place = uneasy'). Whereas the evaluative subjective-transitive construction only allows metaphorical prepositional phrases construed as expressing an evaluative perspective on the part of the speaker or subject and disallows prepositional phrases with literal location meanings (Gonzálvez 2009:714), the evaluative subjective-resultative construction accepts figurative adjective phrases and tends to exclude participle adjective phrases with both a concrete and a non-literal positional or locative meaning (e.g., *sentada, indignada,* respectively). Such constraints are based on the high-level conceptual structure (event structure) of the construction, which requires lexical predicates to have certain high-level properties (Langacker 2000). The metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION furnishes an explanation as to why secondary predicates are equivalent to adjectives encoding a transient state (*histérico*) in contrast to non-transient participial adjective phrases with a literal and non-literal position meaning (*sentada, indignada*).

Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2008:372) claim that subcategorial conversion is the result of the Override Principle (Michaelis 2003), in virtue of which an adjustment of the meaning of *ponerse* would be required to acquire attributes that are compatible with the caused-motion construction. According to these authors, the constructional requirement for converting *ponerse* + locative predicates into *ponerse* + adjective is to have a causative accomplishment predicate initiating the causal chain that has the object of the action change from one state to another, momentarily. Since the change-of-location verb *poner* ('put') is a predicate that requires action and does not possess an evaluative component,

the only way to make the construction a change-of-state one is to reinterpret the activity predicate as an evaluative subjective resultative. The above-mentioned adjective, *histérico*, is a secondary predicate of the target domain, that of *states,* whereas *ponerse* is a locative or motion verb belonging to the source domain of *location,* and more specifically, of the subdomain TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION, which is implied in its semantics.

Following Barcelona's (2002) MMIP, we searched for evidence that the metaphor was still alive, which can be examined by looking whether it is still used in reasoning and in making inferences or not, and by finding out some of its ontological and epistemic (or knowledge) submappings. To illustrate this, take, for instance, the passage extracted from the Spanish Web Corpus:

(27) *El joven se puso rojo de ira, gritó, maldijo y tiró las botas al suelo.*

El joven ('the youngster') is an indirect experiencer and undergoer; the element that suffers most directly the physical effect of reddening is the face and neck area, so we have grounds for suggesting that a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, an active zone metonymy, is involved in the first clause. The more relevant metonymy at work, however, is the PART FOR PART metonymy, whereby stating that "*se puso rojo"* (EFFECT) i.e., stating that the young man exhibited the physiological response of reddening, activates the emotional CAUSE (embarrassment) for that response. Bearing this in mind and looking for the ontological submappings of A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION, the *mover* or causer of motion (in Langacker's 1987 terms) is mapped onto the *experiencer* of the state (onto him as a whole experiencer "*el joven*" and, from this person onto a part of his body, the face).

The systematic mappings between two conceptual domains (the correspondences bring together elements and relations between elements in the domain of space with elements and their relations between them in the domain of emotions and change of state) allow us to understand the meaning of the PCOS constructions under analysis, which are common in everyday language. The set of correspondences is said to be systematic, for it captures a coherent view of motion that is mapped onto states: there is someone who is in an emotional state (experiences an initial state of rest) then, either an internal or external cause appears (causing him/her to change that initial state, to temporarily go from one

state to another). As a result, the person is for a certain period of time in an emotional state different from the one he/she first experienced.

The third subordinate operation dealt with the recognition of the most general metaphor manifested in the mapping in particular or which yielded that mapping in combination with other metaphors. As Barcelona (2002) highlights, metaphors are often extensions or elaborations of more abstract metaphors. Hence, this exercise aimed at describing the mapping at the highest superordinate level, which is a hard operation to undertake, since the hierarchies and structures of the metaphor system underlying our conceptual schemes are not entirely clear (Barcelona 2002). The TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor offers one of the most elementary mappings: a basic *image schema* (schematizations: e.g., abstractions of spatial experience as posited by Johnson (1987)) is mapped onto an abstract domain. The metaphor is an entailment of the generic or high-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS, in which bounded regions in space refer to states. Similarly, A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION is coherent with one of the mappings of the abstract EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1993), which accounts for the understanding of events and causes. Regarding the normal version of the metaphor, the metaphor maps two domains, that of *space* and that of *force dynamics* onto the domain of *events.* Emotional state changes are thus regarded as motions from/to spatial positions or locations: *Se puso histérico* (change of state) or *Estaba en una crisis de ansiedad* (state), lit. 'He was in a crisis of anxiety'. See, for instance, the metaphorical expressions *Se pone contento* or *Se pone nervioso,* where motion occurs in an imaginary manner and the experiencer moves metaphorically from one emotional state to another, spontaneously and momentarily. As for the dual version, the entity that changes (the experiencer) does not move metaphorically but is rather regarded as a possessor of an object (emotional state) which moves and corresponds to the new state and which then becomes a possession. See the following examples that correspond to the POSSESSIONS version: *Estoy llena de alegría,* lit. 'I'm full of happiness' or *Tengo muchos nervios,* lit. 'I have many nerves', where the possessed object or possession (happiness, nerves) is the dual of the location in the normal version of the metaphor, and the possessor (I) is the dual of the changing entity. In this case, we could speak of the EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES metaphor, where the emotions are *objects* located inside a *container* (the *possessor*).

The last subordinate operation aims at describing the functioning of the metaphor in a particular context and is divided into two other operations: 1) observing if some

submappings are highlighted and 2) checking if the linguistic expressions are metaphorically and/ or metonymically complex, that is, examining whether the same linguistic expression shows more than one metaphorical mapping. Since the source and target belong to different superordinate taxonomic domains, there seems to be a pragmatic function whereby the activation of location leads to the activation of a new arousal state. As a representative illustration, let us consider example 21: *Hay gente que se pone furiosa cuando la pones en evidencia*, where the metaphor appears in a particular context. On the one hand, the epistemic or knowledge submappings related to the existence of different mental and emotional states, to the possibility of new self-caused arousal states –even when being affected by an external stimulus to a certain extent– and to the context in which these are shown (*cuando la pones en evidencia*) are highlighted at the expense of other possible submappings such as the experiencer's initial state or state of rest. That is, it is essentially the submapping onto the last phase of the Motion Event (the goal or the final temporary emotional state) that receives the most attention.

On the other hand, this construction is metaphorically complex, for the CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor can be further developed by means of metaphorical entailments, which give rise to entailed submetaphors such as SELF-INITIATED (OR SELF-CAUSED) CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS SELF-INITIATED (OR SELF-CAUSED) CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION. Considering all the cognitive aspects retrieved from each subordinate operation and from the lexical-constructional account of meaning, we can conclude that the metaphor under analysis is attested in the Spanish language and serves as a motivating factor on lexical-constructional integration –more specifically, it accounts for the relation between the semantics of the caused-motion construction and the resultative. On the one hand, the metaphor A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION seems to be manifested by conventional expressions. On the other, it is specified and expressed linguistically by using a motion verb accompanied by a pseudo-reflexive clitic, which designates the undergoer and experiencer of the change of state, and by a transient adjectival predicate. Hence, this metaphor seems to furnish an explanation as to why secondary predicates correspond to adjectives encoding transient emotional states as opposed to their literal non-transient adjectival phrasal counterparts.

5.6. Conclusions

This paper has examined PCOS metaphorical constructions in Spanish used to describe a wide range of temporary arousal states (as grouped in the *PCIC:* happiness and satisfaction, sadness and affliction, anger and indignation, nervousness, and embarrassment). In order to identify potential linguistic forms that express metaphors in relation to emotions, we have looked at the *PCIC* and have selected those expressions that presented a recurrent pattern. The sample was reduced to the PCOS construction *ponerse* + adjective. The fact that we started out from an initial corpus which serves as a reference for textbook writers and curriculum advisors was a guarantee that the constructions under analysis are ubiquitous in everyday language, since its content is based on frequency and language use. Apart from the initial 11 metaphorical constructions found in the *PCIC,* the analysis of the Spanish Web Corpus contemplated similar constructions conveying the same target emotions yet showing cognitive constraints. It was expected that the CHANGE OF STATE metaphor would occur in the target language, for it is grounded in experiential and bodily-based concepts. Still, we aimed to explore the type of role that the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION played and, as we reflected upon its different realizations, we found both conceptual and linguistic limitations in the metaphor.

Results from the Spanish Web Corpus yielded a high diversity in the frequency of the target expressions. Constructions denoting nervousness such as *ponerse nervioso* showed a higher rate of tokens, whereas other emotions, such as anger and indignation, presented in some of its linguistic forms few or no tokens (*ponerse rojo de ira, ponerse rojo de rabia*). The low frequency of some of the target constructions can be due to the nature of the corpus, which might not be completely representative of real language use, for those Spanish linguistic forms were included in the *PCIC* and this latter does show the linguistic reality of Spanish and its varieties.

Barcelona's (2002) MMIP allowed us to read deeper into the linguistic examples in order to gain a better insight into the underlying metaphors and metonymies. In this sense, we started out from linguistic instantiations within their context, which activated more than one metaphor, to check whether the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION is attested in Spanish. We arrived at the conclusion that the metaphor under analysis has a role in Spanish, since the number of expressions illustrates the two domains. Still, the goal was to also gain a better understanding of how the PCOS verb *ponerse* followed by an adjectival predicate works. *Ponerse* undertakes

subcategorial conversion from spontaneous and temporary change of location requiring spatial predicates to sudden and temporary change of state with an evaluative adjective. Hence, the combination is indeed found to be metaphorical, yet not all evaluative adjectives can appear with *ponerse* (e.g., *Se puso *vergonzosa*) nor can adjective participles (e.g., *Se puso *indignada*), since these profile relatively stable states. The distinction between relatively transient and relatively stable or permanent properties determines the collocability of the corresponding adjectives with certain verbs. In the context of the LCM, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera (2014) propose an explanation by contending that this model accounts for the existence of re-construal processes at the highest level of linguistic activity. In line with their claim, A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION acts as a constraint on the ascription of certain verbs and certain resultatives, and not others, to the verb construction based on the evaluative subjective resultative expression that follows them. Hence, few or no cases were found for constructions such as *ponerse satisfecho, ponerse enfadado, ponerse vergonzoso, ponerse afligido* or *ponerse indignado* in the Spanish Web Corpus, whereas the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor can be applied to the expression of all the emotions under study (e.g., *estar contento* 'be excited', *estar satisfecho* 'be satisfied').

One of the aspects that renders the target metaphor so interesting to be studied is its source domain of physical motion. Motion plays a significant part in the speaker's perceptual organization and conceptualization of the world, and that abstract reading of reality is concretized through language use. As shown in our results, the caused-motion construction displays the motivation of A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION, and the metaphor accounts for the relation between the semantics of both the caused-motion and the resultative construction. This is in line with constructionist approaches and the LCM, which acknowledge that resultatives are metaphorical extensions of caused-motion constructions, as the former inherit features from these low-level constructions (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo 2016). Furthermore, following a constructionist approach which contends that users draw generalizations in the form of form-function patterns from the input is consistent with the finding that PCOS constructions have psychological plausibility for Spanish learners (Valenzuela & Rojo 2008, Eddington & Ruiz de Mendoza 2010). By highlighting the constraining factors in the representation of this metaphor, we have tackled the versatile semantic nature of this PCOS construction in Spanish. It is paramount to solve these difficulties by offering a structured and motivated explanation along the lines of the

lexical-constructional account of meaning. In this sense, we claim that not only the verb but also the satellite arguments (i.e., the adjective in the resultative) are responsible for both the semantic differences and the metaphorical understanding of change-of-state constructions.

Furthermore, our results have evinced that the *PCIC* does not introduce the target constructions until B1 level, and we consider it important to present them altogether at an earlier level. Albeit the didactic transportation being a challenge, we believe that findings from this study will contribute to the field of ELE learning and teaching in follow-up studies. Since metaphor and metonymy (this latter discussed throughout the paper in less detail) are cognitive mechanisms involved in the acquisition of expressions of temporary change in arousal states, a prior cognitive and construction-based analysis was necessary. In line with previous studies focusing on metaphor and PCOS verbs from a cognitivist perspective as a way to enhance learners' metaphoric and linguistic competence, findings from this study offer preliminary informed options for the design of cognitive-based pedagogical proposals to be implemented in the ELE classroom. By offering learners an explanation along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning, they will be closer to becoming autonomous and competent speakers of Spanish.

Chapter 6 [An English analysis of the *ponerse* construction]

6.1. An English contrastive analysis of the *ponerse* construction

The study of metaphor can benefit from transcultural and inter-linguistic analyses that examine not only the conceptual system of the target language (Spanish), but that of the L1 of learners (in this case, English), for metaphorical mappings can vary across languages and time (cross-linguistic and diachronic variations). According to Deignan (2003), these variations depend on the importance that a certain culture gives to a particular domain of experience. Domains that are more salient in a specific culture are more prone to form metaphorical mappings. For this reason, a contrastive study of the target Spanish expressions extracted from the *PCIC* in paper 4 was conducted using Sketch Engine, a corpus manager and online text analysis software. To carry out the comparison of metaphors in the two languages, the methodology proposed by Barcelona (2002) was used, for it describes the different parameters for a detailed cognitive and contrastive analysis of metaphors. The analyzed sample came from two corpora: the Spanish Web Corpus (see paper 4), which is a corpus of almost 100 million words (97,773,185 words to be more precise) compiled by using a list of URLs (varying from philosophical online texts to online newspapers: e.g., El Mundo) provided by the University of Leeds and intended to serve as a resource for the study of the Spanish language; and the British National Corpus (BNC), a corpus of approximately 100 million words (96,134,547) extracted from written (90%) and spoken (10%) British English from the late 20th century. The reason why these two corpora and not others were considered for analysis was their similar size, as the other English and Spanish corpora in Sketch Engine differed greatly in terms of word size.

6.1.1. Sketch Engine: "Concordance" tool

One of the tools offered in Sketch Engine to work with a corpus is "Concordance". As stated in the introduction page of the users' manual, a concordance is a list with all the examples of the word or phrase searched, which appear in context. The query or keyword can be a word form, a lemma, a construction, or even a complex structure. When clicking

"search", a KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance is automatically generated in red text, which allows to clearly observe the context to the right and left (see Figure 1).
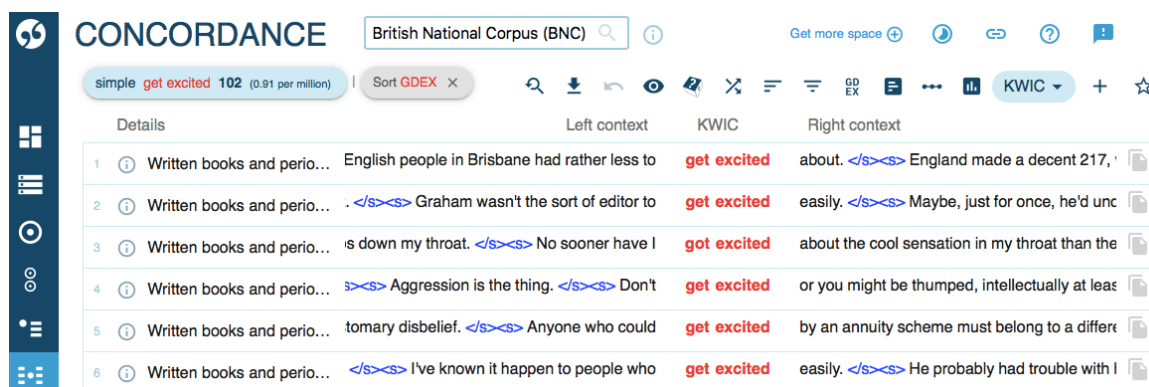
Figure 1. Advanced search of the most frequent format (KWIC concordance) in the BNC: examples of the construction 'get excited' (*ponerse contento*) highlighted in red

6.2. BNC Corpus: Results and discussion

The target Spanish expressions analyzed in paper 4 were contrasted with their English counterparts (see Appendix A for the English expressions). The English verb forms for the verb *ponerse* were selected considering their etymology, as well as the fact of being all self-mover verbs used to describe someone's arousal state or change of emotional state. As a result, the following verbs were considered for analysis: 'get', 'become', 'go' 'turn'. The procedure was as follows: for every Spanish expression (e.g., *me pongo contento*), different query searches were performed using as keyword the PCOS verb (in its different tenses and persons) + adjective phrase (AP) (e.g., 'get excited', 'becoming excited', 'went excited', 'turns excited'). Because the AP might accept other synonyms (e.g., happy), all the possibilities were explored. Hence, results for the Spanish expression of happiness and satisfaction showed a total of 102 tokens in the case of the construction 'get excited', 25 for 'become excited' (example 1), 4 tokens for 'get happy' and 9 for 'become happy' (example 2). We also wanted to examine whether the construction *ponerse satisfecho,* not used by Spanish speakers, was prototypical in English. Similar to the Spanish results, the only co-appearance found was with the verb 'become' ('become satisfied') with only 2 tokens, whereas findings showed a total of 1,514 cases with the verb 'be', denoting a lasting emotional state and not a change of emotion.

(1) Graham wasn't the sort of editor to get excited easily. / (…) and yet may also become excited to see you, when you have been out, for example.

(2) (…) to provide youths of the poorer classes with an opportunity of becoming happier, healthier… / Forget your troubles and just get happy and say hello…

In the case of *ponerse triste*, the target linguistic expression for sadness and affliction, the verbs 'go', 'become' and 'get' co-appeared with 'sad'*,* yet very few tokens were found (*n=3* for 'get'*, n=4* for 'become'*, n=1* for 'go') (example 3). The construction *ponerse afligido,* which is not used in Spanish, was found 6 times, yet only with the verb 'become' and the adjective 'distraught' (example 4). *Ponerse furioso* in English can be translated into 'verb + angry/mad/furious'. With the adjective 'angry', both 'get' (*n=147*) and 'become' (*n=48*) were found to co-occur quite often (example 5). Thus, as opposed to the Spanish language, where *ponerse enfadado* and *ponerse indignado* is not uttered by native users, we observed a high coappearance in English with 'get' and 'become' + 'angry'. The construction 'get mad' appeared 52 times and 'go mad' presented 383 tokens (3.40 per million), although in many cases it referred to literally going crazy, and as a result, a total of 205 tokens expressed anger (example 6). The last analyzed constructions that convey anger and indignation were 'get furious' (*n=5*) and 'go furious' (*n=1*) (example 7).

(3) So I'm getting sadder and sadder among these women who are getting stronger and stronger. / After some days my arm began to get better, but I became sadder and angrier than before. / When he sits there, and he's relaxed his face goes sad.

(4) Parents, on the other hand, become distraught as they watch their delightful baby turn into a monster.

(5) For example, he would get angry and rip up all his papers in class. / He became angry, as though I had personally betrayed him by not giving him a boy.

(6) Viola says she got mad about that interview in the paper. / Colonel Fagg, he goes mad if anyone wakes him up.

(7) Leith, while coping with shock, began to get furious. / He went furious again, like over the animals.

Nervousness is expressed with the verbs 'get' and 'become nervous' *(me pongo nervioso).* The former appeared in the BNC a total of 39 times and the latter, 18 (example

8). Nervousness can also be conveyed through the Spanish expression *me pongo histérico* ('verb + hysterical / crazy'). In the case of the AP 'hysterical', it co-appeared with the verbs 'get' (*n=14*), 'become' (*n=17*), and 'go' (*n=1*) (example 9). The motion verb 'go' also collocates with 'crazy' and is used hyperbolically and metaphorically meaning to act in a way that is out of control caused by the experiencer's state of nervousness. It appeared in the BNC a total of 116 times (1 per million) (example 10).

(8) This is where I get nervous. / (…) they released their hold and the animal then became nervous and upset.

(9) Instead of getting hysterical over the remote possibility of gutter-level heroin addiction (…) / Janet Leigh became hysterical and began screaming. / You know they went hysterical and er I'm not gonna pass her door, that sort of thing.

(10) Know I went crazy at first but I got better.

The only emotional state that uses *ponerse* + AP in the B2 level was embarrassment (*ponerse rojo / rojo como un tomate),* an emotion that appeared again in C1 level (*ponerse colorado*) and whose usual translation into English is, in both cases: 'verb + red'[48]. The English construction *get red* appeared a total of 39 times, 'red' with 'go' yielded 86 tokens and with 'turn'*,* 55 (example 11). In (12), the whole of Janey, Thomas, and Jerry's body is not red but only their faces (especially their cheeks and necks). Hence, in (12) we do seem to have a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, where the PART is the active area involved in the reddening. When the AP coappeared with the motion verb *become*, none of the tokens (*n=16*) presented the person experiencing a change of state (He / She) as the self-mover, only a body part of the experiencer (the face or the cheeks) was presented as a self-mover. Hence, the construction 'become red' appeared along a PART FOR PART metonymy (12) where stating that X (the face or cheeks) became red (EFFECT) activates the emotional CAUSE (embarrassment) for that physiological reaction. This activation is confirmed verbally in the second sentence of example 12. *Ponerse vergonzoso,* which is found to be a very rare construction in Spanish, was also infrequent in English: 5 tokens were shown with 'become shy' (example 13); 3 with 'become timid' and 1 with 'get timid'. As in the Spanish corpus, where we found 401 cases with *ser/estar vergonzoso,*

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[48] The nonmetaphorical and more formal expression *blush* was also found to be frequently used in the corpus, but it was not analyzed, for it departed from the purposes of our study.

the BNC presented a much higher co-appearance of the state verb 'be' + 'shy' (*n=140*) or 'timid' (*n=26*).

(11) Janey getting red with annoyance as she and Harriet ate them up. / Thomas kicked his legs. He went red in the face. He yelled. / Everyone cracked up and Jerry turned red but it was the highlight of the evening.

(12) (…) his cheeks became red and his eyes glazed and when the meal was over… / She muttered, her face becoming red because she felt embarrassed.

(13) They may not develop the confidence they need, and become shy and timid, unable to take responsibility.

Emotions such as anger and indignation were again worked on in C1 level (*me pongo enfermo*). In both Spanish and English, the notion of "getting, becoming, or going sick" is often figuratively extended to designate a state of general unease unwell or of feeling nauseated or tired. In this respect, the construction 'get sick' showed a total of 91 tokens, of which 58 were related to sickness literally and 33 to its figurative sense of feeling unwell and tired. The BNC included 8 tokens of the expression 'get sick and tired'*,* 1 of 'become sick and tired' and 2 of 'go sick'. This latter evinced a total of 23 examples (example 11), but 21 were literal and not metaphoric. These emotions (anger and indignation) were introduced in the C2 level with the figurative expression *me pongo rojo de ira / de rabia* ('motion verb + red with rage, anger, temper'), which in the English corpus only appeared once with the verb *turn* (*turn with temper*). As it can be observed in example 15, and similarly to example 12, *his face* turning red (EFFECT) triggers the emotional CAUSE (anger), and thus we are facing a PART FOR PART metonymy. Findings from the BNC Corpus evinced a higher presence of emotions such as happiness and satisfaction, embarrassment, nervousness, and anger mainly conceptualized through the change of state verbs 'get' (*get excited, get red, get angry*) and 'go' (*go mad, go crazy*).

(14) I get sick of the same old routine day after day. / I get sick and tired of the feminist movement trying to undermine the English language. / He had underestimated the new mood of his members who had become sick and tired of the never-ending series of disputes. / I go sick. No. Somehow, I haven't been able to work. No, okay. Because I'm really worried.

(15) The sounds enraged Sonny; his face turned red with temper. "Don't ye dare mock us…"

6.3. Barcelona's (2002) MMIP: an analysis of the English counterparts

The methodology followed, like that in paper 3, Barcelona's (2002) guidelines to identify conceptual metaphors (and metonymies) to gain a deeper understanding of the metaphorical mappings from the source onto the target domain this time in English and to study the extent to which A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION conceptual metaphor might act as a licensing factor of lexical integration into the change-of-state construction under study.

If the mapping is construed as a metaphor, we need to ensure that it occurs between two domains that are not included in a broader functional or taxonomic domain (Barcelona, 2002). In the case of the constructions under study, there is a mapping from the source domain of *location* to the target domain of *states*, which are taxonomically different. This metaphorical mapping can be called STATES ARE LOCATIONS and when the experiencer assumes a new momentary state, the mapping can be named as A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION. Metaphor literature has extensively examined the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor and its related metaphors. For instance, Ruiz de Mendoza and Luzondo's (2016) study on English caused-motion constructions shows the motivation of the metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION to express result. Similarly, Goldberg (1995, 2006) claims that resultative constructions only operate with arguments that can potentially undergo a change of state derived from the action exerted by the verb. In this sense, A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION could act as a licensing factor of lexical integration into some constructions, as it accounts for the relation between the semantics of the caused-motion construction and the resultative. The form of the metaphorical extension can be seen as inherited from the caused-motion expression: 'I put the baby in the walker' / 'I put the baby in a bad mood'.

According to Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008), the constructional requirement for converting 'put' + a locative predicate into 'put' + evaluative predicate is to have a causative accomplishment predicate initiating the causal chain that has the object of the action move from one mental location or state to another, momentarily. Results from the English corpus allowed to gather a bigger sample of linguistic constructions of the metaphor under analysis. The additional expressions had to satisfy two requirements, the

first being that the linguistic expression of the source domain was grammatically compatible with a linguistic expression of the target domain and the second being that the source domain expression was metaphorically interpretable in the target domain. Take as an example the following sentences found in the Spanish Web Corpus (paper 4) and the BNC with the verb *ponerse* and its English equivalents '*get*', '*go*', '*turn*'[49]:

- *¿De qué demonios estás hablando (...)? – Te pones nervioso y les gritas / Te pones enfrente/ahí y les gritas.* ('You become nervous and shout at them' / 'You get in front of them, there and shout at them').
- Forget your troubles and just get happy and say hello… / Forget your troubles and just get here/there/home and say hello…
- Know I went crazy at first but I got better / Know I went home/there at first but I got better.
- Everyone cracked up and Jerry turned red but it was the highlight of the evening / Everyone cracked up and Jerry turned back/home/there but it was the highlight of the evening.

Triste, nervioso, happy, crazy, and *red* are expressions of the target domain, that of *states,* whereas the motion verbs presented above: *ponerse* ("*me pondré*", "*te pones*"), 'get', 'went' and 'turned' are expressions of the source domain of *location* and *motion,* and more specifically, of CHANGE OF LOCATION, which is implied in the semantics of these verbs. Hence, the source domain expressions are interpreted or matched to aspects in the target domain of CHANGE OF STATE. *Red* is not exactly a psychological state, like crazy or happy, but rather a physiological reaction when experiencing a state of embarrassment, anger, or indignation. This is a case of the PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECT (CHANGE OF COLOR IN THE FACE AND THE NECK AREA) FOR EMOTIONAL CAUSE metonymy, and more specifically, of REDNESS IN THE FACE STANDS FOR EMBARRASSMENT. Emotions and colors are recurrently mapped metonymically one onto the other, and one way of understanding psychological states are the natural phenomena of colors.

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[49] We have not included in here the verb *become* (as in *He became angry*), for the metaphorical meaning of the construction become + psychological state has overcome the original image due to its repetitive and extensive usage, that is, it is the result of a shift in meaning in the evolution of the verb *become* (formerly a verb of motion and no longer used as such).

The second subordinate operation contemplates the search for evidence that the metaphor is still alive, which can be examined by looking whether it is still used in reasoning and in making inferences or not and finding its ontological and epistemic submappings. To illustrate this, consider the passage extracted from the BNC: "Thomas kicked his legs. He went red in the face. He yelled" *(Thomas dio patadas. Se le puso la cara roja. Gritó)*, which, in this case, differs to a certain extent from English to Spanish. Whereas in English the mental motion described by the verb 'went' in 'went red' is presented as caused by the experiencer himself (He), the experiencer in the Spanish utterance *("le" = "to him")* is an indirect affected, and the element that suffers most directly the physical effect of reddening is the face *("la cara")* appearing as a PART FOR PART metonymy, where stating that 'he went red' / "*se le puso la cara roja"* (EFFECT) activates the emotional CAUSE (embarrassment) for the physiological response of reddening. Bearing that in mind and looking for the ontological submappings of the CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor, the *mover* or causer of motion (in Langacker's 1987 terms) is mapped onto the *experiencer* of the state (onto him as a whole "he" or onto a part of his body "the face"). This example could also be translated as *Enrojeció* or *Se puso colorado,* where the "causer" (Thomas) is the "whole" experiencer.

The metaphor under study is based on our daily experience of physical motion: it is grounded in the external and physical experience (and knowledge) that people can find themselves at a place, concretely and geographically speaking, and move from one location to another. The knowledge that a person can be at a specific place is mapped onto a person's emotional state being located at an initial point. Similarly, the knowledge that that same person can potentially move from that initial geographical location where motion originates to another point is mapped onto the person's mental location, or state, being affected or changed. The linguistic expressions used to describe that motion from one place to another can also be used metaphorically to describe the momentary change of internal situations such as emotions. Yet, as observed in the *Spanish Web Corpus* and the BNC, there are cognitive constraints on each way of expressing the metaphor, for some emotions (satisfaction – *ponerse satisfecho* and embarrassment – *ponerse vergonzoso*) are not uttered by speakers of these two languages using the Spanish and English change-of-state verbs under study. Instead, these are conceptualized as emotional states that are not subject to momentary change and are linguistically represented through state verb + adjective –conveying a quality requiring a certain permanence in time– constructions (*estar satisfecho* 'be satisfied, *estar/ser vergonzoso* 'be shy/timid').

Considering this subordinate operation and applying it to the examples extracted from the BNC, we can conclude that there exists a mapping in both languages, for the target linguistic expressions in both English and Spanish have approximately the same conceptual source and target metaphorical associations, even though the corresponding linguistic expressions of the CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor are not exactly the same (Barcelona, 2001, p.137). See, for instance, how speakers reason within the metaphor when producing the utterance 'She has been in love with him for two years and two years later, she was out of love'

The last subordinate operation aims at describing the functioning of the metaphor in a particular context and can be at the same time divided into two other operations: 1) observing if some submappings are highlighted and 2) observing if the linguistic expressions are metaphorically complex, that is, examining whether the same linguistic expression shows more than one metaphorical mapping. Since the source and target belong to different superordinate taxonomic domains, there seems to be a pragmatic function whereby the activation of location leads to the activation of a new arousal state. As a representative illustration, let us consider example 1: 'Graham wasn't the sort of editor to get excited easily', where the metaphor appears in a particular context. On the one hand, the epistemic or knowledge submappings related to the existence of different mental and emotional states, to the possibility of new self-caused arousal states –even when being affected by an external stimulus to a certain extent– and to the way these are shown ("easily") are highlighted at the expense of other possible submappings such as the experiencer's initial state or state of rest. That is, it is essentially the submapping onto the last phase of the motion event (the goal or the final emotional state) that receives the most attention.

Considering all the cognitive aspects retrieved from each subordinate operation, we can conclude that the metaphor under analysis seems to exist in English as well, for it is specified and expressed in similar ways in the two contrasted languages. Furthermore, the metaphor seems to be manifested by conventional expressions in the two languages and the metaphorical scope of CHANGE OF STATE is very similar in both, rendering the mapping conventional. Still, findings from the two large-sized corpora evince a divergence in the mental and linguistic representation of anger in these two languages. Change-of-state constructions such as 'get/become angry' seem to be more used in English, whereas *ponerse enfadado/indignado* are not prototypical constructions to express a new state of arousal in which the subject experiences anger. In other words,

how English-speakers express anger, in this case, is a superficial manifestation of the underlying A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor. Spanish, on the other hand, can say *ponerse furioso,* but not *ponerse enfadado/indignado,* which shows cognitive constraints in expressing this metaphor. Instead, all the AP analyzed in these two languages co-appear equally and naturally with the state verb *estar* ('be'), which puts the emphasis on the almost universal mapping of location onto emotional state (Lakoff's 1987 STATES ARE LOCATIONS primary metaphor). Regarding the differences in terms of *metaphoricity*, both the English and the Spanish instantiations are living metaphorical expressions since they activate the metaphor in both the source and the target domain. As for the degree of linguistic exploitation, the projection of physical motion onto emotion motion results in a large number of tokens (total=1,438), especially for the English language (*n*=1,254).

6.4. Conclusions

In line with findings from the analysis looking at the Spanish Web Corpus (paper 4), results from the BNC yielded towards a big diversity in the frequency of the target expressions. For instance, two of the constructions to convey anger ('get angry' and 'go mad') showed a high number of tokens (147 and 205 respectively). Nevertheless, as in the Spanish Web Corpus, the figurative expressions for anger and indignation with 'red with anger/rage/temper' as AP were almost non-existent with only one token for the expression 'turn red with temper'. This low co-appearance can be due to the nature of the corpora, which might not be completely representative of real language use, for the Spanish linguistic forms are included in the *PCIC* and this latter does show the linguistic reality of Spanish and its varieties. Yet, our findings corroborated the existence of more than one change-of-state verb in English to convey the same metaphorical meaning as *ponerse* + AP in Spanish. In this regard, the change of state verbs 'get' and 'go' were found to coappear the most with AP.

We arrived at the conclusion that the metaphor under analysis exists in the two languages, since the number of expressions in both languages illustrate the two domains. Furthermore, the expressions found are very similar, which leads to hypothesize that they correspond to the same conceptualization of reality, that is, to the same metaphor. However, findings also showed constraints in the expression of A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor in Spanish and English. Whereas the STATES ARE LOCATIONS conceptual metaphor can be applied to the

expression of all emotions under study (e.g., *estar contento* 'be excited', *estar satisfecho* 'be satisfied'), some emotions are simply not represented linguistically considering the former metaphor. Little or no cases were found in paper 4 for constructions such as *ponerse satisfecho, ponerse enfadado, ponerse vergonzoso, ponerse afligido* or *ponerse indignados* and the same applied to the English counterparts 'get/become/go/turn satisfied/shy/timid/embarrassed/distraught' in the BNC. These cognitive constraints followed a similar pattern in both languages, except from the emotion of anger, which in Spanish is not conceptualized through constructions such as *ponerse enfadado/indigando,* whereas in English 'get/become angry' are quite frequent. It is believed that findings from this study, along with those in paper 4, will serve as a basis for the creation of cognitive-based content to be implemented in the Spanish/L2 classroom.

Appendix A: English counterparts of the Spanish target expressions

Get excited

Become excited

Become happy

Get happy

Get sad

Become sad

Go sad

Get angry

Become angry

Get mad

Go mad

Get furious

Go furious

Get nervous

Become nervous

Get hysterical

Become hysterical

Go hysterical

Go crazy

Get red

Go red

Turn red

Become red

English constructions showing cognitive constraints:

get/become/go/turn satisfied

get/become/go/turn shy/timid/embarrassed

get/become/go/turn distraught

Chapter 7 [Paper 5]

BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY, L2 SPEAKERS' PERCEPTION, AND PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE: THE CASE OF *PONERSE*

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

Within Cognitive Linguistics, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has focused on conceptual representation, and it has been applied to the study of emotion since the 1980s. Since the study of language is a powerful asset for understanding how speakers conceptualize emotions, examining frequent yet difficult linguistic constructions to express one's emotions in the L2 seems, therefore, a relevant task, especially for the L2 teaching and learning process. By looking at the description of the semantic relation between the literal meaning of the Spanish change-of-state construction '*ponerse* + adjective' and its figurative meaning, the present study aims to offer a CMT-based analysis of two rather neglected metaphors in the CMT literature: EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES and A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION. Along with the CMT analysis, empirical data seeking evidence of the psychological reality of metaphorical thoughts were collected from two surveys (Task 1 and Task 2). Participants were 36 intermediate Spanish/L2 students from a US-based college. In light of our findings, we designed a cognitive-informed pedagogical proposal that has been implemented in a follow-up study (Author 1 submitted). This research corroborates the idea that building bridges between theoretical and applied disciplines is paramount for investigations in both fields to evolve.

7.1. Introduction

The study of language, of its forms and meanings, is a powerful resource to gain insight into the world of emotions. One of the linguistic approaches used to examine how different languages express affective experiences is Cognitive Linguistics (CL). Within CL, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has focused on conceptual representation, and it has been applied to the study of emotion since the 1980s. One of the pioneering works was Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) study on anger conceptualization in English. Subsequent research has examined this emotion in a variety of languages such as Chinese, Hungarian, Zulu, English, Spanish, and Russian, among others (Barcelona and Soriano 2004; Bokor 1997; King 1989; Kövecses 1986, 1995a, 1995b; Ogarkova and Soriano 2014a, 2014b, 2018; Ogarkova, Soriano and Gladkova 2016; Soriano 2013, Taylor and Mbense 1998), as well as other emotions such as fear and happiness in English (Kövecses 1991), love in Spanish and English (Barcelona 1992, 1995; Kövecses 1986, 1991, 1995b) and sadness in English (Barcelona 1986).

In this regard, spontaneous and temporary arousal states (i.e., states of physiological activation or energy expenditure associated with an emotion) can be conveyed through a list of constructions, holistically understood as symbolic and metaphorical units. The Spanish change-of-state construction "*ponerse* 'putCL' + adjective (+ prepositional phrase)", e.g., *ponerse furioso* 'get angry', *ponerse rojo de ira* 'turn red with anger', which is frequent in everyday language when describing arousal states, is one of these metaphorical multi-word constructions. To understand more deeply the metaphorical extension of those constructions, it is of importance to look at the description of the semantic relation between the literal and figurative meaning of the motion verb *ponerse*. This verb is inherently spatial and alludes, more specifically, to motion and position. However, when co-occurring with certain adjectival arguments, it can be argued that the linguistic construction draws from the source domain of GARMENTS to metaphorically talk about the target domain of EMOTIONS. To the best of our knowledge, no research has yet offered a cognitive analysis of the EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES metaphor in any modern language, and thus, the present study will pay special attention to this so far neglected conceptual metaphor.

For the purposes of this investigation three assumptions are formulated: firstly, we presume that every lexical and syntactic phenomenon possesses a cognitive and semantic motivation (Lakoff 1987; Lehmann 2007; Panther 2013; Panther and Radden 2011);

secondly, we presuppose that second language (L2) speakers are not sufficiently aware of the prevalence of metaphors in everyday language, and that this metaphoric awareness can be enhanced in the L2 classroom; and thirdly, we work on the assumption that every linguistic and theoretical approach is to be tested with a sample of the target population and applied in the field of teaching an L2. In instructional settings, L2 learners are exposed to minimal input of the target language, and, as a result, the learning of complex constructions for expressing one's emotions might become problematic.

The broad and diverse variety of arguments —each having a grammatical function on its own— co-occurring with one (i.e., *ponerse*) of the many change-of-state verbs in Spanish (i.e., *convertirse en,* lit. 'convert in', idiomatic 'become'; *hacerse,* lit. 'make oneself', idiomatic 'become', 'turn'; *transformarse en,* lit. 'transform in', idiomatic 'become'; *llegar a (ser),* lit. 'arrive to (be)'; or *volverse,* lit. 'turn around', idiomatic 'become' or 'turn'; *quedarse,* lit. 'stay', idiomatic 'remain') renders the acquisition of such multi-word constructions a rather arduous task. Another difficulty arises from the well-known premises of learners processing input for meaning before form and relying on lexical items as opposed to grammatical forms when encoding the same semantic information.[50] Furthermore, prevalence of meaning-focused and focus-on-communication approaches to L2 teaching, in which the binomial *form-meaning* is disregarded, instead of enhancing learners' implicit knowledge, it inhibits the fruitful acquisition of these constructions. Therefore, further research investigating metaphors that are structured by the source domain of spontaneous MOTION in space and by that of GARMENT using conceptual metaphor as a descriptive tool becomes a purposeful exercise, for such an analysis can potentially help L2 learners acquire these challenging forms more meaningfully.

Considering the relevance of building bridges between linguistics theory, L2 speakers' perceptions and pedagogical practice, this study aims to i) examine the use of conceptual metaphors (i.e., ways of thinking) and their corresponding metaphorical linguistic forms (i.e., ways of conveying that thought) to express spontaneous and temporary change of state in Spanish, ii) explore Spanish/L2 learners' awareness of two

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[50] According to Van Patten's (1993, 2004) Input Processing model, L2 learners possess psychological strategies (Principles) on which they rely during input processing, and these respond to principles which guide *form* and *meaning* connections.

everyday metaphors, and finally iii) reflect upon the pedagogical benefits of incorporating the cognitive approach, and more specifically, CMT, in the Spanish/L2 classroom targeting at enhancing learners' metaphoric and linguistic competences. To do so, the article is structured as follows. Firstly, the theoretical background is described by offering a brief introduction to CL and conceptual metaphor, focusing on the two metaphors under study (2.1.), to empirical studies on the psychological reality of metaphorical thinking (2.2.), and to previous literature about the L2 teaching of both metaphor and change-of-state constructions (2.3.). Secondly, the methodological aspects of the CMT-based analysis (3.1) and of the empirical study (3.2) are explained to further on present an analysis and discussion of the results (4.). Finally, a pedagogical proposal (5.) is offered and concluding remarks are drawn (6.).

7.2. Theoretical background

7.2.1. Cognitive Linguistics and Conceptual Metaphors

CL aims to give a holistic view of language, with the latter being conceived as a cognitive ability that is part of a broader system that comprises complex cognitive processes such as perception, categorization, and emotions. Hence, the study of a language becomes the study of the *forms* in which speakers convey mental concepts, such as ideas, feelings, etc. The study of emotion became a salient topic in CMT, one of the most popular frameworks in CL, after the publication of foundational works on emotion metaphors by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) and Kövecses (1986, 1990).[51] Yet, the earliest approach to conceptual metaphor emerged from Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), which served as a basis for CMT. This approach derives from the observation that everyday language is figurative and claims that regularities in how speakers talk figuratively about a more abstract domain (e.g., EMOTION) give us information about how the domain is conceptualized. For instance, emotions are conventionally referred to in terms of the source domains of i.e., MOTION (e.g., *I'm* falling in love) or OBJECTS/ENTITIES (e.g., *Tengo miedo,* lit. 'I have fear'; *Me pongo roja,* lit. 'I putCL red'; *¡Quítate los nervios!* lit. 'Take your nerves off'). The existence of these and other similar constructions shows that speakers represent the target domain of STATES and

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[51] Kövecses (2020) tackles more recently some of the limitations of standard CMT and proposes an extended view offering new insights into the study of metaphor.

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EMOTIONS as locations that one can "fall into", or objects that one can "have", "put (on)" or "put off". This implies that space/motion and objects are used in the conceptual representation of emotions, and thus shape these emotions and constrain our reasoning about them.

7.2.1.1. A (SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY) CHANGE OF STATE IS A (SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY) CHANGE OF LOCATION

The complex metaphor A (SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY) CHANGE OF STATE IS A (SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY) CHANGE OF LOCATION, which is based on the basic-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Lakoff 1987), uses vocabulary of motion or of spontaneous and temporary change of location (example 1) to express spontaneous and transient changes of state (example 2). Such a correlation between perceiving a change of location and being aware of a change in our emotional state is one that is based on our physical experience with the world around us (see Author 1 2022 for a review of A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor in this type of construction).

(1) *La niña, cuando vio al perro, se puso detrás de su madre.*
  the girl when she-saw to-the dog she-put CL[herself] behind of her mother
  'When the girl saw the dog, she went straight behind her mother.'

(2) *La niña, cuando vio al perro, se puso histérica.*
  the girl when she-saw to-the dog she-put CL[herself] hysterical
  'When the girl saw the dog, she became hysterical.'

Just as one can "put" or "place" (*ponerse*) oneself physically at one location in a spontaneous and momentary manner and return to the initial spatial coordinates (*vid. Fig. 1*), the same applies when an emotional state is metaphorically co-located within someone. This metaphor can thus be expressed linguistically in Spanish through the motion verb *ponerse* 'putCL' followed by an adjectival phase (e.g., *histérica,* 'hysterical') expressing result and referring to the spontaneous transformation of one's emotional state from their *initial* state into their *final* state or arousal state, in which the experiencer will

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not remain long and from which they will (eventually) return to their ground state (*vid. Fig. 2*).

Figure 1. Literal motion (source domain): *A (SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY) CHANGE OF LOCATION*

Figure 2. Figurative motion (target domain): *A (SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY) CHANGE OF STATE*

7.2.1.2. EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES: *an understudied conceptual metaphor*

This tendency to derive abstract concepts from physical experience can also be observed in the primary or basic-level metaphors STATES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS and EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS, which are well attested in the literature (see Gibbons 2013; Kövecses 2003; Rull 2002). Another metaphor that derives from these primary ones, but which has not been yet much explored is the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS / EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CLOTHES / ACCESSORIES. Cairns (2016a, 2016b) studied the role of garment metaphors in the conceptualization of ancient Greek concepts of emotion and contends that Greek clothing metaphors are a subspecies of a larger category of metaphors of covering (*kalyptein* 'to cover'). The author highlights the fact that garments are the prototypical example of objects to *kalyptein* other physical inert objects or living beings with, and thus metaphors of covering tend to generate or are transformed into metaphors of "putting on" clothes (2016a, 7). He offered some examples that show emotions such

as shame or fear as metaphorical garments that can be "taken off" or "put back" (examples 3 and 4 cf. Cairns 2016b, 13).

> (3) *Some boys are like Gyges' wife in* removing *their* sense of shame and fear*, τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι, when* they take off their clothes.

> (4) *Theano advised a woman about to make her way to her own husband to* take off her shame*, aischynê,* along with her garments*, and to* put it back on *again along with them when she leaves.*

7.2.2. The psychological reality of metaphorical thinking: metaphoric competence and metaphor interpretation

As can be derived from the above, CL, and more specifically, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and subsequent researchers examining CMT, have used the pervasiveness of metaphors in language –since users tend to resort to shared perceptual and physical experiences to convey more complex thoughts, such as emotions– to postulate the idea that thought is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. In this regard, recent studies have sought empirical evidence of the psychological reality of metaphorical thoughts. Gibbs (2017, 170-221) offers in one of his chapters a comprehensive discussion of empirical techniques exploring speakers' use, understanding, and reactions to metaphorical language as a window into the existence of conceptual metaphor. One of the techniques discussed is speeded processing and production of verbal metaphors (Gibbs 2017, 189-198), which is commonly used to examine the online processes by which speakers comprehend metaphorical meaning.

In a similar spirit, but this time focusing on the L2, a small number of studies have developed tests that measure fluency and creativity of metaphoric use. Littlemore's (2001) study of metaphor elicitation, where she examined metaphor production and fluency of metaphor interpretation in intermediate to upper-intermediate English/L2 learners, is one of the few to develop such tests. Metaphoric competence involves the awareness, comprehension, retention, and production of everyday metaphors in the different language skills: listening, speaking, reading and/or writing (O'Reilly and Marsden 2021, 26). For the purposes of this study and due to space limitations, attention will be paid to measuring one aspect of metaphoric competence: metaphor comprehension. By examining Spanish L2 speakers' interpretations of A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION and EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES conceptual metaphors, we

attempt to gain insights on the extent to which learners are aware of the systematicity of using language from one domain of experience to refer to a more abstract domain of experience in the target language.

7.2.3. Cognitive-based L2 teaching of metaphor and change-of-state constructions

Recent studies in the field of L2 acquisition and teaching have succeeded in showing the usefulness of cognitive-based approaches for L2 learning. Research focusing on conceptual metaphors and their application in the classroom has shown the importance of presenting metaphor in an explicit manner and designing didactic materials to enhance their inclusion in the L2 learning process. Niemeier's (2003, 2017) investigations focus on teaching metaphors to English/L2 students and highlight the didactic potential of conceptual metaphors in a classroom environment. In Littlemore and Juchem-Grundmann's (2010) introduction to a collective volume, the authors emphasize how metaphoric thinking allows learners to understand linguistic metaphors that are novel to them and to use language creatively. Lantolf and Bobrova (2014) present examples of materials to teach metaphors that communicate emotions using colors, animals, and sports as source domains. They conclude by advocating the inclusion of figurative language realized as metaphor in any pedagogical program. In a more recent study, Acquaroni Muñoz and Suárez Campos (2019) show how working explicitly with metaphors results in characterizing students' interlanguage and boosting their metaphoric competence. In the same volume, Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón (2019) stress the importance of reflecting upon metaphors to shed light on the polysemous origin of words and help the learner acquire vocabulary more significantly. In line with this, Author 1 (2020, 2021) offers pedagogical proposals for fostering Spanish/L2 learners' metaphoric competence through emotion metaphors.

With regard to change-of-state verbs in Spanish, studies have paid attention to their categorization (e.g., Conde 2013; Corpas Pastor 1996; Koike 2001; Van Gorp 2017), internal classification (e.g., Nilsson et al. 2014; RAE/ASALE 2009), and explanation (e.g., Conde 2013; Fente 1970; Van Gorp 2017). Their complex syntactic and semantic nature, as well as the lack of unified accounts renders, however, the learning of these constructions a real challenge for L2 teachers and learners. To our knowledge, only a few studies have examined their role in the L2 classroom from a cognitive perspective. In Rah and Kim's (2018) investigation, the two authors instructed Korean learners of English/L2

following a construction-based approach and focusing, among others, on the networking relationship between the resultative construction and the change of path in the caused-motion construction. In a more recent study, Cheikh-Khamis (2020) explored the treatment of *hacerse* ('make') and *volverse* ('turn') in Spanish/L2 textbooks. Findings from her study evidence a lack of uniformity, explanatory vagueness, and practical insufficiency. In a previous study, Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Cheikh-Khamis (2019) aimed to offer a unified account of the linguistic behavior of said constructions suitable for didactic purposes. In their constructional approach, the authors proposed a multi-level family of change-of-state constructions based on the analysis of *hacerse* and *volverse*, which accounts for the specificity of saturated constructions and the more general abstract patterns. Another recent study by Author 1 (2022) examined the cognitive motivation of the '*ponerse* + adjective' construction along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning focusing on A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION conceptual metaphor. The author claims that such an insight is a crucial step to offer preliminary informed options for the design and implementation of cognitive- and CMT-based pedagogical material for the Spanish/L2 classroom.

7.3. Methodology

The implemented methodology, in line with the tenet of finding synergy between linguistics theory, the psychological realm, and teaching-learning practice, allowed us to gain a better understanding of the metaphors at stake (Method 1) and of Spanish/L2 learners' awareness of the analyzed conceptual metaphors (Method 2) underlying the '*ponerse* + adjective' construction to express spontaneous and temporary emotions in Spanish. An analysis of the target constructions, both CMT- and empirically-based, was a key step prior to the implementation of pedagogical material (see Section 5) that aimed at boosting Spanish/L2 students' metaphoric and linguistic competences.

Our analysis started out by examining a list of '*ponerse* + adjective' constructions used to describe a wide range of spontaneous and temporary arousal states. These metaphorical constructions are included in the inventory of emotions for levels B1 to C2 of the *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC*) corpus, vade mecum for Spanish/L2 textbook writers, curriculum advisors and teachers (*vid. Table 1*). The 11 metaphorical constructions were then searched in the Spanish Web Corpus using the

Concordance tool in Sketch Engine, which allowed for the deriving of contextual meaning. The corpus contains about 100 million words compiled using a list of URLs (varying from philosophical online texts to online newspapers), which are provided by the University of Leeds and are intended to serve as a resource for the study of the Spanish language.

Table 1. *Ponerse* metaphorical constructions of emotion for levels B1-C2 at the *PCIC*

	B1	**B2**	**C1**	**C2**
Happiness and satisfaction	me pongo contento	x	x	x
Anger and indignation	me pongo furioso	x	me pongo enfermo	me pongo rojo de ira / de rabia
Sadness and affliction	me pongo triste	x	x	x
Nervousness	me pongo nervioso / histérico	x	x	x
Embarrassment	x	me pongo rojo (como un tomate)	me pongo colorado	x

7.3.1. Method 1: CMT-based analysis of 'ponerse + adjective' construction

Method 1 built upon the method employed in an earlier study (Author 1 2022), which focused on examining whether the conceptual metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION was attested in the '*ponerse* + adjective' construction. To investigate the Spanish construction from a cognitive perspective, Barcelona's (2002) metaphor and metonymy identification procedure (MMIP) was followed. The CHANGE OF STATE metaphor was identified and analyzed in detail paying special attention to the temporary nature of the change in Author 1's (2022) study. The present investigation further discussed the construction, with a focus on its spontaneous nature. Further analyses were also performed reading more deeply into the construction aiming at identifying whether or not the EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES metaphor was at work.

7.3.1.1. Barcelona's (2002) MMIP

Barcelona's (2002) MMIP consists of two steps and four subordinate operations. If the conceptual metaphor is documented enough in the literature on metaphor, which was found to be the case for A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor in Author 1 (2022), the first step, which is examining where the mapping takes place, and the first two operations of the second step: looking for i) additional conventional linguistic expressions and ii) additional semantic and pragmatic evidence can be missed. The characterization step would be, therefore, reduced to the last two operations of the second step: iii) recognizing the most general metaphorical mapping and iv) describing the functioning of it within its context. However, since the above-mentioned metaphor has not yet been explored paying attention to the spontaneity aspect, and the EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES metaphor has been understudied, it was relevant to follow each phase to identify and describe the metaphorical structures of these two metaphors in as accurate and detailed a way as possible.

7.3.2. Method 2: L2 learners' metaphoric perception

Participants were 36 students taking intermediate Spanish courses (A2.2-B1-level) in a US-based College in the city of New York. To measure their metaphoric perception regarding the target constructions in Spanish, they were first asked about the spontaneous and temporary nature of said constructions (Task 1), and second, to interpret the two conceptual metaphors by establishing connections between the source and target domains (Task 2). Both tasks were part of a larger time-limited experiment with more items measuring metaphoric competence. Yet, for the purposes of the present study, only these aspects (i.e., spontaneity, temporality, and source-target domains) were described and analyzed.

7.3.2.1. Task 1: (non)spontaneous and (non)temporary

Task 1 was part of two larger list of items provided in an online survey (Appendix A) that asked students to observe a multimodal text in the form of a GIF and to fill in the gap in a given sentence with the target construction, i.e., to choose the right verb from a table that included the verbs *tocar, ponerse, ser* and *convertirse* and the adjective describing the character's emotion (*ponerse nervioso* and *ponerse triste*). Task 1 consisted of four items that followed the two above-mentioned sequences (a total of eight items).

Participants, who had not been taught these constructions before, were required to say whether or not they thought the experiencer in the GIF was undergoing a spontaneous feeling, whether or not they thought that feeling lasted a long time, and to justify both answers. Although nervousness and sadness are emotions that can either be spontaneous or non-spontaneous and either temporary or long-lasting depending on how they are linguistically constructed (e.g., *estar* 'be' / *sentirse* 'feel' / *volverse* 'turn' vs. *ponerse*), the context of the sentence along with the GIF allowed for only one interpretation in both sequence 1 (*vid. Fig. 3*) and sequence 2 (*vid. Fig. 4*), as agreed by three linguists.
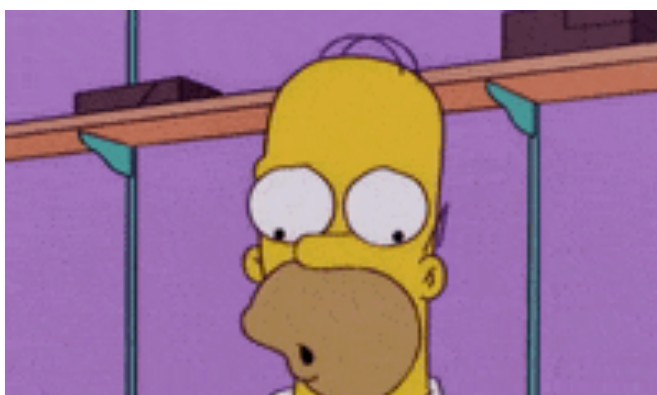
Figure 3. Sequence 1: *ponerse nervioso*

*Cuando Marge le pregunta a Homer si ha limpiado la casa, Homer, que no la ha limpiado y no sabe mentir, **se pone nervioso** 😬.*

'When Marge asks Homer if he has cleaned the house, Homer, who hasn't and doesn't know how to lie, gets nervous😬.'

Figure 4. Sequence 2: *ponerse triste*

*Cuando Marge le dice a Homer que se vaya a casa, él, que no se quiere ir, **se pone triste**😞*

'When Marge tells Homer to go home, he, who doesn't want to leave, gets sad😞.'

7.3.2.2. Task 2: metaphor interpretation

With task 2, we were seeking evidence that showed that L2 learners were aware of the existence of emotion metaphors, i.e., that they mapped across two domains of experience, a more physical one (wearing clothes and one's location) with a more abstract one (one's emotional state). Task 2 was adapted from Littlemore's (2001) test designed to measure fluency of metaphor interpretation. In her test, participants had to write down as many interpretations as they could think of for metaphors in their native language and L2. In our task (Appendix B), participants were required to write down all the relationships they could see between the two elements of different emotion metaphors shared in their native language (English) and target language (Spanish). Task 2 was also part of larger set of metaphors, yet, for the purposes of this study, we focused on the two metaphors under study.

7.4. Results and discussion

In what follows, a CMT-based analysis is presented following Barcelona's (2002) MMIP to understand the role of spontaneous change of location or position and of possessing an object (with all that implies, i.e., putting it on and off) in the conceptualization of changing one's emotional state in Spanish (4.1.). Results from Task 1 and Task 2 measuring Spanish/L2 learners' metaphoric perception are also described and discussed (4.2).

7.4.1. Method 1

Analyzing the construction from a CMT perspective allowed us to recognize the mappings from physical and tangible domains of experience to the more abstract domain of emotional change. If the mapping was construed as a metaphor, we needed to ensure that it took place between two domains not included in a broader functional or taxonomic domain (Barcelona 2002). Different mappings were found in the target construction: a mapping from the source domain of *spontaneous* and temporary LOCATION onto the target domain of *spontaneous* and temporary EMOTIONAL STATES, and another from the source domain of PHYSICAL OBJECTS onto that of EMOTIONAL STATES. These are discrete domains of experience belonging to independent taxonomies, i.e., those of space, (possessing) objects and emotional states, which can be conflated through experiential co-occurrence. The metaphorical mappings can be called STATES ARE LOCATIONS and EMOTIONS ARE

PHYSICAL (POSSESSABLE) OBJECTS and when the experiencer assumes a new temporary emotional state spontaneously, the mapping can be named A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION and EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CLOTHES. Instantiations from the two analyzed corpora –the *PCIC* (example 5) and the Spanish Web Corpus (example 6)–, permitted to examine whether the target construction satisfied two of the requirements in Barcelona's (2002, 250-251) MMIP: the linguistic expression of the source domain must be grammatically compatible with a linguistic expression of the target domain and the source domain expression must be interpretable in the target domain.

(5a) *Me pongo   triste cuando escucho esta canción.*

   I-put CL[myself]   sad   when I-listen   this song

‘I get sad when I listen to this song.’

(5b) *Me pongo   tumbada en el suelo cuando escucho   esta canción.*

   I-put CL[myself]   lying   on the floor when   I-listen   this song

   ‘I lie on the floor when I listen to this song.’

(6a) *Tú eres muy amigo suyo, ¿no? Neville se puso   rojo, y*
   sonrió.

   You are   very friend his   no   Neville he-puts CL[himself]   red and
   he-smiled

   ‘You're good friends, aren't you? Neville turned red and smiled.’

(6b) *Tú eres muy amigo suyo, ¿no? Neville   se puso   la   camiseta, y*
   sonrió.

   You are very friend his   no?   Neville he-puts CL[himself]   the shirt   and
   he-smiled

   ‘You're good friends, aren't you? Neville put on his shirt and smiled.’

In (5a), the speaker experiences a spontaneous and momentary state of sadness, which is coded by a spatial and positional construction (5b). Similarly, (6a) conveys a spontaneous and non-lasting emotion, i.e., embarrassment, with the resulting physical effect of face-reddening, which can be traced back to another source construction, that of possessing physical objects (6b). As we can change our position in space in a spontaneous and temporary fashion, we are also subject to suddenly changing our emotional state for a restricted amount of time. Similarly, as we have physical experience in possessing

objects (e.g., garments, accessories, contact lenses) and take or *put* them on and off – which implies a rather spontaneous and temporary action–, we can also "possess" (i.e., experience) emotions and change our emotional state fast and temporarily.

In order to find evidence that the two metaphors were still in use, we examined whether or not they were still used in reasoning and in inferring and searched for their ontological and epistemic sub-mappings (Barcelona's 2002 third requirement). To illustrate this, consider example 7, extracted from the *PCIC*. When stating that the person in (7) blushed (*se puso rojo como un tomate*), that is, that he exhibited the fast physiological response of reddening (EFFECT), the emotional CAUSE (embarrassment) for that response is activated, a PART FOR PART metonymy being at work. When looking for the ontological sub-mappings of A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION and EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CLOTHES, the mover or causer of motion (in Langacker's 2008, 366 terms) in the case of the former, and the possessor, in the latter, are mapped onto the experiencer (as a whole) of the emotional state and onto a part of his body, i.e., the face (Author 1 2022). The correspondences between the conceptual domains at play are systematic, for they capture a coherent view of space, motion and position mapped onto emotional states: there is a person who is in an emotional state (experiencing an initial state of rest) and then suddenly either an external or internal cause acts upon her/him, causing her/him to change that initial state for a certain period of time. The set of mappings also captures a logical correspondence bridging elements and relations in the domain of physical objects and possession with elements and their relations in the domain of change of emotion: a person possesses a wide range of emotions and she/he can be suddenly triggered by an external or internal cause to experience one or many of these emotions.

(7) *Se puso   rojo como un tomate cuando descubrimos que   nos estaba mintiendo.*

 he-put CL[himself] red   like a tomato when we-discovered that to-us he-was lying

'He turned beet red when we found that he was lying to us.'

Following Barcelona (2002), metaphors are often elaborations or extensions of more abstract metaphors and thus the next step in our analysis was to describe the

mapping at the highest superordinate level (i.e., recognizing the most general metaphor which yielded that mapping in combination with other metaphors). A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION, a basic *image schema* is mapped onto an abstract domain and it is an entailment of the high-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS. Both A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION and EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CLOTHES are coherent with one of the mappings of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1993), which accounts for the understanding of events. Regarding the normal version of the metaphor, two domains are mapped, that of *space* and that of *force dynamics* onto the domain of *events.* Emotional state changes are thus regarded as motions from/to spatial positions or locations: *Se puso triste* (change of state) or *Estaba en un pozo sin salida* (state), lit. 'She was in a well without exit'. In the case of the former (*Se puso triste*), motion happens in an imaginary manner, so the experiencer moves metaphorically from one emotional state to another, spontaneously and temporarily. As for the dual version, the changing entity, i.e., the experiencer, does not move metaphorically but is rather regarded as a possessor of a physical object (emotional state) which moves and corresponds to the new state, and which then becomes a possession. Linguistic expressions that correspond to the POSSESSIONS version are of different types. We can observe it through constructions such as *¿Tuviste muchos nervios?* lit. 'Did you have many nerves?' or the ones under study *¿Te pusiste nervioso?* lit. 'Did you put yourself nervous?', where the possessed object or possession (nerves) is the dual of the location in the normal version of the metaphor, and the possessor (you) is the dual of the changing entity. In this case, we resort to the EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES and the EMOTIONS ARE POSSESSIONS metaphors, where the emotions are *objects* located in the real space surrounding the experiencer (the *possessor*).

The last subordinate operation describes the functioning of the metaphor within its context and aims at both observing if some sub-mappings are highlighted and checking if the constructions are metaphorically and/or metonymically complex. In this case, both the source domains and the target domain belong to different superordinate taxonomic domains, and there seems to be a pragmatic function whereby the activation of location and possessable objects leads to the activation of sudden and non-lasting arousal states. Let us consider example 7 above, where the target construction appears in a context in which the experiencer suddenly undergoes a negative emotion –embarrassment– as a

result of an external cause –others realizing that he had previously lied to them. The epistemic or knowledge sub-mappings in relation to i) the existence of a wide variety of emotional states, ii) the possibility of a spontaneous and temporary change of an initial emotional state, and iii) the context are highlighted at the expense of other possible sub-mappings, such as the experiencer's initial state. In other words, the sub-mapping that receives the most attention is that onto the last phase of the Motion Event, i.e., the final spontaneous and non-lasting emotional state.

Furthermore, the construction is metaphorically complex, since both metaphors, A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION and EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES can be developed by means of metaphorical entailments, which give rise to entailed sub-metaphors. In the case of the former A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION and SELF-INITIATED (OR SELF-CAUSED) CHANGE OF SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY STATE IS SELF-INITIATED (OR SELF-CAUSED) CHANGE OF SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphors can be considered as entailments. In relation to the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and considering its dual version, the construction under analysis is metaphorically complex. We find a composition of the EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES metaphor linguistically represented, which gives rise to entailed submetaphors such as EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES, PUTTING ON ONE'S EMOTIONS IS PUTTING ON ONE'S CLOTHES / ACCESSORIES (*Me pongo ansiosa,* lit. 'I put myself anxious – *Me pongo la bufanda,* lit. 'I put on the scarf), WEARING ONE'S EMOTIONS IS WEARING ONE'S CLOTHES (*¿Cómo llevas la ansiedad?* lit. 'How do you wear / carry the anxiety?' – *¿Cómo llevas la bufanda?* lit. 'How do you wear the scarf?') and PUTTING OFF ONE'S EMOTIONS IS PUTTING ON OFF ONE'S CLOTHES (*Quítate esa ansiedad,* lit. 'Put off that anxiety – *Quítate esa bufanda,* lit. 'Put off that scarf').

7.4.2. Method 2

Results from the empirical study looking at Spanish/L2 learners' perception and awareness of the above-analysed metaphors are presented below and examined in detail. Task 1 explored whether or not learners are aware of the non-spontaneous and non-temporary nature of the '*ponerse* + adjective' construction (data can be found in Appendix C). Participants were given a survey with two sequences of items: for the first one, they were presented visually and linguistically with the construction *ponerse nervioso* within a context; and the same applied for the second one with the construction *ponerse triste.*

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The answer option "Skip it" was given to students in order to prevent them from merely guessing.

A quantitative analysis of results from sequence 1 with regard to spontaneity showed 33,3% of correct answers, that is, 12 participants rated the construction *ponerse nervioso* as spontaneous, whereas the rest either considered it as non-spontaneous or skipped the question (N=10 and N=14, respectively). As for the temporary nature of said construction, 15 participants (41,6%) described it as a short-lasting feeling, 10 as long-lasting (27,7%), and 11 (30,5%) skipped the question. Similarly, results from sequence 2 revealed a 38,8% of cases were participants conceived the construction *ponerse triste* as spontaneous, that is, 14 participants; 6 participants (19,4%) as non-spontaneous, and 16 (41,6%) who did not reply. Yet, differing from *ponerse nervioso*, 9 participants (25,1%) rated *ponerse triste* as temporary, 11 as non-temporary (30,5%), and 16 skipped the question (44,4%). Table 2 shows the number participants rating the two constructions as spontaneous/non-spontaneous and temporary/non-temporary.

Table 2. Number of participants rating the constructions as spontaneous and temporary

Participants (n=36)	Spontaneous	Temporary
Ponerse nervioso	12	15
Ponerse triste	14	9

Results for Task 1 showed, therefore, that more students rated the two constructions as spontaneous than non-spontaneous. In the case of *ponerse nervioso,* the difference was not significant (N=12 as opposed to N=10). Responses on the temporary nature of both constructions also yielded more answers marking *ponerse nervioso* as temporary (N=15 vs. N=10). Yet, more participants perceived *ponerse triste* as long-lasting (N=11) than temporary (N=9). These findings suggest that English learners of Spanish/L2 perceive different emotions (e.g., nervousness and sadness) expressed with the same change-of-state verb similarly when referring to their spontaneous nature. However, there is some disagreement concerning their temporary nature. 'Getting nervous' and 'getting sad' (*ponerse nervioso* and *ponerse triste*) are both perceived as more spontaneous than contrived, yet the former is seen as more short-lasting than the latter. Furthermore, a high rate of students did not submit any answer, which can be interpreted as a way of not perceiving the spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous and temporary vs. non-temporary nature.

Results showing unanswered items, incorrect responses by students (i.e., rating *ponerse triste* as long-lasting), along with the subtle difference between correct and incorrect answers in assessing spontaneity, seem to indicate that there are improvements to make in order to enhance learners' awareness of the semantic nature of metaphorical constructions. The learning of change-of-state constructions like the ones under study has proved problematic (Rah and Kim 2018; Cheikh-Khamis 2020; Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Cheikh-Khamis 2019; Author 1 2022). According to results here, their relatively lack of metaphoric awareness for the aforesaid constructions might be one of the difficulties. Raising learners' metaphoric awareness could be thus useful.

To shed some light on learners' reasoning, they were further required to explain their answers. 8 participants justified why they perceived *ponerse nervioso* as both spontaneous and temporary (example 8), and 3 participants why *ponerse triste* (example 9) (Appendix D).

(8) "He probably didn't have an answer or response prepared so his reaction was spontaneous. He will only feel this way while he is trying to lie."

(9) "Her reaction makes him feel sad, but his sadness will probably not last very long (in this case)."

Ponerse nervioso was seen as spontaneous yet long-lasting by 4 participants (example 10) and *ponerse triste* (example 11) by 2 participants (Appendix E). Participants' line of reasoning about why these feelings were spontaneous but could last long showed a focus on the emotions of nervousness and sadness rather than on the construction '*ponerse +* adjective' as a whole.

(10) "You become nervous as a result of an exterior event. This can last a long time."

(11) "When I feel sad, usually it is because of something. When I become of that something, I am now spontaneously sad - I do not plan to be sad. Being sad can last a long time depending on the person and what the reasoning for their sadness is."

4 participants justified either the non-spontaneous or long-lasting character in *ponerse nervioso* (Appendix F). As can be seen in example 12, since this two-answer item was part of a larger sequence where they needed to choose the verb *ponerse* from a table with

multiple verb options and guess the emotion from a given emoji, some of the answers identified different emotions (e.g., anxiety, guilt, embarrassment).

(12) "Anxiousness builds, so it isn't spontaneous."

As for *ponerse triste*, 6 participants answered describing the situation as spontaneous yet long-lasting (examples 13 and 14) and 1 (example 15) claimed it to be temporary yet non-spontaneous (Appendix G). Note that although in (13), the participant states: "but it lasts a long time", she/he also claims that it "isn't permanently there" and "he will feel sad *until* they resolve their feelings and talk it out". This shows our common knowledge of the possibility of experiencing temporary or long-lasting emotional states. Yet, when we "put on" an emotion, the change-of-state verb *ponerse* restricts the temporality of such feeling, as it is not implied that the change occurs at a more permanent level. To express that permanency, the Spanish language offers other change-of-state verbs, such as *quedarse,* 'to remain', which focuses on the final state after the changing process comes to an end.

(13) "It is a spontaneous feeling because it is the result of another's actions and isn't permanently there, but it lasts a long time because he will feel sad until they resolve their feelings and talk it out."

(14) "I think this is a spontaneous feeling because it suddenly emerges from what someone else does or says to you. I do think sadness can last for some time, especially when different situations cause it to build up."

(15) "I think that the feeling was caused by him being asked to leave and was therefore not spontaneous as it did not arise on its own, but likely would be temporary as he continued on with his day."

Finally, 2 participants in the case of *ponerse nervioso* and three participants in the case of *ponerse triste* gave answers that did not justify their previous selection (Appendix H) and 18 and 21 skipped this two-item answer for both constructions.

Task 2 examined participants' interpretation of the two target metaphors so as to gain insights on L2 learners' awareness of how humans map physical domains of experience onto the domain of emotion to talk about spontaneous and temporary emotional states. With regard to the EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES conceptual metaphor (Appendix I), 16 participants succeeded to some extent in establishing connections between the source

domain of clothes and the target domain of emotions. Yet, 11 answered incorrectly, mostly by giving a translation (examples 16 and 17), and 9 skipped the question. Hence, in total, 20 participants were unaware of the metaphorical mappings underlying the target constructions. These findings again seem to suggest that the two constructions are problematic, and that learners' lack of metaphor awareness might be the problem.

(16) "Emociones son ropas."

(17) "Las emociones = emotions; ropas = clothes."

(18) "Your emotions change and are temporary, not a fixed part of you, like clothes."

(19) "Emotions are connected to clothes / ropas in a way that seems to portray how they are expressed- clothes are worn, emotions are worn / expressed."

(20) "Emotions are worn like clothes, constantly being presented to the people around us."

(21) "You can wear them, but you can also choose to take them off (…)."

(22) "Because both cover us."

(23) "Heavy."

An analysis of the relationships identifying different themes allowed for a better understanding of L2 learners' interpretation of this metaphor (Appendix J). Thus, some of the answers highlighted the temporary and changing nature of wearing clothes and wearing emotions (example 18), one self's expression through clothes (example 19), both being noticeable (example 20), wearable or for covering (this latter in line with Cairns' 2016a and 2016b results, examples 21 and 22,) and heavy (example 23).

(24) "Emotions are fluid and can move in and out of the mind, much like moving around in space / changing locations."

(25) "Emotional state is tied to location."

(26) "Emotional states are like temporary positions that you pass through (…)"

(27) "Each emotion gives me a feeling that is similar to changing my surroundings, conversely, my surroundings can affect my emotions."

(28) "Choices."

Results from participants' interpretation of A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor (Appendix K) showed 15 answers recognizing shared aspects between the source and target experiential domains (Appendix L). Among these, we found motion (example 24), location (example 25), position (example 26), physical experience (example 27), and one's choices (example 28). 7 participants answered incorrectly (e.g., giving mostly a translation of the metaphor), and 14 skipped the question, which reveals a higher number of participants omitting the metaphoricity of this construction.

7.5. Pedagogical proposal

Following previous research highlighting the pedagogical benefits of working hand in hand with conceptual metaphor to boost L2 learners' metaphoric and linguistic competences, the design of a cognitive-based proposal is an essential step in crossing the bridge that connects linguistic theory and practical classroom applications. Based on findings from our analysis looking at the EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES metaphor and the spontaneous nature of the '*ponerse* + adjective' change-of-state construction, as well as from a previous study focusing on its temporary nature (Author 1 2022), the proposed pedagogical sequence (Appendix M) aims to help both Spanish/L2 instructors and learners improve their teaching and learning of the '*ponerse* + adjective' change-of-state construction as well as develop learners' metaphoric competence.[52]

7.6. Conclusions

As we pointed out at the beginning of this article, the study of language is a powerful asset for understanding how speakers conceptualize emotions. Studying a frequent yet difficult linguistic construction used to express one's emotions seemed, therefore, a rather

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[52] The didactic proposal has already been implemented in a classroom quasi-experimental study with a pretest/post-test/delayed post-test design with A2+/B1 (*CEFR* standards) students at the university level whose native language was English and the L2 was Spanish, as they learned how to conceptualize and express their emotions.

necessary exercise, especially when it comes to L2 teaching and learning. By looking at the description of the semantic relation between the literal meaning of the Spanish change-of-state construction '*ponerse* + adjective' and its figurative meaning, we have offered a cognitive-based analysis of two rather neglected metaphors in the CMT literature. Since building connections between theoretical and applied disciplines is paramount for research in both fields to evolve, the CMT-based analysis has been carried out along with empirical data seeking evidence of the psychological reality of metaphorical thoughts and with the design of a cognitive-based pedagogical proposal.

Results from Task 1 (examining learners' awareness of the non-spontaneous and non-temporary nature of the *ponerse* construction) and Task 2 (looking at metaphor interpretation) have revealed a relatively high number of students answering incorrectly. This justifies one of the motivations for this investigation, which was the complexity of the construction under study, being the learners' metaphor unawareness an impending reason. Measuring the psychological reality of metaphorical thought in the L2 can be mediated by the learners' proficiency level. Further research exploring metaphoric competence at higher levels could help corroborate our findings. Furthermore, future studies could address the L1-L2 interface more comprehensively.

We believe that these findings, along with those from the CMT-based study of the target constructions, will contribute to grounding their linguistic explanation from a cognitive perspective. By doing so, Spanish/L2 learners will become more aware and will use metaphoric extension strategies to eventually gain metaphoric competence. This latter is considered a core ability (Acquaroni 2009; Littlemore and Low 2006) that plays an important role in most –if not all– areas of communicative competence, hence the pedagogical relevance of developing metaphorical awareness in the L2 learner. In their study, Lantolf and Bobrova (2014) already advocated the importance of raising learners' ability to understand and produce appropriate metaphors in the L2 in order to effectively express themselves and comprehend native speakers' real communicative intention. Similarly, if the L2 learner understands the lexicon and grammar through their meaning (semantics), they will be a step closer to predict the forms, for they will have previously assimilated the underlying semantic motivations.

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Appendices and data availability statement

Appendices have been uploaded to the following Open Science Framework URL: https://osf.io/527z4/?view_only=2998360a615c41e0bc2ff3ca9236ed76. The data set that supports the findings of this study is openly available in said link.

DEVELOPING L2 LEARNERS' METAPHORIC COMPETENCE: A CASE STUDY OF FIGURATIVE MOTION CONSTRUCTIONS

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

This study compares two instruction methods (cognitive and traditional) for teaching complex metaphorical motion constructions in Spanish and developing A2+ learners' metaphoric competence in the L2. The cognitive instruction combined insights from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory with multimodal content and cognitive parameters, whereas the traditional package followed a communicative and formalist approach to language based on most current L2 textbooks. A group of 33 university students from a North American-based College participated in the experiment. Assessment tests were designed inspired by cognitive linguistics tenets and measured learners' general metaphor comprehension (Task 1) and original production (Task 2), as well as performance in the comprehension (Task 3) and production (Task 4) of change-of-state constructions, thus breaking with the pervading assessment typology for empirical studies in applied cognitive linguistics. The cognitive methodology proved to be significantly more beneficial for all 4 tasks. Although students who received a traditional instruction improved over time, those from the cognitive group showed statistically higher performance in metaphoric competence and in the comprehension and production of the target constructions. These findings clearly suggest that a cognitive-based instruction, when followed by a consistent assessment, is an effective approach to teaching and learning difficult constructions in the L2.

8.1. Introduction

Metaphorical or figurative language is ubiquitous in our daily communicative exchanges, especially when conveying psychological experiences related to mental states and emotions (Kövecses 2010, 2020; Kövecses, Palmer and Dirven 2003; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). In line with this pervasiveness, metaphor and figurative thinking have been found to be crucial for communicative competence (Bachman 1990; Littlemore and Low 2006b). Metaphors have the power to ease the understanding and expression of inner and shared experiences that are more abstract and therefore harder to apprehend. Linguistic utterances such as *Los niños saltaban de alegría* ('The kids jumped for joy'), *José cayó en depresión* ('José fell into depression') or *Carmen se puso de buen humor* ('Carmen got in a good mood') are enriched by metaphors that involve verbs of motion to convey different emotions. For purposes of delimitation, this investigation will focus on the last motion verb, *ponerse* 'putCL', followed by an adjectival phrase, which is a frequent construction used for describing spontaneous and temporary change of emotional state in Spanish (e.g., *Elena se puso roja*, 'Elena turned red'). Motion and emotion thus merge in this type of metaphorical construction, as the former, being based on our bodily, motor, and physical experience, enhances our understanding of the latter.

Although the recent years have seen a proliferation of empirical studies on the conceptualization and expression of motion events comparing different languages with Spanish (e.g., Montero-Melis and Bylund 2017; Muñoz and Cadierno 2019), the teaching of motion events in the Spanish as a second language (L2) classroom has received very little attention, especially when said motion is non-literal or figurative. Considering this and given that effective communication in an L2 requires the ability to use metaphors, enhancing Spanish/L2 learners' metaphoric competence through motion constructions becomes of prime importance. To date no investigation to our knowledge has focused on innovative cognitive-based pedagogical techniques to teach and assess change-of-state constructions, where motion occurs in an imaginary manner and the experiencer metaphorically moves from one emotional state to another. Hence, in the present study we analyze whether this can be overcome with the help of a conceptual metaphor-based instruction that aims at developing metaphoric and communicative competences in Spanish/L2.

8.2. Motivation

Due to its complex linguistic nature, the figurative motion verb *ponerse,* along with other change-of-state verbs in Spanish (*convertirse en,* lit. 'convert in', idiomatic 'become'; *hacerse,* lit. 'make oneself', idiomatic 'become'; 'turn'; *transformarse en,* lit. 'transform in', idiomatic 'become'; *llegar a (ser),* lit. 'arrive to (be)', idiomatic 'become'; *volverse,* lit. 'turn around', idiomatic 'become'; *quedarse,* lit. 'stay', idiomatic 'remain') is difficult to be accounted for and, as a result, it represents a challenge for L2 teachers and learners. This difficulty can also be derived from the way this phenomenon is presented in the Spanish/L2 classroom (Cheikh-Khamis 2019; Gómez Vicente 2012; Martín Bosque 2012), normally following a focus-on-communication approach where the binomial form-meaning is disregarded.

In the Spanish language, a change in someone' state can be expressed using various verbs based on nuances in the specificity of the change (e.g., radicality in *volverse*, short-temporality and spontaneity in *ponerse*, completion and long-temporality in *quedarse*). However, this form-function diversity is not as much observed in other languages that tend to use one form to express change of state in a more general way (e.g., *devenir* in French, *diventare* in Italian, *ficar* in Portuguese, *werden* in German or *become* in English). With regard to *ponerse,* findings from an analysis of the British National Corpus have shown the prevalence of the motion verbs *get* and *go* to convey the same metaphorical meaning as *ponerse* (Martín-Gascón 2021c).

Complexities in Spanish change-of-state verbs might also be compounded by the heterogeneity in the structure required by each of these verbs. In line with this, the *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC*) does not recommend their presence in the Spanish/L2 classroom until higher levels of proficiency (B1-C2). Still, in terms of pedagogical impact, the inclusion of change-of-state verbs at an earlier stage (e.g., A2/A2+) focusing on the contrast with learners' first language as well as on their literal vs. non-literal motion meaning could be advantageous for a more meaningful assimilation. Furthermore, an examination of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (*CEFR*) shows that contemporary notions about metaphoric competence are almost non-existent and relegated to C1 and C2 levels (see Nacey 2013: 40-55). Low (1988) already called for applied measures to adjust metaphor theory to the four walls. A few decades later, Boers (2014) continued to emphasize the need for transfer from metaphor theory to textbooks and contended that metaphor scholars should provide convincing evidence for the importance of figurative or metaphorical language.

8.3. Theoretical background

8.3.1. Non-figurative and figurative motion

Newborn infants have been shown to be sensitive to visual motion through rapid responses to moving objects (Craighero et al. 2020). These findings suggest that our perception of motion is embodied even before we start crawling. Apart from being among the earliest human experiences, the conceptualization of motion, and more specifically, the linguistic expressions that describe physical motion, are distinguished for their high frequency and are among the first acquired by native speakers (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976:527). According to these authors, spatial organization and expression are crucial to human cognition and reasoning, and therefore, space and motion are pervasive when talking about basic events such as changes in one's psychological state. With regard to this, research has found that six-month infants concentrate more on changes of state than on spatial changes without corresponding state changes (Woodward 1998). Motion and space (literal and non-literal or figurative) are therefore central to human experience and, as such, omnipresent in our communicative interactions.

Due to their experiential basis and pervasiveness, these two phenomena have attracted the attention of linguists in the field of functional and cognitive (psycho)linguistics (Slobin 2004; Talmy 1985, 2000) and L2 acquisition (Cadierno 2017; Montero-Melis and Bylund 1017). Talmy' (2000:25) definition of motion and motion taxonomy help understand the concept of figurative motion, which is at stake here. The author defines motion as a situation containing movement, and the continuation of a stationary location alike, as a motion event. He distinguishes three types of motion: factive, fictive and metaphorical. Factive corresponds to real or actual motion (e.g., 'I went from the night club to the hospital'). Fictive or imaginary motion describes a situation where there is no actual motion, but the moving scene can be possible in our mind. Take as an example: 'The route goes through the rainforest', where "the route" takes on animate properties that involve imagination. Finally, metaphorical motion is undertaken by an abstract or non-physical entity that acts as a moving object (e.g., 'The noise came from the street'). The target motion constructions with the verb *ponerse* are non-actual motion instantiations, that is, they are both imaginary and metaphorical to a certain extent. Yet, the moving entities (i.e., the experiencers) are animate beings, intrinsically and naturally able to move. Additionally, the animate entity is a self-mover and, therefore, the metaphorical or imaginary motion (change of state), is not necessarily caused by an external stimulus or dynamic force.

Figurative motion can also be explained by means of Lakoff's (1993) rich and complex EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, which accounts for the understanding of abstract concepts such as state or change. As one of the founding fathers of the Conceptual Metaphor theory (CMT), Lakoff (1993:220) contends that aspects of event structure like states or changes are characterized cognitively through metaphor in terms of space and motion. According to the author, we talk about being *in* or *out* of a state, *going into* or *out* of it, *getting to* a state or *emerging from* it. In the normal version of the metaphor, emotional states are regarded as locations, in which bounded regions in space refer to states ('She was in love': state; 'She went crazy': change of state). Let us consider, for instance, the following metaphorical construction with *ponerse: Se pone contenta* ('She gets excited') where motion occurs in an imaginary manner and the experiencer metaphorically moves from/to spatial positions or locations in a spontaneous and momentary manner (i.e., from a previous emotional state to a sudden state of happiness). Here, the complex metaphor A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION is at play (Martín-Gascón 2022a, 2022c).

The cognitive mechanism of metaphor and its linguistic expression allow the linkage between both physical and abstract space and motion. In the dual version of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, the changing entity does no longer move metaphorically and is regarded as a possessor of a physical entity (emotional states) which moves and corresponds to the new state, and which then becomes a possession. Expressions like *¿Tienes nervios?* (lit. 'Do you have any nerves?', idiomatic 'Are you nervous?') or *¿Se puso nerviosa?* (lit. 'Did she put herself nervous?', idiomatic 'Did she get nervous?') present the possessed entity (i.e., nervousness) as the dual of the location in the normal version and the possessor (i.e., the experiencer of that nervousness) as the dual of the changing entity. Emotional states are therefore regarded as objects located in the real space surrounding the possessor of said emotions. This mapping can be named EMOTIONAL STATES/EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL (POSSESSABLE) OBJECTS and when the experiencer spontaneously assumes or owns a new temporary emotional state, the mapping can be named EMOTIONAL STATES/EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES which gives rise to entailed submetaphors such as PUTTING ON ONE'S EMOTIONS IS PUTTING ON ONE'S CLOTHES (*Me pongo ansiosa,* lit. 'I put myself anxious', idiomatic 'I get anxious').

8.3.2. Figurative motion through change of state in the L2 classroom

Although motion, by means of embodied activities since early stages of life, is among the most basic and earliest human experiences and its expression is one of the first acquired by native speakers, this does not necessarily imply that motion verbs are easy in the context of L2 acquisition. The last two decades have witnessed an increase in research focusing on the conceptualization and expression of motion events comparing different languages (e.g., Cadierno 2017; Montero-Melis and Bylund 1017). However, the teaching of motion in the Spanish/L2 classroom has received little attention. Colasacco's (2019) empirical study is one of the few investigations exploring motion with learners of Spanish. In her study, the author compared two pedagogical approaches, cognitive and traditional, to the teaching of deictic motion verbs to Italian and German learners of Spanish/L2. Her results showed better performance in the use of motion verbs in students who received a cognitive instruction that combined cognitive grammar principles and those of processing instruction.

Likewise, very few studies have focused on figurative motion conveyed through change-of-state verbs in the L2 classroom. With regard to English/L2, Rah and Kim (2018) carried out an empirical investigation where Korean native speakers were instructed following a construction-based approach paying attention to the networking relationship between the resultative construction and the change of path in the caused-motion construction. In the field of Spanish/L2, Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Cheikh-Khamis' (2019) constructional approach offered a motivated explanation for a list of change-of-state verbs, focusing on *hacerse* 'makeCL' and *volverse* 'turnCL', which is already a significant pedagogical step forward. In a later study, Cheikh-Khamis (2020) examined how Spanish/L2 textbooks and grammar books approach the teaching of change-of-state verbs and concluded that the explanations offered are insufficient, imprecise and heterogenous to clarify their complex meaning. Gómez Vicente's (2020) corpus-based study on narratives by francophone learners of Spanish/L2 showed an anomalous use of the verbs *volverse* 'turnCL' and *ponerse* 'putCL' and proposed a pedagogical approach based on learning the verbal lexicon through polysemy. Recent work by Martín-Gascón (2022a, 2022b) explored the cognitive motivation of the '*ponerse* + adjective' construction along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning focusing on A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION and EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES conceptual metaphors. According to the author, such an insight offered preliminary

informed options for the design and implementation of a CMT-based material for the Spanish/L2 classroom.

Based on these findings, new lines of research still need to attest the productivity of teaching figurative motion constructions aiming, concomitantly, at enhancing the L2 learners' metaphoric and communicative competences. By drawing students' attention to the literal versus figurative meaning of motion, i.e., between the source domain of movement, space and location and the target domain of emotional states, learners could be one step closer to understanding and producing metaphorical motion in change-of-state constructions.

8.3.3. Metaphoric competence

Metaphoric competence involves the awareness, comprehension, retention, and production of everyday metaphors in the different language skills (O'Reilly and Marsden 2021:26). It can be therefore defined as the ability to comprehend and use metaphors in a given language. Metaphors are part of our reasoning and are linguistically represented in our everyday language. This contemporary view of metaphor, based on the observation that language is figuratively rich and systematic, contends that regularities in how we speak figuratively about a domain inform us about how the domain is conceptualized (Lakoff 1993). The idea that metaphors are related to cognition and of metaphoric development as a cognitive phenomenon was first studied in experimental research by scholars such as Johnson (1991). More recent work on metaphor interpretation and production has suggested that metaphoric thinking reflects underlying mental processes (see Evans and Green 2006a).

The recent years have seen a growing interest in teaching metaphor to L2 learners, mostly due to linking the ability to understand and produce metaphors to L2 proficiency (Achard and Niemeier 2004; Acquaroni Muñoz and Suárez Campos 2019; Boers and Lindstromberg 2008; Lantolf and Bobrova 2014; Littlemore and Juchem-Grundmann 2010; Niemeier 2017; Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón 2019). Overall, these investigations have found that raising learners' awareness about the existence of conventionalized expressions used unconsciously and emphasizing how conceptual metaphors structure linguistic expressions in the L2 can have a positive impact in terms of enhanced engagement and L2 assimilation and retention. Previous corpus studies have also succeeded in measuring L2 learners' production of metaphor in written texts (Hoang & Boers 2018; Nacey 2013).

Studies looking into both metaphorical production and comprehension have been scarce. An example of an early investigation is Charteris-Black's (2002) small-scale research of Malay learners of English. Based on results, the author advises practitioners to explicitly underline the differing source and target domains in the language classroom. MacArthur and Littlemore (2011) also examined L2 comprehension and production of figurative language in a study that examined spoken interaction in English. They observed that both native and L2 speakers use metaphor in spoken discourse and that non-conventional metaphorical language produced by L2 speakers does not lead to misunderstanding. The authors emphasize the need for training in enhancing the metaphorical potential of L2 vocabulary. A more recent study by Pawelczyk, Lojek and Pawelczyk (2017) looked at schizophrenia patients' comprehension and production of metaphors. Although the population differs from the one targeted in this study, it is worth mentioning that results revealed that comprehension of written metaphors was easier than production. This finding suggests that both processes, although intertwining (Pickering and Garrod 2013), are not of same difficulty. This is in line with research that claims that comprehension of oral language precedes the active production in language development (e.g., Benedict 1979).

A small number of studies have focused their efforts on developing tests that measure fluency of interpretation and original metaphor production. Littlemore's (2001b) study is one of the few that develops tests to assess comprehension and creativity of L2 metaphoric use. In her investigation, Littlemore (2001b) operationalized metaphoric competence looking at intermediate to upper-intermediate English/L2 learners' speed in finding meaning in metaphor and originality of metaphor production. In light of the evidence presented, there are still a number of unanswered questions regarding the effectivity of introducing L2 students to change-of-state constructions at earlier learning stages as well as of explicitly teaching metaphors in the Spanish/L2 classroom. For that reason, the purpose of this investigation was to examine the effect of teaching metaphorical motion on lower intermediate level Spanish/L2 learners' performance with regard to metaphor comprehension and production.

8.4. The study

The present research was designed to accomplish two objectives: a more general one and a more specific one. The final objective was to develop learners' L2 metaphoric competence, in terms of both comprehension and production through knowledge of

complex change-of-state contructions. More specifically, the study aimed to compare the effects of two different approaches for teaching metaphorical motion constructions (*'ponerse* + adjective') to Spanish/L2 learners with English as a first language. The two instructional methods were an innovative cognitive-based instruction following the tenets of the CMT and a traditional communicative method based on current Spanish/L2 textbooks. With this in mind, the current study addressed two research questions:

RQ1. *Is there a change in the general metaphoric competence test scores (interpretation and original production) over time? Which approach has a better effect?*

RQ2. *Is there a change in the target metaphorical constructions test scores (interpretation and production) over time? Which approach has a better effect?*

Considering the previously reviewed literature, the following hypotheses were posited: H1. A cognitive linguistics-inspired pedagogical approach will render better results than a traditional pedagogical approach in students' general metaphoric competence; H2. A cognitive linguistics-inspired pedagogical approach will evidence enhanced results than a traditional one in students' interpretation and production of metaphorical motion constructions.

8.5. Methodology

8.5.1. Participants

A group of 33 students from a university in North America, who were A2+ learners of Spanish and whose first language was English participated in the study as they learned how to conceptualize and express their emotions. The initial pool consisted of 36 participants from different course sections and was randomly assigned to one of the three research groups. This initial group was whittled down to the final group of 33 participants based on three criteria: not being heritage speakers, having attended all three sessions and not achieving scores of equal or above 55% in tasks that examined comprehension and production of the target metaphorical constructions in the pretest. The two experimental groups: COG (*n=13*) and TRAD (*n=10*) were taught using a cognitive and a traditional teaching method, respectively, and the control group (CON) (*n=10*) received no instruction.

8.5.2. Materials

Two instruction packages (traditional and cognitive) and data collection instruments were designed and implemented. The traditional instruction sequence (Appendix A) was inspired by how linguistic content is introduced in most Spanish/L2 textbooks in the market, that is, following a communicative approach. The material started with a brainstorming activity about the expression of different emotions, positive and negative, and with visual cues and different contextual situations. It was followed by the explicit introduction of the change-of-state verb *ponerse* and attention was given to its temporary and spontaneous nature. Students were offered a list of adjectives that co-occur with this verb to denote positive and negative emotions, which were introduced in different colors, as well as some examples. Finally, in assembly, students were asked to produce a few sentences using the target constructions (see sample in Figure 1). Attention was also put into highlighting the contrast between English and Spanish, color, and the spontaneous and temporal nature of the construction.

Figure 1. Sample of activity in traditional package

The cognitive instruction package (Appendix B) was designed based on previous findings from an analysis of the EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CLOTHES metaphor and the spontaneous and temporary nature of the '*ponerse* + adjective' change-of-state construction (Martín-Gascón 2022a, 2022b). Based on these results and following studies that show how multimodal input (e.g., audiovisual media exposure) can enhance motion restructuring (Bylund and Athanasopoulos 2015), the didactic sequence was inspired considering metaphorical GIFs and cognitive and communicative parameters. It also drew

attention to the source domains that motivate the target motion constructions and to similarities and differences in the metaphorical expression of emotions in learners' first and L2 (see sample in Figure 2 and 3). Following Charteris-Black's (2002) recommendations, the differing source and target domains in English and Spanish were highlighted.

Figure 2. Sample of activity in cognitive package using GIFs of human emotions personified in Pixar's movie *Inside Out* as visual cues as well as metaphorical emotion expressions in English and Spanish

Figure 3. Sample of activity in cognitive package using GIFs and focusing on source and target domains in Spanish

With regard to data collection and assessment tools, a pretest (Appendix C) and two post-tests (post, delayed) were designed (Appendices D and E, respectively). However, instead of using traditional assessment tasks (e.g., grammaticality judgement, fill-in-the-blanks, correct vs. incorrect options, multiple choice), which has been the norm in previous empirical studies measuring the impact of a cognitive linguistics approach versus a traditional one, our tests were elaborated in coherence with the methodology of the cognitive-based instruction. This cutting-edge idea of transforming the way in which L2 learners are evaluated has been vindicated by Llopis-García (2018, 2019, 2021, 2022) who advocates that novel instruction asks for novel data collection types. The empirical validity of applied cognitive linguistics has been so far explored in two recent investigations. One was conducted by Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio (2022) and presented two empirical studies for another complex construction in Spanish, the psych-verb. The authors examined whether a cognitive-based approach to teaching and assessing the complex Spanish psych-verb construction resulted in greater learning outcomes than a traditional one. Results from both a pilot study and a larger-scale replication indicated that after instruction the cognitive group significantly outperformed the traditional in comprehension and production tasks. Similar results were found in another study by Martín-Gascón (2022e), in which the author explored the potential benefits of explicitly teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom targeting metaphoric constructions related to tactile constructions of emotion (e.g., *tocar fondo* 'hit rock bottom'). In her study, two pedagogical approaches (cognitive and traditional) were also compared, and cognitive-based assessment tests were used. Findings revealed that the cognitive group was significantly better at interpreting and producing metaphors in general and the target tactile constructions in particular than the traditional group.

Inspired by these two investigations, the assessment tests here were meaning-based and focus-on-form for motivated meaning, and they included, emojis, GIFs and excerpts with emotional scenes from both TV shows and Almodóvar's films, where visual representation stood for proof of understanding. There were also questions to raise learners' metaphoric awareness and reflect upon their experiential experience, as well as to draw attention to the similarities with their first language. Each test contained four types of tasks with the same number of instances: on the one hand, Task 1 (metaphor interpretation) and Task 2 (original metaphor production) were inspired and adapted from Littlemore's (2001b) study in which she assesses metaphoric competence (see Figures 4

and 5, respectively); on the other, Task 3 and Task 4 (see Figures 6 and 7) examined students' interpretation and production of the target metaphorical motion construction.

Figure 4. Sample in task 1

Figure 5. Sample in task 2

How does his body language also communicate what he's feeling?
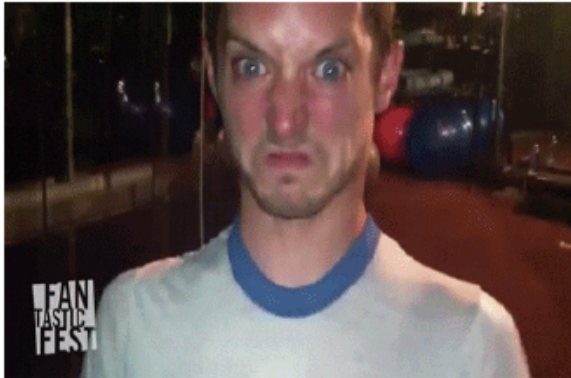
Explain it here in English (or write SKIP IT)

In the expression "turn red with anger" there's a metaphor. In your own words, why are TURN and RED used to talk about ANGER?

Figure 6. Sample in task 3

Watch this clip from Almodóvar's movie "Tacones Lejanos" and answer the questions (or write SKIP IT)

Look at each image from the clip you just watched and fill in the gaps with the Spanish momentary change of state expression (get + emotion):

Rebeca finalmente confronta a su madre (Rebeca finally confronts her mother) y hay un momento en que ____ _____ _____ 😠. ❓

[ ]

Hay un momento en que Rebeca ___ _____ _____ 🟢. No puede más. ❓

[ ]

Su madre se da cuenta de que su hija tiene razón (Her mother realizes that her daughter is right) y ___ _____ _____ 🙁. ❓

[ ]

Cuando Rebeca empieza a contarle lo que hizo de pequeña (When Rebeca starts telling her what she did when she was little), su madre ___ ____ _____ 😁. ❓

[ ]

Figure 7. Sample in task 4

8.5.3. Procedure

The intervention sessions and tests took place during normal class days for the three participating groups. Three meetings with each group were scheduled over one week and a half. On the first day, students were informed in general terms about the study being conducted and guided through the different steps during a five-minute presentation that also served to answer questions. After the presentation, students were required to fill in an informed consent and state whether they agreed to participate or not. Then, they completed the pretest. After two days, the experimental groups were given the instruction session for one hour and immediately after they were asked to complete the posttest (the

control group received no instruction on the target form). A few days later, all three groups completed the delayed posttest.

8.6. Results: scores, analysis, and discussion

The scores obtained by students for each test were equivalent to the number of correct answers (1 point for a correct answer, 0 for an incorrect one). For the statistical analysis, the scores were first submitted to ANOVAS. In line with the non-homogeneity of the variances of the samples assessed and to examine significant interactions between variables, non-parametric tests Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney for multiple comparisons were conducted.

8.6.1. RQ1: Is there a change in the general metaphoric competence test scores (interpretation and original production) over time? Which approach has a better effect?

RQ1 explored the change in students' general metaphoric competence over time when being exposed to a cognitive linguistics-inspired approach and a traditional one to teaching figurative motion constructions. More specifically, it examined learners' general metaphoric interpretation (Task 1) and general metaphoric original production (Task 2) gains across time. To answer this question, results obtained by each group condition (CON, COG and TRAD) in the three time periods (pretest, posttest and delayed) were compared. Table 1 displays the means, median, standard deviations (*SD*), and confidence intervals (CI) of Task 1 and Task 2 for all three conditions.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for tasks 1 and 2

Time	Group	Task 1				Task 2			
		Mean	Median	SD	95% CI	Mean	Median	SD	95% CI
Pre	CON	1.60	2.00	1.26	[0.70, 2.50]	1.40	1.50	1.17	[0.56, 2.24]
	(n = 10)								
	COG	1.69	3.00	1.65	[0.69, 2.69]	1.23	1.00	0.59	[0.87, 1.59]
	(n = 13)								
	TRAD	1.10	0.00	1.59	[-0.04, 2.24]	1.40	1.00	0.84	[0.80, 2.00]
	(n = 10)								
Post	CON	1.30	1.00	1.41	[0.29, 2.31]	0.50	0.50	0.52	[0.12, 0.88]
	(n = 10)								
	COG	3.08	4.00	1.49	[2.17, 3.98]	2.46	2.00	0.51	[2.15, 2.78]
	(n = 13)								
	TRAD	1.50	1.00	1.65	[0.32, 2.68]	1.40	1.00	0.84	[0.80, 2.00]
	(n = 10)								

Del	CON (n = 10)	1.60	1.00	1.77	[0.33, 2.87]	1.50	2.00	0.70	[0.99, 2.01]
	COG (n = 13)	2.62	4.00	1.85	[1.50, 3.73]	2.69	3.00	0.63	[2.31, 3.07]
	TRAD (n = 10)	1.80	1.50	1.81	[0.50, 3.10]	1.60	2.00	0.96	[0.91, 2.29]

Results of the Friedman test indicated that there was no significant difference in test scores across the three test situations (Pre, Post, delayed) for Task 1 and Task 2 in both the CON and TRAD groups. The results of the Friedman test showed that there was significant difference in test scores across the three tests situations ($x^2(2) = 12,500$, $p = .002$) for Task 1 in the COG group (see Table 2).

Table 2. Friedman test statistics

		N	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
CON	Task 1	10	0,437	2	0,804
	Task 2	10	5,353	2	0,069
COG	Task 1	13	12,500	2	0,002
	Task 2	13	19,077	2	0,000
TRAD	Task 1	10	1,625	2	0,444
	Task 2	10	1,771	2	0,412

As Table 3 shows, Wilcoxon signed-rank tests revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -2,565$, $p = .010$), with large effect size ($r = .50$) for Task 1. The median score increased from pretest (3,00) to posttest (4,00) and remained the same in the delayed posttest. As for Task 2, results indicated that there was significant difference in test scores across the three tests, ($x^2(2) = 19,077$, $p = .00$) (see Table 2 above). After running Wilcoxon signed-rank tests, a statistically significant increase in test scores was found ($Z = -3,025$, $p = .002$), with large effect size ($r = .59$). Indeed, the median score increased from pretest (1,00) to posttest (2,00), and further increased in the delayed test (3,00). Negative influence of time was not recorded since the scores on delayed tests remained the same (sometimes higher) as the scores on the posttests.

Table 3. Wilcoxon signed-rank test statistics

COG			Z	Sig.	effect size
Task 1	posttest_Interpretation pretest_Interpretation	-	-2.565^b	0,010	0,503
	delayed_Interpretation posttest_Interpretation	-	-1.289^c	0,197	
Task 2	posttest_Production pretest_Production	-	-3.025^b	0,002	0,593
	delayed_Production posttest_Production	-	-1.342^b	0,180	

Kruskal-Wallis Test was run to examine whether there was a difference in the general metaphoric competence test scores between groups (i.e., based on different approaches implemented). Results showed a statistically significant difference in test scores between CON, TRAD and COG in posttest for Task 1 and in posttest and delayed test for Task 2 (Table 4). To determine between which two groups this difference appeared, a Mann-Whitney U was run (see Table 5). Results from revealed a significant difference between test scores in posttest situation (Task 1) between TRAD and COG groups, ($Z = -2,383$, $p = .017$). Posttest results were significantly higher in the COG group. Posttest results for Task 2 were also significantly higher in the COG group than in the TRAD group ($Z = -2,931$, $p = .003$). A Mann-Whitney U test revealed a significant difference between test scores in delayed test situation (Task 2) between TRAD and COG groups ($Z = -2,995$, $p = .003$). Delayed test results were also significantly higher in the COG group. Results of the previous tests suggest that students in the COG approach group have better chances to obtain higher test scores on Task 1 and Task 2 than students from the TRAD approach group.

Table 4. Kruskal-Wallis test statistics

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
pretest_Interpretation	0,808	2	0,668
posttest_Interpretation	8,363	2	0,015
delayed_Interpretation	1,577	2	0,455
pretest_Production	0,224	2	0,894
posttest_Production	19,501	2	0,000
delayed_Production	14,361	2	0,001

Table 5. Man-Whitney test statistics

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
posttest_Interpretation	28,5	83,5	-2,383	0,017
posttest_Production	20,5	75,5	-2,931	0,003
delayed_Interpretation	49,5	104,5	-1,028	0,304
delayed_Production	20,5	75,5	-2,995	0,003

8.6.1.1. Discussion of results

The results of the statistical tests revealed that only the COG group improved significantly across time in both tasks, the general metaphor interpretation, and the original metaphor production. If we look at Table 2, this was not the case for the CON and TRAD groups in any of the two tasks. This finding indicates that explicitly teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom clearly yields statistically significant positive learning outcomes over time in learners' metaphoric competence, not only in their comprehension, but also in the production of novel metaphorical linguistic expressions. These findings align with previous research exploring metaphoric competence in the L2 classroom (e.g., Boers and Lindstromberg 2008; Charteris-Black's 2002; Niemeier 2017; Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón 2019).

If we look at Table 1, which summarizes the comparisons between groups during each test, we can first observe that all three groups had similar scores in both tasks in the pretests. Furthermore, we can conclude that even though the COG group achieved a slightly lower score than both the CON and TRAD groups in the pretest for Task 2, this result did improve in the posttest and delayed posttest, whereas the CON performed more poorly on the posttest as compared to the pretest and the TRAD showed no improvement. This latter did improve over time in Task 1, yet the increase in scores was not statistically significant.

To better understand these results, it is relevant to bear in mind that the two aspects being measured here are also part of general cognition, as supported by some authors (e.g., early experimental works by Johnson 1991; Evans and Green 2006a). The idea that the ability to interpret and produce metaphors involves other cognitive skills could be related to the same tendency or ability in the L2, as suggested by Littlemore (2010: 292). This would partly explain why L2 learners participating in the study showed good results in the pretests and why the CON and TRAD groups, although receiving no explicit metaphor instruction, maintained their relatively high scores.

Regarding the effects of type of instruction on the two experimental conditions (COG and TRAD), findings revealed that after the pedagogical intervention, the COG group performed significantly better than the TRAD in the metaphor comprehension task in the posttest, as well as in the production task in both the posttest and delayed posttest. These findings are consistent with the first hypothesis posited, as students performed more effectively in interpreting and producing metaphors after a cognitive teaching session than those who received traditional instruction.

8.6.2. RQ2: Is there a change in the target metaphorical constructions test scores (interpretation and production) over time? Which approach has a better effect?

RQ2 examined learners' interpretation (Task 3) and production (Task 4) of the target metaphorical motion constructions. To assess whether there was an improvement over time in the interpretation and production of the target forms according to each teaching approach, we compared the test scores across the three test situations (pretest, posttest and delayed) for each task (Task 3 and Task 4) in each group (CON, TRAD, and COG). Table 6 shows the means, median, *SD* and CI of Task 3 and Task 4 for each condition. Results from posttest and delayed in the production task for CON were not taken into consideration, since all test scores were equal to zero.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics for tasks 3 and 4

Time	Group	Task 3				Task 4			
		Mean	Median	SD	95% CI	Mean	Median	SD	95% CI
Pre	CON (n = 10)	1.90	2.00	1.28	[0.98, 2.82]	0.30	0.00	0.94	[-0.38, 0.98]
	COG (n = 12)	3.58	3.50	1.56	[2.59, 4.58]	0.33	0.00	0.65	[-0.08, 0,75]
	TRAD (n = 8)	4.50	4.50	1.51	[3.24, 5.76]	0.13	0.00	0.35	[-0.17, 0.42]
Post	CON (n = 10)	2.70	2.50	1.70	[1.48, 3.92]	0			
	COG (n = 12)	10.83	11.00	1.26	[10.03, 11.64]	5.67	6.00	1.61	[4.64, 6.69]
	TRAD (n = 8)	5.63	5.00	2.72	[3.35, 7.90]	1.50	0.00	2.50	[-0.60, 3.60]
Del	CON (n = 10)	3.80	4.00	2.39	[2.09, 5.51]	0			
	COG (n = 12)	10.00	11.00	2.48	[8.42, 11.58]	5.33	6.00	1.43	[4.42, 6.25]
	TRAD (n = 8)	4.50	4.00	2.87	[2.09, 6.91]	2.13	0.00	2.99	[-0.38, 4.63]

In line with findings from general metaphoric competence, results of the Friedman test indicated that there was no significant difference in test scores across the three test situations for comprehension and production of the target metaphoric constructions in both the CON and the TRAD groups. As displayed in Table 7, results for the COG group showed a significant difference in test scores across the three test situations ($x^2(2) =$ 18,476, $p = .000$) for Task 3. Results from the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (see Table 8) revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -3,077, p = .002$), with large effect size ($r = .63$). The median score indeed increased from 3,50 in the pretest to 11,00 in the posttest and remained the same in the delayed test. The COG also performed significantly better in Task 4 ($x^2(2) = 18,957, p = .000$). Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were then run and revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -3,088, p = .002$), with large effect size ($r = .63$) for original metaphor production. The median score increased from pretest (0,00) to posttest (6,00) and, as in the comprehension task, remained the same in the delayed test. Previous analyses have evinced that a cognitive approach has a stronger impact on tests scores than a traditional one. Like in general metaphoric competence, negative influence of time was not recorded for the target motion constructions, since the scores on delayed tests remained the same as the scores on posttests.

Table 7. Friedman test statistics

		N	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
CON	Task 3	10	4,514	2	0,105
	Task 4	10	2	2	0,368
COG	Task 3	12	18,476	2	0,000
	Task 4	12	18,957	2	0,000
TRAD	Task 3	8	1,742	2	0,419
	Task 4	8	5,636	2	0,060

Table 8. Wilcoxon signed-rank test statistics

COG		Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	Effect size
Task 3	posttest_Interpretation - pretest_Interpretation	-3.077[b]	0,002	0,628
	delayed_Interpretation - posttest_Interpretation	-1.807[c]	0,071	
Task 4	posttest_Production - pretest_Production	-3.088[b]	0,002	0,63
	delayed_Production - posttest_Production	-.893[c]	0,372	

To explore whether there was a change in the interpretation and production of the target form test scores between different approaches, Kruskal-Wallis tests were conducted. These latter showed a statistically significant difference in test scores between CON, TRAD and COG in posttest and delayed test situations in the two tasks (Table 9). To determine which two groups showed this difference, a Mann-Whitney U test was run. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between test scores for Task 3 and Task 4 in the pretest situation between TRAD and COG. A Mann-Whitney U test (see Table 10) revealed significant difference between test scores in posttest situation (Task 3) between TRAD and COG groups (Z = -3,302, p = .001). Posttest results were significantly higher in this latter. Posttest results for Task 4 were also significantly higher in the COG group than in the TRAD group (Z = -3,150, p = .002). A Mann-Whitney U test showed significant difference between test scores in the delayed test situation (Task 3) between TRAD and COG groups (Z = -3,150, p = .002). Delayed test results were also significantly higher in the COG group. Similarly, delayed test results for Task 4 were significantly higher in the COG group than in the TRAD group (Z = -2,285, p = .022) Results of the previous tests suggest that students in the cognitive approach group have better changes to get higher test scores on Task 3 and Task 4 than students from the traditional approach group.

Table 9. Kruskal-Wallis test statistics

	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
pretest_Interpretation	9,914	2	0,007
posttest_Interpretation	21,949	2	0,000
delayed_Interpretation	16,062	2	0,000
pretest_Production	0,835	2	0,659
posttest_Production	21,919	2	0,000
delayed_Production	18,546	2	0,000

Table 10. Man-Whitney test statistics

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
posttest_Interpretation	6	42	-3,302	0,001
posttest_Production	8,5	44,5	-3,15	0,002
delayed_Interpretation	7,5	43,5	-3,15	0,002
delayed_Production	19	55	-2,285	0,022

8.6.2.1. Discussion of results

The statistical tests conducted for RQ2 revealed a significant difference over time in both tasks, comprehension, and production of the target metaphorical motion constructions, for the COG group, as can be derived from Table 7. The CON and TRAD groups, on the contrary, did not show a statistically significant improvement across time in neither Task 3 nor Task 4. Furthermore, if we look at Table 6, we can observe how students in the TRAD group were better than the COG group at interpreting and producing the metaphorical motion constructions prior to instruction, yet their learning gains after the intervention were not significantly improved. It is relevant to mention that the two experimental conditions acted in a similar fashion for Task 3. In other words, the two groups that received instruction performed better in the comprehension task in the posttest, but their scores fell slightly in the delayed posttest. This can be due to immediate testing effects, as students had just received instruction on the target form and were using their procedural or operative knowledge.

Results for the comprehension task in the CON group revealed an unexpected trend, for this latter showed an improvement in the comprehension of motion constructions across time. This could be explained by the fact that the testing might have heighten learners' awareness of subsequent items and thus affected their responses to the posttest and delayed posttest. On top of that, participants from the two experimental conditions were explicitly told to not revise the target constructions between each test, whereas participants in the control condition were not. These two factors might have affected results in the CON group for Task 3. Overall, results were higher in the comprehension task than in the production one, this being in line with results from metaphoric competence in RQ1. These results agree with Pawelczyk et al.'s (2017) findings and are consistent with the claim that metaphor comprehension develops earlier in life than production (Mashal and Kasirer 2012) and thus might be mastered earlier and for a longer time.

The statistical tests comparing results between the groups that received instruction revealed that students in the CMT-based intervention performed significantly better than those in the traditional one in both tasks immediately after instruction and in the delayed test. These findings are in line with the second hypothesis, for they show how applying a cognitive-based pedagogical approach for teaching complex motion constructions results in significantly better learning outcomes than the traditional pervading one based on most Spanish/L2 textbooks in the market.

8.7. Conclusions

The results presented in this study indicate that a cognitive-based pedagogy, when followed by coherent data collection tools, is a productive approach for teaching and learning complex constructions as well as for learners' metaphoric competence enhancement in the L2. This innovative empirical method for teaching and assessing yields better learning gains for all students, but more so for the cognitive group, which corroborates Llopis-García's claim (2018, 2019, 2021, 2022) and findings in recent experimental research (Martín Gascón 2022e; Martín-Gascón, Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio 2022). Compared to students who received a textbook-based instruction that lay within a communicative and formalist approach to language, students exposed to a cognitive linguistics, and more specifically, to a CMT-inspired method, not only improved their general metaphor comprehension and production, but they also showed a clearly superior performance in the comprehension and production of the target figurative motion constructions. Bachman (1990) already highlighted three decades ago the crucial role of metaphor and figurative thinking on communicative competence.

Our findings must be however interpreted in light of the inevitable drawbacks. First, the results apply to a small population, and a small sample size does not allow the idiosyncratic differences associated with each participant to be "ironed out" (Dörnyei 2007: 27). Second, due to the situation derived from the COVID-19 pandemic, the study had to be redesigned to online teaching and assessing procedures. Further empirical investigations providing a larger database, and in which in-class conditions are implemented could help corroborate our promising findings. More research comparing the students' metaphoric competence in their native language and L2 could also help us understand whether there are cognitive and linguistic components at play.

Yet, this the first study, to our knowledge, which has investigated the effects of a CL-inspired method to teaching and assessing metaphoric competence and figurative motion constructions. Departing from recommendations by the *PCIC* and the *CEFR*, which relegate the inclusion of metaphors and change-of-state verbs to higher levels, our study with A2+ learners, in agreement with Low (1985) and Boers' (2014) claims, attests the importance of teaching metaphor and figurative language at earlier stages.

Although we understand that to generalize these positive results further research should be needed, results are encouraging. Furthermore, this work should be added to previous investigation that has examined the positive outcomes of teaching motion events from a cognitive perspective in the Spanish/L2 classroom (e.g., Colasacco, 2017), to

investigations linking metaphoric competence to L2 assimilation and retention (Achard and Niemeier 2004; Acquaroni Muñoz and Suárez Campos 2019; Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón 2019, among others) and to studies examining both metaphorical production and comprehension (Charteris-Black 2002; MacArthur and Littlemore 2011). Additionally, this study contributes to the small but emergent body of literature that researches L2s other than English. We expect that results from the study shed light on the difficulties in restructuring metaphorical motion in the process of Spanish/L2 learning as well as contribute to refining pedagogical and assessment materials in the teaching figurative motion events in the L2 classroom.

Chapter 9 [Paper 7]

¡AHORA SÍ QUE ME HAS TOCADO LAS NARICES! AND OTHER TACTILE PERCEPTION METAPHORS: A COGNITIVE AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The present study aims at analyzing from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective a set of 23 frequent Spanish constructions, and their English equivalents, with the prototypical tactile verb *tocar* related to positive and negative emotions. By examining the metaphorical scope of the target tactile perception expressions, we elaborate a conceptual taxonomy based on the underlying metaphorical and metonymic mappings. Our findings corroborate the hypothesis that conceptual extensions of perception verbs are a cross-linguistic phenomenon. It is expected that the proposed classification will serve as a basis for a cognitive-based material that will enhance the process of ELE learning-teaching by rendering the assimilation and retention of these expressions more meaningful.

9.1. Introduction

Cognitive Linguistics (CL) postulates the interaction and interdependence between language, body, and mind. This principle is developed in great detail by Lakoff and Johnson (1999), who challenged the foundations of Western philosophy by claiming that cognition is grounded in physical experience and embodied metaphorical thought. According to the authors, "the mind is inherently embodied, thought is mostly unconscious, and abstract concepts are largely metaphorical" (p. 3). Hence, through bodily and perceptual experience, humans interact with the environment and absorb stimuli in various ways. Our senses allow us to comprehend the world, each offering access to specific physical perceptions. Language, based on those perceptual specificities, applies them to our internal emotional sensations, leading, as a result, to pervasive metaphorical and metonymic expressions. There is a metonymic principle that claims that physiological effects experienced during an emotional state epitomize that emotion (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987). That assumption permits us to comprehend how metaphoric projections are formed.

The present paper aims to examine from a cognitive perspective 23 linguistic expressions related to the sense of touch in Spanish. More specifically, we focus on frequent constructions containing the perception verb *tocar* which convey the experiencer's emotional reaction (ER) towards an event. Furthermore, a Spanish-English contrastive and cognitive analysis is conducted in order to first examine the metaphorical scope of this tactile verb and to elaborate a conceptual taxonomy based on the underlying metaphorical and metonymic mappings[53], and second, to show the extent to which these mappings are cross-linguistic. It is expected that the classification of the constructions will contribute to enhancing the assimilation and retention of these expressions by English-speaking learners of Spanish as a foreign language (ELE in the target-language acronym).

To achieve such purposes, we will first review the existing literature on perception verbs and metaphor in relation to emotions. Then, we will follow a corpus-driven approach to identify the most frequent concepts that co-occur with the prototypical verb for touch *tocar* and which are related to the expression of emotion (e.g., irritation and anger, as in *tocar las narices*). In an attempt to shed light on the metaphorical and

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[53] According to Barcelona (2000), many metaphorical mappings are motivated by a conceptual metonymy.

metonymic mappings shared by these two languages, we will present the results of the contrastive and cognitive analysis of the target Spanish units and the English equivalents. Finally, we will provide a taxonomy of the constructions that proves to be operative in the process of learning-teaching ELE. This is, to our knowledge, the first Spanish-English contrastive study that systematically analyzes metaphorical and metonymic constructions for touch expressing emotion.

9.2. Verbs of perception and metaphor

Perception verbs, due to their intricate polysemy and the resulting variety of constructions that this implies, have been in the last few decades the subject of study from different perspectives. Lexico-semantic studies, on the one hand, have classified perception verbs regarding the semantic roles of the subject, that is, focusing on whether the experiencer is a passive observer, an active agent in the process or the stimulant (Rojo & Valenzuela, 2005; Viberg, 2015). In her doctoral thesis, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999) further investigates three senses that had been so far neglected: smell, taste, and touch. This latter will be our focus of study.

Other works within the framework of CL have studied the semantic extensions of perception verbs showing their highly polysemous and motivated nature (e.g., Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2002; Sweetser, 1990). Sweetser (1990) suggests a semantic connection to explain the tendency to borrow concepts from the physical world to refer to the more abstract world of emotion. This association between mind and body is what she coins as the MIND-AS-BODY metaphor. This correlation can be considered a conceptual metaphor (CM) –in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) terms– for it is motivated by a set of systematic correspondences between the bodily and internal experience of emotional states, and therefore, it involves conceptualizing one large area of experience (the mind) in terms of another (the body).

According to Sweetser' (1990) classification of the structure of perception metaphors and with regard to perception verbs for touch ('feel'-*tocar*) and taste ('taste'-*degustar*),[54] the vocabulary of physical perception (source domain) maps onto that of the internal self (target domain), which is subjective and emotional as compared to the other objective senses. In this line, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999, 2002, 2005, 2008) broadens the metaphorical scope of these verbs and proposes a taxonomy of CMs in the perceptual

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[54] Following Fernández-Jaén's (2006) proposal of *degustar* as prototype for the sense of taste.

domain under the more general and primitive MIND-AS-BODY CM. The network of metaphorical mappings that she offers in relation to experiencing an ER which is within the scope of our investigation can be reduced to three and concerns the senses of sight, touch and taste (Table 1).

Table 1. Metaphorical mappings with ER as target domain[55]

SIGHT	SUFFERING IS SEEING
TOUCH	AFFECTING IS TOUCHING
TASTE	PRODUCING A FEELING IS TASTING

One of the fundamental principles proposed by CL is the motivated nature of semantic meaning. Any linguistic unit presents an indissoluble connection between its form and meaning. This relation is based on human sensorimotor and socio-cultural experience, and it is therefore motivated and embodied (Johnson, 1987). One of the clearest linguistic reflections of this embodiment are somatic expressions of emotions. Emotional states are conceptualized through the physiological effects experienced by the subject. Both our body and emotions are the first physical and conceptual spheres humans encounter when they are born. In line with this, x-phemistic phenomena, and more particularly, the use of dysphemism, is intended to threaten the face of the participants (Allan & Burridge, 2006) (see Section 9.4.2., for a definition of "dysphemism" and "face-threatening"). Crespo-Fernández (2016) highlights the cognitive dimension of metaphorical dysphemisms, as they rely on *contrast* of meanings, *neutralization* of certain semantic aspects and *displacement,* and contends that the correct interpretation of a dysphemism is an inferential process with the hearer playing an acting role.

Sense perception has for long been related to the semantic field of emotions and feelings.[56] Expressions such as *me sentí tocada*, "how touching!" or *"her sympathies were touched"* are pervasive in Spanish and English (CREA, Wilkinson, 2013, p. 555). Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999) supports this mapping of tactile perception onto the domain of emotions by citing Buck (1949), who contends that the etymology of verbs meaning

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[55] The cognitive models of emotion are both metaphorically and metonymically much richer, for they are motivated by an array of metaphors and metonymies that go beyond those with a sensory domain as source.
[56] For seminal works addressing how speakers represent linguistically and conceptually emotions in different languages see Lakoff and Kövecses' (1987) pioneer study on anger in English and in other languages (King, 1989 in Chinese; Bokor, 1997 in Hungarian; Barcelona & Soriano, 2004 in English and Spanish) or Barcelona's study on depression (1986) and love (1992), among others.

'feel' in West-Germanic languages referred to emotional and physical perception. Although research has primarily focused on senses connected to the intellect, such as sight (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008; MacArthur, Krennmayr, & Littlemore, 2015), Kurath (1921) already claimed nearly a century ago that "the kinesthetic, the visceral, and the tactual perceptions have a relatively stronger tone (for emotional terms) than those of hearing and especially of sight" (p. 31). Decades later, Sweetser (1990) likewise observed that physical perception cannot be easily separated from emotion. Hence, the motivation for mapping physical conditions onto internal states is a compelling one.

9.3. Corpus and methodology

Regarding the Spanish linguistic material, the 23 expressions under analysis (Appendix) were extracted from the "Web and Dialects" *Corpus del Español* (CE), created by Davies, which contains nearly two billion words with data from 21 Spanish-speaking countries. Prior to narrowing down our analysis to the most frequent constructions eliciting ERs with the tactile verb *tocar*, we followed a corpus-driven approach.

First, we looked at the Curricular Plan of Instituto Cervantes, which is a guideline instrument that guarantees homogeneity and coherence in the academic world of ELE teaching-learning. In line with Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2013) analysis of perception verbs (*ver*, *oír*, *tocar*, *oler*, *usar el gusto*), we examined all the expressions conveying any type of emotion with these *prototypical* verbs, as Ibarretxe-Antuñano refers to them.[57] Yet, considering Sweetser's (1990) structure for perceptual metaphors, where she only links touch to emotions, and in order to have a deeper insight into how we conceptualize emotional states, we focused on *tocar*. Only three constructions were found: *le tocó la lotería, toco madera* and *tocarse las narices*, and they were all included from B2 level onwards. We then examined the CE to gather a bigger sample of expressions. Only collocates which tended to co-occur with the verb *tocar* and served to express positive or negative ERs were considered.

As for the English equivalents, they were collected from different sources as a means of data triangulation: i) online dictionaries (OD) (Collins Cobuild, Cambridge Dictionary,

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[57] E.g., the following expressions were identified for the sense of *sight*: *A ver si nos vemos* (B1), *No veo el momento* (C2) (wishes), *Lo veo todo negro* (C1) (affliction), *Veo las estrellas* (C2) (physical sensation: pain), *Hay que ver* (C2) (surprise).

Merriam Webster and Urban Dictionary), ii) Wilkinson's (2013) Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors (TEM) and Sommer and Weiss' (2001) Metaphors dictionary (MD), iii) four bilingual informants (a British speaker, two Americans and an Australian) (INF) and iv) two linguistics experts (LE). The reason why we only looked at a big-sized corpus for Spanish and not for English was that the target language is ELE, and therefore, frequency rates and context are crucial for pedagogical reasons. On the other hand, a contrastive and cognitive study with English was essential to test Sweetser's (1990) hypothesis of metaphorical extensions of perception verbs being a phenomenon across languages.[58]

9.3.1. Results from the corpus

Findings from the CE evinced the high frequency and, thus, great polysemy of the verb *tocar,* this being in line with previous studies (e.g., Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 1999, 2002). Although some of the most frequent collocates belonged to the domain of music, with the meaning "to play a musical instrument" or "to perform music", a list of frequent co-occurrences between *tocar* and different human body parts referring to causing feelings or eliciting an ER was found. Apart from the somatic expressions (marked with an asterisk), results showed other relatively idiomatic constructions with *tocar* (Table 2).

Table 2. Expressions meaning to elicit an ER

Constructions with *tocar*	N. of cases
Tocar fondo	2159
Tocar (el/los) corazón(es)*	1999
Tocar (la/s) fibra(s)*	1240
Tocar el cielo (con las manos/los dedos)	1013
Tocar cojones*	796
Tocar narices*	708
Tocar madera	547
Tocar huevos*	450
Tocar (el/las) alma(s)*	424
Tocar de cerca	414
Tocar pelotas*	287

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[58] And, since the target population of a follow-up study will be English-speaking learners of ELE, it was important that students could establish connections to their L1.

In order to have a taxonomy that will render the teaching-learning practice simpler and more meaningful, the target constructions were classified conceptually according to the experiencer's ER when producing such utterances and to frequency. The number of cases shown in Figure 1 are the resulting ones after manual codification, since the corpus did not discriminate literal from figurative meaning (e.g., *tocó 3 pelotas, puso un pase*). Hence, prior to the cognitive and contrastive analysis, the Spanish expressions were classified into positive and negative ERs. As we can infer from Figure 1, the most frequent positive expressions with *tocar* conveyed the experiencer's affect and empathy and collocated with the themes *el corazón* (*n=1565*), *la fibra* (*n=777*) and *el alma* (*n=383*) (experiencer and themes are terms used following Fillmore's, 1977 'case frames' account). Variations of these somatic themes were also found in the plural form: *tocar los corazones* (*n=366*), *tocar corazones* (*n=68*), *tocar las fibras* (*n=356*), *tocar fibras* (*n=107*), *tocar las almas* (*n=34*), *tocar almas* (*n=7*).[59] The expression *tocar de cerca* (*n=81*), which implies conceptual proximity, was also included under this category. Yet, since 'touch one closely' (*tocar de cerca*) refers to directly *affect* someone, this affection can be either positive or negative depending on the context. Hence, it was also considered as a formal representation of negative affect (*n=333*). Happiness and satisfaction were emotions conceptualized through the linguistic representation *tocar el cielo* (*n=694*), which co-appeared in a total of 279 cases with the instrument *manos*-hands and 40 with *dedos*-fingers. Last but not least, the ER of hope and empathy was shown to co-occur 547 times (*tocar madera*).

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[59] Following a spatial operative and cognitive account for the articles (Castañeda & Alonso, 2009; Montero, 2011), where the category "article" is identified with three formal representations (zero -*tocar fondo, tocar madera, tocar fibras-*, definite -*tocar las fibras, tocar las narices*- or indefinite article). These three possibilities, as highlighted in Alonso (2013), are reorganized according to the formal stimuli that can be potentially activated, that is, depending on the speaker's perception towards that object. This perception can be thus virtual (zero article, ∅), positive (definite article) or approximate (indefinite article).

Positive ER

- Affect and empathy
  - Tocar el corazón (*n=1565*)
  - Tocar la fibra (*n=777*)
  - Tocar el alma (*n=383*)
  - Tocar de cerca (*n=414*)
- Hapinness and satisfaction
  - Tocar el cielo (*n=694*)
    - con las manos (*n=279*)
    - con los dedos (*n=40*)
- Hope
  - Tocar madera (*n=547*)

Negative ER

- Sadness and affliction
  - Tocar fondo (*n=2159*)
- Irritation and anger
  - Tocar las narices etc., a alguien (*n=1502*)
  - Tocar las narices etc., algo (*n=454*)
  - Tocarse las narices etc. (*n=214*)
- Affect
  - Tocar de cerca (*n=333*)
- Negative surprise and indignation
  - Tócate los cojones (*n=32*)
  - Tócate los huevos (*n=22*)
  - Tócate las narices (*n=16*)
  - Tócate las pelotas (*n=1*)

+ / -

Figure 1. Expressions and number of cases denoting positive and negative ERs

Regarding negative ERs, the idiomatic construction *tocar fondo* was found in 2159 cases in the corpus. Apart from sadness and affliction, there were two emotions, irritation and anger, expressed linguistically with *tocar+narices/huevos/pelotas/cojones*. Collocates *cojones, narices, huevos* and *pelotas* were also manually annotated and analyzed into categories according to their different conceptualizations based on formal changes. *Cojones, huevos* and *pelotas* are dysphemistic terms that violate the sexual taboo (male's intimate body parts) and are used for a specific communicative purpose (expressing negative ERs such as anger, irritation, negative surprise or indignation), whereas *narices* is used as a euphemism of the former. Such constructions evinced different meanings depending on the relationship between the semantic and the syntactic role. As a result, the most frequent expressions were the ones conceptualizing the experiencer as an object: *tocar las narices* (*n=547*)/*los cojones* (*n=414*)/*los huevos* (*n=315*)/*las pelotas* (*n=226*) *a alguien.* These were followed by the constructions that also presented the experiencer as object, but whose subject was an external stimulus. The expressions and number of cases found were as follows: *tocar los cojones* (*n=295*)/*las narices* (*n=101*)/*los huevos* (*n=38*)/*las pelotas* (*n=20*) *algo a alguien*. Constructions that have a pronominal value such as *tocarse los huevos* (*n=75*)/*los cojones* (*n=55*)/*las narices* (*n=44*)/*las pelotas* (*n=40*), where the experiencer was the subject, were the least

frequent ones. These expressions can pragmatically activate positive connotations associated with pleasure and relaxation, derived from its inactivity or leisure nuances. Yet, this positive implication was not considered, for results from the analysis of the corpus showed a quasi-inexistent presence of pronominal expressions with a positive meaning. Lastly, negative surprise and indignation were expressed by means of the idiomatic expression *tócate+los cojones* (*n=32*)*/los huevos* (*n=22*)*/las narices* (*n=16*)*/las pelotas* (*n=1*).

9.4. Contrastive and cognitive analysis

The main aim of the study was to analyze the semantic extensions taking place in the semantic field of tactile perception. In order to do so, we looked at the metaphorical scope of the target Spanish constructions and explored whether the mappings occurred cross-linguistically, which would favor their assimilation by ELE learners. The language contrasted with Spanish was English –also an Indo-European language, yet with a different origin (mostly Germanic)– because of the target population. Once the contrastive and cognitive analysis was conducted, we grouped conceptually the target expressions in an attempt to make future learners aware of their metaphorical and figurative nature.

9.4.1. Tocar and positive ER

The somatic expressions *tocar (el/los) corazón(es), tocar (la/s) fibra(s), tocar (el/las) alma(s),* meaning to stimulate or make someone feel sympathy, were found to be identically conceptualized and linguistically represented in English: 'touch one's heart', 'touch one on the raw'[60] and 'touch one's soul'. These constructions are clear instantiations of how the tactile verbs *tocar* in Spanish and 'touch' in English map onto the experiential domain of emotions. Hence, the first mapping was AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, which is based on the primary or basic-level MIND-AS-BODY CM, as illustrated in the examples below:[61]

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[60] Results from (online) dictionaries, informants and experts showed other ways of conveying *tocar la fibra:* 'strike a chord with someone' and 'tear or pull at one's heartstrings'. Here, 'chord' (simultaneous notes) and '(heart)strings' (e.g., the sound of stringed instruments is produced when the strings are touched) draw on the experiential domain of music to conceptualize the deepest affections. Hence, when playing (in Spanish *tocar*) a chord or touching the strings, we resonate with one's feelings (EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy).

[61] All Spanish examples were retrieved from the CE.

(1) Hay   millones   de   fans   de   Rammstein   y
    que   su

There are   millions   of   fans   from   Rammstein   and
    that   their

música *toca*   *corazones*
music *touches*   *hearts*

'There are millions of Rammsteinians and whose music touches hearts' (INF)
'You touched my heart' (OD)

(2) Uno   de   esos   que   te   *tocan   la   fibra   sensible*,
    que   te   aprietan   el   One   of   those   who   you.IO *touch*

    the   fiber   sensitive,   that   you.IO squeeze   the

    alma

    soul

'One of those who touch you on the raw, who touch your soul' (TEM, p. 233)

(3) Eso   *me   tocó   el   alma*, porque   lo   apreciaba   mucho
    That   *me*.IO *touched   the   soul,* because   him.DO

    appreciated   much

'That *touched my soul,* because I appreciated him very much' (EX)
'The hot-blooded heartbeat of this passionate and mercurial city touches my soul (MD, p. 68)

Yet, this metaphorical mapping is also grounded on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE (Barcelona, 2000, 2012; Radden, 2000, 2002), where the effect is the ER of affect and empathy and the cause is the action of 'touching something', which metaphorically corresponds to the event causing that emotional response. What is being metaphorically "touched" (the heart, raw (wound), soul) is a sensitive part of the body (source or donor domain), which, at the same time, alludes to the experiencer's emotional side (target domain) as being affected. These constructions are, therefore, also instantiations of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, more specifically to BODY PART FOR PERSON, where the PART is assigned to (abstract) body organs and the WHOLE refers to the person. Furthermore,

fibra refers to the heart, for the heart is a muscular organ composed by muscle fibers, and thus, constitutes another PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study, we wanted to contrast the theory with empirical data[62]. In order to do so, we asked the bilingual informants to mimic the gestures for the above-mentioned expressions. As a result, they placed their hands on the chest and made an empathetic facial expression, this being in agreement with the metaphorical mappings and metonymies.

The English equivalents for the remaining constructions eliciting positive emotions, such as happiness and satisfaction –*tocar el cielo (con las manos/los dedos)*–, hope –*tocar madera*–, and empathy –*tocar de cerca*– showed similar conceptualizations in both languages. Hence, results from the data triangulation evinced a uniformity in their linguistic representation: *touch the sky (with your hands/fingers)*,[63] *touch wood* or *knock on wood,* and *touch one closely* or *be close to one's heart.* The first construction (example 4) alludes to reaching a state of absolute happiness and satisfaction.

(4) Sentí *tocar* *el*   *cielo* *con*   *las*   *manos*
    Felt   *touch* *the*   *sky*   *with* *the*   *hands*
'I felt as if I touched the sky with my hands' (INF)
'I can touch the sky with you' (OD)

In this case, the collocate *el cielo* ('Heaven') is used as the superlative of good, as in *es un cielo de persona*– 'she/he is an angel' or *sabe a gloria*– 'it tastes heavenly/divine' (Buitrago, 2005). These are good examples of hyperbole understood as the most basic form of overstatement and treated as a cross-domain mapping of the same nature that is postulated for metaphor. Hyperbole cooperates thus with metaphor to produce an enhanced meaning effect (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2011, 2020). Considering Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) orientational metaphors this expression results in a mapping of places in space onto abstract ideas that do not have an actual location. As a consequence, the

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[62] We intend to continue with experiments examining non-verbal communication (gestures) for these expressions in a follow-up study.
[63] The English expressions were not found/judged to be that common with the instruments 'hands' and 'fingers' (according to the 'frame cases' account).

resulting spatialization metaphors underlying these utterances are GOOD IS UP and HAPPINESS IS UP.[64]

Regarding the second construction *tocar madera*, and the corresponding English expressions, *touch wood* and *knock on wood* (example 5), they mean (a) to wish for good luck or to want a good situation to continue; (b) to avoid bad luck; or (c) to hope for the best. The utterance tends to be accompanied by a gesture of touching a wooden object, as corroborated the pilot experiment with the informants.

(5) a) Es un problema tremendamente serio, yo (*toco madera*) no lo

Is a problem tremendously serious, I (*touch wood*) not it

tengo

have

'It's a very serious problem, I (touch wood) don't have it' (EX)

b) 'I've never gotten the flu, touch wood' (British INF)

c) 'I seem to feel better, knock on wood' (American INF)

The CMs underlying this idiomatic expression can be more straightforwardly identified if we consider some of the cultural associations established with wood. Some old traditions in Celtic Ireland related wood to seeking for protection, for trees were believed to be Gods' earthly homes. Furthermore, one of the meanings of *tocar* is 'to strike or *knock*' on a surface, normally on a door, waiting to be let in a safer place. Hence, wood could be conceived as a MATERIAL FOR OBJECT metonymy, where wood stands for tree or door, these latter being at the same time a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, where the whole refers to the home or house. In line with this, HOUSE is a concept with a wide network of associations, e.g., it protects living beings from unpleasant weather conditions. Hence, this HOUSE-AS-A SAFE PLACE metaphor leads us to WISHING GOOD LUCK IS KNOCKING ON WOOD.

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[64] Like SADNESS IS DOWN, these metaphors are a decontextualization or generalization of metonymy, which is one of the two types (the other one being correlation-abstraction) of metonymic motivation of metaphor discussed in Barcelona's (2000).

The last positive EM, *tocar de cerca* ('touch one closely' or 'be close to one's heart'), not only is a clear example of AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, but it also represents the cross-linguistically widely found BEING NEAR IS TOUCHING metaphor (*de cerca,* 'closely', 'be close to') (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2000). When an event is near or close to you or to your heart (PART FOR WHOLE metonymy), it emotionally touches or affects you (see example 6).

(6) Ese   tema le   *tocaba de   cerca* y   le   indignaba   cómo
    se   trataba
    That   subject him.IO *touched   from   close* and   him.IO annoyed
    how   was treated
 'That subject touched her/him closely' (EX)
 'His loss touched me closely' (OD)
 'Those days (childhood times) are very close to my heart' (INF)

9.4.2. Tocar and negative ER

As opposed to happiness, which is conceptualized through upward movement, the metaphorical expression *tocar fondo* that concerns the domain of sadness and affliction conceptualizes these emotions as going down. Expressions with *fondo* that exploit the meaning of 'base or ground' do not carry the article and are formally represented with the ∅ article (see example 7). According to Delbecque (2012, p. 252), for this type of lexicalizations the mobility along a vertical scale is contained from below and the subsidence implies an abrupt decay. Hence, when someone 'touches bottom', or 'reaches/hits rock bottom', they are hitting the lowest level. Hence, besides the experiential domain of tactile perception mapped onto that of affecting or reaching deep (REACHING IS TOUCHING), the downward-oriented bodily position experienced is drawn to that feeling of affliction (the SADNESS IS DOWN metaphor), which is in line with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) idea that a "drooping posture typically goes along with sadness" (p. 15).

(7) Prefiero   que   las   canciones   me   hagan *tocar   fondo*
    Prefer   that   the   songs   me.IO make *touch   bottom*
 'I prefer to touch bottom with the songs' (INF)

'Touch bottom: Reach the lowest depth of suffering, squalor, depravity, etc.' (TEM, p. 148)

'When my girlfriend left me, I hit rock bottom' (OD)

Regarding the constructions conveying the experiencer's irritation and anger, the English counterparts were also found to associate annoyance with being in contact with the experiencer's body parts (AFFECTING IS TOUCHING and MIND-AS-BODY metaphors), as illustrated in the following examples:

(8) *Me estás tocando mucho las narices*
    Me.IO are touching much the noses

'You're breaking/touching my balls' (EX)

'You're such a pain in the ass' (OD)

'Don't touch my balls' (INF)

'You're getting on my nerves' (OD)

'Stop pissing me off' (INF)

(9) *Me toca las narices* que estos trastos(patinetes) vayan por
    las aceras
    Me.IO touches the noses that these pieces of junk go on
    the pavements

'Riding electric scooters on sidewalk really gets up my nose' (INF)

'This loud music is getting on my tits' (OD)

(10) Es más fácil ir a un programa a *tocarse*
    las narices

    Is more easy go to a program to *touchREFLEX.VERB*
    the noses

'It's easier to scratch your balls in a TV program' (INF)

'He's always bumming around' (INF

'Stop sitting around twiddling your thumbs' (OD)

(11)   Y   luego encima   el   trol   soy

yo… *¡tócate*   *las*   *narices!*

And   then   on top of that   the   troll   am

I…*touch.REFLEX.VERB*   *the*   *noses*

'Then on top of that I'm the bad guy, scratch my balls!' (INF)

'That's bollocks![65] (OD)

In the case of the reflexive *tocarse,* it is a slang expression indicating "unproductive behavior". The motivation is obvious: when people engage in that sort of unproductive activity, they have their hands busy, hence not working. Whereas in Spanish the affected parts are the nose and testicles (*pelotas, huevos, cojones*), in English, attention is also given to the breast (*tits*), fingers (*thumbs*) and bottom (*ass*, *bumming, sitting*), with 'bumming' and 'sitting' referring to the part of the body that you sit on or the action of being supported by one's buttocks. In the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, especially among Germanic peoples, including those who invaded Spain and conformed some of its traditions, *tocarle/mesarle las barbas a alguien* was interpreted as a direct offense causing anger and requiring retribution (Suazo-Pascual, 1999). Therefore, the underlying CMs are BOTHERING/SHOWING INDIGNATION IS TOUCHING ONE'S CULTURALLY PRIVATE BODY PART, in which "private" body part is an intimate or otherwise felt as representing one's dignity, so that touching it by someone else is perceived in a given culture as "face-threatening".

The concept of "face-threatening" is to be found in Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. Their definition of face reflects a dual view, for it distinguishes positive from negative face. The former is defined as "the want of every member that his/her wants be desirable to at least some others (p. 62)" and the latter is "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others (p. 62)". Allan and Burridge (2006) characterized the processes of euphemism and dysphemism by reference to this notion of face and considered dysphemistic expressions as instantiations of face-threatening speech acts. This is in line with Crespo-Fernández' (2016) view of dysphemism as the only source of face-threatening expressions. The author defines dysphemism as the process in which the pejorative traits of the taboo are highlighted to

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[65] 'Bollocks' is again a dysphemistic word and a violation of the taboo of male intimate parts that is used for expressing anger.

the addressee or to the concept itself with an offensive purpose. The role of metaphor in creating dysphemistic expressions is, therefore, crucial, for it creates a specific perspective on the taboo concept. The above-mentioned metaphors, like HAPPINESS IS UP and SADNESS IS DOWN, are due to the decontextualization of a CAUSE (A TOUCHING B'S 'SENSITIVE' OR INTIMATE BODY PARTS WITH AN OFFENSIVE PURPOSE) FOR EFFECT (B FEELING OFFENDED BY A, AND IRRITATED AND ANGERED TOWARDS A).

The construction 'be a pain in the ass/neck' can be expressed as merely 'being a pain', where 'pain' literally refers to an unpleasant sensation caused by illness, and metaphorically, to be a nuisance. There are other expressions that map the domain of diseases onto that of people's behavior: 'he's the pest' or 'toxic people are cancer'. This ANNOYING PEOPLE ARE DISEASES metaphor is clearly instantiated in the language used by Agent Smith from Matrix when talking about humans: "There is another organism on this planet that follows the same pattern. Do you know what it is? A virus. Human beings are a disease, a cancer of this planet. You're a plague". This PEOPLE ARE DISEASES metaphor is further examined in Musolff's (2010) study, as the author explores the anti-Semitic concept of BODY-PARASITE and the BODY-STATE metaphor built on by the Nazis during the Holocaust. In this regard, Musolff (2010) supports a Hitler's BODY-PARASITE scenario as political-semantic innovation, for he claims the motivation of an anti-Semitic imagery by recourse to cognitive strategies such as blending of certain conceptual inputs to be based on achieving a semantic innovation in the form of strategic scenarios (p. 76). Likewise, the origin of the PEOPLE ARE DISEASES conceptual metaphor might be found in the blended concept of computer virus (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). According to this view, people are conceptualized here in line with how we construct our reality, from the social sphere (people) to the scientific (diseases, virus) one. Yet, contrary to the concept of computer virus, people, like biological viruses, are alive.

The expression 'get on one's nerves' represents linguistically one way of metaphorically conceptualizing displeasure and anger. The experiencer's nerves are affected by the offender's behavior. The metonymy at work seems to be effect (a affecting b's nerves) for cause (b's anger at a's annoying behavior), which is the metonymic motivation for the angering someone is affecting her/his nerves CM. Lastly, 'pissing one off', which is another example of dysphemistic language, is constituted by the verb 'piss' (urinate) and features the constituent particle 'off'. The

meaning of this phrasal verb stems from the spatial configuration of separating one part (figure) from the whole (ground), which underlies the semantics of 'off', for the

experiencer experiences anger, which turns him/her away from the offender. This is again due to a metonymy that maps one of the effects of pissing someone (metaphorically offending, displeasing) namely moving away from the "pisser", onto a behavioral effect of anger (avoiding contact with the offender).

9.4.3. Taxonomy

Based on the underlying metaphors and metonymies, we proposed a conceptual classification in Table 3. Such a taxonomy based on shared and language-specific metaphors and metonymies in English and Spanish can be a useful tool for developing didactic content aiming at the proper assimilation of tactile expressions in an instructional ELE context.

Table 3. Conceptual classification for the target constructions

Metaphors and metonymies	Target constructions	Spanish	English
AFFECTING IS TOUCHING (MIND-AS-BODY)	1-9	yes	yes
REACHING IS TOUCHING	2, 5	yes, yes	yes, yes
BEING NEAR IS TOUCHING	4	yes	yes
GOOD IS UP	2	yes	yes
HAPPINESS IS UP	2	yes	yes
SADNESS IS DOWN	5	yes	yes
HOUSE-AS-A SAFE PLACE	3	yes	yes
ANNOYING PEOPLE ARE DISEASES	6, 7	no, no	yes, yes
WISHING GOOD LUCK IS KNOCKING ON WOOD	3	yes	yes
BOTHERING IS TOUCHING ONE'S CULTURALLY PRIVATE BODY PART	6, 7	yes, yes	yes, yes
BEING LAZY IS TOUCHING ONE'S CULTURALLY PRIVATE BODY PART	8	yes	yes
SHOWING INDIGNATION IS TOUCHING ONE'S CULTURALLY PRIVATE BODY PART	9	yes	yes
ANGERING SOMEONE IS AFFECTING HER/HIS NERVES	6, 7	no, no	yes, yes
MATERIAL FOR OBJECT	3	yes	yes
PART FOR WHOLE	1, 3, 4, 6, 7	yes, yes, no, yes, yes	yes, yes, yes, yes, yes
BODY PART FOR PERSON	1	yes	yes
EFFECT FOR CAUSE	1, 6, 7	yes, no, no	yes, yes, yes
CAUSE FOR EFFECT	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes	yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes

1.*Tocar el corazón/la fibra/ el alma*; 'touch one's heart', 'touch one on the raw', 'strike a chord with someone', 'tear or pull at one's heartstrings', 'touch one's soul'

2.*Tocar el cielo (con las manos/los dedos)*; 'touch the sky'

5.*Tocar fondo*; 'touch bottom', 'hit/reach rock bottom'

3.*Tocar madera*; 'touch wood', 'knock on wood'

4.*Tocar de cerca*; 'touch one closely', 'be close to one's heart'

6.*Tocar las narices, etc. a alguien*; 'break/touch one's balls', 'get on one's nerves', 'get on one's nerves', 'piss one off'

7.*Tocar las narices, etc. algo*; 'get up one's nose', 'get on one's tits'

8.*Tocarse las narices, etc.*; 'scratch one's balls', 'bum around', 'sit around twiddling one's thumbs'

9.*Tócate los/las cojones/huevos/narices/pelotas*; 'scratch my balls', 'that's bollocks'

9.5. Conclusions

As this contrastive and cognitive study has evinced, our perception and physical interaction with the world has an influence in how we express linguistically our emotions. Even though these latter are highly abstract, they are grounded in our sensory-motor experience. Findings from our analysis prove the assumption that CMs are motivated by or grounded in our bodily, perceptual, and social experience. By experiencing the interconnectedness between two domains of experience (their structural similarities or correspondences), we conceptually link both domains and verbalize our emotional states based on that perceptual and physical interaction with the surroundings. That is, language is embodied and serves as a connecting bridge between our body and mind, presenting both as one single unit.

If CL studies how different aspects of language (concrete representations) replicate aspects of human cognition (abstract representations), metaphor and metonymy are one of the clearest examples of this relationship. As Stepien (2007, p. 393) contends, the metaphorical basis of thought (which, at the same time, has a metonymic motivation) and the physical basis of cognition, along with semantic and conceptual structure are crucial to language. Hence, a cognitive categorization of expressions not only helps gain a deeper insight into how language works, but also, and most importantly, becomes a motivated and motivation tool for ELE teachers and learners. The cognitive-based material that can potentially be designed based on this contrastive study can help native speakers of English become aware and establish connections between their mother tongue and Spanish, enhancing their metaphorical and figurative awareness and, thus, competence. As a result, the analysis of the wide-ranging target metaphors presented here will assuredly be highly useful for the ELE teaching-learning process, for developing the ability to understand

conceptual metaphors and use their metaphorical linguistic representations is crucial for successful foreign language learning.[66]

Appendix: List of expressions

Tocar (el/los) corazón(es); Tocar (la/s) fibra(s); Tocar (el/las) alma(s); Tocar el cielo (con las manos/los dedos); Tocar madera; Tocar de cerca; Tocar fondo; Tocar las narices (a alguien); Tocar los cojones (a alguien); Tocar los huevos (a alguien); Tocar las pelotas (a alguien); Tocar los cojones algo a alguien; Tocar las narices algo a alguien; Tocar los huevos algo a alguien; Tocar las pelotas algo a alguien; Tocarse los huevos; Tocarse los cojones; Tocarse las narices; Tocarse las pelotas; Tócate los cojones; Tócate los huevos; Tócate las narices; Tócate las pelotas.

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[66] This contrastive analysis serves as a basis for the design of a cognitive-based didactic material that will be implemented in an empirical follow-up study with English native speakers who are ELE learners at the University of Columbia (New York).

THE EFFECTS OF COGNITIVE-BASED INSTRUCTION AND ASSESSMENT ON METAPHORIC COMPETENCE AND FIGURATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS COMPREHENSION AND PRODUCTION IN INTERMEDIATE SPANISH/L2 LEARNERS

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

In this article, we examine the effects of a cognitive-based instruction and assessment on L2 learners' metaphoric competence and comprehension and production of complex linguistic constructions in relation to emotion. Within the field of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) applied to the L2 classroom, our empirical study adds to the growing body of research exploring the role of explicitly teaching metaphor in an instructional setting. As a novelty, our study brings together insights from CL and conceptual metaphor theories for the design and implementation of a cognitive-based pedagogy along with a coherent assessment. It also addresses complex metaphorical constructions in Spanish that use vocabulary from physical perception that maps onto vocabulary of the self to express emotions (e.g., *tocar fondo*). The study follows a pretest/posttest/delayed posttest design for three research conditions (control, cognitive and traditional). Data collection consists of four tasks measuring general metaphor comprehension and production, as well as target metaphorical constructions comprehension and production. Results of the statistical tests show that after instruction the cognitive group outperforms the traditional in all tasks. These findings reveal that a CL and metaphor-based instruction followed by a coherent assessment becomes a fruitful approach to teaching complex constructions in the L2.

10.1. Introduction

The last few decades have experienced a growth of theoretical and applied studies focusing on second language (L2) acquisition and teaching (e.g., Cook 1985, 2016; Mitchel, Myles, and Marsden 2019; Van Patten, Keating, and Wulff 2020). Cognitive Linguistics (CL) has added to this field of research by examining how linguistic conceptualization and representation interact and affect the L2 teaching-learning process (to name but a few, Achard and Niemeier 2004; Cadierno and Eskildsen 2015; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Cadierno, and Castañeda Castro 2019; Llopis-García 2010; Tyler, 2012).

CL, as an interdisciplinary approach to language, is based on the experientialist view of human capacities and postulates the interdependence between language, body, and the mind (Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Ellis 2019). The principle of cognition as being grounded in physical experience and embodied metaphorical thought was first posited by Lakoff and Johnson (1999, 3) and allows us to apprehend how we interact with the environment and absorb stimuli in a variety of ways. Our bodily and perceptual experience eases our understanding of our surroundings, each sense being a door for specific physical perceptions. Based on said perceptual specificities, language applies them to our emotional sensations, which leads to metaphorical language.

Metaphorical language is ubiquitous in daily speech, especially when speakers talk about psychological experiences related to emotions which are harder to convey (Kövecses 2000, 2010, 2020). In this regard, sense perception has for more than a century been related to the sematic field of emotions (Buck 1949; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999; Martín-Gascón 2022d; Kurath 1921; Raffaelli and Kerovec 2018). Linguistic expressions such as 'How touching!' or *Me sentí tocada* ('I felt touched') are pervasive in English and Spanish and are enriched by metaphors that involve the concept of 'touch'. In line with the pervasiveness of metaphorical language, metaphor and figurative thinking are crucial for developing one's communicative competence (e.g., Bachman 1990; Littlemore 2010; Littlemore and Low 2006b; O'Reilly and Marsden 2021).

Previous research in the field of meaning extensions of lexemes related to perception from a CL perspective has focused efforts on examining their polysemous and motivated nature (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2002; Sweetser 1990) as well as their metaphorical scope (Sweetser 1990; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999, 2002, 2005, 2008; Martín-Gascón 2022d). Yet, studies have primarily examined senses connected to the intellect, i.e., sight (e.g., Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2008; MacArthur, Krennmayr, and Littlemore 2015), and the analysis of other senses like smell, taste, and touch has been to

some extent neglected (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999). Furthermore, no study to date has, to the best of our knowledge, designed and implemented a CL-based material about metaphorical perception constructions in the L2 classroom.

Considering the CL assumption that metaphors are motivated by or grounded in our perceptual experience and given that efficient communication in the L2 entails the ability to use metaphors, our investigation aims to boost L2 learners' metaphoric competence through metaphors of perception in order to develop students' ability to understand conceptual metaphors and use their metaphorical linguistic representations. More specifically, the present study, building from results from a previous cognitive and contrastive analysis of frequent Spanish and English constructions with the tactile verb *tocar* 'touch' related to positive and negative emotions (Martín-Gascón 2022d), focuses on innovative pedagogical techniques to both teaching and assessing a list of metaphorical constructions eliciting emotions in the Spanish/L2 classroom.

With regard to the type of assessment, no empirical study has yet examined the benefits of the CL approach in the L2 teaching-learning process using CL-based assessment tests. The present paper therefore fills this gap by including multimodal (e.g., emojis, GIFs), meaning-based and focus-on-form evaluation items that raise the L2 learners' reflection upon their experience –perceptual and emotional– and draw attention to similarities with students' first language (L1) –English.

The study is structured as follows. To begin with, we describe the theoretical background about perception metaphor (i.e., tactile) and emotion, as well as previous studies focusing on teaching metaphors in the L2 classroom to later on address an assessment typology gap in the field of applied CL. Secondly, we explain the main study conducted and its methodological aspects. Thirdly, we analyze the results in order to answer our research questions. Finally, we discuss the results in the light of previous theoretical and empirical findings and draw some concluding remarks.

10.2. Theoretical Background

10.2.1. Metaphor: touch and emotion

Our perception and physical interaction with the world have a direct influence in how we express linguistically the inner world of emotions. Despite these latter being highly abstract, they are grounded in our sensory-motor experience, that is, they are conceptualized through the physiological effects experienced by the subject. According to Soriano, "language is a powerful tool for the study of emotion" (2016, 206). In line

with this, CL allows to examine how different aspects of language replicate aspects of human cognition, and metaphor is one of the clearest examples of this relationship. From a CL perspective, metaphor is understood as a natural and cognitive mechanism that partially maps properties from one domain of experience (source or donor) onto another (target). Well-known examples of metaphorical mappings from the literature are UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING or AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, as instantiated in expressions such as 'I *see* what you mean' or 'We were *touched* by the news'.

The conceptual association between two domains has usually been considered universal and usage-based (Grady 1997; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). For instance, the target domain of emotions has been found to be conceptualized by means of the donor domain of physiological changes (Kövecses 2000). The conceptualization of perception metaphors, e.g., UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, has also been perceived as universal (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Sweetser 1990). Yet research conducted in minority languages has evinced that the choice of a specific source domain is culture-based, not restricted to one sense (vision), and drawing from other perceptual modalities (i.e., touch, hearing or smell) (Evans and Wilkins 2000; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2008).

Metaphor is also a productive way of semantic extension or polysemy (e.g., Deignan 1999a, 2020), for it serves to economize on words based on the context, so that existing linguistic resources are exploited and not necessarily new ones. Due to their intricate polysemy, perception verbs have long been an important subject of study (e.g., Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999, 2002, 2008; Rojo and Valenzuela 2005; Sweetser 1990; Viberg 2015). Sense perception has also been related to the semantic field of emotions. Kurath (1921) was among the first scholars to explain the association between sense perception and emotion based on the similarity of feeling that both domains share. According to this author, "the kinaesthetic, the visceral, and the tactual perceptions have a relatively stronger tone (for emotional terms) than those of hearing and especially of sight" (1921, 31). This is in line with Buck (1949), who contended that the word for "feel" as "perceive by touch" in West-Germanic languages referred to physical perception and to emotions.

Sweetser (1990) likewise claimed that physical perception cannot be easily separated from emotion. This connection between mind and body is what she coined as the MIND-AS-BODY metaphor. In her taxonomy of perception metaphors with regard to verbs for touch ('feel' *tocar*) and taste ('taste' *degustar*), the author highlighted how the vocabulary of physical perception maps onto that of the internal self, which is subjective (and

emotional) as compared to the other objective senses. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2008) supported this mapping of tactile perception onto emotions and broadened the metaphorical scope of perception verbs. Furthermore, following Sweetser (1990), the author proposed a network of metaphorical mappings in the perceptual domain under the more general MIND-AS-BODY metaphor. In a detailed cross-linguistic (Basque, English, and Spanish) analysis of meaning extensions of basic/generic tactile verbs, the author highlighted new domains of experience onto which the domain of tactile perception can map, showing, among others, how the meaning extension 'to affect' is connected to not only the domain of 'emotion', but also to other domains such as 'change of location'. Based on findings in Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006), Raffaelli and Kerovec (2018) examined differences and similarities in conceptual mappings based on the concept of 'touch' in the formation of the Croatian and Turkish lexicon and their results showed the necessity for a more comprehensive analytic approach to tactile verbs that allows for a fine-grained definition of conceptual domains and subdomains. According to these authors, differences between the two languages can be observed only if subdomains are closely studied (2018, 139).

In a recent study on semantic extensions in the field of tactile perception in Spanish and English, Martín-Gascón (2022d) followed a corpus-driven approach and a contrastive and cognitive analysis to identify the most frequent concepts co-occurring with the verb *tocar* 'touch' in relation to the expression of emotion to shed light on the underlying metaphorical and metonymic mappings. Her findings revealed for the most part shared metaphors and metonymies in both languages, but also language-specific ones. For instance, both AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, which is based on the primary or basic-level MIND-AS-BODY metaphor, and CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy, were observed cross-linguistically in most tactile verb constructions, whereas metaphors such as ANGERING SOMEONE IS AFFECTING HER/HIS NERVES or ANNOYING PEOPLE ARE DISEASE or the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy were mostly evidenced only for English.

10.2.2. Metaphor in the L2 classroom

The past two decades have seen a proliferation of empirical studies focusing on teaching metaphors to L2 learners, based on the premise that understanding and producing metaphors enhances learners' communicative competence and proficiency (Achard and Niemeier 2004; Acquaroni Muñoz and Suárez Campos 2019; Boers 2013; Boers and Lindstromberg 2008; Lantolf and Bobrova 2014; Littlemore and Juchem-Grundmann

2010; Martín-Gascón 2020b, 2021b; Niemeier 2003, 2017; Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón 2019; Teymouri and Dowlatabadi 2014). This research has succeeded in showing the relevance of explicitly teaching metaphor and raising L2 learners' metaphoric awareness (i.e., showing learners about the existence of conventionalized linguistic expressions used unconsciously and highlighting how metaphors structure those expressions) in terms of L2 engagement and learning.

In this regard, Boers argued that rather than encouraging L2 learners to generate metaphors, instilling a metaphor awareness might be more successful to "organize the steady stream of figurative language they are exposed to" (2000, 564). In one of the few studies examining metaphorical production and comprehension, Charteris-Black (2002) concluded that practitioners should explicitly highlight the different source and target domains between the L1 and L2 in the L2/classroom. In MacArthur's approach to metaphor as a mechanism for semantic extension, the author affirmed that metaphor becomes the L2 learner's "best ally in the quest for greater expressive powers" (2010, 159). Furthermore, the pedagogical techniques used in his method were less significant than both the general foregrounding of metaphor and the effects this might have had on the growing awareness of how metaphor permeates language.

In another study, MacArthur and Littlemore (2011) examined figurative language in spoken interaction (production and comprehension) in English L1 and L2 speakers. Results from their analysis led the authors to advocate the need for training in boosting the metaphorical potential of vocabulary in an L2. In this line, Littlemore and Juchem-Grundmann (2010) stressed how figurative or metaphoric thinking allows learners to comprehend linguistic metaphors that are novel to them and to use language in a creative manner. Lantolf and Bobrova (2014) also advocated the inclusion of figurative language realized as metaphor in any pedagogical program and offered didactic examples to teach emotion metaphors using colors, animals and sports as source domains. In line with this study, Niemeier's (2017) work on teaching color metaphors to German learners of English/L2 presented a practical example of the pedagogical potential of equipping students with experience-based and motivated tools in a classroom environment.

Acquaroni Muñoz and Suárez Campos' (2019) study evidenced the role of teaching metaphors explicitly in students' interlanguage characterization and enhanced metaphoric competence. In another study, Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón (2019) highlighted the importance of reflecting on metaphors to elucidate the polysemous origin of words and to contribute to a more significant acquisition of the lexicon. Following this, Martín-

Gascón (2020b, 2021b) offered pedagogical proposals that aim to enhance Spanish/L2 learners' metaphoric and communicative competence through emotion metaphors.

Developing the L2 learner's metaphoric competence (i.e., the ability to understand and use metaphors in a given language) is therefore necessary for a more native-like assimilation of the target language. Only a small number of studies have so far developed tests that measure fluency of interpretation and original metaphor production. Littlemore (2001b) is among the few having done so in her study with intermediate to upper-intermediate English/L2 learners.

10.2.3. CL-based assessment: a gap

If the design of a cognitive-based (e.g., metaphor-based) pedagogical material is of utmost importance for empirical research within the field of applied CL, the elaboration of assessment tasks that are coherent with the type of instruction should also be paramount. Previous investigations targeting the productivity of CL approaches to L2 learning and teaching (Boers and Lindstromberg 2008; De Knop and De Rycker 2008; De Knop et al. 2010; Tyler, Mueller, and Ho 2011; among many others) have so far used traditional tests to assess cognitive-inspired instruction, and thus have disregarded this notion of adapting data collection practices. This methodological change has been defended by Llopis-García (2021), who claims that novel instruction requires novel data collection types. This author calls for a change in the type of assessment used in empirical studies, as she contends that the tests employed to evaluate students' learning gains favor traditional instruction over novel cognitive-based pedagogies that veer from typical traditional testing, such as grammaticality judgement, fill in the black, correct vs. incorrect, or multiple choice, among others.

Departing from this tradition and in an attempt to render the teaching, learning and assessment of Spanish/L2 metaphorical perception constructions more meaningful, the present study is novel in offering motivated and motivation tools at the three stages (teaching, learning, and assessing) to help English speakers become aware and establish connections between their L1 and Spanish, as well as to enhance their metaphoric and communicative competences.

10.3. The study

This investigation builds from findings from a previous cognitive analysis of 23 frequent Spanish constructions with the tactile verb *tocar* conveying positive and negative

emotions (Figure 1). The present empirical study thus lies within a CL-and metaphor-based pedagogical approach to both teach and assess metaphor, in general, and metaphorical tactile constructions in relation to emotion, in particular, at a Spanish/L2 instructional environment.
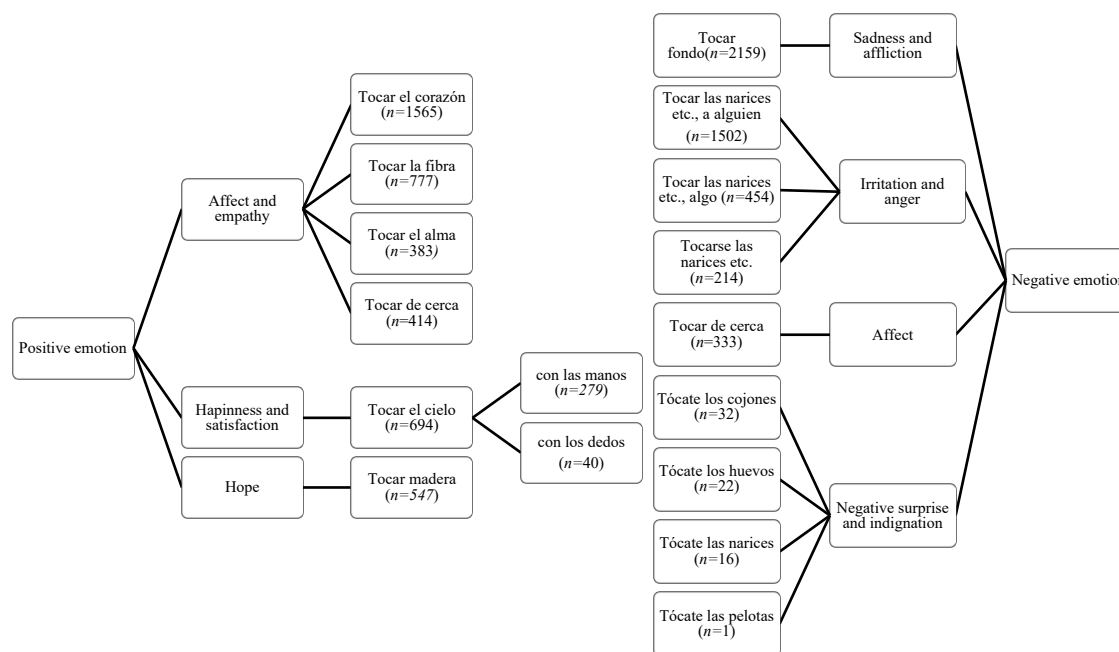
Figure 1. Constructions and number of cases according to the *Corpus del Español* (Davies, 2018) (Retrieved from Martín-Gascón, 2022d, p. 51)

Hence, the purpose of this investigation is twofold. On the one hand, the study seeks to contribute to the existing literature as it aims to examine the potential benefits of explicitly teaching metaphor in the Spanish/L2 classroom, and more specifically, it targets metaphoric constructions related to tactile constructions of emotion for the first time. On the other hand, it aims to compare two pedagogical approaches (cognitive and traditional) using, as a novelty, CL-based assessment tests. Bearing this in mind, the study addressed two research questions:

> *RQ1: Are learners' metaphoric comprehension and production in the L2 enhanced over time? Which approach is more effective?*
>
> *RQ2: Are learners' comprehension and production of metaphorical tactile constructions in the L2 enhanced over time? Which approach is more effective?*

10.4. Methodology

10.4.1. Participants

For this investigation, a group of 33 A2+ learners who were taking a Spanish/L2 course at a North American university participated. The initial pool, consisting of 36 students from different course sections, was randomly assigned to one of the three research groups (Table 1) and was reduced to a final group of 33 participants on the basis of the following criteria: i) not being heritage speakers, ii) having participated in all three sessions, and iii) achieving scores of equal or less than 55% in the pretest.

Table 1. The three research groups included in this study

Control group (CON): received no instruction with regard to the target form during the experimental manipulation (*n*=10)
Cognitive group (COG): were instructed following a pedagogical approach based on CL and metaphor tenets (*n*=13)
Classic or traditional group (TRAD): were instructed following the prevailing communicative teaching method (*n*=10)

10.4.2. Materials

Two instruction packages and data collection tools were designed and implemented.

10.4.2.1. Cognitive-based instruction package

The instruction package designed for the COG group (Appendix A) was elaborated based on findings in Martín-Gascón (2022d), as it included an explanation of the target constructions focusing on the underlying metaphoric mappings, and to similarities and differences in the L1 and L2 (Figure 2). This importance of highlighting the similar and differing source and target domains had been already emphasized by Charteris-Black (2002).

Figure 2. Sample of activity in cognitive package

Furthermore, the didactic sequence considered, among others, metaphorical visual cues in motion (GIFs) that explicitly focused the attention on the bodily motivation of metaphors for emotion (e.g., happiness is up, anger is fire, sadness is down) and figurative constructions in both English and Spanish (e.g., 'went red', *se puso roja*, 'blowing off', *desfogando*). It also included relatable and experiential metalanguage, colors (green for positive emotions, red for negative), as well as visual input that represented the target emotion and expression in an embodied manner (see Figure 3).
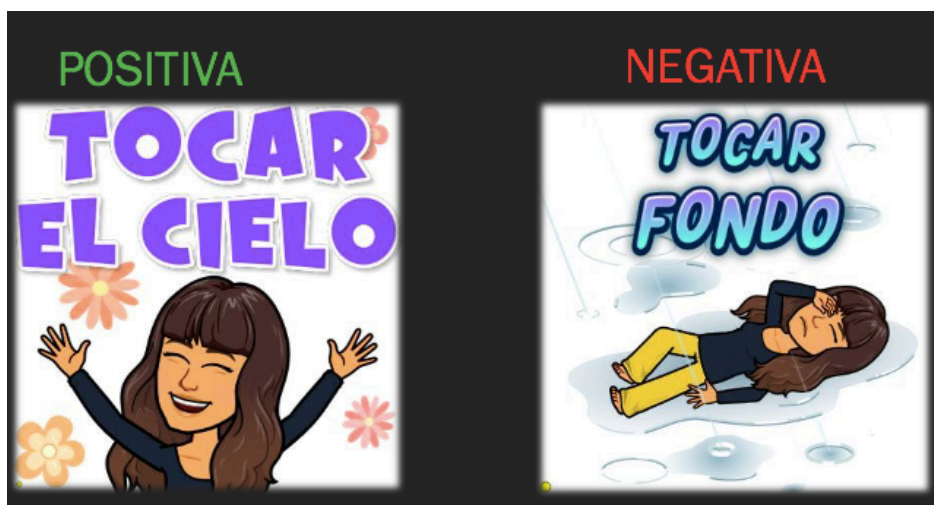
Figure 3. Sample of activity in cognitive package

10.4.2.2. Classic / traditional instruction package

The traditional package (Appendix B) was designed in line with most market-ready textbooks, that is, it followed a communicative approach and was elaborated according to the way this latter presents linguistic content in Spanish/L2 textbooks. Students were first introduced to a brainstorming task and were asked about the expression of different emotions with the aid of visual cues and context. When encountered with the target constructions, attention was given to the contrast between English and Spanish, yet the semantic motivation behind the constructions under study was not targeted (Figure 4).
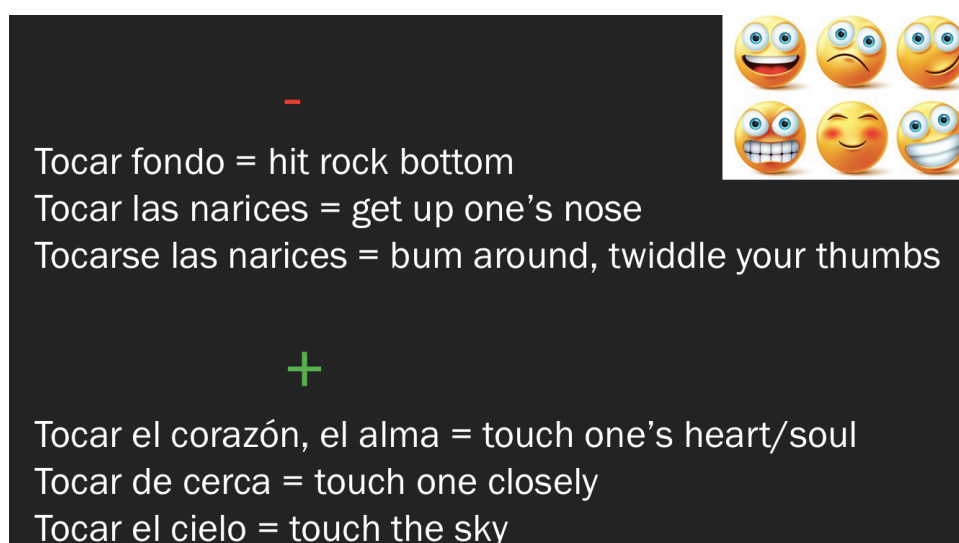
Figure 4. Sample of activity in traditional package

10.4.3. Data collection and assessment instruments

A pretest (Appendix C), posttest (Appendix D) and delayed posttest (Appendix E) were designed to assess participants' metaphoric comprehension and production as well as performance of the target metaphorical constructions. As a novelty, all tests were meaning-based and required the participant to reflect upon their embodiment (i.e., perceptual and bodily) and ponder over similarities and differences with their L1. The items were designed departing from a right or wrong dichotomy and a focus on metalanguage, and instead encouraged learners to derive meaning from context, visual cues and physical and perceptual experience. Each test included four types of tasks with the same number of items.

* Please, write down all the relationships in English which you can see between the two elements of each metaphor. Write SKIP IT if you don't see any connection.

1. EL AMOR ES UNA GUERRA = LOVE IS WAR

| |

* 2. LA TRISTEZA ES PESADA = SADNESS IS HEAVY

* 3. LAS EMOCIONES SON COLORES = EMOTIONS ARE COLORS

* 4. LOS ESTADOS EMOCIONALES SON LOCALIZACIONES = EMOTIONAL STATES ARE LOCATIONS

Figure 5. Sample of items in Task 1

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* Complete the sentences in Spanish. Write SKIP IT if you don't know what to write.

1. "En invierno, el tiempo en Main es muy frío. En cuanto sales de casa, la cara empieza a sentirse ...."

(In Winter, the weather in Main is extremely cold. As soon as you go out of the house your face starts to feel...)

| |

* 2. "Tom no ha limpiado su habitación desde hace años y está empezando a oler. El olor me recuerda a........................"

(Tom hasn't cleaned his room for ages and it's starting to smell. The smell reminds me of...)

* 3. "Podíamos notar en la mirada de la profesora que su rabia era.................."

(We could tell by the look on the teacher's face that his anger was...)

Figure 6. Sample of items in Task 2

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Task 1 and Task 2 measured general metaphor interpretation and original metaphor production, respectively, and were adapted from Littlemore's (2001a) study (Figure 5 and 6). Task 3 assessed learners' interpretation of the target metaphorical constructions with *tocar* (Figure 7) and Task 4 examined learner' production of said constructions (Figure 8).

★ Choose the sentence that best describes this image and explain why:

○ Entiendo que estés nervioso por la operación, ese tema me toca en casa

○ Entiendo que estés nervioso por la operación, ese tema me toca de cerca

○ SKIP IT

★ Explain why in English (or write SKIP IT)

Figure 7. Sample of items in Task 3

Is there in Spanish a similar expression to the English expressions "to bum around" or "to twiddle your thumbs"?

"Ana has spent the whole day bumming around"

"Ana se ha pasado el día entero _____"

Please write here what you think might be the Spanish equivalent of "TO BUM AROUND" or "TO TWIDDLE YOUR THUMBS". Write SKIP IT if you don't know the answer.

Figure 8. Sample of items in Task 4

10.4.4. Procedure

The teaching sessions and the three tests were delivered during normal class sessions for each participating group. Tests were administered online via Wufoo. Over a week and a half, the researcher met each group a total of three times. On the first session, participants received general information about the study in a short presentation and were asked to fill in a consent form and complete the pretest. On another session, the two experimental groups received an hour of instruction and completed the posttests. The control group received instruction that was independent from the target form, and right after they were required to take the posttests. The last session took place after a few days and all three groups filled in the delayed posttests.

10.5. Results: analysis and discussion

The scores obtained for each test corresponded to the number of correct answers (1 point for a correct answer, 0 for an incorrect one). Due to the non-homogeneity of the variances of the samples assessed non-parametric tests were run.

10.5.1. RQ1: Are learners' metaphoric comprehension and production in the L2 enhanced over time? Which approach is more effective?

The first RQ examined the change in students' general metaphoric competence over time when being exposed to a CL-inspired approach and a traditional one to teaching metaphorical tactile constructions. More specifically, it looked at L2 learners' general metaphoric interpretation (Task 1) and general metaphoric original production (Task 2) changes across time. Results by each group in the three time periods (pretest, posttest and delayed) were compared. Table 2 displays the means, median, standard deviations (*SD*), and confidence intervals (CI) for the two tasks in all three conditions.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for tasks 1 and 2

Time	Group	Task 1 Mean	Median	*SD*	95% CI	Task 2 Mean	Median	*SD*	95% CI
Pre	CON (*n* = 10)	1.60	2.00	1.26	[0.70, 2.50]	1.40	1.50	1.17	[0.56, 2.24]
	COG (*n* = 13)	1.69	3.00	1.65	[0.69, 2.69]	1.23	1.00	0.59	[0.87, 1.59]
	TRAD (*n* = 10)	1.10	0.00	1.59	[-0.04, 2.24]	1.40	1.00	0.84	[0.80, 2.00]
Post	CON (*n* = 10)	1.30	1.00	1.41	[0.29, 2.31]	0.50	0.50	0.52	[0.12, 0.88]
	COG (*n* = 13)	3.08	4.00	1.49	[2.17, 3.98]	2.46	2.00	0.51	[2.15, 2.78]
	TRAD (*n* = 10)	1.50	1.00	1.65	[0.32, 2.68]	1.40	1.00	0.84	[0.80, 2.00]
Del	CON (*n* = 10)	1.60	1.00	1.77	[0.33, 2.87]	1.50	2.00	0.70	[0.99, 2.01]
	COG (*n* = 13)	2.62	4.00	1.85	[1.50, 3.73]	2.69	3.00	0.63	[2.31, 3.07]
	TRAD (*n* = 10)	1.80	1.50	1.81	[0.50, 3.10]	1.60	2.00	0.96	[0.91, 2.29]

To assess within-group differences across pretest, posttest, and delayed posttest scores, Friedman tests were used. Results showed that there was no significant difference in test scores across the three test situations for neither task in neither the CON nor the TRAD groups. Results revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores across the three tests situations ($x^2(2) = 12,500, p = .002$) for Task 1 in the COG group, as observed in Table 3.

Table 3. Friedman test statistics

		N	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
CON	Task 1	10	0,437	2	0,804
	Task 2	10	5,353	2	0,069
COG	Task 1	13	12,500	2	0,002
	Task 2	13	19,077	2	0,000
TRAD	Task 1	10	1,625	2	0,444
	Task 2	10	1,771	2	0,412

As Table 4 displays, post-hoc analyses with Wilcoxon signed-rank tests revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores (Z = -2,565, p = .010), with large effect size (r = .50) for Task 1. Indeed, the median score increased from 3,00 in pretest to 4,00 in posttest and remained the same in the delayed test. Results of the Friedman test for Task 2 indicated that there was a significant difference in test scores across the three tests (x^2(2) = 19,077, p = .000) (see Table 3 above).

After running post-hoc analyses, results from Wilcoxon signed-rank tests showed a statistically significant increase in test scores was found (Z = -3,025, p = .002), with large effect size (r = .59). The median score also increased from pretest (1,00) to posttest (2,00), and further increased in the delayed test (3,00). Negative influence of time was not recorded since the scores on delayed tests remained the same (sometimes even higher) as the scores on the posttests.

Table 4. Wilcoxon signed-rank test statistics

COG		Z	Sig.	effect size
Task 1	posttest_Interpretation - pretest_Interpretation	-2.565[b]	0,010	0,503
	delayed_Interpretation - posttest_Interpretation	-1.289[c]	0,197	
Task 2	posttest_Production - pretest_Production	-3.025[b]	0,002	0,593
	delayed_Production - posttest_Production	-1.342[b]	0,180	

Kruskal-Wallis tests were run to observe whether there was a difference in the general metaphoric competence test scores between groups in the three testing situations. Results showed a statistically significant difference in test scores between CON, TRAD and COG

in posttest in Task 1 and in posttest and delayed test in Task 2 (Table 5). In order to further determine which two groups evinced this difference, Mann-Whitney U tests were run in the three testing situations (Table 6). Results revealed significant difference between test scores in posttest situation for Task 1 between the TRAD and the COG groups (Z = -2,383, p = .017), scores from this latter were significantly higher. Posttest results for Task 2 were also significantly higher in the COG group than in the TRAD group (Z = -2,931, p = .003). Mann-Whitney U tests showed significant difference between test scores in delayed test situation (Task 2) between the two experimental groups (Z = -2,995, p = .003), being those by the COG group significantly higher. Results of the previous tests suggest that students in the COG approach group have better chances to obtain higher test scores on Task 1 and Task 2 than students from the TRAD approach group.

Table 5. Kruskal-Wallis test statistics

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
pretest_Interpretation	0,808	2	0,668
posttest_Interpretation	8,363	2	0,015
delayed_Interpretation	1,577	2	0,455
pretest_Production	0,224	2	0,894
posttest_Production	19,501	2	0,000
delayed_Production	14,361	2	0,001

Table 6. Man-Whitney test statistics

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
posttest_Interpretation	28,5	83,5	-2,383	0,017
posttest_Production	20,5	75,5	-2,931	0,003
delayed_Interpretation	49,5	104,5	-1,028	0,304
delayed_Production	20,5	75,5	-2,995	0,003

10.5.1.1. Discussion of results

Results of the statistical tests revealed that students in the cognitive condition were the only ones who performed significantly better across time in interpreting metaphors and producing original metaphors. This finding clearly suggests that teaching metaphor in an explicit manner yields statistically significant positive outcomes in learners' metaphoric competence. These results are in line with previous studies aiming at testing the relevance of metaphor inclusion as a means of raising L2 learners' metaphor

awareness and production (e.g., Acquaroni Muñoz and Suárez Campos 2019; Boers 2000; Charteris-Black 2002; Lantolf and Bobrova 2014; Littlemore and Juchem-Grundmann 2010; MacArthur 2010; MacArthur and Littlemore 2011; Martín-Gascón 2020b, 2021b; Niemeier 2017; Suárez Campos and Hijazo-Gascón 2019).

Regarding results derived from the comparisons between groups during each test across time, we can conclude that all three groups had similar scores in both tasks in the pretest. However, although learners in the COG group obtained a slightly lower score than those in the CON and TRAD conditions for the pretest in the production task, COG group's scores improved significantly in the immediate posttest and delayed posttest, while the CON performed poorly on the posttest and the TRAD showed no improvement. This latter showed progress over time in metaphor comprehension, yet the increase in scores was not statistically significant. To better understand our results, it is important to bear in mind that metaphoric competence has been claimed to be part of general cognition (see early experimental work by Billow 1975; or Kogan 1983). The ability to interpret and produce metaphors involves other cognitive skills (Evan and Green 2006b) and this could be related to the same tendency or skill in the L2, as suggested by Littlemore (2010). This reasoning could explain why participants in this study showed relatively good results in the pretest and why students in the CON and TRAD conditions maintained to some extent their scores, even if they did not receive explicit instruction on metaphors.

Results from the analysis looking at type of instruction and its effects on the two experimental conditions (COG and TRAD) revealed that after the pedagogical intervention, learners in the cognitive-based group performed significantly better than those in the traditional one in metaphor comprehension in the posttest and in metaphor production in both the posttest and delayed posttest. This finding is consistent with the idea defended by practitioners and scholars in the field of applied cognitive linguistics that students perform more effectively in interpreting and producing metaphors after a cognitive and metaphor-based teaching session than those who are exposed to the pervading communicative and formalist method.

10.5.2. RQ2: Are learners' comprehension and production of metaphorical tactile constructions in the L2 enhanced over time? Which approach is more effective?

The second RQ focused on learners' interpretation (Task 3) and production (Task 4) of metaphorical tactile constructions. To assess whether there was an enhancement over time in the interpretation and production of the target forms according to each teaching

approach, test scores across the three test situations (pretest, posttest and delayed) for each task (Task 3 and Task 4) in each group were compared. Table 7 shows the means, median, *SD* and CI of Task 3 and Task 4 for each condition. Results from pretest and delayed in the production task for the CON group were not taken into consideration, since all test scores were equal to zero.

Table 7. Descriptive statistics for tasks 3 and 4

Time	Group	Task 3				Task 4			
		Mean	Median	*SD*	95% CI	Mean	Median	*SD*	95% CI
Pre	CON (*n* = 10)	1.80	1.00	1.47	[0.74, 2.86]	0			
	COG (*n* = 13)	3.77	4.00	1.83	[2.66, 4.88]	0.15	0.00	0.37	[-0.07, 0,38]
	TRAD (*n* = 10)	3.60	3.00	1.43	[2.58, 4.62]	0.20	0.00	0.42	[-0.10, 0.50]
Post	CON (*n* = 10)	1.40	1.00	1.07	[0.63, 2.17]	0.20	0.00	0.42	[-0.10, 0,50]
	COG (*n* = 13)	6.77	8.00	1.87	[5.63, 7.90]	1.62	2.00	0.50	[1.31, 1.92]
	TRAD (*n* = 10)	3.30	3.00	1.82	[1.99, 4.61]	1.20	1.00	0.78	[0.64, 1.76]
Del	CON (*n* = 10)	1.40	1.00	0.84	[0.80, 2.00]	0			
	COG (*n* = 13)	6.85	8.00	1.67	[5.83, 7.86]	1.54	2.00	0.51	[1.22, 1.85]
	TRAD (*n* = 10)	5.00	5.00	2.10	[3.49, 6.51]	1.00	1.00	0.94	[0.33, 1.67]

In line with findings from general metaphoric competence, the Friedman test (Table 8) indicated that there was no significant difference in test scores across the three test situations for Task 3 and Task 4 in the CON group. Concerning the TRAD group, no significant difference in test scores was found for Task 3, yet a significant difference was shown for Task 4 ($x^2(2) = 11,143$, $p = .004$). Post-hoc analyses with Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (Table 9) were then conducted and showed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = 2,428$, $p = .015$), with large effect size ($r = .54$). Indeed, the median score increased from pretest (0,00) to posttest (1,00) and remained the same in the delayed test.

Furthermore, results of the Friedman test for the COG group showed that there was a significant difference in test scores across the three test situations ($x^2(2) = 14,683$, $p = .001$) for Task 3 (see Table 8). Post-hoc analyses with Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (Table 9) were then run and revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -2,809$, $p = .005$), with large effect size ($r = .55$). The median score increased from 4,00 in the pretest to 8,00 in the posttest and remained the same in the delayed test. Results also showed that there was a significant difference in test scores across the three-time

situations for Task 4 ($x^2(2) = 19,682$, $p = .000$). Wilcoxon signed-rank tests revealed a statistically significant increase in test scores ($Z = -3,153$, $p = .002$), with large effect size ($r = .61$) for Task 4 (see Table 9). The median score increased from pretest (0,00) to posttest (2,00) and remained the same in the delayed test.

Table 8. Friedman test statistics

		N	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
CON	Task 3	10	0,923	2	0,630
	Task 4	10	4,000	2	0,135
COG	Task 3	13	14,683	2	0,001
	Task 4	13	19,682	2	0,000
TRAD	Task 3	10	4,800	2	0,091
	Task 4	10	11,143	2	0,004

Table 9. Wilcoxon signed-rank test statistics

		COG			TRAD		
		Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	Effect size	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	Effect size
Task 3	posttest_Interpretation pretest_Interpretation	-2.809[b]	0,005	0,550			
	delayed_Interpretation posttest_Interpretation	-.171[b]	0,864				
Task 4	posttest_Production pretest_Production	-3.153[b]	0,002	0,618	-2.428[b]	0.015	0.54
	delayed_Production posttest_Production	-.378[c]	0,705		-1.414[c]	0.157	

Previous analyses have evinced that a cognitive approach has a stronger impact on tests scores in the interpretation task than a traditional one. Like in general metaphoric competence, negative influence of time was not recorded for the target motion constructions, since the scores on delayed tests remained the same as the scores on posttests.

Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to assess between-group differences in the three testing moments. Results revealed a statistically significant difference in test scores between the three group conditions in posttest and delayed test situations for both tasks (Table 10). To determine which two groups showed this difference, a Mann-Whitney U test was run. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between test scores in Task 3 and Task 4 in the pretest situation between TRAD and COG. A Mann-Whitney U test (see Table 11) revealed significant difference between test scores in posttest situation for Task 3 between TRAD and COG groups ($Z = -3,346$, $p = .001$). Posttest

results were significantly higher in the COG group. Likewise, a Mann-Whitney U test revealed significant difference in the delayed test situation (Task 3) between TRAD and COG groups (Z = -2,120, p = .034), being significantly higher in the COG condition. Results of the previous tests suggest that students in the cognitive approach group have better changes to get higher test scores on Task 3 and Task 4 than students from the traditional approach group.

Table 10. Kruskal-Wallis test statistics

	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
pretest_Interpretation	8,585	2	0,014
posttest_Interpretation	21,616	2	0,000
delayed_Interpretation	21,433	2	0,000
pretest_Production	2,029	2	0,363
posttest_Production	16,698	2	0,000
delayed_Production	18,122	2	0,000

Table 11. Man-Whitney test statistics

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
posttest_Interpretation	12,000	67	-3,346	0,001
delayed_Interpretation	32,000	87	-2,120	0,034

10.5.2.1. Discussion of results

The results of the statistical tests revealed that students' comprehension and production of metaphorical tactile constructions in the COG group was significantly enhanced across the three-time situations. The TRAD group also performed significantly better in producing the target metaphorical constructions; however, the improvement was not superior to the COG group, and this was not the case for comprehension. It is worth remembering here that empirical studies conducted to date (e.g., Boers and Lindstromberg 2008; De Knop and De Rycker 2008; De Knop et al. 2010; Tyler, Mueller, and Ho 2011) have so far applied a traditional assessment for data elicitation in which the cognitive condition, without having received traditional instruction, still performed as well as the traditional in the assessment.

If we look at Table 7, which summarizes the comparisons between groups during each test, we can conclude that even though students in the TRAD condition obtained in

the pretest a slightly higher score in producing the target form than those in the COG condition, this latter showed a greater improvement after the pedagogical intervention than the TRAD group. Furthermore, scores from the delayed test dropped slightly for both groups, being this decrease larger in the TRAD group. This dropping of scores might be due to time and memory effects. Leaners' production of metaphorical tactile constructions in the posttest can be interpreted as the result of recently acquired knowledge put into practice; yet, that same active practice carried out a few days after the intervention becomes cognitively more challenging, for it involves more long-term memory, and thus performance is negatively affected.

Further results comparing the two experimental conditions revealed that learners in the COG group showed a higher improvement for both tasks in the two tests after instruction. Results revealed that this latter performed significantly better that the TRAD group in the comprehension task in both the posttest and the delayed posttest. The findings presented here confirm that a cognitive-based pedagogy, if followed by a coherent assessment based on CL-based principles (in agreement with Llopis-García 2021), is a fruitful approach to teaching and learning complex linguistic constructions in relation to emotions.

10.6. Conclusions

The empirical study presented here, lying within a CL approach to teaching and assessing metaphorical tactile constructions in relation to emotion, renders firm evidence in support of a continued exploration of applied CL and metaphor-based methods to L2 teaching and learning. The findings reported are in line with previous research aiming at showing the importance of incorporating metaphor in the language curriculum to raise L2 metaphoric awareness, understanding and production. Students in the cognitive group not only outperformed significantly in interpreting metaphors and producing original metaphors than those in the traditional condition, but they were also superior at both production and comprehension tasks for the target metaphorical constructions –in this latter they were significantly better. Considering the positive results and in agreement with research on L2 metaphor teaching, we can conclude that instilling metaphoric awareness and encouraging learners to generate metaphors enhance not only students' metaphoric competence but also their communicative competence, i.e., comprehension and production of figurative constructions.

Furthermore, this study adds the design and implementation of cognitive-based assessment tests as a novelty, an aspect that had been neglected in applied CL. This, along with motivated and embodied linguistic descriptions, proves to be a successful method for teaching, learning, and assessing complex constructions in the L2. So far, CL research has focused on evaluating students via traditional tasks, regardless of the novel approach to which students were exposed to during the intervention. Traditional tasks are the unremitting companions of learners in regular classroom testing and what students are used to in their everyday instruction. Systemic, motivated, and embodied explanations focusing on image-based form and meaning pairings, however, veer deeply from the more mechanized answer options of traditional tasks. Hence, when assessing the effects of a novel instruction with traditional methods, the cognitive groups never have a fair chance. Further empirical studies providing a larger sample and examining other linguistic constructions could help corroborate our promising findings. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first empirical study that examines the effects of a CL-inspired methodology for both teaching and assessing metaphoric competence and metaphorical tactile constructions, which opens new horizons for research in CL applied to the L2 classroom.

Appendices

Appendices have been uploaded to the following link in *OSF:* https://osf.io/gywbr/?view_only=baa010e05ddd4378958311ca3773a09e

Chapter 11 [Paper 9]

A COGNITIVE MODELING APPROACH ON IRONICAL PHRASEOLOGY IN TWITTER

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

The development and growth of social networks evidence human creativity via the use of figurative language including irony. Recent studies on modeling irony and irony detection in social media have looked at it from a traditional perspective and have focused primarily on developing natural language processing systems, thus ignoring the mental processes the participants experience during ironic speech acts. As a result, irony has been misinterpreted and mixed by the experimental literature with other disparate phenomena, such as jokes, understatements, or banter. On the other hand, scholars from the field of Cognitive Linguistics have studied the cognitive processes operating in the creation of ironic remarks. With regard to this, Ruiz de Mendoza's [9] development of the echoic account focuses on ironic discourse and categorizes verbal irony. Yet, no study to date has explored ironical phraseology in terms of cognitive modeling based on bigdata. This study, therefore, aims to examine how Spanish speakers conceptualize and express irony in Twitter. Results revealed that irony was frequently misconceived and, as a consequence, additional cues such as explicit ironic hashtags prevented readers from interpreting the message literally, especially in explicit-echoic ironic cases. A more frequent interaction between text-hashtag as compared to text-emoji was also evinced for all potentially ironic linguistic signs. It is expected that our findings contribute to research on Spanish as a foreign language (ELE in the native-language acronym) teaching by enhancing the intercultural sensitivity in the learner, as well as to the field of computational linguistics in adding feature types.

11.1. Introduction

According to Ghosh et al. (2015) the development and growth of social webs have enhanced the use of figurative and creative language, including irony. Following this line of reasoning, recent studies on modeling irony and irony detection in social media (Rosenthal, Farra & Nakov, 2017; Van Hee, Lefever & Hoste, 2018) have looked at irony from a traditional perspective, thus conceiving it as a rhetorical device or literary trope that arises from the discrepancy between what the speaker conveys and what is actually the case. Furthermore, studies within the field of computational linguistics that follow machine learning-based approaches to detect irony have focused primarily on developing automatic natural language processing systems[67] rather than on understanding the mental processes the participants experience during an ironic speech act. The notion of cognitive model, which is essential for a proper interpretation of ironic statements, has been thus disregarded. As a result, irony has been related with a range of disparate phenomena, such as hyperbole, jokes, understatements, and banter, for these have been commonly treated as forms of irony in the experimental literature.

Yet, ironic language use is ubiquitous and is part of everyday communication. It is also a highly pervasive aspect of texts in social media, which renders irony-grasping an arduous task due to the lack of face-to-face contact and of other suprasegmental aspects such as vocal intonation. In this line, scholars and theorists from the field of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) have studied ironic speech as a cognitive mechanism displaying socio-pragmatic outcomes (Gibbs & Colston, 2007) and have examined the cognitive processes operating in the creation of ironic remarks (Ruiz de Mendoza & Masegosa, 2014). From a cognitive perspective, understanding the mental mechanisms that underlie irony enhances our comprehension of how we reason and convey our thoughts and beliefs. Besides, since social media is increasingly becoming more "social," irony detection will eventually be a pressing problem: user-generated content is hard to analyze because of the absence of context and lack of paralinguistic cues. On the other hand, most studies on irony have focused their attention on the English language. Still, since Spanish is a language in constant growth and one of the most studied foreign languages with over 21 million learners, efforts must be invested in research on ELE irony teaching. The potential

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[67] Yet, it is not within the puposes of the present study to conduct a fully-automated analysis of irony, for tweets were extracted semi-automatically via linguistic anchors.

socio-cultural component that emerges from irony renders it an efficient tool to enhance ELE learners' intercultural sensitivity, boosting their communicative competence.

The aim of the study is thus to fill in this literature gap by examining ironical segments in terms of cognitive modeling, paying special attention to Phraseological Units (PUs), these latter conceived here as pairings of words or word-groups that are ready-made recurrent units in communication through social media and are stable at the phraseological level. More specifically, we attempt to elucidate how irony is conceptualized and expressed by Spanish-speakers using Twitter in Spanish territory by collecting authentic data and associating text-hashtag and text-emoji in order to understand the complexities of irony and to show ecologically-valid examples to ELE learners. We aim at answering the following research questions:

1. To what extent do Spanish-speaking users of Twitter conceptualize and use Verbal Irony in a proper manner?

2. How is Verbal Irony conveyed, through explicit or non-explicit echo? Are the ironic utterances positive or negative?

3. Is explicit and non-explicit echoic irony mostly hashtag-induced or emoji-induced? And positive and negative utterances?

4. Which Phraseological Units are related to the expression of Verbal Irony? How are they constructed, hashtag or emoji-induced?

11.2. Irony: An Important Communicative Phenomenon

The CL notion of irony departs from the rhetorical view that conceives it as a figure of speech or a literary trope in which speakers utter the opposite of what they intend to convey. This ground-breaking cognitive approach to language contends that irony is a figure of thought and a conceptualization of the world, of how we reason and feel, thus it is part of the everyday language used by ordinary people, like metaphor or metonymy (Barcelona, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In order for irony to fulfil its purposes, the speaker needs to accomplish a series of cognitive operations to have the hearer reconstruct the opposite of the literal meaning and receive the message correctly. These operations can be defined as mental mechanisms used to generate conceptual representations that are articulated linguistically, that is, any conceptual mechanism contributing to the inferential processes that are required to derive a semantic representation out of linguistic signs or

any other non- linguistic element (i.e., emojis, hashtags) so as to make it meaningful in the context in which it is to be interpreted (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2011).

Ruiz de Mendoza's (2011) account of cognitive operations for explaining ironic discourse and analyzing its components aims at unifying inferential pragmatics and cognitive semantics. His cognitive approach complements pragmatic accounts of irony, which focus on meaning effects to the detriment of cognitive mechanisms. In his theory, Ruiz de Mendoza contends that Verbal Irony (hereinafter VI) is the result of mental operations, for both speaker and hearer need background knowledge to create and interpret the ironic utterance. He creates his own development of the echoic account from a cognitivist perspective in which two organizational forms for cognitive operations are distinguished: A IS B and A FOR B. In the case of VI, this adopts the former pattern: A IS B, which involves understanding aspects of concept A in terms of aspects of concept B, and more specifically, it is based on the cognitive operation of echoing in combination with contrasting.
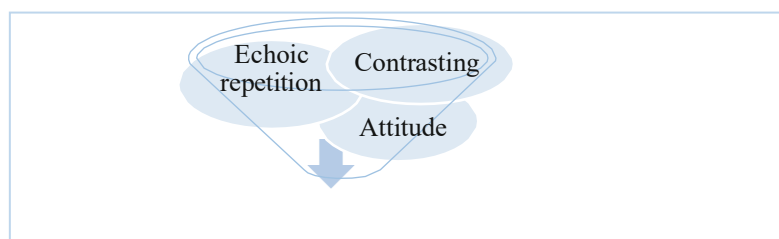
Figure 1. Cognitive operations involved in irony

Echoing consists of repeating someone's thoughts or beliefs –or social stereotypes– and needs another cognitive operation that triggers the ironic effects, which is contrasting. This latter is an operation that involves creating an opposition or clash between an echoed thought and someone's actual or attributed thoughts. Therefore, according to his echoic account, irony consists of an echoed opinion and of a blatant clash between an observed and an echoed scenario, which are integrated in the ironist's mind, suggesting that the situation is the opposite of the described one and adding an attitude (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2011). This echoic use allows speakers to humorously complain about a state of affairs that seemed to be different. The previous utterance or echoed thought clashes and is cancelled out by the speaker's real belief on a matter. Also, this clash displays her skeptical and ironical attitude, directing the hearer's attention to reconstruct the opposite

of the literal meaning (*Vid. Fig.* 1). This latter needs to share with the speaker the same situational model[68] in order to understand the irony. Communication includes not only the information that the writer of a written text aims to convey, but also information about her intention to tell the reader her purpose. In line with this, depending on how the echo is constructed, this echoic account classifies VI into two main types:

1. *Non-explicit-echoic irony*: if the echo is non-explicit, it is easier for the reader to interpret irony, and background information is not needed, for the intention is carried within the linguistic material. In other words, the echo is formed at a linguistic level and the echo itself is the most important element. However, in order for the utterance to be considered ironical, previous context is sometimes required.

> a. *Me encanta ir al cajero y que no funcione* [I love going to withdraw money and finding a broken ATM]

Example[69] *a.* constitutes an ironic statement where the reader is required to derive an implication: by uttering "Me encanta ir al cajero," it is understood that what comes next will be something positive. The irony here relies on the contrast which arises when the reader processes the remaining fragment. That is, the echo is put to work as soon as the reader processes the observable scenario or context, which is the opposite of what anyone, by world knowledge, would want: an ATM that works. At this exact point, a contradiction is produced and the ironical effects emerge. The echo cancels the implicated meaning and that contrast between the echoed scenario and the real scenario has irony emerge. Depending on the degree of irony detectability, the ironist might use non-linguistic signs to emphasize the echo.

2. *Explicit-echoic irony*: when the echo is explicit, there might be some sort of misunderstanding between the two participants, for the reader might take the writer's words literally. In that case, contextual cues are needed to understand the irony and for communication to be successful. Hence, the use of linguistic signaling (non- linguistic signs such as hashtags and emojis, or ironical PUs) social webs like Twitter gives clues to readers to detect the writer's ironical attitude.

> b. *Qué bien canta Lady Gaga #ironía* [I love Lady Gaga's singing #irony]
>
> c. Adoro la primavera, claro que sí 😴 [I love springtime, oh, yeah 😴]

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[68] A situational model offers all the stored information in relation to a specific situation.

[69] Examples *a-c* are made-up utterances created for clarity and explanatory matters.

In example *b*., we need to think of a twitter user who either thought or heard someone saying that Lady Gaga was a good singer, but then a video came out in which she was out of tune. A stands for the real state of affairs (the singer being off pitch), which contradicts a previous thought by the speaker or someone else. B, by echoing that prior thought, presents the situation as the opposite, showing the user's ironical or skeptical attitude. For both examples (*b*., *c*.) the reader first processes the utterance without the observable scenario and is required to derive an implication: if speaker likes (2) how Lady Gaga sings and springtime, that implies a positive emotion. Furthermore, the conventional series of events (situational models) allow the reader to adjust the conceptual representation to reality, which may vary across cultures, but in this case denotes positive scenarios (Lady Gaga is a renowned singer and springtime is related to love, blossom and animals awaking). Still, since these are instances of explicit-echoic irony, the utterance itself is not sufficient for readers to perceive it, and additional information is thus needed.

Normally, VI is reinforced by suprasegmental features, such as stress, intonation, and facial expressions. Attardo et al. (2003) propose these latter as markers of irony and sarcasm. In written text, however, these suprasegmental non-verbal cues normally present in face-to-face communication are not feasible to be analyzed. Hence the relevance of analyzing the linguistic signs (PU: *claro que sí*) along with non-linguistic signs, such as hashtags and emojis (#ironía, 😏) to evoke a metonymic frame via a lexical unit whose polarity is incoherent with the speech event scenario. Among such linguistic signs, certain PUs become crucial for the writer to convey irony and for the reader to elucidate the ironic intention underlying the utterance. Hence, in the case of the above-mentioned explicit-echoic utterances, PUs such as *qué bien* + #ironía and *claro que sí* + 😏 are used to express irony. Regarding non-explicit-echoic irony (*a*.), since the echo is constructed at a linguistic level, the use of hashtags and/or emojis is not strictly required; yet we can identify potential PUs denoting irony, e.g., *me encanta* (experiencer + verb). In all cases, when readers process the whole utterance, they realize that the linguistic signs have been manipulated and it is that new information contrasted by the previous one what modifies the reader's knowledge. Hence, the relevance of PUs as powerful linguistic signs to express irony in written text.

11.3. Twitter: A Data Genre for Irony Detection

In examining irony in Spanish, many difficulties might arise when we look at standard linguistic corpora (i.e., CREA, CORPES, CORDE), for VI is constrained by context and culture. Such a limitation highlights the need of computerized tools capable of supplying a large database of irony, which, in turn, are able to identify the location and the speaking community producing those ironic utterances. In this line, Twitter, for it is easily accessible and constitutes a big sample of data, becomes a potential source and a fast instrument to come across potential ironic tweets by looking at hashtags that tend to coappear with VI. Furthermore, irony is part of everyday language and is mostly conveyed in informal dialogue types. In this sense, Twitter, as the world-wide social web by excellence to express one's beliefs and thoughts in an informal way, becomes an online mine for irony data. It constitutes, furthermore, a bridge data genre between spoken and written language, with the advantages of interacting, being informal, adding emotional context from the former and with the offline characteristics from the latter.

Previous research on the processing of semantic and pragmatic content of emojis have succeed at showing that emoji-generated irony is processed in a similar manner to word-generated irony (Weissman & Tanner, 2018). These can be related and automatically annotated to later be manually selected in order to obtain potential instances of VI. This last procedure, where linguists intervene, is a vital step of data triangulation to gather valid ironic utterances. Yet, to our knowledge, this final phase has been so far neglected by the literature targeting at irony detection in social media.

11.4. Methodology

The methodological approach followed for this study responded to a cognitive approach to ironical phraseology and was based on the analysis of authentic data collected from social media, more specifically from Twitter. Our instrument of analysis[70] (Maroto, 2018, 2019) was designed so as to retrieve information through computational elements to analyze a large and non-biased sample, since, contrary to other means of data collection (i.e., surveys, interviews, observation), the subjects here were not aware of their tweets being analyzed. The corpus was based on a specific application that retrieved from this social platform all tweets in real time and distributed them according to certain criteria, such as user, body text, date, language, and geographic coordinates. The dataset consisted

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[70] Research tool implemented in previous studies of bigdata applied to the field of politics and music impact.

of a total of 419,137,014 tweets[71] from 248 countries and 64 different languages written within a period of 113 days.[72] The corpus was built retrieving 1,793 tweets from Spanish-speaking users in the Spanish territory. The sample was considerably reduced since it automatically annotated those using the "irony" hashtag as information source. This feature type, previously targeted in studies on irony detection in English (Van Hee, Lefever & Hoste, 2018) was extended to the word *ironía* in its different forms (singular and plural, with and without the accent, with and without hashtag). This information source allowed us to retrieve those tweets where users explicitly showed their ironic attitude, but also a sample of non-ironic ones.

Subsequently, data were manually analyzed and codified to identify real ironical utterances and gain a deeper understanding of how irony is conveyed at a written linguistic level. This manual annotation was carried out by two experts and a non-linguistic connoisseur as means of data triangulation to increase the validity of the sample. Hence, corpora analysis departed from a mixed paradigm for our research was of an exploratory-quantitative-interpretative nature. Only tweets presenting an echo that involved a contrast with reality and revealed the ironist's attitude were selected. Furthermore, the already-filtered sample was further categorized into explicit and non-explicit echoic irony, as well as classified into positive or negative emotion utterances. Since echoing implies repeating someone's words or thoughts, that is, context is frequently necessary to have VI, one important aspect that our tool of analysis had incorporated was the option to have access to the timeline for each tweet. All instances of VI were also examined looking at the contrast between elements within each utterance: text-hashtag and text-emoji. We considered these combinations as PUs instances of hashtag-or-emoji-induced irony.

11.5. Results and Discussion

11.5.1. To What Extent Do Spanish-Speaking Users of Twitter Conceptualize and Use Verbal Irony in a Proper Manner?

From a total of 1,793 tweets written in Spain by Spanish-speakers, only 448 were retrieved and considered as instances of VI after manual codification (*Vid. Fig.* 2). The

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[71] This result is derived from calculating an average of 50 tweets PS, which becomes 4,320,000 tweets QD.
[72] The dataset was created from tweets from 13 February to 6 June, 2017.

remaining sample (*n* = 1,348) were not instances of ironic utterances and were not thus considered for further analyses. Yet, the discarded tweets allowed us to gain a deeper understanding of how VI is frequently misused and misconceived. Examples *d.-f.* below evidence the users' wrong perception of irony (normally attributed to the traditional view of irony as a literary trope), for it is understood as opposed to the truth. This clashes with the cognitive perspective which contends that ironists always convey a true message, and it is the shared knowledge and the upcoming contrast what have irony arise. This wrong perception extends to how some users conceive irony as something you can *do*: *hacer ironía [do irony]* meaning *to be funny* or *to be kidding* (examples *g.* and *h.* below).

> d. La ironía, esa verdad poliédrica *[irony, a multifaceted reality]*
> e. No es ironía, es la realidad *[it's not irony, it's reality]*
> f. Se nota la ironía, aprende a mentir *[you can tell the irony, learn how to lie]*
> g. (…) Me ha hecho ironía *[it was funny]*
> h. Estaba haciendo ironía *[I was kidding]*
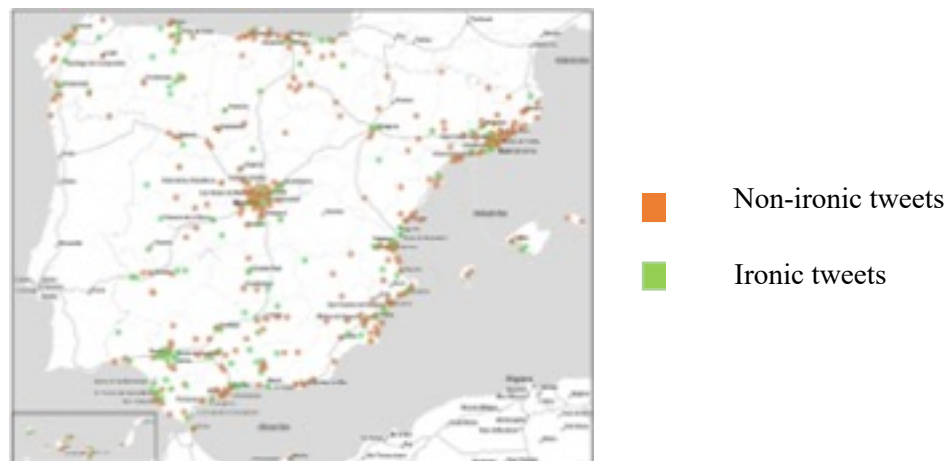
Figure 2. Map of total tweets manually codified

In line with this, a wide range of comments explicitly evinced how users find it a rather arduous task to express ironical tweets and how they even reflect on the use of linguistic markers, such as emojis, interjections or *ironía on* and *off*, for clarification (examples *i.* and *j.* below). In this respect, some texts followed by emojis, which would normally be derived as ironic utterances, might not be interpreted as so by the literally-

minded. In such cases, the presence of the hashtag might be necessary to transmit the intended message. Furthermore, not all utterances including the word "irony" were ironic (i.e., instances of *ironía off*), so they were not contemplated for later analyses. Another common pattern that we found was a list of Situational Irony tweets; however, since it departed from the focus of our study, it was casted off (*k.* below). This, along with the above-mentioned cases and the fact that occasionally it was not possible to access the timeline because of suspended twitter accounts, resulted in a final database of 445 tweets. Still, the sample was large enough to illustrate the characteristics of explicit and non-explicit echoic irony, as well as to do a typology of the PUs that highlight the ironic nature of a message. Besides, the non-ironic tweets helped us gain a better understanding of how irony is conceptualized in Twitter by Spanish-speakers.

> i. *Voy a tenerle que poner a todas las ironías un* 😂 *detrás porque si no no se entienden [I will need to write* 😂 *after using irony, because my messages are not coming across]*
>
> j. *El wao es para de alguna forma dar a entender que es 100% ironía [The "wow" is to show somehow that it's irony 100%]*
>
> k. *Que el autobús homófobo de Hazte Oír pierda aceite[73] es una gran ironía de la vida [The homophobic bus from Hazte Oír leaking oil is irony of life]*

11.5.2. How Is Verbal Irony Conveyed, Through Explicit or Non-explicit Echo? Are the Ironic Utterances Positive or Negative?

A final corpus of 448 tweets served as a basis for our analysis on VI. In an attempt to understand how users of Twitter use irony, the sample was divided into explicit-echoic irony and non-explicit-echoic irony (see examples *l.* and *m.* below). Results (*Vid. Fig*. 3) indicated a predilection for the former type (*n* = 275), this suggesting that irony is mostly produced when the echo is explicit, which would explain why irony is perceived as obscure and unclear in Twitter, for explicit-echoic irony does not construct the echo at a linguistic level and readers might fail to grasp it. Regarding ironic utterances where the echo itself was the core element (non-explicit-echoic irony), a smaller size of examples was found (*n* = 173). Because previous context plays an important role in identifying this

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[73] The expression *perder aceite* [*to leak oil*] is a metaphorical one in Spanish meaning *to be homosexual.*

type of irony, the fact that we could not access to all timelines might have biased this result. Yet, we observed a tendency to conciseness and straight-forwardness in ironic utterances where the echo was explicit, and since Twitter is a place for brief thoughts, users would most probably be declined for an explicit-echoic use of irony.

l. Non-explicit: *Otro peligroso fascista que defiende la libertad de expresión (ironía)[Another dangerous fascist defending freedom of speech (irony)]*

m. Explicit*: Otro rojo peligroso (#ironía) [Another dangerous red (#irony)]*
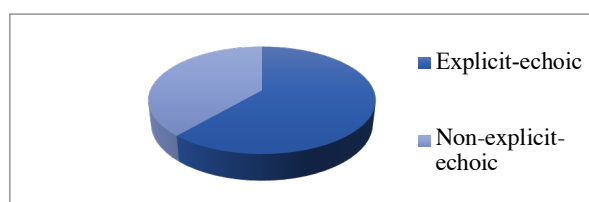
Figure 3. Explicit and non-explicit-echoic irony tweets

With regard to positive and negative utterances, we looked only at the linguistic sign (*n*. below) in the case of explicit-echoic irony, and for non-explicit-echoic irony (*o*. below) we analyzed the first section of the utterance, that is, the part that the reader is required to process first. When the ironist wrote a tweet and the utterance contained positive words or carried out an optimistic or pessimistic message at the beginning and then there was a polarity or emotional change caused by either hashtags, emojis or the continuation of the utterance, that clash indicated that it was indeed ironic. Whether irony was made through positive or negative phrases, it described the opposite psy- chological process.

n. Qué vida más guay tenngoooo #ironía [what a niceee life #irony] (positive andexplicit)

o. *Qué malo es esto de ir a formarse (modo ironía on) [how bad it is to get aneducation -irony on]* (negative and non-explicit)

p. *Feminismo en estado puro (ironía)* 😂 *[Feminism in its pure state (irony)* 😂*]*

As a result, positive utterances denoted the ironist's negative attitude on the matter and negative ones were used to convey positive thoughts. This semantic incoherence and changes in emotional scenarios have been used in computational linguistics as a feature or information source to detect irony in English (Rosenthal, Farra & Nakov, 2017). Results from our analysis indicated that Spanish-speaking users of Twitter tended to

significantly use positive utterances ($n = 138$) in comparison to negative ones ($n = 42$), which led us to deduce that irony is mostly used for conveying negative attitudes rather than positive emotions. This could be explained by the fact that in our culture complaining about something meaning that you are not happy with it or that you do not agree in a straight-forward and direct manner is not that common or well accepted in social media. Furthermore, only those tweets that were clear examples of positive or negative scenarios were selected and, as a result, utterances not incorporating ironic linguistic signs showing positive or negative emotions were excluded ($n = 265$) (see example *p*.).
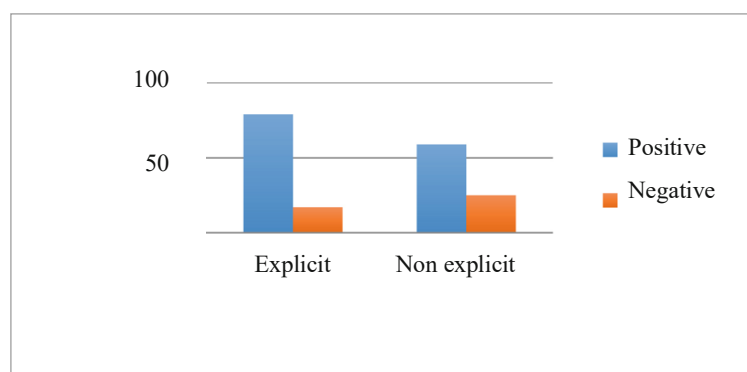
Figure 4. Relation between echoic types of VI and positive/negative linguistic signs

Considering all these variables together, we wanted to explore whether there was a difference in the use of positive or negative utterances depending on the echoic type (*Vid. Fig.* 4). As for explicit-echoic irony, a significantly higher amount of positive linguistic expressions was found ($n = 79$) in comparison to negative ones ($n = 17$). Similarly, users expressing irony in a non-explicit-echoic manner used more positive utterances to convey negative attitudes ($n = 59$) in comparison to negative linguistic expressions ($n = 25$). The analysis also yielded a worth-mentioning finding that sheds light on the echoic typology of irony, for results showed a tendency towards higher uses of negative utterances in non-explicit-echoic irony ($n = 25$) compared to ironical instances where the echo was explicit, that is, not formed at a linguistic level. This finding is in agreement with our previous results and seems to suggest that when the echo is present within the utterance, normally in longer and more obscure tweets, the linguistic markers employed by the ironist tend to be negative.

11.5.3. Is Explicit and Non-explicit Echoic Irony Mostly Hashtag-Induced or Emoji-Induced? and Positive and Negative Utterances?

Our next analysis aimed at examining whether each of the previously-explored values —explicit-echoic and non-explicit echoic irony, and positive and negative utterances— were constructed by tagging the message with the hashtag *#ironía* (and its variants) or with emojis, in order to understand which non-linguistic signs interact the most along with potential ironic texts. Findings from a qualitative analysis evidenced the importance of adding extra-elements, especially when there was explicit-echoic irony. Figure 5 shows how the use of either an emoji or hashtag would have allowed the reader to interpret *reciente* [*recently*] as ironic, with no need for ironic clarification: *que iba con ironía [it was ironic]*.

Figure 5. Line of tweets displaying lack of irony perception

Results from a quantitative analysis of the total number of ironic tweets showed a major use of hashtag utterances (*n* = 499) in comparison to emoji-generated ironic ones (*n* = 129). These findings can be interpreted as users having a preference to be clear about their tweet being ironical, for as previously discussed, ironical attitudes frequently remain just intentionally ironical in social media, but not linguistically or tend to fail to be grasped by obtuse addressees. A higher use of hashtags might also be related to users' will to increase their reach, as it is easier to have a tweet liked or retweeted when using a

hashtag. Furthermore, this finding was found to be mirrored in each subcategory of irony (*Vid. Table* 1). Hence, explicit-echoic irony was mostly produced with hashtags (*n* = 216; 78,54%) as compared to utterances using emojis (*n* = 59; 21,45%); non-explicit-echoic irony also showed more instances of hashtag ironic utterances (*n* = 140; 80,92% vs *n* = 33; 19, 07%); similarly, positive utterances were found to be more hashtag-induced (*n* = 112; 81,15%) than emoji-induced (*n* = 26; 18,84%); and finally, negative utterances also evinced more hashtags (*n* = 31) than emojis (*n* = 11) to form irony, but the difference was found to be smaller (73,8% vs 26,19%).

Table 1. Emoji vs hashtag in %

Type	Hashtag	Emoji
Explicit-echoic	78,54%	21,45%
Non-explicit-echoic	80,92%	19, 07%
Positive	81,15%	18,84%
Negative	73,8%	26,19%

With regard to the findings for explicit-echoic irony, since the echo is explicit there is a high probability that the reader interprets the words literally. In this case, cues such as hashtags, which were found to be the generally-preferred markers to highlight irony in Twitter, were also significantly higher for this subtype. As for non-explicit irony, these results corroborated our hypothesis that since echo is the most relevant element and it is observed at a linguistic level, the "text" itself could be sufficient to grasp irony and thus peripheral elements such as emojis or the hashtag would not be so prevalent.

11.5.4. Which Phraseological Units Are Related to the Expression of Verbal Irony? How Are They Constructed, Hashtag or Emoji-Induced?

The last research question examined the different cues within the text, that is, the expressions or linguistic markers that are productive in conveying ironic implicatures. A qualitative analysis of the selected data (*n* = 448) was conducted so as to understand how irony is created linguistically. All tweets containing VI were explored paying attention to the contrast between elements in each utterance: text-hashtag and text- emoji. Apart from these latter, we also found a large list of PUs within the "text" regardless of them being part of a larger PU (see example *q.* below).

q. <u>*Claro que sí* #ironía *[yeah, sure #irony]*</u>

     PU

_____

Text + hashtag= PU

A classification of the different expressions potentially conveying irony was first done by looking at the utterance and disregarding the non-linguistic signs (hashtag and emoji). Thus, tweets were first codified and categorized by subject or theme on which they had the irony constructed. Three main categories were identified: users' emotional status, politics (including the inter-governmental conflicts between Spain and Catalonia as a major subtopic) and football. Results from a quantitative analysis (*Vid. Fig*. 5) showed that irony was mostly used when tackling emotions and feelings, and there was a significant tendency to mark this type of tweets through hashtags (n = 247) compared to emojis (*n* = 33). Politics, particularly comments on the actions undertaken by the four main parties and on the Catalan independence movement, was the second most discussed topic, with 72 ironic tweets formed by text-hashtag and only 9 with emojis. The last big topic of ironic use in Twitter was football, which, contrary to the other two subjects, was found to build up the irony using more emojis than hashtags (*n* = 27 vs *n* = 20). This could be explained according to our previous results on hashtag and emoji-generated irony, for this latter seems to be more obscure. Because football is more of an informal topic compared to politics or expressing one's feelings, users might not mind being ambiguous. We included as "other" a list of tweets targeting at a wide variety of topics, including TV programs, such as Big Brother, or the weather.
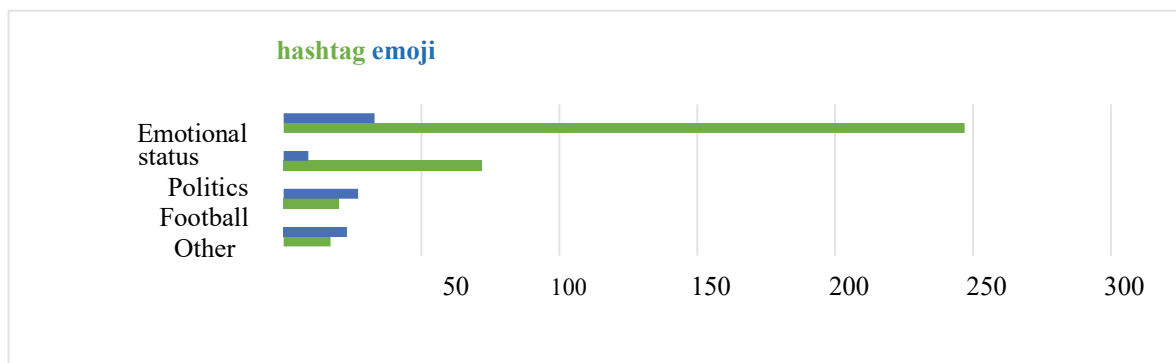
Figure 6. Topics related to hashtag or emoji-induced irony

A second categorization was done looking first at the type of "text" and second at each possible combination: text-hashtag and text-emoji. Regarding the text, the linguistic signs were classified into two main categories: (1) features closer to orality, for they could potentially evoke distinctive tones or stress, or even inform of bodily and facial expressions, and (2) features common to written text not displaying any non- verbal direct inference. With regard to the first set of features, after codification, six subcategories were identified:

– Interjections (*oh, eh, uh; ¡anda! [come on!], viva [hurrah!], enhorabuena [con-gratulations!], gracias [thanks], vaya [okay]; PUs: vaya + noun [what a + noun], menos mal [thank god], qué va [no way]*);
– Punctuation marks (quotation marks, ellipses, exclamation marks, interrogation marks);
– Vowel enlargement (*maravilloooooso [amaaazing]*)*;*
– Uppercases (*VAMOS [COME ON]*);
– Derivational suffixes: diminutive (i.e., [*cosilla little thing]*), augmentative (i.e., *queridísima [dearest]*) and pejorative (i.e., *sueldazo [fat salary]*);
– Laughter typing (*jaja [haha], jeje [hehe], jiji [hihi], jojo [hoho]*).

Results from a quantitative analysis of each subcategory indicated that uppercases and punctuation marks were the features that correlated the strongest with irony formation, with a total of 334 ironic tweets using hashtag and only 45 using emojis, for uppercases (*Vid. Fig.* 6), and 201 tweets with hashtag and 42 with emoji for punctuation marks. These were followed by the use of interjections (especially the PU *vaya + noun*) along with hashtags ($n = 67$) and emojis ($n = 11$). Laughter typing accounted for a total of 29 hashtag-generated ironic utterances compared to a smaller size containing emojis ($n = 6$). Fewer instances of irony formed through vowel enlargement and derivational suffixes were found (22 and 14 respectively along with hashtag, and 7 and 1 respectively for emojis), yet they were still clear examples of segmental features that influenced suprasegmental ones such as the stress of the word and intonation of the sentence, thus reinforcing the ironic nature of the utterance (*Vid. Fig.* 7).
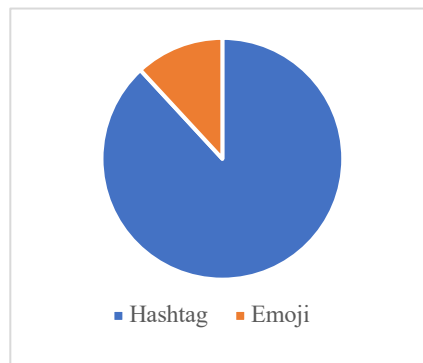
Figure 7. Hashtag vs Emoji with uppercases

Moving now to the second category, which was formed by a diverse variety of PUs, we identified five subcategories: (1) fixed expressions of approval (i.e., *claro que sí [yeah sure]*), (2) collocations with qualitative adjectives (adj + noun: *dramática muerte [drastic death]* or noun + adj: *error garrafal [terrible mistake]*), (3) intensifiers in the form of collocations (adv + adj/adv: *tan divertido [so funny]* or *mazo guay [super cool]/tan bien [so good]* or *qué pena [what a shame]*; det +noun: *qué año [what a year]*, (4) psych-verbs (experiencer + verb + stimulus: *me encantan los lunes [I love Mondays]*)*, and last but not least (5) expressions with metaphorical and metonymic mappings used in everyday language (*el próximo sábado culés y leones como un solo hombre [next Saturday culés and leones as one man]*; (…) *son los más honrados de la galaxia [they are the most honored ones in the galaxy]*, as an example of metaphoric hyperbole).

A quantitative analysis of these linguistic expressions yielded similar results to the ones obtained for features connected to orality with regard to the use of hashtag or emojis to form irony. Hence, each subcategory of the five above-mentioned showed greater co-occurrences of text-hashtag as compared to those of text-emoji. Table 2 shows the number of expressions used along with either hashtag or emojis to generate irony. In the case of approval fixed expressions, 12 linguistic expressions were found to appear with hashtags and 3 were emoji-induced. Regarding collocations composed by noun + qualitative adjectives, these also evinced greater connections to hashtags than to emojis (20 and 5, respectively). PUs containing intensifiers were by far the most used expressions, also showing significantly higher co-occurrences with hashtags than with emojis (115 and 9). Also PUs where the nucleus was a psych-verbs and PUs with metaphorical or metonymic mappings were found to coappear with hashtags more frequently than with emojis

(hashtags, 39 and 17 respectively; emojis, 14 and 2). This common pattern observed for these two categories leads us to infer that even though the linguistic cues are considered as markers of irony, they are still missing suprasegmental cues present in face-to-face communication. As a result, for clarification matters, they mostly incorporate the hashtag in order for readers to not miss on no account the writer's ironic attitude.

Table 2. Hashtag vs Emoji interacting with PUs

Type	Hashtag	Emoji
Fixed expressions of approval	12	3
Qualitative adjectives collocations	20	5
PUs with intensi*fi*ers	115	9
PUs with psych-verbs	39	14
PUs with metaphorical and metonymic mappings	17	2

11.6. Conclusions

The findings in the present study have contributed to gain a better understanding of how Spanish-speakers conceptualize and express linguistically irony in one of the most-used social platforms nowadays. Results suggest that VI tends to be misused and misconceived by Twitter users and, thus, adding external non-linguistic signs, such as hashtags, indicating that the statement is ironical averts misunderstandings, especially in explicit-echoic ironic cases. When users made use of irony in an efficient manner, a higher use of both explicit-echoic irony and positive linguistic expressions was found to the detriment of non-explicit-echoic and negative tweets. In the same vein, a major co-occurrence between text-hashtag as compared to text-emoji was evinced for all potentially ironic linguistic signs (uppercases, PUs in interjections, etc.). Results also underline the main topics to which users recur for irony, being these the user's emotional state, politics and football.

This is the first study to our knowledge which has investigated ironical phraseology in terms of cognitive modeling based on the analysis of a big dataset that departed from near 5 million tweets from 64 different languages. Narrowing our sample down, data were collected from Spanish-speaking users of Twitter who used it to convey ironical attitudes in Spanish territory within a period of four months. This authentic corpus of ironic statements that reveals how irony is formed linguistically through PUs becomes then an ecologically-valid and useful pedagogic tool in the ELE classroom. Because VI is expressed differently across languages, it is fundamental to teach potentially ironic PUs

at early stages of acquisition in order for the student to acquire these as indivisible units that express a single notion. Likewise, the teaching of irony can enhance the development of intercultural sensitivity in the learner, resulting in this latter being closer to become a social-agent and an intercultural and autonomous speaker in the foreign language. We expect these results to not only have implications within the field of didactics in ELE, but to also contribute to the area of computational linguistics in the categorization of feature types by incorporating information from the explicit and non- explicit-echoic typology, as well as from the PUs categorization presented in this study.

Chapter 12 [Paper 10]

IRONY IN AMERICAN-ENGLISH TWEETS. A COGNITIVE AND PHRASEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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Pre-accepted in John Benjamins

Abstract

The present study examines verbal irony from a cognitive linguistics perspective, based on Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) development of the echoic account and on bigdata. Built on previous research on the detection of Spanish ironic utterances in Twitter (Martín-Gascón, 2019), the investigation aims to analyze how American-English speakers conceptualize and express irony and compares findings to the Spanish ones. The corpus was based on an application retrieving tweets in real time and disseminating them according to specific criteria. The dataset initially consisting of 1,157,773,379 tweets from 248 countries and 66 languages within a period of 119 days was first reduced to 27,517 tweets from English-speaking users in the United States using the words "irony", "ironies", and "ironic", then to 605 containing the words as hashtag and finally to 495 tweets evincing implicit and explicit-echoic irony. An in-depth cognitive and qualitative analysis of the sample revealed the complexities of perceiving irony in written discourse and, therefore, the relevance of adding contextual ironic markers, such as hashtags, emojis, interjections, laughter typing, and ironical phraseology, among others. In line with Martín-Gascón's (2019) study, findings showed a higher use of positive and explicit-echoic irony to the detriment of implicit and negative irony. By drawing attention to the similarities and differences in the expression of irony, we expect to offer preliminary informed options for the design of pedagogical proposals that enhance not only learners' linguistic competence, but also their intercultural awareness.

12.1. Introduction

Examining how humans express themselves in social networks has been a significant focus of study for several disciplines in recent years, due to its unlimited potential for research. From machine translation studies (e.g., Monti et al., 2018; Baquero & Mitkov, 2017) to natural language processing (understanding, generation and acquisition) studies (e.g., Chowdhary, 2020; Farzindar & Inkpen, 2015; Young et al., 2018), scholars have focused on preserving semantics while reaching near-optimal levels of fluency as well as on developing methods and algorithms to extract information from large sets of data from multiple sources and languages. In this line, ironic language use is highly pervasive in everyday communication, especially in written texts in social media platforms such as Twitter. Yet, this form of communication renders irony-grasping a relatively daunting mission, for there is a lack of direct visual contact as well as of suprasegmental aspects, such as pitch (Attardo et al., 2003), tone (Attardo, 2000a), or prosodic changes (Bryant, 2010), which are well-defined indicators of ironic speech. As a result, interest has grown in detecting ironic utterances and avoiding misinterpreting irony as literal discourse.

Previous studies on irony modeling and detection in online social networks (Jia et al., 2019; Rosenthal, Farra & Nakov, 2017; Van Hee et al., 2018, to name but a few) have examined irony from a traditional perspective aiming essentially at the development of natural language processing systems. These investigations have focused on the impact of irony on natural language processing areas associated with sentiment analysis, as irony detection is necessary to recognize the expression of sentiment, affective stances and emotions in texts. At a cognitive and pragmatic level, the understanding and expression of irony and sarcasm (a variant of irony) have been explored by different scholars. Giora et al. (2013), for instance, conducted four experiments and two corpus-based studies and their findings showed that ironic utterances convey higher figurative interpretation when the negated concepts have a positive literal meaning (e.g., *supportive*) as opposed to when they have a negative meaning (e.g., *depressing*).

Still, the tendency has been both to disregard the cognitive processes experienced by participants during an ironic speech act and to mix verbal irony with other presumably related phenomena like understatement, banter or hyperbole.[74] In this regard, accounts of

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[74] Researchers such as Colston (1997) or Gibbs (2007) conceive overstatement and understatement as varieties of irony. This simplification of terminology has also been adopted by Walton (2017) who sees hyperbole as an alternative label for overstatement. Ruiz de Mendoza (2020, p. 33) establishes three main divisions in attitudinal figures of speech: those conveying parametrizable dissociation (e.g., irony), those

verbal irony in cognitive linguistics have concentrated their efforts on the mental processes that operate when speakers produce ironic remarks (Gibbs & Colston, 2012; Ruiz de Mendoza & Lozano-Palacio, 2019a, 2019b). These accounts conceive irony as a figure of thought rather than a mere literary trope. Hence, studying irony from this cognitive perspective can help enhance our understanding of how we reason and express linguistically our beliefs and emotions. In addition, automatically annotating and manually selecting potential ironic statements from a cognitive-based perspective can contribute to fine-grained irony detection.

Yet, to our knowledge, there is no study to date that looks at ironical utterances in English which is based on cognitive modeling and bigdata. The present investigation, built on earlier research on the detection of Spanish ironical phraseology in Twitter from a cognitive perspective (Martín-Gascón, 2019), offers an in-depth cognitive and qualitative analysis of tweets aiming to examine how American-English users conceptualize and convey irony in Twitter in comparison with the Spanish users in the prior study. In other words, we attempt to elucidate English speakers' mental and linguistic and non-linguistic representations when recurring to irony. Among the various representations, we will pay special attention to phraseological units, which, in line with authors in the field of phraseology, serve as an umbrella term (Corpas Pastor, 2013a) to refer to ready-made recurrent units of two or more lexical elements (e.g., collocations, idiomatic expressions) and which are cognitively salient among languages (Corpas Pastor, 1996, 2003, 2013b; Naciscione, 2010). Furthermore, we aim to enhance the linguistic competence and cultural sensitivity in learners who have either English or Spanish as a second language and whose first language is Spanish (in the case of the former) or English (in the case of the latter).[75] The research questions (RQs) that guided the analysis were as follows:

(RQ1) Do English-speaking users of Twitter conceptualize and use verbal irony appropriately?

(RQ2) How is irony conveyed, through explicit or non-explicit echo? Are the ironic statements positive or negative?

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maximizing emotional impact (e.g., hyperbole), and those minimizing emotional impact (e.g., understatement). These two latter use the same type of reasoning process and the attitudinal effects result from how the source domain is constructed (upscaling/downscaling), whereas in irony, the attitude is revealed through an implicature that arises from the contrast between the echoed and observable scenarios.
[75] A follow-up classroom implementation has been carried out recently by the researcher at Columbia University (NY), with English learners of Spanish as a second language.

(RQ3) Do English and Spanish-speaking users conceptualize and express irony in a similar manner? Or does it differ cross-linguistically?

(RQ4) Do English and Spanish-speaking users ironize about the same topics?

To answer these research questions, in what follows, further detail about verbal irony within the context of Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) account of cognitive operations for explaining ironic discourse is provided (Section 12.2.1). The complexities of irony detection are then discussed (Section 12.2.2). Subsequently, the methodological tools and techniques used for this investigation are outlined (Section 12.3). After presenting and discussing the results for each research question (Sections 12.4.1-12.4.4), we summarize the main findings and briefly discuss their implications in terms of linguistic and intercultural competence at a second language instructional environment (Section 12.5).

12.2. Theoretical background

12.2.1. Verbal irony: an understudied figure of speech

From a cognitive linguistics perspective, figures of speech are seen as grounded in a variety of cognitive operations, that is, in mental activities leading to identifiable effects in terms of how the brain reacts to our interactions with the world (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2020).[76] These operations can range from correlating experiences and finding similarities between concepts (metaphors) or expanding/reducing the scope of a concept (metonymy), to contrasting concepts and enabling clash detection (irony). In line with this, irony, as a basic figure of speech, like metaphor or metonymy, is self-standing in terms of its conceptual structure and meaning effects, i.e., these two (conceptual structure and meaning effects) cannot be elucidated in terms of other figures (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2020). This notion of verbal irony departs from the rhetorical view that conceives it as a literary trope in which a speaker expresses the opposite of what she intends to convey. Basic figures of speech, such as metaphor or metonymy, have for long been examined by cognitive linguists to the detriment of other figures, such as irony (e.g., Barcelona, 2000, 2011; Dirven, 1993; Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Panther & Radden, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2014). The study of irony has, thus, been relatively neglected in cognitive linguistics, and attention to this figure of speech has only been given recently.

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[76] See Ruiz de Mendoza (2020) for a study of a broad range of figures of speech in terms of their dependency relations and organization patterns.

The last two decades have witnessed a growing proliferation of studies looking at the elements of the ironic act from different perspectives. Research focusing on different approaches, from theoretical to corpus-based or psycholinguistic and empirical experimentation, has contributed to gaining deeper insights into how verbal irony is constructed. Studies within the framework of the Defaultness Hypothesis (Becker & Giora, 2018; Giora & Becker, 2019; Giora et al., 2013; Giora et al., 2015) empirically evidenced that the default (spontaneous) interpretation of negative utterances is sarcastic, and the nondefault (context-dependent) interpretation is literal, whereas in affirmative utterances it is the opposite, i.e., the default is literal, and the nondefault is sarcastic. Converging corpus-based support for the Defaultness Hypothesis was provided in Becker and Giora's (2018) study. The researchers found that speakers from their analyzed corpus of spoken Israeli Hebrew were sensitive to the defaultness of negative sarcasm, which was made noticeable when implicitly refraining from embedding negative constructions in weak syntactic positions; when muting the sarcastically intended negative utterances by mitigating cues (e.g., *to put it mildly*); and when dismissing as unintended the sarcastic (default) interpretation in favor of explicitly prompted a nondefault (literal) counterpart.[77]

In cognitive linguistics, the study of verbal irony first awakened the interest of scholars researching within Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) Blending Theory framework (e.g., Coulson, 2005; Tobin & Israel, 2012) and has more recently been studied by Ruiz de Mendoza and colleagues. Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) account of cognitive operations for explaining ironic discourse builds on the scenario-based approach to irony. In his approach, ironic meaning is seen as meaning inference that can be contextually adjustable and results from a blatant clash between an echoed and an observable scenario, which are mutually exclusive and are integrated in the ironist's mind. It is the clash between the two scenarios what gives rise to an attitudinal element. Furthermore, Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano-Palacios' (2019c) proposal, based on a cognitive-linguistic view of irony, aims to merge the echoic and pretense accounts offering a unifying framework. Their hybrid theory combines the idea that ironic meaning results from echoing a statement or a thought that is contradicted by the real scenario and followed by a skeptical and ironical attitude (Wilson & Sperber, 2012) and the view that ironic meaning is the result of a

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[77] Variables considered in these psycholinguistic experiments can also be interpreted from the perspective of a scenario-based unified approach (see Ruiz de Mendoza 2017, 2019; Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano-Palacios, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c).

pretense attitude that the hearer or reader is expected to unveil (Herbert & Gerrig, 2007).[78] An illustrative example could be the one that follows:[79]

(1) I love springtime, oh, yeah!

Imagine that speaker (1) suffers from allergies and expresses this utterance after having been sneezing the whole day. In line with Relevance Theory (e.g., Sperber, 1984; Sperber & Wilson, 1981, 1998; Wilson, 2006, 2013; Wilson & Sperber, 2012), the allergy sufferer echoes what she would have said if the scenario was optimal, and the echo is linked to an ironic attitude. Following the pretense account, this statement is produced by the speaker in order for hearers to understand that she does not see the scenario as favorable and to show them her attitude in such a situation (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2020). In this respect, Alba-Juez and Attardo (2014) establish a distinction between the evaluative attitude towards an object of discourse and the evaluative attitude towards the participants involved in the discourse exchange. Agreement adverbs such as *oh, yeah* have been treated as indices of irony by Attardo (2000b) and as complementary ironic resources strengthening the echo by Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano-Palacios (2019b). These two authors claim that, if treated as echoic markers, their efficacy lies in that these markers are used to convey the pretended agreement intrinsic to irony. If this utterance is to be found in written form, additional contextual cues would be still required as the echo is explicit, and it can lead to misunderstanding. In line with this, Ruiz de Mendoza (2017) classifies verbal irony into non-explicit-echoic (or implicit) and explicit-echoic irony.

(2) I love going to withdraw money and finding a broken ATM.
(3) I love Lady Gaga's singing #irony.

Non-explicit-echoic irony (Example 2) carries the speaker's intention within the linguistic material and, therefore, the echo becomes the most important element, being formed at a linguistic level. This type of irony is easier for the reader to interpret and,

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[78] Alba-Juez and Attardo (2014) examined the different evaluative shades of irony by native speakers of Spanish and English and concluded that the evaluative character of irony is gradable and linked to verbal irony due to the attitudinal aspect highlighted by Wilson and Sperber (2012). Yet, as opposed to pretense theorists, these authors acknowledge and experiment with positive and negative attitudes.

[79] Examples 1-3 were retrieved from Martín-Gascón' (2019) study.

thus, background information is not necessarily needed. Yet, previous context is sometimes required for the utterance to be considered as ironical. Explicit-echoic irony, on the other hand, can cause some sort of misunderstanding between the two participants, for the reader might understand the words literally (Example 3). As a consequence, in order for communication to fulfil its purposes, contextual cues (i.e., the use of linguistic or non-linguistic signaling, such as hashtags, emojis, phraseological units) are required.

Contextual cues (e.g., hashtags, ironical phraseological units) metonymically evoke the same frame, that is, there is an evocation of a frame via linguistic and non-linguistic cues whose polarity is incoherent with the speech event scenario. When displaying positive emotions in an ironic manner, ironists normally retrieve language utterances insatiably believed or thought by society. All three writers (Examples 1-3) choose irony to show the opposite of what they are stating: they do not like something (springtime, a broken ATM, Lady Gaga's singing), but resort to positive phraseological units (*I love, ...*) to convey it. Irony is here built on the basis of an echo of a situational model around a common positive belief and based on a clash between that echoed scenario level and the real scenario of dislike. The two scenarios present a parallel structure, which leads to the existence of a cross-domain mapping. In contrast to metaphor, the mapping here is not formed by thinking of the target domain in terms of the source domain, but rather by "matching and mismatching conceptual structure, the latter taking the form of a clash" (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2020, p. 22). As claimed in Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano-Palacios (2019c), ironic utterances are metonymic points of access to more developed scenarios. In other words, the linguistic expression (Examples 1-3), which offers limited information, allows access to the complete pretended-agreement scenario, expanding metonymically the domain. The linguistic expression is a vehicle (or ironic source domain) that clashes with the observable conceptual scenario (i.e., with the writer's real intention or ironic target domain). The conflict between both domains or scenarios primes the cancellation of ironic source structures that do not match with the target scenario, and that is possible only if the reader has enough contextual cues to conceive it as an act of pretense. This cancellation is referred to as *frame structure override* (Ruiz de Mendoza & Lozano-Palacios, 2019c) and it is necessary for detecting and assigning an ironic attitude.

12.2.2. Irony detection in Twitter: an arduous task for users and researchers

Twitter is one of the most worldwide-used social networks and offers its users the possibility to express themselves using figurative language mechanisms such as irony to be critical about a situation or simply convey their thoughts and feelings. Contrary to face-to-face communication where verbal irony is reinforced by suprasegmental features (stress, intonation, facial expressions, etc.,), non-verbal cues are difficult to represent in normal writing. In this respect, several studies have shown a wide variety of linguistic and non-linguistic cues that serve as markers for irony: rhetorical questions and schematic markers (Muecke, 1978); change of register and morpho-syntactic markers (Haiman, 1998); tag questions or emoticons (Kreuz, 2000), typographic markers (Attardo, 2000a, Martín-Gascón, 2019), or laughter typing (Martín-Gascón, 2019). Contextual cues are essential to interpret an ironic written utterance, especially in explicit-echoic instances. These can be linguistic signs (potential phraseological units denoting irony or echoic markers, such as *how nice* or *yeah, sure*) or non-linguistic signs (hashtags, emoticons, typographic markers…), in either case, when the reader processes the ironic statement, she realizes that the signs have been manipulated and it is the new information contrasted with the previous information that modifies the reader's knowledge.

More recent surveys on computationally irony detection have highlighted the interest yet complexity of investigating ironic communication (e.g., operationalizing irony detection, automatic sarcasm detection, quality of sarcasm annotation, pragmatically and linguistically informed automatic irony detection). For instance, Wallace (2015) identified a conceptual problem in computational models of irony, i.e., none maintained an explicit model of the speaker or the environment, and he proposed a pragmatic context model that aimed to operationalize computationally existing work on irony. Joshi and his colleagues (Joshi et al., 2015) explored context incongruity for sarcasm, a variant of irony used in an aggressive and despiteful tone, and they looked at aspects that influence the prediction quality of sarcastic statements (i.e., culture-related) (Joshi et al., 2016). In a more recent work, Joshi et al. (2017) offered a compilation of past studies in automatic sarcasm detection and observed three milestones: semi-supervised pattern extraction to detect implicit sentiment, use of hashtag-based supervision, and context beyond target text incorporation. Karoui et al. (2017) investigated the impact of pragmatic phenomena in the interpretation of irony in three Indo-European languages (French, Italian and English) and proposed a multi-layered annotation schema also based on irony activation types (explicit-implicit), irony categories and irony markers. Inspired by this work,

Cignarella et al. (2018) conducted a quantitative and qualitative study on Italian tweets aiming to examine the applicability of the multi-layered scheme in Karoui et al.'s (2017) study and found syntax to play a significant role in the activation of irony in Italian.

While research on machine translation –the automatic conversion of text from one natural language to another– has been very active in the past few years (e.g., see Rossi's 2017 study on statistical machine translation in translator training or Babhulgaonkar & Bharad's 2017 survey of the recent developments and challenges in this field), studies focusing on the interpretation of irony or sarcasm with sentiment-based machine translation are rather scarce. Peled and Reichart (2017) introduced a novel task of sarcasm interpretation consisting of 3,000 tweets –each interpreted by five skilled annotators in comedy writing– and proposed a machine translation-based sarcasm interpretation algorithm that targeted sentiment words.

12.3. Methodology

Our methodology departed from an approach followed in a previous study (Martín-Gascón, 2019) and responded to the cognitive modeling of ironical phraseology based on bigdata. The instrument of analysis was designed to retrieve information sources through computational elements to analyze a large, non-biased sample. Our corpus was based on an application that retrieved tweets in real time and distributed them according to criteria such as date, user, body text, language and geographic coordinates (Maroto 2018, 2019). The raw dataset consisted of 1,157,773,379 tweets[80] from 248 countries and 66 languages written within a period of 119 days (from 1 February to 31 May 2018).[81] The final corpus for that period consisted of 27,517 tweets from English-speaking users in the United States. The sample was reduced, as only tweets using the word "irony" within the text or in a hashtag were automatically annotated. This feature type, targeted in previous studies on irony detection (e.g., Van Hee et al., 2018), was extended to its plural form, "ironies", and the adjective "ironic".[82] Once the data were annotated, tweets were manually selected and codified in an attempt to identify only the really ironic ones and gain insights into the conceptualization of irony by American-English users. Manual annotation was conducted

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[80] This is the result of calculating an average of 50 tweets per second, which is 4,320,000 tweets daily.

[81] For 12 days throughout the year, there were connection errors, and the compilation service could not collect the data assigned to those 12 days.

[82] The annotation of the data on irony detection in occasion of SemEval 2018 was conducted following very detailed guidelines in Van Hee et al. (2016).

by two linguist experts to triangulate the data and increase sample validity. Tweets that presented an echo involving a clash and revealing the user's ironic attitude were selected and further classified into explicit and non-explicit echoic irony, as well as into positive and negative emotion utterances. Results from the English American corpus were then contrasted with results found in the Spanish Corpus (Martín-Gascón, 2019) so as to understand better how speakers from each of these two languages conceptualize and express verbal irony.

12.4. Results and discussion

12.4.1. (RQ1) Do English-speaking users of Twitter conceptualize and use verbal irony appropriately?

Results from the automatic annotation showed a total of 27,517 tweets written in the US territory by English-speaking users using the word or hashtag "irony", "ironies" or "ironic". From the initial dataset, 24,007 contained within the tweet one of these three words, 605 included them as a hashtag and 2,905 coappeared with emojis (2,819 were word-emoji and 86 were hashtag-emoji). In order to offer an in-depth cognitive analysis, and due to space limitation, the present study focused specifically on the total of tweets containing the hashtag ($n=605$). Furthermore, since one of our main goals (RQ3) was to compare our results to those from a previous study with Spanish speakers in Spain (Martín-Gascón, 2019), the corpus size was more similar, and thus easier to be contrasted with the one of Spanish-speaking users ($n=448$). After a qualitative analysis, the corpus was reduced from 605 to 495 tweets *(Vid. Fig. 1)*. Yet, the final sample was large enough to exemplify the characteristics of both implicit and explicit-echoic irony, as well as to offer a taxonomy of ironic expressions.

(1) 1,157,773,379

(2) 27,517

(3) 605

(4) 495
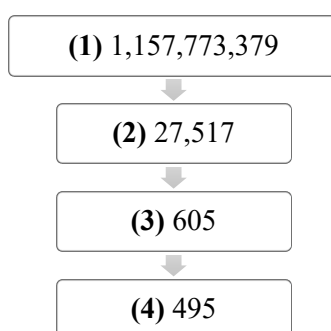
Figure 1. Size of the sample **(1)** before / **(2)** after the automatic annotation, and **(3)** before / **(4)** after the experts' manual analysis

The discarded data (*n=110*) allowed us to gain deeper insights into the users' misconception of irony, a misconstruction normally attributed to irony being viewed as a literary trope that arises from discrepancy between what the ironist utters and reality. Such a phenomenon had been previously observed in Martín-Gascón's (2019) study. This traditional notion of irony clashes with the cognitive point of view that conceives it as a true message that arises from shared knowledge and from an upcoming contrast. It does not separate irony from other figures of speech either, such as understatement, where there is also a clash with reality, yet in understatement the attitudinal effect results from how the hypothetical scenario or source domain is constructed, i.e., downscaling.

(4) Oh, the irony! I guess Universal Pictures is feeling *a bit guilty* now after 3 of these movies...

The phrase *a bit guilty* in Example 4, for instance, appears in a context in which it is obvious that Universal Pictures feels guilty about the impact of the trilogy Fifty Shades of Grey on normalizing abusive sexual behavior. It thus shows a blatant clash with the real situation, for the utterer apparently minimizes the importance of the guilt, suggesting that Universal Pictures *should* feel *very guilty,* given the consequences of the trilogy. However, the writer's attitude is not revealed through an implicature arising from the clash between the echoed and observable scenarios.

(5) @realDonaldTrump#irony is not something he understands (or spell! 🤣)

(6) This is called#Irony @OxfordWords Look it up 📚

(7) #irony apparently escapes him

(8) Not sure if the original post is ironic or not... this is the problem with the internet today#irony.

(9) I spend half my life running updates on outdated technology. #Irony #TechTuesday #Lulz

(10) It's so weird to me, every day I make decisions for other families regarding their lives... and my life is in constant shambles#irony

(11) Peeing in the ocean on #EarthDay#ironic🌊

(12) I can't wait to be#ironic.

In line with previous studies (Giora et al., 2005; Martín-Gascón, 2019), tweets were also found to explicitly evince how users are inclined to highlight and laugh at other internauts for not perceiving irony or how users (from the other perspective) find it hard to grasp it (Examples 5-8). Indeed, these were not cases of verbal irony, but instantiations of the complexity of expressing and understanding irony through written communication in social media. Another pattern commonly observed was the presence of situational irony (Examples 9-10), especially co-appearing with the hashtag #earthday (Example 11). Yet, since its study departed from the focus of our investigation, these were cast off. Last but not least, not all utterances that included the hashtag "ironic", "irony" or "ironies" were ironic (Example 12) and, therefore, tweets that were not clear examples of irony were not contemplated for further analyses.

12.4.2. (RQ2) How is irony conveyed, through explicit or non-explicit echo? Are the ironic statements positive or negative?

The final dataset (*n=495*) was further divided into non-explicit-echoic/implicit irony (Examples 13 and 14) and explicit-echoic irony (Examples 15-17). In line with Martín-Gascón's (2019) results, findings showed a greater number of tweets using irony with explicit echo (*n=307*), representing the 62% from the total of tweets (*Vid. Fig. 2)*.
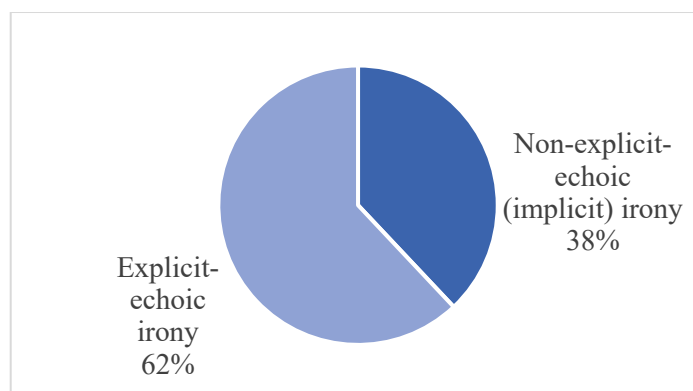
Figure 2. Presence of non-explicit and explicit-echoic irony in our corpus

This would explain, to a certain extent, why it is a rather arduous task to grasp irony in Twitter, since the echo is not constructed at a linguistic level. In examples 13 to 21, the utterances themselves are not sufficient for readers to perceive irony, and, therefore, additional information is needed (Ex.15: #ironic, rolling on the floor laughing emoji "🤣"; Ex.16: #Irony; Ex.17: exclamation "lol", #irony, and woman facepalming emoji "🤦🏾‍♀️").

On the other hand, a total of 188 (38%) ironic utterances presented the echo as a core element. By uttering the first part of the sentence (i.e., *Don't you just love* and *So, it's #NationalDayOfHappiness... so of course*), it is implied that what comes next will be positive. Irony here relies on the clash arising when the reader processes the remaining fragment. Echo is thus put to work when the reader processes the observable scenario, which is the contrary of what, by world knowledge, anyone would expect or desire. At that point, the echo cancels the implicated meaning and the contrast between scenarios has irony emerge.

> (13) ✍Don't you just love when you call in sick to work and then you actually become sick?!😂😂😂😂#comedy #life #work#irony.
>
> (14) So, it's #NationalDayOfHappiness... so of course I'm having a rough day.#irony
>
> (15) Just a gorgeous early Connecticut springtime#ironic😵❄️🤣⛄#snow#damn #shovelingsnow…
>
> (16) My new years resolution. I will not procrastinate. #newyearsresolution #NeverTooLate #Irony.
>
> (17) I hate sales people lol...#irony💁🏾

Regarding whether the ironic statements were positive or negative utterances, we proceeded as follows: we examined the sentence in the case of explicit-echoic irony, and, as for implicit-echoic irony, we looked at the first fragment of the sentence, that is, the part that the reader needs to process first. The emotional and polarity change was caused by either hashtags or emojis, for explicit-echoic irony (Examples 18-20 conveying negative intention through positive phrases) or by the continuation of the utterance, for implicit-echoic irony (Example 21). Hence, when the utterance carried out an optimistic message at the beginning, the ironist was in fact denoting his or her negative attitude on the matter, and, conversely, when the tweet contained a pessimistic or negative message at the beginning, the intention was to convey positive thoughts. Studies in computational linguistics (e.g., Rosenthal, Farra & Nakov, 2017; Rozental & Fleischer, 2017) have used this semantic incoherence in emotional scenarios as information source to detect irony in Twitter.

(18) Sometimes *I'm kind of grateful* that my phone has terrible service everywhere #offthegrid *#ironic* #hypocriticaltweet

(19) See ya NYC subway *it's been real!* 🤘 *#irony*

(20) *Love* that the same people who bitch about McGregor actively support the Diaz brothers…😂 *#irony*

(21) *Funny how* the BEST PICTURE of Tony and I was taken in front of @hauntedmuseum*#irony*

As with Spanish-speaking users (Martín-Gascón, 2019), our results showed that English-speakers were more prone to use positive utterances to express negative emotions (*n*=201) to the detriment of negative linguistic signs to convey positive emotions (*n*=104). This finding suggests that speakers tend to resort to irony when not agreeing, and, thus, willing to condemn a situation, whether it is something intra-personal or social. They do so by masquerading their critique in a linguistically positive message. This is in line with previous studies about the positivity expressed in ironic utterances to cover negative emotions. For instance, Frenda's (2017) findings after the analysis of the role that textual information plays in the perception and construction of Italian ironic tweets revealed the prevalence of negative polarity (utterances containing positive cues in an ironic manner) over positive polarity, especially in tweets with ironic hashtags. This is even more the case of sarcasm, i.e., Wang's (2013) study on the distinctions and similarities between irony and sarcasm showed that sarcastic tweets are more positive and ironic tweets are more neutral, echoing the claim that a more aggressive tone tends to be sugar coated with more positive emotion words. Yet, in our study not all utterances showed positive or negative emotions and, therefore, tweets that did not include ironic linguistic signs denoting any type of emotion were excluded (*n*=190). Considering, on the one hand, the type of echoic-irony (non-explicit and explicit) and, on the other, the connotation of the linguistic sign (positive and negative), we examined if there existed a difference based on the use of positive or negative utterances and the type of echo (*Vid. Fig. 3*). With regard to non-explicit irony, a stronger association was found with tweets presenting the ironist's positive attitude through negative linguistic signs (*n*=85), which departs from findings in Martín-Gascón's (2019) study. Conversely, and in agreement with the Spanish speakers' results, English users conveying irony in an explicit-echoic way used more positive utterances to express negative attitudes (*n*=138).
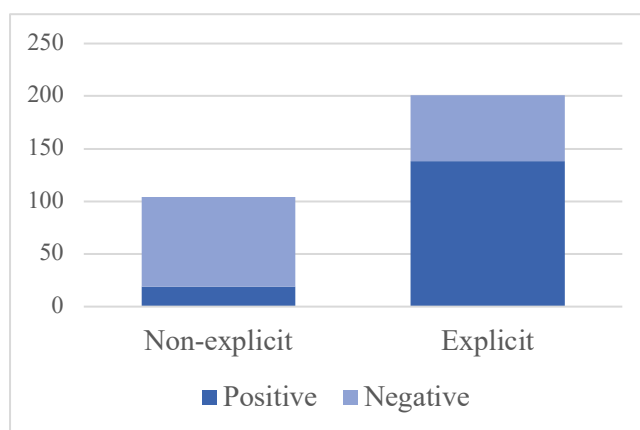
Figure 3. Association between echoic types of irony and positive or negative linguistic signs

12.4.3. (RQ3) Do English and Spanish-speaking users conceptualize and express irony in a similar manner? Or does it differ cross-linguistically?

Our third research question explored the linguistic cues that produce ironic implicatures in order to gain knowledge about how English speakers think of and convey irony in comparison to the Spanish counterparts in Martín-Gascón's (2019) study. To answer this question, the linguistic signs were classified according to two categories: on the one hand, features closer to orality and, on the other, features common to written text (Martín-Gascón, 2019, p. 310).

(22) "Socratic Irony is the pretension of ignorance". Uh, Yeah, that's what I'm really doing when I try to talk about sports #irony

(23) Ouch! Paypal just lost about 50% of revenue after 2020. Replaced by payments startup. #Irony alert

(24) People are so ironic...you just? but now you...? okay. #irony

With regard to the first type, results showed a higher presence of interjections such as 'oh', 'uh', 'yeah' (Example 22), 'ouch' (Example 23), or 'okay' (Example 24), which served as ironic markers. More specifically, interjections such as 'oh', 'yeah' and 'okay' were examples of echoic markers used to covey the pretended agreement (Ruiz de Mendoza & Lozano-Palacio, 2019b). These were also found to appear in the Spanish corpus (e.g., *oh, eh, uh, vaya*). Yet, departing from the Spanish study, the English

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equivalents for the expressions *¡anda!, ¡viva!, ¡enhorabuena!, ¡gracias!, ¡menos mal!,* and *¡qué va!,* did not appear in the American one.

(25) I know those kids! #irony

(26) Feels like he should be protected from the "toxic environment" #irony

(27) LMAO, that house has $100 worth of cleaning supplies and is dirty as hell #irony

(28) Haha is Twitter still a thing??#ironic

Other features, like punctuation markers (e.g., quotation marks, ellipses, exclamation marks) (Examples 25 and 26), laughter typing or rhetorical questioning, as can be observed in (27) and (28), were evinced, in line with previous studies by Muecke (1978), Attardo (2000a) or Martín-Gascón (2019). Yet, contrary to findings in this latter, vowel enlargement: *maravillooooooso* and capitalization: VAMOS were not shown as indicators of irony. In agreement with Kreuz (2000), our findings showed a tendency towards the usage of clashing emojis to generate irony (see previous examples). These subcategories were considered as closer to oral discourse, for their potentiality for evoking distinctive tones, stress, or bodily and facial expressions.

(29) Not gonna pull the proverbial race card...but it seems ironic that it's her ...what a perfect time to mess the game up…#irony

(30) Life is soooo nice #irony

(31) Love that prolifers are also pro death penalty and gun toting. #Ironic

(32) I hate making the decision on who ima go with#irony

(33) #GOP was once about protecting homeland. Now all about tearing down our #FBI and other vital institutions. #ironic

(34) Lol @YouTubeTV sponsors #SuperBowl but then says you can't watch the Super Bowl unless you cast it. #irony

(35) He would know, wouldn't he? Irony, anyone? #IRONY

Concerning linguistic cues common to written text, yet not displaying non-verbal direct inferences, we identified intensifiers in the form of collocations and phraseological units, this in line with results in Martín-Gascón's (2019) study (e.g., *qué año, qué pena, tan divertido, mazo guay*). Hence, the phraseological unit 'what a' + noun (Example 29)

or collocations with an adverb (e.g., 'so', 'super') modifying an adjective (Example 30) were very frequent. Similarly, in agreement with the Spanish results (e.g., *me encantan los lunes*), phraseological units including psych-verbs (e.g., love, hate, etc.) were also found to be irony indicators (Examples 31 and 32). Temporal expressions such as 'now' or 'but then' were also recurrent ironic markers in our corpus (Examples 33 and 34). As it had been shown in Kreuz' (2000) investigation, tag questions were also present in our corpus and indicated verbal irony (Example 35). A taxonomy showing similarities and differences in the two-feature categories in the American English and Spanish corpora is presented below:

Table 1: Similarities and differences in features in English and Spanish

Corpus	Categories	
	Features closer to orality	Features closer to written text
American English	Interjections* Punctuation marks* Laughter typing*	Phraseological Units with intensifiers* Phraseological Units with psych-verbs* Temporal expressions Rhetorical and tag questions
Spanish	Interjections* Punctuation marks* Vowel enlargement Capitalization Derivational suffixes Laughter typing*	Fixed expressions of approval Qualitative adjectives collocations Phraseological Units with intensifiers* Phraseological Units with psych-verbs* Phraseological Units with metaphorical and metonymic mappings

*Common features in both corpora

12.4.4. (RQ4) Do English and Spanish-speaking users ironize about the same topics?

With the last research question, we aimed to examine the most frequent themes discussed in tweets written by American English users within the analyzed time period (119 days) and to compare these to results in the Spanish corpus. For that, the final dataset (*n=495*) was manually codified by the two linguist experts and classified in terms of topic on which they had irony constructed. The three most recurrent categories were, firstly, politics; secondly, sports; and thirdly, users' emotional status (*Vid. Fig. 4*).

Figure 4. The three most common topics for verbal irony

(36) You can't write this stuff, people. Only Trump can. #PresidentsDay2018#Irony

(37) Always love the notion from fans who tell you your team sucks when they're losing.#Irony

(38) I love you. #hillsarealive#ironic

A total of 243 tweets discussed matters on politics, more specifically, we observed a tendency towards ironizing about President Trump and his political actions (Example 36). The second most commented topic of ironic use in Twitter were sports and the Super Bowl, with 83 tweets dedicated to this subject (Example 37). Emotions and feelings constituted the third most targeted theme on which users had irony formed (*n*=52), as can be observed in example 38. This finding differed from results in the study with Spanish speakers, as emotional status was the category that showed the most instances of verbal irony (*n*=280), followed by politics (especially about the Catalan independence movement, *n*=81) and sports (*n*=47).

12.5. Conclusions

The present study has examined irony and ironic phraseology in American-English users of Twitter in terms of cognitive modeling starting out with bigdata and following up on a qualitative cognitive analysis. Our findings evinced, in line with previous studies, the complexities of perceiving verbal irony in written text and, therefore, the relevance in incorporating non-linguistic and linguistic cues such as hashtags, emojis, interjections, punctuation markers, laughter typing, rhetorical and tag questions, temporal expressions, and ironic phraseological units. In agreement with Martín-Gascón's (2019) study on the conceptualization and expression of irony in Spanish native-speakers in Spain, our results

showed a higher use of positive and explicit-echoic irony, which accounts for the arduousness of grasping irony in social networks, since the echo is constructed at an extra-linguistic level. Yet, findings differed from those in the study with Spanish users with regard to non-explicit irony, for a stronger association with negative linguistic signs was found. Furthermore, diverging from Martín-Gascón's (2019) findings, ironic cues such as vowel enlargement, capitalization and derivational suffixes were not regarded as ironic markers, nor were fixed expressions of approval, qualitative adjectives collocations and phraseological units with metaphorical and metonymic mappings. Yet, both English and Spanish users did resort to irony to primarily discuss politics, sports and their emotional state. Results in this study are expected to contribute to the area of computational linguistics and machine learning in categorizing feature types in English through the addition of the explicit and non-explicit-echoic typology.

The collected data constitutes an authentic corpus of ironic utterances shedding light into irony conceptualization and expression. As a result, the corpus becomes a powerful pedagogical source for further development of didactic materials for the English and Spanish as a second language classroom. By explicitly drawing attention to the similarities and differences in the expression of ironic statements between learners' first and second language, students will be more aware of the mental mechanisms and linguistic representations that interact in the creation of irony. The teaching of irony in a second language instructional context is expected to enhance not only learners' linguistic competence, but also, and more importantly, their intercultural awareness. Successfully expressing one's ironic attitude in a second language shows the learner's real wit and contributes to avoiding misunderstandings, thus enabling the student to be an autonomous speaker and to be closer to eventually master the language.

Chapter 13 [Paper 11]

TEACHING IRONY IN THE SPANISH/L2 CLASSROOM

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Under review in Porta Linguarum

Abstract

This article presents an empirical study on the implementation in the Spanish/L2 classroom of a cognitive-based pedagogical material to teach irony building from previous research on irony detection in Spanish and English tweets (Martín-Gascón, 2019, 2022f). Participants were 87 intermediate and 82 advanced students from a North American university. Data were collected during a 75-minute classroom session following a pretest/posttest design to measure irony production and identification. A linguistic background and language use questionnaire was also administered prior to instruction. Quantitative data derived from the irony recognition tests were analysed through a scoring system. Mixed data from the irony production tests were codified to pinpoint learners' ways of expressing irony using an analysis scheme based on Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) twofold category of irony. The results revealed a significant improvement after the intervention for students from the two proficiency levels. Advanced students were significantly better in the production task; however, no significant difference was found between the two groups in the irony recognition tasks. Our findings outline the impact and importance of explicitly teaching irony –a rather neglected aspect heretofore– already at lower levels to avoid misunderstandings in the L2 and enhance learners' intercultural awareness and communicative competence.

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13.1. Introduction

Irony, as humor, is a pragmatic phenomenon that can be challenging for second language (L2) teachers and learners. Despite its difficultness, it is pervasive in thought and in everyday interactions, and its affective component favors a sense of fellowship and camaraderie in the classroom (Linares-Bernabeu, 2017, p. 206). Furthermore, irony, as a productive social mechanism, plays a significant role in the communicative act. Yet, recognizing and producing irony in an L2 require the ability to detect and interpret cultural and pragmatic incongruities (Ayçiçeği-Dinn et al., 2018), which has been a largely neglected aspect in the teaching of L2s. Ironic competence is directly tight to communicative competence, for being competent at an ironic level implies knowledge of the linguistic elements (linguistic knowledge), ability to structure discourse based on the context (pragmatic competence) and acquisition of certain skills to approach the social dimension of language use (sociolinguistic competence). Cook (2000) highlights this complementary vision of ironic competence when referring to humor and claiming that "its successful comprehension often requires a broad base of linguistic, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and cultural knowledge" (p. 204). This is in line with Deneire (1995, p. 291), who contends that the requirement to perceive different strata at different levels (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic) justifies the claim that the understanding of L2 humor (or in this case, irony) reflects a high level of proficiency in that language. Schmitz (2002, pp. 101-104) considers that the teaching of these phenomena should be relegated to advanced levels (B1-B2). However, Bell (2009) and Linares-Bernabeu (2017, p. 85) suggest that some aspects of irony can be introduced already at elementary levels. In this regard, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (*CEFR*) includes humor as a pragmatic component only considered in C1 level. The *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes* (*PCIC*), on the other hand, presents under the section "Discourse construction and interpretation" a series of linguistic markers that facilitate the understanding of humor and irony (Cevantes Institute, 2006, pp. 261-265). Yet, there is no reference to other essential cues (i.e., typographic markers, laughter typing, vowel enlargement, etc.).

Previous literature on the L2 acquisition of irony and humor has found evidence that learners identify and use irony in the L2 and that their ability to engage in humor increases with higher proficiency of the target language (Bell, 2006; Cook, 2000; Davies, 2003; Shively, Menke & Manzón-Omundson, 2008). Although humor and irony hold a place among the most intriguing of humans' cognitive capacities –and their study has been

fruitful among linguistic investigation (e.g., Attardo, 2000a, 2017; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017; Ruiz de Mendoza & Lozano Palacios, 2019b) the perception and use of irony by Spanish/L2 learners has received little attention. Bouton's (1999) study on developing learners' skills in interpreting implicatures in English revealed that learners recognize verbal irony in the L2, and that better recognition of irony correlates with greater proficiency and exposure to the target language. Findings from his study also showed the effectivity of explicitly teaching irony, as it was found to help students understand ironic intent. In another study aimed at enhancing Korean's ability to detect and interpret English/L2 spoken sarcasm –a more aggressive variant of irony– Kim and Lantolf (2018) used a pre- and posttest procedure and interviews to measure changes in conceptual understanding of sarcasm and found that learners improved not only their L2 comprehension of sarcasm, but also their awareness of the use and function of sarcasm in their first language (L1). With regard to the study of irony by Spanish/L2 learners, Shively et al. (2008) examined the interpretation of ironic utterances in films in Spanish and looked at the impact of audiovisual context on the learner's interpretation of irony. The rationale behind the inclusion of audio and visual cues was that authors hypothesized that students' ability to accurately perceive irony would be increased by the presence of intonation and facial expression. In line with Bouton's (1999) findings, Shively and colleagues found that irony recognition improved as proficiency and experience with Spanish increased. In a more recent study, Alvarado Ortega (2018) proposed an analysis of irony and an application to the Spanish/L2 classroom based on research conducted by the GRIALE group on irony and humor in Spanish (Ruiz Gurillo & Padilla García, 2009; Alvarado Ortega & Ruiz Gurillo, 2013).

Still, no study to the best of the author's knowledge has yet explored Spanish/L2 learners' perception and use of written irony as well as offered a cognitive linguistic-based instruction of irony. Hence, based on previous research on the detection of Spanish and American-English ironic utterances in Twitter in terms of cognitive modelling (Martín-Gascón, 2019, 2022f) considering Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) echoic account and Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano Palacios' (2019b) unifying framework for explaining ironic discourse, the present study focuses on the teaching of a rather neglected yet important figure of speech, verbal irony. More specifically, this investigation, building from a strong theoretical account (see section 13.2.), aims to implement a novel instruction of irony in the Spanish/L2 classroom and to gain insight into the recognition and production of

written irony by Spanish/L2 learners with different proficiency levels. With this bifold purpose, the study addresses the following research questions:

> RQ1: Is there a significant difference in the Spanish/L2 learners' perception and use of written irony after instruction?
>
> RQ2: Is there a significant correlation between learners' proficiency and ironic performance (perception and use)?

13.2. Theoretical background

Pragmatic studies have explored the connection between irony and humor (Ritchie, 2005; Thomson, 2003; Ruiz Gurillo & Alvarado Ortega, 2013). In Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano Palacios' (2019b) account, humor is explained in terms of the parametrization of the attitudinal element of irony, which is obtained inferentially but not through the breach of conversation maxims (Lozano Palacios, 2021, p. 45). Irony has been also regarded by the experimental literature (e.g., studies based on machine-learning approaches to detect irony) as a rhetorical device or literary trope arising from the discrepancy between what the speaker puts across in words and what they actually mean. As a result, it has been mixed with other disparate phenomena such as understatement, banter, or jokes. Understatement is a figure of speech that minimizes emotional impact and works by scaling down a gradable concept and by using an unrealistic scenario-building strategy (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2020, p. 21). The attitudinal effects result from how the source domain is constructed (downscaling), whereas in irony, the attitude is revealed through an implicature that arises from the contrast between the echoed and observable scenarios. Consider as an example *It's a bit late*, used in a context of say, a meeting that has been going on for hours, so observers will realize the incongruity with the actual situation / scenario). Banter is not a figure of speech, but a discourse practice linked to humor and to a playful attitude (Jobert & Sorlin, 2018, p. 9) with ironic potential. Jokes are a way of conveying situational irony and have been characterized as a form of communication consisting of conceptual incongruity, unexpectedness, lexical ambiguity, implicitness of information, and a sudden change triggered by the punch line (Muschard, 1999, p. 4). Jokes and humor are largely related as both are violations of the Gricean cooperative principle (Grice, 1989).

Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) account is based on a cognitive-linguistic view of irony, which conceives ironic language as incorporated into everyday speech and irony as a

figure of thought that differs from the above-mentioned presumably related phenomena. Ruiz de Mendoza's echoic account builds on a scenario-based approach that explains ironic meaning as a meaning inference that results from a clash between an echoed statement or thought and one's actual or attributed thoughts followed by a skeptical and ironical attitude with emotional implication. A more recent development of this account which aims at merging echoic (Sperber & Wilson, 1981, 1998; Wilson & Sperber, 1992; Gibbs & O'Brien, 1991) and pretense (Clark, 1996; Clark & Gerrig, 1984) accounts has been recently developed by Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano Palacios (2019b) and adds the view that ironic meaning is also the result of a pretense attitude that the observer is expected to unwrap. Furthermore, two types of irony can be distinguished based on whether the echo is implicit (within the sentence) or explicit (outside the sentence). See examples (1) and (2), which have been retrieved from Martín-Gascón's (2019) study on written irony in tweets.

(1) I love going to withdraw money and finding a broken ATM.
(2) I love Lady Gaga's singing #irony.

Implicit-echoic irony (1) includes the speaker's intention within the linguistic material and, thus, it is easier for the reader to interpret. As a result, background information is not necessarily needed although previous context might be required for the utterance to be considered as ironical. Explicit-echoic irony (2), on the other hand, could lead to misunderstanding between the two participants, for the observer might understand the words literally. Hence, using linguistic or non-linguistic cues, such as echoic markers (e.g., *qué bien* 'how nice'), hashtags, emojis, or memes, among others, can give some clues to detect ironical attitude.

As opposed to oral communication where irony is normally accompanied by suprasegmental features (stress, facial expression, etc.,), written-form irony –although pervasive in social media discourse– is rather difficult to both represent and perceive for L1 speakers (Martín-Gascón 2019, 2022f), let alone for L2 learners who must have previously acquired linguistic skills and possess cultural knowledge to recognize the implied ironic meaning (Shively et al. 2008:106). Previous research examining linguistic and non-linguistic cues that serve as markers of irony has identified rhetorical questions (Muecke, 1978), morpho-syntactic markers (Haiman, 1998), tag questions and emoticons (Ghosh & Muresan, 2018; Kreuz, 2000; Singh et al., 2019), hashtags (Van Hee et al.,

2016; Zhang et al., 2019), typographic markers and echoic markers (Attardo, 2000b), memes (Davis et al., 2016; Lovink & Tuters, 2018) or GIFs (Dean, 2019) among other ironic signs used in ironic written utterances.

Martín-Gascón's (2019) analysis of Spanish ironic tweets in terms of cognitive modeling evidenced the use of a wide range of features closer to orality (interjections, punctuation marks, vowel enlargement, capitalization, derivational suffixes and laughter) and features closer to written text (fixed expressions of approval or echoic markers: *claro que sí* 'yeah sure'; collocations with qualitative adjectives: *dramática muerte* 'drastic death'; phraseological units with intensifiers: *qué pena* 'what a shame'; phraseological units with psych-verbs: *me encantan los lunes* 'I love Mondays'; and phraseological units with metaphorical and metonymic mappings: *el próximo sábado culés y leones como un solo hombre* 'next Saturday culés and leones as one man'. In a follow-up study examining irony in American-English tweets, Martín-Gascón (2022f) found common patterns in some of the elements of the two-feature category proposed in Martín-Gascón (2019). Hence, American-English users also resorted to features closer to orality such as interjections, punctuation marks and laughter in their tweets, and to written features such as phraseological units with both intensifiers and psych-verbs (e.g., *What a perfect time to mess the game up / I hate making the decision on who ima go with #irony*). Diverging from results in the Spanish language corpus, temporal expressions (e.g., *#GOP was once about protecting homeland. Now all about tearing down our #FBI and other vital institutions. #ironic)* and rhetorical and tag questions (*Haha is Twitter still a thing??#ironic / He would know, wouldn't he? Irony, anyone? #IRONY*) were used by American-English users to convey irony.

13.3. The present study

The present research was the product of a redesign and reimplementation of a previous pilot study. This prior study represented the day-to-day classroom, as students were presented to a material and an assessment that fit their daily classroom activities, yet it departed to some extent from an empirical study, so it allowed us to recognize methodological limitations and improve the research design. Findings from the pilot investigation still shed light on L2 learners' perception and production of written irony and are briefly discussed.

13.3.1. The pilot study

Participants were eleven university students –one Spanish/L1 speaker, three heritage-speakers and seven advanced Spanish/L2 learners– at Columbia University, who were first-time exposed to learning irony explicitly in a classroom environment. Data were collected during a 75-minute classroom session. For qualitative data, two online post-it boards were used as pre- and post-instruction tests (Appendix A), and quantitative data were retrieved from a survey on irony identification as pre-test (Appendix B). The instruction package remained fairly similar to the one used in the main study. The data derived from the survey were analysed through a scoring system (1 correct, 0 correct) and the qualitative data were codified to recognise different themes and ways of conveying verbal irony in Spanish using a content analysis scheme.

Results from the two pre-tests showed the complexities of perceiving irony in written discourse (Appendix C) and its common misinterpretation with other presumably related phenomena, such as jokes, understatements, or banter. In relation to this latter, all participants scored the maximum for the ironic instances, except from two heritage-speakers and one L2 learner who scored 3 out of 4. As for instances where there was no irony, the native speaker rated 3 out of 6 as non-ironic cases, one heritage and three L2 speakers scored 2, one heritage speaker and three L2 learners identified only 1 instance of non-irony, and one heritage and one learner scored 0, mixing all the other phenomena with irony.

Results from the pre-test asking for L2 learners' perception and understanding of irony were in agreement with previous studies with L1 and L2 speakers (Martín-Gascón, 2019, 2022f; Shively et al., 2008), as participants defined irony as literal descriptions with hidden and opposite meanings that allow for reflection, and related it to jokes, humor and sarcasm. To the question "Is it easy to understand irony?", students agreed that it was easier in spoken text (conversations, audios, films) than in written form, and also in their L1 than in an L2. As factors that facilitate the understanding of irony, they highlighted context, tone, knowledge of the interlocutor and typographic markers such as quotes. Similarly, to the question "How can you show your interlocutor that you're being ironic?", they emphasized tone and context one more time, and added other linguistic and non-linguistic cues such as body language (e.g., facial expression), mannerism, word emphasis, or shared experience. As for the main topics that people tend to ironize about, learners mentioned social problems, daily life, news, politics, and emotions, among others, being these two latter along with sports the most common themes found in Martín-

Gascón (2019, 2022f). Results after the application of the cognitive-based instruction revealed a productive and near-native use of written irony in Spanish, with the inclusion of linguistic and non-linguistic elements presented during the instruction (e.g., visual input, emojis, laughter typing, vowel enlargement, upper cases, rhetorical questions).

13.3.2. Research design

A mixed-method research design was followed to "broaden the scope of the investigation and enrich the ability to draw conclusions" (Dörnyei, 2000, p. 164). Hence, to gain insight into learners' proficiency, linguistic background and exposure qualitative and quantitative measures were employed. To elicit learners' perception and use of irony in Spanish and to understand the impact of explicitly teaching irony from a cognitive linguistics perspective, the study also used quantitative and qualitative data in the pre and post-tests (see Figure 1).
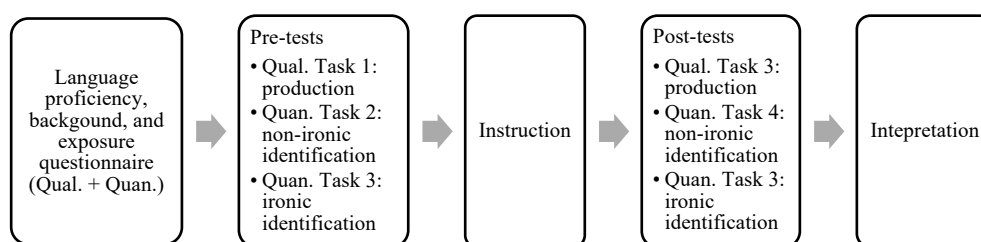
Figure 1. Research process of the mixed-method design

13.3.3. Participants

Participants were recruited from an initial pool of 169 undergraduate students enrolled in thirteen sections and attending either intermediate or advanced online Spanish/L2 courses as part of their curriculum at a university in North America. The thirteen sections were randomly assigned to one of the four treatment groups: intermediate (INT) ($n = 58$), advanced (ADV) ($n = 59$), intermediate control (CON_INT) ($n = 29$), and advanced control (CON_ADV) ($n = 23$). For sample selection only one criterion was put in place which was to have completed the linguistic background questionnaire and all pre-and-posttests. The initial pool of 169 students was then reduced to 146 participants, distributed as follows: INT ($n = 51$), ADV ($n = 57$), CON_INT ($n = 19$), CON_ADV ($n = 19$). 8 students from the INT group were Spanish heritage speakers, 2 from the ADV, 3 from

the CON_INT, and 7 from the CON_ADV. 2 students in the ADV group and 1 in the CON_ADV considered themselves as English-Spanish bilinguals. In our sample, 24 students had as L1 other languages than English (or along with English) (Table 1). As for language use, all participants except one said they used only or mostly English at university, 11 said they spoke at home in Spanish or both in English and Spanish. From those 11, only 2 said they used both languages in social situations. All participants used English at work. From the total of students, only 15 answered they watched frequently Spanish movies and TV shows.

Table 1. Participants' L1s

LANGUAGE/S	N
English	145
English and Spanish	4
Portuguese	3
Korean	1
Chinese	1
Farsi	1
Creole	1
Wolof	1
French	1
Igbo	1
Portuguese and English	1
English and Bangla	1
English and Tamil	1
English and Chinese	1
English and French	1
English and Arabic	1
English and Danish	1
English and Hindi	1
English and Bengali	1
English, Chinese, and Taiwanese	1

13.3.4. Materials

An instruction package (13.3.4.1) and data collection instruments (13.3.4.2) were designed and implemented.

13.3.4.1. Instruction package

The two experimental groups (INT and ADV) were explicitly taught about written irony in Spanish during a 75-minute session. The material was designed following Ruiz de Mendoza and Lozano Palacios' (2019) unifying framework for explaining ironic

discourse and based on results on linguistic and non-linguistic ironic markers in Spanish and American English (Martín-Gascón 2019, 2022f). The didactic sequence (Appendix D) included brainstorming questions in assembly that had been used in the pilot study, a definition of verbal irony, a taxonomy of irony (non-explicit and explicit-echoic irony, positive and negative), and the different ways in which Spanish speakers tend to convey irony –highlighting similarities and differences with English and focusing on ironic instances displaying the writer's emotions on a certain topic.

13.3.4.2. Data collection tools

Language background, exposure, and proficiency questionnaire

A questionnaire asking about the participants' linguistic background, exposure, and proficiency was adapted from Cuza and Frank (2015) (Appendix E) and can be found in the following link: https://forms.gle/QnQ3KsJCtUsWMgzc9. It included background questions to assess the degree of bilingualism as well as language contact in different life spheres. Although participants were taking part in two different Spanish course levels (intermediate and upper intermediate/advanced), self-assessment proficiency items asking about their perceived level in the four skills in English and Spanish were designed to triangulate and gather more accurate information.

Assessment tools

Four assessment tasks were designed in line with the cognitive-based approach and contents of the instruction material to elicit participants' performance with regard to written irony (Appendix F). Task 1 sought to gain insight into participants' use of irony (written production), and Tasks 2 and 3 focused on irony interpretation. These two latter included 5 items each with non-ironic instances (Task 2) and ironic ones (Task 3). Although verbal irony, and more specifically, written irony was the target of study and the construct being measured, the assessment tools included linguistic ironic cues coexisting with other non-linguistic ones such as GIFs, emojis, hashtags, etc., as found in previous studies on irony detection (Davis et al., 2016; Dean, 2019; Ghosh & Muresan, 2018; Martín-Gascón, 2019; Singh et al., 2019; Tuters, 2018; Van Hee et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2019).

Task 1 (production)

Pretest Task 1 (https://forms.gle/4oJq1TawfmNokDhP9) and Posttest Task 1 (https://forms.gle/D4r7dbkMcJRf3cgPA) were designed after conducting the pilot study and included ten visual cues displaying recurrent topics in the literature around which

irony is built in Twitter and ironic themes highlighted by participants in the pilot. Based on this visual input, participants were required to write an ironic utterance in Spanish (Figure 2). The pre-test differed from the post-test in that the former asked at the beginning about learners' experience with irony inside and outside the L2 classroom (e.g., *¿Has estudiado la ironía en clase de español alguna vez?* 'Have you ever studied irony in your Spanish classes?', *¿Te parece fácil usar y entender la ironía en tu lengua materna? ¿Y en otras lenguas que hablas?* 'Do you find it easy to use and understand irony in your mother tongue? And in other languages you speak?', *¿Cómo puedes mostrar a tu interlocutor/a que estás siendo irónico/a?* 'How can you show your interlocutor that you're being ironic?', these two latter were adapted from the pilot study).

Escribe en español algo irónico que te inspire esta imagen *

Tu respuesta

Figure 2. Item from production task

Task 2 and Task 3 (identification)

Pretest Task 2 and 3 (https://forms.gle/tyu3K6fEhdvM1mz56) and posttest Task 2 and 3 (https://forms.gle/Ww6Ge2cWxAakyFD88) were inspired by the pre-test survey on irony identification from the pilot study. Yet, in this case, there was a pre- and post-

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instruction test each showing five instances of related phenomena (i.e., banter, understatement, and jokes) (Task 2) and five ironic items (Task 3) (see Figure 3 and 4, respectively) and participants were asked to say whether they were instances of irony or not.

1)

Parece que anoche llovió un poco

¿Hay ironía en el ejemplo 1? *

○ Sí

○ No

Figure 3. Non-ironic item from Task 2

9) (Es un vídeo, dale a "play")

Cómo me alegro por ella

¿Hay ironía en el ejemplo 9? *

○ Sí

○ No

Figure 4. Ironic item from Task 3

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13.3.5. Procedure

The pedagogical implementation and the different tests and questionnaire were delivered cross-sectionally during a normal 75-minute classroom session. All participants were informed about the study being conducted and guided through the different phases in a five-minute presentation. They were asked to sign a consent form stating that they were willing to participate, and they were informed that they could withdraw from the study whenever they wished. The language proficiency, background, and exposure questionnaire was then administered, as well as the two pre-tests. In the following 60 minutes, the experimental groups received the instruction on verbal irony (the two control groups received instruction on a different topic) and at the end of the session all participants were asked to complete the two posttests.

13.4. Findings

RQ1 examined the effectiveness of explicitly teaching irony from a CL perspective in learners' recognition and written production. Table 2 displays the means and standard deviations of scores in the three tasks (Task 1 production; Task 2 identification of no irony; Task 3 identification of irony) by all four group conditions (INT, ADV, CON_INT, CONT_ADV) in the two time periods (pretest and posttest).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics

Time and Task	INT (N= 51)		ADV (N =57)		CON_INT (N= 19)		CONT_ADV (N= 19)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Pretest Task 1	1,53	1,86	1,58	2,21	0,63	1,21	0,58	1,30
Posttest Task 1	7,41	2,48	8,44	2,30	0,47	1,07	0,79	1,35
Pretest Task 2	1,29	1,08	1,25	1,02	1,37	1,21	0,79	,71
Posttest Task 2	3,90	1,02	3,86	1,07	0,89	,80	0,89	,80
Pretest Task 3	3,12	1,50	3,39	1,30	1,21	1,35	1,53	1,38
Posttest Task 3	4,65	,65	4,74	0,61	1,53	1,54	1,21	1,08

The statistical analyses run consisted of nonparametric tests, for normality criteria were not met for all subsamples. Table 3 shows the statistical analysis run to survey the effects of the pedagogical treatment. Wilcoxon signed-rank tests revealed that there was a change in the scores obtained in the pretest and posttest by the INT group, which proved to be statistically significant for all 3 tasks: Task 1 ($Z = -6,108$, $p = .000$), Task 2 ($Z = -6,085$, $p = .000$), and Task 3 ($Z = -4,806$, $p = .000$), with large effect size for Task 1 ($r = .06$) and Task 2 ($r = .60$) and medium for Task 3 ($r = .47$). Indeed, the median score increased from 1,00 in pretest to 8,00 in posttest in Task 1, from 1,00 to 4,00 in Task 2,

and from 4,00 to 5,00 in Task 3. For the ADV group, all 3 tasks revealed a statistically significant increase from pre to posttest: Task 1 ($Z = -6,528$, $p = .000$), Task 2 ($Z = -6,318$, $p = .000$), and Task 3 ($Z = -5,771$, $p = .000$), with large effect size (Task 1, $r = .61$; Task 2, $r = .59$; Task 3, $r = .54$). The median increased from 1.00 to 10,00 in Task 1, and from 1,00 to 4,00 and 4,00 to 5,00 in Task 2 and 3, respectively. Previous tests show that there is a statistically significant increase in test scores in all three posttest situations in the two groups. This calculation hints at a large effect of applied intervention for both experimental groups, which indicates the efficacy of the treatment in intermediate and advanced students and an acceptable degree of generalization. As expected, there are no significant changes in test scores within control groups.

Table 3. Wilcoxon signed-rank test statistics

	INT (N= 51)			ADV (N =57)		
	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3
Z	-6.108[b]	-6.085[b]	-4.806[b]	-6.528[b]	-6.318[b]	-5.771[b]
Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Effect size	0,604	0,602	0,475	0,611	0,591	0,540

The second RQ surveyed whether there was a statistically significant change in test scores in both the pretest and posttest situation between groups. Mann-Whitney U tests were run to examine the type of correlation between all four groups, and between proficiency and ironic performance. Results revealed a significant difference between the two experimental conditions (INT and ADV) on the posttest for Task 1 ($Z = -2,907$, $p = .004$) (Table 4). Results from comparisons between intermediate-level groups showed a significant difference between INT and CON_INT on the posttest for all 3 tasks: Task 1 ($Z = -6,204$, $p = .000$), Task 2 ($Z = -6,311$, $p = .000$), Task 3 ($Z = -6,350$, $p = .000$), and in the pretest for Task 3 ($Z = -4,109$, $p = .000$) (Table 5). Results also revealed a significant difference between the two advanced groups (ADV and CON_ADV) for all tasks in the posttest: Task 1 ($Z = -6,585$, $p = .000$), Task 2 ($Z = -6,292$, $p = .000$), Task 3 ($Z = -7,266$, $p = .000$), and for Task 3 in the pretest ($Z = -4,365$, $p = .000$) (Table 6). No significant difference in test scores between the two control groups was found.

Table 4. Man-Whitney test statistics. INT and ADV

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pretask 1	1410	3063	-0,284	0,776
Posttask 2	997	2323	-2,907	0,004
Pretask 1	1411	3064	-0,272	0,785
Posttask 2	1437	3090	-0,106	0,915
Pretask 3	1331,5	2657,5	-0,778	0,437
Posttask 3	1358	2684	-0,810	0,418

Table 5. Man-Whitney test statistics. INT and CON_INT

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pretask 1	363	553	-1,729	0,084
Posttask 2	20	210	-6,204	0,000
Pretask 1	468	1794	-0,226	0,821
Posttask 2	16	206	-6,311	0,000
Pretask 3	179,5	369,5	-4,109	0,000
Posttask 3	48,5	238,5	-6,350	0,000

Table 6. Man-Whitney test statistics. ADV and CON_ADV

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pretask 1	390	580	-1,999	0,046
Posttask 2	13	203	-6,585	0,000
Pretask 1	1411	601	-1,648	0,099
Posttask 2	28	218	-6,292	0,000
Pretask 3	186,5	376,5	-4,365	0,000
Posttask 3	8	198	-7,266	0,000

13.5. Discussion

Findings from the current study demonstrate the positive outcomes of explicitly teaching irony in the Spanish/L2 classroom, this being in line with the previous scarce research conducted on this topic (Alvarado Ortega, 2018; Bouton, 1999). More specifically, results revealed that intermediate and advanced learners performed significantly better after the intervention in all recognition and written production tasks. When participants were asked whether they had ever learned irony in an L2 instructional environment, 164 out of 169 students answered no. This absence of irony in the L2 curriculum might be due to the almost lack of mention of this pragmatic phenomenon in reference documents such as the *CEFR* and *PCIC*, which are consulted by textbook writers, curriculum advisors and practitioners. In this regard, our findings are noteworthy

as they prove the high benefits of an explicit and cognitive-based pedagogy in learners' L2 ironic performance.

Furthermore, results also revealed a positive correlation between L2 proficiency and ironic written production, as advanced students showed statistically significant higher scores in that task than intermediate learners, which aligns with previous literature on L2 acquisition of irony and humor (Bell, 2006; Davies, 2003). However, findings in the current study did not show a significant difference between the two proficiency groups for irony recognition tasks. This suggests that understanding irony does not necessarily require a high level of proficiency as intermediate learners performed similarly to advanced ones in identifying ironic and non-ironic instances. These findings depart from studies (e.g., Bouton, 1999; Cook, 2000; Deneire, 1995; Schmitz, 2002; Shively et al., 2008) that have found that irony and humor recognition improves as proficiency increases, and therefore advocate their inclusion at advanced levels, in agreement with the *CEFR* guidelines. In line with Bell (2009) and Linares-Bernabeu (2017), our promising findings suggest that irony can be already introduced at lower levels.

13.6. Conclusion

Ironic language, as a social mechanism and part of everyday speech, holds an affective component that favors a sense of camaraderie in the L2 classroom. Due to its crucial role in the communicative act, using irony requires the ability to interpret and produce pragmatic incongruities, among others. However, irony has been a largely neglected area in the teaching of L2s in general, and even more so of Spanish. Considering this gap in the experimental literature, the study presented here, building from previous research on irony detection in Spanish and American-English tweets and from a strong theoretical approach based on the echoic account has succeeded in showing the efficiency of teaching irony already at intermediate levels in the Spanish/L2 classroom. Furthermore, the study has examined not only learners' recognition of irony, but also written irony production, a generally unheeded skill in experimental studies heretofore. By enhancing ironic competence, we are contributing to boosting students' linguistic knowledge and pragmatic and sociolinguistic competence. This is clearly not a trivial pedagogical matter and as such should be further addressed. Although more research is needed to replicate and corroborate the results reported, we believe that the study is a significant step forward in demonstrating the importance of teaching irony to enhance learners' intercultural awareness and communicative competence.

Appendices

Appendices have been uploaded to the following Open Science Framework URL:

https://osf.io/89czh/?view_only=3a06c6e592694c8390913103f551534d

Chapter 14 [Paper 12]

POTENCIANDO LA COMPETENCIA METAFÓRICA EN TIEMPOS DE COVID: "FLIPPEAR" LA CLASE DE ELE CON *MICROSOFT TEAMS*

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

La situación social y educativa actual derivada de la crisis sanitaria provocada por el Covid19 ha supuesto el cierre físico de universidades y ha potenciado la reinvención de los procesos deenseñanza y aprendizaje por parte de docentes y aprendientes de lenguas extranjeras (LE). Como resultado, la interacción y la creatividad, ambas enormemente afectadas, deben repensarse y plantearse como objetivos prioritarios de todo docente de LE. Para fomentar la implicación, la autonomía y la imaginación del aprendiente dentro y fuera del aula virtual, planteamos una propuesta pedagógica que persigue como objetivo concienciar al estudiante universitario de español lengua extranjera (ELE) de la necesidad de explotar la comprensión yexpresión del lenguaje figurado, ya que, sin el desarrollo de la competencia metafórica, este nopodrá comprender en su totalidad a un interlocutor nativo ni será capaz de expresarse de maneraeficaz en español. Así, enmarcada dentro del paradigma comunicativo-cognitivo, la secuenciación busca potenciar la implicación del aprendiente de ELE, así como desarrollar su competencia metafórica, mediante la metodología de *Flipped Classroom* o aula invertida a través de la plataforma *Microsoft Teams*.

14.1. Introducción

El uso de las Tecnologías de la Innovación y de la Comunicación (TIC) en el aula de LE ha adquirido en los últimos meses un papel todavía más relevante del que ya ocupaba. La crisis sanitaria, económica y social provocada por el Covid19 ha obligado tanto a docentes como a estudiante a adaptarse a nuevas dinámicas, y, sobre todo, a reinventar los procesos deenseñanza-aprendizaje de una LE. La situación derivada de la pandemia global ha llevado al cierre de facultades, y con esto, a la rápida improvisación, innovación y adaptación de una enseñanza remota y en línea. Como consecuencia, procesos tan importantes como la interacción, la imaginación y la creatividad en la enseñanza y adquisición de una LE se han visto considerablemente afectados, ya que el distanciamiento social impuesto para desacelerarla propagación del virus se ha traducido en una pérdida del contacto humano entre docente y aprendiente y entre los propios aprendientes. Asimismo, la identificación de aspectos paralingüísticos como el tono, o expresiones faciales, el lenguaje corporal, o incluso la implicación y la motivación por parte del alumnado se convierten en todo un reto para el docente. Una de las claves para superar exitosamente estas dificultades didácticas es aprender a utilizar herramientas que permitan potenciar la implicación del aprendiente tanto dentro comofuera del aula virtual, de manera que este se sienta acompañado y a la vez autónomo en su propio proceso de aprendizaje de la lengua. Así, el profesor de LE debe reinventarse ahora más que nunca para que el alumnado no pierda la motivación.

El presente estudio pretende contribuir a la mejora de los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje de ELE en un ámbito universitario. Dentro del paradigma comunicativo-cognitivo,la propuesta pedagógica aquí expuesta busca potenciar la implicación del aprendiente de ELE,así como desarrollar su competencia metafórica, mediante la metodología de *Flipped Classroom* o aula invertida a través de la plataforma *Microsoft Teams*. Consideramos que, en una época marcada por las restricciones, dotar al aprendiente de ELE de herramientas que explotan su creatividad, implicación y autonomía es ofrecerle una maleta que podrá llenar y que le acompañará durante sus experiencias lingüísticas futuras.

14.2. Propuesta pedagógica: hacia un aula de ELE más virtual, creativa y dinámica

14.2.1. Desarrollando la Competencia Metafórica

Como bien arguye la lingüística cognitiva, el lenguaje figurado (i.e., metáforas, metonimias, ironía, etc.,) impregna nuestros intercambios comunicativos. Lejos de reducirse al ámbito retórico de la poesía, las metáforas son omnipresentes: dominan el vocabulario de nuestro día a día (ver Lakoff y Johnson, 1980). En esta línea, el desarrollo de la competencia metafórica en la enseñanza de ELE ha sido objeto de estudio de numerosos autores cognitivistas. Aunque condivergencias y matices, este constructo se ha examinado profundamente en investigaciones empíricas y de aplicación en el aula, de las que destacan Acquaroni Muñoz (2008a, 2008b, 2019), Danesi (1986, 1992), Littlemore (2001b) y Littlemore y Low (2006a). Puesto que las metáforas están muy presentes en nuestro elenco lingüístico, resulta evidente que desarrollar la competencia metafórica se convierta en uno de los principales objetivos a la horade diseñar materiales y propuestas pedagógicas para la enseñanza de una LE. Acquaroni Muñoz y Suárez Campos (2019) definen la noción de competencia metafórica como la capacidad y el conocimiento necesarios para comprender, adquirir y producir metáforas en una lengua (p.373).Así, partiendo de la base de que en español existe una amplia gama de usos metafóricos con sus correspondientes metáforas conceptuales subyacentes y compartidas con otras lenguas, como el inglés (lengua materna de los aprendientes en este caso), esta ventaja puede aprovecharse para instrumentalizar la creatividad y favorecer la producción metafórica, y, por ende, la competencia comunicativa.

La propuesta didáctica busca potenciar esta competencia metafórica del aprendiente de ELEen lo que respecta a su habilidad para asimilar y producir metáforas lingüísticas sobre la emoción en la producción escrita del español. En cuanto a la secuenciación, y en relación con los principios cognitivos y las fases de aprendizaje expuestas en Newby (2012), hay una primera fase de concienciación lingüística hacia las metáforas lingüísticas de la emoción (Figura 1); una segunda, de conceptualización y formulación de hipótesis, donde el alumno relacione metáforas lingüísticas con metáforas conceptuales y establezca conexiones con su lengua materna; una tercera, de procedimentalización del conocimiento lingüístico, es decir, de prácticasignificativa; y una última fase, basada en la actuación lingüística, donde el alumno es capaz deproducir por escrito metáforas sobre determinadas emociones, habiendo así desarrollado su competencia metafórica. Las dos primeras tienen lugar a través de la plataforma

Microsoft Teams dentro del aula virtual, la tercera se desarrolla fuera, mediante la aplicación *EdPuzzle*, siguiendo una metodología de aula invertida y la última se realiza de nuevo en tiempo real en el aula virtual a través de *Microsoft Teams.*

Figura 1. Fase de concienciación lingüística hacia las metáforas lingüísticas de la emoción

14.2.2. Microsoft Teams: un medio seguro e interactivo

Tras valorar distintas alternativas (Blackboard Collaborate, Zoom, Cisco Webex), nos inclinamos por *Microsoft Teams,* herramienta gratis para universidades que integra videollamadas, chat, contenido, tareas y aplicaciones, se fomenta así un entorno de aprendizajeenriquecedor y accesible desde diversos dispositivos (e.g., móvil, tableta u ordenador). La primera fase de concienciación se lleva a cabo a través de *Teams Meetings,* donde docente y aprendientes conectan por videollamada. Además, esta herramienta facilita la posibilidad de activar los subtítulos y de retroceder en la grabación, opciones muy ventajosas en el aula de LE.Asimismo, el docente puede crear y supervisar canales privados para que los aprendientes trabajen en equipo. Es, sobre todo, en la fase de formulación de hipótesis, cuando este espacioprivado cobra más sentido: los aprendientes, en pequeños grupos, relacionan metáforas lingüísticas con sus correspondientes metáforas conceptuales a partir de una tarea que el docente sube a la sección de *Assignments* con *OneNote* (Figura 2). Para la presente secuencia didáctica, los textos son traducciones al español de la poesía feminista de Rupi Kaur. En esta sección, estos pueden desarrollar su autonomía con la herramienta *Immersive Reader,* que incluye opciones como un diccionario pictórico, lectura en voz alta y la

traducción a su lenguamaterna.
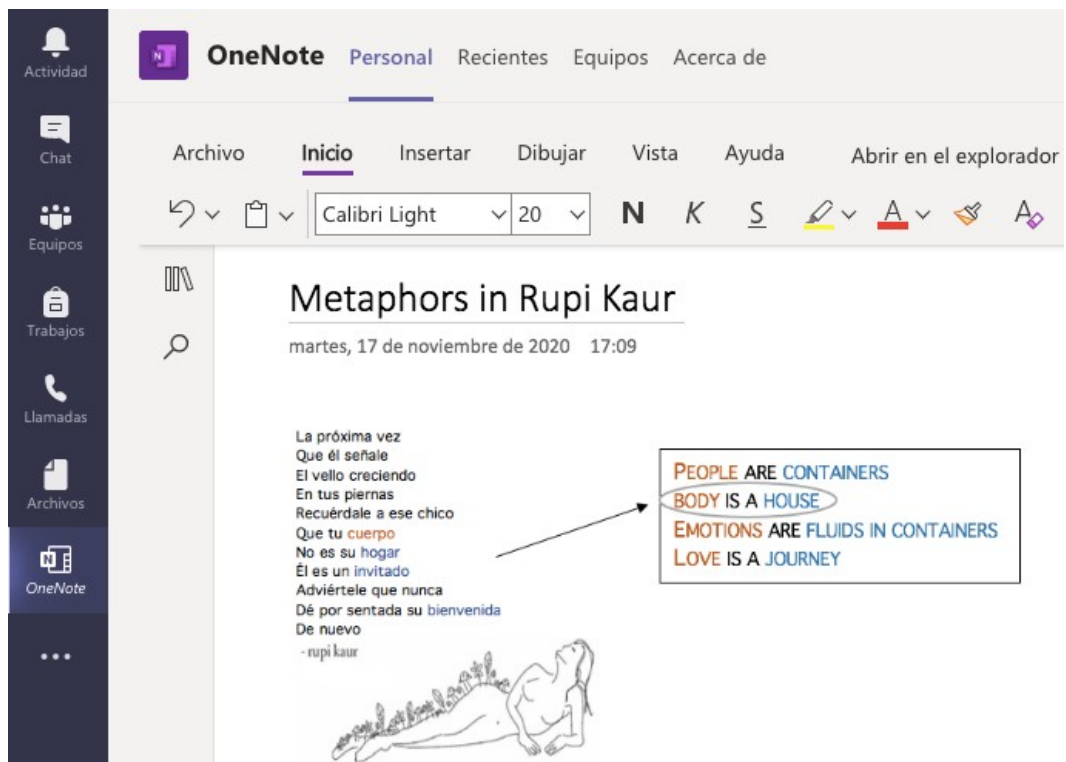
Figura 2. Fase 2 de formulación de hipótesis con OneNote en
pequeños grupos

14.2.3. Metodología Flipped Classroom

Para la tercera fase de procedimentalización del conocimiento lingüístico, es decir, de prácticasignificativa, nos servimos de una de las metodologías que con más éxito fomenta que el aprendiente de ELE sea protagonista de su propio aprendizaje: el método de aula invertida o *Flipped classroom*, a través de la herramienta *EdPuzzle*. No obstante, para esta secuencia, no es el docente quien proporciona los materiales para que el alumnado los visualice en casa y los trabaje posteriormente en *Microsoft Meetings* (última fase), sino que, en grupos de 3 alumnos,estos crean y editan el vídeo centrándose en una metáfora conceptual trabajada en las anterioresfases y en una nueva, potenciando así el trabajo colaborativo, la implicación, la creatividad y lacompetencia metafórica.

14.3. Conclusiones

El cierre de universidades ha supuesto un giro copernicano en la enseñanza y aprendizaje de LE. Ahora, más que nunca, resulta fundamental adoptar un enfoque y unas metodologías que se centren en el aprendiente y lo conciban como creador de su propia interlengua. En este sentido, la lingüística cognitiva, que estudia el lenguaje en relación con otros procesos cognitivos como la abstracción o la imaginación, se convierte en una aliada indiscutible para desarrollar la competencia comunicativa (a través de la competencia metafórica). A través de la propuesta pedagógica aquí planteada se pretende hacer consciente al aprendiente de ELE de la necesidad de explotar la comprensión y expresión del lenguaje figurado, ya que, sin el desarrollo de dicha capacidad, este no podrá comprender en su totalidad a un interlocutor nativo ni podrá expresar sus emociones de manera eficiente en la lengua meta. No obstante, para aprender, se requiere un entorno seguro y dinámico, así como poner en práctica los conocimientos. Para ello, la secuencia se ha diseñado en *Microsoft Teams,* una de las plataformas más interactivas del mercado para la enseñanza universitaria en remoto. Asimismo, los aprendientes de ELE, aparte de adquirir las competencias técnicas de una aplicación de este calibre, han podido practicar de manera más autónoma e ingeniosa a través de una herramienta sencilla, como es *EdPuzzle.*

Chapter 15 [Paper 13]

ENGAGING ELE LEARNERS: EMOTION METAPHORS ON GIFS

Beatriz Martín-Gascón

Abstract

The present proposal examines the role of metaphors in GIFs as a pedagogical tool in the teaching of two basic emotions: happiness and sadness. Based on research concerning metaphors and emotions in the context of CL, a pedagogical proposal focusing on complex constructions to convey happiness and sadness is designed in line with Newby's (2012) learning phases, which consider the learner's perspective and focus on the four above-mentioned stages that need to be accomplished in the learner's mind. Instagram is used as an online pedagogical tool and GIFs are exploited as a didactic resource to enhance metaphoric competence. GIFs, as potentially conceptually rich concepts, invite learners to actively participate in the construction and interpretation of the message, thus engaging them in the communicative act. From a CL perspective,its structure of compelling repetitiveness and endless motion allows for content selection and emphasizes salient features of a certain emotion word or expression. Since cognitive-based accounts conceive language based on the speaker's perception and ability to build mental images to interpret more abstract concepts (i.e., emotions), GIFs, as moving images, can contribute to improving Spanish/L2 learner's expression of emotion as well as their metaphorical and communicative competences.

15.1. Introduction

The use of the information and communication technologies (hereinafter ICT) has led to new avenues of interaction between learners, teachers and the didactic material. In the last decades, ICT have acquired a significant role in the teaching-learning process, allowing progress in both the teachers and the students' side, enhancing stimulation, motivation and information richness and manipulation. Their ubiquity and ergonomics make them vital elements in the present situation derived from the COVID-19 pandemic, with schools and universities following a remote and hybrid teaching-learning model. With the infusion of educational ICTs and internet access into classrooms, foreign language (FL) teachers must become aware of the importance of conceptual iconicity and visuals for their course content, this being in line with the internet-forward culture that characterizes modern times.

With regard to this technological revolution and the pandemic's social impact, social networks allow students more than ever to connect and interact with other peers, teachers, friends, family and the world, in general. Instagram, with more than 1 billion monthly active users, has ranked third after Facebook (with 2 billion) and YouTube (with 1.9 billion) in terms of the most popular social media network. According to results from Sprout Social (2020), younger adults feel more attracted to Instagram than to Facebook, this resulting in a high number of users of 18-29 years old (64%). Students' interactions in social networking sites include not only written-text forms, but also still and moving image in the form of emojis, memes and GIFs (graphic interchange format). These latter, used to describe and comment on events in real life, not only enrich online interactions but are also susceptible to open interpretation, which renders their study and implementation in the FL instructional setting a rather challenging and engaging task.

This chapter, departing from a cognitivist perspective to language didactics, focuses on the role of metaphors present in GIFs (a multimodal text) as a pedagogical tool in the teaching of two basic emotions (happiness and sadness) in the Spanish as a foreign language (ELE in the native language acronym) remote classroom. To do so, research concerning metaphors and emotions in the context of cognitive linguistics is first reviewed. A pedagogical proposal addressing complex linguistic expressions to convey happiness and sadness is then presented using Instagram as an online pedagogical tool and GIFs as a didactic resource to exploit metaphoric competence. To our knowledge, no study to date has yet considered Instagram as a medium to enhance ELE learners' engagement and communicative competence when learning emotion metaphors. It is

therefore expected that this cognitive-based proposal will be implemented in the ELE classroom as well as will serve as a basis for future material creation focusing on other linguistic aspects.

15.2. Cognitive linguistics

15.2.1. The role of metaphor in the FL classroom

For Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth CL), a productive and interdisciplinary approach to the study of language, linguistic knowledge is part of our general cognitive system. Language is thus integrated along with other cognitive abilities that allowprocesses of reasoning, memory or learning. Speakers express meaning through differentlinguistic forms based on how they conceptualize their internal and external reality, so that language represents thought and their perception of the world. Consider, for instance,the expression *I don't think this relationship* is going anywhere (Kövecses, 2010, p.6) andits Spanish equivalent *No creo que esta relación* vaya a ninguna parte or *We're* at a crossroads (Estamos *en una encrucijada*) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 8). These are linguistic realizations of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.44), in which speakers conceptualize an abstract and elusive domain of experience (LOVE) in terms of another concept, more concrete and directly experienced, that of JOURNEYS. There is a fixed set of mappings that characterizes the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, where basic constituent elements of journeys systematically correspond to elements of love (see Figure 1).
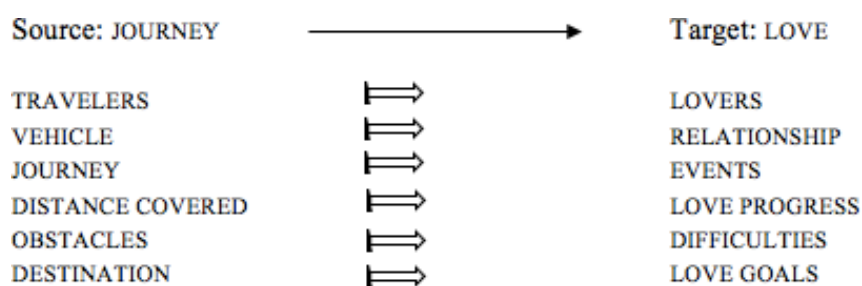
Figure 1. LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor mapping

Knowing a metaphor is knowing the set of systematic correspondences that provides the meaning of metaphorical linguistic expressions. Since metaphor is pervasive and ubiquitous, understanding its functioning is crucial in many spheres

(i.e., political discourse, advertisements), and especially in the field of FL teaching and learning, wheremastering metaphors can become a great didactic ally. A vast number of studies has shown how reflecting on metaphor enhances figurative language understanding as wellsas vocabulary and grammar assimilation and retention, and how this results in boosting the learner's communicative competence (to name but a few: Acquaroni Muñoz & Suárez Campos, 2019; Boers, 2004; Hoang, 2014; Littlemore et al., 2013; MacArthur, 2017). These authors highlight the necessity to introduce metaphor explicitly in the FL classroomand to design material to promote its usage.

15.2.2. Emotion metaphors

Experiences that are harder to apprehend directly, such as emotions, are understood on the basis of more direct and easy-to-describe experiences, normally bodily ones. The linguistic expressions used for the evaluative orientational metaphors (metaphors providing a positive evaluation for the concept of happiness, and a negative one for sadness): HAPPY IS UP (examples in 1), HAPPY IS FEELING LIGHT (not HEAVY) (2), BEING HAPPY IS BEING IN HEAVEN (3), BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND(4), SAD IS DOWN (5), and SAD IS FEELING HEAVY (6) are clear instantiations of space and movement projected onto emotions where words whose literal meaning belongs to the domain of space or motion undergo metaphorical extensions to convey these two primary emotions.

(1) *I'm feeling* up *today. / Your arrival* raised *my spirits. / ¡*Arriba *ese ánimo!* (*Cheer* up*!*) */ ¿Qué puedo hacer para* levantarte *el ánimo?* (*What can I do to* lift *your spirits?*)

(2) *I'm* floating / *I'm walking on* air / *Estoy en* las nubes (*I'm on* cloud nine)

(3) She was in *seventh heaven* / Estoy en *la gloria* (I'm in *heaven*)

(4) Los niños *saltaban de alegría* (Kids *jumped for joy*)

(5) *Estoy* baja *de ánimos.* (*I'm in* low *spirits)*

(6) *He left her with a* heavy heart (*La dejó con* gran pesar)

As it can be derived from these examples, emotions in the Lakoff-Johnson sense tend to be understood in terms of orientational metaphors (up-down), which are perceived as grounded in the physical effects of the emotions. Hence, a drooping posture typically goesalong with a feeling of sadness and depression, whereas tilting

into an upward and erect position is associated with the positive emotional state of happiness. These metaphors, being the result of systematic correlations between these two emotions and our sensory- motor experiences, can become universal didactic tools that allow us to read deeper intothe complexities of the mind.

15.3. Materials

15.3.1. Instagram as an online pedagogical tool

Unlike studies showing the positive effects of using social networks like Facebook or Twitter at instructional settings on learner's motivation and engagement (to name buta few: Inpeng & Nomnian, 2020; Rosa & Vital, 2017; Voivonta & Avraamidou, 2018), research on the implementation of Instagram as a didactic instrument is still scarce (yet, we can highlight the following studies: Gauthier et al., 2016; Rodríguez Learte et al., 2019). This might be due to its mainly visual nature and purposes (i.e., sharing images, videos and most recently, reels). Yet, it is exactly this image-based characteristic what renders Instagram such a valuable tool to learn emotion metaphors, since visual images are somehow constructed to cue conceptual metaphors (see Figure 2).

| ← feliz | HAPPY IS UP (upward arms and gaze) HAPPY IS FEELING LIGHT (light movement) BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND (jumping up) | ← triste | SAD IS DOWN (dropping position, downward arms and gaze) SAD IS FEELING HEAVY (on the floor, not moving) |

Figure 2. GIFs for the queries 'feliz' (happy) and 'sad' (sad) and identified metaphors

15.3.2. GIFs as multimodal didactic resources to exploit emotion metaphors

Although the format of animated GIFs (multiple images stored in one file

resulting in a hypnotic commingling of instant and interval) was first introduced by the CompuServe Information Service in 1987, these visual multimodal repetitive images have recently experienced increasingly popularity on social networks like Tumblr and, since 2018, on Instagram. This latter allows users to search for GIFs using keywords (written text) and post them on their "stories" (see Figure 3).
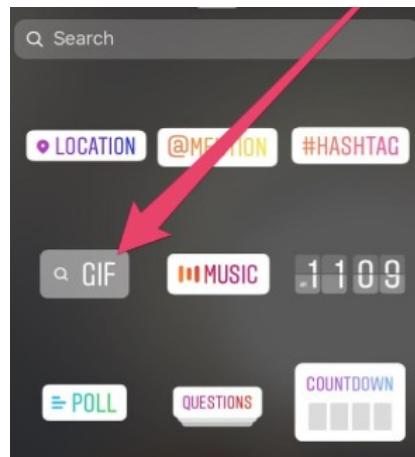
Figure 3. GIF option on "stories"

One of the most frequent uses of animated GIFs on the internet is to express emotions. Like other forms of nonverbal communication, GIFs intuitively convey emotion and are susceptible to interpretation. As potentially conceptually rich concepts, they invite users to participate actively in the construction and interpretation of the message, thus engaging them in the communicative act. From a cognitivist point of view, its structure of compelling repetitiveness and endless motion allows for content selection and emphasizes salient features of the searched keyword (see Figure 4). Since CL conceives language based on the speaker's perception and ability to build mental images to interpret more abstract concepts (i.e., emotions), GIFs, as moving images, can contribute to enhancing ELE learner's metaphorical and communicative competences.
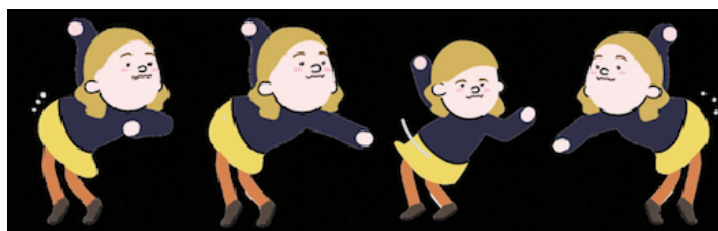
Figure 4. Salient features for happiness: feeling light, arms and head heading upwards, feet off theground

15.4. Pedagogical proposal

The proposal presented here targeted difficult to acquire yet recurrent linguistic expressions used to convey the emotions of happiness and sadness (see Table 1). The target expressions were extracted from previous studies following a cognitive-based analysis that examined experiencer and stimulus roles (Martín-Gascón, 2020a) and the idiomatic constructions 'tocar el cielo con los dedos/con las manos' and 'tocar fondo' (Martín Gascón, 2022).The main aim was to break with the formal vision to grammar that prevails in FL textbooks and to incorporate to the ELE online classroom one of the most used social networks in this day and age. The proposal was also designed so as to boost learners' metaphoric competence and offer them the tools to express their feelings in the ELE classroom in a more autonomous way.

Table 1. Target linguistic expressions

Happiness	Sadness
Estoy contento / encantado / muy feliz / animado / ilusionado / de muy buen humor	Estoy (cuantificador) triste / deprimido / mal
Me siento muy feliz /contento/ satisfecho (de /de que)	Siento / lamento (que)
Me alegro (de que) / me alegra (que)	Me pongo triste cuando
Me hace ilusión que (subjuntivo pasado)	Me encuentro (cuantificador) deprimido
Me pongo contento / de buen humor / me pone contento / de buen humor	Me da pena / lástima (que)
Tocar el cielo (con los dedos / con las manos) *	Me siento triste / apenado / sin ánimos
	Lo paso mal / fatal
	Me duele / me hace daño / me disgusta que (subjuntivo pasado)
	Tocar fondo *

15.4.1. Didactic structure: combining a cognitive-based approach + the ICT

An Instagram account was created (see Figure 5) and students were asked to registerfor a new one for the Spanish classroom. The teacher and students' accounts are

expectedto serve as virtual spaces for the teaching-learning of the target structures, interaction and co-evaluation.
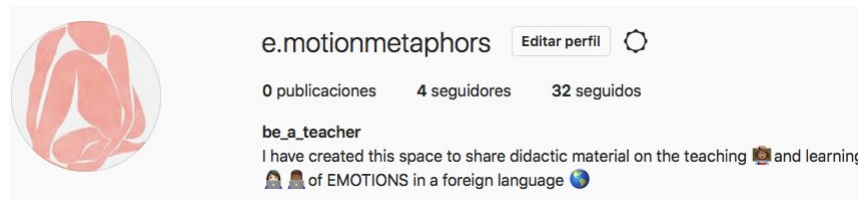
Figure 5. Teacher's account

The didactic sequence was designed following Newby's (2012) learning phases, which consider the learner's perspective and focus on the four stages that need to be accomplished in the learner's mind (awareness, conceptualization, proceduralization andperformance) to internalize the new expressions more efficiently. Hence, based on thesecognitive learning stages, in the first phase, with relation to raising the learner's awareness. ing and focusing), learners were introduced with emotion metaphors. A very visualand concise explanation as well as explicit examples of linguistic metaphors were uploaded to "stories" in order for attention to be put into what they are and their ubiquity in everyday language (see Figure 6). To do so, GIFs and colors were used as figurative and cognitive symbols so as to illustrate the exemplifications and emphasize the source (blue) and target domains (black).

Figure 6. First phase: Linguistic awareness towards emotion metaphorical expressions

The second stage targeted the conceptualization and formulation of hypotheses, this in line with the student's understanding of the construct (metaphor) through conscious knowledge. In order to do so, ELE learners were shown linguistic realizations in their mother tongue (English) and in Spanish (retrieved from examples 1 to 6) to draw on interlinguistic similarities and on the universality of these emotion metaphors. They were then asked to identify the conceptual metaphors at play.

The next phase aimed at proceduralizing the linguistic knowledge via significative practice. Learners were shown examples in Spanish and they had to reply to the "story" with the English counterparts. Likewise, they were shown English metaphorical emotion expressions and they were asked to guess the Spanish equivalents. Furthermore, they hadto explain the set of correspondences that they had identified between the source and target domains. These tasks not only enhanced teacher-student interactions (the teacher showed on "stories" learners' responses), but it also served as a means of peer co- evaluation (learners had to give feedback to the other peers' responses on "stories" about the translations and mapping identification).

The fourth and last stage concerned students' real-time performance. In this phase, they were prompted to incorporate their new knowledge, that is, show whether they had really developed their metaphoric competence or not, by conveying the target expressions (from Table 1) more autonomously. Each student focused on one linguistic expression for happiness and one for sadness, and they had to explain the underlying conceptual metaphor and mappings by using GIFs and colors that best described the expressions. The illustrative power of GIFs helped the learner mentally visualize the communicative intention and perception of someone conveying that expression, which according to Arnold (1999), facilitates the acquisition and retention of the linguistic formin the long term.

15.5. Conclusions

Just as many daily activities and routines have been affected and, therefore, reinvented by the COVID19 current situation, it is equally as important to find new avenues to improve both students' learning and engagement in the ELE classroom. The present didactic sequence was designed in line with this current necessity for educationalinnovation by using GIFs as a tool to be applied by teachers in their pedagogical interventions when explaining metaphors in relation to emotions.

Similarly, learners were also encouraged to participate actively in building knowledge via these animated colorful and iconic images. The incorporation of visual and ludic elements contributed to making the virtual ELE classroom a more affective andmotivating space, where the learner undergoes a positive grammatical experience. Sincethe sequence focused on the conceptualization and expression of two basic emotions, theuse of GIFs and Instagram as a resource and tool, respectively, for the teaching and learning of emotions holds even greater significance.

Chapter 16 [General conclusions]

This thesis has presented an implementation based on a prior cognitive and contrastive analysis of frequent emotion expressions whose acquisition at a formal Spanish/L2 environment was considered a real challenge, and whose inclusion in the curriculum has been heretofore relatively overlooked. If expressing one's emotions in the L1 is key to interpersonal relationships, understanding and expressing feelings in the L2 becomes of paramount importance as well. Learning how to communicate emotions already at basic levels of proficiency not only helps students regulate their linguistic and pragmatic strategies when they interpret their interlocutors' intention, but it also contributes to boosting their self-confidence and discovering a new emotional identity in the L2.

Throughout the first eleven papers reported here, a cognitive-based analysis that compared the Spanish target forms with their English counterparts has been offered (i.e., psych verbs, metaphorical constructions with *ponerse* and *tocar*, and written verbal irony). A wide variety of corpora has been used for the analysis of the constructions under study: from textbooks, which are the material to which learners are most directly exposed to corpora from Sketch Engine, Twitter, and interviews with native speakers, among others. Hinging on findings and in search of further empirical validation, innovative CL-based pedagogies have been designed and further implemented at different levels with students at a North American university. As a novelty, L2 learners' performance has been evaluated via assessment tests that, within the theoretical approach adopted and in line with the cognitive-based pedagogical application, were created considering CL tenets. The last two papers have been CL-informed, descriptive proposals to teaching emotion metaphors, which serve as a foundation for further material design and for empirical studies, thus opening new roads that connect descriptive proposals with experimental research.

In what follows, the main findings and contributions of studies targeting each linguistic form are presented: psych-verbs (16.1.), metaphorical motion constructions (16.2.), metaphorical tactile constructions (16.3.), ironic utterances (16.4.), as well as those from the CL-informed proposals (16.5.). Section 16.6. reflects upon some of the

limitations observed in this work and future directions for further research. In section 16.7. the implications of our findings for the literature on CL applied to Spanish/L2 and the teaching and learning of other L2s are discussed. Finally, section 16.8. draws some concluding remarks.

16.1. Psych-verb studies

Among the main findings and contributions of the studies examining the psych-verb construction, it can be highlighted that Spanish/L2 textbooks, despite being designed following recommendations by reference documents like the *PCIC* and the *CEFR*, do not always adjust to their emotion inventory. Some emotions and linguistic expressions with psych-verbs are not included at lower levels as suggested by the *PCIC* or, on the contrary, they present others that the *PCIC* does not recommend until more advanced levels, and in other cases, some textbooks do not include emotions at all. In line with the *PCIC*, most textbooks teach psych-verbs that convey positive emotions at the most basic levels of proficiency, relegating negative emotions to higher levels. Furthermore, results from a qualitative analysis of 36 textbooks based on a list of cognitive and communicative parameters reveal that psych-verbs are treated following a communicative approach, yet they are approached from a formalist and cognitively poor perspective.

Regardless of the very few psych-verbs introduced at the A1-A2 levels (e.g., *gustar* 'to like', *encantar* to love', *interesar* 'to interest'), these are not taught with attention to the semantics of their communicative intent. Indeed, they tend to be reduced to their most formal aspect and to taxonomies that disregard cognitive-based concepts such as salience, perspective, or embodiment to explain why the subject and object are used differently (i.e., one linguistic form is used over another). The psych-verb construction therefore adds to the list of grammatical elements that are presented to students in an unmethodical manner (Sánchez Jiménez & Ruiz Campillo, 2017). These results corroborate the hypothesis posited regarding the formalist and unsystematic treatment of psych-verbs in the *PCIC* and in most Spanish/L2 market-ready textbooks. In agreement with previous research that calls for a regeneration of the predominant pedagogy in Spanish/L2 and proposes CL as a suitable approach for practitioners concerned about a meaningful acquisition of the L2 system (Castañeda, 2014; Llopis-García 2018; Llopis-García, Real Espinosa & Ruiz Campillo, 2012), the two studies looking at the *PCIC* and textbooks emphasize the need for bridging connections between communicative and cognitive paradigms, as well as for transferring results to an instructional environment.

Empirical findings from a pilot and a replication study examining the effects of a cognitive-based approach to teaching (and as importantly, assessing) positive and negative psych-verb constructions with beginning learners (n = 219) show that after instruction, the cognitive group significantly outperforms the traditional in comprehension and production tasks. Veering from a traditional conception of grammar linked to long lists of rules and exceptions and correct vs. incorrect assessment, a CL approach proves to yield a more natural acquisition of psych-verbs, which can be rather obscure for English L1 speakers. Such an approach focuses primarily on providing learners with systemic and motivated explanations based on real-life perceptions of the grammatical structure of these verbs. Furthermore, the novel assessment tests implemented in the two studies, which consider cognitive techniques while including traditional terminology, shows to be fruitful, since all instructional groups make learning gains. These results, in agreement with claims made by Llopis-García and Alonso-Aparicio (2018, 2019) and Llopis-García (2021, 2022), confirm that a cognitive-based instruction, when paired with an assessment that emphasizes form-meaning connections and meaning motivation becomes a productive method. In light of the promising results, the studies provide solid evidence in support of CL applied to L2 teaching (e.g., Boers & Lindstromberg, 2008; De Knop & De Rycker, 2008; De Knop, Boers & De Rycker, 2010; Holme, 2009) and add to the growing body of research with languages other than English (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Cadierno & Castañeda, 2019; Llopis-García & Hijazo-Gascón, 2019).

16.2. Metaphorical motion construction studies

The three studies that follow, along with Chapter 6 that presents a cognitive-based analysis and results from the British National Corpus, examine metaphorical motion constructions with the change-of-state verb *ponerse* followed by an evaluative adjective. Findings from an analysis of the metaphor A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION, along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning, reveal that the metaphor is attested in the two languages, as examples retrieved from corpora illustrate for the two domains. However, both conceptual and linguistic limitations are found in the metaphor. This is partly due to the semantic nature of the verb *ponerse*, which undertakes subcategorial conversion from spontaneous and temporary change of location, which requires spatial predicates to convey spontaneous and temporary change of state with an

evaluative adjective. The combination is indeed found to be metaphorical, yet not all evaluative adjectives can appear with *ponerse* (e.g., *Se puso *vergonzosa* 'She got embarrassed') and neither can adjective participles (e.g., *Se puso *indignada* 'She got outraged'), since these profile relatively stable states. The distinction between relatively transient and relatively stable or permanent properties thus determines the collocability of the corresponding adjectives with certain verbs.

In line with Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera's (2014) claim that the Lexical Constructional Model accounts for the existence of re-construal processes at the highest level of linguistic activity, the conceptual metaphor A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION acts as a constraint on the ascription of certain verbs and certain resultatives to the verb construction. This happens based on the evaluative subjective resultative expression that follows them. Furthermore, results show that the caused-motion construction displays the motivation of the metaphor at stake, which accounts for the relation between the semantics of both the caused-motion and the resultative construction. These findings agree with constructionist approaches and the LCM (e.g., Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo, 2016), which acknowledge that resultatives are metaphorical extensions of caused-motion constructions, as the former inherit features from these low-level constructions. Findings from the BNC corroborate the existence of more than one change-of-state verb in English ('get' and 'go' are the most frequent) to convey the same metaphorical meaning as the *ponerse* + adjective construction in Spanish. In terms of pedagogical implications, the results reported also show that the *PCIC* does not introduce the target constructions until the B1 level. This limitation is further addressed and overcome in an empirical study with A2+ intermediate students, in which the target constructions are approached cross-linguistically and from a CL-based perspective.

Findings are further triangulated with empirical data of Spanish/L2 learners' metaphoric awareness, searching for evidence on the psychological reality of metaphorical thought regarding A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A SPONTANEOUS AND TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION and the EMOTIONS ARE CLOTHES underlying conceptual metaphors, which have been disregarded in the conceptual metaphor theory literature. Results suggest that English learners of Spanish/L2 perceive different emotions (e.g., nervousness and sadness) expressed with the same change-of-state verb similarly with regard to their spontaneous nature, although there is some disagreement concerning their temporary nature. Hence, 'getting nervous' and 'getting

sad' (*ponerse nervioso* and *ponerse triste*) are both perceived as more spontaneous than non-spontaneous, yet the former is seen as more short-lasting than the latter. The temporary and spontaneous nature of emotions when being linguistically represented through the change-of-state verb *ponerse* is also found to be associated with the short-lasting nature of wearing clothes and putting them on and off.

Further results from the empirical study comparing a cognitive and a traditional approach clearly suggest that a CL pedagogy and assessment becomes a productive approach for teaching and learning these complex constructions, as well as for developing the learners' metaphoric competence in the L2. Compared to the traditional group, students exposed to a cognitive-based, and more specifically, a CMT-inspired method, not only improve their general metaphor comprehension and production, but also show a superior performance in the comprehension and production of the target constructions. Therefore, departing from recommendations by the *PCIC* and the *CEFR*, which relegate metaphors and change-of-state verbs to more advanced levels, results from this study with A2+ learners show the statistically significant positive outcomes of teaching metaphor and figurative language at earlier stages.

These results add to previous research examining the positive outcomes of teaching motion events from a cognitive perspective in the Spanish/L2 classroom (Colasacco, 2017), to studies relating metaphorical competence to L2 assimilation and retention (e.g., Achard & Niemeier, 2004; Acquaroni Muñoz & Suárez Campos, 2019; Suárez Campos & Hijazo-Gascón, 2019) and examining both metaphorical production and comprehension (Charteris-Black, 2002; MacArthur & Littlemore, 2011). It is expected that these encouraging findings contribute to research aiming at refining pedagogical and assessment materials in the teaching of figurative motion events in the L2 classroom.

16.3. Metaphorical tactile construction studies

The main results from the contrastive and cognitive analysis of semantic extensions in tactile constructions show how perception and physical interaction with the surroundings (and more specifically the sense of touch) influence how emotions are linguistically expressed. These findings are in agreement with those from research on sense perception, for they relate touch to the semantic field of emotions (Buck, 1949; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999; Kurath, 1921; Raffaelli & Kerovec, 2018; Sweetser, 1990). Deriving from the analysis of constructions with *tocar* 'touch', the study offers a conceptual taxonomy based on shared and language-specific metaphors and metonymies

found in English and Spanish. For the most part, common metaphors and metonymies are displayed in the two languages, but the analysis also reveals language-specific features.

The AFFECTING IS TOUCHING conceptual metaphor, based on the primary MIND-AS-BODY metaphor, and the CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy are observed cross-linguistically in most tactile verb constructions. On the other hand, metaphors such as ANGERING SOMEONE IS AFFECTING HER/HIS NERVES or ANNOYING PEOPLE ARE DISEASE, or the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, are mostly evidenced only for English. These findings prove the assumption that conceptual metaphors are motivated by or grounded in the speakers' bodily, perceptual, and social experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). These findings can be a useful tool for developing didactic content that helps English learners of Spanish/L2 become aware and establish source and target domain associations between their L1 and L2. As a result, this has clear pedagogical implications, since the ability to understand conceptual metaphors and use their metaphorical linguistic representations is crucial for successful L2 learning.

In light of these results, an empirical study that targets L2 metaphoric competence and metaphorical tactile constructions in an instructional setting reveals that students explicitly taught about metaphors are significantly better at producing and comprehending general metaphors than those who receive a traditional instruction of these constructions. Similarly, the cognitive group evinces a statistically significant improvement in the production and comprehension of the target metaphorical expressions. Considering the promising results and in agreement with research on L2 metaphor teaching (Acquaroni Muñoz & Suárez Campos, 2019; Boers, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2002; Lantolf & Bobrova, 2014; Littlemore & Juchem-Grundmann, 2010; MacArthur, 2010; MacArthur & Littlemore, 2011; Niemeier, 2017; Suárez Campos & Hijazo-Gascón, 2019), it is concluded that instilling metaphoric awareness and encouraging learners to produce metaphors enhances not only students' metaphoric competence but also their communicative competence. As in empirical studies focusing on psych-verbs and change-of-state constructions, the design and implementation of cognitive-based assessment tests along with motivated and embodied explanations renders once again the learning of complex constructions in the L2 more successful.

16.4. Written verbal irony studies

The findings from the two studies on tweets with ironic use in Spanish and English in terms of cognitive modeling starting out with bigdata and following up on a qualitative

analysis, reveal the complexities of perceiving verbal irony in written text. In this sense, the relevance of incorporating non-linguistic and linguistic cues such as hashtags, emojis, interjections, punctuation markers, laughter typing, or tag questions is emphasized. Results from both studies show a higher use of positive and explicit-echoic irony, which accounts for the arduousness of grasping irony in social networks, as shown by previous literature (e.g., Cignarella et al., 2018; Karoui et al., 2017; Joshi, Sharma & Bhattacharyya, 2015; Joshi et al., 2016; Joshi, Bhattacharyya & Carman 2017), since the echo is constructed at an extra-linguistic level. Yet, findings with regard to non-explicit irony differ, since a stronger association with negative linguistic signs is found in Spanish tweets. Furthermore, diverging from findings in the Spanish corpus, ironic cues such as vowel enlargement, capitalization and derivational suffixes are not regarded as ironic markers in English, nor are fixed expressions of approval, qualitative adjectives collocations, and expressions with metaphorical and metonymic mappings. English and Spanish users do resort to irony to primarily discuss politics, sports, and their emotional state. These findings contribute insight into the conceptualization and linguistic expression of written irony for Spanish and English speakers' in one of the most-used social media platforms nowadays. Furthermore, results add to the area of computational linguistics and machine learning in categorizing feature types. Since the study of ironic tweets shows cross-linguistic variances, it is essential to explicitly teach potentially ironic expressions at early L2 learning stages by drawing attention to both similarities and differences. In doing so, students will be more conscious of the mental mechanisms and linguistic representations that interact in the creation of irony, thus boosting their linguistic competence. This can, as a result, enhance learners' intercultural awareness and help them become more autonomous speakers by exhibiting their real wit in the L2.

These expected positive outcomes are supported in a further empirical study which applies results from the two previous studies in the design of a pedagogical material and assessment tests that measure learners' identification and production of irony in the L2. Results from a pre/posttest-instruction design and a CL-based pedagogy attest the efficacy of explicitly teaching irony in the classroom, as students from both intermediate and advanced levels perform significantly better after the intervention in all irony recognition and written production tasks. These findings are in line with the scarce research conducted on this topic (Alvarado Ortega, 2018; Bouton 1999). A positive correlation between L2 proficiency and ironic written production is observed, as the advanced group presents statistically significant higher scores in the ironic production

task than the intermediate. Yet, this difference is not found to be significant for irony recognition tasks, which suggests that understanding irony in the L2 does not require a high level of proficiency. These results depart from previous research showing that irony and humor recognition improves as proficiency increases (Bouton, 1999; Cook 2000; Deneire, 1995; Schmitz, 2002; Shively et al., 2008). These studies have recommended their inclusion at more advanced levels, in line with the *CEFR* guidelines. Findings from this empirical investigation, however, advocate that irony can already be introduced at lower levels, in agreement with studies by Bell (2009) and Linares-Bernabeu (2017) and breaking with the poor, if non-existent, presence of the explicit teaching of irony in the language curriculum. Since using irony requires, among others, the ability to interpret and produce pragmatic incongruities (Ayçiçeği-Dinn et al., 2017), learning how to use it plays a crucial role in the communicative act and in avoiding cultural misunderstandings. This is by no means a trivial pedagogical issue with interpersonal and social implications.

16.5. CL-informed proposals

The last two studies presented in this compendium of publications show metaphor-based descriptive materials to teach emotion metaphors in the Spanish/L2 remote classroom. The applications call for an ongoing continuation to further build bridges between descriptive proposals and empirical research. They serve as a foundation for future assessment design and classroom implementation at a university environment and add to findings from the main studies on metaphoric competence included in this thesis. The didactic sequences are designed using visual and ludic elements (i.e., GIFs) as a tool, and *Instagram, Microsoft Teams* and *EdPuzzle* as attractive platforms for dialogue to explain metaphors in relation to emotions. Findings derived from teacher observations suggest that the incorporation of ludic elements and interactive user-friendly platforms contribute to making the virtual classroom a more inspiring space, with learners undergoing a positive learning experience and raising their awareness of the importance of figurative language comprehension and in the expression of emotion.

16.6. Limitations and future directions

Results from studies reported herein should be considered in the light of some limitations. The first and inevitable drawback was due to the academic situation derived from the COVID-19 pandemic. All empirical studies had to be conducted in an online setting, without a shared physical space for interaction. The main negative effects of face-

to-screen learning observed during the empirical studies were ascribed to students dropping out without finishing the tests (mainly the delayed posttest), simply skipping the last items for time, or due to lack of motivation. As a result, data from students who had not completed all tests were discarded and data collection times expanded throughout four university terms to gather as big a sample as possible. Further empirical research in which in-class and in-person conditions are implemented could help overcome these limitations and corroborate our findings.

The second limitation applies to the small population in studies that focused on developing learners' metaphoric competence (papers 6, 8, 12 and 13 in this thesis), for small sample sizes do not allow for the idiosyncratic differences between participants to be ironed out. Further empirical investigations with a bigger sample would allow to generalize the positive findings with regard to learner comprehension and production of metaphor and metaphorical expressions. In this regard, more research comparing the students' metaphoric competence in their L1 and L2 could also help us understand the cognitive and linguistic components at play.

The third drawback looked upon the limited amount of time invested in the pedagogical intervention for teaching and practicing of the target forms. With a more longitudinal design including more sessions, the constructions under study could have been more broadly approached by incorporating, for instance, a wider range of psych verbs. Overall, more research looking at other complex constructions in Spanish and other L2s is desirable to assess the validity of the CL approach across different languages, cementing thus its suitability for a communicative and meaningful L2 classroom.

16.7. Implications for CL applied to Spanish/L2 and other L2s

The overall aim of this thesis was to contribute to the existing body of research in CL and applied CL and examine the impact of this approach in the teaching, assessing, and learning of Spanish/L2 complex constructions that express emotions. On the one hand, a CL-informed pedagogy aims at facilitating the students' learning process, where input is rather scarce, by sowing the seeds of meaning, communicative intention, linguistic universals, visuals and extending rules. On the other, by presenting learners with linguistic materials that are nurtured by mechanisms inherent to the human mind (i.e., embodiment, metaphor, irony…), they can get closer to developing cognitive strategies that enable them to process language faster and more meaningfully.

The studies here reported are a clear example of the benefits of joining linguistic theory, and more specifically CL-informed descriptions, with pedagogical practice at different stages of L2 learning (from basic to advanced levels). Such a union considers, among others:

- replacing endless lists of rules and exceptions that require sheer memorization with meaning-based understanding of target forms
- including individual and collaborative tasks for what?? El enfoque comunicativo ya hace esto. Añade aquí algo
- using input (comprehension) and output (production) activities in sequences that facilitate access to the target linguistic expressions through meaningful practice
- raising learner awareness of form-meaning connections
- finding common foundations in the students' L1 (English) and L2 (Spanish) through inter and intralinguistic reflection
- boosting motivated comprehension and production of linguistic forms for better understanding and memorability of target forms
- promoting language reflection and critical thinking for a more accurate development of the communicative competence of students

The didactic exploitation of these concepts gives order to the somehow anarchic *jungle of foreignity*, as Llopis-García (2021) calls it, and allows for motivated and meaningful learning, enhanced language acquisition and improved understanding of the L2 conceptualization. As a result, learners' communicative, intercultural, and social competences can be potentiated.

The thirteen studies add to previous literature on applied CL and fill in gaps that required attention, given the scarcity of both research and pedagogical applications. To the best of our knowledge, the empirical studies conducted for this thesis are the first to examine the effects of a CL-based methodology for both pedagogical material and assessment test design. Consequently, they are also the first to reveal statistically significant positive outcomes in learners' production and interpretation of the linguistic forms at stake, which are rather obscure for English native speakers at different levels of proficiency. This opens new avenues for approaching complex constructions in the L2 in terms of assessment typology, as results yield statistically positive effects for the cognitive group, but also gains for the traditional group. Furthermore, as derived from these studies, there is advocacy for the inclusion and treatment from a cognitive-based

perspective of a) a broader range of psych verbs that presents negative emotions already at lower levels, b) change-of-state and tactile constructions through metaphor awareness, and c) verbal irony in the Spanish/L2 curriculum.

Among the motivations that guided this thesis was the lack of experimental research within the field of CL and Spanish/L2 instruction that presents empirical evidence of the benefits of bringing together these two disciplines. Our promising findings highlight the importance of reconciling both fields and call for a methodological change in the type of assessment, so that the learning of Spanish, which is a language at great global expansion, builds from linguistic assumptions from which it is possible to operate. Furthermore, the empirical studies contribute to the small but growing body of literature that researches L2s other than English.

16.8. Final considerations

The present dissertation has offered a collection of 13 studies that examine complex emotion expressions in Spanish, whose theoretical analysis and application in the classroom have been so far to some extent neglected, from a CL and contrastive perspective. The work has not only aimed to add to the scarce literature on applied CL in languages other than English, but it has also sought to break with the pervading assessment in empirical research within the field. To do so and based on results from different analyses using a variety of corpora, an innovative and CL-informed pedagogical material has been designed and successfully tested. A series of empirical studies have been conducted from beginners to advanced levels with a large number of Spanish/L2 learners whose L1 is English. L2 learner performance (production and comprehension of the target forms) has been measured through tests that aligned with the cognitive-based pedagogy which, to our knowledge, has never been done before.

Results have yielded statistically positive effects in favor of learners exposed to a cognitive instruction and assessment for both comprehension and production tasks. Learners from beginners to advanced levels in the cognitive group condition for every study have retained the target forms more efficiently, which leads to an enhancement of their communicative, metaphorical, and ironic competences. The productivity of this pedagogical method and assessment is thus here corroborated. The encouraging findings highlight the need for embracing a CL-inspired method for L2 instruction and assessment already at lower levels of expertise. I advocate that such an approach should be the reality of everyday L2 classroom teaching, learning and evaluation experience.

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