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Comparison of Food Metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai Versions of the Fierce Wife: A Shared Concept of Asian Culture¹

Ratchaneekorn Ratchatakorntrakoon *

Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

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Abstract

The study described in this article aims to compare and analyze the characteristics and meaning of food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife, as well as analyze the relationship between food metaphors and cultural concepts.

This research found that food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife can be divided into two groups. First are shared food metaphors: dumpling as family; cake as a mode of life; the verb "to eat" connotes having sex, and; mistress is a flavorful dish, while wife is a tasteless dish. These shared metaphors indicate that "family is food," reflecting that food and family are the heart of Asian life. Second are metaphors that only appear in the Taiwanese or Thai version. For the Taiwanese version, these include candy as a symbol of hope and steak as the perfect man desired by every woman. For the Thai version, the metaphors include, among others, lukchup representing beautiful appearance and mind, and selecting some ingredients in a dish is equivalent to selecting someone as a partner or acknowledging someone as a family member. Food metaphors in both versions of The Fierce Wife are closely related to the plot by which the use of metaphors is associated with the two messages of the drama: first, both husband and wife play a significant role in maintaining their family, and; second, hope and courage in oneself are critical factors to overcome obstacles. The use of food as a metaphor is an important element that indicates that television dramas have a role not only to entertain, but also to educate the audience. Additionally, food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife can be consider as "media language" representing myths regarding women in Asian culture.

Keywords

Comparison of metaphor, The Fierce Wife, Food metaphor, Cultural concept, Media-language

^{*} Corresponding author: ratchaneekorn.r@chula.ac.th

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Introduction

Significance of the Study

Food is considered one of the four requisites for humans because food provides energy and nourishes the body. Food also relates to every part of human activity, particularly with respect to culture. Food is the production of culture and differentiates one culture from another. Hence, the existence of food in one culture reflects the beliefs, as well as the norms of that culture.

In terms of literature, food is a critical element since it not only reflects the social and cultural setting of the story but also plays a significant role in conveying messages. Keeling and Pollard (2009, p.4) argue that: We see here in one of the earliest texts of world literature the integral role of food as signifier, not only the product of culture but one that gives shape to the *mentalities*, that structure thought and expression.

According to Keeling and Pollard's argument, the presence of food in various kinds of narratives can be interpreted in many ways. Analysis of the meaning of food in narratives enhances the understanding of the story, as well as the function of such narratives with respect to the audience.

In the role of a signifier, food in narratives can be categorized as a metaphor since food is used to connect to abstract feelingsand ideas. This harmonizes with the definition of metaphor given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.5): "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in term of another."

The use of food to connect to abstract feelings and ideas, such as family, sex and hope, clearly exists in The Fierce Wife, the famous Taiwanese TV drama released in Taiwan in November 2010. As a result of the great success of this TV drama, in 2012 a The Fierce Wife film was released. In 2018, The Fierce Wife was reproduced in Thailand in the form of a TV drama named Mia 2018 This show enjoyed great popularity, therefore an extended production, entitled Aruna 2019, was released in June 2019.

It seems reasonable to surmise that the success of both the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife resulted from the reformulation of a classic Asian plot about a wife, a husband and a mistress. Both versions begin with the story of a sorrowful wife whose husband has an affair with her cousin. The turning point of the story is the victory of the wife who can overcome all obstacles and meet a new and better man.

Apart from the reformulation of the plot, a crucial factor in this drama's great popularity is the harmony of all aesthetic elements, such as the cast, the music and especially being a "play that exists with key messages in each episode" (Uncle K, 2018, online). As mentioned above, use of food to connect abstract ideas exists in The Fierce Wife, therefore this use of food or food metaphors also plays a significant role in conveying key messages.

An Zhen: Look at this dumpling, it holds together because a dumpling cover wraps the filling tightly. When we boil it in 100 °C water, it becomes a delicious dumpling. There are no more principles, if you don't wrap a dumpling properly, it will be broken.

Rui Xuan: Good analogy. Where did you get this idea? Google?

An Zhen: No, I conclude it from my own life.

Rui Xuan: Ok. Maybe I misunderstand, next time I will cook dumplings at my home.

(The Fierce Wife, Taiwanese version, episode1)

Aruna: Don't forget every housewife is a dumpling maker. Dumplings are our family, so we should combine all ingredients tightly and harmoniously. We should make our dumplings with love and care.

(Mia 2018, Thai version, episode 9)

The above dialogue indicates a shared food metaphor between the Taiwanese and Thai versions: family is compared with a dumpling. It can be noticed that the characters who mention this food metaphor are the protagonist – An Zhen in the Taiwanese version and Aruna in the Thai version. Moreover, this food metaphor exists in the opening of the Taiwanese version and when building suspense in the Thai version. This underlines the role and importance of food metaphors to the plot and message of the story.

As a popular drama reproduced in two cultures, The Fierce Wife can be used as an object of study to compare food metaphors in different cultures, and to analyze the meaning conveyed by food metaphors, along with the relationship between food metaphors and cultural concepts. The results of this study reveal the important relationship that can exist between food and metaphor as they relate to culture as well as conceptual systems.

Objectives of the Study

- 1. To compare food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife.
- 2. To analyze the meaning conveyed by food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife.
- 3. To analyze the relationship between food metaphors and cultural concepts.

Research questions

- 1. What are the shared and different food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife?
- 2. What are the shared and different meanings conveyed by food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife?
- 3. How do the food metaphors relate to the plot and other elements of the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife?

4. How do the shared and different food metaphors relate to cultural concepts?

Literature review

This study of the comparison of food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife focuses on the characteristics and meaning of such metaphors. Therefore, two groups of research are relevant: food metaphors in narratives and a cross-cultural study of metaphor in general.

Food metaphors in narratives

A vast body of research, including Campell (1997), Harrison (2001), Ratchatakorntrakoon (2012), Costantini (2017), Wulandari (2017), has studied the metaphor of food in many kinds of narratives, including novels, films, poems, autobiographies and *jataka* (the stories concerning the previous lives of Gautama Buddha). Apart from narratives, food design events have been used as data to study. Tseng (2017) analyzed how the multimodal metaphors of food were creatively represented and elaborated within food design events. However, in this group of research, the narratives and food events, the objects of study relate to only one culture, and thereby the research lacks the aspect of cross-cultural metaphor analysis. Huard (2016) did use narratives produced in two cultures as objects to study in his exploration of the representation of food in two films: Half of Heaven (Spain, 1986) and The Moon in the Mirror (Chile, 1990). However, the result of this research focused on the meaning conveyed by food metaphor rather than discussing metaphor as a cultural product since the theory of metaphor was not adopted to analyze the data, although this research shows the importance of food as indicators connected with abstract aspects, such as experience and struggles. Accordingly, since a constructed meaning of food exist in various cultures, the results of some of this research can be compared with the results of this study.

A cross-cultural study of metaphor.

There is plenty of research that has analyzed and compared metaphors in general in different cultures. Given the data of this study, the Taiwanese and Thai versions of a television drama series, the scope of research discussed here regarding cross-cultural metaphors is limited to studies of Chinese and another language or culture. It is noticed that most of the research – He (2011), Xiao and Guodong (2013), Qian (2016),and Yue (2017) – analyzed conceptually abstract ideas: heart, busyness, sadness, happiness and emotion. The theory of "conceptual metaphor" proposed by Lakoff and Johnson was generally used as the theoretical framework. It is also noticed that these comparative studies of metaphors between Chinese and other languages relied upon dictionaries and everyday conversation, as well as lectures, but not necessarily narratives. Furthermore, no research has focused on food metaphor in the aspect of cross-cultural studies. Although much of the research cites "culture" as a critical factor making certain metaphors similar or different, there is no relevant

research that includes a discussion and explanation of why and how shared metaphors closely relate to cultural concepts.

From this literature review, it can be seen that the approaches used for study in the two groups of relevant research are opposite. That is, the research relating to food metaphors in narrative starts with food, a concrete object, which is then used to connect to something abstract, such as the idea or message of a story; while the research related to cross-cultural study of metaphor starts with something abstract, such as an emotion or the heart, which is then similarly or differently described in Chinese and English. Therefore, the two approaches from the two groups of relevant research have been integrated to create the method for study for this article. That is, the approach of the first group has been adopted to analyze the food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife by focusing on the message conveyed by food metaphors and the role of food metaphors to the structure of the narrative. The approach of the second group is adopted to explain the cultural factors affecting the similarity or difference of the food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife.

Theory and methodology

This research uses the concept of metaphor as a theoretical framework. The concept of metaphor has been considered by many scholars over a long period. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (1965, p.61) suggested the concept of metaphor in his book "On the Art of Poetry": Metaphor is the application to one thing of a name belonging to another thing; the transference may be from the genus to the species, from the one species to another, or it may be a matter of analogy.

According to Aristotle's concept, when something is explained by analogy with another thing, it is naturally a metaphor, for instance "thought is food" or "ideas are food". These verbal expressions draw an analogy between thoughts/ideas and food to convey the message that thoughts/ideas share qualities with food; that man can consume thoughts/ideas, after which thoughts/ideas give man energy to create new things.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp.6-7) extended the theoretical framework regarding metaphor by demonstration of "metaphorical concept", such as "time is money":

You're wasting my time.

This gadget will save you hours.

I don't have the time to give you.

How do you spend your time these days?

That flat tire cost me an hour.

I've invested a lot of time in her.

In the above examples, it can be seen that the word "money" does not appear, but the viewer can understand the correlation between time and money because of the use of verbs relating to money, such as waste, save, have, give, spend, cost and invest. In this case, the concept of metaphor goes beyond the scope of analogy, stretching to a "metaphorical concept."

This article adopts a metaphorical concept to expand the scope of data collection as concepts relating to food, such as taste, ingredient, verbs about consumption or cooking food, were used as guidelines for data collection. Notwithstanding the lack of the word "food", the comparison of something abstract with food concepts can be considered a food metaphor. Furthermore, the metaphorical concept is used to analyze and discuss the cultural concept reflected by a group of shared food metaphors.

The methodology used in this study is content analysis, and the scope of study is the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife produced as TV drama and film as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 List of Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife

Name	Туре	Released Year
The Fierce Wife (Xi Li Ren Qi)	TV drama	2010
The Fierce Wife: The Final Episode	Movie	2012
Mia 2018 (Wife 2018)	TV drama	2018
Aruna 2019	TV drama	2019

Synopsis and comparison of character names

In order to provide background and help understand the analysis and discussion, synopses and a comparison of the names of the characters is set forth below.

Table 2 Comparison of names

Role in story	Taiwanese version	Thai version
Main character (female)	Xie An Zhen	Aruna
Main character (male)	Wen Rui Fah	Thada
Antagonist character (female)	Wei En	Kunya
Supporting character	Tein Wei	Wasin
Supporting character (An Zhen's best friend and Kangde's wife)	Wen Rui Xian	Tharee
Supporting character (Rui Fan's best friend and Rei Xuan's husband)	Hao Kangde	Chartchai
Supporting character (daughter of An Zhen and Rui Fan)	Meng Meng	Nuda

Table 3 Synopsis of four narratives of The Fierce Wife

Title Synopsis

The Fierce Wife (Xi Li Ren Qi)

Xie An Zhen, who, after 10 years of marriage, abandons her work to become a housewife for her husband, Wen Rui Fan. An Zhen's cousin, Wei En, comes back from the USA and moves into An Zhen's house. An Zhen finds her world crumbling when she discovers that her husband is having an affair with her cousin. Rui Xian advises An Zhen to work as a car salesperson and encourages her to try to get her husband back. An Zhen's boss, Tein Wei, trains An Zhen to improve her personality. An Zhen becomes well-known because she appears on an on-air cooking show. Rui Fan is dismissed from his post because of the adulterous relationship he is having with Wei En. Wei En becomes pregnant; she meets Tien Wei's mother, who is a psychologist, who advises Wei En to accept her bitter experience in her childhood so she can start a new life. Wei En decides to end the relationship with Rui Fan and go back to the USA.

Mia 2018 (Wife 2018)

Aruna abandons her work to become a housewife for her husband, Thada. Aruna's cousin, Kunya, comes back from the USA and moves into Aruna's house. Aruna finds her world crumbling when she discovers that her husband is having an affair with her cousin. Aruna wants to get a divorce, but Tharee advises her to work as a car salesperson in the same showroom. Aruna becomes well-known since she has a part-time job as MC in an online cooking show. Thada is dismissed from his post because of Kunya's inappropriate behavior at the workplace. Aruna starts a new relationship with her boss, Wasin, while Thada abandons Kunya and has a new post in China. Aruna helps Kunya after she gets hurt and is in the hospital and this makes Kunya realizes that she loses her family. Kunya goes back to the USA.

The Fierce Wife: The Final Episode

After four years of divorce, Tein Wei asks An Zhen to marry, but she feels afraid to start a new married life. Wei An comes back from the USA with her son, Oliver, to inform Rui Fah that he is Oliver's father. Tein Wei pretends he will marry another woman, so An Zhen agrees to marry him.

Title	Synopsis
Aruna 2019	Wasin asks Aruna to marry because he must move to work in New York. Nuda is an obstacle to marriage because Nuda does not want to move to New York. Aruna helps her close friends solve their love problems. Wasin makes a commitment with Nuda that he will resign from work if Nuda allows him to marry Aruna.

It can be seen that the themes of The Fierce Wife are female, emotion and family, which are classic themes of Asian dramas. This contributed to the popularity of the drama throughout Asia. Food metaphors play a significant role not only in enhancing the emotional scenes, but also in conveying the message of the drama.

Findings

The findings are divided into three parts: a comparison of food metaphors, the meaning of food metaphors, and shared food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of the Fierce Wife.

Comparison of Food Metaphors in Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife

From a comparison of food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife, it was found that there were more different food metaphors than shared food metaphors. Moreover, some of the shared metaphors were adapted for dynamic meaning in the Thai version.

Shared food metaphors

The shared food metaphors appear in these narratives are presented in the form of a conceptual system: the dish, verbs about consumption, and the taste of food used to connect meaning. Food metaphors are not only a significant device to convey meaning, but also an indicator to represent a shared Asian culture.

Dumpling is family

As explained above, dumplings are compared with the family. In the Taiwanese version, this metaphor appears only in the first episode in the form of a conversation between Rui Xuan and An Zhen because Rui Xuan is suspicious of her husband and needs some advice from An Zhen. In order to teach Rui Xuan to trust her husband, An Zhen draws an analogy between dumplings and the family. She compares a wife with the dumpling cover and compares a husband with the filling. A happy family is similar to a delicious boiled dumpling in that it is comprised of a wife who trusts her husband, like a dumpling cover that

wraps the filling tightly. Therefore, a broken dumpling is equivalent to a broken family caused by distrust between wife and husband. It can be seen that Rui Xuan understands An Zhen's messages, so she plans to cook dumplings at her home. This connotes that Rui Xuan tries to trust her husband.

This food metaphor harmonizes well with the opening of the drama because it introduces the audience to the attitude of the main character, An Zhen. From the dialogue, it can be deduced that An Zhen is not only an optimist but also a clever woman. In the Thai version, this metaphor appears in the form of a conversation between Aruna and her mother. Aruna is suspicious of her husband, so she recalls her mother's teaching, passed down from her grandmother:

Your grandmother taught me that dumpling is family, every family member should hold together in unity. Mix the filling, and wrap with dumpling cover tightly. Although a dumpling is fried or boiled in high temperature, the dumpling will not be broken.

(Mia 2018, episode 3)

It is important to note that the Thai version retains the details of this food metaphor similar to the Taiwanese version, but changes the character who mentions the metaphor from the main character, An Zhen in the Taiwanese version, to the mother of the main character, Aruna, in the Thai version. This not only shows the role of the mother, or even a grandmother, who assumes the duty of teaching her daughter how to take care of the family, but also accentuates the importance of this teaching from generation to generation.

While the food metaphor – dumpling is family – exits only in the first episode of the Taiwanese version, in the Thai version this food metaphor continues throughout the drama in ten separate episodes. Furthermore, the meaning conveyed through this metaphor is adapted and extended in various aspects. This food metaphor is one of the critical elements that differentiates the Thai version from the Taiwanese version.

In episode 13, which is the climax of the Thai version, Thada abandons Aruna and Nuda to live with Kunya. Thada apologizes to Aruna for his misconduct, but Aruna refuses to accept Thaha's apology. Aruna is so angry that she throws the dumplings at Thada.

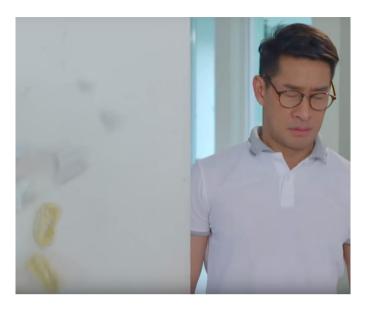


Figure 1 The dumplings being thrown (left) in Mia 2018, episode 13

This scene depicted in Figure 1 shows that the kitchen is intentionally used as the setting since the kitchen represents the role of Aruna as a housewife who spends all of her time taking care of the family. The more time Aruna spends on her family, the sadder she feels. In order to demonstrate the failure of love between the wife, Aruna, and the husband, Thada, dumplings, which connote the family, are destroyed.

In episode 21, which is the turning point of the story, Wasin wants to start a new relationship with Aruna. Wasin wants to make Aruna realize that she should move on from her bitter past and start a new relationship, so he draws an analogy between dumplings and a new beginning.

Wasin: Do you know that dumplings actually are the symbol of change? It seems like changes from old to new, changes of season, that is the reason why Chinese eat dumplings on New Year's Day.

Aruna: Right.

Wasin: So, from now on you should cook dumpling for this meaning.

Aruna: How?

Wasin: I think you should move on. I want you to know that I will stand by here,

if you walk in the same way with me, I won't let you be alone.

(Mia 2018, episode 21)

The above dialogue between Aruna and Wasin appears in a hospital in the scene about a New Year's party. When the conversation ends, the New Year's fireworks appear in the sky. All the aesthetic elements in this scene delicately harmonize with the food metaphor in that all elements connote a new beginning. This implies that a new chapter of Aruna's life, with her new man Wasin, is beginning.

Cake is a mode of life

Although cake is a kind of dessert originating from Western culture, it now belongs to Asian life as well, therefore, it is used as a metaphor to convey a mode of life. In the Taiwanese version, cake appears in the movie, The Fierce Wife: The Final Episode. When Tian Wei comes back to Taipei to spend time with An Zhen on her birthday, he takes An Zhen to a bakery where An Zhen explains that cake represents her feelings: "When I feel so-so, I choose a green tea cake, but if I feel blue, I choose a chocolate cake."

This food metaphor is used again during the buildup of suspense when An Zhen rejects Tian Wei's offer to marry. Being upset, Tian Wei flees aboard and during his flight, many pieces of sweet cake are served; he complains that these cake are too sweet, but he cannot stop eating them. Tian Wei's action is similar to An Zhen in that she spends time with many cakes and rethinks how she rejected Tian Wei.

Cake in these scenes can be interpreted in various ways. First, cake represents the serious dilemma of both characters: Tian Wei being upset, but not abandoning An Zhen; An Zhen being fearful, but loving Tian Wei, even though she is too afraid to begin a new relationship. The first meaning links to the second meaning in that a plentitude of sweet cake conveys overwhelming love. Although Tian Wei is upset that An Zhen has rejected his marriage proposal, similar to An Zhen who fears starting a new relationship, they are both overcome with love. This is a strong reason why Tian Wei and An Zhen cannot stop eating cake – their actions convey that they cannot stop loving.

In the Thai version, this food metaphor appears in episode 19. Aruna compares a sweet and sour orange cake with a difficult and challenging year in which she went through a bitter divorce and changed her position from being a housewife to a working woman. The two tastes of cake describe the mode of life – the sour taste conveys the difficulty of divorce, while the sweet taste represents pride that she can overcome all obstacles and start a new life.

The verb 'to eat' connotes having sex

Apart from a kind of food, verbs related to food, such as "to eat," are used to convey the action of having sex in both versions of The Fierce Wife. It is important to note that the verb "to eat" connoting having sex is used in a negative sense in that it is used to describe

the adulterous relationship between a husband and a mistress. In the Taiwanese version, this metaphor appears in four episodes, for example:

Kangde: I secretly eat, but I can clean my mouth. But now you don't secretly eat a normal meal.

Rui Fan: I told you many time that I and Wei An love each other with sincere hearts. We love, but we don't have sex. Wei An always tells me to take care of An Zhen.

Kangde: So sorry, what a good man you are. If I don't eat meat in a day, I will starve. Saying that you love each other, but you don't have sex is unbelievable.

(The Fierce Wife, episode 13)

From the above dialogue, a clear connection can be drawn between the verb "to eat' and having sex in that 'to eat' shares many characteristics with having sex, such as putting something in the body, enjoyment while doing this activity, as well as ending with happiness, which induces one to repeat the activity. Moreover, this conversation shows that the action of infidelity is normal for a married man, similar to hiding while eating a meal behind their wives' backs, and their wives having no suspicion when they "clean their month".

In the Thai versions, the use of the verb 'to eat' to connote having sex appears in eight episodes. The Thai version extends the use of the verb to connote having sex from husband and a mistress to an ex-couple.

Chartchai: Yesterday afternoon, Thada and Kunya fought in the car park.

Tharee: How did they fight? What about?

Chartchai: They fight just like a couple who end an argument by having sex. Believe me, they ate each other in the end.

(Mia 2018, episode 12)

Munin: Does she know that you are my ex-boyfriend?

Kunya: What?

Munin: I want to tell you something, this man and I ever had sex, and almost had again, when we went on a sales trip. We ate each other.

(Mia 2018, episode 14)

It is interesting to analyze why the verb "to eat" is used to describe the action of having sex with an adulterer, as in Rui Xuan and Kangde refer to Wei An "You are a brother-in-law muncher" (The Fierce Wife, episode 18). As mentioned above, the verb 'to eat' shares many characteristics with having sex. This metaphor conveys that the relationship between a husband and a mistress is a short-term relationship since a

mistress has only one role in satisfying a sexual need. That is to say, when a man is hungry, he wants to have sex with any woman so he secretly eats a meal, after that he is full – his need for sex is satisfied. That is why Kangde does not believe that Rui Fan and Wei An have not had sex together. The Thai version adapts this point, that Thada and Kunya have sex, into an early episode, which contributes to the more frequent appearance of this food metaphor in the Thai version. Another reason for the use of a food metaphor instead of a direct mention about having sex between a husband and a mistress may be to reduce the seriousness of the adultery since it would be considered immoral behavior.

Mistress is a flavorful dish, while wife is a tasteless dish.

In order to highlight the contrast between a wife and a mistress, the two versions of The Fierce Wife use opposite tastes, such as flavorful and tasteless, to describe the opposite characteristics of a wife-protagonist and a mistress-antagonist. This coupled food metaphor also indicates the feeling of other characters who mention it.

In the Taiwanese version, hot Taiwanese suki and rice are used to connect a mistress and a wife. These food metaphors emerge in episode 22, which helps build the suspense of the story in that many supporting characters try to persuade Rui Fan and Wei En to stop their adulterous relationship. In order to induce Rei Fan to abandon Wei En and return to An Zhen, Hao Kangde draws an analogy between food and a person:

Kangde: Are you so innocent, Rui Fan? Now, your relationship between you and Wei An just starts. It makes your heart beat like you eat hot flavorful suki. Can we eat hot suki every day, cannot we? When you have diarrhea, you will miss flavorless rice. Rice which you can eat every day is important to your life.

Rui Fan: Each one likes to eat different foods. Everyone has the right to decide his own life.

(The Fierce Wife, episode 22)

From the above dialogue, Kangde compares Wei En with hot flavorful suki since she brightens up Rui Fan's boring life; while An Zhen is similar to flavorless rice since she is a boring wife. Moreover, Kangde elaborates on his analogy by describing the negative consequences of hot flavorful suki and the positive benefits of rice. Kangde's analogy is quite interesting in that it not only conveys the feeling of the character to other characters, but also describes the qualities of a mistress and a wife.

However, this analogy is incomplete without Rui Fan's answer. From Rui Fan's answer, it can be inferred that he realizes the benefit of rice, but he is addicted to the hot flavorful suki since he and Wei An just had sex. Therefore, the connotation of sex is conveyed that sex is like food – when someone tastes it, they will become addicted and want to eat it more and more.

In the Thai version, Aruna is often compared with a "tasteless dumpling", which connects to the "dumpling maker" metaphor, as analyzed above. This food metaphor emerges in six episodes. In episode 16, another turning point of the story, Aruna improves her appearance and attends Thada's promotion party:

Kunya: Does Wasin teach you to have spicy look like this? But it is good, if you had this look in the past, Thada would not let me eat him.

Aruna: Now I have a spicy look, so it is not difficult to get my husband back. What you are doing now is not difficult, it is just bad. However, what I already spit out, I don't take back to eat again. So if you are hungry, let's eat it. If I am a fake wife, you are a hungry ghost wife who begs for a husband from other women.

(Mia 2018, episode 16)

The above dialogue contains food metaphors that show a characteristic of the Thai version, the focus on the tolerance and courage of the main female character. The Thai version changes the characters who mention this metaphor from male characters in the Taiwanese version to the main female characters. This shows that Aruna is not only brave to meet Kunya but also respects herself, as she will not return to the husband who hurt her. The verb 'to eat' connoting having sex appears in this conversation as well. Furthermore, the comparison of an ex-husband with "spit-out food", which will not be taken back to eat, implies that at the end of the story Aruna will not turn back to be Thada's wife.

The different food metaphors in The Fierce Wife Taiwanese and Thai version

As shown in Table 3, the storylines of the two versions of The Fierce Wife are somewhat different in the action after the climax – An Zhen in the Taiwanese version tries to get her husband back, while Aruna in the Thai version wants to get a divorce. This difference between the two versions affects the use of the food metaphors, which will be discussed further in the next section.

Food metaphors that appear only in the Taiwanese version

Sweet candy as a symbol of hope.

Sweet candy as a symbol of hope is the most noticeable food metaphor in the Taiwanese version since it is used throughout the story, appearing in four episodes. Moreover, it connotes a dynamic meaning that emphasizes the emotion of the main character in many scenes. A good example is in the climax of the story when An Zhen learns that her husband is having an affair with her cousin. In this emotional scene, this food metaphor plays a significant role in communicating the emotion of the main character:

Young An Zhen: Mother, father doesn't stay with us. What can we do?

An Zhen's Mother: Don't cry my dear, please eat this candy. Next time we will be

happy. Is the candy sweet?

Young An Zhen: Yes mom.

An Zhen's Mother: Life is sweet and our future is sweet as well. You should

believe like that.

(The Fierce Wife, episode10)

An Zhen recalls the memory when her father left her and her mother. An Zhen's mother encourages An Zhen to see the bright future leading to happiness, similar to the happiness that sweet candy brings. An Zhen recalls her mother's words from the first time she suspects that her husband is having a secret relationship with her cousin, until her husband leaves her and moves out to live with her cousin.

It is important to note that candy is a symbol of hope because it is used when the character is faced with the loss of a loved one, either their father or husband. The action of eating candy connotes that the character has hope that a bright future is coming, while the action of not eating candy conveys that there is no hope, which occurs in one episode when An Zhen is confident that her husband has a mistress. This communicates the sorrow of the character effectively, even though the character does not say anything.

Premium steak is the perfect man who is desired by every woman

In The Fierce Wife: The Final Episode, premium steak is used to describe the perfect man who is desired by every woman. In order to make An Zhen realize that she should not abandon a perfect man such as Tian Wei, Rui Xian draws an analogy between premium steak and a perfect man. This analogy appears in a conversation between An Zhen and Rui Xian, after An Zhen rejects Tian Wei's offer to marry.

Even though the kind of food used as metaphors in the Taiwanese version are both universal and local, the use of universal food as a metaphor is more common than local food, especially in the film, The Fierce Wife, in which only universal food, such as cake and steak, is used as a signifier. Given the target of the film, released throughout Asia, the film producer likely created universal elements that are easy to appreciate and understand.

Food metaphor that appears only in the Thai version

One of the characteristics of the Thai version is the use of traditional Thai dishes and the process of cooking as a means to convey the key message, especially in the extended drama, Aruna 2019, which was sponsored by a seasoning sauce company. All six episodes of Aruna 2019 present one dish, which is related to the sub-theme of each episode.

Lukchup represents beautiful appearance and mind.

Lukchup is a kind of Thai traditional dessert made from mashed mung beans in the form of small fruits and vegetables, painted with edible color and coated with agar. Lukchup is a delicate and delicious dessert, so it is used to connote a beautiful appearance and mind.

This food metaphor exists in three episodes, including the turning point of the story when Aruna improves her personality and starts to work as a car salesperson. When the revamped Aruna appears at Thada's promotion party, she is admired by Thada's boss and colleagues. After the party, Aruna asks her mother why she is evaluated from her outside character rather than her actions. In order to make her daughter understand that women should have both a beautiful appearance and mind, Aruna's mother draws an analogy between *lukchup* and woman.

Aruna's mother: My dear, is lukchup delicious if it has no substance?

Aruna: No, mom.

Aruna's mother: And is lukchup delicious if it has no colorful cover?

Aruna: No, mom.

Aruna's mother: Why does lukchup need be formed in many shapes, despite the same taste? It compares with a man who should have beautiful appearance and mind. Goodness is wrapped with a beautiful cover so it is easy to notice.

(Mia 2018, episode 16)

This dialogue not only stresses the role of a mother in encouraging her daughter to maintain good behavior, but also reflects a new norm of Thai society, that goodness should be publicly revealed. This metaphor is repeated in the form of a video clip in Aruna's YouTube channel where Aruna demonstrates how to cook *lukchup* and conveys her mother's lesson to her followers. Aruna's video clip is an effective way to elaborate on the metaphor in that it shows the process of making *lukchup* in order to make the audience understand the message conveyed by the metaphor. Furthermore, in the form of a video clip, this food metaphor is repeated in many scenes, especially with Kunya, who represents a beautiful, but nasty woman. Therefore, the message that a good woman is a person who has a beautiful appearance and mind is highlighted by the contradictions between the protagonist and antagonist and the metaphor.

The experience of cooking food is the experience to deal with a problem

The final part of the Thai version is the six-episode TV drama sponsored by a seasoning sauce company, with each episode indicating the way to cook one dish in the form of an online cooking show. As a host of the show, Aruna not only demonstrates how to cook the dishes, but also connects the techniques from cooking to a lesson of life. By this means,

food, the ingredients of the dish, and the ways to cook are all food metaphors used to convey a message.

The main dishes of three of the episodes are fried eggs and Thai style omelet, which are shown through cooking lessons between Aruna and her daughter, Nuda. As mentioned in the synopsis, Aruna 2019 focuses on the problems of Aruna and her friends. The conflicts of this TV drama are divided into three parts according to the main three characters: Tharee, a mother of a newborn; Vipha, a stepmother who cannot deal with her stepson; and Aruna, a single mother who feels afraid to begin a new love life.

Aruna 2019 presents real problems that are easily found in modern society. After the conflicts of the three main characters are revealed, Aruna invites Tharee and Vipha to be guests on her cooking show to demonstrate the way to cook Thai style omelets. During the show, the soundtrack entitled "Prung", which means seasoning food, accompanies the actions of the three main characters making their own Thai style omelets:

We realize that life can be compared with cooking a dish.

We add many ingredients in our dish.

Many tastes: sour, hot and sweet, like we laugh or cry every day.

It is our receipt that we cook by ourselves.

(Aruna 2019, episode 2)

The harmony between the soundtrack and the actions of the three main characters allows the audience to compare the dish – in this case, Thai style omelets – with life. That is to say, everyone has their own experience with cooking or seasoning their own dish, similar to everyone having their own experience dealing with or tackling their own problems. This message is underlined by Aruna's description of Thai style omelets: "Thai style omelets – one hundred people there are one hundred styles." Moreover, the use of this food metaphor indicates that in the next episode the three main characters will have their own ways to solve their problems.

Taking time to ferment meat is equivalent to taking time to tackle some problem

After all the conflicts are revealed in episode 2, the conflicts are intensified in episode 3: Tharee has a terrible quarrel with her husband; Vipha wants to stop her relationship with Yang, her boyfriend, because Yang's son does not like her; Nuda does not allow Aruna to marry Wasin as she will move to China to live with her father. The food in this episode is grilled fermented pork with spicy dipping sauce, so Aruna draws an analogy between the process of pork fermentation and solving a problem that takes time to tackle:

Each dish does not take the same time to cook, some dishes can be cooked in a short time and some dishes take a long time to ferment for the best taste. This compares with the problems of life; some problems can be solved in a short time, but others we need time to consider and decide, as well as address some problems. When we are faced with some problems, don't be impatient that they will be better in the short time because everything takes time to deal.

(Aruna 2019, episode 2)

It is clear that the food metaphors in episodes 2 and 3 are closely related to the plot. As analyzed above, Thai style omelets represent the individual problems of the three main characters, which is the conflict of the drama; the fermentation of food, which connotes taking time to tackle a problem, is the buildup of suspense in the story.

Selection or use of some ingredient in a dish is similar to the selection of someone as a partner or acknowledgement of someone as a family member

The dishes that appear in episodes 4 and 5 are "whatever ingredient fried rice" and "Chinese kale and oyster sauce," respectively. Episodes 4 and 5 focus on the problem of stepparents and stepchildren – Aruna, whose daughter resists the marriage of her mother, and Vipha whose stepson refuses to acknowledge her as a stepmother. Two dishes play important roles in underscoring the sub-theme that everyone should satisfy his family and be open minded for new family members, even though this family is not a traditional format.

Why do I name this dish "whatever ingredient fried rice", because I want my audience to be satisfied with whatever you have and do your best. Although some dishes need rare and multiple ingredients, we can still cook our best dish. We can cook the most delicious dish; I believe everyone can do it.

(Aruna 2019, episode 4)

This dialogue has rich connotations. On the surface it describes the approach to making fried rice; more deeply, it connotes how to manage relationships in one's life. "Rare ingredients" can be interpreted as a person who is difficult to deal with, but it is necessary to have and maintain good relations with since they will be a family member. In addition, "many ingredients" signify complex and diverse relationships, especially in the modern family where divorce and new marriage often occurs. Therefore, the statement "cook the most delicious dish" is equivalent to creating the happiest family despite the fact that family members do not have a blood bond.

The food used as metaphor in the Taiwanese version is more universal than in the Thai version. However, the messages conveyed by the food metaphors in the Thai version are not difficult to understand because they are presented in the form of a cooking show where the ingredients and the way to cook are clearly demonstrated. This not only helps the

audience connect food to the message, but also expands the scope of the metaphor from a kind of food to ingredients used or the way to cook.

The Meaning of Food Metaphors in The Fierce Wife

From the analysis above, it can be seen that food metaphors in both the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife are closely related to the plot. Communication through metaphor is also associated with the two messages of the drama: first, both husband and wife play a significant role in maintaining the family; and second, hope and courage in oneself are the critical factors for overcoming obstacles.

Both husband and wife play a significant role in maintaining the family

The Thai version of The Fierce Wife adapted the subplot in that after the relationship between Thada and Kunya becomes known, Aruna wants to divorce rather than try to get her husband back. However, both versions of The Fierce Wife convey the same message –both husband and wife play a significant role in maintaining the family. Food metaphors play a significant role in enhancing this message.

A wife who becomes too absorbed with taking care of her family risks losing her own identity.

There is no doubt that both the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife became famous because they educate women, the main target audience, to maintain their identities. This message is conveyed by the actions of An Zhen who spends so much time taking care of her family that she does not have time to take care of herself. An Zhen gradually loses her dream, her passion, her future, even her identity. This message is accentuated in the climax of the series when An Zhen knows that Rui Wah is in a secret relationship with Wei An.

An Zhen: "... Your brother loves me so much. does he"

Rui Xuan: "Yes, he loves you so much, where will you go."

An Zhen: "I will go food shopping and come back home."

(The Fierce Wife, episode 20)

It is interesting that this conversation is set in a car showroom during An Zhen's lunch break of. Before the conversation, Tein Wei threatens An Zhen with dismissal if she cannot meet her sales quota. The action of An Zhen going food shopping can be interpreted as abandoning her world outside the home in order to take care of her family, whereby food, in this context, is connected to the family.

Because of her sorrow that her husband is having a secret relationship with her cousin, An Zhen loses sight of the fact that she is too obsessed with taking care of her

family, and that she has lost her identity. The cause of her pain is the misconduct of her husband and her cousin, but she aggravates the situation by abandoning her working position. After that, An Zhen spends all of her time at home and lets the sorrow become deeply embedded in her mind. As discussed above, An Zhen finds the courage to live for herself when she returns to work and can sell the most expensive car in the showroom. This not only encourages, but also educates the audience that women should have respect for themselves.

In the Thai version, the message about taking care of a wife's appearance appears in the form of a conversation between Aruna and her mother, as quoted above. Furthermore, this message is emphasized in Aruna's video clip in which she teaches how to make *lukchup* and elaborates on her mother' teaching:

I think lukchup is a kind of dessert that has rich connotations. Many people ever behaved like me, dedicating myself for others so that I forgot to take care of myself. I didn't pay attention to my appearance, whether it is beautiful or not. My mother also taught me that no one chooses the lukchup whose inside is delicious, but the skin is not beautiful.

(Mia 2018, episode 16)

Aruna conveying her mother's teaching to her audience indicates that she not only realizes what the factor contributing to her marriage problems is but also shows her mindset that she should respect herself. This action is similar to when An Zhen could sell the most expensive car. It is clear that the two versions of The Fierce Wife educate the audience that while a woman should take care of her family, she should also take care of herself. In addition, a good appearance can boost not only one's confidence but also help one be proud of oneself.

The husband falling in a trap of passion is faced with a failure of family and work.

As analyzed above, one of the shared food metaphors is that a mistress is a flavorful dish, while a wife is a tasteless dish. An addiction to consume flavorful food causes many disorders, which can be compared with falling in a trap of passion leading to a failure of family and work. The Thai version includes this metaphor.

Mia 2018 underlines the eating habit of Thada in many scenes; he often applies some seasoning sauce to dumplings made by Aruna. This habit implies that Thada is bored with tedious sexual relations with his wife and wants new sexual experience – Thada imagined that he is having sex with Kunya while he is having sex with his wife. In episode 10, Thada and Kunya switch between eating and having sex, which can be interpreted as Kunya's feeding Thada enchants him into having sex with her.

Although both his boss and close friend warn Thada not to have a serious relationship with Kunya, he moves out from Aruna's home to live with Kunya. Thada gradually notices Kunya's bad habit, that she does not do any housework. Thada and Kunya have a big fight since Kunya makes Thada embarrassed at the party for his promotion. In order to apologize for her behavior, Kunya prepares breakfast for Thada for many days. While Kunya uses food as a symbol of sorrow and regret, Thada goes back to Aruna's home and asks for "My missing dumplings" (Mia 2018, episode 17).

Kunya's breakfast and Aruna's dumplings, in this context, can be interpreted as a bond of relationship. Kunya uses food, which connotes having sex, to keep her relationship with Thada, while dumplings are a symbol of the tie between a husband and a wife. Therefore, Aruna's response to Thada that "dumpling are finished" (Mia 2018, episode 17), implies the end of the relationship in that she wants to stop being his wife.

Having an irrational partner like Kunya causes many problems for Thada, including Kunya having a fight with another colleague during a New Year company party, so he is eventually dismissed from his position. Thada stops the relationship with Kunya because Kunya bullies Nuda – Thada's daughter. In episode 24, when Thada informs Kunya that he wants to break up, Kunya prepares a meal, but Thada refuses to eat her food. Thada goes back to Aruna's house and is pleased Aruna is making dumplings; this is the first time that he eats dumplings without adding seasoning sauce and he realizes "this dumpling is so delicious" (Mia 2018, episode 25).

The food metaphors in episodes 24 and 25 are similar to the food metaphors in episodes 16 and 17. Kunya's meal represents that she stills uses sex to maintain her relationship with Thada. Therefore, Thada's refusal to eat Kunya's food connotes that Thada has escaped from the trap of passion laid by Kunya because he realizes sex is not an important factor in sustaining a couple's life. Thada, enjoying the real taste of dumplings and finding that they taste delicious, indicates that Thada has learnt the truth; that he should be satisfied with his warm family. Moreover, Aruna preparing dumplings for Thada can be interpreted as forgiving Thada and accepting the role as mother to their child, but not as Thada's wife, and acknowledging Thada's role as the father, but not as her husband.

Hope and courage in oneself are critical factors for overcoming obstacles.

The message that without "hope" one cannot overcome obstacles is conveyed by the actions of the main characters, An Zhen and Aruna, as discussed above. Furthermore, the behavior of Wei An at the end of the drama emphasizes the importance of hope to overcome obstacles.

At the end of the drama, Wei An realizes that she cannot live happily if she cannot accept her bitter experience from her childhood. In spite of becoming pregnant, Wei An

abandons Rui Fan and goes back to live with her family in the US. Before going back to the US, Wei An goes to see An Zhen in order to ask for her forgiveness. When Wei An meets An Zhen, Wei An gives An Zhen back a little box that contains many items, including cookies and candy. An Zhen gave Wei An this little box on the first day that Wei An went to Rui Fan's office.

Wei An: "... You worried that I would be hungry in the afternoon so you prepared cookies and candies for me. An Zhen, I will give you back this box."

An Zhen: "I give you this box again, I hope you will remember the good manner with which other people treat you. Don't remember the bad manner, it is like I am being kind to you."

(The Fierce Wife, episode 38)

The cookies and candies have rich connotations. First, cookies and candy symbolize An Zhen's concern about the welfare of her cousin, Wei An. Second, cookies and candies connote hope which is the shared meaning throughout the drama since they are given on the first day that Wei An starts her work. Third, cookies and candies signify goodwill since they are used as a reminder of "good manner." Finally, they include the meaning of forgiveness because An Zhen accepts the apology from Wei An. The meaning of forgiveness connects to the meaning of hope since forgiveness from An Zhen is the hope that encourages Wei An to start her life as a single mother in the US.

At the end of the Thai version, Kunya realizes the virtue of Aruna when she is hurt and sent to a hospital. Aruna visits Kunya and pays all the medical fees. The dish that Kunya requests after she recovers is dumplings. Additionally, Kunya recalls that when Kunya had just moved into Aruna's home, Aruna kindly took care of her (Mia 2018, episode 27).

It is evident that dumplings, in this context, are not only connected to family – the main metaphor used throughout the drama – but also refer to the "good manner" with which Aruna treated her. By means of this metaphor, Kunya crying loudly can be interpreted as regretting that she hurt her sister and made her lose her family.

Dumplings, in episode 27 of the Thai version, are equivalent to the candy box in the Taiwanese version because both kinds of food represent the "good manner" with which the protagonist treated the antagonist. Furthermore, such "good manner" is a critical factor for restarting life in the US.

Shared food metaphors in the Taiwanese and Thai versions of the Fierce Wife: A shared Asian cultural concept.

As analyzed above, food metaphors not only convey a message, but also communicate the emotion of the characters. In spite of some change of plot in the Thai

version, dumplings, the main metaphor, are still used, which accentuates the importance of metaphor as an effective tool to convey a message.

In terms of cognitive metaphors, the metaphors in the two version of The Fierce Wife can be categorized as "ontological metaphors" (Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.25)) since food, a physical object, is used to provide understanding for ideas about the family. Apart from conveying a message, a set of food metaphors can also reflect culture. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.7) suggest a relationship between metaphor and the nature of human activity: Since metaphorical expression in our languageis tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of metaphorical nature of our activity.

Given the above quotation, metaphorical elements in the two versions of The Fierce Wife can be categorized for metaphorical concepts. Additionally, these metaphorical concepts can be used to explain the "metaphorical nature of our activity" – in this context, Thai and Taiwanese, both Asian cultures. In order to draw a clear conclusion, only shared food metaphors are analyzed for "metaphorical concepts."

Dumpling is family

Cake is a mode of life

The verb 'to eat' connotes having sex

A Mistress is a flavorful dish, while a wife is a tasteless dish.

In the Asian point of view, these shared food metaphors mean: "Family is Food." This metaphorical concept reflects the many shared characteristics of Asian culture.

First, food is at the heart of Asian families because when family members have meals together, they share the same dishes. The more family members, the more dishes there are on the table. Accordingly, mealtime is a time for family conversation. This is a distinctive way for Asian people to eat, as Western people typically have their own portions, even if they have a meal with other family members.

Second, Asian food takes time to make it flavorful, thus the form and manner of preparing food is used to communicate the way to take care of the family. In addition, the comparison of both wife and mistress with blandness and strong taste reflects an ideology of patriarchy embedded in Asian society. That is, food is something that is freely chosen; accordingly, men have many opportunities to taste new dishes, and thus men have the many chances to choose more than one partner. This indicates that the status of women depends on the decisions of men rather their own decisions.

Third, Asian people, in particular Chinese and Korean, as well as Chinese-Thai, follow the norm that family members shoulder the duty to carry on the lineage. By this idea,

consumption of food and having sex are connected since both activities not only share many characteristics, as analyzed above, but also maintain the existence of humanity.

Apart from a reflection of Asian culture, the metaphorical concept, "family is food," indicates a strong bond between Asian people and food. When people intentionally use a concrete element, in this context food, to describe their ideas, they are naturally interested in that element. Kövecses (2005, p. 208) proposes the relationship between the kind of metaphor and concerns and interests of the metaphor user: Third, the kinds of metaphor we have also depend on the diverse concerns and interests that governs our life. Our concerns and interests may be general, that is "built into" the culture, or personal. Both influence significantly the metaphors we employ to understand the world around us.

Therefore, both food and metaphor are closely related to culture. The shared food metaphors of the two versions of The Fierce Wife illustrate a shared Asian cultural concept: food and family are at the hearts of the life of Asian people.

Conclusion and discussion

This research compared the characteristics of food metaphors and analyzed their meaning using the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife. Moreover, this research analyzed the relationship between food metaphors and cultural concepts by adapting the theory of metaphorical concepts from Lakoff and Johnson as a theoretical framework.

It was found that food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife can be divided into two groups. First are the shared food metaphors: dumpling is family; cake is a mode of life; the verb 'to eat' connotes having sex; and a mistress is a flavorful dish, while a wife is a tasteless dish. These shared metaphors indicate metaphorical concepts that "family is food", which reflects many characteristics of Asian culture. Furthermore, from an Asian point of view, consumption of food and having sex are connected since both activities maintain the existence of humanity.

The food metaphors that appear only in the Taiwanese version are: sweet candy as a symbol of hope and premium steak as the perfect man who is desired by every woman. The food metaphors that appear only in the Thai version are: *lukchup* represents a beautiful appearance and mind, experience from cooking food is experience to deal with a problem, taking time to ferment meat is equivalent to taking time to tackle some problem, and selection or use of some ingredient in a dish is similar to selection of someone as a partner or acknowledgement of someone as a family member. It is clear that the food used as metaphor in the Taiwanese version is more universal than that used in the Thai version, while the food metaphors in the Thai version are more varied than in the Taiwanese version. The Taiwanese version uses only a kind of food as metaphor, while the Thai version uses all aspects - kinds of food, ingredients and cooking method. There are two reasons why the food metaphors in the two versions are different: the first is the Thai version was produced later,

so the plot could be adjusted, and all elements enhanced, especially the food metaphors, which are the essential means to communicate the message. The second relates to the characteristics of Thai and Taiwanese food resulting in the food metaphors in the Thai version being more complicated since Thai food has particular characteristics, especially in the use of multiple favors and spices, while Taiwanese food is similar to Chinese food in its focus on individual favors.

The food metaphors in both the Taiwanese and Thai versions of The Fierce Wife closely relate to the plotal and communication by metaphor is also associated with the two messages of the drama: first, both husband and wife play a significant role in maintaining the family, and second, hope and courage in oneself are critical factors for overcoming obstacles. This highlights the role of drama to not only entertain but also educate the audience.

It can be concluded that the food metaphors in the two versions of The Fierce Wife are an effective means to communicate a message since not only the wording, but also signs, such as pictures of food and motions of cooking food included in many scenes, are used to represent meanings and ideas. Therefore, the food metaphors in the two versions can be considered 'media language'. With regard to media, the food metaphors in The Fierce Wife go beyond effective means to educate the audience since they also represent a discourse regarding myths about gender in Asian culture: cooking food is the duty of women; the kitchen is women's space; working women should shoulder work both outside and inside the home. Furthermore, food metaphors as media language are powerful means to induce the viewing audience to purchase products. That is a prime reason why Aruna 2019 was sponsored by a seasoning sauce, and accordingly, all the food metaphors in Aruna 2019 appear along with a tie-in to the sponsoring seasoning sauce.

The findings of this study are similar to a previous study which found that the verb 'to eat' was used to connote having sex in the Jataka Tales (Ratchatakorntrakoon 2012). From this similarity, it can be deduced that use of the verb 'to eat' as a connotation of having sex is a universal Asian concept. Thus, future research should analyze food metaphors in narratives created in Western culture in order to compare with the findings of this study. Such further study would not only expand the research in this area, but also indicate whether there is a universal idea that consumption of food is equivalent to having sex. With respect to linguistics, a further study of food metaphors in Cross-Asian languages can be compared with the finding of this study as well.

The findings of this study also indicate that the adaptation and extension of food metaphors are more evident in the Thai version, a factor that contributed to the show's high popularity. Despite reproduction of essentially the same story, the extensive use of food metaphors is a critical element that makes the Thai version a different narrative. This reflects the preference of Thai audiences and helps explain why they can enjoy watching stories that

are reproduced many times, such as Ban Sai Thong, Mae Nak Phra Khanong and Khu Kam, all of which have numerous productions of the same story, but adapt certain details or aesthetic elements to make the audience interested in the latest version.

This study applies the linguistic theory of metaphor as a theoretical framework to study and compare food metaphors in narratives that are produced and then reproduced in different, but similar cultures. The analytical approach used in this study can be applied to further studies in other fields, such as, food studies, literature studies, cognitive Linguistics, cultural studies, and cross-cultural studies. This study produces additional evidence that metaphor is an effective tool for communication of a message, not just an ornamental tool for aesthetic purposes. Moreover, this study demonstrates that metaphor is a conceptual system closely related to culture.

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