“Fruits are Results”: On the Interaction between Universal Archi-Metaphors, Ethno-Specific Culturemes and Phraseology

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Abstract: This paper deals with the relation between language, culture and reality, as it manifests itself in figurative words, idioms and proverbs involving the concept of FRUIT, which works as an iconic model and as a cultureme, both on the level of the source and target domains of figurative expressions. The aim is to investigate, in different languages, some semantic and syntactic differences between potentially universal archi-metaphors and ethno-specific culturemes and, at the same time, to show that both categories may sometimes cooperate. Some productive metaphoric macro-models have been identified in several languages and cultures from Europe (Western, Southern and Eastern), Latin America, Middle East, Oceania and China. As a secondary goal, we investigate the influence of the semantic motivation on the syntactic restrictions into idiomatic constructional patterns.

Keywords: Metaphor, Cultureme, Phraseology, Ethnobotanics, Fruit

Introduction

This paper deals with the relation between language, culture and reality, as it manifests itself in figurative words, idioms and proverbs involving the concept of FRUIT, which works as an iconic model and as a cultureme, both on the level of the source and target domains of figurative expressions. The aim is to investigate, in different languages, some semantic and syntactic differences between potentially universal archi-metaphors and ethno-specific culturemes and, at the same time, to show that both categories may sometimes cooperate. Some productive metaphoric macro-models have been identified in several languages and cultures from Europe (Western, Southern and Eastern), Latin America, Middle East, Oceania and China. As a secondary goal, we investigate the influence of the semantic motivation on the syntactic restrictions into idiomatic constructional patterns.

Section 1 opposes archi-metaphors and culturemes in theoretical phraseology. Sections 2, 3 and 4 analyze three productive archi-metaphors involving a fruit as a source domain, from a semantic and grammatical point of view (FRUITS ARE RESULTS, FRUITS ARE OFFSPRING, FRUITS ARE MOMENTS). Section 5 analyzes how culturally-bound metaphors attribute positive or negative connotations to a given fruit in different languages. Section 6 analyzes the reversal of the mapping, showing that the majority of fruit names are themselves metaphors and that their motivational background can be also “experiential”, “cultural”, or an interaction of both.

Universal Vs. Ethno-Specific Metaphoric Models

Since phraseological units are as numerous as words, probably more (Gross, 2012), their syntax and semantics should be described as a sub-system with its own level of linguistic analysis (Kunin, 1996; Mejri, 2006: 218). As far as semantics is concerned, an important analytical tool is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), which allows us to analyze idiomatic meanings in a more systematic way than the traditional “atomized” treatment of figurative phrasemes, viewed as marginal exceptions, more or less picturesque and unpredictable. The undeniable contribution of cognitive approaches to phraseological studies was mainly orientated to metaphoric mappings with an experiential and/or perceptive background, such as up is good/down is bad; discussion is a war; etc, (Mellado Blanco, 2004; Gibbs, 2007). Later, attention was more focused on semantic models whose productivity depends on a culturally-bound basis (Dobrovolskij and Piirainen, 2005), connecting language and the world vision embedded in each culture, according to the Russian neo-Humboldtian linguo-culturological tradition, but essentially focused on idioms and proverbs (Teliya, 1998; Dobrovolskij, 1998; 2000; Piirainen, 2008; Luque Durán, 2007; Pamies, 2007; 2008; 2011; Pamies and Tutáeva, 2010; Luque Durán and Luque Nadal, 2008, among others). On the other hand, there is a tight relation between the semantic metaphoricity of idioms and their constructional defectivity; phrasemes can even been
defined as grammatical metaphors where constructions behave like units (Pamies, 2013).

On the one hand, conceptual metaphor is a mental process underlying thousands of particular figurative expressions derived from a reduced number of concrete source domains: A few basic human activities (eating, drinking, moving, hunting, fighting, trading...) behave as mental representations of a huge variety of other phenomena, producing systematic associative patterns, called *archi-metaphors* (Pamies, 2001; Iñesta and Pamies, 2002) or *macro-metaphorical conceptual models* (Zykova, 2014a; 2014b). For example, a set of 2,400 English figurative idioms related to communication can be classified into only 11 metaphoric models (Zykova, 2014b: 95-96). On the other hand, *culturally-bound* metaphors appear when a language assigns a secondary semiotic role to a previous extralinguistic cultural symbol (Dobrovol’skij, 1998; 2000), whose linguistic productivity is attested by its role in figurative language within the limits of a cultural community. For example, many Spanish idioms are metaphors based on bullfighting: *sp. conocer el percal, entrar al trapo*, *cambiar de tercio*, *dar la puntilla*, *cortarse la coleta*, etc. (cf. Luque Durán et al., 1998). These expressions reflect a given collective world-view by means of *linguo-cultural symbols* called *culturemes* (Pamies, 2007; 2008; 2011; Luque Nadal, 2009), which provide specific *mental images* (Dobrovol’skij, 1998), forming networks of associated ideas (cf. Zykova, 2014b: 94). However, some culturemes may be *supranational* (Xatara and Seco, 2014: 504) and even *international*, like the *widely spread idioms*, based on the Bible or Greek mythology (Piirainen, 2010).

An example of percceptive *archi-metaphor* would be the model *A DRUNKEN PERSON IS AN ANIMAL*, underlying idioms like: Eng. drunk as a sow / drunk as a dancing pig / drunk as a monkey / drunk as a fish, etc. (Pamies et al., 2007). Cross-linguistic comparison shows more coincidences than differences, which affect only the choice of the animal while the conceptual mapping between conceptual domains remains the same. For example some Guaraní idioms for “being drunk” are: Grn. huguy jaguarete (*to have jaguar’s blood), huguy ka’i (*to have monkey’s blood), ojupi hese tahyirẽ (*black ants are climbing on him), otêhe oîvo ñandüicha (*to knit like a spider), tuichaiite lembhu reve (*to be with a big beetle); opepe (*to flap one’s wings in vain), etc. (Pamies et al., 2004). By contrast, *culturemes* connect *DRUNKENNESS* with less concrete and transparent references, such as the catholic rites of Holy Week used as a reference in Spanish idioms, like *sp. hacer penitencia* (*to make penance), *hacer las estaciones* (*to make the Stations), *hacer el viacrucis* (*to make the Stations of the Cross), *cantarle a la virgen* (*to sing for the Virgin), *visitar sagrarios* (*to visit tabernacles*), 

**The Metaphoric Model Fruits are Results**

**Conceptual Mappings**

Fruits have many figurative denominations, the name of the city where we live refers to a fruit, *Granada* [*pomegranate*], which, since 1492, has been part of all the coats of arms of Spain). The origin of this choice is unclear and seems to proceed from a folk confusion between Arabic *Medina Gaar-anat* [*pilgrim hill city*] and
the fruit name (<lat. granatum *with grains). This fruit was, in its turn, an ancient symbol of female fertility in Asia and of sexual pleasure in Greece (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1969 [2000]: 338). Though the botanical definition of the term fruit refers to the seed bearing part of a plant, while nut designates the seeds themselves (Blench, 2004: 33), the point is that the “common” meaning of frutto designates more specifically the edible fruits, even including the edible nuts (e.g., sp. frutos secos *dry fruits: “nuts”). The word fruit comes from lat. fructus, from the proto-Indo-European root *bhruh “agricultural product” which gave the Latin verb frui/fruitar “to enjoy” (Harper, 2014), origin of current words like it. sfruttare “to exploit” ≠ sp. disfrutar “to enjoy” [*to take the fruit out]. This analogy between fruit production and other human activities is found in many cultures, as attested by language:

**eng. to bear fruit =** sp. dar sus frutos [*to give one’s fruits] = pt. render frutos [*to return fruits] “to make achievements” = rs. быть плодотворным [*be fruitful] = приносить плоды [*to bring fruits] “to produce good results” = chn. chī chéng guǒ 出成果 [*achieve fruit] = shuò guǒ léi léi 硕果累累 [*big fruit continuous continuous] “to make many achievements”.

**eng. the fruit of (one’s) labour =** sp. el fruto del (/de su) trabajo = fr. le fruit du (/de son) travail = it. il frutto del (suo) lavoro = grm. die Früchte ihrer Arbeit = rs. 播種 (svjëng) 工作成果 [*work fruit+harvested] “the result of effort” (http://baike.baidu.com).

**eng. not to be the fruit of coincidence =** fr. ne pas être le fruit du hasard = it. non essere frutto della casualità = pt. não ser fruto da casualidade ≈ chn. chēng gōng bù shì duó rán, ér shì chī xù de jié guǒ 成功不是偶然，而是持续的结果 [*success is not a coincidence, but the harvested fruit of persistence] (www.sparta.net.cn).

As an extension, any valuable thing, including money, may be conceptualized as a fruit, as eng. *a slice of melon “a percentage of the profits”, fruit for the sideboard “easy money” in Australian English (Baker, 1978), br. pt. dinheiro e fruta só servem para se comer [*money and fruits are just made for eating] (Mota, 1987: 83). In Greco-Roman mythology, economic prosperity was symbolized by the cornucopia, a great horn overflowing with fruits and nuts, replaced by gold coins in modern graphic representations (e.g., the coat of arms of Peru and Colombia or the logotype of the French National Lottery). The variant <MONEY IS A FRUIT> is also found in many languages:

**sp. hacer fructificar su dinero “to make one’s money fructify” [=invest in productive assets] = fr. faire fructifier son argent = it. far fruttare i soldi ≠ sp. los suegros son como las patatas, sólo dan fruto cuando están bajo tierra [*parents-in-law are like potatoes, they only bring fruit once they are under the earth] (Llénots Barber, 1987) ≠ it. i quattrini rubati non fanno mai frutto [*stolen pennies never make fruit] “ill-gotten gains seldom prosper” (Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006) ≠ chn. yào qián shù 摇钱树 [*shake money tree], an allusion to the ancient Chinese legend mentioned in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (sān guó zhì 三国志), where coins fell down when shaking the “Money-tree” (yào qián shù摇钱树) (http://primaltrek.com/moneytree.html).

Since one metaphor leads to another, the unfruitful tree designates UNWORTHY ACTIONS. In Rapa Nui, fruit trees are called **rpm. tumu, while fruitless trees have another name, formally not similar, miro, which also means “wood” (Brown, 1982):**

**eng. unfruitful efforts =** fr. efforts infructueux = sp. esfuerzos infructuosos = it. sforzi senza frutto ≈ chn. pàng duān shù (*sfortuna* su grazie) ≠ fr. i quattrini rubati non fanno mai frutto [*stolen pennies never make fruit] “ill-gotten gains seldom prosper” (Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006) ≠ chn. yào qián shù摇钱树 [*shake money tree], an allusion to the ancient Chinese legend mentioned in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (sān guó zhì 三国志), where coins fell down when shaking the “Money-tree” (yào qián shù摇钱树) (http://primaltrek.com/moneytree.html).

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vines, but few grapes; friends [Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006] = neap, quann’ o mellone jêsce rucco ognuno ne vo’ na fella [when the watermelon is red, everybody wants a slice of it] (Zazzera, 2006). Fruits may also symbolize REWARDS, thus (IN) JUSTICE, as in: eng, the worst pig often gets the best pear = br. pt. o melhor caju é do porco [*the best cashew is for the pig] (Mota, 1987:148) = it, ai peggior porci vanno le meglio pere [*the best pears go to the worst pigs] = uno ha le voci, altro ha le noce [*someone has the noise, someone else has the walnuts] (Craici, 2001) = sp. uno come la frutta acida, y otro tiene la dentiera [*someone eats the bitter fruit and another has his teeth on edge] = pt. uns comem os figos e a outros rebenta-lhes a boca [*some people eat the figs and other people’s mouths explode] (Pamies, 2014); fr. on ne jette des pierres qu’à l’arbre chargé de fruits [*we throw stones only at the tree loaded with fruits] = tk, meyve-li ağaçı taşlarlar [*the tree bearing fruits get stones] (Divitçioğlu, 2011: 130) = pt. br. cajuiero doce é quem leva pedrada [*the sweet cashew-tree is the one we throw stones at] = em árvore sem fruto não se atira pedra [*nobody throws stones at the fruitless trees] (Mota, 1987: 62, 88) = sp. peralito te tiran piedras porque tienes peras [*small-pear-tree, they throw stones at you because you have pears] (Lloréns Barber, 1987).
or not. E.g., eng, the worst pig often gets the best pear = pt.o melhor caju é do porco [*the best cashew is for the pig] = it. ai peggi porci vanno le meglio pere [*the best pears go to the worst pigs] = fr. on ne jette des pierres qu’à l’arbre chargé de fruits[*we throw stones only at the tree loaded with fruits], etc.

The valences and the allowed ellipsis depend on semantic roles imposed by the metaphorical model itself. This explains why the grammatical restrictions are not the same in the model <FRUITS ARE MONEY>: The Addressee’s slot does not need to be fulfilled because the money Possessor’s mark refers to the same person (sp. hacer fructificar su dinero *to make one’s money fructify), or because it is considered by default as the same person as the Agent (chinese yào qián shù 揽钱树 *shake money tree). If the roles can switch within the semantic frame, the syntactic restrictions may also change, as in it. essere una pigna verde [*to be an unripe pine-cone] “to be greedy” (Craiici, 2001). Here a fruit is the attribute in a structure with no Action, thus no Agent-Patient-Addressee relations; according to the “image”, greedy persons keep their money like unripe cones retain their only edible part (seeds), thus, actancy roles have also undergone grammatical metaphors.

In our examples for the model <FRUITS ARE RESULTS>, an important degree of variation is possible, depending more on the semantic images than on the literal component give, whose place can be occupied by a synonym or by any other realization of the same archi-metaphor: eng. to bear fruits; pt. render frutos [*to return fruits] or rs. приносить плоды [*to bring fruits].

These facts confirm Dobrovolskij’s views on the interrelationships between Construction Grammar and Phraseology. This author has investigated productive and asymmetric variations in bi-valent idioms from several semantic fields and found abundant examples of diathesis inversions: rs. dāyī 在耳朵 (“to beat [someone]”) vs. получить в уши (“to receive in the forehead: “to be beaten”) (2011: 209-210); grm. eins auf die Nase geben (“to give one on the nose: “to beat [someone]”) ≠ eins auf die Nase bekommen (“to get one on the nose; “to be beaten”) (2014). Sometimes, the direct object of “give/receive” is itself an idiom, as in rs. dāyī/получить зеленый свет eng. to give/receive the green light (2011: 225), so the whole phrase forms a collocation. The same applies in Spanish for dar/recibir el fruto (*give fruits) vs. recibirlos frutos de... (*receive the fruits of...). There is also a passive variant with “harvest” (recoger los frutos de...), but external to this formal micro-paradigm and motivated directly by the semantic model <FRUITS ARE RESULTS>, while the “receive” metaphor (recibir los frutos) is only an indirect variant derived from the “give” metaphor.

Nevertheless, the symmetry between the “active” and “passive” variants is not straightforward, also for semantic reasons, since both roles include different grammatical metaphors. In dar fruto, an original Action becomes the figurative Agent of “giving”, its Consequences become a fruit and its real Beneficiary is normally implicit (su investigación no dio fruto [*his research gave no fruit]). By contrast, in recibir los frutos, the real Beneficiary becomes the figurative Agent of “receiving” (thus it must be explicit), while the real Agent of an original action becomes a figurative Prepositional phrase which depends on the fruit: quien persevera recibirá el fruto de su trabajo [*those who persevere will receive the fruit of their work]. Phrasemes always involve grammatical metaphors besides their semantic metaphors (Pamies, 2013) and these idiomatic variants are not regular enough to be constructions, but too productive to be frozen expressions in the traditional sense of phraseological fixedness (Dobrovolskij, 2014).

Interaction with Cultural Analogies

Many idioms and proverbs are motivated by the archi-metaphor <FRUITS ARE RESULTS>; however, in the Christian world, this model is mixed with religious culturemes. In spite of the obvious conceptual analogy motivating this semiotic transfer, we must take into account that the Greek words κάρπος (fruit) and καρποφόρος [*bringing fruit] designate in the Gospels the consequences of physical and spiritual acts, while ὄκαρπος [*fruitless] is applied critically to “unproductive actions” (Matthew 3: 10; 7: 19;13: 22; Luke 8: 15), conceived as “useless trees”: Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire (gr. πᾶν οὖν δέντρον μὴ πουάν
The distinction between good and evil people is also the target of the fruit/result archi-metaphor: People must be judged by their deeds, as the trees are judged by their fruits, according to an ancient Greek proverb: ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δέντρον [*by their fruits, according to an ancient Greek proverb: “by the fruit, the tree” (Pascual López, 2012: 142). In European culture, this image is melded with religious beliefs, since the Gospels said lat. ex fructu cognoscisc u arvor [*tree making no fruit, cut it right down] (Alaimo, 2006).

The anticipation of the desired result gives rise to variants where fruits symbolize expectations. In this case, the generic fruit is often replaced by more concrete hyponyms, which differ inter-linguistically according to climate and local gastronomic preferences, as in proverbs meaning “we must make sacrifices now in order to get some goods in the future”.

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[*grilled chestnut is not palm oil] (Mota, 1987: 65) ≈ **Grillen schneiden oder Kauen Schlangen** (Mota, 1987: 65) ≈ **El cedro no produce cerezas** (Mota, 1987: 65). Then you cannot get figs from thorns, nor do they gather grapes from a bramble bush (Luke 6: 44) (cf. also Matthew 7: 16), an image motivating further proverbs like:

grn. Dixtlen trogen keine Trauben [*wild thistles do not bring grapes] ≈ *Man liest nicht Feigen vom Dornstrauch* [*we can’t get figs from a thorn-bush] ≈ fr. il ne vient pas de prunes d’un chardon [*plums do not come from thistles] ≈ it. il pruno non fa melarancie [*the plum-tree does not make sweet oranges] ≈ le. il leccio non fa olive [*the oak does not make olives] ≈ pl. wierzbą gruszek nie rozi [*the willow does not generate pears] (Strauss, 1994) ≈ **kurdu**. dirk tre nagrê [*thistle does not bear grapes] (Muhlsin Ismail, 2011: 169) ≈ **sp. no hay que pedir peras al olmo** [*don’t expect pears from the elm-tree] ≈ al pie del helecho no busques el dátil [*don’t look for dates under a fern-tree] ≈ no pidáis cerezas al cardo [*don’t expect cherries from the thistle] = al roble no puede llevar camuñas [*the oak cannot bear pippins] ≈ pedir uvas al pepino es desatino [*to expect grapes from a cucumber is a silly thing] (Lloréns Barber, 1987) ≈ **mex. sp. no le busques tunas a los huizeches** [*don’t look for prickly pears under a huizache]. 

*Huizache* is a Nahua word designating different trees with no edible fruit and full of big thorns (<nht. huizechi <huitzli “thorn” + ixachí “many”) (Rodriguez Valle, 2005).

Nevertheless, not all cultures are equally obsessed by productivity. We find an almost opposite attitude in this Tongan proverb: *tng. hoha’a he kuo holo ha fu’u mei [*don’t worry while no breadfruit has fallen from the tree] “we must not worry about things which have not happened yet” (Māhina, 2004: 130).

**The Metaphoric Model Fruits are Offspring**

**Conceptual mappings**

This archi-metaphor is a conceptual analogy between human and botanical reproduction:

**eng. the apple doesn’t fall far from the tree = lat. non procul a proprio stipite poma cadunt [*] (Pascual López, 2012:) ≈ **grm. der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm = rmn. márul nu cade de parte de pom (Flonta, 2001) = rs. яблоко от яблонки недалеко падает = it. la mela non cade lontano dall’albero = fr. le fruit ne tombe jamais loin de l’arbre ≈ jp. kino-mi wa moto-ke otsuru 木の実は本へ落つ**

This model also motivates international proverbs meaning “offspring are very similar to their parents”:

**lat. a radice mala non procedut bona mala [*from a bad root comes no good apple] (Pascual López, 2012: 419) ≈ eng. as the tree so the fruit ≈ fr. tel arbre tel fruit ≈ de doux arbres douces pommes [*from sweet tree sweet apples] ≈ sp. de buen árbol buen fruto = pt. de boa árvore bom fruto [*from good tree good fruit] ≈ *sp. nunca buen fruto de mal árbol [*badtree does not give good fruit] = pt. árvore ruim não da bom fruto = de tal acha tal racha, de tal árvore tal fruto [*from such log such crack, from such tree such fruit] (Mota, 1987: 51, 80) ≈ **chn. shén me màn jié shèn me guā 什么种什么瓜** [*such vines produce such melons] (Dian, 2015).

In French and Portuguese, there is even a complete synonymy between *tel arbre tel fruit* de *tal árvore tal fruto & tel père tel fils /tal pai tal filho, where FRUIT and SON, or FATHER and TREE, are mutually commutable.

We can observe that the analogy motivating the model <FRUITS ARE OFFSPRING> compares two states (finished product and its origin), while the model FRUITS ARE RESULTS refers to a process (growing, ripening, harvesting). This semantic difference is practically enough to explain the rhetorical and syntactic differences between the expressions of both groups.

**Interaction with Cultural Analogies**

Culture is partially involved in this conceptual mapping, since the Bible commands: *be fruitful and increase in number* (Genesis, 1: 28; cf. also Mare, 2014). The Ave Maria prayer says *blessed art thou among...*
women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb (Luke, 1: 42), using a metaphor that was already in the Old Testament (Cf. Genesis, 30: 2; Deuteronomy, 7: 13; 28: 53; 30: 9; Psalms 127: 3; Isaiah 13: 18); eng. the fruit of thy womb = sp. el fruto de tu vientre = grm. die Frucht deines Leibes = rs. плод чрева твоего. Another convergence between “biological” analogies and religion motivates this Palestinian Arabic proverb: ك săjara el-lí má tethmer halál qateʻhá: the tree which gives no fruit must be cut ["*the tree which gives no fruit must be cut"] means “the wife who brings no children must be repudiated” (Al-Sharab, 2010: 308).

Racial preconceptions may also affect the association between fruits and offspring. The Brazilian word *jenipapo* is the folk name of the Genipa Americana, a fruit used for corporal painting by the Indians (<Tupi yandi 'pawa" = fruit for painting). By metonymy, this word also means "birthmark", extended to racial impurity, so the idiom *jenipapo nas cadeiras* ["*to have jenipapo in the hips"] means "to be a mulatto girl" (Mota, 1987: 219).

The Metaphoric Model Fruits are Moments

Conceptual Mappings

In peasant cultures, the crop of the fruits was a way of measuring time: Spring is called *le temps des cerises* [*the look at peach*] in Chinese, while February is called *xìng yuè* "apricot moon", March is *táo yuè* "peach moon", and *méi yú* "plum rain" designates a period of intermittent rains between June and July in Lower Changjiang region. In Sinauorgo, *foia* (a type of nut) designates also the whole period of nut falling (December-January). In Brazilian Portuguese, *chuva de caju* [*cashew rain*] designates the rainy period which coincides with cashew ripening (Mota, 1987: 238), while *caju* [*cashew*] means also "year" in the idiom *br. pt. quántos cajus?* ["*how many cashews?* = *how old are you?"] The euphemism *eng. mature*, used to designate elder people, is also derived from this botanical analogy (*sp. la madurez* [*maturity*] = *fr. l’âge mûr* [*the ripe age*]), as well as the dysphemistic *br.pt. velho é bananeira que ja deu cacho* ["*oldman is banana-tree which already gave bunch"] = *velho é jerimum na ponta da rama* ["*oldman is pumpkin on the branch tip*"] (Mota, 1987: 227).

The time of ripening is a figurative point of reference for many other things:

*lat. píra dum sunt matura sponte cadunt* [*when pears are ripe they fall by themselves*] = *sp. cuando las peras maduran, en el árbol poco duran* [*when pears ripen they do not last on the tree*] (Cantera Ruiz de Urbina, 2005) = *a su tiempo maduran las uvas* [*in their time grapes ripen] = *no cojas la pera hasta que esté madura* [*dont pick the pear until it is ripe*] (Sevilla Muñoz, 2008-2011) = *grm. wenn di Frucht reif ist, fällt sie von selbst ab = Wenn der Apfel reif ist, fällt er ab = man kann die Birne nicht eher pflicken, bis sie reif ist [**one must not pick the pear before it is ripe*] = *it. quando la pera è matura casca da sé = non si sono dei frutti si duri che il tempo non maturi fr. il n’y a de fruit si dur et acerbe qui ne mûrisse [**no fruit is so hard that time cannot ripen it*] = *it. col tempo e con la paglia maturano le spesse* (Durante, 2010) = *fr. avec la paille et le temps, se mûrissent les nèfles et les glands [**with straw and time, loquats and acorns ripen*] = *la fruta no madura, se retrasan los plátanos* [*fruit for painting*]. By metonymy, this word also means "birthmark", extended to racial impurity, so the idiom *jenipapo nas cadeiras* ["*to have jenipapo in the hips"] means "to be a mulatto girl" (Mota, 1987: 219).

Interaction with Cultural Transfers

In Spain, pears are cropped in August, while grapes are collected at the end of September; consequently, *sp. de uvas a peras* [*from grapes to pears*] means "seldom"; taken in this order, almost one year would separate both moments. These "temporal" meanings may be understandable only in certain regions for climatic and/or gastronomic reasons. Though figs have several crops everywhere, few languages have different names to
distinguish them, so **sp. de higos a brevas** [from figs to breba figs] also means “seldom”, since (main crop) figs are picked at the end of summer, while **breba** figs (first crop from the same tree) are picked in June, thus, almost one year later if taken in this order. In Brazil, the word **caju** [*cashew*] designates the (real) fruit, a pear-shaped mesocarp, whose juice is appreciated. The cashew juice is called **cajúina** and is also distillated as a liquor called **caiu**. Before the Portuguese conquest, the Tremembé indigenous already produced a fermented drink called mocoró “brew of cashew”, while its big external seed is called **castanha de caju** [*chestnut of cashew], much more appreciated and sold apart. Since, in other countries, only the nut is eaten, cashew is identified only with the seed (**fr. caju**, **grm. Kaschu, sp. anacardo**). Therefore, the Brazilian phrasemes **quando você ia pros cajuys, ja eu voltava das castanhas** [*when you were going for cashew <fruits>– I was coming back from the cashew <nuts>,*] **quem não come do caju não percebe da castanha** [*he who doesn’t eat from the cashew <fruit> doesn’t understand the cashew <nut>*> (Mota, 1987: 174), both referring to the best moment for certain actions, would be a nonsense in cultures where the difference between both kinds of **caju** is unknown.

A moment very remote in the past may be also evoked by means of fruits: **sp. en el tiempo de María Castaña** [*in the time of Mary Chestnut] = **it. quando pioverro fichi e uva passa** [*when it rained figs and raisins: “Long time ago”*. By contrast, some biological images which are biologically inconsistent mean “never” (“when pigs will fly”):

**gal. cando os carballos dean uvas** [*when the oaks will give grapes] = **cando as maceiras dean peras** [*when the apple-trees will give pears] = **it. quando le querci farano limoni** [*when oak will make lemons*] (Lapucci, 1993) = **quando pioverrono uva passita e fichi secchi** [*when it will rain raisins and dried figs*] (Durante, 2010: 50). **rm. când o face ploplul pere si râchita micșunele** [*when the poplar will give pears and the willow will give willflowers*] (Ortega Román 2006: 78).

At the beginning of the Perestroika, this idiom was used in a discourse by the former dictator, Nicolae Ceaușescu, declared that, in Romania, communism would end only when **pears grow on poplar trees**. After his fall and execution, in December 1989, in the squares and parks of Timișoara, poplar trees were decorated with pears, to mean that “the prophecy was fulfilled” (http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/31/weekinreview/the-world-rumania-s-years-of-desperation-days-of-relief.html).

Comparing these languages, the conceptual metaphor is basically the same, only the fruit species vary. However, religion also interferes in this Iraqi phrase, *ar. māţulbe l-najla tamur, mā ŷuz min šurb el-jamur* [*dates stop growing on palm-trees I will not stop drinking: “never”*] (Mahdi Jasim, 2006), since, in the **Quran**, dates are a blessed thing while alcohol is forbidden.

### Cultural Transfers: Blessed Fruits Vs. Cursed Fruits

Food is not only a biological requirement, it has also a symbolic dimension, even related to emotions (Mintz, 1996). Fruits are representatives of the ethno-botanic heritage of each nation and, as a basic component of traditional alimentation, they play a role in the construction of the cultural heritage of each nation. Many traces of this anthropological background remain in language for centuries. However, their relevance and prestige in gastronomy are irregular: In West and Central Africa they play little role in alimentation while they are fundamental in Amerindian or Polynesian cultures (Blench, 2004: 47). The same fruit variety may remain wild and unappreciated in a given region while considered as a delicacy somewhere else, as it happens among the Pacific Islands (Blench, 2004: 32.). The symbolic importance of each fruit in folk beliefs varies in each culture. In Motu **hua** means “banana” and the reduplicated plural **huahua** means “fruit”, so this fruit seems a prototype (Lister-Turner and Clark). In Hawaiian mythology, the coconut was a man whose head was planted in the ground, while his penis and testicles dangled above it (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992: 33-34). Thus, cultures may have blessed fruits and cursed fruits and they may be local species which don’t exist in other regions.

The tree **Rhus taitensis** (*âpape* in Tahitian, *tavai* in Hawaiian, *tavahi* in Tongan), only grows in Oceanic Islands, where it is traditionally appreciated for canoe construction, but to eat its fruit is a type of taboo in Tonga, as reflected by the proverb **tgn. fakatu ‘atamakiki he ‘ete taunga ‘oku tauau he fu’u tavahi** [*misfortune is in the food basket hanging from the tavahi tree*,] By contrast, the Indian almonds (*Terminalia catappa*), **telie** in Tongan, are associated with good luck: **tgn. fakatu ‘amelie ki he’ete taunga ‘oku tauau he fu’u telie** [*fortune is in the sweet food basket hanging from the telie tree*] (Māhina, 2004: 101). Dates have highly positive connotations in Arabic culture. The prophet Muhammad said: تَنْسِمُ مَعَ الْرِّكْحِ [*dates are like the nails of the knees*] “they bring energy and health” and the Hadid (Sayings of the Prophet) say that eating seven dates for breakfast is a good protection against poison and evil eye, so this fruit is used to celebrate the end of **Ramadan** (Al-Sharab, 2010: 204-241). The Arabic metaphors about dates share these positive connotations:
Alger.ar. fi hiyā iṣṭaq tamra ki mā allquh-h ‘arŷūn [“when he was alive he wanted a date, now he is dead and he has a lot of them] “success may come too late” (Mekhelef and Monferrer, 1998: 133). Class.ar. َِرُزُيَّن [“if you have a date you will not eat jackal” “we must choose the best option”]; الخلاف لازم فيه َشَيَّم [“even the dates from Alkhalaas have some bad parts” “no rose without a thorn”] (Al-Sharab, 2010; Al-Jallad, 2012).

Sometimes the motivation involves in an empirical way some property of the fruit component of an idiom. E.g., we know whether a melon is good only when we have cut a slice of it, sometime too late, thus, some proverbs say:

fr. les hommes sont comme les melons: sur dix il y en a un de bon [*men are like melons, only one out of ten is good] ≈ sp. el melón y la mujer, a la caña han de ser [*melons and women, we need to cut a slit] (Lloréns Barber, 1987) ≈ el casamiento y el melón, por ventura son [*marriage and melon are purely lucky choices] (Sevilla Muñoz, 2008-2011) ≈ pt. da mulher e do melão o melhor é o calado [*from woman and melon the best is the cut slit] = a mulher e o melão, ruínas são de conhecer [*woman and melon, it’s hard to know them] (Mota, 1987: 74, 148) = kurd. gndore be reng nīye [*melon from color is+not] “don’t judge a book by the cover” (Muhsin Ismail, 2011: 207).

In other cases, cultural symbolism is involved. In French, cherries are connected to misfortune only through language: Avoir la cerise/avoir la guigne [*to have the cherry] “to be dogged by bad luck”. This motivation seems opaque, perhaps it refers to the fact that cherries pull each other, getting tangled by their multiple stems, as suggested by a proverb in other Romance languages:

sp. cerezas y males traen detrás otros tales [*cherries and misfortunes bring more of the same] “tribbles never come alone” ≈ las desgracias, como las cerezas, unas con otras se enredan [*misfortunes are like cherries, they tangle each other] (Lloréns Barber, 1987) ≈ las desgracias, como las cerezas, unas con otras se enredan [*misfortunes are like cherries, they tangle each other] (Sevilla Muñoz, 2008-2011) ≈ gal. como as cereixas son as desgracias que unhas noutras se engarrant [*misfortunes are like cherries, they tangle each other] ≈ it. le sventure sono come le citiglie: Vengono a due a due [*misfortunes are like cherries they come in twos] (Sevilla Muñoz, 2008-2011)

In several cultures, the apple is a polysemic symbol, merging experience with cultural connotations. It was a sacred fruit for Scandinavian and Celtic civilizations, symbolizing wisdom, female fertility and/or eternal life (Cirlot, 1992). The goddess Iðunn provided the Nordic gods with apples giving them eternal youth (cf. Ellis Davidson, 1965: 165-166). The Svenska Folk Sagor mentions Fountains of youth and priceless apples who could make old people be young again (Washburn Hopkins, 1905: 13-15). The name of the island Avalon, where King Arthur took out Excalibur from the stone, comes from old Welsh aball “apple-tree” (cf. modern Breton aval, modern Welsh afall) (cf. Koch, 2006).

Some of the few traces of this (positive) symbolism in modern languages include the expression apples! meaning “all right” in slang, the proverb an apple a day keeps the doctor away (whose origin, according to Pollan, 2001, is an old marketing slogan for cider in the United States). Admittedly, Lloréns Barber (1987: 154) and Sevilla Muñoz (2008-2011) found equivalents in other languages, but they could be (recent) borrowings from English: sp. no hay cosa más sana que comer en ayunas una manzana = una manzana al día, al médico alejaria = it. una mela al giorno, togli al medico di torno = fr. pomme du matin éloigne le médecin = rs. яблоко в день -доктора в дверь). Anyway, a genuine Spanish comparative collocation says san a como una manzana [*healthy as an apple]. According to Gervasius, Alexander-the-Great was seeking in India the apples that made the Hindu priests live four hundred years (Otia Imperialia: 895 apud. Washburn Hopkins, 1905: 19) and the Persian soldiers who fought against him, the famous ten thousand immortals, were also called the apple bearers (gr. οἱ µηλοφόροι, fr. mélophores) by Xenophon (Cyropaedia, VII [1914]).

Greek mythology and Plato’s ideas about love (each soul has been split and needs to find its own predestinated beloved half part: Symposium, apud. Pascual López, 2012: 240), gave birth to the HALF A FRUIT metaphor, attested by idioms like eng. the other half of the apple = it. mezza mela = pol. druga polówka jabłka = sp. media naranja [*half orange] “soulmate. However, the connotations of the APPLE became ambiguous in Greek culture, because of the mythological Apple of Discord, origin of the Trojan war, that represents -in many languages- the reason of any dispute (sp. manzana de la discordia = fr. pomme de la discorde = grm. Zankapfel = rs. яблоко раздора).

Judeo-Christianism converted the apple into a cursed fruit, though, in fact, it was not the forbidden fruit of the Bible. The Vulgata always says “fruit” (fructus), never “apple” (mālum) (Hyeromiana versio: Vulgata, Genesis 3:1-22), and the same happens in its early translations to modern languages. E.g., But of the fruit of the tree which
is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it... (Genesis: 3: 1-22, King James version). The shift seems due to the more frequent use of the word pōmum in liturgy, which meant originally “any fruit with seeds”, but - by metonymy - became restricted to apples in the late Empire period, replacing the classical Latin word mālum (cf. fr. pomme; cat. poma “apple”), as did its botanical referent in the cultural symbolism attested by idioms:

**eng.** forbidden apple = **grm.** verbotener Apfel = sp. manzana prohibida = fr. pomme défendue = it. mela vietata = pt. maçã proibida = svk. zakazane jablkó = rs. запретное яблоко;

**eng.** to eat the apple from the tree of knowledge = sp. comer la manzana del árbol de la sabiduría = fr. manger la pomme de l’arbre de la connaissance = cz. utrhnout jablko ze stromu poznaní = rs. сорвать яблоко с дерева познания.

The Collins English Dictionary defines a rotten apple as a person with a corrupting influence (1991-2003). This idiom is derived from a (late) Latin proverb: *pomum compunctum citó correctit sibi iunctum* (Cantera, 2005), meaning “evil spreads from individuals to collectives”:

**eng.** one rotten apple will spoil the whole barrel = one rotten apple decays the bushel = one bad apple spoils the bunch = rs. от одного порченого яблока весь воз загнивает = **grm.** ein fauler Apfel steckt den andern an = ein fauler Apfel steckt hundert gesunden an (Strauss, 1994) = **rmn.** mărul putred strică si pe cele bune = sp. la manzana podrida pudre a su compañia = la manzana podrida pierde a su vecina = pt. uma maçã podre apodrece um cento = fr. une pomme gâtée en gâte cent = it. un cattivo melone appalo deve riempire il destinato = **grs.** merafrumous pot fi sì viermânaose = rs. *nice apples may contain worms* (Flonta, 2001) = fr. souvent la plus belle pomme est vêrèuse = it. belli pomi sono anche alle volte amari. Another variant of this misogynist proverb contains a chestnut instead of an apple, perhaps because of the rhyme: sp. la mujer y la castaña por su apariencia engañan, it. la donna è come la castagna: bella di fuori ma dentro è magagna (Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006) = *nice apples are sometimes bitter*.

After the Renaissance, the connotations of the forbidden fruit became less negative. The original religious symbolism began to assume a more hedonistic view. E.g., sp. cojed de vuestra alegre primavera/el dulce fruto antes que el tiempo airado/cubra de nieve la hermosa cumbre... (Garcilaso, Soneto XXIII) [literally: *pick up the sweet fruit of your merry Spring, before angry Time covers with snow the beautiful peak*]. Corneille’s verse *Plus le péril est grand, plus doux en est le fruit* (*the higher the danger, the sweeter the fruit*) is an elegant variant of proverbs like:

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In a much less romantic way, some Brazilian idioms also associate the generic fruit with sexuality: **br.pt.** gostar da fruta (*to like fruits*) “to hound women”; *fruta nova* (*new fruit*) or *fruta verde* (*green fruit*) “young prostitute” (Cascudo, 1970: 192); *moça nova* “it is a young woman who looks healthy” (Lloréns Barber, 1987) = **rmn.** merele frumuse pot fi sì viermânaose = rs. *nice apples may contain worms* (Flonta, 2001) = fr. souvent la plus belle pomme est vêrèuse = it. belli pomi sono anche alle volte amari. Another variant of this misogynist proverb contains a chestnut instead of an apple, perhaps because of the rhyme: sp. la mujer y la castaña por su apariencia engañan, it. la donna è come la castagna: bella di fuori ma dentro è magagna (Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006) = *nice apples are sometimes bitter*.

The negative connotations, related to Original Sin, were extended from apples to women:

**eng.** the fairest apple to the eye may have a rotten core (Strauss, 1994) = **grm.** die Jungfrau siehet roth, doch sitzt ein Warn darin [*the young woman seems red but there is a worm inside] = der schönste Apfel hat oft einen Warn] [*the nicest apple often has a worm] = schöne Äpfel sind wohl auch sauer [*nice apples are often sour] (Wander, 1867) = sp. como la manzana, por dentro podrida, por fuera sana [*like the apple, healthy outwardly, rotten inwardly] = mujeres y manzanas, muchas hay podridas que parecen sanas [*apples and women, many are rotten who look healthy] (Lloréns Barber, 1987) = **rmn.** merele frumoso pot fi sì viermânaose = rs. *nice apples may contain worms* (Flonta, 2001) = fr. souvent la plus belle pomme est vêrèuse = it. belli pomi sono anche alle volte amari. Another variant of this misogynist proverb contains a chestnut instead of an apple, perhaps because of the rhyme: sp. la mujer y la castaña por su apariencia engañan, it. la donna è come la castagna: bella di fuori ma dentro è magagna (Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006) = *nice apples are sometimes bitter*.

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“honorable” nicknames of a special kind of go-go singers at the Carnival are based on fruit names: br.pt. *mulher fruta* [*fruit woman*], *mulher melão* [*melon woman*], *mulher melancia* [*watermelon woman*], *mulher moranguinho* [*strawberry woman*], *mulher pêra* [*pear woman*], *mulher mangaba* [*hancornia woman*] (cf. www.dicionario.sensagent.com & pt.wikipedia.org). These expressions are supposed to call up some physical similarities (melon for “breast”, watermelon for “buttocks”, etc.), but they share the cultural association between sexual temptation and fruits. One of these dancers, called *mulher maçã* [*apple woman*] had a great success with the song entitled *A maçã, o fruto proibido* [*the apple: the forbidden fruit*]. In English slang, *to lose one’s cherry* refers to virginity, while a *peach* is a pretty woman (Ayto and Simpson, 2010).

Another relation between the sexual taboo and a fruit corresponds to BANANAS in Hawaiian culture, where women are not allowed to eat them in the presence of men (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). By contrast, in Māori culture, the SWEET-POTATO (*kumara*) has the connotations of a desired object, as in this proverb on modesty: *kaure te kumarae wheakii ana tana teka* [*the sweet-potato does not say how sweet she is*] (Fletcher, 1922).

In China, the PEAR (*chn. lǐ 梨*) must not be given as a present because of its homonymy with *lǐ 离 (“to split”), while “to cut a pear” (*fēn lǐ 分梨*), whose pronunciation is also the same as *lǐ 离 (“to separate”), is considered a BAD OMEN. By contrast, in Latin culture, the PEAR and the CHERRY have positive connotations, as attested by idioms and proverbs like *ser una perita en dulce* [*to be a small pear in sugar*] “to be very appetizing” ≠ *pt. jogar as peras* [*to play one’s pears*] ≠ *sp. con mayor que tú no partes peras* [*don’t share pears with someone bigger than you*] = *de ninguna manera con tu amo partes peras* [*never share pears with your master*] = *pt. com teu amo nao jogue as peras* [*don’t play your pears with your master*] (Mota, 1987: 72; Ribeiro, 1984: 78) ≈ *lat. cum domino cerasum res est mala mandere seruam* [*the servant eating cherries with his master is something wrong*] ≠ *sp. si comes cerezas con tu señor, tú las comerás de una en una y él dos a dos* [*if you eat cherries with your lord, you will eat them one by one and he will eat them in twos*] (Pascual López, 2012: 522-523). The motivation of this image is more transparent in the French proverb *qui avec son seigneur mange poires, il ne choisit pas les meilleures* [*he who eats pears with his lord cannot choose the best ones*] (Sevilla Muñoz, 2008-2011), origin of the current idiom *fr. couper la poire en deux* [*to divide the pear in two*] “to share all risks and benefits with someone”.

The DATES are blessed for Muslims, whose Heaven is full of them, but, because of that, the Kurdish idiom *cü bo xurma xuardn* [*he’s gone to eat dates*] is a euphemism for “he’s dead” (Muhsin Ismail, 2011: 174).

The fruits which grow easily are an important element of the traditional diet, but, at the same time, their cheaper price allows them to symbolize (critically) the “lowest value” in figurative idioms and proverbs. This productive archi-metaphor can be described as CHEAP FRUITS ARE CONTEMPTIBLE THINGS. The “chosen” fruits change in each culture but the metaphoric pattern is the same. In English and Italian, the FIG corresponds semiotically to the PLUM in French, the CHILLI PEPPER in Spanish, the BANANA and the SOUR CHERRY in Brazilian Portuguese. This value explains the negative connotations of PUMPKINS in other metaphors, such as *sp. dar calabazas* [*to give pumpkins*] “to be absent in a date” or “to reject a marriage proposal”; *más soso que una calabaza* [*more insipid than a pumpkin*] = *cuando la mujer manda en casa, el marido es calabaza* [*when the wife rules the house, the husband is a pumpkin*] ≠ *pt. a que dás mais no sertao é menino e jasmin* [*the most abundant things in the desert backlands are kids and pumpkins*] (Mota, 1987: 152). Depending on its size, one AUBERGINE could be cheaper than a pumpkin, so a Spanish proverb says: *nunca de mala berengena se hizo buena calabaza* [*from a bad eggplant comes no good pumpkin*] (Pascual López, 2012: 863). These fruits are cheap, thus insignificant (Pamies, 2014).

In the Portuguese-speaking world, prunes and plums are associated with sexuality, as seen in the following proverbs: *ne pas valoir une prune* [*not to be worth a plum*] “to have no value” ≈ *fr. ne pas valoir une prune* [*not to be worth a plum*] “to have no value” = *italiano non valere un fico secco* [*not to care a dried fig*] = *tenero l’uccello non si mangia fico* [*if we have got a bird we don’t eat a fig*] (Guazzotti and Oddera, 2006) ≠ *faire le nozze con fichi secchi* [*to make weddings with dried figs*] “to be too thrifty” (Lapucci, 1993); *fr. ne pas valor de une prune* [*not to be worth a plum*] “to have no value” = *ne pas donner une prune (pour quelqu’un)* [*not to give a plum (for smb.)*] = *donner une prune pour deux oeufs* [*to give a plum for two eggs*] “to make a good business” ≈ *aimer mieux deux oeufs qu’une prune* [*to prefer two eggs to a plum*] “to be smart” ≈ *faire cent sauts pour une prune* [*to jump a hundred times for a plum*] = *travailler pour des prunes* [*to work for plums*] “to work in vain” = *compter pour des prunes* [*to count for plums*] “to count for nothing” ≈ *des prunes!* [*prunes!*] “no way!” = *mangez de nos prunes: nos pourceaux n’en veulent plus* [*eat our plums: our pigs don’t want them*] (Pamies, 2011);
In Southern China, ORANGES, TANGERINES, "WINTER MELONS" (benincasa hispida) and PERSIMMONS are also very easy to grow, so they have negative figurative meanings if applied to persons. The Cantonese idioms **冬瓜** "to make the finger" ≈ *levar uma banana* (Monteiro, 2011) ≈ *to peel the banana* "to masturbate" (Alacazum, 2009). Other culturally "cursed" fruits are those used as insults against alleged "poor minded" persons, or as components in idioms related to stupidity. E.g.:

**eng.** lemon "foolish" ≈ esp. membrillo [*quince] ≈ calabacin [*zucchini] ≈ hotonio *sweet potato* cirrolón [*big plum] ≈ melón [*melon] = calabaza [*pumpkin] "idiot" (Luque Durán et al., 1998: 107) = mex. sp. **aguacate** [*avocado] ≈ *carib. sp. guanábano* = ecuad. sp. maney [*mammee*] (Kany, 1960) ≈ it. cocomerio [*watermelon] ≈ *esere una testa di cavolo* [*to be a cabbage head*] "to be stupid") ≈ fr. vieille noix [*old walnut] = tu me prends pour une poire? [*do you take me for a pear?] "I want to beg you for a favor?" ≈ *do you think I am stupid?"* ≈ br. pt. *banana* "idiot" ≈ ser embanarar ≈ estar embananado [*be completely confused*] (Monteiro, 2011) ≈ não sou caju [*I am not a cashew*] "I am not so stupid" (Ribeiro, 1984: 64) ≈ ser um beldroega [*to be a parsline*] "to be an idiot" (Cascudo, 1970: 178).

In spite of its medicinal properties, *Beldroega* "parslane" [*Portulaca brasiliana*] is very cheap in Brazil, where it grows everywhere (Cascudo, 1970: 178).

In Cantonese, we can find similar insults: **cut. shù tóu shì náo** 薯头薯脑 [*sweet-potato head sweet potato brain*] "stupid and clumsy" ≈ zhàng dè xiàng fān shǔ 长得像番薯 [*grow participle like sweet-potato] "with a bulky look" = dà fān shǔ 大番薯 *big sweet potato* "slow and clumsy". A widely spread proverb also relates stupidity with fruits, though indirectly:

fr. couper l’arbre pour avoir le fruit [*to cut the tree in order to get the fruit*] = it. fare come i antichi, che tagliavano il fico per cogliere le fiche [*to make like the ancients, who cut the fig-tree to pick up the figs*] ≈ dare a mangiare le pesche per vendere i nocciole [*to make someone else eat the peaches to sell the pits*] ≈ rs. **sрубить дерево, чтобы достать плод** [*to cut tree in order to get fruit*] ≈ chn. **kān shù chì júzì** 大樹吃橘子 救树吃橘子，不顾根本 [*to cut tree eat orange, no care root*] “cut the tree to eat the oranges, don’t care about the root” (Bai Du Zhi Dao, 2015).

From the syntactic point of view, we can observe that in idioms like **eng.** not to care a fig; **it.** non importare un *fico secco* [*not to care a dried fig*], **sp.** importar un
Fruit Names > Body Parts Names

This structure would not be possible if these names were to designate body parts, but they can also be the target of uni-directional mappings between source and target domains are not language (Pamies, 2007; 2008; Pamies et al., 2014). Fruits motivate botanic metaphors to somatic or zoomorphic metaphors and even of another domain. These bi-directional models may be “empirical” (associations based on perceptual analogies between the shape of something and a given fruit), like eng. *cucumber* means “penis”, female breasts are called *mammary gland* (Oroz, 1949) ≠ *acorn* “penis” ≠ rhubarb “afterbirth” (Baker, 1978) ≠ grm. *pumpkin* “head” (Mellado Blanco, 2008) ≠ fr. *coconut* “head”; higo [*fig*] “vulva”; *uvula* [*little grape*] “uvula” ≠ *pomolos* [*little apples*] “cheekbones” ≠ por donde amargan los pepinos [*where cucumbers are bitter*] “arse” ≠ chil. sp. *lícuma* [*eggfruit*] “head” = calabaza /zeveca [*pumpkin*] “head” = tutuma /gúira [*calabash*] “head” = melón “head” (Oroz, 1949) = cub. sp. *papaya* [*acorn*] “vulva” = guayaba /guava “vulva” ≠ mex.sp. *aguacates* [*avocados*] “testicles” (Kany, 1960) = *testicles* (Kany, 1960) = *fig* [*acorn*] “penis head” ≠ fr. *pommettes* [*little apples*] “cheekbones” ≠ poire [*pear*] “face” ≠ citrouille [*pumpkin*] “head” ≠ fraise [*strawberry*] “face” ≠ abricot [*apricot*] “cheekbones” ≠ gland [*acorn*] “penis head”) ≠ noix [*walnuts*] “testicles” = prunes [*plums*] “testicles” ≠ it. *fica* [*fig*] “vulva”.

Many of these euphemistic and dysphemistic fruit names function also as idiom components: eng. *apple of the eye* ≠ gourd ≠ melons ≠ *cucumber* = bananas = quince ≠ acorns = cherries = *nuts* = walnuts = peanuts ≠ austr. eng. table grape “lady’s fingers” ≠ rhubarb “afterbirth” (Baker, 1978) ≠ grm. Augapfel [*eye+apple*] ≠ Birne [*pear*] “head” = Kürbis [*pumpkin*] “head” (Mellado Blanco, 2008) ≠ sp. *coco* “head”; higo [*fig*] “vulva”; *uvula* [*little grape*] “uvula” ≠ *pomolos* [*little apples*] “cheekbones” ≠ por donde amargan los pepinos [*where cucumbers are bitter*] “arse” ≠ chil. sp. *lícuma* [*eggfruit*] “head” = calabaza /zeveca [*pumpkin*] “head” = tutuma /gúira [*calabash*] “head” = melón “head” (Oroz, 1949) = cub. sp. *papaya* [*acorn*] “vulva” = guayaba /guava “vulva” ≠ mex.sp. *aguacates* [*avocados*] “testicles” (Kany, 1960) = *testicles* (Kany, 1960) = *fig* [*acorn*] “penis head” ≠ fr. *pommettes* [*little apples*] “cheekbones” ≠ poire [*pear*] “face” ≠ citrouille [*pumpkin*] “head” ≠ fraise [*strawberry*] “face” ≠ abricot [*apricot*] “cheekbones” ≠ gland [*acorn*] “penis head”) ≠ noix [*walnuts*] “testicles” = prunes [*plums*] “testicles” ≠ it. *fica* [*fig*] “vulva”.

Sexual parts are the most usually concerned. The name of the *avocado* (Persea americana) comes from Spanish *aguacate*, borrowed from Nahua *ahuacatl*, meaning “testicle”, a polysemy which remains in Mexican Spanish *aguacate*, though reversing the metaphor (Kany, 1960). In Chinese, *huáng guā* 黄瓜 [*cucumber*] means “penis”, female breasts are called *yín gāo* 樱桃 [*cherries*] = xiàn táo 仙桃 [*immortal peaches*] = shú mǐ táo *water melon* = bái lí 白梨 [*white pears*] = mú guā 木瓜 [*pawpaws*], while *qiě zi* 茄子 [*eggplants*] designate “fallen tits” and *pú táo* 蘆莓 [*grapes*] the “nipples”. Somatic fruit names are also commonly found in European languages:

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Many of these euphemistic and dysphemistic fruit names function also as idiom components: eng. *nutty as a fruit cake “mad”* = to go nuts “to become crazy” ≠ to get on (someone’s) quince “to exasperate” (from quince as “penis”) ≠ sp. locarse la pera [*to touch one’s pear*] “to masturbate” and “to do nothing” ≠ fr. je n’en ai rien à gländer! [*I have nothing to acorn*] “I don’t give a fuck!” ≠ qu’est-ce que tu glandes? [*what do you acorn*] “what the hell are you doing?” (both from gland
Christian culturemores may motivate also folk names of non-sexual body parts, such as eng. *Adam's apple*; fr. *pomme d'Adam*; gmn. *Adams apfel*; rs.*адамого яблоко*; cz. *Adamovo ohyřek.* A good example of motivation blending is sp. *nuez de Adán*, where nuez [*walnut*] is based on a physical similarity with adult men's glottis, bigger, thus, seen from outside, while *Adán* is related to a folk belief (a remain of the original sin, still stuck in man's throat). This symbol is absent in Chinese, where this protuberance of man's glottis is called *[throat knot (喉结).*

**Animal Names > Fruit Names**

Zoomorphism is the second more extended type of metaphorical mapping. Fruit names make no exception to this general rule:

eng. *gooseberry* (RBES UVA-CRISPA) ≠ snake fruit (SALACCA SALACCA) ≠ kiwi (<from a Māori word designating a bird) ≠ horse mango (MANGIFERA FOETIDA) ≠ fr. poire-tortue *[turtle-pear] (BERCHELIA FUJENSIS) (Blench, 2004) ≠ tun. ar.* kep.[*bith hmem* [*dove eggs*] (type of OLIVE) ≠ *nab jmal* [*camel teeth*] (type of OLIVE) ≠ مَخلَّاَثةُ [*long-beaked] (Ghalayini and Fendri, 2011) (type of OLIVE) ≠ cipote de lobo [*wolf* penis] (CYNOMORIUM).

In Motu, *dudu* is a shellfish whose polysemic name designates also the “spout of a fruit after blossom” (Lister-Turner and Clark, s/d). In Chinese, zoomorphic models (including imaginary creatures like Phoenix or the Dragon) are very productive for fruit names, whose symbolism becomes also related to the role of these animals in mythology and superstitions:

chn. *shí tóu guó* 狮头果 [*lion head fruit*] "eggfruit" (LUCUMA NERVOSA) ≠ *shé pi guó* 蛇皮果 [*snake skin fruit*] “salak fruit” (SALACCA EDULIS) ≠ *mi hòu táo* 猴头桃 [*macaque-monkey peach*] "kiwi" (ACTINIDIA CHINENSIS) ≠ *fěi zhú lì* 鸡爪梨 [*chicken claw pear*] "oriental raisin tree" (HOVENIA DULCIS) ≠ *cò li* 蟄梨 [*crocodile pear*] “avocado” ≠ *fēng lì 凤梨 [*Phoenix pear*] “ananas” ≠ *hóng lóng guó 红龙果 [*red dragon fruit*] (HYLOCEREUS UNDATUS).

**Fruit Names > Animal Names**

In previous works on fish names (Pamies, 2010; Pamies et al., 2014) we have quoted several aquatic animals with fruit names, proving the existence of the inverse conceptual mapping between both domains. This archi-metaphor is not necessarily limited to aquatic species: in Australian English *apple sauce* means "horse" (Baker, 1978). In (Balawaiain) Sinauguru, the word *gorava* [*mandarin fish*] designates metaphorically the “wild chestnut” (Tauberschmidt, 1995: 52) and, in Bilhau, *wayway dabi* [*pit of mango*] also designates a sand fish, which eats the mango pits that have been thrown into the sea (Simons and Simons, 1977):**


This semantic transfer is also found in Chinese, especially for local sea-shells and fishes: chn. *níng méng shà* 柠檬虾 *lemon shark* (NEGAPRION QUEENSLANDICUS) ≠ *hái guā zi*海瓜子 *sea+melon seeds (MORELLA IRIDESCENS) ≠ máng guó bǐ* 芒果贝壳 *mango shellfish (PAPHIA UNDULATA) ≠ hài píng guó 海苹果 *sea apple (PSEUDOCOLOCHIRUS); huáng guā yǔ*黄瓜鱼 *cucumber fish “yellow croaker” (PSEUDOSCIAENAE CROCEA).
The degree of saliency of certain features can help a given fruit to be conceptualized by means of another one: e.g. in Italian “tomato” is a *golden apple (pomodoro). In this case the source domain and the target domain are the same (fruits), but it is still a metaphor and not a metonymy, contrary to general assumptions by cognitive semantics (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 35, and criticism by Ruiz de Mendoza, 1997).

This phenomenon is so common and systematic that fruit names are not a very reliable evidence for the archeobotanical reconstruction of their origin, or how plants were disseminated along the Pacific Islands, since linguistic forms may easily have been transferred from one fruit to another one (Blench, 2004: 32; 42-44). In several Oceanic languages the widely spread lexeme nanas, designating the PINEAPPLE, is in reality a borrowing from Tupi nanãs, through Portuguese, merged with the local name of the fruit of the screw palm (PANDANUS) (<proto-Austronesian *pandân, proto-Oceanic padran), a referential switch which would be relatively recent (Ibid.). One of the Philippine names of the bread fruit (ARTOCARPUS ALTILIS) is kâmansi, which does not fit with the proto-Malayo-Polinesian form *kult(R), because it would have been transferred from another fruit of the artocarpus genus, while anona, the Philippine name of the custard apple (ANONNA RETICULATA) would be also merged with ananas by confusion with the pineapple (Op. cit.: 42-44). Chinese also includes inter-fruit metaphors:

**chn.** cí gǎn lán 刺嫩槍 *thorn olive “bamboo palm fruit” (ARECA CATECHU); shuí bīn lǎng 水賓 làng
As cultural symbols, imaginary creatures and religious beliefs may also motivate figurative fruit names, as in grn. Paradisiaspel [*Paradise apple] “tomato” (SOLANUM LYCOPERSICUM). Another Chinese name of the sugar apple (ANONNA SQUMOSA) is jī tóu guǒ (佛教头果) [*Buddha head fruit], motivated by its shape, which reminds us of Sakayamuni’s head, so it is also called shì jià guǒ (释迦果) [*Sakayamuni fruit] (http://www.baike.com). Sakayamuni is one of the Buddhah’s names. Another example is the beautiful tropical fruit HYLOCEREAUS UNDATUS, (Fig. 1) called chn. huǒ lóng guǒ 火龙果 [*fire dragon fruit], hóng lóng guǒ 红龙果 [*red dragon fruit], qīng lóng guǒ 青龙果 [*blue dragon fruit], lóng zhù guǒ 龙珠果 [*dragon pearl fruit], xiān mì guǒ 仙蜜果 [*immortal honey fruit], yù lóng guǒ 玉龙果 [*jade dragon fruit]. This fruit (Stenocereus) came originally from Latin America, where it is called pitahaya, from Haitian Taíno pitahaya (*scaly fruit), (Rodriguez Canto, 2000). Its fragrant flower, which blooms only at night, is called sp. reina de la noche, pt. rainha da noite [*queen of the night or sp. flor de luna *moonflower].

(baike.baidu.com/view/9288.htm?fr=aladdin. Accessed in April 2015). The dragon is a polysemic symbol with positive connotations in Chinese culture, as a symbol of power, elegance, honor, luck and success. He owns supernatural powers: Moving across skies or seas, controlling the forces of nature on the earth, producing winds and rains and, last but not least, he was the symbol representing the highest ruler, the Emperor who was supposed to have received his power from the Dragon: His title of “Son of Heaven” (zhēn lóng tiān zǐ 真龙天) was, literally, *real dragon sky son. Nobody but the Emperor could use a dragon as a decorative symbol for his house, carriages and boats, called lóng nián 龙年 [*dragon carriage], lóng zhōu 龙舟 [*dragon boat], etc., to remind other people of his privileges.

The similarity between this fire dragon fruit and the shape and colors of the flames is “blended” with the cultural connotations of the dragon, associating the aristocratic beauty and sophisticated flavor of this expensive fruit to the exclusive privileges of the Emperor (Wang, 1999-2012).

The exotic medicinal fruit SIRAITIA GROSVENORII is called chn. luó hàn guǒ 罗汉果 [*Arhat fruit] and shēn xián guǒ 神仙果 [*immortal fruit] (for Buddhism, arhat or arahant is someone who has reached a deep understanding of the true nature of existence, achieving Nirvāṇa and, therefore, will not be born again [G.D. Bond 2011 Arhat, http://oxfordindex.oup.com /view/10.1093/obo/9780195393521-0033]) There are several folk versions about the origin of the names of this endemic cucurbitaceae from Southern China (Guilin, Guangxi). According to a legend, there was a pest of insects in the World of Man and Shen Ning -also known as Yandi 厄帝, one of the oldest ancestors of the Chinese People- tried many herb remedies to stop it; so Buddha, compassionate, send him down nineteen Arhat (chn. Luó Hàn 罗汉) to help him. One of them had promised he would not return to Heaven until the pest is eliminated and he was converted into a sanatory fruit which, since then, bears his name (http://zh.wikipedia.org).

The mysterious fruit called chn. rén shēn guǒ人参果 [*fruit of ginseng] (POTENTILLA ANSERINA) has no botanical relation with the gingseng (root of PANAX), only a cultural one: to produce longevity. According to the legend, the rén shēn guǒ gives immortality because its shape reminds a baby, its peel has the exact shape of a human body, including head, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, belly button, arms, legs, etc. (Fig. 2).
In one of the most famous novels of classical literature, 西游记 (Journey to the West), it is mentioned that this plant grows in the mountain 万寿山 [*ten+thousand long-life mountain]. This fruit is also called 草还丹 [“herb recover Dan] “medicine of Immortality"], because of the belief that this plant blossoms every 3000 years, gives fruits 3000 years later, which ripen after other 3000 years. Therefore, one would need 9000 years to eat it. Besides, during this period, only 30 fruits will be produced. If someone smells it once, he will live 360 years; eating it, one may live 47,000 years. If the fruit is near gold, it falls down; near wood, it gets dry; near water, it melts; near fire, it burns; if it falls on the ground, it enters the earth (cf. http://baike.baidu.com). This very rare fruit is considered extraordinarily valuable and cannot be bought in any shop, its price in internet is at least 360 yuan (about 45€) for each piece (http://detail.1688.com).

Conclusion

In figurative language, fruits may function as a very productive iconic model for archi-metaphors and/or as culturemes, but not only as the source domain, they are also the target domain in many cases. This bi-directionality contradicts some assumptions of the “classical” theory of cognitive metaphor, such as the BODY>MIND rule by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 118) or the SPACE>TIME rule by Staib (1996: 189), CONCRETE>ABSTRACT (Cuenca and Hilferty, 1999: 103), and it has also been observed in other conceptual domains, such as BIRDS, TREES or FISHES, among others (Pamies, 2007; 2008; 2011; 2014; Pamies and Tutáeva, 2010; Pamies et al., 2014). Fruits are often the target domain for single word metaphors (simple or compound), while they are the source domain in idioms and proverbs. Experiential and cultural metaphoric macro-models may sometimes interact, blurring their mutual boundaries, which, nevertheless, are relevant, since they oppose the potential universality of archi-metaphors and the ethno-specificity of culturemes.

In spite of the fixedness of phrasemes, idiomatic expressions have a certain degree of variation, which is not completely arbitrary or unpredictable, but rather systematic within the limits of small paradigms. As pointed out by Dobrovolskij (2011), some groups of variants are regular enough to consider the involved expressions as a micro-paradigm of mutual transformations, instead of independent idioms (“constructional phrasemes”). Within the limits of the archi-metaphor <FRUITS ARE RESULTS>, it is the case of the conversive pairs sp. dar frutos (*give fruits: “produce results”) Vs. recibir/recoger los frutos de... (*receive/harvest the fruits of...: “to benefit from the results of...”). The dependence of these syntactic transformations from the underlying semantic image explains that variations allowed for this archi-metaphor cannot function in another one (e.g., fruits are offspring).

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Chunyi Lei was responsible for Chinese and Cantonese, Margaret Craig for Oceanic Languages and Australian English, Antonio Pamies, director of the project, was responsible for all the the other languages.

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