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Master's Program
Language and Culture in Europe

**PUTTING YOUR ASS ON THE LINE:
THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK IN
ENGLISH AND SPANISH**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Risk-taking is an integral part of human behaviour as we are constantly forced to make decisions that lead towards unknown or uncertain consequences that can be potentially hazardous or even life-threatening. The field of risk-taking in everyday life is extremely wide embracing a diverse range of spheres such as household activities, gambling, sports, finance, medicine, technology, or even politics. Because risk pervades such a substantial part of our lives, it can certainly be claimed that it is one of the fundamental concepts of the human conceptual system.

The present study sets out to shed light on the conceptualization of risk in two different languages, English and Spanish. In order to reveal how risk is perceived in the minds of speakers of the two languages, I undertook a comprehensive cross-linguistic survey of the conceptual metaphors related to risk-taking. This was done through the examination of the conventional collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish. In addition, I also focused on the analysis of the idioms that deal with risk and risk-taking in both languages. This contrastive cross-cultural linguistic study of the conceptual field of risk and risk-taking was conducted within the frameworks of corpus linguistics as well as cognitive linguistics, which means that I worked with naturally occurring data gathered from various corpora while using the conceptual theory of metaphor for the analysis of potential conceptual metaphors related to risk.

I decided to concentrate on the analysis of collocations as well as idioms because of the following two reasons. Firstly, in my belief the analysis of conceptual metaphors based on collocations is highly revealing as regards the underlying conceptual structures of language, especially as the majority of the collocating expressions have become such integral and self-evident components of the language that they are usually not perceived as metaphorical. On the contrary, language speakers are accustomed to them as ordinary ways of expression. Ungerer and Schmid acknowledge the importance of such unconscious metaphorical expressions by claiming that “the metaphors that have unconsciously been built into the language by long-established conventions are the most important ones” (1996: 119).

Secondly, I assume that most of the conceptual metaphors underlying these collocating expressions are based on the physical experience of the world, which is the reason I also chose to base my study on the conceptual metaphors underlying the idioms in English and Spanish. The idiomatic expressions are in my opinion more closely related to the habits and customs of a particular culture, which might allow for a reasonable possibility that they are

not grounded only in physical, but also cultural experience. Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005: 94) suggest that when interpreting idioms that are motivated by rich imagery it is necessary to address natural experience as well as cultural knowledge. Although at this point it should be mentioned that to a certain degree “all experience is cultural through and through”; however, “we can still make the important distinction between experiences that are “more” physical, such as standing up, and those that are “more” cultural, such as participating in a wedding ceremony” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 57).

On the basis of this assumption my expectations previous to the analysis of the conceptual metaphors related to risk were that the conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions would show a greater variety across the two languages in comparison with the conceptual metaphors underlying the collocations. I formed such an opinion focusing on the fact that risk in connection with risk-taking is frequently related to bodily experience. “[T]he closer the investigated target domains are to immediate bodily experience, the more likely it is that humans will experience them similarly”, while “domains that are less grounded in bodily experience may lead to more pronounced cross-cultural differences in metaphors” (Simó 2009: 43).

However, my predictions as regards the conceptual metaphors related to risk did not turn out to be entirely correct. Both, the conceptual metaphors underlying the collocations as well as the conceptual metaphors motivating the idioms, showed a high degree of similarity in English and Spanish. Although there was slightly more variation observed between the conceptual metaphors underlying the idioms in comparison with the metaphors triggering the collocations, the differences between the two languages were rather subtle with reference to ontological and structural metaphors. In contrast, spatial metaphors revealed considerable variation between English and Spanish.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides a general overview on the subject of metaphor from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. It begins by explaining Conceptual Metaphor Theory, paying particular attention to the notion of conceptual metaphor. Next, different types of conceptual metaphors are presented, and the grounding for metaphors explored. Finally, the focus is shifted towards the relationship between conceptual metaphors and collocations, as well as the relationship between conceptual metaphors and idioms.

2.1 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

Traditional linguistics believes that metaphors are as a rule typical of poetic language. Cognitive linguistics, however, has attempted to show the opposite – that metaphor is present also in conventional everyday language. The expressions we use in language on a daily basis are packed with metaphors, but we are so accustomed to particular metaphorical expressions that we do not see them as metaphors. Although in the past these expressions were definitely recognized as metaphorical, regular use has turned them into “dead” metaphors. We might not be aware of them on the level of language, but as Zoltan Kövacs (2002: ix) points out “this does not mean that they have lost their vigor in thought”.

On the basis of this assumption the traditional view of metaphor as a linguistic expression that is used especially in poetic language was seriously challenged with the publication in 1980 of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson’s book *Metaphors we Live By*. They identify metaphor as a cognitive mechanism functioning on the level of thought, and not as a linguistic mechanism operating exclusively on the level of language. They claim that metaphorical expressions in language are concrete manifestations of the underlying conceptual metaphors. The new perspective on the metaphor that they present presupposes that “most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured; that is, most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 56).

Therefore, a metaphor in cognitive linguistics refers to “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system” or in other words, a mapping between a target domain and a source domain (Lakoff 2006: 186). The target domain represents the underlying knowledge structure that embeds the concept we attempt to express, while the source domain stands for the underlying knowledge structure that entails the concept we borrow from. The mapping

between the two domains has the form of a highly structured pattern, where the entities from the target domain asymmetrically correspond to the entities from the source domain.

Related to the metaphorical mapping between the source and target domains is also the idea that a more abstract target domain is usually conceptualized in terms of a more concrete source domain (Kövecses 2002: 6). This appears plausible as it is easier for one to understand an abstract concept with the help of more tangible concepts or even through actual physical experience. However, the source domain is not always a more concrete domain, but it can also be a more highly structured domain. Lakoff points out that “Metaphor allows us to understand a relatively abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter in terms of a more concrete, or at least more highly structured subject matter” (2006: 232). In addition, the mapping between the two domains is not reversible as the principle of unidirectionality does not allow for a more abstract source domain to be projected onto a more concrete domain.

Lakoff (2006: 199) also formulates a hypothesis called the Invariance Principle, according to which “Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain”. Thus, an element of a source domain can be mapped onto a target domain as long as the structure of the source domain does not disturb the organization of the target domain, and the other way round. As a result, the Invariance Principle imposes restrictions on which source domains can be mapped onto a particular target domain. This principle is especially important in cases of metaphorical entailment when extensive knowledge about the source domain is mapped onto the target domain.

2.2 TYPES OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

As regards their cognitive function, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish between three types of conceptual metaphors: structural, ontological and orientational metaphors. Structural metaphors help us to understand a particular target domain by mapping the structure of a source domain onto the structure of the target domain. As a result, one is able to understand a particular target concept with the help of the structure of the source concept. However, the metaphorical structuring between a target concept and a source concept is only partial, not total. An example of a structural metaphor would be TIME IS MOTION.

In contrast, ontological metaphors serve as status-giving metaphors for the target domain. They allow and facilitate a number of different functions such as referring, quantifying, identifying aspects, identifying causes, setting goals or motivating actions. They

project less structure for the organization of a particular target domain in comparison to structural metaphors. Kövecses (2002: 34) points out that “ontological metaphors enable us to see more sharply delineated structure where there is very little or none”. An example for an ontological metaphor would be INFLATION IS AN ENTITY.

Moreover, also the case of personification has to be mentioned because personification is considered a further elaboration of the ontological metaphor. The speakers of a specific language occasionally think of certain target concepts in terms of a human person. In this way a particular target concept that is not human is perceived as possessing the qualities of human beings. The function of personification is again connected with a better understanding of a particular target concept. It “allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 33). An example of personification would be INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY.

And finally, the function of orientational metaphors is to create coherence between different target concepts. They organize “a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14). Kövecses (2002: 36) even suggests that “it would perhaps be more appropriate to call this type of conceptual metaphor ‘coherence metaphor’, which would be more in line with the cognitive function these metaphors perform”. Usually orientational metaphors organize target concepts spatially. The organization is not arbitrary, but is based on real physical and cultural experience. An example of an orientational metaphor would be HAPPY IS UP or SAD IS DOWN.

In addition, Lakoff and Turner (1989: 97) later expand the category of orientational metaphors to include image-schema metaphors. These conceptual metaphors are based on image schemas denoting elementary schematic representations of space, such as for example the image schemas of PATH, CONTAINER or UP-DOWN orientation. “Image schemas derive from sensory and perceptual experience as we interact with and move about in the world” (Evans and Green 2006: 178). They are directly grounded in embodied experience. What is more, Clausner and Croft (1999: 25) argue “that image schemas are a type of domain”. They call them image schematic domains. In the present study they are also treated as such.

To sum up, some conceptual metaphors map knowledge, while others are built on images. In the former case one makes use of specific knowledge about a particular source domain in order to properly understand a certain target domain, while in the latter case elements of particular image schemas get mapped from a source domain onto a target domain.

2.3 GROUNDING OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

According to the traditional view, metaphorical expressions are based on pre-existing similarity. However, the cognitive linguistic view provides some further explanations for the grounding of metaphors. Most conceptual metaphor theorists suggest that metaphor has an experiential basis because it is motivated in human experience, particularly in human bodily functions. Therefore, metaphors are not arbitrary, but have an experiential motivation. Kövecses (2002: 69) maintains that the mapping between a source and a target domain is rooted in experience that is “either perceptual, biological, or cultural”. His assumptions as regards the motivation for conceptual metaphors are presented below.

Sometimes the mapping occurs when certain correlations of experience exist, which means that if a particular event is regularly accompanied by another particular event, one will usually think of the two events as inseparable. This can be applied, for example, to the concepts of quantity and verticality. Our everyday experience has taught us to correlate the two concepts in such a way that MORE usually signifies UP, while LESS is associated with DOWN. However, the metaphors are not always grounded in experience in such a direct way; certain connections can be less straightforward. For example, certain conceptual metaphors such as ANGER IS HEAT might originate in the functioning of the human body.

Another possibility is that a conceptual metaphor is grounded in the similarities of structure that are perceived between a certain target domain and a source domain. However, “these are not objective and pre-existing similarities” (Kövecses 2002: 72). On the contrary, they emerge during the process of conceptualization when one is comparing the target domain with the source domain. One such conceptual metaphor would be LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME. On occasions, the perception of similarities emerges through ontological metaphors. This means that the source domain and the target domain “share the basic shape or status”, which creates a sense of structural similarity between the two domains (Kövecses 2002: 72).

A further explanation as regards the motivation for the conceptual metaphors according to Kövecses is that sometimes the source domain is the root of the target domain. In this case the root is either biological or cultural. In other words, the mapping between the source and target domains originates in a specific biologically determined relation such as in LOVE IS A BOND, or has its roots in cultural history such as in SPORT IS WAR.

In my opinion, the experiential basis for conceptual metaphors stemming from a certain correlation in experience, perceived structural similarity or a particular biological root as the source for the target domain is to a high degree related to the physical experience of the

world, while the motivation for conceptual metaphors that arises from a particular cultural root as the source for the target domain is predominantly concerned with cultural experience. However, as I have already pointed out in the introduction, all experience is in a way related to culture.

In addition, it can be maintained that physical experience is shared by all human beings, while cultural experience applies to specific cultural communities associated with different cultural practices and circumstances. As a result, certain conceptual metaphors are universal, while others appear only in particular cultural environments. This explains the cross-cultural universality as well as cross-cultural variation of conceptual metaphors. However, cultural variation does not depend only on “the broader culture knowledge”, but also on “the natural and physical environment in which a culture is located” (Kövecses 2002: 186). Moreover, even if two languages share the same conceptual metaphor, the metaphor can be elaborated in different ways in the two languages.

2.4 COLLOCATIONS AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

The term collocation refers to a sequence of words that regularly appear together. Speakers of different languages tend to use these fixed patterns of words recurrently in order to facilitate communication. The present study focuses on the analysis of conceptual metaphors underlying collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish. The collocating verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases are taken into consideration.

As already stated in the introduction, I assume that the collocating words are highly valuable in revealing the underlying conceptual metaphors because they are so embedded in everyday language that speakers perceive these expressions as conventional, and not metaphorical. Alice Deignan (2005: 193) is in line with this assumption by maintaining “that collocational patterns are very important in considering how people use metaphor, both conventionally and innovatively, and that they have implications further than just language descriptions”.

2.5 IDIOMS AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

In order to investigate the conceptual metaphors underlying the surface metaphorical expressions this study deals not only with the analysis of collocations, but also examines the

idioms referring to risk and risk-taking that occur in English and Spanish. In accordance with the traditional view idioms are linguistic expressions that form part of the language, but are not conceptual in nature. They are perceived as clusters of two or more words with an arbitrary meaning, which cannot be deciphered by simply combining the meaning of the separate words.

In contrast, cognitive linguists hold the opinion that idioms are not mere linguistic expressions that appear randomly in a specific language, but rather they are products of conceptual thought that underlies these surface metaphorical expressions. Their meanings are not arbitrary, but originate in the conceptual metaphors that reflect our experience of the world. Gibbs (1994: 162) states that recent psychological data also supports the view that the meanings of idioms are not arbitrary but can be at least partly explained by conceptual metaphors.

3. METHODOLOGY

The present study was performed within the framework of corpus linguistics; therefore, it focused on the analysis of naturally-occurring language. In order to acquire data for British as well as American English, the data for the English language was obtained from *BYU-BNC: The British National Corpus* with 100 million words gathered from the 1970s to 1993 and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)* with more than 400 million words collected between 1999 and 2009. Both corpora were created by Mark Davies. The source of data for Spanish was *Corpus de referencia del español actual (CREA)*, a corpus compiled by Real Academia Española with more than 160 million words obtained between 1975 and 2004, as well as *Corpus del español* created by Mark Davies with 100 million words dating from the beginning of the 13th until the end of the 20th century. However, only examples from the 20th century were used in the study. The texts included in the Spanish corpus represent different varieties of Spanish. Both, the English and Spanish corpora contain a wide variety of texts ranging from academic texts, newspapers, magazines, fiction, to transcripts of spoken language.

In search of conceptual metaphors related to risk and risk-taking in English and Spanish, the study was based on the collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish. First, the collocations were gathered from the corpora described above focusing on collocating verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases. Next, the collected data was examined with the purpose of establishing the underlying conceptual metaphors. With reference to collocations it has to be pointed out that most of the examples used in the study are collocates of nouns and not verbs because the words collocating with nouns were found more revealing as regards the underlying conceptual metaphors. Another observation that has to be made at this point is that some conceptual metaphors identified in the study were manifested by a greater number of different collocations than others. In such cases not all the examples are included and presented in the thesis.

After having examined the collocations, an analysis of the idioms related to risk and risk-taking in English and Spanish was performed. The idioms were collected from various dictionaries and thesauri. However, occasionally it was quite problematic to decide whether a particular idiom should be included in the study because of the difficulty of determining whether the idiom was associated with risk or it was more related to danger, due to the fact that the two concepts overlap to some extent. What is more, not all idioms found in the

dictionaries and thesauri were used in the study. As this is a corpus linguistic study, the analysis is based only on the idioms that were encountered in the corpora, which means that certain examples of idiomatic expressions found in the dictionaries and thesauri had to be discarded. However, while investigating the corpora some additional examples of idioms that did not appear in the dictionaries and thesauri were discovered. These examples were examined together with the other idioms in order to identify the underlying conceptual metaphors dealing with risk and risk-taking in English and Spanish.

4. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK BASED ON COLLOCATIONS

This chapter looks more closely at the conceptual metaphors underlying the collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish. The first section focuses on the conceptual metaphors in English, while the second section deals with the conceptual metaphors in Spanish. All examples are taken from the corpora.

4.1 COLLOCATIONS AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK IN ENGLISH

The study of conceptual metaphors dealing with risk and risk-taking starts with the analysis of the collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, paying particular attention to the collocating verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases. It is assumed that the semantic nature of these collocating phrases should at least partly reveal how English speakers understand the concept of risk.

The noun *risk* was adopted into English in the 17th century from French *risqué*, which derived from Italian *risco* denoting “danger”. In modern English the noun *risk* refers to either “the possibility that something bad, unpleasant, or dangerous might happen” or “something or someone that is likely to cause harm or danger” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online*). Therefore, risk is not only an abstract notion, but it can also designate a particular object or being. However, this study concentrates only on the conceptualization of risk with the former meaning referring to an abstract notion, and not to a concrete object or person.

Similarly, also the verb *risk* entered the English language in the 17th century from French *risqué*, stemming from Italian *rischiare* with the meaning “run into danger”. In modern English the verb *risk* has the following meanings “to put something in a situation in which it could be lost, destroyed, or harmed”, “to get into a situation where something unpleasant may happen to you” or “to do something that you know may have dangerous or unpleasant results” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online*). All three meanings were considered in the present study; however, as stated above, most examples given are collocates of the noun *risk*.

4.1.1 Risk is a substance

The analysis of the verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases associated with the noun and the verb *risk* has shown that English speakers perceive risk as an entity. In other words, they make use of the ontological metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY to conceptualize risk, which enables them to think about risk in the first place.

Most frequently risk is understood in terms of a substance that has a particular quantity or size, which is apparent from the analysis of the words that collocate with the word *risk*. The value or the amount of risk is usually subject to change. The sentences in (1) demonstrate that in a vast number of cases it is extremely difficult to identify the exact nature of risk as a substance because the verbs, nouns and adjectives collocating with the noun *risk* can denote a change in amount, mass, or size. The only thing that can be explicitly asserted is that risk is understood as a substance that is changeable in properties.

- (1) a. This should *reduce the risk* of double bookings.
b. *The risk* to astronauts *increases* as the shuttle gets older.
c. [A] regular meal of oily fish; herring, mackerel, trout and the like; can actually *halve your risk* of having a heart attack.
d. It also would allow a judge to release an offender if he or she no longer poses a *substantial risk* of being a sexual predator.
e. The zeal expended upon finding us depends upon whether the hunt-chief [...] was aboard the sky-car and is now dead. If so, there is a considerable *diminution of risk*.

However, in certain cases risk is more clearly defined as a substance. In the examples (2) risk is perceived as having a certain mass, while in examples (3) risk has a specific quantity.

- (2) a. How to *balance the risk* to civilians against dangers for US troops - especially when Iraq has threatened to use human shields?
b. Have they *weighed the political risk* there?
c. [O]ne *heavy risk* that this company has been threatening everybody with is bankruptcy [...].
d. Cat *would shoulder all the risk* driving to Wyoming alone [...].
e. Who *bears the risk*, the newspaper who conveyed the mistake or the readers?

- (3) a. Our society has developed mechanisms for reducing *the amount of risk* people bear from day to day.
- b. Murder was always a dangerous game, and the more people you brought into a conspiracy, *the more risk* you had of something going wrong-or of somebody listening to their conscience.
- c. She had said there was less chance of being burdened down with a large brood and *less risk* of losing the husband to another woman.
- d. [B]ut the potential reward was worth *a great deal of risk*.
- e. My fellow Americans, I realize that this plan contains its *share of risks*.

The examples in (4) illustrate that risk is also understood in terms of having a particular size; therefore it is defined in terms of how small or large it is. At the same time, the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP is used to map the image schema of physical space onto risk as a substance, which is demonstrated in examples (5).

- (4) a. An expert is liable for negligence [...] and he will *enlarge the risk* of his being sued if he decides matters not within his expertise.
- b. The risk *extends* to a large part of the developing world [...].
- c. There is only *a small risk* of HIV transmission through oral sex [...].
- d. We have to face the fact that there is *a bigger risk* of nuclear proliferation at present than the world has ever known.
- e. [I]t's clear that the little girl who made that phone call took *an enormous risk* to save herself from a hopeless situation.
- (5) a. Bringing work problems home with you can affect your personal relationships, rob you of sleep, and *raise your risk* for depression [...].
- b. But to make things more confusing, moderate drinking can *lower a woman's risk* of stroke.
- c. Especially when you're asking big questions, *the risk goes way up*.
- d. The man's head squashed like an uncooked egg, *skyrocketing the risk* of the mission.
- e. Horses are a *high risk* sport.

It can be asserted that English speakers think of risk as an entity that can be measured or calculated. However, it should be noted that risk in terms of probability can be measured scientifically and expressed with a numerical value. Since in such cases the word *risk* refers to a concrete number and not an abstract entity, the collocations of this kind were discarded from the analysis. The examples in (6) do not refer to scientifically measured risk, but represent risk as an abstract entity that is conceptualized as a substance that can be measured or calculated.

- (6) a. He just took *a calculated risk* on the spur of the moment.
b. I thought of that man in the bitter cold, at night, alone, lost. In his zeal to hunt those elk, working ever deeper into those mountains, had he *measured the risk*?

4.1.2 Risk is an object

In order to provide a thorough understanding of the concept of risk, the ontological metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY is further elaborated in a variety of ways. The target domain of risk is involved in additional structuring as a result of various structural metaphors that build on the basic ontological metaphor. One of the most notable conceptualizations of risk is observed in the mapping of the image schema OBJECT onto risk. As a result, risk is perceived as possessing the properties that are typical of physical objects. This is particularly evident from the use of verbs collocating with the noun *risk*, which is illustrated by the examples in (7).

- (7) a. *Create your own risks* by setting your own standards, satisfying your own standards.
b. We are strongly motivated by the need for love, which *carries* with it *the risk* of rejection and withdrawal of that love.
c. While urban and guerrilla warfare is not illegal, by fighting in the midst of civilians, often in civilian clothing, Hamas *may* also *bring risk* to noncombatants.
d. Nevertheless, having called for boiling water and cleansed his best knife over a candle flame, he *took the risk*.
e. Don't tell me you *found another risk* in there.

Frequently the noun *risk* is premodified by a possessive adjective or a noun in the possessive case, demonstrating that English speakers sometimes think of risk as an object that is possessed by a particular person. This can be observed in examples (8).

- (8) a. As the years went by, I realized *my risk* and this day would inevitably come.
b. *Everyone's risk* increases as they age.
c. But after the menopause, *a woman's risk* of having a heart attack or stroke increases.
d. *Donaldson's risk* in taking the part of the small investor is that some of the very things the small investor hates - program trading among them - are huge profit centers for the NYSE's powerful members.

A special case of the elaboration of the ontological metaphor RISK IS AN OBJECT is the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A MACHINE. Since people themselves are usually in control of

risk by making appropriate choices, they think of it as a manageable object. This is shown in examples (9).

- (9) a. Well, he *wasn't* really *handling his risk* of detection very well.
- b. Our care and supervision does not absolve you from responsibility for rigging and inspecting the equipment you use, and *controlling your risk* of accident or injury while using it.
- c. In principle, they can *fix their financial risks* and get on with the job of dealing with the commercial ones.
- d. At least she *wouldn't run the risk* of bumping into Julius in the shower.
- e. But this true artistic and deeper approach *has an element of risk*, and only a limited few dare to take on the challenge.

Another example of a further development of the metaphor RISK IS AN OBJECT is the metaphor RISK IS A COMMODITY. Therefore, risk is viewed as an item with a particular value or price, which is conveyed in examples (10). This conceptual metaphor could be based on the fact that the success of a risky or dangerous action is never guaranteed and in many cases requires a high price. However, if the result of taking a risk is positive, the invested value will be restored with profit.

- (10)a. [W]e *couldn't afford the risk* that Lan might see the news and realize that we were onto him.
- b. Willing *to trade the risk* of a night of hell in the hope that the niggers'll be too tired to fight us off afterwards?
- c. Because we *valued* clear communication *over the risk* of hurt feelings, the answer was always the same.
- d. [A]sking your guy to just trim the ends *isn't worth the risk*.
- e. *A good chunk of money* for practically *no risk*.

On the other hand, risk is often perceived as an item of unsatisfactory quality, so that another conceptual metaphor appears to be RISK IS AN ENTITY LACKING VALUE as illustrated in examples (11). This conceptual metaphor can be explained by the fact that taking risks in real life often brings failure, disappointment, and loss because not all risky actions are successful.

- (11)a. [T]he Middle East *is getting rid of* the risk of nuclear weapons [...].
- b. You're taking an *awful* risk, inviting me like this alone with you on a boat.
- c. Phillip is too studied about his career to take a seriously *bad* risk.
- d. Why were the British and their allies willing to take the *terrible* risk of going onto that beach and trying to get up the slope?

A particularly interesting conceptual metaphor of the concept of risk is RISK IS FOOD, which means that risk is perceived as food that can be tasted. The conceptual metaphor focuses mostly on the flavour of the food, which can be observed in examples (12).

- (12)a. Such home as we have is this country where my parents are trying and trying *to taste the risk* for each other.
- b. As always, *the risk element was the icing on the cake* as far as he was concerned.
- c. Perhaps that is the great fascination, *the spice of risk*, the lure of spotting a winner.
- d. *Those risks can turn sour*, as they do for any pin-striped market-maker.
- e. For Universal, minding the bottom line may be whittling *their appetite for risk*.

4.1.3 Risk is a visible entity

Frequently the noun *risk* collocates with verbs of perception, in particular verbs referring to vision, which means that risk is conceptualized as an entity that can be physically perceived and observed. Consequently, the examples in (13) exhibit the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A VISIBLE ENTITY.

- (13)a. [A]dolescents *perceive less risk* in marijuana use than cocaine or heroin use.
- b. They *saw the risk* of not going to war on terrorism in Afghanistan [...].
- c. Korean conflict should divert attention from other danger-spots in Asia and *blind Britain to the risk* to which it was exposed in Europe.
- d. It was a small cassette [...] and when Mike thought about the terrible license and *risk exhibited* on the tape, as well as its resultant destructive power, it was as though the two-by-three plastic package had been radioactive.
- e. She *had shown him the risk* he had taken with his son's life.

4.1.4 Risk is an idea

Commonly the noun *risk* collocates with mental activity verbs, which implies that risk can be conceptualized also as an idea. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN IDEA is represented in the examples (14). In this case the source domain of ideas is a fairly abstract domain; however, it appears to be more structured or delineated than the source domain of risk, otherwise it would not be projected onto the target domain. This conceptualization might be motivated in the fact that one often thinks about carrying out a certain risky action, but never realizes it, which means that the risk remains only as an idea in one's mind.

- (14)a. She disliked herself for what she was saying, for she *knew the risk* he had taken to be with her.
- b. No one could guarantee the safety of the team, but Trimble, who had worked under these conditions before, *understood the risk*.
- c. But if we could screen them properly [...] for genetic diseases ... just *imagine the risk*.
- d. But, according to Haksar, what has also *to be taken into consideration* is *the risk* of violence that might result from not allowing people to express their feeling [...].
- e. And *the risks you have in mind* will not exist there.

The following example (15) combines both previously mentioned conceptual metaphors – RISK IS A VISIBLE ENTITY and RISK IS AN IDEA.

- (15)a. Crevasses claim lives and the majority of crevasse deaths happen to those who travel on glaciers unroped, *closing their eyes or their minds to the risks*.

4.1.5 Risk is an event or an action

Another conceptual metaphor observed appears to be RISK IS AN EVENT. Risk is conceptualized as something that happens or occurs. This is illustrated in examples (16).

- (16)a. They mortgaged the house to the hilt to save one of the teetering mines in India, and *celebrated the risk* by making love all night.
- b. The options for it are limited by the geography of the Thames valley, where *the flood risk occurs*, and existing development.

Further elaborations of the ontological metaphor RISK IS AN EVENT are the conceptual metaphors RISK IS AN ADVENTURE and RISK IS A HEROIC DEED. The former conceptual metaphor is illustrated in (17), while the latter is exhibited in (18).

- (17)a. [I]t is exactly *this atmosphere of risk that excites* many auction enthusiasts.
- b. Since his death, Meg found herself wondering if Peter loved *the thrill of taking risks* more than he loved her.
- b. *The element of risk gave it an added excitement*.
- c. There are other risks, *exhilarating risks*.
- d. There is also something *exciting about taking a risk* on a lesser-known commodity, a thrill to watching that person grow into prominence.

- (18)a. No one had been *bold enough to risk* blowing it again.
- b. [H]e seems to have the nature of a lion, or at least he is *brave enough to risk* everything to possess Lucrezia.
- c. [W]hat is needed now is *courage to risk* a change of direction.
- d. There is one thing you can do for me in recognition of *the death-defying risks* we took to recover your product.
- e. [A] Latin American leader who took *courageous risks* in trying to fashion a functional relationship with Washington was let down by his American interlocutor, who was simply unable to deliver.

Moreover, risk is conceptualized also in terms of either an entertaining activity that gives one pleasure and enjoyment as in examples (19) or a boring and unpleasant activity that one dislikes as in examples (20). As a result, the conceptual metaphors RISK IS AN ENJOYABLE ACTIVITY and RISK IS AN UNPLEASANT ACTIVITY seem to exist in English.

- (19)a. All the while, Win is laughing, *enjoying the risk*.
- b. I *thrive on taking risks* and putting myself in positions where I don't know how things will turn out.
- c. We *took this risk gladly* in order to see more of the Universe.
- d. You *crave risk* – try Africa.
- e. We might be watching a heist artist, a cop, or an ice-blooded sniper – what counts, before anything, is the deftness of the action, *the ruthless pleasure of pulse-pounding risk* and reward.

- (20)a. [B]ecause burglars *dislike the risk* of treading in cowpats [...].
- b. The captain *didn't like the risk* involved. *Hated it*, to tell the truth.
- c. Irony alarmed him because he *couldn't endure the risk* of being misunderstood, yet Rebecca had misunderstood him completely.
- d. *The risks sucked*, and nobody wanted to die, but that was part of the job.
- e. I mean the way it is now, you're takin' *the same fuckin' risk* as when you rob a bank.

4.1.6 Risk is a person or an organism

Looking more closely at the examples from corpora, it can be said that in many cases risk is characterized as an adversary against whom one has to compete. So another conceptual metaphor connected with risk appears to be RISK IS AN ADVERSARY as exemplified in (21).

- (21)a. Mohawks were tough, smart, and never *afraid of risk*.

- b. The boy was out there, open-eyed and washed and preserved, *a victim of risk* and channel water [...].
- c. I saw people die so I knew that *some risks could kill*.
- d. Each of these concerns flows from the view that environmental statutes are designed *to protect* the public *from risks* of which it is either unaware or unable to protect itself.
- e. There is no *escaping risk* altogether.

Likewise, English speakers sometimes also think of risk as a person they love or desire, so that another conceptual metaphor could be RISK IS A PERSON YOU LOVE. This is illustrated in examples (22).

- (22)a. What I hear, people talk to me, took a time but they do, is that the Front was just a vehicle for him, that there were no deeply held principles in it, more that he was *in love with* the danger, *the risk* of arrest.
- b. Perhaps if it cannot be his, he no longer *cares about the risk*.
- c. But in the end, *her desire for risk* had annoyed him.
- d. Like them, too, in their less earthbound moments, he enjoyed the proud *embracing of risk*.
- e. [H]is *fondness for taking risks* on the course is well-known.

Occasionally risk is thought of as an organism in general, and not necessarily a human being. The following examples in (23) demonstrate this.

- (23)a. [A]ll that good old chancy stuff, damned well unattainable down the line in the modern era where *risk is just about extinct*.
- b. Sometimes it was as though *the risk and the pleasure had grown together, nourishing each other*.
- c. And *the risks to youngsters are growing*.

4.1.7 Risk is a bodily sensation

At times risk is understood through the employment of the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A BODILY SENSATION. This conceptualization of risk most likely originates in the physical experience of humans. When one faces risk, which usually includes an element of danger or excitement, one experiences a particular bodily sensation. As a result, the feeling aroused is conceptualized as risk itself. This is exemplified in sentences (24).

- (24)a. I *could feel the risk*. We were rocking and skidding back and forth as the ship tried to stay in the same place balanced on a column of fire [...].

- b. If subjects actually *experienced risk* while watching the films then it is possible that attention focusing might have taken place.
- c. [...] Rudolph insists that her delight in this comes not from *the sense of risk*, but from the knowledge that she is exploring the relationship of gravity to movement.
- d. He experienced *a strange sensation of risk* and danger, but at the same time, he felt safe.
- e. [*S*]ome *presentiment of the hugeness of her risk* made her shiver.

Connected to the previous conceptualization of risk as a sensation experienced in the body is the conceptual metaphor RISK IS COLD. Often the bodily sensation felt at the time of risk is coldness, so that risk is then conceptualized as cold. This is demonstrated in examples (25).

- (25)a. She *shivered*, for *the risk was like the cold: chilling* and exhilarating at once.
- b. [E]ven though you're vastly undermanned because of the damned helicopters breaking down, you're a bit *frozen by the risk* of it.

4.1.8 Spatial metaphors of risk

In addition to the ontological and structural metaphors, there exists also a variety of spatial metaphors related to risk. The most prominent spatial metaphor for risk in English appears to be RISK IS A LOCATION. One can go towards the location, stay there, or move forward. Most frequently this metaphor is expressed with the use of the preposition *at*. This is exemplified in (26).

- (26)a. But if she refused, Mobuto's life would certainly *be at risk*.
- b. [N]o matter how strong her desire to get away, she shouldn't have *put* her own safety *at risk*.
- c. Twice you *have placed* yourself *at risk* for Ana.
- d. [U]ncertainty on your part can *lead to the risk* of you surrendering all control over the session to the engineer, who will be more than happy to move into the producer's chair.
- e. [H]is thrills *did not come from risk*, from playing Russian roulette with life, and unlike them, he had everything to live for.

Related to this spatial metaphor is the metaphor RISK IS AN OBSTACLE. Risk is perceived as an obstacle that blocks a way, which is illustrated in (27).

- (27)a. Cultural pluralism in research design, as modeled by the present study, permits a broader view of how children *navigate their way around risk*.

- b. No, what the maternity plan provides is *a way round the risks* and rigors of childbirth.
- c. By using this workstation [...] he *bypassed that risk*.
- d. Admiral Anderson insists it's *too much of a risk to proceed* with stopping the freighters.

A special kind of spatial metaphor is the container metaphor. Sometimes risk is conceptualized as a container such as in examples (28). However, examples of this kind are extremely scarce in the corpora.

- (28)a. It seems that the non-malicious act of a stranger was not a valid defence to the scienter action, because it *was within the risk* that must be accepted by anyone who knowingly chooses to keep a dangerous animal.
- b. This has been criticised on the ground that an accidental escape caused by the forces of nature *is within the risk* that must be accepted by the defendant when he accumulates the substance on his land.
- c. Anxiety *urged him into further risk*.
- d. In the darkness and resulting confusion, Paulhan shattered the closed system of coherent relationships, the sense of presence, and *entered into the risk* of free play.
- e. Hopefully, through tonight's operations that community, mountain community, *will be out of risk*.

In contrast, there are numerous expressions that reveal that risk is perceived as a substance being inside a container. In other words, risk is conceptualized as a substance inside a bounded space. Examples of this kind are given in (29).

- (29)a. Conversation *entails risk* and leads to transformation.
- b. Others will be the product of guesswork because the terrain they cover is unknown, and being unknown *will contain risks*.
- c. It's not very high, it's nowhere near anything like mountain country, and you'd have to work pretty hard *to inject risk* or danger *into* the walk [...].
- d. But we must also prepare for a world *filled with new risks*.
- e. *The risk is within* each of us.

4.2 COLLOCATIONS AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK IN SPANISH

After a detailed examination of the collocations of the noun and verb *risk* in English, the study concentrates on the collocations of the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish. Again the focus of attention is on the verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases collocating with the noun *riesgo* because the collocates of the noun are more revealing as regards the conceptualization of risk than the collocates of the verb.

Diccionario de la lengua española (2001) suggests that the noun *riesgo* entered Spanish from Italian *risico* or *rischio*, which was adopted into Italian from Classical Arabic *rizq* referring to “what providence brings”. However, Joan Corominas, the author of the Spanish etymological dictionary *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (1983) disputes this statement. He considers a variety of possible origins of the word *riesgo*, but is not certain about any of them. In addition, the verb *arriesgar* is a derivative of the noun *riesgo*. In modern Spanish the noun *riesgo* denotes “the possibility or proximity of damage”, while the verb *arriesgar* carries the meaning “to put into danger or expose to a risk” (Clave 2000; the translation is mine).

4.2.1 Risk is a substance

The analysis of the verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases collocating with the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* revealed that the speakers of Spanish conceptualize risk as an entity. Therefore, they make use of the conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY.

Quite frequently risk is viewed as a substance that has a particular quantity or size. In most cases it can be highly problematic to determine the exact nature of this substance because the words collocating with the noun *riesgo* can express a change in amount, mass, or size. However, what is certain is that risk is perceived as a substance that is changeable in properties. The examples in (30) illustrate the conceptualization of risk as a substance with a particular quantity or size.

- (30)a. El antropólogo, consciente de que cada hora transcurrida *aumentaba el riesgo* para ellos, y que convenía tratar de distraer al capitán, lo invitó a una partida de naipes [...].
- b. El sumo sacerdote y la mayoría de los miembros del Sanedrín se tranquilizaron, estimando que la desbandada de los hombres del Nazareno *reducía* considerablemente *el riesgo* de un motín.

- c. Una conducta positiva en los ancianos no sólo prolonga la vida sino también *disminuye el riesgo* de inmovilidad y dependencia.
- d. Esa subalternización del problema *duplica el riesgo*, ya que la Europa atlántica carece y carecerá de una política de defensa común y de un instrumento militar idóneo para actuar con consenso.
- e. [L]o que se está provocando es la polarización de las partes y, con ello, *el aumento del riesgo* de una explosión violenta.

Nevertheless, occasionally the nature of risk as a substance is clearly more evident. In examples (31) risk is understood as a substance with a certain mass, while in sentences (32) risk is perceived as having a specific quantity.

- (31)a. ¿Qué miras?, la mujer *sopesa el riesgo* de su intervención pero aún así se aventura en la pregunta, ¿te encuentras bien?
 - b. De lo contrario perdería todo sentido el empeño por encontrar periodistas 'amigos' que *equilibren* y que finalmente neutralicen *el posible riesgo*.
 - c. De los dos, el que mejor insinuó fue el "globo" y sin tener el dominio del balón se las ingenió para *llevar un poco más de riesgo* hasta la valla de Ariel Ruppel.
 - d. Los bomberos, que iniciaron el paro al considerarse discriminados por cobrar sueldos bajos frente al alto *riesgo que deben soportar*, cobrarán 150.000 pesetas mensuales [...].
 - e. Avanzando por el corazón de la ciudad [...], se sentía artista de su propia vida, y su obra eran sus gestos, sus miradas, sus pasos, *el leve riesgo* que lo envolvía, la amenaza de los congéneres que lo rozaban al pasar.
- (32)a. En diversos viajes, administraba *la cantidad de riesgo semanal* que quería tener en casa.
 - b. Es un "adicto a la acción" y necesita incrementar *su dosis de riesgo* hasta que lo maten o se quemé, pero tiene el talento y la humildad de ver la época con distanciamiento, con ironía y hasta con crueldad.
 - c. [H]orrendo conflicto que se aprovecha para robar *con poco riesgo*.
 - d. Uno, por el trabajo que se realiza en el interior de la mina, trabajos de mucho esfuerzo, trabajos de mucho sudor y *mucho riesgo*, que creo que las mujeres en ese sentido llevan ahí una mala salida.
 - e. Se marchó al rancho como había venido, a caballo, por más ruegos que le hicieron en la casa de asistencia donde vivía, diciéndole que el viaje solo era *demasiado riesgo* para un muchacho de 17 años.

At the same time risk can also be understood in terms of a substance that has a particular size, which is shown in examples (33). However, the conceptualization of risk as a substance with a changeable value is often expressed with the use of the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP. This is illustrated in sentences (34).

- (33)a. *El riesgo se amplía* a las alcohólicas que han dejado de beber durante el embarazo [...].
- b. Estalló el conflicto, que no sólo afectaba a la unidad de los comunistas vascos, sino que amenazaba *extender el riesgo* a toda la organización del partido.
 - c. Quiero decir que existe el riesgo, pero que es *un riesgo bastante pequeño*.
 - d. No en vano, pensé, era un hombre habituado a vivir administrando *un riesgo colosal*.
 - e. Quiroga pintaba *la extensión del riesgo*.
- (34)a. Las sesiones prolongadas de sauna *elevan el riesgo* de esterilidad masculina.
- b. Posteriormente *el riesgo desciende* con una pendiente muy marcada en ambos sexos.
 - c. Las víctimas del bacilo de Koch eran jóvenes indefensos, rebeldes y pálidos, náufragos de *alto riesgo*, hermanos de la luna, con la mirada mansfield perdida en lo invisible.
 - d. Recuerde que una de las características de los alimentos de alto riesgo es su alto contenido en humedad, mientras que los de *bajo riesgo* incluyen productos que por ser demasiado secos no permiten el crecimiento bacteriano.
 - e. En la vida normal, en la calle, *el nivel de riesgo* no lo pones tú, sino lo que te rodea.

The speakers of Spanish understand risk as a substance that can be measured or calculated. Although risk in terms of probability can be measured scientifically and expressed with a specific numerical value, the collocations of the noun *riesgo* referring to a concrete number have not been included in the analysis. The examples in (35) designate risk as an abstract entity that can be measured or calculated, but do not refer to scientifically determined risk.

- (35)a. Lo retuvo allí, meciéndolo como una madre a su niño, hasta que él se apartó y entonces se miraron jadeantes, *pesando y midiendo el riesgo*, y pudo más el deseo y se fueron abrazados a la cama de Riad Halabí.
- b. Su destino manifiesto acababa de reconducirla al asiento trasero de un taxi y de ahí al reducto de su profesor, *un riesgo calculado* de su parte.
 - c. Y aquel chaval, *calculando todos los riesgos* de su respuesta, como suicidándose feliz, y adoptando el acento con que hablaba su padre, le espetó lentamente [...].

4.2.2 Risk is an object

The ontological metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY can be further elaborated. Often the elaboration involves more structuring of the target concept of risk, so that the ontological metaphor is expanded into a structural metaphor. One of the most noticeable elaborations is the conceptual

metaphor RISK IS AN OBJECT. In this particular case the image schema OBJECT is projected onto risk. As a consequence, risk obtains all the characteristics that are typical of physical objects, which can be observed in the following examples (36).

- (36)a. Maquinaria pesada desplazada expresamente desde la mina de lignito de As Pontes de García Rodríguez está siendo utilizada desde el viernes para retirar la basura de la cima del vertedero, que ejerce una gran presión sobre la montaña y *crea grave riesgo* de un nuevo desprendimiento.
- b. El pueblo *compartió riesgos* y sacrificios, y asumió el papel protagónico en la forja de su destino.
- c. Y es curioso que *el mayor riesgo* de creatividad *se produzca* en géneros de intermedio y transición, aparentemente subalternos, como el anuncio o el videoclip.
- d. Vélez, por su parte, apostó a los contragolpes generados desde la zurda de su arquero paraguayo, pero la soledad de Posse en el ataque le impidieron *generar mayores riesgos* frente a Ibarra.
- e. [É]l *se buscó el riesgo*; me pesa que le hayan muerto.

The conceptualization of risk as an object can be observed also in the frequent use of possessive adjectives as premodifiers of the noun *riesgo* and prepositional phrases with *de* preceding a proper name as postmodifiers of the noun *riesgo*. In this way the possession of risk by a person is expressed. This is illustrated in sentences (37).

- (37)a. Mi inclinación, y *mi riesgo* -por todo aquello-, no fue otro que el de militar en aquel movimiento organizado por José Antonio Primo de Rivera [...].
- b. Sin embargo, dentro del Ejército Rebelde, entre los que pelearon y se sacrificaron en aquellos días angustiosos, vivirá eternamente la memoria de *las mujeres* que hacían posible con *su riesgo* cotidiano las comunicaciones por toda la isla [...].
- c. Y bajo *el propio riesgo de Vicente* llega en una tendencia creciente, se fortalece y es candidato o crece ahora y de repente cae después.
- d. [E]llas se iban y los hombres nos ufanábamos de una temeridad cuyo sabor se volvía amargo un rato después, cuando recordábamos que nadie nos había eximido del síndrome ceniciento y que *nuestro riesgo* era transformarnos en púberes reducidos a la impotencia [...].

The ontological metaphor RISK IS AN OBJECT is sometimes elaborated, so that risk is understood in terms of a more specific object. Occasionally risk is perceived as a machine. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS A MACHINE can be observed in the examples (38).

- (38)a. En el apartado cultural y lingüístico, advierten que "subsiste un cierto riesgo de fractura", porque "existen intereses o fundamentalismos dispuestos a *activar este riesgo*", pero consideran que el peligro real es el de la decadencia".
- b. Incapacidad de un individuo o comunidad para *controlar su riesgo* de infección.
- c. Y no faltan los que creen que de lo que se trata es de lograr una frontera libre para todo tipo de negocios - sucios y limpios - con pingües beneficios en muy poco tiempo, con poca inversión y *un riesgo manejable*.
- d. Si nos olvidamos de ello y tratamos de concretar las amenazas en *un solo elemento de riesgo*, viene a decir, nos equivocaremos, probablemente no lo encontraremos, y nos será más difícil evitar extinciones en el futuro.

Another example of the elaboration of the metaphor RISK IS AN OBJECT is the metaphor RISK IS A COMMODITY. Thus, the speakers of Spanish view risk as an item with a particular value or price. This is illustrated in examples (39).

- (39)a. No era posible eliminar totalmente el peligro de un escándalo, más o menos incómodo; pero la presa bien *valía el riesgo*.
- b. En Costa Rica *vendemos el riesgo* como turismo.
- c. Es claro que, antes de allanar los domicilios del doctor Álvez y de la señora Artigas, tengo que *meritar los riesgos*.
- d. ¿Esto refleja un poco los riesgos que se ha alertado al interior del Pan de cómo abrir o qué tanto abrir al partido, como dirigente nacional cómo *valora estos riesgos* que traería consigo la nueva modalidad?
- e. Mamet acepta el reto y la dificultad que supone establecer la indeterminación como principio de entendimiento, y sus obras *se benefician de estos riesgos*.

Nevertheless, on certain occasions risk is viewed as an entity with low or poor value. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY LACKING VALUE can be observed in the following sentences (40).

- (40)a. [J]unto con la exigencia a los picadores, a *desprecio del riesgo* que deben correr, para que acosen a los toros allá donde fuere preciso a fin de librarlos del "tueste" [...].
- b. Tampoco *cobro nada por el riesgo* de hacerlo.
- c. Ese es *un enorme riesgo que no vale la pena tomar* porque implicaría que el Partido se fracture y eso no lo vamos a permitir.
- d. [Q]ue tú, que *el riesgo* de morir *desdeñas*, yaces al fin marchita y encogida [...]

One of the most striking metaphors is RISK IS FOOD. In other words, risk is conceptualized as food with a specific taste or food that satisfies one's hunger. This can be seen in examples (41).

- (41)a. Gozaba del *riesgo que alimenta* al apostador.
- b. No trataba de satisfacer su curiosidad ni de *saciar su hambre de riesgo*.
 - c. Se puede pasar miedo, pero es *un sabor agridulce del riesgo*, una sensación agradable que te hace sentir realizado, como cuándo pegas tres naturales a una vaquilla.
 - d. Y en aquella sensación que lo embargaba, tentándolo con *su dulce riesgo*, el maestro de esgrima supo reconocer el débil canto del cisne, proferido, a modo de postrera y patética rebeldía, por su espíritu todavía orgulloso.

4.2.3 Risk is a visible entity

Related to the conceptualization of risk as an entity is also the following ontological metaphor – RISK IS A VISIBLE ENTITY. This conceptualization is particularly clear in examples when the noun *riesgo* collocates with verbs of visual perception, which is exemplified in sentences (42).

- (42)a. En esto *mira* el autor *un peligroso riesgo* de desatar la lucha racial en vez de la integración.
- b. Era un camino peligroso, y *los riesgos se han hecho notar*.
 - c. *No veo el riesgo* por ninguna parte.
 - d. Pero está ese reflejo, y el miedo [...] era idéntico al que se puede sentir en medio del mar, cuando *aparece el riesgo* de naufragio.
 - e. En esta última exposición también *pudimos observar el riesgo* en varios cuadros de Nueva York de noche.

4.2.4 Risk is an idea

It is interesting that quite frequently the noun *riesgo* is used with verbs of the mind, which means that risk can also be perceived in a theoretical manner. Therefore, one of the conceptual metaphors is RISK IS AN IDEA. This is illustrated in (43).

- (43)a. [P]ero *comprendió el riesgo* de llegar a no saber qué día era, ni qué hora, ni qué mes, ni qué año.
- b. El análisis y desarrollo de estos argumentos, así como de diferentes replicas a los mismos [...] nos ayudará a perfilar con más detalle la postura eliminativista y a *entender mejor los futuros riesgos* o venturas de la Psicología Popular.
 - c. *No saben el riesgo* que corren con ella.

d. *Imaginé un riesgo zanahorio...*

e. Él no pudo evitarlo, El Chaqueta Negra es testarudo, se negaba a dar explicaciones y a *tomar en consideración el riesgo* a ser descubierto.

4.2.5 Risk is an event or an action

A further conceptual metaphor that appears seems to be RISK IS AN EVENT. Risk is seen as something that happens or occurs, which is illustrated in the examples (44).

- (44)a. Lo más probable es que apoye al Gobierno, de lo contrario, *puede ocurrir el riesgo* de una ruptura de la coalición.
- b. Ser otro, aunque sea ilusoriamente, es una manera de ser menos esclavo y de *experimentar los riesgos* de la libertad.
- c. Durante cinco años había acudido todos los domingos a los cines del barrio a ver películas de acción [...], se había dormido inventándose historias policíacas donde él era *el apuesto protagonista del amor y del riesgo* y había despertado cada lunes sobre las cenizas frías de la diaria realidad.

The conceptualization of risk as an event can be even more specific. On occasions risk is viewed as an adventurous experience, so that another conceptual metaphor appears to be RISK IS AN ADVENTURE. This is exemplified in sentences (45). However, risk can also be perceived as a heroic act. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS A HEROIC DEED can be observed in examples (46).

- (45)a. Volvimos a besarnos, y entendí adónde conduciría todo; como en la fiesta de Halloween, a Ashley *la excitaba* cada vez más *el riesgo*, el saber que Patrick andaba cerca y podía descubrirnos.
- b. [P]ero he querido escribirlo, para asentarme yo en esos días que nos esperan, *tan erizados de riesgos* y peligros, y tratar de dominar los hechos que vayan a suceder con la precisión y la fuerza de la palabra escrita [...].
- c. Quizá no deba hablarse de fracaso rotundo, pero *el espíritu aventurero fascinado por el riesgo* que se requiere para llevarlas a cabo se estrella contra la inutilidad del esfuerzo.

- (46)a. Nadie *se atrevía a correr ese riesgo* porque se decía que había tropas patrullando por la calle y al menor movimiento tras las ventanas disparaban al aire para asustar.
- b. Umbral *asume con valentía el riesgo* que significa escribir todos los días y publicar varios libros al año.
- c. *El gran riesgo no admite al cobarde.*

- d. A los ojos de muchos de sus compatriotas habrían de pasar por traidores, y *en ese riesgo radicaba* en buena medida *el heroísmo* de su empresa.
- e. *Me daba miedo arriesgarme* demasiado.

In addition, risk is perceived by the speakers of Spanish also as either a pleasant activity that gives one enjoyment, which can be observed in examples (47), or an activity that causes anxiety and worries, which is illustrated in sentences (48).

- (47)a. La sociedad industrial avanzada, instalada en el confort y la seguridad, ha embotado en los individuos concretos *el entusiasmo por el riesgo* que va unido a la aventura de la libertad.
- b. Descubrió *el placer del riesgo* y la satisfacción tras las primeras sustracciones.
- c. Pero confiesa *disfrutar de los riesgos*, sobre todo cuando van asociados, como ahora, a alguna experiencia inaugural.
- d. Tenía condiciones, y *era aficionado al riesgo* y a las emociones fuertes.
- e. También había llegado a mis oídos que José María [...] después de muchos meses de vida sedentaria por sus estudios y por su trabajo veraniego en un supermercado, *tenía ganas* de aventuras, *de riesgo*, de practicar el rafting, el puenting y no sé qué otras atrocidades por el estilo.
- (48)a. Los niños escapan hasta el vado para chapotear en la corriente, sin hacer caso al llamado de las *madres angustiadas ante el riesgo* de perderlos.
- b. [Y] en él se transparentan *sus inquietudes ante los riesgos* que siempre conlleva la vocación de escribir.
- c. Todas *inquietas ante el riesgo* desconocido.
- d. No amaba la aventura como para desear *el riesgo*, antes bien éste *le repugnaba*.

4.2.6 Risk is a person or an organism

One of the most prominent conceptual metaphors of risk is the conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN ADVERSARY, which means that the speakers of Spanish perceive risk as a dangerous entity they have to compete against. Examples in (49) are manifestations of this personification.

- (49)a. Amigos, *espantoso riesgo* a la patria *amenaza*.
- b. Y *nada provoca tanto miedo como el riesgo* de verse contagiado por la pena, esa pena intensa que habita en el interior de todos nosotros, esa rata viva que llevamos en el estómago y que tan dolorosamente apaciguamos.
- c. [V]encerás *el riesgo* y, sin enemigos, te convertirás en tu propio enemigo para continuar la batalla del orgullo [...].

d. [N]o es cómodo sondear en la memoria, *luchar contra el riesgo* de la impudicia y de la solemnidad.

e. Con una mano por los hombros, como para *protegerlo del riesgo* de un espejismo, lo llevó a la tertulia y allí vio cómo todos, al verlo entrar, se levantaban en su honor.

Sometimes risk is perceived also in a more positive manner as a person one admires or loves. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A PERSON YOU LOVE can be observed in the following examples (50).

(50)a. En la Unión Soviética actual, la vida artística libre ya ha dejado de ser una actividad para francotiradores solitarios y *amantes del riesgo*.

b. Resiste *amar el riesgo* de destruirte y alaba la bondad de ese impuro corazón femenino que tan celosamente se enquistaba en su honra cuando, con rabioso encono y a despecho de las advertencias, imploras encienda el combustible de tu imaginación.

c. En enero fueron más de 370 los que ascendieron *atraídos por* la altura y *el riesgo* que el monte supone.

d. *Me gusta el riesgo* y creo que hay que arriesgarse en estos momentos, malos para el relax y el conformismo y buenos para la crítica.

e. Pese a la escasa visibilidad de la imaginaria carretera que iba recorriendo, el cuerpo de Miguel, su personalidad, su historia, se le representaban en medio de la noche, *excitando su atracción por el riesgo*, dándole la sensación de dominar la oscuridad.

Moreover, risk can be conceptualized as an organism, which is not necessarily a human being. In certain cases such an organism can be either a plant or an animal. This is illustrated in sentences (51).

(51)a. El bestia del cirujano jura y perjura que fue una decisión tomada sobre la marcha para *cortar de raíz el riesgo* de la metástasis.

b. Un valiente está encargado de un puesto peligroso; *el riesgo crece* por momentos; a su alrededor van cayendo sus camaradas; los enemigos se aproximan cada vez más; apenas hay esperanza de sostenerse, y la orden para retirarse no llega.

c. Para Beck, el sistema de relaciones de producción que en los países industrializados daba lugar a miseria, en la actualidad genera *un riesgo creciente* de destrucción del planeta.

d. Sabía que es imposible, *el riesgo hace su nido en todos los rincones*.

4.2.7 Risk is a bodily sensation

Another conceptualization of risk appears to be RISK IS A BODILY SENSATION. Such perception of risk probably stems from the physical experience of humans. When one takes a risk, one experiences a particular bodily sensation, which is usually connected with danger or excitement. Consequently, the feeling produced is understood as risk itself, which can be observed in examples (52).

- (52)a. Teníamos de amantes la clandestinidad, el temor a ser descubiertos, *la sensación de riesgo*, pero lo éramos espiritual, no materialmente, pues no hacíamos el amor [...].
- b. La gente asomaba a las puertas para verlos pasar. Con curiosidad, con temor, con *una cosquilla de riesgo* y gana.
- c. Gregorio, que *había perdido el sentido del riesgo* y se encontraba como inspirado por una visión, dijo [...]

4.2.8 Spatial metaphors of risk

Apart from the ontological and structural metaphors, risk is understood also in terms of spatial metaphors. The most notable spatial metaphor as regards risk for the speakers of Spanish is RISK IS A CONTAINER. This is exemplified in sentences (53).

- (53)a. Señor Fiscal General o Procurador o como se llame, mire que *ando en riesgo* de muerte por la calle: con las atribuciones que le dio la nueva Constitución protéjame.
- b. Una nueva contienda dirigencial *coloca en riesgo* la clasificación de la Selección a la hexagonal final rumbo a Alemania 2006.
- c. [E]l futuro de nuestro proyecto nacional *se encontrará en riesgo*.
- d. La novela de denuncia siempre *cae en el riesgo* de panfleto.
- e. Mi amo ignoraba que *ponía en riesgo* a Michel Bertrand contándole lo de su hermana, se lo aseguro.

However, occasionally risk is perceived as an obstacle on a certain path. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN OBSTACLE is illustrated in examples (54).

- (54)a. Alex consideró que, después de la experiencia con la serpiente de la noche anterior, no pensaba *retroceder ante el riesgo* de toparse con un pez, por mala fama que tuviera.
- b. Pero ahora, gracias sobre todo a la televisión, *nos encontramos ante el riesgo* de que se nos imponga que la información es una mercancía que circula como espectáculo.

- c. En homenaje a la Constitución y a la prudencia, los senadores del partido oficialista deberían abstenerse, consecuentemente, de añadir otro hecho irritativo a los dos recientes actos escandalosos que [...] *nos colocan frente al riesgo* de un gravísimo descalabro institucional.
- d. Las tiras adhesivas, colocadas sin contemplaciones, *evitaban el riesgo* de algún grito imprevisto, por fallo de la mordaza, que pudiera alarmar a los vecinos.
- e. Los frenos ABS evitan, precisamente, esa condición, permitiendo al conductor mantener el dominio de su vehículo y maniobrar para *eludir el riesgo* u obstáculo.

What is more, one can move closer towards risk, or stay at a certain distance from it, which can be seen in sentences (55). At the same time, one can also move through risk. This is illustrated in examples (56).

- (55)a. ¿[V]ale la pena vivirlo y por ello arriesgarse a sufrir?, ¿o es mejor *permanecer* razonablemente *apartada del riesgo*?, ¿y de la felicidad?
- b. [A]lgunos pueden estar sobradamente confiados porque consideran que las libertades que consagra nuestra Carta Magna están, tras estos años de consolidación democrática, no sólo garantizadas sino *lejos de riesgo alguno*.
- c. "Los misiles de octubre", filmada por la televisión norteamericana en 1974, con libro de Stanley Greenberg, enfoca *el riesgo no lejano* de una conflagración nuclear.
- d. Pocos artistas, incluso entre los más grandes, se han podido permitir *llegar tan cerca del riesgo*.
- e. Yo creo que los dos deben dar un paso a encontrar el espacio común, yo creo que los dos deben, necesariamente, que *dejar atrás el riesgo* de la violencia [...].

- (56)a. No puede extrañar que a partir de un determinado momento estuvieran más dispuestos a *pasar por el riesgo* de enfrentarse con la incógnita de un grupo político como el PSOE [...].
- b. Sabía que un viaje era un riesgo y *ese riesgo que atravesaba* su hijo era producido por un acto grosero suyo.

Certain expressions reveal that at times risk is viewed as a substance being inside a container. In such cases risk is conceptualized as a substance inside a bounded space. Examples of this kind are given in (57).

- (57)a. [A]lgunos de estos productos *pueden entrañar riesgo* si son utilizados por niños de - una edad.
- b. La propuesta final del gobierno, me temo, era demasiado buena, y *contenía el riesgo* de que se reavive el terrorismo en América Latina [...].
- c. *Riesgos en política siempre habrá* [...].
- d. Vivimos en un mundo que *está lleno de riesgos* y de pícaros.
- e. [E]sta necesidad *encierra también un riesgo*: considerar la palabra escrita como raíz y motor de la película que ha de filmarse [...].

5. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK BASED ON IDIOMS

This chapter explores the conceptualization of risk in English and Spanish on the basis of the analysis of idiomatic expressions in the two languages. The first section presents the conceptual metaphors dealing with risk and risk-taking in English, while the second section focuses on the conceptual metaphors related to risk and risk-taking in Spanish. All the examples presented are taken from the corpora.

5.1 IDIOMS AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK IN ENGLISH

The analysis of conceptual metaphors dealing with risk and risk-taking continues by turning to the study of idioms in English. Idioms as linguistic expressions should at least to a certain extent reveal the underlying conceptual metaphors connected with risk. In order to determine what conceptual metaphors structure the perception of risk in English, the source domains that are employed for the conceptualization of the target domain of risk are examined.

One conceptual metaphor appears to be RISK IS VOLUNTARY EXPOSURE TO PHYSICAL INJURY. In other words, taking a risk can lead to a physical injury or even death. Most of the idiomatic expressions in (58) include a part of the body that can be seriously injured in case one consciously decides to take a risk. Therefore, the source domain for these idioms is the domain of physical harm to a person's body. The target domain of risk can refer to either the risk of concrete physical injury or on occasions even to a more abstract kind of risk.

- (58) a. First you try to kill yourself by running off into a blizzard, and now you *risk life and limb* because you can't even bring yourself to admit to me that you've never skied in your life before.
- b. No way *was I going to risk my neck* jouncing over ice-filled ruts for nothing.
- c. TV host Matthew Kelly *stuck his neck out* when he tangled with British Bulldog wrestler Davey Boy Smith.
- d. [I]t was a narrow, narrow high street, it was almost like *taking your life in your hands* walking down there because there were crowds of people obviously with all this influx of community and they er the main Chelmsford road used to come up through there, so it was a, a hell, sort of a traffic hazard really.
- e. Kirill is reluctant to speak at first but eventually *chances his arm*.

Connected with this conceptual metaphor is the perception of risk as an act of execution. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS EXECUTION, which is based on the mapping of the source domain of execution onto the target domain of risk, can be observed in examples (59).

- (59) a. The very future of the country *is at stake*.
b. Saying this *lays my head on the block*, because the modern climber is much better at small hold pulling and on jamming cracks, thrutchy chimneys and greasy grooves, than I am.
c. Putnam had been the mentor who'd trained him, handpicked him for the most challenging assignments, and *gone to the wall* for him every time he'd been called on the carpet by punctilious politicians inside the Bureau.
d. "*It's getting too close to the wire*", one campaign official argued. "The stakes are too high. In a few weeks, people are going to start voting. What if you get beat up during the debate and don't get a chance to respond? What if you make a mistake? [...]"

Some idioms related to risk reveal that risk is connected with the inability to see, especially when performing such an activity as jumping or shooting. Therefore, one conceptual metaphor appears to be RISK IS THE INABILITY TO SEE. This is exemplified in sentences (60). The last example is the result of the same conceptual metaphor; however, expressing the idea that a particular situation does not involve risk when one is able to see.

- (60) a. The man who hopes to be Chancellor next week cannot surely be preparing a *leap in the dark*.
b. Every appointment seems to be *an outrageous shot in the dark*, either because the person appointed has no experience, or because he has far too much experience [...].
c. Proceed with caution and, at the risk of sounding like a tabloid astrologer, *look before you leap*.
d. I went into the situation *with my eyes open*.

Certain idioms related to risk are grounded in everyday situations that can be dangerous in real life, such as climbing a tree, walking on ice, riding, sailing, playing with fire, or walking on a tightrope. These hazardous situations serve as the source domain for the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A DANGEROUS ACTIVITY. Idioms of this kind can be observed in (61).

- (61) a. Anytime you *go out on a limb*, it can be a little threatening, yet I believe it's the stimulation that comes from the job [...].
b. But as Trump points out, and as you've seen over the last few weeks, Jackson apparently has no one around him to tell him when he's *walking on thin ice*.

- c. Yeah, yeah, you and a hundred others, we want to say, knowing by the form of the genre alone that any guy like Jack *is just riding for a fall*.
- d. He'd *been sailing close to the wind* for years and everything was just about to blow up in his face.
- e. Though gone from his high-pressured job, he *has taken a plunge* with investments in the Israeli business community.
- f. [T]he IDF claimed they intercepted four truckloads of weapons from Syria, so Syria *is playing with fire* here, I think.
- g. These are people who *live on the razor's edge* and defy death and do things where people die.
- h. "When you're diminishing the patient's immune response, you're *walking a tightrope* the entire time", Rose says.

The speakers of English conceptualize risk also as a heroic deed. One often takes a risk when performing a courageous action such as going out in harsh weather. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS A HEROIC DEED is illustrated in (62).

- (62) a. "All right", she said. "*No heroics*, please, if you need it, we have a climber cabin at five thousand meters. Combo is 2718".

At the same time also the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A RECKLESS DEED can be observed in English. When one decides not be cautious when carrying out a particular action that could be dangerous or harmful, one is taking a risk. This is exemplified in (63).

- (63) a. When it looked like Brady would go in after him, Olivia *threw caution aside* and raced downhill, ignoring the stabs and jabs of anything that tried to impede her progress.
- b. Everyone had sort of worried about him, just knowing that a lot of the time he *threw caution to the wind*.
- c. All right, thought Loretta, *casting caution to the winds*. She'd put herself in Bridget's hands.

Occasionally taking risks is viewed as playing with a dangerous animal or facing it in its home. On the basis of the examples in (64) the conceptual metaphors RISK IS DEFYING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and RISK IS FACING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL IN ITS DEN are revealed. Even a cat can be seen as a dangerous animal, or to put it another way, the idiom in example *f* referring to a cat originates in a fable about mice, and when it comes to mice a cat is a dangerous animal.

- (64) a. For the moment, however, it was France who *was riding the tiger* and it would be her problem how to dismount.
- b. For our demonstration of cold chemical bluing we *grabbed the tiger's tail* and gave it a hard yank by violating a cardinal rule of antique-gun preservation: Thou shalt reblue no ancient or venerable firearm.
- c. And our not so business friendly president *jumped into the lion's den* yesterday speaking to some of America's top CEOs.
- d. I expected *to be walking into the lion's den*, but instead I found that many people from this group were actually happy to see me and talk to me.
- e. I suspect what you'd really like to do is walk across the water and *beard the lion in the den* [...].
- f. The ape tickling the nostril of the giant sleeping in the landscape on the right echoes both the one who *bells the cat* and the one testing the depth of the peddler's sleep with the aid of a twig, all of them reinforcing the allusion to the Christian humanist paradox that views material reality as a world of inconsistent ghosts and illusory appearances while dream, or *vacatio*, unlocks the world of spiritual revelation and true realities.

However, the examples in (65) suggest just the opposite of the assumption that the speakers of English conceptualize risk in connection with a dangerous animal. They show that daring to take a risk can also be related to a harmless animal – a chicken, which is often used as an informal expression for a coward, namely a person not daring to take a risk. Although the expression chicken here refers to a daring game in which people compete against each other by doing something dangerous to show how brave they are. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor underlying this particular idiom could be RISK IS PLAYING A DARING GAME.

- (65) a. And we all *play chicken* with ourselves. And we look at every situation separately. We try and assess the dangers, the reality of it. And, is it worth it? You take your risks. You try and calculate them. If you think you can survive it, you go and do it. It's our job.
- b. CPO John Giblet is the extra man joining Watkins, who is a veteran of the 1973 race on Adventure, on the 7,600-mile leg where the yachts *will play chicken* with the 40-knot winds and high-rise seas of the Southern Ocean.

Certain idioms reveal the conceptual metaphor RISK IS NOT KNOWING, which is exemplified in (66). When one receives or takes an item from somebody, one does not know what she or he is getting, which constitutes a potential risk.

- (66) a. You can choose that author and be in that author -- what you can't choose is the kind of character you're going to be. You *have to take pot luck*. You could be anybody.
- b. Diane Keaton *took a flyer* at the role in a 1994 TV movie, Amelia Earhart: The Final Flight.

The conceptual metaphor behind the example in (67) seems to be RISK IS USING UP ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES. The act of sacrificing everything one has may have unpleasant consequences. This conceptual metaphor can also be observed in some idiomatic expressions that originate in the domain of gambling, which are provided in the following paragraph.

- (67) a. It's a risky strategy Farai, because they *are putting all of their eggs in one basket* and it's all or nothing for them.

As I have already stated, many idiomatic expressions in English dealing with risk map the source domain of gambling onto the target domain of risk. The conceptual metaphor behind these expressions is RISK IS GAMBLING. This is illustrated in (68). The last example shows that if one gambles responsibly, one is not taking any risks.

- (68) a. Not for the first time, she *was going for broke*; she tried to tell herself that nothing much bad could happen, at the most she could be discovered and thrown out, but somehow the stakes seemed much higher!
- b. And that raises a few flags, because with that, that means more elephant movement around and that *raises the ante* for possibility of infections.
- c. Less certain of what is audiences really want, the film industry now tends *to hedge its bets* and make each individual film to serve a variety of different audience desires.
- d. Six months later, the casino is open, catering to Sarajevans who have decided to gamble with money after more than two years of *gambling with their lives* at the hands of Bosnian Serb gunners.
- e. The word was that they *bet the farm* and were really going to fall flat on their face by putting all their money into a film in New Zealand by this small-time film director Peter Jackson.
- f. Tranmere Rovers *went nap* in front of their biggest gate of the season to inflict a heavy defeat on promotion chasing West Ham.
- g. And people who are staying in their homes in some locations *are playing a game of Russian roulette*. Will the water overtake them?
- h. Manville *was playing a wild hunch*. He had picked out the only Georgian-born individual purely on the strength of his personal feelings.
- i. And you knew what they were thinking, they were trying to weigh up whether they dare go across the stepping stones and you could tell by their faces and what they did of course when they decided no it was beyond them and they'd *play safe* and they'd go back the same way.

Certain idioms related to risk refer to an abstract entity such as fate, providence, luck, death and danger. These abstract entities are personified and viewed as human beings.

However, these idioms do not include only higher forces and other personified abstract entities, but also expressions from the domains of gambling, love relationships and competing. Therefore, the conceptual metaphors hiding behind these idioms are RISK IS GAMBLING WITH A HIGHER FORCE, RISK IS DEFYING A HIGHER FORCE and RISK IS COURTING A HIGHER FORCE. Such examples are presented in (69).

- (69) a. I would hardly call sailing “*dicing with death*”.
- b. The prince smiled as he spoke her true name; as if *tempting fate*, cocking a snook at danger.
- c. Would I waver at how young I had once been? would I remark that their speed *tempted Providence*? [...]
- d. The intention at that time had been for Ian and myself to return to Uist by the ferry in the afternoon but the weather was so bad that the ferryman decided *not to chance his luck* in the storm.
- e. Just make sure that you *don't push your luck* too far.
- f. And when people skip that process with a guild mushroom in particular, they're *courting danger*.
- g. Grade-schoolers will deliberately take risks, even when they know they're *flirting with danger*.

Several idiomatic expressions related to risk reveal that the speakers of English perceive risk also spatially. Risk denotes a line that divides a particular area onto a safe side and unsafe side. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS A LINE BETWEEN SAFE AND UNSAFE is illustrated in (70). The last example also forms part of this conceptual metaphor, although it entails that being on the safe side means not taking risks.

- (70) a. The moral is, deal with an expert who *will lay his reputation on the line* and back his opinion with a receipt.
- b. You're not, you don't trust them, you're *not going to put yourself on the line* are you, suppose.
- c. Being an elder today is *putting your ass on the line*.
- d. I don't mind *putting my neck on the line* when I have to, or when there's a percentage in it, but anybody who fools with the Severn in these parts just for the hell of it, is an idiot.
- e. After all, soldiers are the experts in fighting wars – and it is their lives that *are ultimately on the line*.
- f. She must fetch her raincoat, just *to be on the safe side*.

5.2 IDIOMS AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RISK IN SPANISH

This section sheds light on the conceptualization of risk by the speakers of Spanish as revealed from the analysis of the idioms in Spanish. The conceptual metaphors related to risk and risk-taking are determined on the basis of the examination of various source domains that are mapped onto the target domain of risk. The linguistic expressions should at least partially reveal the underlying conceptual metaphors.

One of the conceptual metaphors connected with risk in Spanish seems to be RISK IS VOLUNTARY EXPOSURE TO PHYSICAL INJURY. When taking a deliberate risk, one might get injured or even killed. This is illustrated in examples (71).

- (71) a. Jaime sintió que las piernas le flaqueaban, pero el hambre le aconsejó *arriesgar el pellejo*, a pesar del aliento alcohólico de la mujer.
b. De descubrirse lo habrían echado de las filas del ejército, *podría haberle costado la vida*.
c. Lo que no sé si *me estoy cogiendo los dedos*, como suele decirse, al hablar así.
d. Nunca se sabe, pero es mejor *no pillarse los dedos*, sobre todo teniendo en cuenta que andamos tal mal de fondos, pues la crisis del teatro es más que grave en estos tiempos [...].

The conceptual metaphor RISK IS GAMBLING is one of the most prominent conceptual metaphors related to risk-taking in Spanish. Several examples are given in (72). The first two examples are also manifestations of the conceptual metaphor RISK IS USING UP ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES, which is further exemplified in (79).

- (72) a. Comprendía absolutamente todo lo referente a Irene, excepto que ella era el tipo de mujer que, llegado determinado momento de su vida, *se lo jugaba todo a una carta*.
b. El equipo de Serra Ferrer abrió líneas para *jugarse el todo por el todo*, pero fue el Zaragoza el que se aprovechó de los huecos dejados para conseguir dos goles más, el segundo de penalti, que le colocaban en la final de la Copa del Rey.
c. Edward Futerman, el abogado de Ben Johnson, acusó al doctor Jamie Astaphan de *haber jugado a la ruleta rusa* con la salud del atleta canadiense con grandes dosis de esteroides anabolizantes.
d. El Gobierno de Aznar *se la juega hoy*. Si no desclasifica los documentos que solicita la Justicia será exactamente igual que el PSOE.

It is interesting that the verb *jugarse*, which belongs to the domain of gambling, is used in many idiomatic expressions together with different nouns denoting parts of the human

body. This can be perceived in examples (73). Therefore, the conceptual metaphor RISK IS GAMBLING WITH PARTS OF YOUR BODY is an elaboration of the RISK IS GAMBLING metaphor.

- (73) a. [Y] bueno, que estoy cansado de *jugarme el pellejo* todos los días en esta profesión que me tiene saturado.
- b. [Y me sentaré en el porche de la mía con un cigarrillo de hierba local entre los labios, y charlaré de las cosas del mundo y de la vida con mi vecino, y saldré a cenar, y haré buenas migas con algún jipi recién llegado, y se nos pegará un golfillo, y nos propondrá ir a una gallera para *jugarnos las pestañas* [...].
- c. Pero eso no hay quien lo pueda llevar a cabo hoy sin el riesgo, claro y manifiesto, de *jugarse la piel* y no precisamente con el toro, sino con el público, que, en su inmensa mayoría, piensa que el torero quiere o no quiere.
- d. Pero escucha, Juan, *¿yo tranquilo, no? Si meto la pata me juego el pescuezo*.
- e. Las horas de máxima afluencia de público condicionan el horario de muchas de estas personas, que han de *jugarse el tipo* para subir al tren y salir triunfantes del mare mágnim de codazos, empujones y hasta golpe del andén.
- f. Voy a decir una barbaridad, pero prefiero a un atracador, que al menos *se juega la vida* cuando comete ese acto repudiable, que a estos ladrones de guante blanco que están en las altas esferas.

Occasionally the idioms denoting risk refer to everyday situations that are potentially dangerous, such as jumping into water, playing with a knife, playing with fire, or stealing grapes from a vineyard. Thus, the conceptual metaphor behind these idioms is RISK IS A DANGEROUS ACTIVITY. This is exemplified in (74).

- (74) a. Aunque el único contacto con la política era en el Centro de Estudios Políticos y Económicos de la Costa que había montado para realizar investigaciones, decidió *echarse al agua*.
- b. *Jacta est alea* - le contesté en tono resuelto y afirmativo, dándole a entender que emprenderíamos la jornada y que *echaba el pecho al agua*.
- c. [Y] esos segundos en que ambos se miran más tiempo del debido son como un desafío, como si tratasen de medir quién es más débil, quién se asusta primero y desvía la mirada; pero ella la mantiene, sabiendo que *juega con fuego*, y él acaba por ceder y mira hacia la tarde luminosa que se despide con pereza más allá de la ventana.
- d. Fuimos a sacar un empate y nos tocó cargar con la derrota. *Jugamos con el filo de la navaja*, la táctica no funcionó y la herida es profunda.
- e. Pues porque nunca te atreves a *tocar lo que quema*. *¿Cuándo te has metido tú en la boca del lobo, di, cuándo?*
- f. Muchas civilizaciones antiguas sabían que podían protegerse de la viruela introduciendo en la sangre una pequeña cantidad de material infectado extraído de una víctima. Pero esta solución era

un paseo por la cuerda floja: bastaba un pequeño aumento en la cantidad inyectada o una muestra especialmente virulenta para provocar la enfermedad que quería evitarse.

g. *¿Entro por uvas?* – El conserje negaba con la cabeza. – *¿Cómo que no quieres, mariconazo?*

Certain idioms reveal the conceptual metaphor RISK IS THE INABILITY TO SEE. The examples in (75) show that when one is not able to see while performing a certain activity, one is taking risks.

(75) a. En el fondo todas son iguales, se dijo. No importa lo serenas que parezcan, cuando se les cruza una buena herramienta *se lían la manta a la cabeza* y no atienden a razones.

b. No te lances *a ciegas* en lo que no conoces.

Several idioms denoting risk express the conceptual metaphor RISK IS DEFYING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. This can be seen in examples (76). Even a cat can be seen as a dangerous animal because the idiom in example *c* referring to a cat originates in a story about mice, and from the perspective of mice a cat is a dangerous animal. In addition, the idiomatic expressions *d*, *e*, and *f* are grounded in the source domain of bullfighting. However, they do not refer directly to taking risks, but convey the idea that staying away from the bulls is a way to avoid risks.

(76) a. Harto, tomó la decisión de *meterse en la boca del león*: marcharse a los Estados Unidos.

b. No desconfía de ti, sino de tu gente: teme que no tengas sobre tus hombres absoluto control. Se niega a *meterse en la boca del lobo*.

c. El periodista Aguilar se atreve a formularle unas preguntas que son como *hacerle sonar el cascabel al gato* o *mostrarle la capa roja al toro* [...].

d. Ante esta situación han optado por *mirar los toros desde la barrera* y, en una actitud de impotencia, se limitan a criticar o a asumir el rol de víctimas de la situación.

e. Hay ciertas cosas de la España profunda que no pueden morir; entre ellas, los toros de Osborne, estampa pintoresca del desarrollo turístico de Fraga y represaliados por el inefable ministro Borrell, quien no se conforma con *ver los toros desde la barrera* y quiere apuntillarlos a golpe de piqueta.

f. Tú no te comprometerás, porque te quedarás escondida y nadie sabrá que has estado en mi casa. Y tampoco te expondrás a ningún percance porque *verás los toros desde el andamio*.

Occasionally the idiomatic expressions referring to risk-taking include an abstract entity denoting a higher force such as god or fortune. These abstract entities are personified.

The conceptual metaphors that underlie these expressions are RISK IS TRUSTING A HIGHER FORCE and RISK IS DEFYING A HIGHER FORCE. This is illustrated in (77).

- (77) a. Lo que me propones *es tentar a Dios*, es peligroso para mí y para ella.
b. Entrar en Egipto en compañía de tres norteamericanos significaba, en 1965, *desafiar la suerte*.
c. Francia buscará la victoria y no volver *a tentar a la suerte*, como le sucedió en el partido inaugural.
d. [E]lla te vio esa cara desorientada que andás poniendo y se lanzó a *probar la suerte*.
e. [B]ueno, que *sea lo que Dios quiera*, correré el riesgo, ¿qué debo hacer?
f. Y entonces, sin preocuparse por conciliar los diversos puntos de vista suscitados por las ideas de reforma; sin examinar lo que debe hacerse, atendiendo a la conveniencia de la comunidad, formada no sólo por los que viven, sino también por los que murieron y por los que nacerán, el capital, guiado por un impulso momentáneo, se lanza a ciega, *a salga lo que saliere*.

Another conceptual metaphor dealing with risk is RISK IS NOT KNOWING. When one does not know what is going to happen, and cannot predict the consequences of an action, one is taking a risk. This conceptual metaphor is presented in (78).

- (78) a. Si no te quisiera, ya le habría dado el sí al hijo del boticario; pero necia sería la que *dejase lo cierto por lo dudoso*.

The conceptual metaphor RISK IS USING UP ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES has been mentioned already in examples (72). Another idiomatic expression that reveals the conceptualization of risk as using up all the available supplies is presented in (79).

- (79) a. La recta final de las elecciones del próximo domingo se ha convertido para el PSC en una carrera contrarreloj en la que *se pone toda la carne en el asador* a fin de que aflore a la superficie el "voto oculto" que, a juicio de los socialistas, no reflejan las encuestas.

The conceptual metaphor underlying the idiomatic expression in (80) appears to be RISK IS AN ADVERSARY. This sentence reveals that the Moors are seen as potentially dangerous, which has its origins in the history of the Spanish people. The Moors were Muslims who occupied the Iberian Peninsula from 711 to 1492.

- (80) a. Cuidado. *Hay moros en la costa*. Mejor es que no sigamos hablando de esto y nos vayamos separadamente para la casa del general.

6. COMPARISON OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS RELATED TO RISK IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

This chapter deals with the comparison of conceptual metaphors related to risk and risk-taking between English and Spanish. The first part addresses the similarities and differences between the conceptual metaphors underlying the collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish. The second part focuses on the comparison of the conceptual metaphors manifested by the idiomatic expressions in English and Spanish.

6.1 COMPARISON OF METAPHORS BASED ON COLLOCATIONS

The purpose of this section is to contrast the conceptual metaphors revealed through the analysis of collocations in English and Spanish. First, the general similarities between English and Spanish as regards the conceptual metaphors are presented, and then the major differences are discussed.

6.1.1 *Similarities between English and Spanish*

Once the analysis of the collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish has been performed, it can be said that most of the conceptual metaphors related to risk are shared by the speakers of these two languages. In English as well as Spanish one of the most notable conceptual metaphors is RISK IS AN ENTITY. This enables the speakers to think and talk about risk in the first place. The identity of risk as an entity varies; however, most of the variants appear in both languages.

A very prominent variant of the conceptualization of risk as an entity is its perception in terms of a substance that has a particular quantity or size. In certain cases the substance is determined more specifically, and the focus of the conceptual metaphor is on a particular physical characteristic such as mass, quantity, or size. Occasionally the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP can also be observed in shaping the conceptualization of risk. At the same time the speakers of English and Spanish understand risk as a substance that can be measured or calculated. What is more, in all the mentioned cases of the conceptualization of risk as a substance the quantity or value of the substance is changeable.

Another variant of the conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY is the perception of risk as an object. In this way risk receives the physical characteristics of objects and as such can be manipulated in a variety of manners. An even more specific conceptualization of risk as an object can be observed in the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A MACHINE. People are often able to control certain risks by making appropriate choices, and as a consequence they probably see risk as a manageable object.

In addition, the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A COMMODITY reveals that risk is viewed as an object with a particular value or price by the speakers of English as well as Spanish. This conceptualization of risk might generate from the fact that the success of a risky or dangerous action is never guaranteed and in many cases requires some kind of investment that has to be realized beforehand. When people take a risk, they might lose money, other valuables, or even their own lives. However, if they succeed, the risk was worth taking as it increases their resources or enriches their experience. Related to this perception of risk is the conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN ENTITY LACKING VALUE, which seems to build on the same kind of experience as the previous conceptual metaphor. However, in this case the risky action has negative results.

An interesting conceptual metaphor that is again present in both languages is RISK IS FOOD. In both languages the focus of the metaphor is on the sense of taste. Risk might taste sour, sweet or even sweet-and-sour. This metaphor is probably constructed on the basis of the positive or negative consequences one experiences after taking a risk. The sensations experienced are compared to the taste of food one has after eating a dish tasting either sweet or sour. However, in Spanish risk is conceptualized also as food that satisfies one's hunger. This metaphor might be grounded in the real-life experience where risky actions can be satisfying in terms of excitement and adventure. The feeling of satisfaction after taking a risk resembles the feeling of contentment one experiences after satisfying hunger with a filling meal.

A conceptual metaphor common to the speakers of English and Spanish is also RISK IS A VISIBLE ENTITY. This metaphor is probably grounded in the fact that one can often see whether acting in a certain way in a situation means taking a risk. For example, if one needs to cross a river, one can decide whether the crossing is risky on the basis of visual clues such as the water level, the water flow and other circumstances that might render the crossing more difficult. One can visualize how risky a certain action will be.

An interesting example of a conceptual metaphor denoting risk shared in both languages is RISK IS AN IDEA. This source domain is abstract, which is unusual as source

domains are regularly more concrete. This means that the speakers of both languages probably view the domain of ideas as more structured or delineated than the domain of risk. This conceptualization might be motivated by the fact that before taking a risk one usually thinks a lot about it, so that a number of mental activities are involved in the decision making as regards taking the risk. At the same time it often happens that the risk is never realised, which means that it remains only as an idea in one's mind. Thus, there is a kind of correlation of experience involved in the motivation for this particular metaphor as the action of taking a risk is always accompanied by thinking about risk.

Another set of conceptual metaphors connected with risk has to do with the ontological metaphor RISK IS AN EVENT. The elaborations of this conceptual metaphor that appear in English as well as Spanish are RISK IS AN ADVENTURE and RISK IS A HEROIC DEED. The speakers of English and Spanish think of risk as something exciting, which stems from real-life situations, where adventurous activities are often risky. Similarly, one frequently needs courage to take a particular risk, so risk is perceived also as a courageous deed.

Related to these conceptualizations are the metaphors RISK IS AN ENJOYABLE ACTIVITY and RISK IS AN UNPLEASANT ACTIVITY. When the speakers of English and Spanish think of risk, they sometimes view it as either an entertaining activity that gives one pleasure or as an unpleasant activity that brings worries and anxiety. The same kind of risk can be enjoyable for some people, while unpleasant for others. In both cases, the conceptual metaphor seems to be grounded in physical experience of performing hazardous actions, which evoke either pleasant or unpleasant emotions in the experiences.

A very prominent ontological metaphor for risk in English and Spanish is RISK IS AN ADVERSARY. One often competes with risk, which is seen as dangerous, frightening, and destructive. In this case risk is personified. Similarly, human characteristics are given to risk also in the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A PERSON YOU LOVE. However, this conceptual metaphor reveals risk as the diametrical opposite. The motivation for both conceptual metaphors originates in similar physical experience of taking risky actions; however, the difference lies in the manner the actions are experienced.

Occasionally also the conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN ORGANISM is noted in both languages, which gives risk the characteristics of a living entity. In English, risk is understood as any kind of organism, while in Spanish there are certain examples that describe risk more specifically as either a plant or an animal.

Another conceptual metaphor that is found in English as well as Spanish is RISK IS A BODILY SENSATION. Risk can be experienced physically as a sensation in the body. This

particular conceptualization of risk is grounded in the real physical sensation that one experiences when facing a particular risk as the excitement accompanying risk-taking produces certain feelings in the body. Thus, the motivation for this particular metaphor is a certain correlation of experience. However, the elaboration of this metaphor RISK IS COLD is observed only in English, and not Spanish. The speakers of English sometimes base their perception of risk on the feeling of coldness that they experience when taking a certain risk, which might be related with the feeling of fear. Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005) illustrate that COLD is a relevant source domain for the target domain of FEAR.

In addition, a notable spatial conceptual metaphor RISK IS A SUBSTANCE INSIDE A CONTAINER is also shared by the two languages. The speakers of English as well as the speakers of Spanish conceptualize risk as a substance inside a bounded space. The motivation for this conceptual metaphor is based on the physical experience of the world.

5.1.2 Differences between English and Spanish

As it can be observed in the previous section, the present study found a close correspondence between the ontological and structural metaphors related to risk and risk-taking in English and Spanish. The only conceptualization of risk that is not shared by both languages is connected with the conceptual metaphor RISK IS COLD. However, the situation changes as regards spatial metaphors. Although the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A SUBSTANCE INSIDE A CONTAINER is common to English and Spanish, the two languages display a considerable difference when it comes to spatial metaphors.

The most notable spatial conceptual metaphor related to risk and risk-taking in English is RISK IS A LOCATION. Most frequently this conceptualization of risk is expressed with the help of the preposition *at*. The preposition *at* is commonly used with landmarks of boundary and extremity in English. In such cases “*at* suggests extreme nearness to or contact with the point at which one thing ends and another begins” (Lindstromberg 1997: 166). Therefore, one possible interpretation for the use of the preposition *at* in connection with risk could be that the prepositional phrase *at risk* denotes a certain point where safety ends and risk begins.

At the same time the preposition *at* is frequently used “when speaking of actions or events that take place at points along a route” (Lindstromberg 1997: 165). As the metaphorical expressions in English show that one can move towards the location or away from it, the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A LOCATION is sometimes elaborated in RISK IS A LOCATION ON A PATH.

Related to the spatial conceptual metaphor RISK IS A LOCATION ON A PATH is the conceptual metaphor RISK IS AN OBSTACLE. Surprisingly the latter conceptual metaphor is found in English as well as Spanish, while the former metaphor occurs only in English. The speakers of Spanish do not perceive risk as a location, but they do understand it as an obstacle that blocks a path. Moreover, the speakers of Spanish connect risk to proximity. One can move closer towards the risk or stay at a certain distance from it. The bigger the distance from risk, the smaller the risk.

In contrast, the speakers of Spanish make use of the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A CONTAINER. This is the most prominent spatial metaphor as regards risk in Spanish. Although the metaphor is shared also by the speakers of English, the collocations of the noun *risk* providing evidence for the conceptualization of risk as a container are extremely scarce in the English corpora. Moreover, the noun *risk* is never premodified by the preposition *in*, which is regularly used in English to express enclosure in a container. “Our prototypical mental image of ‘in-ness’ is surely that of a Landmark enclosing a Subject” (Lindstromberg 1997: 29).

Table 1. *Conceptualization of risk based on collocations*

ENGLISH	SPANISH
• risk is a substance SUBSTANCE	SUBSTANCE
• risk is an object OBJECT MACHINE COMMODITY ENTITY LACKING VALUE FOOD	OBJECT MACHINE COMMODITY ENTITY LACKING VALUE FOOD
• risk is a visible entity VISIBLE ENTITY	VISIBLE ENTITY
• risk is an idea IDEA	IDEA
• risk is an event or an action EVENT ADVENTURE HEROIC DEED ENJOYABLE ACTIVITY UNPLEASANT ACTIVITY	EVENT ADVENTURE HEROIC DEED ENJOYABLE ACTIVITY UNPLEASANT ACTIVITY
• risk is a person or an organism ADVERSARY PERSON YOU LOVE ORGANISM	ADVERSARY PERSON YOU LOVE ORGANISM
• risk is a bodily sensation BODILY SENSATION COLD	BODILY SENSATION /
• spatial metaphors LOCATION OBSTACLE CONTAINER SUBSTANCE INSIDE A CONTAINER	/ OBSTACLE CONTAINER SUBSTANCE INSIDE A CONTAINER

6.2 COMPARISON OF METAPHORS BASED ON IDIOMS

This part of the study is concerned with the comparison of conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions in English and Spanish. First the correspondences between English and Spanish are reviewed, and then the differences are determined.

6.2.1 Similarities between English and Spanish

After examining the idioms related to risk and risk-taking in English and Spanish, it can be concluded that most of the conceptual metaphors dealing with risk that are revealed in idiomatic expressions also overlap in the two languages. The source domains that are mapped onto the target domain of risk and risk-taking are quite similar in English and Spanish, which will be illustrated in this particular section.

One of the conceptual metaphors that is common to both languages is RISK IS VOLUNTARY EXPOSURE TO PHYSICAL INJURY. Both languages use expressions containing a part of the human body or the noun *life* to communicate that a voluntary risk will certainly lead to injury or death. This conceptual metaphor is most likely grounded in physical experience. Risky actions are often dangerous and result in physical harm.

Related to the previously mentioned metaphor is the conceptual metaphor RISK IS EXECUTION, which can be observed only in English, but not in Spanish. Real-life experiences of executing people by tying them to a wooden post and then burning them, cutting their head off, shooting them at the wall or killing them when they go too close to the prison wire are being used as the motivation for this metaphor. All these actions are extremely risky as they usually result in death.

Another prominent conceptual metaphor shared by English and Spanish is RISK IS GAMBLING. Several expressions from the source target of gambling are taken from card games. It is interesting that there exists an elaboration of this metaphor in Spanish. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS GAMBLING WITH PARTS OF YOUR BODY can be perceived in a number of idiomatic expressions in Spanish. The motivation for the mapping of the source domain of gambling onto the target domain of risk seems completely obvious as taking risks is an inherent part of gambling.

Both languages also share the conceptual metaphor RISK IS INABILITY TO SEE. This conceptual metaphor is again based in everyday physical experience of humans. Certain

actions become hazardous when they have to be performed in darkness. When one cannot see, one is more probable to commit fatal mistakes, which can lead to injuries or even death.

Related to the previous conceptual metaphor is the conceptualization of risk in connection with the uncertainty of what one is going to get or what is going to happen. This is exemplified in the conceptual metaphor RISK IS NOT KNOWING. The metaphor is again motivated in the physical experience of human beings. When one is uncertain about something that is going to happen in the future or about something one will get, one is obviously taking a risk. The metaphorical expressions in English that reveal this conceptual metaphor are especially interesting. One idiom refers to potluck, a meal where each guest brings some food that is later shared, so the guests never know beforehand what they are going to eat. The other idiom is connected to advertising. When one takes a flyer, one does not know what the flyer is about. In both cases uncertainty as the result of not knowing constitutes a risk.

A further conceptual metaphor appearing in English as well as Spanish is RISK IS A DANGEROUS ACTIVITY. Both languages base their expressions on everyday activities that are potentially hazardous. The idiomatic expressions are grounded mostly in bodily experience. The dangerous activities include jumping into water, playing with fire or touching something hot, playing with a sharp object such as a knife or a razor, or walking on a tightrope. The English language builds also on experience of tree climbing, walking on thin ice, and sailing. In addition, one Spanish idiom is based on cultural experience, which means that the whole conceptual metaphor is not motivated only by bodily experience, but also by cultural knowledge. The idiomatic expression *g* in (74) referring to grapes originates in the history of Andalusia, where the vineyards were always well guarded by lookouts keeping an eye on the vines from high towers, which meant that it was quite risky to try to steal grapes from the vineyard (Suazo Pascual 1999: 206). Thus, this conceptual metaphor is associated with the natural environment in which a culture is located.

English and Spanish also boast some idiomatic expressions referring to animals. The conceptual metaphor RISK IS DEFYING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL is present in both. However, while the lion is perceived as a potentially dangerous animal in English and Spanish, only English makes use of the tiger, and only Spanish refers to the wolf and the bull. In addition, the speakers of English utilize also the conceptual metaphor RISK IS FACING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL IN ITS DEN. Both metaphors are clearly grounded in the bodily experience as well as knowledge about animals, especially as lions and tigers are not animals that typically appear in Europe, where the two languages originated.

The same conceptual metaphor RISK IS DEFYING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL is revealed also in the idiom that expresses the belling of a cat as a risky activity. This idiomatic expression appears in both languages and it originates in one of Aesop's fables, where a cat is viewed as a dangerous animal because the story is told from the perspective of the mice that want to undertake the hazardous action of belling a cat. Therefore, the motivation for this metaphor can be found in cultural knowledge, which is here shared by the two cultures.

As regards the same metaphor, two additional issues have to be clarified. First, it seems that only the speakers of Spanish perceive the bull as a dangerous animal, which is most likely connected to cultural experience. However, most of the idioms related to risk-taking that refer to the bull express avoidance of risk-taking, and do not communicate a daring or risk-taking action. They denote observing the traditional spectacle of bullfighting from a safe place.

And second, another conceptual metaphor that appears to be grounded in cultural experience is RISK IS PLAYING A DARING GAME. This metaphor is revealed by the idioms referring to the daring game of playing chicken, but only in English, which may suggest that the tradition of playing daring games might be stronger in English-speaking communities than Spanish ones. Moreover, this conceptual metaphor is related to the metaphors RISK IS A HEROIC DEED and RISK IS A RECKLESS DEED, which are again observed only in English. However, there exist only subtle nuances between these conceptual metaphors and the metaphor RISK IS A DANGEROUS ACTIVITY, which is shared by both languages.

An interesting conceptualization of risk that is common to English as well as Spanish is associated with higher forces. The speakers of Spanish often perceive risk in connection with god or fortune, while the speakers of English link it to fate, providence, luck, danger or death. All these abstract notions are personified and are treated as human beings. The conceptual metaphor related to higher forces that occurs in both languages is RISK IS DEFYING A HIGHER FORCE. Moreover, English exhibits the metaphors RISK IS GAMBLING WITH A HIGHER FORCE and RISK IS COURTING A HIGHER FORCE, while Spanish makes use of the metaphor RISK IS TRUSTING A HIGHER FORCE. On the basis of the conceptual nature of these metaphors it can be claimed that most of them are grounded in the cultural beliefs of the speakers of the two languages. It seems that the speakers of English and Spanish usually associate risk with deliberate human action that results in either positive or negative reaction from a higher force. However, the metaphorical expressions reveal that the speakers of Spanish sometimes rely more on the will of god than on their own resolutions, which might be the result of extensive influence from the Muslim tradition during the Moorish occupation.

A further conceptual metaphor that is shared by the speakers of English and Spanish is RISK IS USING UP ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES. The motivation for this conceptual metaphor lies in everyday experience. When people carry many eggs in one basket, there is a great possibility that all of them will be broken in case the basket is dropped. Or when one bets all the money one possesses on only one card when gambling, there is again a strong probability that everything will be lost. Such common experience originating in the domain of household as well as the domain of gambling forms the basis for this particular conceptual metaphor that also structures our understanding of risk.

6.2.2 Differences between English and Spanish

Apart from the minor differences already mentioned in the previous section, the study reveals one major difference between the two languages as regards the conceptualization of risk underlying the idioms. A very prominent conceptual metaphor in English RISK IS A LINE BETWEEN SAFE AND UNSAFE is not found in Spanish. This metaphor is a kind of spatial metaphor dividing a particular area into a safe part and an unsafe part. The line separating the two parts represents risk. As soon as one puts or lays something on the line, one is taking a risk. Certain idioms revealing this particular metaphor imply that even a part of the body such as the neck or the ass or even one's life can be put on the line, which suggests that a particular risk can result in physical injury or even death.

Table 2. *Conceptualization of risk based on idioms*

ENGLISH	SPANISH
VOLUNTARY EXPOSURE TO PHYSICAL INJURY	VOLUNTARY EXPOSURE TO PHYSICAL INJURY
EXECUTION	/
INABILITY TO SEE	INABILITY TO SEE
DANGEROUS ACTIVITY	DANGEROUS ACTIVITY
HEROIC DEED	/
RECKLESS DEED	/
DEFYING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL	DEFYING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL
FACING A DANGEROUS ANIMAL IN ITS DEN	/
PLAYING A DARING GAME	/
NOT KNOWING	NOT KNOWING
USING UP ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES	USING UP ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES
GAMBLING	GAMBLING
/	GAMBLING WITH PARTS OF YOUR BODY
GAMBLING WITH A HIGHER FORCE	/
DEFYING A HIGHER FORCE	DEFYING A HIGHER FORCE
COURTING A HIGHER FORCE	/
/	TRUSTING A HIGHER FORCE
/	ADVERSARY
LINE BETWEEN SAFE AND UNSAFE	/

7. CONCLUSION

In this study I attempted to perform a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural analysis of the conceptual metaphors as regards risk and risk-taking in English and Spanish. The study was carried out within the framework of corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics. Thus, I built my analysis of conceptual metaphors on naturally occurring data from several corpora, and I examined the conceptual metaphors underlying the collocations and the idioms from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

After having analysed the conceptual metaphors motivating the collocations as well as the idiomatic expressions, I conclude that most of the conceptual metaphors related to risk and risk-taking overlap in English and Spanish. This means that the conceptualization of risk is in general very similar between the two languages. In addition, most of the metaphors are grounded in direct physical experience, which is often associated with performing a hazardous action. However, it has to be pointed out that several conceptual metaphors also stem from cultural experience, although the differences as regards this kind of metaphors across the two languages are not that striking either.

My hypothesis previous to the analysis of conceptual metaphors was that the conceptual metaphors motivating the collocations would show fewer differences between the two languages in comparison with the conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions. I formed such an opinion on the basis of the assumption that idioms are more closely associated with the beliefs and customs of a specific culture. However, my predictions did not turn out to be entirely correct. Although the conceptual metaphors that were revealed through the analysis of the collocations of the noun and the verb *risk* in English, and the noun *riesgo* and the verb *arriesgar(se)* in Spanish do in fact show slightly more variation in comparison with the conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions, there are only subtle differences between the conceptualization of risk in the two languages.

However, it has to be pointed out that the overlapping of conceptual metaphors is observed predominantly in ontological and structural metaphors. In contrast, spatial metaphors related to risk and risk-taking show considerable variation between the two languages, which is the most striking result to emerge from the data. These differences between English and Spanish are observed in the conceptual metaphors underlying the collocations as well as in the conceptual metaphors motivating the idioms. To illustrate, it seems that the speakers of English perceive risk as a location where safety ends and risk begins, which is manifested by the frequent use of the preposition *at* as a premodifier of the

noun *risk*, as well as by the various idiomatic expressions underlying the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A LINE BETWEEN SAFE AND UNSAFE. The latter metaphor motivating the idioms is related to the conceptual metaphor RISK IS A LOCATION ON A PATH since the speakers of English perceive the line between safe and unsafe as a sum of consecutive locations on a path. In contrast, such conceptualization of risk is not found in Spanish.

Therefore, the main question that arises from the present study is why English and Spanish demonstrate such a considerable difference as regards the spatial metaphors related to risk and risk-taking if a great number of spatial metaphors are grounded in direct bodily experience, and are thus quite likely to be universal. One of the possible explanations for the differences between spatial metaphors between the two languages is that culture plays a major role in the conceptualization processes even when it comes to physical experience. Kövecses's findings (2004: 271) confirm my assumption: "The universal bodily basis on which universal metaphors *could* be built is *not* utilized in the same way or to the same extent in different languages and varieties". However, further research with the focus on the role of culture in the formation of spatial metaphors needs to be undertaken.

At the same time, the present study has also revealed that sometimes Conceptual Metaphor Theory proves insufficient to fully clarify the occurrence of some conceptual metaphors, so that it becomes necessary to employ Conceptual Blending Theory developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, who believe that the construction of meaning "typically involves integration of structure that gives rise to more than the sum of its parts" (Evans and Green 2006: 400). More complex explanation is required mostly with conceptual metaphors underlying idiomatic expressions. One such conceptual metaphor from the present study that would need further clarification is RISK IS GAMBLING WITH PARTS OF YOUR BODY, where the properties of the conceptual metaphor are not only a sum of the source and target domains, but are further elaborated.

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