

Idioms on drunkenness and drunkenness on idioms

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abstract: In previous studies (PAMIES 2002), the concepts of *iconic model* and *archimetaphor* have been proposed to study the existence of systematicity in the creation and comprehension of idiomatic expressions (from the point of view of the universality of their underlying cognitive mechanisms). This investigation applies these meta-linguistic tools to the analysis of idioms within the field of drunkenness in various languages.

1. Introduction

The cognitive theories of metaphors have outstandingly developed within phraseological studies (cf. LAKOFF & JOHNSON 1980, GIBBS 1994, 1999, DOBROVOL'SKIĬ 1996, 1998, KÖVECSES & RADDEN 1998). In fact, phraseological units constitute a privileged research field for this paradigm since the notion of *idiomaticity* implies indirectly the idea of *metaphoricity* (MOKIENKO 1980, 1986). According to cognitivist postulates, idiomatic metaphors cannot be regarded as a kind of compound-words stored in a list, but as complex signs embedded within interactive mental networks of conceptual knowledge (cf. LANGLOTZ 2001, KÖVECSES 2002). However, if this is to be applied to wide phraseological fields instead of selected tailor-made examples, a more precise and economical meta-language is required. When applied to many different lexical fields, the mere collection of "one to one" correspondences between a list of sources and a list of targets would be almost as enormous and unpredictable as the proper inventory of idioms of each language.

In our previous studies, we have advocated a hierarchical framework of recurrent mapping patterns between source domains and target domains, in order to prove their systematicity and productivity (PAMIES & IÑESTA 1999, 2000; PAMIES 2002, IÑESTA & PAMIES 2002). At the top of this hierarchy we find *iconic models*, i.e., a necessarily reduced number of *source domains*, which at the same time should be attested *universal semantic primes* (WIERZBICKA 1996, 1999, 2000). In a second layer we locate *archi-metaphors*, i.e., mappings with prepositional structure that should generate many metaphors (in order to avoid the circularity of the reasoning process)¹. At the bottom we situate *particular metaphors* which coincide with idiom (basic) forms of a given language. Beyond the domain of the proper linguistic system, we could eventually add a fourth level for all the speech variants, or discourse instantiation, of each idiom basic form (cf. NACISCIONE 2001, 2002, 2003)², though it is not indispensable if we analyze only the linguistic system.

¹ cf. DILLER 1991:210.

² According to NACISCIONE (2001): *As a base form the PU is a decontextualized language unit. It is generic to all manifestations of a particular PU in discourse or a totality of discourses. The base form is a cohesive entity per se, which provides for the existence, development and sustainability of the PU in use, that is, the base form secures the operation of the PU in discourse, including both core use and innumerable stylistic instantiations.*

2. Idioms on drunkenness

Whatever its effects (positive or negative), the consumption of alcoholic drinks plays an important role in most Western cultures, as largely reflected in the rich lexical field of *inebriation*, affecting both isolated words and phraseological combinations, already studied by different linguists (SUÁREZ BLANCO 1989; LOZANO 1998; LUQUE, PAMIES & MANJÓN 1998; GIRAUD 1998; TARNOVSKA 2000; CHATELAIN-COURTOIS 2001; PAMIES, LOZANO & AGUILERA 2004; CORTINA 2005). Taking this into account, the main goal of this paper is to carry out a cross-linguistic comparison of the phraseological field of drunkenness in different languages, using the descriptive-theoretical model of archi-metaphors in order to explore common regularities in spite of the obvious idiosyncratic specificity of idioms, and also to evaluate our own meta-linguistic proposal.

2.1. The iconic model [ANIMAL]

The abundant zoomorphic metaphors of drunkenness seem to fit in two archimetaphors: either the drunken person is represented by an animal or drunkenness itself is an animal.

2.1.1 THE DRUNKEN PERSON IS AN ANIMAL

This archimetaphor also underlies the meaning of isolated word (**sp.** *abrevar, culebrear, serpentear, alpistarse, entromparse*), not included in our corpus since we focus on idioms. We can find a surprising collection of species representing drunkards: snakes, fishes, birds, rats, pigs, camels, etc. No animal is known for its alcoholic tendencies; however, we do not share TUTIN & GROSSMANN's idea that zoomorphic metaphors are "arbitrary" (2002). In some cases, beasts could symbolize a force or resistance that gives them the hyperbolic function of the alcohol they imaginarily would be able to drink.

eng. *drunk as a hog, a sow, a dancing pig, a monkey, a dog, a lion, a camel, a fish, a badger, a skunk, a drowned mouse, a drowned rat, a bat, a big owl, a parrot, a cock, a fly, an autumn wasp, to be fish-eyed, cockeyed, as pissed as a newt, a roaring drunk, primed to the muzzle, to play camels;* **sp.** *estar borracho como un cerdo, como un puerco, como un marrano, como cola de marrano [Mex.], ponerse guarro, borracho como un buey, pillar una borrachera de camello, ponerse trompa, como un topo, serpentón, darle al alpiste, chupar más que un mosquito, chupar más que una sanguijuela, estar como piojo [Ch.], estar enzorrado [Ch.], beber mas que un macho asoleado [Col.]* **fr.** *se beurrer comme un cochon; se soûler la gueule comme un cochon; être sôul comme trente-six cochons; être plein comme une bourrique, être sôul comme un âne; boire en âne, être noir comme une vache, être bourré comme un rat, être soûl comme une grive, être gelé comme un canard, avoir chaud aux plumes, être saoul comme une tique, être bourré comme une huitre, boire comme une carpe, être rond comme un lapin, être rond comme un asticot, renouveler l'abreuvoir.*

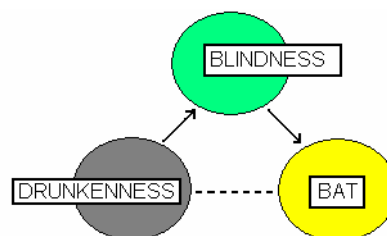
In other cases, the mere animalization of a person might be enough to symbolize the drunken person's degradation, as shown by the use of general zoomorphic metaphors: **sp.** *borracho como un animal, como una bestia, ponerse hasta las patas, estar hasta el rabo de borracho;* **fr.** *se bourrer la gueule.*

But the most important feature seems to be the fact that motivation is not based here upon a "direct" link, but rather upon a "chain" of mappings: metaphors may overlap

with previous metonymies, where a third element bridges the gap between a given animal and drunkenness:

- a great ingestion of liquid, as for fishes, camels, mosquitoes, elephants, ticks, lice... (**eng.** *drunk as fish, drunk as a camel* **sp.** *chupar más que un mosquito; pillar una trompa; estar como piojo*, **fr.** *être soûl comme une tique*);
- unpleasant smell, as for pigs and skunks (**eng.** *drunk as a sow, drunk as a skunk*, **sp.** *borracho como un cerdo* **fr.** *se bourrer comme un cochon*);
- waving movement, as for snakes and worms (**eng.** *to have snakes in one's boots*, **sp.** *estar serpentón, ir culebreando*, **fr.** *rond comme un asticot*),
- vertigo and downfall, as for flies and wasps (**eng.** *drunk as fly, drunk as an autumn wasp*),
- incoherent speech, as for parrots (**eng.** *drunk as a parrot*), etc.

Since there is no direct link, an intermediate step is needed, which is not "purely conceptual", but partly linguistic, as it resorts to previous lexicalized metaphors. E.g. The bat symbolizes blindness in English, according to the attested idiom *to be blind as a bat*, and not in French. In its turn, blindness symbolizes drunkenness, according to another attested English idiom (*to be blind drunk*), which neither exist in French. Therefore, the existence of a third English metaphoric idiom resulting from a kind of "syllogism" between the two previous (*to be drunk as a bat*) is a proof of the relevance of previous lexicalized metaphors on the emergence of a new one, and its absence in French seems predictable. This mechanism could also explain that, in Spanish, where blindness is also a symbol of drunkenness (*ponerse ciego, pillar un ceguerón*), but where the zoomorphic symbol of poor sight is the mole (*más miope que un topo*), we can find an association between drunkenness and moles (*ponerse como un topo*), instead of bats.



2.1.2. DRUNKENNESS IS AN ANIMAL

Many of these images are sometimes related to hunting: drunkenness is an animal which may be captured, hunted or fished. Furthermore, these zoomorphic metaphors are strengthened by using images of company and aggression.

eng. *to have snakes in one's boots, to be driving the turkeys to market, driving the brewer's horse, to have the head full of bees, to see pink elephants, to cop a crane, to cop an elephant, to chase the duck, to be watching ant racings, down with the fish*; **sp.** *agarrar una trompa, pillar la mona, matar el bicho, matar el gusanillo, pillar un cerdo, pillar un cernicalo, pillar un jurel, pillar una merluza, estar caído de la perra* [Col.], *chuparle el rabo a la jutía* [Cub.]; **fr.** *abreuver son cochon; charmer ses puces, se piquer la ruche, cracher un renard, charger la mule, étrangler un perroquet*.

2.2. The iconic model [MOVEMENT]

Kinetic metaphors of drunkenness are mostly based on spatial disorders, a metonymic representation of the cause-effect relation between alcoholic drinks and lack of sensorimotoric self-control.

2.2.1. DRUNKENNESS IS A ROTATING MOVEMENT

Drunkenness is represented as the incapability of walking straight; on the contrary, it is symbolized with unnecessary turns, lateral movements, etc.

eng. *to walk on rocky socks, to slew in one's hammock, to be rubber, to have business on both sides of the way, to make Ms and Ts, can't sport a right line, can't walk a chalk, knee-crawling*; **fr.** *faire du tricot sur les trottoirs, avoir des chaussures à bascule, marcher tout droit à reculons; avoir les jambes qui font flan-flan, en tenir une pendule, être rond comme une bille, être rond comme un boudin, rouler debout, en rouler une, attraper une allumette ronde*; **sp.** *estar peonza, ir haciendo eses, ir haciendo equis, ir haciendo ochos, faltarle a uno acera, dar cambaladas, estar mareado, estar perdido, estar almadiado, andar de medio lado; pillar un globazo, andar tocado del ala, andar como pirinola [Mex.]*.

At the same time, these metonymies can be mixed with zoomorphic metaphors: **eng.** *to be drunk as dancing pigs, flying on one wing*; **fr.** *rond comme un asticot, marcher en queues de poissons*; **sp.** *ir culebreando; estar serpentón, como cola de marrano*. Drunkenness can also produce vertigo, i.e., the subjective sensation of spinning. Such circularity may be also transferred to the drunken person through a metonymic process: **fr.** *rond comme une boule, rond comme un disque, rond comme une queue de pelle, rond comme une soucoupe*; **sp.** *llevar los pies redondos*.

2.2.2. DRUNKENNESS IS AN UPWARDS MOVEMENT

In this group we should distinguish between hyperboles and euphemisms. In the former, the upwards movement constitutes the metaphor of loss of control, and of fantasy, contrary to the “down to earth” metaphor which symbolizes the rational control and contact with reality: **eng.** *to top off, to be high as a kite, to be over the limit, to be one over the eight, to be over the line, to be getting up the pole, to be high up to pick cotton, to be higher than a giraffe's toupee*; **fr.** *ne plus toucher terre, prendre une hauteur*; **sp.** *estar fuera de órbita, estar arriba de la pelota [Ch.], agarrar un cuete [Mex.], andar subido de copas [Mex.]*. On the other hand, in euphemistic idioms, a raising gesture may symbolize drinking: **eng.** *to be lifting the finger*, **fr.** *lever le coude*, **sp.** *levantar vidrios, practicar el levantamiento de vidrio, empinar el codo*.

2.2.3. DRUNKENNESS IS A DOWNWARDS MOVEMENT

The downwards movement is a metonymy of downfall, the major expression of psychomotor unbalance. This fall may be imminent **-eng.** *to be ripe, to get one's skates on, to be about to cave in, to be about to go down*, **esp.** *estar madurito*; **fr.** *être mûr, ne plus tenir debout; avoir une bonne descente, avoir sa pente, ne plus tenir en l'air-* or completed **-eng.** *to be off a cloud, a bit under, at peace with the floor, to have a tumble down the sink, to be visiting the bottom of the manager, to be under the table, below the mahogany, down with the fish*; **sp.** *ir dando trompicones, dando tropezones, cayéndose de la jumera, andar por los pisos (Mex.), andar midiendo las aceras (Ch.), estar caído de la perra (Col.)*; **fr.** *rouler sous la table; en rouler une, rouler tout debout; se rétamé*. This image inherits the negative connotations of

abstract metaphors of descent, thus, underlining the indignity of the drunken person. The axiological distribution carried out by LAKOFF & JOHNSON (1980) states *UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD*, which only works -in this case- at the connotative level (**eng.** *high as a kite*, vs. *to be under the table*), not at the denotative one, as both directions point to the same referent: drunkenness

2.2.4. DRUNKENNESS IS AN INWARDS MOVEMENT

The inwards movement is a metonymy of alcohol getting into the body-recipient until it is filled up:

eng. *to swallow a tavern token, to have cider inside one's insides, too many under the belt, to be primed to the muzzle, to be to the trigger*; **sp.** *llenar el depósito, ponerse a tope, ponerse hasta el culo, estar hasta las trancas, estar hasta atrás (Mex.), ponerse jarto vino (And.), estar hasta el pito (Mex.), ponerse hasta los ojos, ponerse hasta las cejas, ponerse hasta las orejas, estar hasta las chanclas (Mex.), estar como un pellejo, estar como una cuba, estar como un tonel, estar como un odre, estar embotijao*; **fr.** *faire le plein,; en avoir plein son sac, être complètement bourré, se bourrer la gueule, se bourrer comme une valise, être un sac à vin, être plein comme une barrique, comme une outre, comme un fût, être bourré comme une tonneau, avoir sa dose, avoir son affaire.*

As the agent is a liquid, this movement is connected to other images, such as irrigation, draining, washing...

eng. *to get sloshed, to wash one's brain, to wash one's ivories, to wash one's neck, to wet the neck, to dilute the blood on one's alcohol system, to be half in the bag*; **sp.** *mojarse por dentro, bañarse por dentro, regar la garganta, remojarse la garganta, mojar la boca, mojar la canal maestra, remojarse el gaznate*; **fr.** *boire comme un trou, s'en jeter un dans la trappe, s'en jeter un dans le col, s'en jeter un derrière le bouton de col, s'en jeter un dans le colback, boire comme un évier, boire comme un tout-à-l'égoût, s'humecter le pipe-line, mouiller la cafetière, s'humecter la dalle, s'humecter la glotte, s'arroser les amygdales, avoir les amygdales qui baignent, arroser le bocal, se laver le tuyau, se rincer la dalle, se rincer la gargarousse, se rincer la gargoulette, se rincer la gueule, se rincer le gosier, se rincer la bouche, se tenir le gosier au frais, prendre un bain, prendre une douche intérieure, se doucher chez Bacchus.*

Other variants are based on the retention of absorbed liquids: **eng.** *to be an imbiber*; **fr.** *boire comme une éponge, être plein comme une éponge, être imbibé, s'imbiber le jabot*; **sp.** *beber más que una esponja, ponerse como una esponja, estar sopa.*

2.2.5. DRUNKENNESS IS AN OUTWARDS MOVEMENT

At this section we should also distinguish between hyperbole and euphemism. In the hyperboles group, this movement merges the metaphor body-recipient which is overflowed with alcohol once it is full (**eng.** *to be blowing beer bubbles*), and the metonymy effect-cause related to flows thrown out by the drunken person (tears, vomits, etc.), which inherits the pejorative connotations underlining the explicit scatology: **eng.** *to drain the cup, to flood one's sewer, to be piss-drunk, to be pissed to the ears, to be to drink more than one bleeds, can't wipe one's all with a bedsheet, to be sloppy drunk, to be shitfaced drunk*; **fr.** *faire cracher les soupapes, faire sauter la gamelle, se torcher le nez*; **sp.** *tener una llorona, pillar una mierda, estar pedo, pillar la pea (And.), agarrar una peda (Mex.), andar dando jugo (Ch.).*

Let's mention also **eng.** *to drink the three outs (out of wit, out of money and alcohol)*. On the other hand, some ironic euphemisms symbolize a (real) inwards movement by

means of a (figurative) outwards transfer: **fr.** *siffler une bouteille, souffler dans l'encrier*; **sp.** *soplar vidrio, soplarse una botella*.

2.2.6. DRUNKENNESS IS LACK OF MOVEMENT

Another metonymy associated to drunkenness is the inability of movement (**eng.** *to be petrified, dead in the water*), which may symbolize the incapability of going back home (**eng.** *to hold up the wall*, **sp.** *ir abrazando farolas, ir faroleando, intimar con las farolas*), not being able of getting up (**eng.** *to be at peace with the floor, watching ant racings, laughing at the carpet, to be horizontal, flat-ass drunk*) or, inversely, unable to lay on bed in a normal way (**eng.** *in bed with boots on*, **fr.** *prendre son lit en marche*). One variant represents drunkenness as a heavy burden which keeps the drunken person from moving: **sp.** *ir [bien] cargado, estar cargadillo, andar con la jumera a cuestras, llevar encima una jumera de lo lindo, llevar un jumerón cosa fina, llevar una mierda como un piano*; **fr.** *charger la mule, charger la brouette, être chargé à couler bas, ramasser une sacrée beurrade, ramasser une malle, tramballer une mallouse, en tenir une bonne, en tenir une sévère, en tenir une sérieuse, en tenir une gratinée*.

2.3. The iconic model [BODY PART]

DRUNKENNESS IS A BODY PART MOVEMENT

Metaphoric somatisms of drunkenness tend to make anomalous associations between a given body part and a specific movement. These associations are usually effect-cause metonymic representations, either referring to the drunken person's out-of-control psychomotricity, or representing the body as a container overflowed with alcohol. Mainly, the involved body parts are head, eyes, nose, ears, mouth, arms and legs.

eng. *about blowed one's top, Adam's apple up, out of one's head, double-headed, one's head is smoking, to have a piece of bread and teeth in the head (/attic), to have the head full of bees, to get a spur in one's head, to have a brick in one's head, to have hoary-eyes, to be banged up to the eyes, bright in the eyes, fried to the eyebrows, stewed to the eyebrows, to hop to the eyelids, to be hammered to the eyeballs, dull in the eyes, fish-eyed, to get the sun in one's eye, to have wet both eyes, brass eyes double-tongued, to be drunk till one's teeth caught cold, to have the mouth like the bottom of a baby's pram, a mouth like a vulture's crotch, a mouth like the inside of a Turkish wrestler's jock strap, the mouth like the bottom of a crow's nest – all shit and twigs the teeth well afloat, a furred tongue, ears are ringing, to be pissed to the ears, keeping one's nose in the cup, to have the nose to light candles at, to be arm-bending, to be crooking the elbow, to be lifting the finger, to let the finger ride the thumb too often, to burn one's shoulders, to be knee-crawling*; **sp.** *tener la cabeza caliente, ir cabeceando, dolerle [a uno] la cabeza, salirse los ojos de la cara, ponerse hasta los ojos, hasta las cejas, hasta las orejas, hasta las patas, hasta el culo, hasta el pito, tener la baba, empinar el codo, levantar el codo, alzar el codo, encojer el codo, darle al codo, beber de codos*; **fr.** *voir double; voir en dedans, avoir les lunettes en peau de saucisson, ne plus avoir les yeux en face des trous, avoir un coup dans les dents, avoir un coup dans les gencives, avoir chaud aux oreilles, avoir un coup dans les naseaux, avoir un coup dans le nez, avoir un coup dans le tarin, avoir le nez sale, avoir un verre dans le nez, en avoir dans le pif, se piquer le nez, lever le coude*.

2.4. The iconic model [AGGRESSION]

This model can be divided in two main archi-metaphors, based on different (cause-effect) metonymic associations, depending on the distribution of aggressor and agressed roles.

2.4.1. DRUNKENNESS IS AN AGGRESSOR

In male ex-alcoholics statements in group therapy, psychologists notice the persistency of the association between drinking and male chauvinistic stereotypes: alcohol is a symbol of *Männlichkeitsbeweisen* (Schmitt 2005). However, in the popular phraseology of drunkenness, the drunken person's aggressiveness seems to appear in self-compassionate and masochist images, in which the drunken one hurts himself with complacency. The ambiguity between aggressor and aggressee neutralizes the critical function which cognitive-semantics conferred on warlike metaphors. (e.g. CSERÉP 2001, LAKOFF & JOHNSON 1980: 61-62, 84). The drunken person not only "catches a cold", but he/she is "blind", "drowned", "hit", "beaten", "burned", "cooked", "shot", "dead", and so on.

eng. *to be punch-drunk, blind drunk, smashed, bitten by a barn mouse, to have been bitten by a tavern bitch, to have a kick in the guts, to be hammered to the eyeballs, flacked out, down for the count, about to cave in, burnt with low flame, to be blitzed, to be bombed, bombed out of one's skull, bombed as Hiroshima; sp.* *pegarse (/arreararse) un trancazo (/castañazo /trompazo), arreararse un pelotazo, tener encima un muermazo, ponerse morado a latigazos, darse unos zurriagazos (/calambrazos), arreararse unos cuantos viajes, castigarse el cuerpo (/el físico), pillar una tajada (/bronca, /piedra, /tunda), pillar un tablón, estar fuera de combate, ponerse (/estar) ciego, pillar un ceguerón de agárrese usted, estar lijado (/grogui / sonado), pillar un tajón en condiciones, estar fuera de combate, estar tocado del ala, tener encima un buen catarro (/catarrazo, /trancazo de muerte), pillar una calentura, estar ajumao (/ahumado), estar cocido, pillar una cocida (/cocedura), ponerse tibio, ponerse templado, acabar chamuscado, estar en fuego (/atizado, /detonado), estar paloteado (Ven.), andar como huasca (Ch.), estar huasqueado (Ch.), estar enlagueado (Col.), estar ahogado (Mex.), estar fumigado (Mex.), estar prendido (Col.), estar muerto (Ch.), pillar una borrachera de muerte; fr.* *se cogner, se défoncer, s'enfoncer, se péter, se filer des taloches sous le nez, prendre des coups, s'envoyer un coup d'arrosoir, prendre un coup de sabre, être atteint, s'en foutre un coup dans le mirliton, se taper (/s'enfiler) un coup dans le lampion, s'envoyer une giclée, se tordre, s'arracher la gueule, avoir son coup de bouteille, avoir un coup dans le nez (/les naseaux, /le tarin, /la crête, /l'aile, /les dents, les carreaux / les gencives /la ruche / la musette), avoir un coup de sirop (/de soleil) être allumé, être envapé, être incendié, être être cuit, asphyxié, être cassé, être cisailé, être déchiré en loques, être éteint, être bousillé, être flingué, être fusillé.*

2.4.2. THE DRUNKEN PERSON IS AN AGGRESSOR

Aggression may be directed towards someone else, objects, and even animals, the latter reinforce the image by combining two productive iconic models in the same metaphor (animals and aggression).

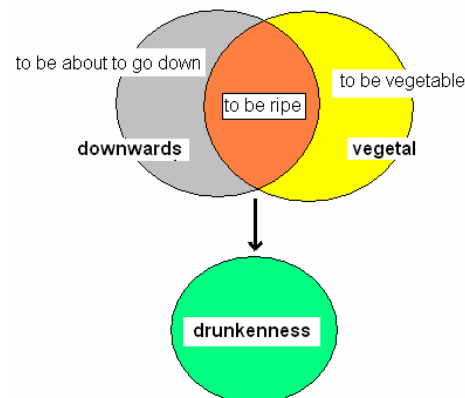
eng. *to smash the teapot, to kick up the devil, to bit one's name in, to be a roaring drunk, to be a fighting drunk, to be hunting the fox down the red lane, to kill the dog, to shoot the cat, to hurt a turtle, to chase the duck; sp.* *pegarle a la botella, arrearle a la botella, echar un palo (Ven.), echar un palito (Ven.), darle un palo al burro, darle otro palito a la burra, matar el bicho, matar el gusanillo; fr.* *étrangler la négresse, croquer la pie, tuer le ver, tuer le colimaçon, étrangler un perroquet.*

3. The iconic model [VEGETAL]

Phytonymic metaphors are less common than zoonymic ones. Nevertheless, they may similarly be grouped in two archimetaphors depending on whether they affect the

drunken person or drunkenness itself. The vegetal simile is usually quite common in the representation of stupidity (LUQUE, PAMIES & MANJÓN 1998), thus it is not strange to find them in the field of drunkenness (**eng.** *to be vegetable, to be ripe*; **sp.** *tener una filoxera, estar madurito, andar a medios chiles* [Mex.], **fr.** *être raide comme un coing; être mûr*).

We must notice that metaphors of ripe fruits combine several productive images: vegetal, colour, and downwards movement. The whole source domain is not mapped, but rather the intersection of several source domains.



In other idioms, drunkenness itself is a vegetal element: **eng.** *to be below the mahogany, to be high up to pick cotton*; **sp.** *pillar una papa; pillar una castaña; agarrar un castañón* (Ch.), *pillar una calabaza; pillar un buen cebollino* (/cebollón), *pillar un cermeño; pillar una berza, pillar un melocotón* (/un buen membrillo), *agarrar un pepino* (Ch.); **fr.** *avoir sa paille, avoir sa pistache, avoir sa prune*.

4. Cultural and sociological aspects

Despite the fact that the great majority of all the expressions we have found can be related to one of the models previously described, some “exceptions” still remain, whose figurative meaning is not based in personal experience or perception. They are derived from a different kind of knowledge, shared by a specific community and culturally transmitted between generations (DOBROVOL'SKIĬ 1998; CORPAS 2003), whose description doesn't fit into cognitive *embodied* schemas (DOBROVOL'SKIĬ & PIIRAINEN 2005A; 2005B, PIIRAINEN 2006). This is the case of religious beliefs, superstitions, national history, ethnic prejudices, sports and games, famous proper names, trade marks, publicity... These "culturally bound" idioms of drunkenness are treated separately in another paper (PAMIES, LOZANO & CORTINA, forthcoming), since they are more based on "local" and idiosyncratic metaphors which need a special kind of pragmatic and cultural knowledge to be understood.

6. Conclusion

As we have observed, some coincidences among languages can be drawn. In spite of the diversity and the "bizarre" character of idioms related to drunkenness, we can see how these similarities can be reduced to a small number of interconceptual mappings, based on a even smaller number of highly productive source domains taken from our environment (movement, body, animals, plants) or simple interrelations (company,

aggression). The cross-linguistic comparison of this phraseological-semantic field seems to corroborate the productivity of the metalinguistic approach tested in other lexical fields like *fear*, *anger*, *poverty*, *hunger*, *voracity*, *injustice*, *effort*, *speed*, *distance*, *thinness* (IÑESTA & PAMIES 2002), or *sickness* and *pain* in the spontaneous speech of hospital patients (PAMIES & RODRÍGUEZ-SIMÓN 2000; 2005).

In sum, within a big variety of fields, a small number of iconic models and archimetaphors –always the same ones– allow us to analyse thousands of particular metaphors in different languages.

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