ABSTRACT

Exploring the Metaphoric Value of Idioms: A Taxonomy of Spanish
Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms

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In 1980, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson challenged the traditional view of
metaphors by showing their prevalence in everyday speech. Instead of a literary device,
Lakoff and Johnson proposed that metaphors are commonly used to connect two concepts
because humans employ a metaphoric thought process that allows us to understand one
abstract entity in terms of another. Evidence of these "conceptual metaphors" is found in
linguistic manifestations that demonstrate a metaphorical mapping from one domain onto
another. Many investigations have further examined conceptual metaphors in various
languages in order to understand cultural and linguistic implications. The present study
first examines current literature to find previously identified conceptual metaphors for
Spanish, then uses Spanish idioms as data to offer support for already known conceptual
metaphors and to aid in the identification of new ones. Finally, all are combined in a
taxonomy of Spanish conceptual metaphors and idioms.

Examining the Metaphoric Value of Idioms: A Taxonomy of Spanish
Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms

by

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Metaphor's presence in literary works as well as everyday language for thousands of years now shows humans' natural inclination to make connections and associations in order to understand and describe our reality. The historical roots of this literary and linguistic tool demonstrate that people have long struggled to adequately express certain concepts or ideas and thus have been forced to turn to metaphoric speech to appropriately describe the human experience. Metaphors are often discussed when analyzing poetry or Shakespearean dramas, however, rarely does one explicitly mention metaphor in daily conversations. Despite being perceived as no more than a poetic device, studies have shown that metaphors are in fact pervasive in our everyday lives. Whether one consciously chooses to employ metaphoric speech or not, the widespread presence of metaphors in ordinary conversations is undeniable (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This cognitive linguistic view of metaphors was investigated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors We Live By,* which showed the ubiquitous nature of the metaphor in our daily lives.

By examining various ways in which native English speakers employed metaphors in everyday conversations, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) uncovered broader conceptualizations that people used to help understand certain concepts in terms of others. In other words, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) used everyday speech as linguistic evidence to demonstrate a metaphoric cognitive process. The metaphor, they proposed,

can be found in our speech because we think metaphorically, drawing on perceived similarities between the abstract and concrete physical items. Because these metaphors are so prevalent, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claimed that they point to a wide cultural acceptance of given associations or conceptualizations, such as that between life and a journey. They called these widespread notions "conceptual metaphors" to indicate the way in which one concept is perceived or described in terms of another. The unconscious use of these conceptual metaphors shows the unwilling associations formed in the mind that are then manifested in one's speech.

This study aims to better understand conceptual metaphors for Spanish, using Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) original schema as a theoretical foundation for the investigation. By first examining their cognitive metaphors to verify whether or not a Spanish equivalent exists, a basis for further investigation is established. Next, other studies will be outlined to identify more Spanish conceptual metaphors, and then idioms will be used as data to support the identification of existing conceptual metaphors and aid in the identification of new ones. Finally, all data will be classified in a single taxonomy for a comprehensive view of conceptual metaphors for Spanish.

Organization

The present investigation is organized into five chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Analysis and Conclusion. The second chapter is a critical review of the current literature on idioms and conceptual or cognitive metaphors, beginning with Lakoff's (1987) remarks regarding the human tendency to organize our experiences and the way in which metaphor can be studied to understand categorization methods that reveal cognitive processes. Secondly, the definition of metaphor and misperceptions

surrounding it are examined to serve as a foundation for understanding Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) research. Their conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is then discussed, which explains the link between linguistic units and metaphorical thought processes, including examples, definitions and figures to illustrate metaphorical mappings. Next, the link between culture and metaphoric conceptualizations is examined, before briefly citing critics of CMT. The focus then shifts to idioms, including their definition and metaphoric value. Finally, a summary of prior studies on conceptual metaphors and idioms for Spanish ends the literature review, offering an overview of resources that will be used to further investigate these two elements.

The third chapter, Methodology, outlines the three research questions that guided the analysis performed in Chapter Four. The statement of purpose of this investigation is reiterated in this chapter, and the description of data sources is explained.

Chapter Four shows the analysis process, beginning with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) findings. In order to know whether or not they were valid in Spanish, the 1986 translation of their book was used to verify which conceptual metaphors could be transferred into the second language. Next, the conceptual metaphors identified in other investigations were compiled to create a comprehensive list for Spanish. Finally, idioms were used as a source of data to show linguistic support for previously identified cognitive metaphors, and to look for patterns that would lead to the identification of those conceptual metaphors not recognized before. The results were compiled in a taxonomy of Spanish conceptual metaphors and idioms that appears at the end of this chapter.

The final chapter includes a summary of discoveries made through this investigation, as well as a discussion of the findings made through each research

question. Chapter Five additionally discusses limitations, applications, and implications for future investigators.

In summary, the present study will provide support for conceptual metaphors for Spanish in addition to proposing previously unnamed conceptual metaphors. The insights gained from this study will contribute to the current understanding of the use of and the amount of conceptual metaphors in the Spanish language, as well as the role idioms play in contributing to metaphorical mappings.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Categorization, according to George Lakoff (1987), is "a matter of both human experience and imagination – of perception, motor activity, and culture on the one hand, and of metaphor, metonymy and mental imagery on the other" (p. 8). As is easily observed in everyday life, people organize objects, relationships and even feelings according to their purpose, importance, or effect. The propensity to categorize is inherent to human nature and allows one to understand the world in which he or she lives by organizing similar experiences or perceptions into groups. Examining the categories one creates in the mind reveals what is "central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to any understanding of what makes us human" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 6). While the organization of physical objects is easily apparent, in order to understand the way abstract concepts are categorized, one must look to abstract phenomena, such as "metaphor, metonymy and mental imagery," according to Lakoff (1987, p. 8). By studying this type of language, specifically conceptual metaphors and idioms, we can better understand categorization and the way in which different cultural groups conceptualize the human experience.

Metaphor is especially useful in understanding categorization because it often connects two seemingly unrelated topics or domains, although in general, it is still thought to be simply a poetic device. Metaphor, defined as "a figure of speech in which one thing is compared to another by saying that one is another" (Kövecses, 2002, p. vii),

is often perceived as a way to enhance one's speech or writing, and at times, can be confused with other literary devices, such as metonymy and personification. Metonymy, in which "the name of one thing [is used] for that of another of which it is an attribute or with which it is associated" is different from metaphor because it relies upon close, already established connections (*Merriam-Webster,* n.d.). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) metonymy does not offer "a way of conceiving… one thing in terms of another", rather it "use[s] one entity to *stand for* another," (p. 36). Personification, on the other hand, is different in that it attributes human qualities or abilities to inanimate objects in order to show the similarities between the characteristics or actions of the two. While metonymy and personification do indeed differ from metaphor, they can be useful to identify conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have pointed out that concepts such as "inflation" can be personified in the way they are discussed, for example "Our biggest *enemy* right now *is* inflation" (p. 33). Sentences such as this one, point to the cognitive metaphor "INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 34). Both personification and metonymy, although they are not synonymous with metaphor, offer different tools for understanding certain concepts.

In addition to the slight nuances that distinguish metaphor from personification and metonymy, other preconceived notions surrounding metaphor are prevalent today. In the preface of his book *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, Kövecses (2002) explained that the traditional view of metaphors "can be briefly characterized by pointing out five of its most commonly accepted features" (p. vii-viii).

1. Metaphor is a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomenon.
2. Metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose, such as when Shakespeare writes 'all the world's a stage.'

3. Metaphor is based on a resemblance between two entities that are compared and identified.
4. Metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well.
5. It is commonly held that metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of human communication.

With these common misbeliefs surrounding metaphors in mind, one might wonder what exactly constitutes metaphor. The widely accepted answer today is that metaphor is more than flowery or unnecessary language and is more common in day to day usage than originally thought.

The 1980 publication of Lakoff and Johnson's research on metaphors challenged the traditional view of metaphor by proposing that it "is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action" (p. 3). In their book *Metaphors We Live By,* the authors showed that metaphor is more than a simple literary device. Instead, they offered examples of how everyday language uses metaphor to organize intangible concepts or ideas. "Concepts" they affirmed, "structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people" (1980, p. 3); therefore, the metaphorical way that people speak about themselves reveals the cognitive tools people employ to organize their experience. What they proposed is the notion of a conceptual or cognitive metaphor to explain the way we understand abstract domains, such as love, in terms of other, more concrete ones, like food or a journey.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), this new use for the term metaphor is valid because "human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical" (p. 6). Conceptual metaphor theory claims that "people speak metaphorically because they think metaphorically" (Landau, Robinson & Meier, 2013, p. 5). A conceptual metaphor is thus

nothing more than a linguistic expression of a cognitive process. Landau, Robinson and Meier (2013) explained that metaphor is "a cognitive tool that people routinely use to understand abstract concepts… in terms of superficial dissimilar concepts that are relatively easier to comprehend" (p. 4). Gibbs, et al. (1997), also maintained that "these metaphors are important, and ubiquitous part of everyday cognition" (p. 150). Therefore, by examining metaphor's role in establishing a connection between two seemingly different ideas, it is apparent how this mechanism is merely an outward expression of an internal process. Meza (2010) affirms that in using conceptual metaphors, one shows that he or she actually perceives reality in this way, and for this same reason, numerous authors have confirmed that conceptual metaphors provide linguistic evidence that demonstrates metaphorical ways of thinking (for example, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 6; Landau, Robinson & Meier, 2013, p. 5; Meza, 2010, p. 85).

To illustrate their theory, Lakoff and Johnson offered examples of conceptual metaphors along with commonly used statements through which a particular metaphor was identified. Before looking at examples, it is first useful to understand the way to state a conceptual metaphor. The two components of the metaphor, the target and source domain, are generally used in a single phrase connected with "is," in which TARGET IS SOURCE. The name of the conceptual metaphor appears in small capital letters. Kövecses (2002) notes that "[t]he conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that can be understood this way is the target domain" (p. 4). For example, in the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4), ARGUMENT is the target domain, and WAR is the source domain. Some of the evidence

Lakoff and Johnson examined to articulate this cognitive metaphor are shown below (p. 4).

> (1) a. Your claims are *indefensible*.
>   b. He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
>   c. His criticisms were *right on target.*
>   d. I *demolished* his argument.
>   e. I've never *won* an argument with him.
>   f. You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*
>   g. If you use that *strategy,* he'll *wipe you out.*
>   h. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

These "metaphoric linguistic expressions are not isolated speech acts, but rather are strikingly coherent in supporting a common conceptual metaphor" (Landau, Robinson and Meier, 2013, p. 7). Each example sentence, therefore, strengthens the connection between the target and source domains.

The relationships between the source and target domains of conceptual metaphors are called mappings, which serve to point out the elements of each concept that correspond to the other. Landau, Robinson and Meier (2013) define conceptual mappings "as a systematic set of associations between elements of a target… and analogous elements of the source" (p. 6). In Figure 2.1 (Landau, Robinson &Meier, 2013, p. 7), they use the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY to show how different attributes of each domain correspond to establish a systematic connection between the two.
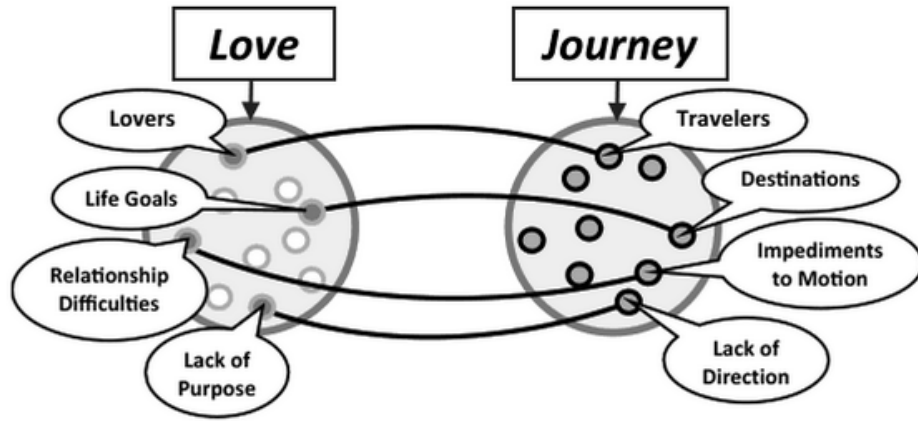
Figure 2.1. Love is a Journey Mapping

The relationship between "lack of purpose" and "lack of direction" for example, can be seen in the sentence, "This relationship isn't going anywhere." Kövecses (2002) points out, however, that "mappings can be, and are, only partial" (p.11). This fact can easily be observed by examining another conceptual metaphor pertaining to love. In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 49) different aspects of a loving relationship are highlighted, such as the way in which people feel drawn to each other. Multiple source domains for a single target are often required in order to be able to discuss all of its facets. As is shown in Figure 2.2 (Landau, Robinson & Meier, 2013, p. 8) below select elements of the target relate to distinct parts of its sources, thus allowing a relationship between various aspects of the abstract concept and corresponding characteristics of the more tangible domain.
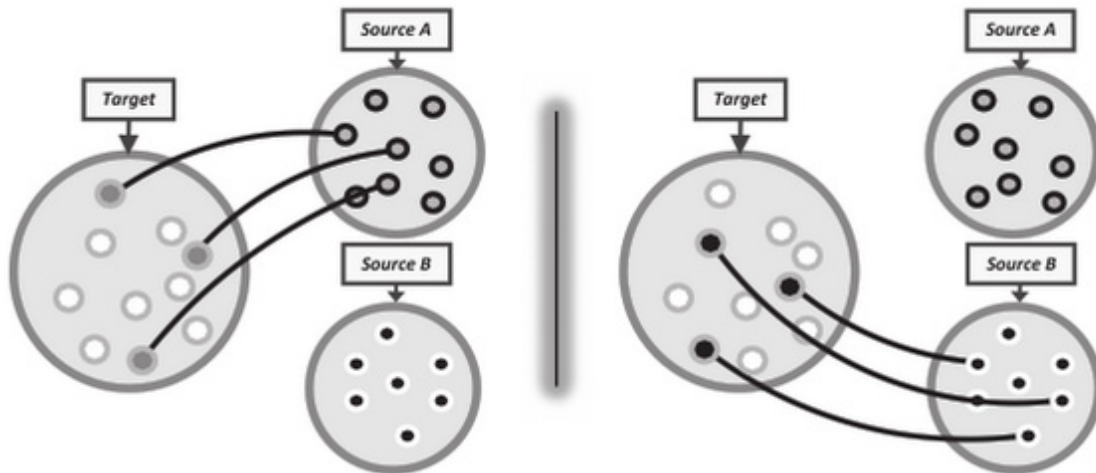
Figure 2.2. Target to Source Mappings

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further discuss this idea, pointing out that the claim that "a concept is structured by a metaphor" actually means "that it is partially structured and that it can be extended in some ways but not others" (p. 13). The need for multiple source domains for a single target domain, therefore, is due to the complex nature of both domains and the difficulty to match all characteristics of one to another.

An important factor to keep in mind when considering conceptual metaphors is the role culture plays in their creation and usage. Although some conceptual metaphors can be considered universal, most vary from culture to culture. Ibarretxe-Auntuñano (in press) pointed out the "embodiment" theory is based on the fact that all people perceive the world using the same tool, the human body; therefore, many spatial and perception conceptual metaphors are the same across many cultures (Section 3, para. 1). Apart from these categories, however, many remain different from culture to culture. Lakoff and Johnson noted that "the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture" (p. 22); therefore, examining conceptual metaphors can be a way to understand not only cognition, but also

societal values and beliefs. Oncins-Martínez (2014) also underscored this point by noting

that "a borrowed metaphor is also a borrowed cultural item" (p. 149), given that each

society conceptualizes the world around it in distinctive ways. Additionally, Kövecses

(2004) acknowledged the importance of "diversity in metaphoric thought," offering

examples of congruent metaphors across cultures, as well as "with-in culture variation"

(pp. 263-267). Comparing and contrasting cognitive metaphors in different languages,

therefore, has become a source of information to help linguists understand semantic,

pragmatic and cultural differences.

Some psychologists and linguists have debated the validity of this argument,

however for various reasons. Gibbs (2013, pp. 21-24) summarizes the criticism of CMT

in seven main points.

1. Isolated constructed examples: the evidence listed for conceptual metaphors might not accurately represent how people actually use metaphor
2. Limitations of the individual analyst: objective participants are needed to confirm the researcher's intuitions
3. Lack of specific criteria for metaphor identification: it is possible that some "metaphoric" expressions could be considered literal
4. CMT is unfalsifiable and needs nonlinguistic evidence: because of the existence of multiple mappings for a single domain, there can be no denying the existence of a supposed conceptual metaphor
5. CMT is vague in its claims about metaphor processing: CMT does not say what cognitive processes take place and in what order when one hears and understands metaphoric speech
6. CMT ignores other factors: CMT fails to recognize other possibilities
7. CMT is reductionist: CMT does not view novel metaphors as such, ignoring the possibility of creative language use

Haser (2011) also takes a critical approach to Lakoff and Johnson's work, citing many of

the same points of criticism as Leezenberg (2001, pp.136-137), who disagrees with,

among other issues, Lakoff and Johnson's argument for the conceptualist view of

metaphor and the poorly defined central components of cognitive semantics. Despite its

critics, however, this broader definition of metaphor is widely accepted, and since the publication of their book, others have elaborated on their theory (Barcelona, 2012; Díaz, 2006; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, in press; Meza, 2010; Hijazo-Gascón, 2011; Gutiérrez Pérez 2004; Nubiola, 2000; Soriano, 2003).

Idioms, on the other hand, are fixed expressions that "exist in our mental lexicons as frozen, lexical items" (Gibbs, et al., 1997, p. 142). Kövecses (2002) has explained that many types of linguistic expressions can be considered idioms: "metaphors, metonymies, pairs of words, idioms with *it*, similes, sayings, phrasal verbs, grammatical idioms and others" (p. 199) The lexicalization of these sayings indicates a "lack [of] flexibility since any substitution operated on any of their components causes a change of meaning" (Díez Arroyo, 1997, p. 53). For example, the English idiom "kick the bucket" would lose its association with death, if "bucket" were exchanged for "trashcan." An idiom is often considered non-compositional, then, because its "figurative meaning reflects the meaning of the whole phrase, not its individual words, and cannot be constructed from the meanings of the individual words in the phrase" (Díez Arroyo, 1997, p. 53).

Despite all that is currently known about idiom construction, the traditional view of idioms is still surrounded by some false presuppositions (Kövecses, 2002, p. 200). Typically, it is assumed that idioms involve only linguistic meaning; however, examining the domains used in these expressions often points to a conceptual system (Kövecses, 2002). For example, the sentences in (2) contain idioms involving the domain "fire" and apply different properties of "fire" to other phenomena such as people, objects or events (Kövecses, 2002, p. 200).

(2) a. He was *spitting fire.*
　　　b. The painting *set fire* to the composer's imagination.

c. He was *burning the candle at both ends.*
d. The speaker *fanned the flames* of the crowd's enthusiasm.

In (2a), someone who "spits fire" has a short temper, and will often make cruel or rude comments. The idiom therefore compares the intensity of a fire's heat with the intensely angry statements made by the person. The examples listed in (2) point to the influence of a physical knowledge of the conceptual domain in the creation of these expressions (Kövecses, 2002). Idioms whose meaning can be inferred from examining only the isolated phrase because of the easily apparent connection with a conceptual domain, such as "fire," can be considered "transparent" (Vega Moreno, 2005). "Opaque" idioms, on the other hand, are those whose link to a domain is not clear and whose meaning is not easily understood without any context. In Spanish, the euphemism for dying is *estirar la pata,* literally 'to stretch out the paw.' Since no easy jump can be made to infer the connection between death and an animal stretching out its paw, this can be said to be an opaque idiom.

Many scholars have discussed the link between metaphors and idioms, affirming that conceptual metaphors play a role in the creation and comprehension of idioms (Fraile Vicente, 2007; Gibbs,et al., 1997; Gutiérrez Pérez, 2004; Kövecses, 2002). In particular, Gibbs, et al. (1997) noted the connection between conceptual metaphors and idioms, saying that "idioms might once have been metaphorical but over time have lost their metaphoricity and now exist in our mental lexicons as frozen, lexical items" (p. 142). In other words, "many, or perhaps most, idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language" (Kövecses, 2002, p. 201). Although the evolution of these expressions from metaphors to idioms is well known, "the associations of meanings" that connect them has "not yet been studied sufficiently" (Fraile Vicente,

2007, p. 68). The present study aims to examine this area further, by studying the connection between conceptual metaphors and idioms in Spanish, to see where the two overlap or coincide and where they diverge.

Since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) book *Metaphors We Live By*, language scholars have further investigated the conceptual metaphor in both English and Spanish, searching to discover Spanish metaphors, as well as examining the similarities and differences between metaphors found in the two languages. Focusing solely on Spanish, linguists have examined conceptual metaphors relating to embodiment, health and the role metaphors play in the language classroom (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, in press; Meza, 2010; Hijazo-Gascón, 2011; Gutiérrez Pérez 2004). Research pertaining to both languages tends to concentrate on the contrasts between how the two express emotions and also on a newly emerging phenomenon, the hybrid metaphor. With regard to idioms, researchers have recognized a connection with conceptual metaphors, but studies have focused on their use in second language acquisition, the comparison of source domains of idioms in English and in Spanish, and idioms pertaining to specific domains such as body parts. Little has been written, however, about the ways that conceptual metaphors could be used to categorize idioms.

In her study of Spanish conceptual metaphors of perception, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (in press) examined the connection between language and human behavior and the universality of perception based cognitive metaphors across cultures. She indicated the number of conceptual metaphors that use the five senses, "la vista, el oído, el olfato, el tacto y el gusto," as source domains to attest to the polysemy of verbs of perception (Section 1, para. 3). This multiplicity of meanings allows people to understand the

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metaphorical uses of these verbs, which, as seen in Table 2.1 (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, in press, Section 2) below, are numerous.

Table 2.1 Conceptual Metaphors in Verbs of Perception for Spanish

Sentido 'Sense'	*Metáfora* 'Metaphor'
Vista 'Sight'	*ENTENDER ES VER* 'UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING'
	PREVER ES VER 'PREDICTING IS SEEING '
	IMAGINAR ES VER 'IMAGINING IS SEEING'
	CONSIDERAR ES VER 'CONSIDERING IS SEEING'
	ESTUDIAR/EXAMINAR ES VER 'STUDYING/EXAMINING IS SEEING'
	ENCONTRAR/DESCUBRIR ES VER 'FINDING/DISCOVERING IS SEEING'
	ASEGURARSE ES VER 'ASSURING ONESELF IS SEEING'
	CUIDAR ES VER 'CARING FOR IS SEEING'
	SER TESTIGO ES VER 'BEING A WITNESS IS SEEING'
	SUFRIR ES VER 'SUFFERING IS SEEING'
	OBEDECER ES VER 'OBEYING IS SEEING'
	ABSTENERSE ES VER 'ABSTAINING FROM IS SEEING'
	ESTAR INVOLUCRADO ES TENER QUE VER 'BEING INVOLVED IN IS HAVING TO SEE'
	ENCONTRARSE CON ALGUIEN ES VERSE CON ALGUIEN 'RUNNING INTO SOMEONE IS SEEING ONESELF WITH SOMEONE'
	VISITAR ES VER 'VISITING IS SEEING'
	RECIBIR ES VER 'RECEIVING IS SEEING'
Oído 'Hearing'	*PRESTAR ATENCIÓN ES OÍR* 'PAYING ATTENTION IS HEARING'
	OBEDECER ES OÍR 'OBEYING IS HEARING'
	SER DICHO/SABER/ENTERARSE ES OÍR 'BEING SAID/KNOWING/FINDING OUT IS HEARING'
	ENTENDER ES OÍR 'UNDERSTANDING IS HEARING'
	NOTAR ES OÍR 'NOTICING IS HEARING'
	SER UN EXPERTO ES OÍR 'BEING AN EXPERT IS HEARING'
	TENER UN ACUERDO ES OÍR 'HAVING AN AGREEMENT IS HEARING'
Tacto 'Touch'	*AFECTAR ES TOCAR* 'AFFECTING IS TOUCHING'
	TRATAR DE ALGO ES TOCAR 'DEALING WITH SOMETHING IS TOUCHING'
	CONSIDERAR ES TOCAR 'CONSIDERING IS TOUCHING'
	PERSUADIR ES TOCAR 'PERSUADING IS TOUCHING'
	ALCANZAR ES TOCAR 'REACHING IS TOUCHING'
	PROBAR ALGO ES TOCAR 'TRYING SOMETHING IS TOUCHING'
	CORRESPONDER ES TOCAR 'CORRESPONDING IS TOUCHING'
	ESTAR CERCA ES TOCAR 'BEING NEAR IS TOUCHING'
	PEDIR UN PRÉSTAMO ES TOCAR 'REQUESTING A LOAN IS TOUCHING'

Table 2.1 Conceptual Metaphors in Verbs of Perception for Spanish Continued

Sentido 'Sense'	*Metáfora* 'Metaphor'
	SER UN FAMILIAR ES TOCAR 'BEING A RELATIVE IS TOUCHING'
	TENTAR ES TOCAR 'TEMPTING IS TOUCHING'
Olfato 'Smell'	*SOSPECHAR ES OLER* 'SUSPECTING IS SMELLING'
	SENTIR/ADIVINAR ES OLER 'FEELING/GUESSING IS SMELLING'
	INVESTIGAR ES OLER 'INVESTIGATING IS SMELLING'
	SEGUIR LA PISTA ES OLER 'FOLLOWING CLUES IS SMELLING'
	DESPRECIAR ES OLER 'SCORNING IS SMELLING'
	CORROMPER ES OLER 'CORRUPTING IS SMELLING'
	PROFETIZAR ES OLER 'PROPHESYING IS SMELLING'
	NO ENTERARSE ES NO OLER 'NOT FINDING OUT IS NOT SMELLING'
Gustar 'Taste'	*EXPERIMENTAR ALGO ES USAR EL GUSTO* 'EXPERIENCING SOMETHING IS USING TASTE'
	PRODUCIR UNA SENSACIÓN ES USAR EL GUSTO (GUSTAR/NO GUSTAR) 'PRODUCING A SENSATION IS USING TASTE (TO LIKE OR TO NOT LIKE)'
	SABER ES USAR EL GUSTO 'KNOWING IS USING TASTE'
	TENER PREFERENCIAS ES USAR EL GUSTO 'HAVING PREFERENCES IS USING TASTE'
	EMITIR JUICIOS ESTÉTICOS INTELECTUALES O ARTÍSTICOS ES TENER GUSTO 'ISSUING AESTHETIC INTELLECTUAL OR ARTISTIC JUDGEMENTS IS HAVING TASTE'
	SER DISCRETO ES TENER GUSTO 'BEING DISCREET IS HAVING TASTE'

Unlike Lakoff and Johnson, Ibarretxe-Antuñano did not offer examples for each

conceptual metaphor to show how they are commonly used in daily speech; rather, she

focused on the physical basis of these metaphors.

Not all relationships between words and their meanings are arbitrary; conceptual

metaphors of perception demonstrate how language reflects concepts people construct

based on their experience and knowledge of the world in which they live (Ibarretxe-

Antuñano, in press, Section 3, para. 1). To support this argument, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (in

press) cited a reliability scale, or *una escala de fiabilidad,* to prove that Spanish

conceptual metaphors utilize different senses to convey varying degrees of confidence or

doubt when considering facts or a given situation (Section 3.2.1.2, para.1) . Only three

senses, "visión → oído → olfato", were used, with vision being the most reliable,

because one can easily trust what is seen (Section 3.2.1.2, para.1). Example (3) below

shows that the speaker believed or knew that there were going to be problems. Since

sound and smell lie further down on the reliability scale, however, statements such as (4)

and (5) imply less certainty or a deepening sense of doubt (Section 3.2.1.2, para.1).

> (3) *Ya vi que iba a haber problemas*.
>   'I already saw that there were going to be problems.'

> (4) *Ya oí que iba a haber problemas*.
>   'I already heard that there were going to be problems.'

> (5) *Ya me olí que iba a haber problemas*.
>   'I already smelled that there were going to be problems.'

The embodiment theory, or la *teoría de la corporeización*, explains that all

humans experience the world using the same tool, the body; therefore, Ibarretxe-

Antuñano (in press) asked if the same reliability scale and the same metaphors can be

found in other languages. What she discovered was that while Western languages tend to

employ the same metaphors, such as "*I see* what you're saying" and the Spanish

equivalent "*Veo* lo que dices," many Eastern languages do not follow the same scale of

reliability (Section 4, para. 5).

In an examination of health-related conceptual metaphors in Spanish, Meza

(2010) argued that the most predominant are either structural or ontological. Through a

study of the Chilean newspaper *La Tercera*, the author collected thirty health-related

cognitive metaphors and classified them into four types: structural, ontological,

orientational and image (2010, p. 94-95). Structural metaphors are those in which "one

concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another," whereas "experiences with

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physical objects (especially our own bodies) provide the basis for… ontological

metaphors, that is, ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and

substances" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 14, p. 25). Orientational metaphors, which

mainly relate to spatial orientation, structure "a whole system of concepts with respect to

one another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14), and the term image metaphors refers to

those based on visual information, in which the schematic structure of one image is

projected onto another, as can be observed in the saying "Italy is a boot" (Meza, 2010, p.

90). In the examples that follow, Meza's (2010) findings are reported, along with two

examples from each conceptual metaphor discovered. Image metaphors are not

represented below because none were found in the data (p. 99).

> (6) Structural: *LA SALUD ES UNA GUERRA* 'HEALTH IS A WAR'
>   a. *El fármaco no atenta contra la vida que está por nacer.*
>   'The drug does not threaten the life [of the child] about to be born.'
>   b. *Les ayuda incluso a combatir síntomas depresivos.*
>   'It even helps to combat symptoms of depression.'
>
> (7) Ontological: *LA SALUD (o aspectos de ella) ES UN ORGANISMO/ ENTIDAD/ OBJETO/AGENTE* 'HEALTH (or aspects of it) IS AN ORGANISM/ENTITY/OBJECT/ AGENT'
>   a. *Una gripe que lo mantiene bajo cuidado.*
>   'A flu that is keeping him under care [of medical professionals].'
>   b. *Fue a mediados de abril cuando la enfermedad prendió las alarmas del mundo.*
>   'It was in mid-April when the disease sounded the world's alarm.'
>
> (8) Orientational: *ARRIBA ES MEJOR – ABAJO ES PEOR,* 'UP IS BETTER – DOWN IS WORSE'
>   a. *Ha habido una baja en el turismo a nivel internacional.*
>   'There has been a drop in tourism at the international level.'
>   b. *Viajes de chilenos a México cayeron la mitad en mayo.*
>   'Trips to Mexico by Chileans dropped by half in May.'
>   *ARRIBA ES PEOR – ABAJO ES MEJOR* 'UP IS WORSE – DOWN IS BETTER'
>   a. *Los fallecidos se elevan a siete.*
>   'The deaths rise to seven.'
>   b. *Incremento de las hospitalizaciones pediátricas*
>   'An increase in pediatric hospitalizations'

As can be observed in the orientational metaphors, conceptual metaphors can sometimes contradict each other. For example, the positive or negative orientation of the metaphor depends on the target domain; while a drop in tourism is negative, a drop in the number of deaths would be considered positive (Meza, 2010, pp. 98-99). According to Meza, some health-related metaphors can also pertain to two different categories: structural-ontological or ontological-orientational (2010, pp. 100-101). For example, in the phrase *Los turistas, ahuyentando por la gripe porcina* 'The tourists, fleeing from the swine flu' the ontological metaphor compares the flu to an agent capable of making people flee, and the structural one portrays health as a war in which the flu is an enemy whose victims are the tourists (Meza, 2010, p. 100). Although structural metaphors do allow a contradiction in relation to which direction is considered positive, in general, the conceptualization of warring or fighting against infections and diseases offers a cohesive metaphor, which is highly lexicalized in Spanish (Meza, 2010, p. 105).

Hijazo-Gascón (2011) and Gutiérrez Pérez (2004) focused their studies of cognitive metaphors on their value as tools in the Spanish classroom. In learning pragmatic uses of the language, Hijazo-Gascón (2011) pointed to conceptual metaphors as a way for students to develop communicative competency (p. 148). The objective for using conceptual metaphors in the classroom is to help students learn to appropriately express or understand the expression of abstract concepts such as emotions, to familiarize themselves with written and oral expressions and to improve their vocabulary and develop inferential skills (Hijazo-Gascón, 2011, p.147). The author offered a variety of practice activities aimed at the B2 (level of proficiency as defined by the *Instituto Cervantes*) student, in which texts and isolated expressions were given to students to read

and analyze, thus building conceptual competence by working with cognitive metaphors (2011, pp. 150-154).

Gutiérrez Pérez (2004) also advocated the use of cognitive metaphors in the Spanish classroom due to their prevalence in everyday speech (p. 444). She proposed a series of activities in which students were asked to analyze a set of phrases to discover the common theme, or the conceptual metaphor, and in doing so develop a metaphoric competency to also better understand their native language (2004 p. 446). Such studies show that understanding conceptual metaphors is a critical step in learning a language.

Given that the Spanish and English speaking worlds share some similar values and cultural experiences, it is understandable that there might be an overlap between the conceptual metaphors found in each language. According to Barcelona (2012), "the same metaphor may be said to exist in both languages if approximately the same conceptual source and target can be metaphorically associated in the two languages" (p. 137). Differences in conceptualizations, therefore, occur when different targets are used to understand the same source. Researchers have conducted studies to compare and contrast the conceptual metaphors associated with various phenomena in these two languages, finding that emotions often share target domains (Barcelona, 2012; Soriano, 2003). Barcelona examined three emotions: sadness, anger and love, whereas Soriano focused solely on anger.

Barcelona's study of cognitive metaphors of emotion demonstrated overall similarities between Spanish and English conceptualizations, yet differences on the sub-metaphor level. In both languages, a prominent metaphor for sadness is the spatial orientation metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN; however, the conceptualization of sadness as a

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tormenter (SADNESS IS A TORMENTER) "claims almost equal status as the down metaphor"

in Spanish, according to Barcelona (2012, p. 120). In the following examples, the use of

the dynamic verbs *atenazar* 'to grip,' *mortificar* 'to plague,' and *traspasar* 'to run

through' portray sadness as an agent acting upon the patients, who are experiencing this

emotion (2012, p. 120).

      (9) a. *Le atenaza la tristeza.*
          'Sadness torments him.'
        b. *Le mortifica la tristeza.*
          'Sadness plagues him.'
        c. *Estoy traspasado de dolor.*
          'I am pierced through by sorrow.'

Barcelona (2012) also noted that "the physiological metonym whereby GENERAL UNEASE

stands for SADNESS" is valid in Spanish, however, not as common as other

conceptualizations (p. 119). While anger in Spanish and English can be compared to A

NATURAL PHYSICAL FORCE, the conceptualization of a "very strong blast of wind" is more

dominant in Spanish (Barcelona, 2012, p. 120):

      (10) a. *Se dejó llevar de su ira.*
          'He allowed himself to be carried away by his anger.'
        b. *Le dio una ventolera y empezó a insultarnos.*
          'A strong wind (of anger) came upon him and he started to insult us.'

Barcelona (2012) also mentioned the conventional metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A

FLUID IN A CONTAINER that exists, along with its entailments, in both Spanish and English

(pp. 121-122). Love was the final emotion addressed in this study which points to subtle

differences in the sub-metaphors of LOVE IS FOOD found in the two languages. Spanish

tends to associate sweet food with "excessively, almost disgusting, behavior on the part

of a person in love," and it "has not conventionalized the use of vocatives of expressions

instancing the conceptual metaphor THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS SWEET, TENDER, OR

APPETIZING FOOD" (Barcelona, 2012, p. 122-123).

In her examination of anger metaphors, Soriano (2003) compared the conceptual

systems of English and Spanish and discovered that "peninsular Spanish seems to have

the same cognitive model that underlies the conceptualization of ANGER in American

English" (p. 110). This study separated the set of around 200 ANGER metaphors from both

languages into two groups: "generic," conceptualizations that can be applied to other

target domains such as "THE BODY IS A CONTAINER" and "basic-level," including "ANGER

IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER" (Soriano, 2003, pp. 109-110). While the two

conceptual systems have several similar mappings, four main differences between the

two languages were identified, as seen in Table 2.2 (Soriano, 2003, p. 111) below.

Table 2.2 Differences between Spanish and English Metaphorical Mappings

Spanish vs. English	Mappings
Differences due to language-specific submappings	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEAM PRODUCTION does not exist in Spanish
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED does not exist in English
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS STEWING does not exist in Spanish
Differences due to degree of linguistic conventionalization	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BOILING is more conventionalized in English
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING BURNT is more conventionalized in English
	ANGER IS INSANITY is more conventionalized in English
	THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS SWELLING is more conventionalized in Spanish
Differences due to degree of elaboration	THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION is more elaborated in English
Differences due to the degree of linguistic elaboration	THE INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE RISE OF THE FLUID is more linguistically exploited in English

Soriano (2003) has suggested that the differences are due to "the conceptualization of ANGER becom[ing] more culture-specific as the basic-level metaphors get further elaborated" (p. 118). Just as no source and target domain align perfectly, no two cultures contain conceptual metaphors that entirely match when entailments, submappings and elaborations are taken into consideration.

As previously discussed, culture impacts the conceptual metaphors and idioms that a given language employs; therefore, these linguistic expressions vary from Spanish to English, but have been proven to interfere with each other at times. Oncins-Martínez (2014) has studied the evolution of the Spanish idiom *la pelota está en el tejado* 'the ball is on the roof' into *estar la pelota en el tejado de alguien* 'the ball is on someone's roof' (p. 150). This change came about, he has proposed, due to English's influence on Spanish, imposing the idiom "the ball is in someone's court" on the Spanish equivalent and creating a hybrid of the two. This evolution is viewed as "cultural coherence overrid[ing] cognitive coherence" (Oncins-Martínez, 2014, p. 150), due in part to English's status as a *lingua franca* in the world today. In this case, it has actually changed a previously set phrase, though no other studies were found regarding this phenomenon.

In Sugano's (1981) study, two problems involving Spanish idioms in the second language (L2) classroom were identified: the student's difficulties in learning the idioms, and the instructor's lack of resources to appropriately teach them (pp. 59-60). For pedagogical purposes, Sugano classified Spanish idioms in order of difficulty in acquisition for native speakers of English (1981, pp. 61-62).

Class I: Institutionalized expressions of politeness or greeting
a. *Buenos días* 'good morning'
b. *tenga la bondad de…* 'be so kind as to…'

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Class II: Those idioms possible to achieve by word for word transposition
 a. *la oveja negra de la familia* 'the black sheep of the family'
 b. *refrescar la memoria* 'refresh one's memory'
Those entailing certain syntactical changes
 a. *segunda mano* 'second hand'
 b. *armarse hasta los dientes* 'to be dressed to the gills'

Class III: Those idioms that change one or two significant content words
 a. *tomarle el pelo* 'to trick someone'
 b. *más ven cuatro ojos que dos* 'two heads are better than one'

Class IV: Those idioms that can be understood figuratively because of semantic or
 lexical similarities between the Spanish and English
 a. *tomar el fresco* 'to get some fresh air'
 b. *hacerse agua en la boca* 'to melt in one's mouth'

Class V: Those idioms with little or no resemblance, lexical or semantic, between
 Spanish and English
 a. *acabar de* 'to have just (done something)'
 b. *darse cuenta de* 'to realize'
Those where lexical or semantic resemblance is false or misleading
 a. *dar a luz* 'to give birth'
 b. *hacer caso a* 'to pay attention to'

Class VI: Proverbs
 a. *Vale más pájaro en mano que cien volando* 'a bird in the hand is worth
 two in the bush'
 b. *Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda* 'the early bird gets the worm'

Sugano (1981) suggested introducing novice students to idioms beginning with Class I

and building up to Class II, III, IV, saving Class V for second year (1981, pp. 62-63).

Proverbs, found in Class VI can be added in during the first weeks of a beginning course

to enrich classes that can at times be grammar heavy (Sugano, 1981, p. 63). The activities

to encourage students to interact with idioms include: introducing idioms in the context

of paragraphs or comic strips, having students illustrate idioms or make a guess as to the

origin of certain idioms, or discussing differences between Spanish idioms and their

English equivalents (Sugano, 1981, p. 65).

In addition to aiding second language proficiency, idioms can also point to cultural similarities and differences. Boers and Stengers (2008) have focused on the quantity of idioms in Spanish and English, as well as the differences in source domains referenced by each language. In order to verify the claim that English is a highly idiomatic language, their study aimed at "estimating whether or not idiom repertoires are exploited more or less equally intensively across languages" (p. 357). One of the premises of their study is that source or "experiential domains that have been particularly salient in a given community are likely to serve as a source for analogies to talk about less tangible target domains" (p. 357). Recognizing this fact is useful in the language classroom in order to identify which idioms do not exist in certain cultures and therefore might be difficult to acquire in one's second language (p. 358). Their selection of expressions to analyze came from idiom dictionaries and focused on those with transparent origins, which they then searched in Spanish and English language corpora to determine frequency and identify domains (p. 359).

They discovered that their respective samples of idioms appeared with approximately the same frequency of occurrence in both languages (p. 363). In Table 2.3 (Boers & Stenger, 2008, p. 365), the samples are broken down into source domains and the percentages of the samples classified into each domain.

Table 2.3 Source Domain Comparisons between English and Spanish Idioms

Source Domains	English	Spanish
Games & sports	17.45%	13.55%
Fauna & flora	17.45%	14.18%
War & aggression	11.00%	9.18%
Vehicles & transport	9.29%	4.27%
Food & cooking	7.16%	8.91%
Religion & superstition	7.16%	17.73%
Entertainment & public performance	4.89%	5.73%
Clothes & adornment	4.61%	3.27%

Examining Table 2.3 more closely, the most notable differences appear in four areas

(Boers & Stengers, 2008, p. 365).

1. English had a higher percentage of "Games & sports" sayings traceable to
   popular American and English ball games such as baseball and cricket.
2. English's higher proportion of "Fauna and flora" appears to be due to "dog"
   expressions.
3. "Vehicles & transport" contained more expressions related to boats and
   sailing.
4. In Spanish, the "Religion & superstition" domain is markedly higher (Boers
   and Stengers did not offer any explanation for this 10% difference.)

In addition, the authors examined the frequency with which each domain or "cluster" was

actually used in English and Spanish (p. 367). They discovered that "Vehicles/

Transportation," "Games/Sports," and "War/Aggression" occur most frequently in

English, while few clusters of Spanish idioms were used more frequently (pp. 367-368).

Boers and Stengers used the above data to support their claim that idioms are helpful to

identify cultural differences, and help language learners improve speech and oral

comprehension in L2 (p. 370).

For investigative rather than pedagogical purposes, Olza (2011) conducted an

examination of body part idioms in Spanish to show their discursive value and pragmatic

function (p. 3050). The idioms were organized according to body part, as shown with

translations added in Table 2.4 (Olza, 2011, p. 3051-3052).

Table 2.4: Lexical Bases and Phraseological Units of Spanish Body Part Idioms

Bases léxicas 'Lexical bases'	*Unidades fraseológicas* 'Phraseological units'
NARIZ 'NOSE'	*de las narices* 'damned'
	mandar algo narices 'to be outrageous, ridiculous'
	tener algo narices 'to be outrageous, ridiculous'
	ni + noun/adjective + ni narices 'no way, whether or not'
	por las narices 'would never'
	qué narices 'no way'
	qué + noun/adjective + ni qué narices 'no way, not even'
	tocarse las narices 'to fool, to play a trick on someone'
	unas narices 'no way'
MANO 'HAND'	*besar la mano* 'to kiss someone's hand, to be at his or her service'
	dejarse cortar la mano 'to give one's right hand'
	estrechar la mano 'to offer one's hand (in service)'
	poner la mano en el fuego 'to swear, to bet one's life (that something is so)'
CORAZÓN 'HEART'	*con (todo) el corazón* 'with all one's heart'
	con el corazón en la mano/con la mano en el corazón 'with one's heart in his or her hand'
	de (todo) corazón 'from the bottom of one's heart'
LENGUA 'TONGUE'	*haber comido lengua* 'to be unable to speak'
	haber perdido la lengua 'to be unable to speak'
	haberle comido a alguien la lengua el gato 'the cat got your tongue'
BOCA 'MOUTH'	*pedir por esa boca* 'ask and you will receive'
	punto en boca 'to stop talking'
CABEZA 'HEAD'	*apostarse la cabeza / jugarse la cabeza* 'to swear, to bet one's life (that something is so)'
	no caber algo en cabeza (humana) 'to be unbelievable'
OÍDO 'EAR'	*oído a la caja* 'ear to the drum'
	oído al parche 'ear to the drum'

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Table 2.4: Lexical Bases and Phraseological Units of Spanish Body Part Idioms
Continued

Bases léxicas 'Lexical bases'	*Unidades fraseológicas* 'Phraseological units'
PIE 'FOOT'	*a sus pies* 'at your feet, service' *besar los pies* 'to kiss someone's feet'
BARBA 'BEARD'	*para mis barbas* 'to swear'
CARA 'FACE'	*con qué cara* 'how could one (face someone, etc)'
OJO 'EYE'	*no lo verán sus ojos* 'to be ridiculous, unlikely to happen'
PELO 'HAIR'	*pelillos a la mar* 'to reconcile'

This set, by no means a comprehensive list of body part idioms, was chosen for its

pragmatic value, as these metaphors are common among native Spanish speakers and are

often heard in daily conversations. While some of these idioms are transparent, such as

punto en boca, 'point on the mouth' which provokes the image of "the dot or period,

closing sentences and texts… metaphorically shut[ting] the orifice of the mouth" (Olza,

2011, p. 3063) others, such as those having to do with *narices* 'noses' are more opaque.

The metonymic basis of these idioms, however, is evidence of a metaphorical use of

language and therefore points to metaphorical conceptualizations.

　　　In summary, the last thirty years have produced numerous investigations into new

ways of understanding metaphors. Research in both English and Spanish has revealed

previously unnoticed conceptualizations employed by both language groups. Studies on

idioms have explored their composition, transparency, or opacity and also have

demonstrated links to metaphoric speech. The focus of this study is to take the

investigation of metaphoricity of idioms a step further and explore them as evidence to

support conceptual metaphors.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to discover support for Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory using the current literature as a source of data to classify conceptual metaphors and idioms together in a taxonomy for Spanish. Three questions were used to classify previously identified conceptual metaphors, identify new conceptualizations and create a taxonomy:

Q1. What conceptual metaphors have been identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and which ones are also valid in Spanish?

Q2. What additional conceptual metaphors for Spanish have been identified?

Q3. What new conceptual metaphors can be added to the current collection for Spanish?

Metaphors We Live By (1980) has been the starting point for many similar studies, primarily in English, and serves as the theoretical basis of the present investigation as well. In their first book, conceptual metaphors were categorized into three types: orientational, ontological and structural (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Recall from the previous chapter that orientational metaphors have a spatial basis, mostly regarding the directions up and down. Ontological metaphors refer to an abstract concept mapped onto a physical domain, and structural metaphors consist of one domain being conceptualized in terms of another. The term "conventional metaphor" applies to metaphors that are highly lexicalized and widely known by speakers of a given language. Additionally,

metonymy and personification were listed as sources for possible metaphorical conceptualizations (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

The metaphoric value of idioms, though offered as support for metaphoric mappings in *Metaphors We Live By*, was not discussed extensively until their second book, *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999) in which Lakoff and Johnson noted that idioms' meanings are not arbitrary but "motivated by the metaphorical mapping and certain conventional mental images" (p. 68). Kövecses (2002) also acknowledged that idiomatic expressions reveal a conceptualization process (p. 201), and Gibbs (1997) indicated that "conceptual metaphors are tightly linked to idioms and are often accessed when idioms are understood" (p. 143). Idioms, therefore, can be used as a source of data to find further linguistic support for cognitive metaphors.

The first question investigated was whether or not the metaphors Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identified for English have Spanish equivalents. *Metaphors We Live By* was translated in 1986 into the Spanish version *Metáforas de la vida cotidiana*, which provided translations of conceptual metaphors for those conceptualizations that are also valid in Spanish. If Lakoff and Johnson's metaphors do not correspond to Spanish, it is possible that no similar idea or equivalent metaphor has yet been identified. Given that culture plays a role in the conceptualizations employed by a language (Oncins-Martínez, 2014; Kövecses, 2004), variation between English and Spanish metaphors can be expected. Consequently, a review of current literature revealed gaps between the two languages.

The second question asked what metaphors have been identified in the literature on Spanish that are not part of Lakoff and Johnson's schema. The sources of additional

conceptual metaphors include the investigations listed in the previous chapter's literature review, many of which can be classified as conventional because they are common in daily speech among Spanish speakers. Although additional cognitive metaphors have been identified that are not mentioned here, such as those studies on epitaphs, political corruption and marine biology (Crespo-Fernandez, 2013; Negro, 2015;Ureña, 2012), the present investigation does not examine these more specialized topics. This study instead focused on conventionalized metaphors common in everyday speech because of their pragmatic value. Therefore, these jargon-specific areas of study were not included.

Once a broad set of conceptual metaphors for Spanish were collected, idioms were examined to classify using the conceptual mappings. While idioms can be categorized according to transparency or opacity, and some are clearly influenced by a conceptual domain, this investigation examined idioms to find further support for the conceptual mappings found in Spanish cognitive metaphors. Conceptual metaphors were grouped according to domain, allowing similar concepts to be categorized together, despite their structural, orientational, or ontological classification. Next, the book Barron's *Spanish Idioms* (1996) and website Wordreference.com were used as additional sources of data. Finally, idioms cited as support for conceptual metaphors in the literature were included, as well as idioms heard in conversations with native Spanish speakers. Any idiom containing the same conceptual mappings as the cognitive metaphors then was categorized alongside that metaphor.

The third question examined what other conceptual metaphors can be proposed for Spanish. In the same way that prior studies have examined data to discover the underlying conceptual metaphors found in language, this investigation discovered

patterns from either source or target domains that lend support for the proposal of new conceptual metaphors. Discovering additional submetaphors and entailments of previously identified conceptual metaphors also was a goal of this investigation.

This chapter has outlined the primary research goals and three questions used to identify and analyze conceptual metaphors for Spanish. The following chapter will address the analysis itself.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis

Recall that the analysis conducted in this chapter was guided by three questions:

Q1. What conceptual metaphors have been identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and which ones are also valid in Spanish?

Q2. What additional conceptual metaphors for Spanish have been identified?

Q3. What new conceptual metaphors can be added to the current collection for Spanish?

Question 1: Lakoff and Johnson

Given its findings and format, *Metaphors We Live By* offered a revolutionary

perspective to cognitive linguists all over the world and consequently was "translated into

most European languages" (Monti, 2009, p. 207). The Spanish version, published in

1986, translated the English conceptual metaphors originally detailed by Lakoff and

Johnson but changed sentences that were semantically or pragmatically absurd in Spanish

into an appropriate sentence in the target language that omitted the metaphoric language

(Monti, 2009, p. 210). For example, "Things are looking up" was given as support for the

metaphor GOOD IS UP in the English language version. In Spanish, however, the sentence

was translated into *Las cosas van mejorando* with a note explaining the lack of

metaphoric language: "En inglés, *look up* es argot por *improve,* <<mejorar>>" (Lakoff &

Johnson, 1986, p. 53) Since most metaphors were able to be reproduced, the translator

Carmen González Marín used footnotes to "explain cases of cultural-linguistic variation"

and to point out the source text orientation, which explains why some metaphors are valid in Spanish, but more productive in American English (Monti, 2009, p. 209).

Table 4.1 that follows lists Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphors alongside the Spanish translation (1980, pp. 46-51). The categories are listed in the same order in which they appear in the book: structural, orientational, ontological and miscellaneous, referred to as "some further examples."

Table 4.1 Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphors in Spanish and English

Tipo de metáfora 'Type of Metaphor'	Metáforas de la vida cotidiana	Metaphors We Live By
Estructural 'Structural'	UNA DISCUSIÓN ES UNA GUERRA	ARGUMENT IS WAR
	EL TIEMPO ES DINERO	TIME IS MONEY
Orientacional 'Orientational'	FELIZ ES ARRIBA; TRISTE ES ABAJO	HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN
	LO CONSCIENTE ES ARRIBA; LO INCONSCIENTE ES ABAJO	CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN
	SALUD Y VIDA SON ARRIBA; LA ENFERMEDAD Y LA MUERTE SON ABAJO	HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN
	TENER CONTROL O FUERZA ES ARRIBA; ESTAR SUJETO A CONTROL O FUERZA ES ABAJO	HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN
	MÁS ES ARRIBA; MENOS ES ABAJO	MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN
	LOS ACONTECIMIENTOS FUTUROS PREVISIBLES ESTÁN ARRIB(y ADELANTE)	FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)
	UN ESTATUS ELEVADO ES ARRIBA; UN ESTATUS BAJO ES ABAJO	HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN
	LO BUENO ES ARRIBA; LO MALO ES ABAJO	GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN
	LA VIRTUD ES ARRIBA; EL VICIO ES ABAJO	VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN

Table 4.1 Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphors in Spanish and English Continued

Tipo de metáfora 'Type of Metaphor'	*Metáforas de la vida cotidiana*	*Metaphors We Live By*
	LO RACIONAL ES ARRIBA; LO EMOCIONAL ES ABAJO	RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN
Ontológico 'Ontological'	LA INFLACIÓN ES UNA ENTIDAD	INFLATION IS AN ENTITY
	LA MENTE ES UNA MÁQUINA	THE MIND IS A MACHINE
	LA MENTE ES UN OBJETO FRÁGIL	THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
	LOS CAMPOS VISUALES SON RECIPIENTES	VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS
Misceláneo 'Miscellaneous'	LAS TEORÍAS (y LOS ARGUMENTOS) SON EDIFICIOS	THEORIES (and ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS
	LAS IDEAS SON COMIDA	IDEAS ARE FOOD
	LAS IDEAS SON PERSONAS	IDEAS ARE PEOPLE
	LAS IDEAS SON PLANTAS	IDEAS ARE PLANTS
	LAS IDEAS SON PRODUCTOS	IDEAS ARE PRODUCTS
	LAS IDEAS SON ARTÍCULOS DE CONSUMO	IDEAS ARE COMMODITIES
	LAS IDEAS SON RECURSOS	IDEAS ARE RESOURCES
	LAS IDEAS SON DINERO	IDEAS ARE MONEY
	LAS IDEAS SON INSTRUMENTOS QUE CORTAN	IDEAS ARE CUTTING INSTRUMENTS
	LAS IDEAS SON MODAS	IDEAS ARE FASHIONS
	ENTENDER ES VER; LAS IDEAS SON FUENTES LUMINOSAS; EL DISCURSO ES UN MEDIO LUMINOSO	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING; IDEAS ARE LIGHT-SOURCES; DISCOURSE IS A LIGHT-MEDIUM
	EL AMOR ES UNA FUERZA FÍSICA (ELECTROMAGNÉTICA, GRAVITACIONAL, etc.)	LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (ELECTROMAGNETIC, GRAVITATIONAL, etc.)
	EL AMOR ES UN PACIENTE	LOVE IS A PATIENT
	EL AMOR ES LOCURA	LOVE IS MADNESS
	EL AMOR ES MAGIA	LOVE IS MAGIC
	EL AMOR ES GUERRA	LOVE IS WAR
	LA RIQUEZA ES UN OBJETO ESCONDIDO	WEALTH IS A HIDDEN OBJECT
	LO SIGNIFICATIVO ES GRANDE	SIGNIFICANT IS BIG

Table 4.1 Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphors in Spanish and English
Continued

Tipo de metáfora 'Type of Metaphor'	Metáforas de la vida cotidiana	Metaphors We Live By
	VER ES TOCAR; LOS OJOS SON MIEMBROS	SEEING IS TOUCHING; EYES ARE LIMBS
	LOS OJOS SON RECIPIENTES DE EMOCIONES	EYES ARE CONTAINERS OF EMOTIONS
	EL EFECTO EMOCIONAL ES CONTACTO FÍSICO	EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT
	LOS ESTADOS FÍSICOS Y EMOCIONALES SON ENTIDADES DENTRO DE UNA PERSONA	PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL STATES ARE ENTITIES WITHIN A PERSON
	LA VITALIDAD ES UNA SUSTANCIA	VITALITY IS A SUBSTANCE
	LA VIDA ES UN RECIPIENTE	LIFE IS A CONTAINER
	LA VIDA ES UN JUEGO DE AZAR	LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also recognize one of their predecessors, Michael Reddy (1979) who identified the conduit metaphor in which 'IDEAS (OR MEANINGS) ARE OBJECTS' *LAS IDEAS (O SIGNIFICADOS) SON OBJETOS*, 'LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS' *LAS EXPRESIONES LINGÜÍSTICAS SON RECIPIENTES* and 'COMMUNICATION IS SENDING' *LA COMUNICACIÓN CONSISTE EN UN ENVÍO* (pp. 10-11). This metaphor, like many of those determined by Lakoff and Johnson, is valid in both languages. While examining Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphors, however, one must remember that the Spanish version still aims to preserve the American English sense of the original metaphors (Monti, 2009, p. 210).

Question 2: Spanish Conceptual Metaphors in the Literature

Building on the metaphors originally outlined by Lakoff and Johnson, other linguists also have used the categories of structural, orientational, and ontological

metaphors to classify their findings (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, in press; Meza, 2010; Nubiola, 2000; Barcelona, 2012; Soriano, 2003; Díaz, 2006). Recall from Table 2.1 that Ibarretxe-Antuñano (in press) compiled an extensive list of metaphors of perception for Spanish, which can be classified as ontological because the source domain has a physical grounding. The four health-related metaphors discussed by Meza (2010) (examples 6,7,8) include two new conceptual metaphors for Spanish, one structural and one ontological, and two orientational ones that illustrate the contradictory nature of some metaphorical mappings. Hijazo-Gascón (2011) despite focusing on pedagogical purposes, pointed out the metaphor LIFE IS A BOOK for Spanish (p. 143). Additionally, Nubiola added THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER and DISCOURSE IS A TAPESTRY to the collection (2000, Section 2, para. 7).

Barcelona (2012) specifically identified metaphors dealing with sadness and depression, anger and love. In his contrastive study of English and Spanish, he cited previously discovered metaphors such as SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT, EMOTION IS A NATURAL PHYSICAL FORCE and ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER as productive for Spanish, in addition to a metaphor unrelated to emotions, A DEVIANT COLOR IS A DEVIANT SOUND. Apart from affirming previously established metaphors, Barcelona (2012) additionally determined two structural metaphors for Spanish.

(11) SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR

(12) THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS HEAVEN

Example (11) is an entailment of SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT that specifies the way in which love can assail its victims, whereas (12) is a variation specific to Spanish of the conventionalized English metaphor LOVE IS HEAVEN.

Soriano (2012) also pointed out a number of cognitive metaphors for Spanish in an overview of the origin, characteristics, and types of conceptual metaphors. The following are conventional metaphors discussed by Soriano (2012).

(13) a. *EL AFECTO ES CALOR* 'AFFECTION IS HEAT'
    b. *INMORAL ES SUCIO* ' IMMORAL IS DIRTY';
      MORAL ES LIMPIO 'MORAL IS CLEAN'
    c. *LAS EMOCIONES SON OBJETOS/SUSTANCIA*
      'EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS/SUBSTANCES'
    d. *EL CUERPO ES UN CONTENEDOR* 'THE BODY IS A CONTAINER'
    e. *LA INTENSIDAD ES CALOR* 'INTENSITY IS HEAT'
    f. *LAS ACTIVIDADES DE LARGA DURACIÓN CON UN OBJETIVO SON VIAJES;*
     (ACCIÓNES MOVIMIENTO)
     'LONG-TERM ACTIVITIES WITH AN OBJECTIVE ARE
     TRIPS; (ACTION IS MOVEMENT)'
    g. *LA IRA ES FUEGO* 'ANGER IS FIRE'

In accordance with the categories determined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), example sentence (13f) is structural, whereas the remaining examples in (13) are ontological.

In another study, Soriano (2003) examined metaphors dealing with anger, identifying conceptual metaphors unique to Spanish and pointing out differences from English. As one can observe from Table 2.2, THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED is specific to Spanish, whereas THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS SWELLING exists in both languages, but is more conventionalized in Spanish (Soriano, 2003, p. 111). Other metaphors are productive in both English and Spanish, but are less conventionalized or less elaborated in Spanish; for example, THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING BURNT, ANGER IS INSANITY, THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION and THE INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE RISE OF THE FLUID (Soriano, 2003, p. 111). ANGER IS A DEVIL is another example of a metaphor that exists in both languages but is more conventionalized in Spanish (Soriano, 2003, pp. 116-117).

Díaz (2006) suggested additional cognitive metaphors for Spanish, which have been organized into Table 4.2 below. The metaphors, categorized by Díaz, correspond with the distinctions – structural, ontological, orientational and miscellaneous – given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), although metaphors previously mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) or other researchers were excluded from the table. For this reason, the category "orientational" is not found in Table 4.2 (Díaz, 2006).

Table 4.2 Conceptual Metaphors for Spanish

Tipo de metáfora 'Type of metaphor'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'
Estructural 'Structural'	*EL TIEMPO ES UNA CINTA EN LA QUE NOS DESPLAZAMOS* 'TIME IS A CONVEYOR BELT ON WHICH WE MOVE' *EL TIEMPO ES UNA CINTA EN LA QUE ESTAMOS QUIETOS* 'TIME IS A CONVEYOR BELT ON WHICH WE ARE STILL' *EL TIEMPO ES UN RECIPIENTE* 'TIME IS A CONTAINER' *LAS PERSONAS SON PLANTAS* 'PEOPLE ARE PLANTS' *LA VIDA ES UN VIAJE* 'LIFE IS A JOURNEY' *LA MUERTE ES UNA PARTIDA* 'DEATH IS A DEPARTURE' *EL NACIMIENTO ES UNA LLEGADA; LA VIDA ES ESTAR AQUÍ* 'BIRTH IS AN ARRIVAL; LIFE IS BEING HERE' *LAS PERSONAS SON RECIPIENTES* 'PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS' *LAS PERSONAS SON COMIDA* 'PEOPLE ARE FOOD'
Ontológico 'Ontological'	*LAS ESCALAS LINEALES SON CAMINOS* 'LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS' *LO PSÍQUICO ES FÍSICO* 'THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IS PHYSICAL'
Misceláneo 'Miscellaneous'	*CONOCER ES VER* 'KNOWING IS SEEING' *EL CONOCIMIENTO ES FUENTE DE LUZ* 'KNOWLEDGE IS A SOURCE OF LIGHT'

Much like the metaphors identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), these metaphors can be considered conventional because they are common in daily speech and easily understood by Spanish speakers.

In total, 125 conceptual metaphors for Spanish were identified from the literature examined. In this chapter, I further investigate their relationship with idioms.

Question 3: New Spanish Conceptual Metaphors

While categorizing idioms, patterns were noted in this study that lead to either new conceptual mappings or submappings of existing metaphors. The primary source for idioms was Saviano and Winget's (1996) *Spanish Idioms*; however, Wordreference.com served as a tool to further investigate newly identified mappings. By searching key terms, additional idioms that were not found among the over 2,000 idioms given in *Spanish Idioms* were discovered and used as support for new conceptual metaphors. This supplementary reference tool provided further evidence of a metaphor's productivity in Spanish by offering more examples of idioms. Through this process, nine new metaphors or submetaphors were identified:

(14) *LA TRANQUILIDAD ES FRESCA* 'CALMNESS IS COOL'
    a. *Quedarse tan fresco* 'to stay cool'
    b. *Tan fresco como una lechuga* 'as cool as a cucumber'

(15) *EL ORGULLO ES ARRIBA* 'PRIDE IS UP'; *LA HUMILDAD ES ABAJO* 'HUMILITY IS DOWN'
    a. *Subirse a las barbas* 'to be disrespectful'
    b. *Subirse a la cabeza* 'to go to one's head'
    c. *Caerse de su burro* 'to admit one's mistake'
    d. *Rebajarse a* 'to humble oneself'
    e. *A sus pies* 'at your service'

(16) *GORDO ES BUENO* 'FAT IS GOOD'; *FLACO ES MALO* 'SKINNY IS BAD'

a. *Sacar el premio gordo* 'to win the grand prize'
b. *Ganar el gordo* 'to hit the jackpot'
c. *Sacarse el gordo* 'to bring home the bacon'
d. *Pez gordo* 'bigwig'
e. *Gordo* 'dear, honey, darling'
f. *A perro flaco todo son pulgas* 'when it rains it pours'
g. *Hacerle a uno un flaco servicio* 'to play a dirty trick on one'
h. *Lado flaco* 'weak spot'
i *Andar un poco flaco de memoria* 'to have a bad memory/to be
  scatterbrained'

(17) *GORDO ES MALO* 'FAT IS BAD'
    a. *Caerle gordo* 'to be obnoxious, to get on one's nerves'
    b. *Lo gordo* 'the tough part (of a task, situation)'
    c. *Gordo* 'worst (disaster, etc.)'
    d. *Una mentira de las gordas* 'a big fat lie'

(18) *EL CUERPO ES UNA MÁQUINA* 'THE BODY IS A MACHINE'
    a. *Ponerse las pilas* 'to put batteries in oneself'
    b. S*er una máquina* 'to be a machine'

(19) *EL CORAZÓN ES UN OBJETO FRÁGIL* 'THE HEART IS A BRITTLE OBJECT'
    a. *Tener el corazón hecho pedazos* 'to have one's heart turned into pieces, to
      be broken-hearted'
    b. *Partirle el corazón* 'to be broken-hearted'

(20) *ESTAR CANSADO ES SER DE POLVO* 'TO BE TIRED IS TO BE MADE OF DUST'
    a. *Tener los huesos molidos* 'to be exhausted'
    b. *Estar hecho polvo* 'to be exhausted'
    c. *Hacer polvo* 'to wear out'

(21) *LAS RELACIONES SON LAZOS* 'RELATIONSHIPS ARE TIES'
    a. *Cortar los lazos* 'to cut the bows, to cut off all contact'
    b. *Romper las amistades* 'to have a falling out'
    c. *Estrechar lazos* 'to strengthen ties'
    d. *Trabar amistad con* 'to become friends with'
    e. *Lazo familiar* 'family ties'
    f. *Lazo de unión* 'a bond'

(22) *AGOSTO ES ABUNDANCIA* 'AUGUST IS ABUNDANCE'
    a. *Agosto y septiembre no duran siempre* 'all good things come to an end'
    b. *Hacer su agosto* 'to make a killing'

Each new conceptual metaphor is supported by at least two idioms, although for others,

up to nine have been identified. While some can be considered submappings of

previously identified metaphors, such as examples (14) and (15) the others are independent.

The ontological metaphor (14) CALMNESS IS COOL conceptualizes an emotional state of calmness as a physical state of feeling cool. This as well as other ANGER metaphors have a physical grounding because they correspond to the human experience in which emotions, such as anger or embarrassment, cause one to feel hot while being calm does not produce the same effect. It can be considered a submetaphor of ANGER IS FIRE because the association of tranquility with a cool temperature relies on metaphors that conceptualize anger as heat.

Metaphor (15) PRIDE IS UP; HUMILITY IS DOWN can also be considered a submetaphor because of its association with the metaphor BAD IS UP; GOOD IS DOWN identified by Meza (2010). Generally, pride is considered a negative personality trait, while humility is viewed as a positive characteristic; therefore, the metaphor in (15) belongs in this grouping. Examples (15a-b) identify prideful acts, such as thinking oneself superior, with an upward motion. On the other hand, (15c-e) correlate humility with falling or lowering.

> (15) a. *Subirse a las barbas* 'to be disrespectful'
>   b. *Subirse a la cabeza* 'to go to one's head'
>   c. *Caerse de su burro* 'to admit one's mistake'
>   d. *Rebajarse a* 'to humble oneself'
>   e. *A sus pies* 'at your service'

In example (c) the act of falling, shows an act of humility and the idiom (d) uses the word *rebajarse*, which in Spanish means to lower oneself. This orientational metaphor has an additional physical grounding as well, since prideful people are said to "look down on" others, and previously bowing down or kneeling, as in (e), was a way to show humility

before an authority figure. Although Gibbs (1997) mentioned PRIDE IS BEING VERTICALLY HIGH in a list of English conceptual metaphors (p. 152), it has not been previously discussed in regard to Spanish.

Independent of other metaphors, (16) FAT IS GOOD; SKINNY IS BAD is an ontological metaphor that adds a different conceptualization to the GOOD-BAD dynamic. This positive view of fat in this metaphor seems to contradict current Western standards that value thinness, possibly due to cultural values from prior centuries. In relation to various proverbs related to corpulence, the Centro Virtual Cervantes writes "la gordura realza la belleza física [fatness accentuates physical beauty]" and "puede resultar beneficioso tener unos kilos de más para ocultar algunos defectos [it could be beneficial to have a few extra kilos to hide some defects]" confirming the positive correlation between 'fat' and 'good' from previous centuries (*Refranero Multilingüe,* n.d.). A fat prize, then, is preferred to a smaller one. Therefore, (16a-c) show a positive correlation between fat and good.

> (16) a. *Sacar el premio gordo* 'to win the grand prize'
>   b. *Ganar el gordo* 'to hit the jackpot'
>   c. *Sacarse el gordo* 'to bring home the bacon'

Example (16d) also supports this relationship because being a *pez gordo*, or a bigwig, is desired over a position with no power or authority. Using *gordo* as a term of endearment (16e) is also common among Spanish speakers. On the other hand, (16f) *A perro flaco todo son pulgas* translated into English as "when it rains it pours," uses a skinny dog with fleas to conceptualize the way in which misfortunes seem to occur all at once. In sentences (16g-i) skinny is also presumed to be negative as it corresponds to a disservice (g), a weakness (h), and forgetfulness (i).

(16) g. *Hacerle a uno un flaco servicio* 'to play a dirty trick on one'
    h. *Lado flaco* 'weak spot'
    i *Andar un poco flaco de memoria* 'to have a bad memory/to be scatterbrained'

As Meza (2010) has demonstrated, conceptual metaphors can at times oppose each other, which is shown by (17) FAT IS BAD, a contradiction of (16) FAT IS GOOD. Although not as productive as (16), the idioms that support (17) focus on the negative impression a person makes in (a), problems in examples (b-c) or lies in (d).

(17) a. *Caerle gordo* 'to be obnoxious, to get on one's nerves'
    b. *Lo gordo* 'the tough part (of a task, situation)'
    c. *Gordo* 'worst (disaster, etc.)'
    d. *Una mentira de las gordas* 'a big fat lie'

The negative association of FAT and BAD, therefore, draws mainly on the size of a disaster, dishonesty, or difficulties rather than on people themselves.

Although THE MIND IS A MACHINE (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) is a productive cognitive metaphor in Spanish, (18) THE BODY IS A MACHINE is also valid. The idiom (18a) *Ponerse las pilas* 'to get to work' used by bosses or teachers to encourage employees or students to do work, can apply to both physical and mental tasks, thus confirming the metaphorical mapping. Example (18b) S*er una máquina* 'to be a machine' is also commonly heard after watching someone successfully accomplish a physical feat, such as running a marathon or lifting weights. While the two ontological metaphors are similar in nature, the distinction is important, as they refer to distinct tasks: cognitive versus physical abilities.

In the same way that THE MIND IS A FRAGILE OBJECT, metaphor (19) THE HEART IS A BRITTLE OBJECT can also be confirmed as a metaphor for Spanish. The heart, according to examples (19a-b) can be broken into pieces, much like a fragile piece of china.

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(19) a. *Tener el corazón hecho pedazos* 'to have one's heart turned into pieces/to be broken-hearted'
　　　b. *Partirle el corazón* 'to be broken-hearted'

Consequently, this mapping, comparing the emotional state of feeling hurt or upset with a physical state of brokenness, is an ontological metaphor.

Metaphor (20) TO BE TIRED IS TO BE MADE OF DUST draws parallels between exhaustion and dust to show that for Spanish, being tired can be conceptualized as being made into dust. Idiom (a) *Tener los huesos molidos* 'to be exhausted' shows the effects of tiredness as being the same as having one's bones ground into dust. Similarly, the other idioms, (20b-c), demonstrate that being made of or making dust are also valid ways to express being exhausted.

(20) b. *Estar hecho polvo* 'to be exhausted'
　　　c. *Hacer polvo* 'to wear out'

Finally, the idioms that support the identification of the ontological metaphor (21) RELATIONSHIPS ARE TIES correlate personal relationships with ties or bows. At times, friendships or bonds between two people are broken, as examples (21a-b) illustrate. The idioms (21c-d) refer to bringing people closer emotionally using the image of physical ties, which can refer to family (e) or any other type of bond (f).

(21) a. *Cortar los lazos* 'to cut the bows, to cut off all contact'
　　　b. *Romper las amistades* 'to have a falling out'
　　　c. *Estrechar lazos* 'to strengthen ties'
　　　d. *Trabar amistad con* 'to become friend with'
　　　e. *Lazo familiar* 'family ties'
　　　f. *Lazo de unión* 'a bond'

The physical act of cutting (a), breaking (b), or bringing closer together (c-d) suggest that this is an ontological metaphor, mapping an emotional connection between two people onto a physical one.

Idioms that support (22) AUGUST IS ABUNDANCE differ slightly from other examples because of their association with a proverb that originated centuries ago in Spain. Centro Virtual Cervantes indicates that (22a) *Agosto y septiembre no duran siempre* 'all good things come to an end,' a proverb that has fallen in disuse, comes from previous centuries in which August and September were associated with the harvest (*Refranero multilingüe,* n.d.). The idea of abundance, therefore, can also be seen in example (22b) *hacer su agosto* 'to make a killing' in which an excess of money is connected to the month of August. This structural metaphor shows a link between antiquated and current idioms, demonstrating how some mappings can last centuries despite the loss of transparent meaning over time.

The results of this investigation indicate that some cognitive metaphors are very productive in idiomatic phrases, while other metaphors do not correspond to any idioms found in the data. Similarly, not all idioms indicate the existence of a metaphoric conceptualization and some even contradict the metaphors already identified. A sampling of idioms that do not correspond to or that contradict a conceptual metaphor are explained below.

Despite having two distinct conceptualizations for GORDO in Spanish, the expression (23a) *hacer la vista gorda* 'to turn a blind eye can' does not correspond exactly to either metaphor. The idiom is ambiguous because it could be considered either beneficial or detrimental, depending on the situation. For example, if one benefits from another person turning a blind eye, he or she would consider this action positive, however, other times looking the other way shows tacit approval of improper behavior.

Therefore, some idioms can be said to fall under two, sometimes contradictory, metaphoric conceptualizations.

Similarly, the idea of weight or *peso* has various idiomatic expressions which do not point to a singular metaphoric conceptualization. While weighing one's words (23b) *pesar las palabras* can be a sign of prudence, a person who is said to be (23c) *pesado* is considered annoying or bothersome. Another conceptualization of *pesado* shows the application of the term heavy meaning intense by applying it to a concept that has no physical weight, such as work, (23d) *trabajo pesado*. These examples are not in direct opposition to each other, however, without further examples to support these metaphoric mapping, these three can be considered outliers.

Colors, despite appearing in many idioms, also present many contradictory or inconclusive conceptualizations. Examples (23e-g) show three different implications for the meaning of the word *verde*, green:

> (23) e. *Ponerle verde a alguien* 'to badmouth someone'
> f. *Viejo verde* 'a dirty old man'
> g. *A buenas horas, mangas verdes* 'too little too late'

While (e) implies mean sentiments towards another, (f) indicates an inappropriate sexual element and (g) refers to an insufficient effort or poor timing. The third example is a proverb with origins in the Spanish Middle Ages in which a group of religious soldiers whose uniforms had green sleeves, were charged with protecting citizens from harm, yet often arrived late to the scene of the crime, thus allowing wrongdoers to escape (Centro Cervantes Virtual, n.d.). As Gibbs (1997) noted, some idioms, or proverbs in this case, although once considered metaphorical, "have lost their metaphoricity" and have become set phrases (p. 142). The discontinuity between the inferred meanings of *verde* in these

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three idioms, therefore, shows that not all idiomatic speech constitutes a metaphoric conceptualization.

Metaphors involving body parts also prove to be non-metaphorical in many cases. In Spanish, (23h) *tocarle las narices*, literally to touch his or her nostrils, is used to express the action of annoying or bothering someone. Another idiom, (23i) *hablar por los codos* means to talk a lot, or literally, 'to talk through one's elbow.' Much like sayings such as the English "to kick the bucket," here no metaphoric mapping can be made to link the target and source domains of these idioms because no inherent characteristics of the two can be connected. In other words, idioms such as (23h-i) are simply expressions with no metaphorical conceptualization.

As was expected, not all idioms fit perfectly into the categories laid out by prior investigations nor do they all point to a new metaphoric conceptualization. These irregularities reflect the imperfect nature of language that, while constantly evolving, resists researchers' desire to classify and categorize. The examples below are a sampling of the outliers found while examining the metaphoricity of idioms.

> (23) a. *Hacer la vista gorda* 'to turn a blind eye'
> b. *Pesar las palabras* 'to weigh one's words'
> c. *Pesado* 'annoying'
> d. *Trabajo pesado* 'heavy, intense work'
> e. *Ponerle verde a alguien* 'to badmouth someone'
> f. *Viejo verde* 'a dirty old man'
> g. *A buenas horas, mangas verdes* 'too little too late'
> h. *Tocarle las narices* 'to annoy, to bother someone'
> i. *Hablar por los codos* 'to talk a lot, excessively'

Although it was not possible to identify an idiom for each conceptual metaphor or find a conceptual metaphor that corresponds to each idiom, submetaphors for previously identified conceptualizations as well as new conceptual metaphors were discovered. The

following table, therefore, includes all metaphors found in the literature, as well as additions from this study.

This compiled categorization, or taxonomy, depicted in Table 4.3, offers a comprehensive view of the metaphoric conceptualizations employed by the Spanish language, along with their English translations. Studies of this nature contribute to the understanding of language and its role in reflecting cultural values as well as being a verbal expression of a mental process. The present study not only supports the understanding of metaphoric speech as evidence of a cognitive conceptualization of various domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), but also adds nine more conceptual metaphors to the current collection for Spanish. This taxonomy can therefore serve as a tool for future researchers, as well as students of Spanish trying to gain communicative and aural competency.

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
Tiempo 'Time'	*EL TIEMPO ES DINERO* 'TIME IS MONEY'	*Costar tiempo* 'to take time' *Ganar tiempo* 'to save time' *Perder tiempo* 'to lose time' *Restarle el tiempo* 'to take up one's time' *Darle tiempo* 'to have time' *Invertir tiempo* 'to invest time' *Malgastar tiempo* 'to waste time' *Ahorrar tiempo* 'to save time'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	LOS ACONTECIMIENTOS FUTUROS PREVISIBLES ESTÁN ADELANTE 'FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE AHEAD'	*Más adelante* 'later on' *Más allá* 'beyond' *De aquí en adelante* 'from now on' *En el futuro próximo* 'in the near future'
	EL TIEMPO ES UN RECIPIENTE 'TIME IS A CONTAINER'	*Dentro de poco* 'in a little while' *En algún tiempo* 'at one time' *En aquel tiempo* 'at that time' *A través de los años* 'through the years' *Estar entrado (metido) en años* 'to be well along in years'
	EL TIEMPO ES UNA CINTA EN LA QUE ESTAMOS QUIETOS 'TIME IS A CONVEYOR BELT ON WHICH WE ARE STILL'	*Andando los años, los días, etc.* 'as the years, days go by' *Ya pasó* 'It's over now' *Llegarle la hora* 'to have one's hour come' *Acercarse la hora de* 'the hour is coming'
	EL TIEMPO ES UNA CINTA EN LA QUE NOS DESPLAZAMOS 'TIME IS A CONVEYOR BELT ON WHICH WE MOVE'	*Estar llegando a (fin de semana)* 'to be coming up on (the weekend)'
Ideas 'Ideas'	*LAS IDEAS SON PRODUCTOS* 'IDEAS ARE PRODUCTS'	*Productividad intelectual* 'intellectual productivity' *Producir ideas* 'to produce ideas'
	LAS IDEAS SON ARTÍCULOS DE CONSUMO 'IDEAS ARE COMMODITIES'	*Propiedad intelectual* 'intellectual property' *Vender/comprar ideas* 'selling/buying ideas' *Ideas valiosas* 'valuable ideas'

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Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	LAS IDEAS SON RECURSOS 'IDEAS ARE RESOURCES'	*Compartir ideas* 'to share ideas' *Desperdiciar palabras* 'to waste words'
	LAS IDEAS SON DINERO 'IDEAS ARE MONEY'	*Abundancia de ideas* 'an abundance of ideas' *Rico de ideas* 'rich with ideas'
	LAS IDEAS SON MODAS 'IDEAS ARE FASHIONS'	*Pensamiento de vanguardia* 'vanguard ideas' *De buen tono* 'in good taste'
	LAS IDEAS SON COMIDA 'IDEAS ARE FOOD'	*Dar asco* 'to disgust' *Dejar mal sabor de boca* 'to leave a bad taste in one's mouth' *Cuajar una idea* 'to let an idea set'
	LAS IDEAS SON PERSONAS 'IDEAS ARE PEOPLE'	*No tener pies ni cabeza* 'not to make any sense at all' *Alumbrar nuevas ideas* 'to give birth to new ideas'
	LAS IDEAS SON PLANTAS 'IDEAS ARE PLANTS'	*Plantar la semilla* 'to inspire, to plant the seed of an idea' *Imaginación fértil* 'fertile imagination'
	LAS IDEAS (o SIGNIFICADOS) SON OBJETOS 'IDEAS (or MEANINGS) ARE OBJECTS'	*Compartir ideas* 'to share ideas'
	LAS IDEAS SON INSTRUMENTOS QUE CORTAN 'IDEAS ARE CUTTING INSTRUMENTS'	*Una idea incisiva* 'a sharp idea' *Un ingenio afilado* 'a sharp mind'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	LAS TEORÍAS (y ARGUMENTOS) SON EDIFICIOS 'THEORIES (and ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS'	*La base de la teoría* 'the foundation or base of the theory' *Reforzar la teoría* 'to strengthen or reinforce a theory' *Construir un argumento* 'to build an argument'
Comunicación 'Communication'	*LA COMUNICACIÓN ES UN ENVÍO* 'COMMUNICATION IS SENDING' *LAS EXPRESIONES LINGÜÍSTICAS SON RECIPIENTES* 'LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS'	*Recibir charlas* 'to listen to talks' *Palabras vacías* 'empty words'
	EL DISCURSO ES UN TEJIDO 'DISCOURSE IS A TAPESTRY'	*Cortar el hilo* 'to interrupt' *Perder el hilo (de la conversación)* 'to lose the thread (of the conversation)' *Al hilo de* 'following, regarding' *Retomar el hilo* 'get back on track'
Emociones 'Emotions'	*EL EFECTO EMOCIONAL ES CONTACTO FÍSICO* 'EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT' *LA EMOCIÓN ES UNA FUERZA NATURAL* 'EMOTION IS A NATURAL PHYSICAL FORCE'	*Un duro golpe* 'a hard blow (emotionally)' *Dejar una huella* 'to leave an impression or a mark' *Dejarse llevar la ira* 'to allow oneself to be swept away by rage'

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Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	LAS EMOCIONES SON OBJETOS/SUSTANCIAS 'EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS/SUBSTANCES'	*Tener antipatía* 'to dislike' *Dar asco* 'to disgust' *Dar celos* 'to make jealous' *Tener celos* 'to be jealous' *No tener cuidado* 'not to worry' *Tener ganas de* 'to feel like doing' *Dar lástima* 'to sadden' *Guardarle rencor* 'to hold a grudge' *Tener verguenza* 'to be embarrassed'
Ira 'Anger'	*LA IRA ES EL HUMO DE UN LÍQUIDO EN UN RECIPIENTE* 'ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER' *LA IRA ES UN FLUIDO CALIENTE EN UN CONTENEDOR BAJO PRESIÓN* 'ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER UNDER PRESSURE' *EL EFECTO DE LA IRA EN LA PERSONA ES ESTAR FRITO* 'THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING FRIED' *EL EFECTO DE LA IRA EN LA PERSONA ES ESTAR HINCHADO* 'THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS SWELLING' *EL EFECTO DE LA IRA EN LA PERSONA ES ESTAR QUEMADO* 'THE EFFECT OF ANGER ON THE PERSON IS BEING BURNT'	*Hervir la sangre* 'to have one's blood boil' *Contener la rabia* 'to contain one's rage' *Estar que reventar* 'to be ready to explode' *Estar frito* 'to have had it' *Tenerle frito a alguien* 'to make someone furious' *Hinchársele las narices a alguien* 'to make someone lose his or her temper'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	LA IRA ES UN DIABLO 'ANGER IS A DEVIL'	*Llevárselo los demonios* 'to be very mad, taken away by devils' *Ponerse hecho un demonio* 'to turn into a devil, to throw a tantrum' *Tener un carácter endemoniado* 'to have a ferocious character'
	LA IRA ES LOCURA 'ANGER IS INSANITY'	*Volverse loco* 'to go crazy'
	LA EXPRESIÓN DE LA IRA ES UNA EXPLOSIÓN 'THE EXPRESSION OF ANGER IS AN EXPLOSION'	*Estar echando chispas* 'to be hopping mad' *Echar chispas* 'to be hopping mad' *Explotar* 'to explode with anger' *Estar que reventar* 'to be ready to explode' *Estar a punto de estallar* 'to be about to explode'
	EL AUMENTO DE LA IRA ES EL AUMENTO DEL FLUIDO 'THE INCREASE IN INTENSITY OF ANGER IS THE RISE OF FLUID'	*Estar hasta las narices, la coronilla, etc.* 'to have had it up to here'
	LA IRA ES FUEGO 'ANGER IS FIRE'	*Echar leña al fuego* 'to add fuel to the fire' *Irse en humo* 'to go up in smoke' *Calentar los cascos a alguien* 'to anger, upset someone'
	LA TRANQUILIDAD ES FRESCA 'CALMNESS IS COOL'	*Quedarse tan fresco* 'to stay cool' *Tan fresco como una lechuga* 'as cool as a cucumber'
Amor 'Love'	*EL AMOR ES LOCURA* 'LOVE IS MADNESS'	*Estar loco por una persona* 'to be crazy about someone' *Perder el juicio* 'to lose one's mind'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	EL AMOR ES MAGIA 'LOVE IS MAGIC'	*Encantarle a uno* 'to enchant someone' *La magia se ha ido* 'the magic is gone' *Hechizar* 'to enchant, captivate'
	EL AMOR ES GUERRA 'LOVE IS WAR'	*Conquistas* '(romantic or sexual) conquests' *Perseguirle a una persona* 'to pursue someone' *Ganar tierra* 'to gain ground (in one's advances)'
	EL OBJETO DEL AMOR ES EL CIELO 'THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS HEAVEN'	*Mi cielo* 'my dear, my love'
	EL AMOR ES UNA FUERZA FÍSICA (ELECTROMAGNÉTICA, GRAVITACIONAL, etc.) 'LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (ELECTROMAGNETIC, GRAV IATIONAL, ETC.)'	*Hubo chispas* 'sparks flew' *Sentir la electricidad (atracción)* 'to feel the electricity (attraction)'
	EL AMOR ES UN PACIENTE 'LOVE IS A PATIENT'	*Una relación sana* 'a healthy relationship' *Estar en las últimas (de la relación)* 'to be at the end of one's life (of the relationship)' *Mejorar* 'to improve'
	EL AMOR ES COMIDA 'LOVE IS FOOD'	*Media naranja* 'one's better half'
	EL AMOR ES COMIDA DULCE, TIERNA O APETITOSA 'LOVE IS SWEET, TENDER, OR APPETIZING FOOD'	*Cuajar la relación* 'to solidify (the relationship)' *Acaramelarse* 'to be engrossed in someone'
	EL AFECTO ES EL CALOR 'AFFECTION IS HEAT'	*Ser frío* 'to be cold' *Una persona cálida* 'a warm (warm hearted) person' *Una persona gélida* 'an icy or unfriedly person' *Comportarse con frialdad* 'to behave with coldness or indifference'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
Felicidad, Tristeza 'Happiness, Sadness'	*FELIZ ES ARRIBA* 'HAPPY IS UP'; *TRISTE ES ABAJO* 'SAD IS DOWN'	*Caérsele a uno las alas del corazón* 'to become discouraged' *Andar volando bajo* 'to be down in the dumps' *Estar decaído* 'to be depressed' *Tener un bajón* 'to be depressed' *Arriba el ánimo* 'raise one's spirits'
	LA TRISTEZA ES UN ADVERSARIO 'SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT'; *LA TRISTEZA ES UN TORTURADOR* 'SADNESS IS A TORMENTOR'	*Atenazarle la tristeza* 'to be tormented by sadness' *Mortificarle la tristeza* 'to be plagued by sadness' *Estar traspasado por dolor* 'to be pierced with pain'
Vida y Muerte 'Life and Death'	*LA VIDA ES UN VIAJE* 'LIFE IS A JOURNEY'; *LOGROS SON DESTINOS* 'ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE DESTINATIONS'	*Apartarse del camino* 'to get off track' *Ponerse en camino* 'to start out' *Llegar a ser* 'to become (rich, etc)' *Llegar a buen puerto* 'to succeed in, to come to fruition' *Una crucijada* 'a crossroads' *Estar perdido* 'to be lost' *Obstaculos* 'obstacles'
	LA MUERTE ES UNA PARTIDA 'DEATH IS A DEPARTURE'	*Pasar al otro barrio* 'to pass on to the other world' *Nos ha dejado* 'he or she has left us' *Ir a su última morada* 'to go to one's final dwelling place'
	EL NACIMIENTO ES UNA LLEGADA 'BIRTH IS AN ARRIVAL'; *LA VIDA ES ESTAR AQUÍ* 'LIFE IS BEING HERE'	*Llegar al mundo* 'to be born'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	LA VIDA ES UN RECIPIENTE 'LIFE IS A CONTAINER'	*En su vida* 'in one's life' *Una vida llena* 'a full life; *Una vida vacía* 'an empty life'
	LA VIDA ES UN JUEGO DE AZAR 'LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME'	*Jugarse la vida* 'to risk one's life' *Poner las cartas sobre la mesa* 'to put one's cards on the table' *Tener todos los ases* 'to have all the aces' *Jugársele todo a una única carta* 'to bet it all' *Un as bajo la manga* 'ace up the sleeve'
	LA VIDA ES UN LIBRO 'LIFE IS A BOOK'	*Dejarse de historias* 'quit living in the past' *Pasar página* 'to turn the page'
Salud 'Health'	*LA SALUD ES UNA GUERRA* 'HEALTH IS A WAR'	*Combatir síntomas* 'to combat symptoms' *Enfrentar una epidemia* 'to confront, to face an epidemic'
	SALUD Y VIDA SON ARRIBA 'HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP'; *LA ENFERMEDAD Y LA MUERTE SON ABAJO* 'SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN'	*La cima de la salud* 'the peak of one's life/health' *Caer enfermo* 'to fall ill' *Caer en cama* 'to fall ill'
	LA SALUD (o un aspecto de ella) ES UN ORGANISMO/ ENTIDAD/ OBJETO/ AGENTE 'HEALTH (or an aspect of it) IS AN ORGANISM /ENTITY/ OBJECT/ AGENT'	*Prender la alarma* 'to sound the alarm (an outbreak of a disease)' *Mantener a uno bajo cuidado* 'to keep one under care (because of a disease)'
Lo Bueno y Lo Malo 'Good and Bad'	*UN ESTATUS ELEVADO ES ARRIBA* 'HIGH STATUS IS UP'; *UN ESTATUS BAJO ES ABAJO* 'LOW STATUS IS DOWN'	*Los de abajo* 'those below, the underdogs'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	LO BUENO ES ARRIBA 'GOOD IS UP'; *LO MALO ES ABAJO* 'BAD IS DOWN'	*Poner sobre las estrellas* 'to praise to the skies' *Elevar el espíritu* 'to raise one's spirits' *Alta calidad* 'high quality' *Momento cumbre* 'highpoint' *No llegarle a uno al tobillo* 'not be able to hold a candle to anyone' *Quedar a la altura de su zapatilla* 'to be a failure' *Darse de baja* 'to drop out' *Caer en las garras de* 'to fall into the clutches of' *Caer en manos de* 'to fall into the hands of' *Caer en picada* 'to fall off sharply' *Tener los pies en el suelo* 'to be in a bad mood/to have bad luck' *Echar abajo* 'to bring down' *Venirse abajo* 'to collapse'
	EL ORGULLO ES ARRIBA 'PRIDE IS UP'; *LA HUMILDAD ES ABAJO* 'HUMILITY IS DOWN'	*Subirse a las barbas* 'to be disrespectful' *Subirse a la cabeza* 'to go to one's head' *Caerse de su burro* 'to admit one's mistake' *Rebajarse a* 'to humble oneself' *A sus pies* 'at your service'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	GORDO ES BUENO 'FAT IS GOOD'; *FLACO ES MALO* 'SKINNY IS BAD'	*Sacar el premio gordo* 'to win the grand prize' *Ganar el gordo* 'to hit the jackpot' *Sacarse el gordo* 'to bring home the bacon' *Pez gordo* 'bigwig' *Gordo* 'dear, honey darling' *A perro flaco todo son pulgas* 'when it rains it pours' *Hacerle a uno un flaco servicio* 'to play a dirty trick on one' *Lado flaco* 'weak spot' *Andar un poco flaco de memoria* 'to have a bad memory/to be scatterbrained'
	GORDO ES MALO 'FAT IS BAD'	*Caerle gordo* 'to be obnoxious/to get on one's nerves' *Lo gordo* 'the tough part (of a task)' *Gordo* 'worst' *Una mentira de las gordas* 'a big fat lie'
	LA VIRTUD ES ARRIBA 'VIRTUE IS UP'; *EL VICIO ES ABAJO* 'DEPRAVITY IS DOWN'	*Mostrarse a la altura de las circunstancias* 'to rise to the occasion' *Valores altos* 'high values' *Un truco bajo* 'a low trick'
	LO RACIONAL ES ARRIBA 'RATIONAL IS UP'; *LO EMOCIONAL ES ABAJO* 'EMOTIONAL IS DOWN'	*Alto nivel intelectual* 'high intelectual level'
	ARRIBA ES MEJOR 'UP IS BETTER;' *ABAJO ES PEOR* 'DOWN IS WORSE'	*Decaer* 'to decline, worsen'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	ARRIBA ES PEOR 'UP IS WORSE;' *ABAJO ES MEJOR* 'DOWN IS BETTER'	
	INMORAL ES SUCIO 'IMMORAL IS DIRTY;' *MORAL ES LIMPIO* 'MORAL IS CLEAN'	*Jugar limpio* 'to play fair' *El vil metal* 'dirty money' *Sacar los trapos sucios al sol* 'to expose one's disgressions' *Trabajo sucio* 'the dirty work' *Jugar sucio* 'to play dirty' *Limpio de polvo y pajas* 'incorruptible'
Mente y Cuerpo 'Mind and Body'	*LA MENTE ES UNA MÁQUINA* 'THE MIND IS A MACHINE'	*Tener un tornillo flojo* 'to be crazy' *Faltarle a uno un tornillo* 'to have a screw missing/to be nuts' *Cruzársele los cables* 'to get confused'
	LA MENTE ES UN OBJETO FRÁGIL 'THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT' *LOS ESTADOS FÍSICOS Y EMOCIONALES SON ENTIDADES DENTRO DE UNA PERSONA* 'PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL STATES ARE ENTITIES WITHIN A PERSON'	*Romperse la cabeza* 'to rack one's brains' *No caber de contento* 'not to be able to be any happier' *No caber en sí de gozo* 'to be beside oneself with joy'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	EL CUERPO ES UN CONTENEDOR 'THE BODY IS A CONTAINER'	*No caber de contento* 'not to be able to be any happier' *No caber en sí de gozo* 'to be beside oneself with joy' *Rebosar de* 'to be overflowing with' *Meterle miedo* 'to frighten someone' *Estar hasta las narices* 'to be fed up' *Llenar de tristeza* 'to fill one with sadness'
	LA MENTE HUMANA ES UN RECIPIENTE 'THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER'	*Llenar la cabeza de pájaros* 'to fill someone's head with empty talk' *Metérsele en la cabeza* 'to get into one's head' *Salirle de la memoria* 'to slip one's mind' *Quitárselo de la mente* 'to put something out of one's mind'
	LO PSÍQUICO ES LO FÍSICO 'THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IS PHYSICAL'	*Estar en duda* 'to be in doubt' *Poner en duda* 'to cast doubt on' *Encararse con* 'to face (up to)' *Comerse de envidia* 'to be eaten up with envy' *Darle mala espina* 'to worry one (arouse one's suspicions)' *Poner en ridículo* 'to make one look ridiculous' *Poner en tela de juicio* 'to call into question' *No tener estómago para* 'to not be brave' *Perder la cabeza* 'to go crazy'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
		(cont.) *Perder la paciencia* 'to lose patience' *Quedarse con boca abierta* 'to be stunned' *No dar el brazo a torcer* 'to not give in'
	LO CONSCIENTE ES ARRIBA 'CONSCIOUS IS UP' '*LO INCONSCIENTE ES ABAJO*' 'UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN'	*Estar levantado* 'to be up (awake)' *Recién levantado* 'just after waking/getting up' *Caer dormido* 'to fall asleep' *Caer en coma* 'to fall into a coma'
	LOS OJOS SON RECIPIENTES DE EMOCIONES 'EYES ARE CONTAINERS OF EMOTIONS'	*El miedo en sus ojos* 'the fear in one's eyes' *Llenarse los ojos de (rabia, etc.)* 'to fill one's eyes with (rage, etc.)'
	EL CUERPO ES UNA MÁQUINA 'THE BODY IS A MACHINE'	*Ponerse las pilas* 'to put batteries in oneself' *Ser una máquina* 'to be a machine'
	EL CORAZÓN ES UN OBJETO FRÁGIL 'THE HEART IS A BRITTLE OBJECT'	*Tener el corazón hecho pedazos* 'to have one's heart turned into pieces, to be broken-hearted' *Partirle el corazón* 'to be broken-hearted'
	ESTAR CANSADO ES SER DE POLVO 'TO BE TIRED IS TO BE MADE OF DUST'	*Tener los huesos molidos* 'to be exhausted' *Estar hecho polvo* 'to be exhausted' *Hacer polvo* 'to wear out'
Personas y Relaciones 'People and Relationships'	*LAS PERSONAS SON COMIDA* 'PEOPLE ARE FOOD'	*Estar para comérselo* 'to be cute enough to eat'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	LAS PERSONAS SON RECIPIENTES 'PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS'	Llenar la cabeza de pájaros 'to fill someone's head with empty talk' No caber de contento 'not to be able to be any happier'
	LAS PERSONAS SON PLANTAS 'PEOPLE ARE PLANTS'	Echar raíces 'to put down roots, to settle down' El árbol geneológico 'the family tree' Desarraigado 'uprooted'
	TENER CONTROL O FUERZA ES ARRIBA 'HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP;' ESTAR SUJETO A CONTROL O FUERZA ES ABAJO 'BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN'	Bajo el control de 'under the control of' Alzarse con el poder 'to rise to power'
	SER SIMPÁTICO ES SER DULCE 'BEING NICE IS BEING SWEET'	Estar hecho un almíbar 'to be especially nice' Más moscas se cazan con miel que con vinagre 'You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar'
	LAS RELACIONES SON LAZOS 'RELATIONSHIPS ARE TIES'	Cortar los lazos 'to cut the bows/to cut off all contact' Romper las amistades 'to have a falling out' Estrechar lazos 'to strengthen ties' Trabajar amistad con 'to become friends with' Lazo familiar 'family ties' Lazo de unión 'a bond'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
Visión/Vista 'Vision/Sight'	*ENTENDER ES VER* 'UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING;' *LAS IDEAS SON FUENTES LUMINOSAS* 'IDEAS ARE LIGHT-SOURCES;' *EL DISCURSO ES UN MEDIO LUMINOSO* 'DISCOURSE IS A LIGHT-MEDIUM'	*A su modo de ver* 'in one's opinion, to one's way of thinking' *Punto de vista* 'point of view' *Más ven cuatro ojos que dos* 'two heads are better than one' *Ver y creer* 'seeing is believing' *Por lo visto* 'apparently'
	PREVER ES VER 'PREDICTING IS SEEING' *IMAGINAR ES VER* 'IMAGINING IS SEEING'	
	CONSIDERAR ES VER 'CONSIDERING IS SEEING'	*Haberle visto las orejas al lobo* 'to have had a narrow escape, a close shave' *Conocerle (verle) el juego* 'to be on to someone/to see through someone' *A mi ver* 'in my opinion' *Aquí donde usted me ve* 'believe it or not'
	ESTUDIAR/EXAMINAR ES VER 'STUDYING/EXAMINING IS SEEING'	*Bien mirado* 'after careful consideration' *Tener mucho ojo con* 'to look out for, to pay close attention to'
	ENCONTRAR/DESCUBRIR ES VER 'FINDING/DISCOVERING IS SEEING' *ASEGURARSE ES VER* 'ASSURING ONESELF IS SEEING'	
	CUIDAR ES VER 'CARING FOR IS SEEING' *SER TESTIGO ES VER* 'BEING A WITNESS IS SEEING' *SUFRIR ES VER* 'SUFFERING IS SEEING' *OBEDECER ES VER* 'OBEYING IS SEEING'	*Mirar por* 'to take care of' *Velar por* 'to look after'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	ABSTENERSE ES VER 'ABSTAINING FROM IS SEEING'	
	ESTAR INVOLUCRADO ES TENER QUE VER 'BEING INVOLVED IN IS HAVING TO SEE'	
	ENCONTRARSE CON ALGUIEN ES VERSE CON ALGUIEN 'RUNNING INTO SOMEONE IS SEEING ONESELF WITH SOMEONE'	*Verse con* 'to meet'
	VISITAR ES VER 'VISITING IS SEEING'	
	RECIBIR ES VER 'RECEIVING IS SEEING'	
	SALIR CON ALGUIEN ES VERSE CON ALGUIEN 'GOING OUT WITH SOMEONE IS SEEING ONESELF WITH SOMEONE'	
	LLEVARSE MAL ES NO PODER VERSE 'NOT GETTING ALONG WITH SOMEONE IS NOT BEING ABLE TO SEE ONESELF WITH SOMEONE'	*No poder ver a alguien ni en pintura* 'not to be able to stand the sight of someone' *No poder verlo* 'not be able to stand the sight of'
	ACOMPAÑAR ES VER 'ACCOMPANYING IS SEEING'	
	CONOCER ES VER 'KNOWING IS SEEING'	*Te conozco bacalao aunque vengas disfrazado* 'I know what your little game is' *Conocerle (verle) el juego* 'to be on to someone/to see through someone' *Conocer de vista* 'to know by sight'
	EL CONOCIMIENTO ES FUENTE DE LUZ 'KNOWLEDGE IS A SOURCE OF LIGHT'	*Sacar (Poner) en claro* 'to make clear/to cler up' *A todas luces* 'evidently' *Arrojar luz sobre* 'to shed light on' *Traer a la luz* 'to bring to light'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	LOS CAMPOS VISUALES SON RECIPIENTES 'VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS'	*Fuera de vista* 'out of sight' *Salir de la vista* 'to go out of sight'
Oído 'Hearing'	*PRESTAR ATENCIÓN ES OÍR* 'PAYING ATTENTION IS HEARING' *OBEDECER ES OÍR* 'OBEYING IS HEARING' *SER DICHO/SABER/ENTERARSE ES OÍR* 'BEING SAID/KNOWING/FINDING OUT IS HEARING' *ENTENDER ES OÍR* 'UNDERSTANDING IS HEARING' *NOTAR ES OÍR* 'NOTICING IS HEARING' *SER UN EXPERTO ES OÍR* 'BEING AN EXPERT IS HEARING' *TENER UN ACUERDO ES OÍR* 'HAVING AN AGREEMENT IS HEARING'	
Tacto 'Touching'	*AFECTAR ES TOCAR* 'AFFECTING IS TOUCHING' *TRATAR DE ALGO ES TOCAR* 'DEALING WITH SOMETHING IS TOUCHING' *CONSIDERAR ES TOCAR* 'CONSIDERING IS TOUCHING' *PERSUADIR ES TOCAR* 'PERSUADING IS TOUCHING' *ALCANZAR ES TOCAR* 'REACHING IS TOUCHING' *PROBAR ALGO ES TOCAR* 'TRYING SOMETHING IS TOUCHING' *CORRESPONDER ES TOCAR* 'CORRESPONDING IS TOUCHING' *ESTAR CERCA ES TOCAR* 'BEING NEAR IS TOUCHING' *PEDIR UN PRÉSTAMO ES TOCAR* 'REQUESTING A LOAN IS TOUCHING'	*Tocar en lo vivo* 'to hurt one deeply' *Por lo que a mí me toca* 'as far as I'm concerned' *Tocante a* 'regarding'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	Metáforas 'Metaphors'	Modismos 'Idioms'
	SER UN FAMILIAR ES TOCAR 'BEING A RELATIVE IS TOUCHING' *TENTAR ES TOCAR* 'TEMPTING IS TOUCHING' *VER ES TOCAR* 'SEEING IS TOUCHING;' *LOS OJOS SON MIEMBROS* 'EYES ARE LIMBS'	*Ojos clavados a la tele* 'eyes glued to the TV' *No poder apartar los ojos* 'to not be able to take one's eyes off (something)'
Olfato 'Smelling'	*SOSPECHAR ES OLER* 'SUSPECTING IS SMELLING' *SENTIR/ADIVINAR ES OLER* 'FEELING/GUESSING IS SMELLING' *INVESTIGAR ES OLER* 'INVESTIGATING IS SMELLING' *SEGUIR LA PISTA ES OLER* 'FOLLOWING CLUES IS SMELLING' *DESPRECIAR ES OLER* 'SCORNING IS SMELLING' *CORROMPER ES OLER* 'CORRUPTING IS SMELLING' *PROFETIZAR ES OLER* 'PROPHESYING IS SMELLING' *NO ENTERARSE ES NO OLER* 'NOT FINDING OUT IS NOT SMELLING'	
Gusto 'Taste'	*EXPERIMENTAR ALGO ES USAR EL GUSTO* 'EXPERIENCING SOMETHING IS USING TASTE' *PRODUCIR UNA SENSACIÓN ES USAR EL GUSTO (GUSTAR/NO GUSTAR)* 'PRODUCING A SENSATION IS USING TASTE (TO LIKE OR TO NOT LIKE)' *SABER ES USAR EL GUSTO* 'KNOWING IS USING TASTE' *TENER PREFERENCIAS ES USAR EL GUSTO* 'HAVING PREFERENCES IS USING TASTE'	*Dar asco* 'to disgust' *Dar gusto* 'to be a pleasure' *Tomarle el gusto* 'to take a liking to'

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	EMITIR JUICIOS ESTÉTICOS INTELECTUALES O ARTÍSTICOS ES TENER GUSTO 'ISSUING AESTHETIC, INTELLECTUAL, OR ARTISTIC JUDGEMENTS IS HAVING TASTE' *SER DISCRETO ES TENER GUSTO* 'BEING DISCREET IS HAVING TASTE'	
Misceláneo 'Miscellaneous'	*MÁS ES ARRIBA* 'MORE IS UP;' *MENOS ES ABAJO* 'LESS IS DOWN'	*Bajar la calefacción* 'to turn down the heat' *En alza* 'on the rise (numbers)' *Tendencia al alza* 'growing (upward) trend' *Elevarse* 'to raise (numbers)'
	UN COLOR DESVIADO ES UN SONIDO DESVIDADO 'A DEVIANT COLOR IS A DEVIANT SOUND' *UNA DISCUSIÓN ES UNA GUERRA* 'ARGUMENT IS WAR' *LAS ACTIVIDADES DE LARGA DURACIÓN CON UN OBJETIVO SON VIAJES (ACCIÓN ES MOVIMIENTO)* 'LONG-TERM ACTIVITIES WITH AN OBJECTIVE ARE TRIPS (ACTION IS MOVEMENT)'	*Un color chillón* 'a shrill color' *Un color llamativo* 'a loud color'
	LA INTENSIDAD ES CALOR 'INTENSITY IS HEAT'	*Irse calentando* 'to become worked up'
	LO SIGNIFICANTE ES GRANDE 'SIGNIFICANT IS BIG'	*Gran hombre* 'a great man' *Un gigante entre* (escritores, pintores, etc.) 'a giant among (writers, painters, etc.)' *Una pequeña mentira piadosa* 'a small white lie'
	LA INFLACIÓN ES UNA ENTIDAD 'INFLATION IS AN ENTITY'	

Table 4.3 Taxonomy of Spanish Conceptual Metaphors and Idioms Continued

Dominio 'Domain'	*Metáforas* 'Metaphors'	*Modismos* 'Idioms'
	LA RIQUEZA ES UN OBJETO ESCONDIDO 'WEALTH IS A HIDDEN OBJECT'	*Buscar riquezas* 'to search for one's fortune' *Perder una fortuna* 'to lose one's fortune'
	LA VITALIDAD ES UNA SUSTANCIA 'VITALITY IS A SUBSTANCE'	*Estar agotado* 'to be exhausted' *No quedársele fuerzas* 'to not have any fuerza left'
	ESCALAS LINEALES SON CAMINOS 'LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS'	
	AGOSTO ES ABUNDANCIA 'AUGUST IS ABUNDANCE'	*Agosto y septiembre no duran siempre* 'all good things come to an end' *Hacer su agosto* 'to make a killing'

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

Research Questions and Answers

The previous chapter addressed data analysis, and this chapter will discuss the

results. The study began with three questions aimed at collecting currently identified

conceptual metaphors for Spanish and discovering any new ones not yet cited in the

literature.

> Q1. What conceptual metaphors have been identified by Lakoff and Johnson
> (1980) and which ones are also valid in Spanish?

> Q2. What additional conceptual metaphors for Spanish have been identified?

> Q3. What new conceptual metaphors can be added to the current collection for
> Spanish?

Question 1: Lakoff and Johnson

An examination of the Spanish translation of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) revealed

that almost all metaphors listed for American English were also valid in Spanish. One

difference mentioned by translator Carmen González Marín was the metaphor,

FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD), which only functions with AHEAD in

Spanish (pp. 52-53). Since no linguistic evidence was found to support the

conceptualization of UP for future events, it was removed from the metaphor listed in the

taxonomy. Some mappings, such as TIME IS MONEY, proved to be as productive in

Spanish as in English, while others yielded few idioms as evidence. As previously

mentioned, the Spanish version of *Metaphors We Live By* omitted example sentences

whose translation did not employ the same metaphoric conceptualization as English, leaving some metaphors with less linguistic support.

The similarities found between the two languages show that while differences in metaphoric conceptualizations do exist, both language groups share various ways of expressing similar concepts. These commonalities point to cultural similarities, shown by identical mappings. As Ibarretxe-Antuñano (in press) noted, many orientational metaphors are similar in a number of languages because of *corporeización* or the way in which we use our bodies to interact with the world (in press, Section 3, para. 1). For this reason, the association with UP and MORE are the same in Spanish and English. The overlap in conceptual metaphors also demonstrates comparable values found in both cultures, some examples of which include TIME IS MONEY, and UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. Both of these are productive metaphors with five or more idioms as support for their identification and show that people from both language groups view their time as a valuable resource and draw parallels between the physical act of seeing and the cognitive act of understanding.

Question 2: Spanish Conceptual Metaphors in the Literature

Since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) served as the basis of other studies on cognitive metaphors, many researchers who examined Spanish also confirmed the earlier study's validity for Spanish. Additionally, further research concerning similarities and differences between the two languages revealed more metaphoric conceptualizations for Spanish. For example, other investigations regarding emotions, the five senses, and health showed even more cognitive metaphors currently found in the Spanish language. Building on the schema established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) provided an ample

amount of metaphors, around 80, to serve as the base for the investigation of idioms as support for old and evidence for new conceptual metaphors.

Question 3: New Spanish Conceptual Metaphors

A careful examination of idioms offered more examples to reinforce Spanish metaphoric conceptualizations, as well as the indication of previously unidentified cognitive metaphors. Of the newly identified metaphors, three have distinct conceptualizations from English: (16) FAT IS GOOD; SKINNY IS BAD, (20) TO BE TIRED IS TO BE MADE OF DUST and (22) AUGUST IS ABUNDANCE. Although a "fat paycheck" might be considered positive, generally these two adjectives in English refer to body weight, and skinny is preferred to fat in this case. Also in English, one can "bite the dust" when they fail or even die, however, it is not used to describe a state of exhaustion. Similarly, the adjective 'august' can describe prestige, but not a large quantity. The other six metaphors, on the other hand, have similar conceptualizations in English with varying degrees of productivity or elaboration. The idioms that did not provide evidence of metaphoric speech proved hard to classify because they either contradicted already identified conceptual metaphors or because they were unable to prove the existence of a new one.

Much like example (23g) *A buenas horas, mangas verdes*, sayings and proverbs, while having a practical basis in everyday life do not constitute metaphoric speech. These expressions, many of which rhyme, often have a didactic purpose in explaining socially acceptable or encouraged behaviors, or simply describe situations in which one may find him or herself regularly. Sayings such as *A quién madruga, Dios le ayuda* 'the early bird gets the worm' and *En el peligro se conoce el amigo* 'a friend in need is a friend indeed' show that idioms do not always point to metaphoric conceptualizations, but rather, they

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can be a way to express societal expectations. Although not evidence of metaphorical speech, these sayings do show what values are important to a culture.

Consequently, many of the idiomatic expressions, such as (22a) *Agosto y septiembre no duran siempre* and (23g) *A buenas horas, mangas verdes*, have a basis in a culture's history and continue to influence the language of today. These types of expressions might be unfamiliar to non-native speakers of Spanish, although some native speakers themselves are similarly not familiar with the etymology of such idiomatic expressions. These sayings can, however, present problems to the student of Spanish, because of their lack of transparency.

Limitations

Despite collecting over 100 conceptual metaphors and adding more to the current repertoire for Spanish, this study also had limitations. Few investigators listed the country from which their metaphors came, and *Spanish Idioms* (1996) did not offer a source country either. Without knowing the particular dialects that use these metaphorical or idiomatic conceptualizations, it is difficult to determine if the ones listed are valid in all variations of Spanish. Knowing which country or even region from which these conceptual metaphors originated would allow greater detail and might possibly result in identification of even more conceptual metaphors by comparing the Spanish of two or more distinct regions.

Time limitations also prevented the collection of more currently identified Spanish conceptual metaphors and idioms. Over 2,000 idioms served as the data source for the creation of the taxonomy, which despite being a large number, can still be considered limited when one takes into account the amount of idioms actually in use in

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various dialects of Spanish today. This study was carried out with a focus on conventionalized metaphors, pulling from topics related to human life, such as health, emotions, physical and psychological phenomena. Keeping in mind the applications for pedagogical purposes also centered the research on highly conventionalized metaphors that would be useful to advanced students of Spanish. As previously stated, more literature regarding conceptual metaphors for Spanish does exist, however, its findings were not included in the present study.

<center>*Implications*</center>

Some, such as Jensen (2005), have already noted the implications that conceptual metaphors have for translation. Metaphors pose a particular challenge to translators who aim to keep the new text as close to the original as possible because not all mappings are the same across various languages. Since omitting or making metaphorical language literal are not acceptable practices, translating conceptual metaphors into the target language is crucial. Cognitive metaphor studies and taxonomies such as this one identify source language conceptual metaphors for translators so that they may better understand the conceptualizations and make an appropriate choice in the target language.

Lexicography is another area for which conceptual metaphors have important implications. Metaphorical uses for words, whether nouns, verbs, prepositions or other parts of speech, cause semantic changes (Soriano, 2012, p. 106); therefore, including these uses with literal definitions allows dictionary users to view a comprehensive understanding of all meanings. While native speakers are already aware of the metaphorical extensions of these words and may not require them, including these conceptualizations is crucial for second language learners whose native tongue might

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utilize different metaphorical mappings. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) acknowledged the creation of new meaning through metaphorical extension that is often cited in dictionaries as "the secondary or tertiary senses of *other* words" (p. 116). The metaphorical mapping, however, is not referenced. For example, when talking about the conceptualization of LOVE IS MADNESS, "no mention of the way in which we comprehend love by means of metaphors" is included in a dictionary, rather phrases like "immoderately fond" or "infatuated" appear in the definition of "crazy" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 115-116). The problem, therefore, lies in the way in which the metaphor is presented.

Another aspect of conceptual metaphors that merits further investigation is the implications regarding dialectal variation. Kövecses (2004) already observed that differences exist in metaphoric conceptualizations of the same language, therefore, a comparative or contrastive study of two or more different Spanish dialects would certainly reveal similarities and differences.

Applications

This taxonomy primarily serves as a tool that classifies and details in one place currently identified Spanish conceptual metaphors and the idioms that have similar mappings. Previous studies have focused on one specific grouping of metaphors, while this work examines the collection as a whole. Combining conceptual metaphors and idioms, as such, offers future researchers an easily accessible table containing the findings of previous and current investigations for Spanish.

Additionally, the taxonomy can aid advanced students in their metaphorical competency in Spanish. Recall from Sugano (1981) that idioms are a tool used in basic Spanish courses to familiarize students with set expressions and proverbs while advanced

students analyze the conceptual bases of idioms to improve communicative and metaphorical competencies (Hijazo-Gascón, 2011; Gutiérrez Pérez, 2004). This taxonomy, therefore, offers students a comprehensive look at metaphorical mappings for Spanish. Explicitly listing the conceptualizations employed by idioms might allow students to understand not only set phrases or proverbs, but also other metaphorical language they hear elsewhere. The taxonomy could be used as a tool to supplement or even replace a regular dictionary for the advanced learner who already has a strong grasp on vocabulary, but might not understand metaphorical or idiomatic meanings.

Studies such as this one are important for understanding the manner in which language represents a way of conceptualizing the world around us. Sweetser (1990, p. 9) affirmed that "a word meaning is not necessarily a group of objectively 'same' events or entities; it is a group of events or entities which our cognitive system links in appropriate ways," a notion supported by this study. Unique, in varying degrees, to each language and culture, the use of conceptual metaphors and idioms point to associations and connections across domains that allow people to better express themselves verbally. The focus of this investigation centered on Spanish idioms as evidence of metaphoric conceptualizations in order to understand more completely the connections between various domains in the Spanish language. In addition to showing evidence for previously identified metaphoric mappings, nine new metaphors were added to the current collection for Spanish, contributing to the understanding of the metaphoric conceptualizations in Spanish.

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