DOI: 10.20396/cel.v67i00.8679801

CC BY NC

METONYMY AS AN EMBODIED RESOURCE IN ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA INTERACTION

A METONÍMIA COMO RECURSO CORPORIFICADO NA INTERAÇÃO EM INGLÊS COMO LÍNGUA FRANCA

Ulrike Schröder[1]

Abstract: Metonymy is a cognitive operation, a predominantly inferential process, and more fundamental than metaphor (Denroche 2015). Over the past two decades, research has increasingly focused on the multimodality of human interaction, revealing that gestures are intrinsically abstract and partial representations and therefore often metonymic in nature (Mittelberg 2019; Mittelberg & Hinnell 2024). Nevertheless, both in cognitive linguistics and in gesture studies, metaphor has thus far received considerably more attention than metonymy. Given the well-established pervasiveness of metonymy in everyday communication among native speakers, this study investigates how non-native speakers collaboratively elaborate verbal–gestural metonymies on a turn-by-turn basis in English as a lingua franca (ELF) interactions, and examines the specific functions these metonymies serve. Based on a fine-grained analysis of three filmed and transcribed sequences selected from the ICMI corpus, we examine the way participants rely on metonymies when breaking down complex frames into more basic-level schemas that can function as building blocks. This raises important questions as to whether speakers use metonymies to cope with lexical gaps and to construct their conversations on the basis of a situationally co-constructed common ground, as Kecskes (2014, 2015) has pointed out for ELF interactions at the verbal level.
Keywords: metonymy; gesture; English as a língua franca; interaction.

Resumo: A metonímia é uma operação cognitiva, um processo predominantemente inferencial e mais fundamental do que a metáfora (Denroche 2015). Nas últimas duas décadas, a pesquisa tem se concentrado cada vez mais na multimodalidade da interação humana, revelando que os gestos são representações intrinsecamente abstratas e parciais e, portanto, frequentemente metonímicas por natureza (Mittelberg 2019; Mittelberg & Hinnell 2024). No entanto, tanto na linguística cognitiva quanto nos estudos sobre gestos, até o momento, a metáfora recebeu significativamente mais atenção do que a metonímia. Considerando que já sabemos que as metonímias são onipresentes na comunicação cotidiana entre falantes nativos, este estudo investiga como os falantes não nativos elaboram a metonímia turno a turno verbo-gestualmente em interações em inglês como língua franca (ILF). A partir de uma análise minuciosa de três sequências filmadas e transcritas de dados selecionados do corpus ICMI, analisaremos como os participantes dependem de metonímias ao decompor *frames* complexos em esquemas de nível mais básico, que podem servir como blocos de construção. Isso levanta questões importantes sobre se os falantes utilizam metonímias para lidar com lacunas lexicais e construir suas conversas com base em um

[1] PhD and Habilitation (*Livre Docência*) in Communication Sciences from Duisburg-Essen University, Germany. Full Professor (*Professora Titular*) at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil. E-mail: ulrike@ufmg.br. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7764-7249.

entendimento comum desenvolvido situacionalmente, como Kecskes (2014, 2015) apontou para interações em ILF em nível verbal.
Palavras-chave: metonímia; gesto; inglês como língua franca; interação.

1 INTRODUCTION

Metonymy is pervasive in communication among both native and non-native speakers when using a lingua franca. Consider the following example: During an online meeting between three student participating in an international class on 'Intercultural Communication,' three students are preparing a presentation on Hofstede's macro-level theory about cultural dimensions in cross-cultural psychology, when one of them, a student from Russia, explains to his German and Brazilian peers that, in his country, parental education often emphasizes strict rules and pragmatic values, particularly with regard to financial matters:

Sequence 1: 2024VMI-IC07 ((05:11-05:28))[2]

```
01   R:   ah: in RUssia?
02        (-) ah: (.) from THE:=
02        =↓i don't KNOW.
03        from your:-
04        (.) when you're a CHILD,
05        ah: your parents tell YOU;
06        DONT'T receive the credit mOney.
07        DONT'T pay in crEdit.
08        Pay in CASH (.) Every.
09        If you dOn't have CASH,
10        (.) DON'T pay.
```

To explain the complex topic under discussion the exchange student provides an example to illustrate his understanding that Russians hold a distinctive attitude toward expenses that may differ from other cultures. However, this interpretation must be inferred from the context, as it is the metonymy that grants access to an idealized cognitive model (ICM). In this case, the model pertains to a particular cultural framework of 'managing money/expenses' (in a narrower sense) or 'navigating everyday life' (in a broader sense). The credit card serves as a quintessential illustration. As a basic-level category, the credit card represents shared common ground among all participants, enabling the Russian student to assume that the other two co-participants recognize its culturally independent connotations. Specifically, the credit card is seen as an unreliable tool for everyday shopping, as it can lead people to lose track of their expenses and encourage spending on credit. Roughly speaking, through the metonymic chain (Barcelona, 2005) DON'T USE CREDIT CARDS → DON'T TRUST MONEY THAT IS NOT TANGIBLE → DON'T TRUST THINGS THAT ARE NOT REAL → DON'T BE RECKLESS, the student makes a culture-specific frame available for his co-participants.

István Kecskes (2014, 2015) proposed a socio-cognitive approach to studying intercultural pragmatics that does not focus on contrasts but real encounters between non-

[2] The video can be acessed at the following link: https://youtu.be/hoF_fSQijrU

native speakers interacting in a lingua franca. His research highlights that lingua franca communication must often navigate the absence of shared common ground among participants, since non-native speakers cannot fully rely on established norms, standards, conventions, or the schemas and imagery underlying utterances and formulas. As a result, they must engage to a higher degree in the co-construction of common ground within their temporary community of practice. This represents an important step toward the *in situ* construction of intercultural meaning. However, to date neither cognitive linguistics nor intercultural pragmatics has undertaken a fine-grained empirical analysis of intercultural interaction that would reveal the specific linguistic and embodied resources participants draw on as they co-construct meaning turn by turn.

This article aims to study the role of verbo-gestural metonymy in intercultural interactions taken from a corpus of videotaped and transcribed conversations. In the first section, literature on metonymy from a cognitive perspective will be reviewed, focusing particularly on its applications in gesture studies. Based on the current state of research, we will identify the key questions arising from these insights before introducing the methodology of the ICMI Research Center, its data collection procedure, transcription methods, as well as the selection criteria for the sequences analyzed. Following this, we will present three examples drawn from the selected data, as well as their analysis. Finally, the article will discuss the results and outline potential questions for further research.

2 A REVIEW OF METONYMY FROM A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE AND GESTURE STUDIES

Cognitive linguistics has expanded and partially redefined the concepts of metonymy and metaphor by addressing them as cognitive processes and tools of conceptualization. From this perspective, metonymy functions as a reference point that provides mental access to an entire domain, with the metonymy highlighting a specific aspect of that domain (Radden & Kövecses 1999; Croft 1993, p. 348), as opposed to metaphor that involves cross-domain mapping. The process of providing mental access to an entire domain within the same idealized cognitive model (ICM) reflects not only people's encyclopedic knowledge of a specific domain but also the cultural models embedded within that knowledge. In the statement "The *buses* are on strike," there is no direct semantic connection between "buses" and "bus drivers." The metonymic shift arises from the pragmatics of the situation and our understanding that both buses and bus drivers belong to the same ICM connected through a the relationship: CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER. To comprehend a metonymy, a co-participant must share sufficient common ground to access the scenario or frame established by the metonymy. This requires understanding "the whole structure in which it fits" (Fillmore 2006, p 373).

Researchers in cognitive linguistics have identified the most common metonymies (for an overview, see, e.g., Soares Da Silva 2003; Littlemore 2015) and have highlighted regular patterns, such as the physical basis of emotions undergoing a highly productive and regular metonymic process (Silva 2003, p. 44). Littlemore (2015) has examined WHOLE AND PART as well as PART AND PART metonymies as the most prominent categories in corpora, finding that PHYSICAL PART FOR WHOLE metonymies are particularly prevalent, particularly those involving body parts, as in the example "The *hired hands* are here," which frequently carry a strong depersonalizing effect.

Although metonymy has been clearly distinguished from metaphor in cognitive linguistics from the outset, researchers have pointed out that both are intertwined in multifaceted ways. One of the most influential studies on this topic was conducted by Goossens (1990), who identified four types of 'metaphtonymies' based on figurative expressions he analyzed in detail: (a) 'metaphor from metonymy', (b) 'metonymy within

metaphor', (c) 'metaphor within metonymy', and (d) 'demetonymization in a metaphorical context', with the first type, 'metaphor from metonymy', being the most prominent, such as "close-lipped," meaning 'secretive,' and "tongue-in-cheek," meaning 'not in earnest.' In both cases, the depicted physical behavior is prototypically associated with the social behavior of a person. Deignan (2005) confirmed the prominence of this category among the various relationships between metonymy and metaphor in real data of large corpora and revealed that the interaction between metonymy and metaphor is a scalar and contextual phenomenon. The number of metaphtonymies in real language use is likely greater than either pure metaphor or pure metonymy, and the boundaries between the two are often fuzzy rather than clearly delineated (for an overview see Schröder 2021). Barcelona (2011, p. 7) ultimately challenges the standard cognitive-linguistic notion of conceptual metonymy as a one-domain "mapping," "highlighting," or "activation." He aims to move beyond the clear-cut distinction between metonymy and metaphor—traditionally defined by the separation of source and target domains—by distinguishing purely schematic metonymies from more typical cases, such as WHOLE FOR PART metonymies and prototypical referential metonymies, in which the target represents a specific individual entity. According to Barcelona, cognitive domains often have fuzzy boundaries, making it difficult to determine whether source and target domains belong to the same superordinate domain. As such, the interpretation of a given expression must rely on context and background knowledge.

This background knowledge is not solely based on universal cognitive grounding; metonymies also have historical and culture-specific dimensions. These aspects can render them difficult to understand for individuals outside a given linguistic or cultural group. Soares da Silva (2006) provides an insightful overview of the semantic history of the Portuguese verb *deixar* ('to leave'), a highly frequent and productive verb in everyday usage. Its polysemy encompasses psychological, social, and moral meanings such as 'abandon,' 'permit,' and 'not intervene,' reflecting both metonymic and metaphorical developments. These meanings trace back to embodied and interactional experiences—such as unlocking or releasing—rooted in the Latin etymon *laxare*, meaning 'to loosen,' 'to relax,' 'to release,' or 'to let go' (Silva 2006).

[N+N] compounds frequently activate conceptual metonymies or metaphtonymies, which carry culturally entrenched meanings. Onysko (2017), for example, shows that compounds used by speakers of New Zealand English often encapsulate cultural meanings. The term "bucket philosopher," referring to a person who openly talks about death, involves a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, relying on the idiom 'to kick the bucket.' Similarly, "snail villa," meaning 'a trail of something,' evokes a metonymic chain in which "snail" is interpreted as ANIMAL → MOTION → PATH.

In a similar vein, proverbs may exhibit a rich interplay between metonymy and metaphor, as demonstrated by Siqueira et al. (2017) in their analysis of examples such as *Quem vê cara não vê coração* ("Who sees the face does not see the heart"). This proverb involves the conceptual metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, the CONTAINER image schema, and the primary metaphor ESSENTIAL IS INTERIOR. Even more complex are multimodal memes and political cartoons (*charges*), which frequently incorporate metonymic and metaphoric elements in both their source and target domains. As Sperandio (2016) shows in her analysis of Maurício Ricardo's *charges*, these forms often constitute intricate conceptual blends. Understanding multimodal cognitive discourse resources—across domains such as art, advertising, and politics—has led to a substantial body of semiotically informed cognitive research (e.g., Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009).

Nevertheless, despite this expanding interest, the role of metonymy in gesture remained largely neglected for a significant period. An exception to this trend is the work

of Irene Mittelberg, which is explicitly dedicated to the role of gestural metonymy in interaction. For Mittelberg, metonymy plays a fundamental role in gestural thinking and signification, as gestures are "by nature abstract(ed) and partial representations […] and thus inherently metonymic" (Mittelberg & Hinnell 2024, p. 133). Gestures metonymically evoke frames by highlighting aspects of basic scenes of experience and are deeply interrelated with processes of pragmatic inferencing, which involve shared knowledge. In the creation of an iconic or metaphoric gesture, prototypical or locally relevant aspects of a particular object or action are emphasized, while other implied aspects must be completed, imagined, or inferred by the interlocutor. Gestures, therefore, serve as tools, and it is up to the interlocutor to abstract meaning from them. For example, one might abstract meaning from the motion event executed by the moving hand (Mittelberg & Waugh 2009, p. 120). Re-enactments, substitutions, adjacent representations, and tracing all represent only parts of some action or entity. The gestural re-enactment of writing by a hand in the air does not involve a writing instrument or paper. However, through metonymy, the gesture evokes a part of the entire writing scene (Cienki 2013). In this way, metonymies in co-speech gestures are discourse-embedded, as they are linked to discourse-specific frames through the principle of partial semiotic portrayal. Gestures, therefore, "abstract salient characteristics from, briefly allude to, or otherwise evoke entire persons, three-dimensional objects, holistic motion events, and rich contexts" (Mittelberg 2019, p. 1). This is how interactants highlight those scenarios that become relevant to their communicative goals. These scenarios are metonymically linked by a pragmatically and experientially grounded frame in which a gesture can trigger ensuing associative chains within larger semantic networks.

Over time, gestural metonymies may undergo habitualization, with hand shapes and movement routines evolving through grammaticalization processes in language. Mittelberg and Hinnell (2024) illustrate this process with the example of the 'palm-up open hand' (PUOH) gesture, which is commonly observed in the German intransitive existential construction *es gibt* ("there is/are"). When this multimodally instantiated construction is used, the PUOH gesture metonymically enacts a reduced and schematic variant of the full action of giving.

Frequently, metonymy marks the first step toward metaphor in verbo-gestural communication. Mittelberg and Waugh (2009) provide an example of a hand gesture that draws a frame in the air, though the frame is never fully drawn—typically, only the edges are indicated. Thus, the traces in the air must be interpreted as representing some form of frame, which corresponds to the initial metonymic step in meaning construction. In the second, metaphoric step, this frame could be interpreted as the frame of a story the speaker is telling, such as the frame of a movie rather than the frame of a picture. In this way, metonymy can pave the way for metaphor in interaction (Mittelberg & Hinnell, 2024).

As we have seen in this subsection, metonymies are frequently universal, however, the more complex they become the more culturally bound they may be. It has also been shortly mentioned that Kecskes (2015, p. 180–187) elaborates on the crucial yet merely scalar difference between interactions among native speakers and those among non-native speakers. In the latter case, intersubjectivity relies much more on language created *ad hoc* and *in situ* than on prefabricated language, formulas, idioms, and pre-existing frames. The interactants must build their frames bottom-up while negotiating meaning with their interlocutors. This raises the question of how the dynamics of metonymic meaning construction evolve toward a culturally 'discharged' use of metonymies in language and gesture, in line with a common ground co-constructed *in situ*.

3 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

Combining lingua franca research from an interactional perspective with a focus on cognitive phenomena is still in its infancy (Zima & Brône 2015; Hall 2020; Schröder 2025). However, fine-grained multimodal analysis offers an ideal starting point for accessing both cognitive online processes and entrenched levels of distributed and shared cognition that are (re)activated and (re)negotiated *in situ*.

The data that will be presented in the Section 4 belongs to the ICMI corpus. Established in 2010 at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, the Research Center for *Intercultural Communication in Multimodal Interaction* (ICMI).[i] has grown into an inter-institutional and international network of researchers focused on analyzing intercultural communication in interaction from micro-analytical and multimodal perspectives.[ii] Since its inception, the center's methodology has been multimodal, based on videotaping and transcribing intercultural interactions occurring in natural, elicited, and institutional settings. After recording, the interactions are transcribed using the EXMARaLDA software program (Schmidt & Wörner, 2009) in accordance with the CA transcription conventions GAT 2 (Selting *et al*. 2011; see Appendix). Currently, the corpus consists of approximately 120h of videotaped interactions.

The three sequences analyzed below were selected from a dataset of twenty sequences drawn from two projects: "(Inter)cultural Key Concepts at the Interface of Interaction, Cognition, and Variation" (2017–2022),[iii] and "The Multimodal Coordination of Intercultural Video-Mediated Interaction" (2023–2026).[iv] Both projects compose part of the ICMI corpus, specifically the subcorpora ICMI-InCogVa and ICMI-VMI. The twenty sequences were chosen because they exhibit the sequential and multimodal elaboration and co-construction of complex metonymies that have been identified as cognitively and (inter)culturally salient, thereby warranting further fine-grained transcription, gesture annotation, and analysis as a first step.

Qualitative research on intercultural talk-in-interaction from a multimodal perspective relies on a rigorously empirical procedure. Collecting data in this way is essential for providing a complementary perspective on "cognition in interaction," which remains largely neglected (Zima & Brône 2015). This is why each new project begins with specific research questions but adopts a bottom-up approach. Although neither videotaping nor transcription can ever be free of bias, this empirical procedure remains, to date, the most rigorous means of initiating an investigation of talk-in-interaction. Transcription itself constitutes a process of analysis: salient co-occurrences—such as the recurrent simultaneous use of a lexical, pragmatic, or syntactic marker in combination with high pitch, marked accentuation, and a particular gesture—may give rise to further analyses of recurrent patterns (e.g., multimodal list constructions). In the present case, such observations spark scientific curiosity about whether metonymy may serve as a resource for establishing common ground and, if so, how it is collaboratively elaborated, maintained, and/or modified *in situ*, that is to say, turn by turn.

Building on this first phase, the subsequent selection of sequences was guided by the aim of identifying a substantial set of instances in which complex metonymic elaborations contribute to common ground work. The goal was to analyze how interlocutors embed these elaborations in their narrative contexts and to determine their specific functions within the ongoing interaction, thereby shedding light on their role as a resource for common ground building in talk-in-interaction. Finally, from this set, three sequences were chosen for detailed presentation here, as they exemplify different ways in which metonymy is interwoven with or further developed alongside metaphor.

For the purpose of the following analysis, we will first present the video by a link, as well as the GAT 2 transcriptions of the sequence under discussion (see for the conventions Appendix). Following that, the second step of annotation, namely, the 'zoom-in' procedure is given. This procedure is based on the annotation system proposed by Bressem (2013). The adopted categorization relies on the four parameters of sign language: (a) hand shape, (b) orientation, (c) movement, and (d) position in gesture space. Table 1 provides an overview of these gesture form aspects, as well as the acronyms used for the most common hand shapes and orientations:

Table 1 — Modified matrix of gesture forms based on Bressem (2013; *Schröder,* 2025)

1. HAND SHAPE a. OH: open/flat hand b. R/LH: right/left hand c. 2H: two hands d. F: fist e. Single fingers: i. Combination of fingers: 1+5 or 1-5 (1=thumb, 5=little finger) ii. Shapes: stretched, bent, crooked, flapped down, connected, touching	2. HAND ORIENTATION a. PU: palm up b. PD: palm down c. PL: palm lateral d. PV: palm vertical e. TC/AC: towards/away center f. TB/AB: towards/away body
3. MOVEMENT SHAPE a. Straight, arced, circular, zigzag, s-line, spiral	4. DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT a. Horizontal: right and left b. Vertical: up and down c. Sagittal: away from and towards body d. Diagonal: all of the previous directions
5. QUALITY OF MOVEMENT a. Size: reduced or enlarged b. Speed: decelerated, accelerated c. Flow of movement: accentuated or not	6. POSITION a. Four sectors: center center, center, periphery, extreme periphery b. Position: upper, lower, right and left

4 ANALYSIS

4.1 *I lost the point*

Sequence 1 is derived from a video recording conducted at a Brazilian university. The participants include a Brazilian student acting as a trainee teacher of English, a German exchange student, and a US-American exchange student.[3] The US-American exchange student concludes his turn by emphasizing the importance of consistent practice in attaining fluency in a foreign language, and the other participants express their agreement. Subsequently, the Brazilian participant initiates the next turn and offers his assessment:

Sequence 2: *Lost the point* 2019BHAmBrGe01 ((07:13-07:36))[4]

```
01   Br:   but ↑that's imPORtant (-) like (.)
           prAc[ticing it's gOod;          ]
02   Ge:       [it's just PRACtice;=right?]
03   Br:  <<tipping with stretched R2 on his forehead> yeah (.) but
          the: the the other thIng is like (.) AH:M (-) eh:;>
04        <<holding his LH with stretched R2 in front of him,
```

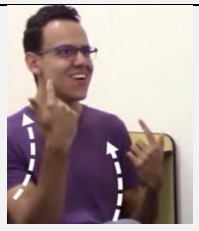
[3] The video has been analyzed in Schröder 2025, but with regard to its importance for metacommunication in ELF context.

[4] The video can be accessed at the following link: https://youtu.be/ydCf2vtlfXs

```
          laughing, p> i LOST the ´pOint?>
05        <<2H OP TB stretched R2, laughing> i hAd it right ´HERE->
06        [(.) and i <<snapping fingers, laughing> LOST `it.>]
07   Am:  [((laughs))                                          ]
08   Ge:  [((laughs))                                          ]
09        <<pointing with R2 to the left> yeah but the THING is like->
```

In this sequence, the Brazilian participant attempts to articulate a point about practicing a foreign language but experiences a brief lapse in memory—a phenomenon not uncommon even among native speakers. Notably, he demonstrates an intensive engagement with this moment by inserting an explicit metacomment, elaborating a metonymic chain, reactivating an entrenched idiom and underscoring this process even by his dynamic corporal involvement, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2 — Fine-grained multimodal analysis of Sequence 2

TRANSCRIPT (GAT 2)	GESTURE FORM[5]		METONYMY/ METAPHTONYMY	IMAGE
03 yeah (.) but the: the the other thIng is like (.) AH:M (-) eh:;	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	RH crooked, index finger stretched PL straight TB upper center	Metonymy: PLACE FOR OBJECT Metaphtonymy: SPACE FOR MEMORY	 **2a**
04 i LOST the ´pOint?	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	R OH flat TB straight upper center		 **2b**
05 i hAd it right ´HERE-	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	2H crooked, 1+2 stretched arced towards body enlarged center	Metonymy: PLACE FOR OBJECT Metaphtonymy: SPACE FOR MEMORY	 **2c**
06 (.) and i LOST `it.	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	2H crooked, 1+2 crossed PV, TB arced center	Metonymy: CLICK FOR LOSING ACTION Metaphtonymy: FORGETTING IS DISAPPEARING	 **2d**

[5] **H-SHA**=hand shape; **H-ORI**=hand orientation; **S-MOV**=shape of movement; **D-MOV**=direction of movement; **Q-MOV**=quality of movement; **G-POS**=gesture position

While searching for the momentarily forgotten idea, the participant points towards his forehead, seemingly indicating the locus where the discourse topic should be stored in memory. He verbalizes: `yeah (.) but the: the the other thIng is like (.) AH:M (-) eh:;` (L03, Fig. 2a), accompanied by micro-pauses, hesitation markers, and elongated speech sounds.

It appears that the participant is pointing towards the location where the topic of discussion is presumed to reside in his mind, with the act of tapping his head functioning metonymically as a representation of the memory's storage place. Simultaneously, this gesture metaphorically reflects the thoughts he is attempting to retrieve. In L05, he elaborates further by stating, `i hAd it right ´HERE-` while pointing towards his face with both open hands and breaking into laughter. Through this comment, he extends the metonymic-metaphoric chain.

Subsequently, in L06 (Fig. 2d), he snaps his fingers and reiterates that he has lost his train of thought. This gesture enriches the metonymic framework, as the action of snapping fingers encapsulates an entire Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM), where the brief gesture and sound symbolize the broader concept of the act of forgetting. Metaphorically, this gesture is mapped onto the target domain of the sudden disappearance of memory, as illustrated in Table 2. In this instance, the ontological metaphor underlying the figurative expression is reactivated—a phenomenon commonly observed in foreign language use and often rendered particularly visible through multimodal displays (Littlemore & Low 2006; Pitzl 2018; Schröder 2025). A dynamic scenario unfolds as access to an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM), facilitated through metonymy, emphasizing the encyclopedic, flexible, and idiosyncratic nature of the knowledge networks in human cognition.

According to Mittelberg's (2019) framework of metonymy, this scenario constitutes a relatively simple frame, involving a single idiom tied to a basic, universally comprehensible scene for speakers of Indo-European languages using ELF. The familiar and centuries-old MIND-AS-CONTAINER metaphor further reinforces this understanding. However, the interplay of two metonymies and one metaphor, coupled with their expansion, reactivation, and multimodal elaboration, transforms this brief sequence into a conceptually performance.

4.2 *When, how long, with whom, when I come back*

Sequence 3 captures an excerpt from an elicited conversation involving three exchange students at the beginning of their stay in the host country. The participants include two sixteen-year-old German male students and one seventeen-year-old Swedish female student, all of whom were part of the Youth for Understanding program. The students had arrived in Brazil one month prior to the first recording. The recordings were conducted in a Brazilian town with a population of approximately 300,000, located in the state of Minas Gerais. The second recording took place after the participants had spent eleven months in Brazil. During this period, the exchange students were fully integrated into the Brazilian school system and resided with Brazilian host families. In the following extract, the participants discuss their experiences with their host parents, when G2 begins to talk about the controlling attitudes of his host parents.

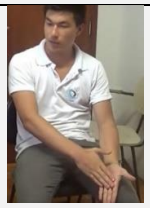
Sequence 3: *When, how long, with whom* 2012UbGeSw01 ((25:25-25:41))[6]

01 G2: and when i want to do SOMEthing <<brushing his RH in parallel to his torso> with someOne,
02 (.) then i have Always to say <<ROH touches LOH> ↑WHEN;>
03 <<holding 2OHPV in parallel away from body> how ↑LONG;>
04 with <<pointing with the R2 on LOH PV> ↑WHOm;
05 S1: [yeah;]
06 G2: [and] WHEN i've when i want to (.) when (.) i:;
07 <<turning around his arched ROH PU quickly> Come `BACK;>
08 S1: ((nods))
09 ALways;
10 S1: <<nodding> yeah;>

The host parents' behavior regarding 'going out with friends' is analyzed in detail, rather than being summarized under a generic concept such as 'a more controlling attitude.' Instead, G2 emphasizes specific components of this domain: ASKING WHEN FOR CONTROL, ASKING HOW LONG FOR CONTROL, ASKING WITH WHOM FOR CONTROL, and ASKING WHEN HE COMES BACK FOR CONTROL. These components represent SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymies (Littlemore, 2015) and may point to stronger paternalistic tendencies in Brazilian culture as perceived by G2. This underlying concept is not explicitly mentioned but is implicitly established as *ad hoc* common ground among these three exchange students.

A closer examination of the gestural level, as shown in Table 3, reveals a gestural display that not only underscore these metonymies but also introduces metaphtonymies since metaphors are reactivated on a deeper level.

Table 3 — Fine-grained multimodal analysis of Sequence 3

TRANSCRIPT GAT 2	GESTURE FORM[7]		METONYMY/ METAPHTONYMY	IMAGE
02 then i have Always to say **↑WHEN;**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	2OH 1-4 closed, 1 angled RH PV, LH PU Straight RH towards LH lower	Metonymy: TIME REQUEST FOR CONTROL; Metaphor: A MOMENT IN TIME IS A POINT IN SPACE	 **3a**
03 **how ↑LONG;**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	2OH 1-4 closed, 1 angled PV In parallel lower	Metonymy: TIME REQUEST FOR CONTROL; Metaphor: A TIMESPAN IS A PATH	 **3b**

[6] The video can be accessed at: https://youtu.be/MLhn8imdDGA

[7] **H-SHA**=hand shape; **H-ORI**=hand orientation; **S-MOV**=shape of movement; **D-MOV**=direction of movement; **Q-MOV**=quality of movement; **G-POS**=gesture position

04 with ↑**WHOm;**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	LOH 1 angled, RH fingers bent, 2 stretched; LH PV Pointing RH towards LH reduced size lower	Metonymy: PERSON REQUEST FOR CONTROL; POINTING TO THE PERSON STANDS FOR THE PERSON	 **3c**
06 [and] WHEN i've when i want to (.) when (.) i:; 07 **cOme `BACK;**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	ROH PU arched horizontal from right to left lower	Metonymy: REQUEST FOR POINT IN TIME FOR CONTROL; TURNING MOVEMENT FOR THE WHOLE ACTION (OF COMING BACK)	 **3d**

As shown in Table 3, in addition to the overarching CONTROL scenario, which is composed of metonymies providing access to the broader frame, two more specific metonymies are present: (a) in L04, POINTING TO THE PERSON STANDS FOR THE PERSON, and (b) in L06, TURNING MOVEMENT FOR THE WHOLE ACTION (OF COMING BACK). These two types of metonymies are precisely identified by Mittelberg and Waugh (2009) and Mittelberg (2019). Specifically, they describe HANDS AS METONYMIC SOURCES POINTING TO AN OBJECT OR SPACE AS METONYMIC TARGETS, standing for the object itself, as well as PART OF AN ACTION FOR THE WHOLE ACTION, both of which are prototypical examples of metonymy in gesture.

In L02 and 03, the classical conceptualization of time in spatial terms is invoked, specifically what Lakoff and Johnson (1999) refer to as the MOVING OBSERVER or TIME'S LANDSCAPE METAPHOR. Unlike the MOVING TIME metaphor, where time itself moves, it is the observer who moves, with each location in the observer's path representing a point in time. This is reflected in two metaphors: (a) in L02, A MOMENT IN TIME IS A POINT IN SPACE, and (b) in L03, A TIMESPAN IS A PATH. Although conventionalized, these metaphors are reactivated gesturally here (Pitzl 2018). Moreover, all key terms are highlighted by prosodic cues, including focus accent, three pitch jumps, and one falling pitch movement: ↑WHEN (L02), how ↑LONG (L03), with ↑WHOm (L04), cOme `BACK (L07). The co-occurrence of these lexical units with gestures and the prosodic repetition of pitch jumps can be interpreted as what Selting (2007) terms "list construction."

Gestures and prosody are embedded in the cultural frame of CONTROL, which contrasts the Brazilian host parents' behavior with that of the speaker's German parents. In this context, metaphtonymy operates on a multimodal level within talk-in-interaction. It constitutes a complex semantic network that enables interlocutors to pragmatically infer the (inter)cultural implications of this frame, allowing them to co-participate in accessing the cultural and abstract concepts implied. This is evident in the response tokens provided by the Swedish participant (L08, 10: nodding; L05, 10: yeah). Thus, emerging common ground is co-constructed from the shared experiences and the contrast between two diverging cultural landscapes, rather than solely between the linguistic and national background.

4.3 *The door is never closed*

In Sequence 4, taken from the same setting, the three exchange students discuss their living situation with their host families, focusing particularly on the issue of private space. G2 raises the concern that members of his host family enter and exit his room at will, a behavior that is confirmed by S1.

Sequence 4: *The door is never closed* 2012UbGeSw01 ((32:50-33:08))[8]

```
01   G2:   <<pointing with RH to his chest> in my apartment they're
           VEry <<opening 2H PD outwards> dIfferent;=>
02         =<<throwing RH towards body> they JUST come in;>
03         [and THEN;]
04   S1:   [yeah;    ]
05         [in MY room too;                                        ]
06   G2:   [<<grabbing movement with RH TB> the door is NEver closed,]
07         <<grabbing movement with RH TAB> when the door is CLOSED
           they just Open it, <<arched movement with RH> and go In;>
08         [((laughs))]
09   S1:   [((laughs))]
10         well (.) i_i <<moving raised LH with crooked fingers TB>
           CLOSE the door and it is closed;>
11         <<moving RH to right> but (.) people>  just come ^IN;
12         <<LOH PU with crooked fingers> and they sit> on my
           bed for a whIle and TALK and then;
13         <<ROH PU moving upward> they go aWAY,
14         [they sit and like (-) <<slapping RH in the air> ↑Okay:;]
15         [they come to you YES yes it is like this;              ]
16         <<waving RH> bye bYe> (-) <<laughing> ↑see you
           LAter;=heHE->
```

This sequence illustrates how metonymy develops or narrows (Denroche 2015, p. 57-58) within a cultural context co-constructed by the participants G2 and S1, with the conceptualization being co-expressively displayed across both the verbal and gestural planes. G2 initiates the sequence by introducing the underlying topic of the 'private sphere,' explaining that his host parents treat his private space very differently compared to the way his parents handle it in his home country: `in my apartment they're VEry dIfferent` (L01). As we can see in Table 4, gestures play a pivotal role in elaborating this metonymic chain:

[8] The video can be accessed at: https://youtu.be/KDYtbXYfUzc

Table 4 — Fine-grained multimodal analysis of Sequence 4

Transcript	Gesture form		Metonymy/Metaphor	Image
01 in my apartment they're VEry **dIfferent;**=	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	ROH, 1-5 stretched PV AB; straight; accelerated center, lower left	Metaphor: DIFFERENCE IS OPPOSITE DIRECTION	 **4a**
02 =**they jUst come in;**>	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	ROH, 1-5 crooked PV arched from right to left; accelerated; lower right	Metonymy: DIRECTION FOR ACTION	 **4b**
06 **the door is NEver closed todAy,**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	RH, 1-5 crooked PL straight; towards body; from lower right to center	Metonymy: PULLING THE DOOR FOR COMING INTO THE ROOM, INVASION INTO PRIVATE SPACE	 **4c**
07 **when the door is CLOSED they just Open it**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	RH, 1-5 bent PL Grabbing towards and away from body; center center	Metonymy: PULLING THE DOOR FOR COMING INTO THE ROOM, INVASION INTO PRIVATE SPACE	 **4d**
07 **and go In;**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	ROH PL; circular; spiral right	Metonymy: FINAL STATE FOR WHOLE ACTION	 **4e**
10 well (.) i_i **CLOSE the door and it is closed;**	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	LH, 1-5 bent PV straight towards body center	Metonymy: FINAL STATE FOR WHOLE ACTION	 **4f**
11 **but (.) people** just come ^IN;	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	RH, 1-5 bent PL straight from left to right center	Metonymy: PULLING THE DOOR FOR COMING INTO THE ROOM, INVASION INTO PRIVATE SPACE	 **4g**

12 **and they sit** on my bed for a whIle and TALK and then;	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	LH, 1-5 crooked PU center left	Metonymy: PART OF THE OBJECT (BED) FOR ACTION (SITTING ON THE BED), INVASION INTO PRIVATE SPACE	 **4h**
16 **bye bYe** (-) <<laughing> ↑see you LAter;=heHE->	H-SHA: H-ORI: S-MOV: D-MOV: Q-MOV: G-POS:	RH OP waving horizontal; center center	Metonymy: PART OF ACTION (WAVING HAND) FOR WHOLE ACTION (LEAVING)	 **4i**

While explaining, G2 concurrently moves both arms with flat hands in opposite directions (right and left). This gesture represents a conventionalized monomodal metaphor (Cienki & Müller 2008), which can be described as DIFFERENCE IS OPPOSITE DIRECTION (Image 4a). He then proceeds to describe how members of his host family enter his room without knocking, executing a quick movement with his right hand—fingers crooked—from right to left in an arched motion. This gesture enacts them suddenly invading his private space (L02; Image 4b). The movement itself is reductive, primarily indicating direction and speed, thus functioning as a SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT METONYMY (Littlemore 2015), where the gesture represents the entire action of intruding into his personal territory. In L06-07 (Images 4c-e) G2 continues explaining that `the door is NEver closed todAy,` and `when the door is CLOSED they just Open it and go In.` Concurrently, G2 displays gesturally how a member of his host family grabs the doorknob and opens the door. These movements, which indicate the OPENING OF THE DOOR, can be interpreted as metonymically representing the entire action of COMING INTO THE ROOM. This experience is shared by the Swedish co-participant, who not only confirms G2's narration through affiliation tokens (L04, 05, 09) but also takes the floor in L10 and offers her own version of this culturally divergent habit. She begins by re-enacting a similar scenario from her host parents' home, where she typically closes her door (L10; Image 4f), which is restaged metonymically as FINAL STATE FOR WHOLE ACTION (Littlemore 2015). However, her host family members don't care and come into her room as they like (L11-12): `but (.) people just come ^IN; and they sit on my bed for a whIle and TALK and then;.` Their decision to leave her alone after a while is embodied through a waving hand gesture, which adds an ironic tone to the bewildering situation. The gestural metonymies co-constituting this scenario include PULLING THE DOOR FOR COMING INTO THE ROOM (Image 4g), PART OF THE OBJECT (BED) FOR ACTION (SITTING ON THE BED) (Image 4h), and PART OF ACTION (WAVING HAND) FOR WHOLE ACTION (LEAVING) (Image 4i). Concurrently, the metonymy points to the cultural concept of private space, which is portrayed as being invaded in this context.

The frame scenario of entering the exchange student's room at the host family's home is, on one hand, deconstructed into metonymies on the verbo-gestural level that re-enact the prototypical experience of the sudden opening of the student's door. At the same time, this re-enacted scene metaphorically reflects the cultural conceptualization of PRIVATE SPACE, highlighting the distinct boundaries between PRIVATE and PUBLIC SPHERES. These boundaries appear to be more fluid in Brazil compared to the student's countries of origin, Germany and Sweden.

5 DISCUSSION

As we have seen, metonymies serve as valuable tools in ELF interactions, helping to create common ground *ad hoc* and *in situ* (Kecskes 2014; Schröder 2025). They enable co-participants to break down complex and abstract concepts into concrete, imagistic components of larger scenarios. In doing so, participants often employ co-speech gestures. The first sequence demonstrated that an idiom, such as "lose the point," can be reactivated in lingua franca interactions, as discussed by Pitzl (2018) who underscores that idioms might undergo a process of re-metaphorization. We have seen that this is particularly highlighted when gesture re-activates and foregrounds an entrenched idiom and a lingua franca user becomes aware of its metaphorical anchoring and elaborates on it. The second sequence demonstrated how the TIME AS SPACE metaphor is metonymically constituted through specific gestures, and how these sub-actions collectively form the larger scenario, which is re-activated as conventionalized metaphtonymies through the high gestural engagement of the ELF speaker evoking common ground by shared experience as exchange students. The last sequence showed that even though the exchange students do not explicitly reference the PRIVACY schema, the imagistic frame metonymies and metaphors are inferentially and implicitly conveyed. These can be further accessed through contextualization cues such as laughter, ironic markers on the lexical level, and pitch movements to signal (inter)cultural bewilderment.

As noted in the Introduction, following the shift toward usage-based approaches in cognitive linguistics, interest in the relationship between language and cognition has thus far been pursued primarily through corpus-based analyses of written discourse. Within this body of research, metaphor has consistently received more attention than metonymy—a tendency that also characterizes studies of multimodal discourse, where media such as advertising have additionally been privileged over face-to-face interaction (Zima & Brône 2015). Moreover, much of this work has adopted a top-down orientation.

By contrast, conversation analysis and interactional linguistics have generally excluded cognitive and cultural dimensions, a limitation that has frequently been criticized (see Loenhoff 2022).

A similar dilemma is evident in research on English as a lingua franca (ELF) and World Englishes. While the latter field aligns with cognitive linguistics through its comparative orientation, studies of ELF have primarily focused on interaction and on features of ELF speech, often abstracted from the cultural and cognitive resources that participants bring to the interactional context. Researchers who have addressed the cognitive dimensions of ELF (for an overview, see Hall 2017) discuss the assumption of a supra-cognitive category of language operating at the community level, elaborated through shared group knowledge that transcends national varieties—an assumption many view with skepticism. Another important aspect, illustrated in Sequence 1, is the role of creativity that emerges from uncertainty about shared norms. Corpus-based studies have shown that ELF interaction fosters heightened levels of creativity and innovation (Pitzl 2012, 2018), a phenomenon to which Kecskes (2014, 2018) has drawn particular attention. However, this dimension has not yet been systematically investigated from a multimodal perspective.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this article has been to contribute to research on situated cognition, understood here as the study of cognition at the interface of multimodal talk-in-interaction, by starting from a fine-grained sequential analysis. As demonstrated, the fields we bring into dialogue rarely incorporate each other's methodological perspectives,

even though such integration could generate valuable insights and foster new debates—whether critical or productive. Despite the promise of these cross-fertilizations, a sustained dialogue between the perspectives remains largely absent. However, In light of the epistemological and methodological shifts ushered in by the embodied turn, we expect continued expansion of interfaces and greater reciprocity in future research.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the support provided by the institutional partnership between UFMG and the University of Potsdam, facilitated by the Research Group Linkage Programme of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Germany. I also wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior*) for their funding through the Capes-PrInt programme, which enabled my postdoctoral research year at the University of Texas at Austin, USA, and the University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany. Additionally, I am deeply grateful to FAPEMIG Universal (2024-2027), as well as to CNPq, for their Fellowship Program (2022-2025). Lastly, I would like to acknowledge CAPES and DAAD for their support through the Probral fellowship (2023-2026) for the bilateral project on 'The Multimodal Coordination of Intercultural Video-Mediated Interaction.' Finally, I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments, which significantly improved this paper.

REFERENCES

BARCELONA, A. Reviewing the properties and prototype structure of metonymy. *In:* BENCZES, R.; BARCELONA, A.; IBÁÑEZ, F. J. R. (Eds.). *Defining metonymy in cognitive linguistics*: towards a consensus view. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011. p. 7-58.

BARCELONA, Antonio. The multilevel operation of metonymy in grammar and discourse, with particular attention to metonymic chains. *In:* RUIZ DE MENDOZA IBAÑEZ, Francisco Jose; CERVEL, Sandra Pena (Eds.). *Cognitive linguistics*: internal dynamics and interdisciplinary interaction. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005. p. 313-352.

BRESSEM, J. A linguistic perspective on the notation of form features in gesture. *In:* MÜLLER, C.; CIENKI, A.; FRICKE, E.; LADEWIG, S. H.; MCNEILL, D.; TEßENDORF, S. (Eds.). *Body - language - communication*: an international handbook on multimodality in human interaction. Volume 1. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013. p. 1079-1098.

CIENKI, A. Cognitive linguistics: spoken language and gesture as expressions of conceptualization. *In:* MÜLLER, C.; CIENKI, A.; FRICKE, E.; LADEWIG, S. H.; MCNEILL, D.; TEßENDORF, S. (Eds.). *Body - language - communication*: an international handbook on multimodality in human interaction. Volume 1. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013. p. 182-201.

CIENKI, A.; MÜLLER, C. Metaphor, gesture, and thought. *In:* GIBBS, R. W. (Ed.). *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. p. 483-501.

CROFT, W. The role of domains in the interpretation of metaphors and metonymies. *Cognitive Linguistics*, v. 4, n. 4, p. 335-370, 1993.

DEIGNAN, A. *Metaphor and corpus linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005.

DENROCHE, C. *Metonymy and language*: a new theory of linguistic processing. New York; London: Routledge, 2015.

FILLMORE, C. Frame semantics. *In:* GEERAERTS, D. (Ed.). *Cognitive linguistics*: basic readings. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006. p. 373-400.

FORCEVILLE, E.; URIOS-APARISI, E. (Eds.). *Multimodal metaphor*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, [s. d.].

GOOSSENS, L. Metaphtonymy: the interaction of metaphor and metonymy in expressions for linguistic action. *Cognitive Linguistics*, v. 1, p. 323-340, 1990.

HALL, C. J. Cognitive perspectives on English as a lingua franca. *In:* JENKINS, J.; BAKER, W.; DEWEY, M. (Eds.). *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017. p. 74-84.

KECSKES, I. Formulaic language and its place in intercultural pragmatics. *In:* SIYANOVA-CHANTURIA, A.; PELLICER-SÁNCHEZ, A. (Eds.). *Understanding formulaic language*. New York: Routledge, 2028. p. 170-188.
KECSKES, I. *Intercultural pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
KECSKES, I. Intracultural communication and intercultural communication: are they different? *International Review of Pragmatics*, v. 7, p. 171-194, 2015.
LAKOFF, G.; JOHNSON, M. *Philosophy in the flesh*: the embodied mind and its challenge to western thought. New York: Basic Books, 1999.
LITTLEMORE, J. *Metonymy*: hidden shortcuts in language, thought and communication. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
LITTLEMORE, J.; LOW, G. D. *Figurative thinking and foreign language learning*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
LOENHOFF, J. Explikation und Vergegenständlichung im Kontext von Sequenzialität und Sequenzanalyse. *Gesprächsforschung - Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion*, v. 23, p. 145-166, 2022.
MITTELBERG, I. Visuo-kinetic signs are inherently metonymic: how embodied metonymy motivates forms, functions, and schematic patterns in gesture. *Frontiers in Psychology*, v. 10, p. 1-18, 2019. Disponível em: https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00254/full. Acesso em: 22 abr. 2021.
MITTELBERG, I.; HINNELL, J. Iconicity, schematicity, and representation in gesture. *In:* CIENKI, A. (Ed.). *The Cambridge handbook of gesture studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024. p. 56-83.
MITTELBERG, I.; WAUGH, L. R. Metonymy first, metaphor second: a cognitive-semiotic approach to multimodal figures of thought in co-speech gesture. *In:* FORCEVILLE, C. J.; URIOS-APARISI, E. (Eds.). *Multimodal metaphor*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009. p. 329-355.
ONYSKO, A. Conceptual metaphor variation in meaning interpretation: evidence from speakers of New Zealand English. *Cognitive Linguistic Studies*, v. 4, n. 1, p. 7-35, 2017.
PITZL, M.-L. Creativity meets convention: idiom variation and remetaphorization in ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, v. 1, n. 1, p. 27-55, 2012.
PITZL, M.-L. Creativity, idioms and metaphorical language in ELF. *In:* JENKINS, J.; BAKER, W.; DEWEY, M. (Eds.). *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*. London; New York: Routledge, 2018. p. 233-243.
RADDEN, G.; KÖVECSES, Z. Towards a theory of metonymy. *In:* PANTHER, K.-U.; RADDEN, G. (Eds.). *Metonymy in language and thought*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999. p. 17-59.
SCHMIDT, T.; WÖRNER, K. EXMARaLDA - creating, analysing and sharing spoken language corpora for pragmatic research. *Pragmatics*, v. 19, p. 565-582, 2009.
SCHRÖDER, U. *Co-constructing intercultural space*: an embodied approach. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2025.
SCHRÖDER, Ulrike. Cognitive linguistics and discourse studies. *In:* WEN, X.; TAYLOR, J. R. (Eds.). *The Routledge handbook of cognitive linguistics*. London; New York: Routledge, 2021. p. 484-499.
SELTING, M. Lists as embedded structures and the prosody of list construction as an interactional resource. *Journal of Pragmatics*, v. 39, n. 3, p. 483-526, 2007.
SELTING, M. et al. A system for transcribing talk-in-interaction: GAT 2; translated and adapted for English by Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen and Dagmar Barth-Weingarten. *Gesprächsforschung - Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion*, v. 12, p. 1-51, 2011. Disponível em: http://www.gespraechsforschung-ozs.de/fileadmin/dateien/heft2011/px-gat2-englisch.pdf. Acesso em: 16 jan. 2015.
SIQUEIRA, M.; PEREIRA, L. B.; FERRARI, C. G.; LOPES, N. Mapeamentos metafóricos e metonímicos em provérbios do português brasileiro. *ReVEL*, v. 15, n. 29, 2017.
SOARES DA SILVA, Augusto. *O mundo dos sentidos em português*: polissemia, semântica e cognição. Coimbra: Almedina, 2006.
SOARES DA SILVA, Augusto. O poder cognitivo da metáfora e metonímia. *Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades*, v. 7, p. 13-75, 2003.
SPERANDIO, N. E. Repensando a motivação metonímica da metáfora: uma análise pela perspectiva da Integração Conceitual. *Signo*, v. 41, n. 70, p. 15-28, jan./jun. 2016.
ZIMA, E.; BRÔNE, G. Cognitive linguistics and interactional discourse: time to enter into dialogue. *Language and Cognition*, v. 7, p. 485-498, 2015.

APPENDIX

Transcription conventions

[ ]	overlap and simultaneous talk
[ ]	
=	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
and_uh	cliticizations within units
hm_hm	bi-syllabic tokens
(.)	micro pause, up to 0.2 sec.
(-)	short pause of 0.2-0.5 sec.
(--)	intermediary pause of 0.5-0.8 sec.
(2.0)	measured pause of 2.0 sec.
:, ::, :::	lengthening (0.2-0.5 sec.; 0.5-0.8 sec.; 0.8-1.0 sec.)
((laughs))	non-verbal vocal actions and events
<<laughing> >	para-verbal and non-verbal action as ccompanying speech with indication of scope
<<acc>	accelerando
(may i)	assumed wording
(i say/let's say)	possible alternatives
°hh hh°	in- and outbreaths
(xxx)	one unintelligible syllable
acCENT	focus accent
accEnt	secondary accent
ac!CENT!	extra strong accent
?	rising to high final pitch movement of intonation unit
,	rising to mid final pitch movement of intonation unit
-	level final pitch movement of intonation unit
;	falling to mid final pitch movement of intonation unit
.	falling to low final pitch movement of intonation unit
ˆSO	rising-falling accent pitch movement
ˇSO	falling-rising accent pitch movement
´SO	rising accent pitch movement
`SO	falling accent pitch movement
↑	pitch upstep
↓	pitch downstep

ENDNOTES

[i] http://www.letras.ufmg.br/icmi/

[ii] All interactants who were recorded received and signed a consent form declaring that they agree with the scientific use of the data for analysis as well as the disclosure of the videos and transcriptions for academic purposes. This also includes the use of images in academic articles.

[iii] The bilateral project coordinated by the author and Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Wolf from the University of Potsdam, Germany, was funded by the Research Linkage Programme of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (2027-2022).

[iv] The bilateral project Probral (2023-2026), coordinated by the author, Prof. Dr. Hani Yehia (Brazil) and Dr. Milene Mendes de Oliveira and Prof. Dr. Anna Ladilova (Germany) include three German and three Brazilian universities and is funded by CAPES–DAAD.

Recebido: 6/5/2025
Aceito: 10/9/2025
Publicado: 13/10/2025