DE GRUYTER MOUTON DOI 10.1515/phras-2019-0006 — YoP 2019; 10: 89–112

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A comparative study of idioms on drunkenness in Chinese and Spanish

Abstract: This study, based on the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Conventional Figurative Language Theory, presents a cross-linguistic comparison of the idioms on drunkenness in Chinese and Spanish, applying the analytical method with three hierarchical levels (iconic models > archi-metaphors > particular metaphors). The findings show that, on the one hand, though linguistically and culturally very distant, these two languages share some iconic models (i.e. ANIMAL, MOVEMENT, BODY PART, PLANT and AGGRESSION) in their idioms on inebriation; on the other hand, they also have their own ways in expressing drunkenness, due to their particular cultural backgrounds, i.e. religions, superstitions, history, ethnic prejudices, legends, etc. The present investigation also proves the universality of the cognitive thinking model of human beings as well as the cognitive specialization in different cultures, giving an insight into idiom comprehension and intercultural communication.

Keywords: phraseology; metaphor; drunkenness; culture

1 Introduction

1.1 Theories of idiom analysis

The consumption of alcoholic drinks plays an important role in many cultures, which to a great extent is reflected in the rich lexical field of inebriation, including both single words and idioms. Although Chinese and Spanish are two languages which are linguistically and culturally very distant, the metaphors embedded in their idioms share some metaphorical iconic models, which can be explained by the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). However, there are still many other idioms that cannot fit into these models. As Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2006: 27) assert, the instrument of *conceptual metaphor*, developed

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in the scope of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, can be used for idiom analysis. Yet, it is not omnipotent in explaining all the idioms, especially in the specifics of idiom semantics.

The most salient features of idioms cannot be captured without addressing cultural knowledge. Conceptual metaphors are not the only linguistically relevant type of knowledge. In order to determine the specific semantic and pragmatic features of idioms, one still needs to take into account those culturally based concepts which govern the inference from literal to figurative (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2006: 27). The role of culture becomes even more obvious when we compare idioms from different languages. What language users take for granted from the perspective of their own culture may turn out to be idiosyncratic from the perspective of another culture (cf. Piirainen 2004a, Piirainen 2004b). Thus, idioms cannot be sufficiently described by metalinguistic instruments such as the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. For this reason, Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) propose a theory specially designed to describe the irregularities of idioms, which is labelled as Conventional Figurative Language Theory.

1.2 Literature review

Pamies and Iñesta (1999, 2000) propose a hierarchical framework of recurrent mapping patterns between source domains and target domains, demonstrating their systematicity and productivity. This framework consists of three layers: from top to bottom they are *iconic models* (i.e. a reduced number of source domains), *archi-metaphors* (i.e. mappings with propositional structure that can generate many metaphors), and *particular metaphors* (i.e. concrete idioms with metaphorical connotations).

The consumption of alcoholic drinks plays an important role in many cultures, which is manifested in the stock of lexical and phraseological expressions referring to inebriation. These polylexical units have already been explored in various languages by many linguists. To be specific, the lexicon of drunkenness has been studied from a monolingual perspective in the following languages: Spanish (Suárez Blanco 1989), French (Giraud 1998), and English (Cortina 2005). Furthermore, contrastive studies on words and multiword constructions describing being drunk have been carried out, e.g. comparisons of such languages as: Spanish and Guarani (Pamies et al. 2004), Russian, Ukrainian and Spanish (Pamies and Tarnovska 2007), Spanish, French and English (Pamies and Cortina 2009), as well as Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, French, Ukrainian and Russian (Pamies et al. 2008). However, the lexicon of drunkenness in Chinese has not yet been investigated systematically, and neither does there exist a comparative study of idioms on drunkenness between Chinese and Spanish.

Chinese and Spanish are two of the most spoken languages in the world. At the same time, since they are typologically and genetically very distant from each other, they are not supposed to share any etymological common ground. In a certain sense, they could be viewed as the representative linguistic and cultural systems of the eastern and western extremes of the Ancient World. According to our hypothesis, the presence of coincidences and/or similarities would be a relevant fact for cognitive and anthropological linguistics. As for drunkenness, its existence in both cultures is the essential *tertium comparationis*, indispensable to compare both languages. Moreover, we assume that linguistic items may reveal differences in the anthropological vision of drinking and being drunk in both cultures.

Although DRUNKENNESS is sometimes expressed by meaningless onomatopoeic words, such as sp. *piripi* or *pilipitrusco* (DVE 2018)[1], its most common designations are metaphors. Therefore, in the present article, based on the theory of Conceptual Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), we try to conduct a cross-linguistic comparison of the idioms on drunkenness in Chinese and Spanish, applying the analytical method proposed by Pamies and Iñesta (1999, 2000) with three hierarchical levels (*iconic models* > *archi-metaphors* > *particular metaphors*).

The Spanish idioms used for the analysis have been selected from articles on drunkenness, mainly the studies by Suárez Blanco (1989), Lozano (1998), Pamies et al. (2004), Pamies and Tarnovska (2007), Pamies et al. (2008), as well as Pamies and Cortina (2009), others have been excerpted from dictionaries, articles, and books on Spanish phraseology (Sbarbi 1873; Iribarren 1955; Luque et al. 1998; Seco et al. 2004; Sevilla and Cantera 2004; Cantera and Gomis 2007). As for the Chinese idioms, they have been collected from many different types of source materials, including dictionaries, books, articles, corpora and so forth. The majority of the expressions for both languages are commonly used in daily life, which attests that polylexical units constitute an important part of the lexicon.

1.3 The consumption of alcohol in China and Spain

In both China and Spain, the use of alcohol has a long history and it is an important component of their cuisine and culture. The evidence of alcoholic drinking in China may date back to 7000 years ago (Shen and Wang 1998). From then on, alcohol has penetrated into all kinds of classes and areas, exerting a far-reaching influence on people's political, economic and cultural life. As a Chinese saying goes, *wú jiǔ bù chéng yàn xí* 无酒不成宴席 "no banquet can do without liquor"

1 Taken from *pim pirirím pim pim*, emulating the sound of the wine flowing out from a wineskin, according to famous folk songs from Northern Spain, such as *El vino que vende Asunción*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-OcB79yYQQ (accessed 24 February 2019).

'wine is a must for a feast'[2] (BCC Chinese Corpus). Effectively, alcohol is part of many traditional festivals and celebrations (such as Spring Festival, weddings, birthday parties), as well as ceremonies. One of the classic examples of the ceremonial use of alcohol is described in the famous Chinese historical novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三国演义). The three heroes (Liu Bei 刘备, Guan Yu 关羽 and Zhang Fei 张飞) in the epic tale become blood brothers by drinking bowls of wine into which they have mixed drops of their own blood from cuts in their fingers. This act may seem quite extreme, but it was regarded as a symbol of faithfulness during that era (Chen 1995: 357). Traditionally, a toast can extend the good wishes to another: for victory or success, good journey, good luck, good health, happiness, and so forth. Besides, alcohol is also associated with arts and poetry: the famous Chinese poet Li Bai (李白) is known as the "saint of alcohol" (酒圣) (Shen and Wang 1998). Even nowadays, alcohol is commonly used, particularly by men, to maintain good relations among colleagues or friends, as well as to facilitate business negotiation. It is considered that the way to enter a man's heart is through his stomach and buying someone a drink is much better than a handshake. There is a Chinese saying, *Nán rén bù hē jiǔ, jiāo bù dào hǎo péng yǒu* (男人不喝酒，交不到好朋友) "a man who never drinks will not have bosom friends", which asserts that 'men make friends by drinking alcohol together' (Wang 2012: 278).

Spain also has a long history of alcohol consumption, although the exact date of its origin is unknown. In Spanish culture, alcoholic drinks, due to their nature and effects, originally were linked to the Divine and associated with religious rituals. During the Roman Empire, the god of wine, Bacchus, was adored as a liberator in festivities of sexual freedom, wine intoxication and ecstasy, called *Bacchanalia*, which had even been forbidden, until they were officially reformed. The Bible ascribes the invention of wine to Noah, the saviour of all living species during the Great Flood. He cultivated a vineyard, where he became intoxicated by the wine he had made, discovering the effects of alcohol to human beings. For Christians, the wine symbolizes the blood of Jesus Christ, and is one of the pillars of all Southern European cultures (today, the *per capita* consumption of alcohol in Spain is higher than the European average alcoholic consumption, according to a recent study by the World Health Organization). From ancient times to the present, alcohol has exerted a profound influence on Spanish cuisine and social relations, as the Spanish proverb *Ni mesa sin vino, ni sermón sin agustino* "no table without wine, no sermon without an Augustinian" indicates, which means that 'wine is a must in our diet'.

2 In this article, we mark all literal translations within the text using double quotation marks "...", and the figurative translations using single quotation marks '...'.

2 Idioms on drunkenness

Since almost all the idioms mentioned in this article designate "drunkenness", to avoid redundancy, the linguistic examples below are only presented with their original forms as well as their literal meanings, omitting their figurative meaning, which is always "to be drunk". As for those with distinct meanings, their connotative meanings are particularly added below.

2.1 The iconic model [ANIMAL]

The archi-metaphor [THE DRUNKARD IS AN ANIMAL]

From a biological perspective, no animal is known for its alcoholic tendencies. However, this does not mean that zoomorphic metaphors are arbitrary, as Tutin and Grossmann (2002) assert. According to Pamies and Cortina (2009: 226), possibly certain animals are able to symbolize a force or resistance that could enable them to drink a large amount of alcohol. In both Chinese and Spanish, one can find a number of species of animals that represent 'the drunkard'. Some of the species are the same in both languages; for example, a drunkard can be seen as a pig/swine (idioms 1, 2, 3) or a fish (idioms 4, 5, 6). Yet, there are still some slight differences: in Chinese, the fish is a loach (idiom 4), while in Spanish it is a hake (idiom 5) or a horse mackerel (idiom 6). In the case of "pig", the Chinese image is more specific, referring to a "dead pig" (死猪), while in Spanish, the corresponding image is merely a "pig" (*cerdo /puerco / marrano*), without any qualifier.

(1) ch. *xiàng sǐ zhū yī yàng* 像死猪一样 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"to be like a dead pig"

(2) sp. *estar borracho como un cerdo (/marrano)* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to be as drunk as a pig"

(3) sp. *ponerse guarro* (Pamies et al. 2004: 58)
"to become a swine"

(4) ch. *zuì ní qiū* 醉泥鳅 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"a drunken loach"

(5) sp. *pillar una merluza* (DVE 2018)
"to catch a hake"

(6) sp. *pillar un jurel* (Pamies et al. 2004: 58)
"to catch a horse mackerel"

Besides these subtle differences, there are more peculiarities in Spanish, since this language employs a larger number of animal terms to describe the drunkenness, referring to such species as snake (7), ox (8), mole (9), leech (10), louse (11), mosquito (12), elephant (13), kestrel (14), and so forth. In addition, in the case of Spanish, sometimes the mere animalization of a person is capable of symbolizing the drunkard's degradation, which can be shown by the use of general zoomorphic metaphors with the image of an animal (15).

(7) sp. *ir culebreando* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to move like a snake"

(8) sp. *estar borracho como un buey* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to be as drunk as an ox"

(9) sp. *estar como un topo* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to be like a mole"

(10) sp. *chupar más que una sanguijuela* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to suck more than a leech"

(11) sp. *estar como piojo* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 224)
"to be like a louse"

(12) sp. *chupar más que un mosquito* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to suck more than a mosquito"

(13) sp. *ponerse trompa / pillar una trompa* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 226)
"to become an (elephant's) trunk" / "to catch an (elephant's) trunk"

(14) sp. *pillar un cernícalo* (Pamies et al. 2004: 58)
"to catch a kestrel"

(15) sp. *borracho como un animal / como una bestia* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 224)
"drunk as an animal / as a beast"

We have observed that in Chinese some particular animal species are used to describe the drunkard: for example, a "drunken cat" (16), a "dog" (17), or a "water worm" (18). Besides, in the dialect of Pei county (沛县)[3], a drunkard is compared to a "red-faced colt" (19) due to their similarity in the red flush on the face.

3 Dialect of Pei county (沛县) in the province of Jiangsu (江苏).

(16) ch. *zuì māo* 醉猫 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"a drunken cat"

(17) ch. *zuì de xiàng tiáo gǒu* 醉得像条狗 (*Fang Cao [芳草]* 2007: 102)
"to be as drunk as a dog"

(18) ch. *làn zuì rú ní* 烂醉如泥[4] (Ni et al. 2005: 263)
"to be as drunk as a drunken water worm"

(19) ch. *zuì ní qiū* 醉泥鳅 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"a drunken loach"

(20) ch. *hóng liǎn jū* 红脸驹[5]
"a red-faced colt"

2.2 The iconic model [MOVEMENT]

Kinetic metaphors of drunkenness tend to be based on spatial disorders, a metonymic representation of the cause–effect relationship between excessive alcohol consumption and lack of sensorimotor self-control (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228). Therefore, the DRUNKENNESS is frequently represented by different kinds of movement in Chinese and Spanish idioms.

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS A ROTATING MOVEMENT]

Due to the dizziness, it is difficult for a drunkard to walk straight ahead. Therefore, drunkenness is always represented by unnecessary turns, lateral movements, and so forth (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228). In both Chinese and Spanish, a drunkard may stagger like drawing a certain figure with the feet, such as a cross (21) in the case of Chinese, and the letter S (22), the letter X (23), or the [Arabic] number eight (24), or even a spinning top (25) in the case of Spanish. Still, there are slight differences. In Chinese, people may also associate a staggering drunkard with stirring the garlic (26).

(21) ch. *jiǎo xià huà shí zì* 脚下画十字 (Zhang et al. 1995: 213)
"to walk like drawing a cross"

4 *Ní* (泥) here is a kind of worm which lives in water. Once it gets out of water, curiously it will get drunk and appear like the mud. Therefore, its name is the same as 'mud' (泥) in Chinese.
5 *Pei Xian Ren Dui Jiu Gui De Cheng Hu Ji Cui* (沛县人对酒鬼的称呼集萃) [How an Alcoholic is Called in Pei County]. http://bbs.dzwww.com/thread-46362214-1-1.html (accessed 23 August 2018).

(22) sp. *ir haciendo eses* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to walk like drawing repeatedly the letter S"

(23) sp. *ir haciendo equis* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to walk like drawing repeatedly the letter X"

(24) sp. *ir haciendo ochos* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to walk like drawing repeatedly the [Arabic] number 8"

(25) sp. *estar peonza* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to be [like a] spinning top"

(26) ch. *jiǎo xià bàn suàn* 脚下拌蒜 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"to walk like stirring the garlic with the feet touching each other"

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS AN UPWARD MOVEMENT]

The upward movement tends to indicate metaphorically the loss of control and fantasy, opposed to the metaphor "down to earth" which represents rationalist control and a practical mentality (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228). A drunkard tends to be associated with irrational reactions, usually mental ones. It must be pointed out that, actually, this upward movement is merely imaginary. In Chinese, the walk of a drunkard is described as floating (27) due to the sense of lightness. In Spanish, there are also idioms which mention the upward movement to express the drunkenness, namely, going up to the sky (28, 29).

(27) ch. *zuì de zǒu lù qīng piāo piāo* 醉得走路轻飘飘 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"to be so drunk that one feels like walking on air"

(28) sp. *estar fuera de órbita* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to be out of the orbit"

(29) sp. *estar arriba de la pelota* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to be on top of the ball"

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS A DOWNWARD MOVEMENT]

Excessive alcohol consumption may lead to psychomotor unbalance. As a result of employing the metonymy of "falling down", drunkenness can be seen as a downward movement. Furthermore, the negative connotations of the orientational metaphor ("down is bad") contribute to this association, thus underlining

the indignity of drunkenness (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228). Chinese language users may describe a sleeping dead-drunk man by focusing on a downward movement, as illustrated by idiom (30). In Spanish, likewise, a drunkard is closely associated with "falling down in a clumsy way" (31, 32).

(30) ch. *shān gōng dǎo zǎi* 山公倒载 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"Mr. Shan Jian [gets drunk], falls down on the coach and keeps sleeping"

(31) sp. *estar caído de la perra* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to fall down from the female dog"

(32) sp. *ir dando trompicones* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 228)
"to walk with falls and stumbles"

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS AN INWARD MOVEMENT]

Here the inward movement is a metonymy of filling the body-recipient with liquid. In this sense, the drunkard is a recipient, and the liquid is alcohol. This concept is used to describe a drunkard in both Chinese and Spanish. In some cases, even the image of the recipient is the same, as is the case with the barrel or the wineskin. In other words, a heavy drinker is compared with a wine barrel (33, 34) or a wineskin (35, 36).

(33) ch. *jiǔ tǒng* 酒桶 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"barrel of wine"

(34) sp. *estar como una cuba* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 229)
"to be like a wine barrel"

(35) ch. *jiǔ náng* 酒囊 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"wineskin"

(36) sp. *estar como un pellejo* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 229)
"to be like a wineskin"

It is worth noting that, unlike in Chinese, in Spanish this concept can also be conveyed by describing the action of drinking. Becoming drunk is the result of pouring alcohol into the body (37). Still, some Spanish idioms are based on the ability of absorbing liquids (38).

(37) sp. *llenar el depósito* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 229)
"to fill up the tank"

(38) sp. *beber más que una esponja* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 229)
"to drink more than a sponge"

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS AN OUTWARD MOVEMENT]

In this section, outward movement means that something comes out of the body, be it material or immaterial. In the majority of cases, it refers to the things thrown out by the drunkard (tears, vomit, etc.), based on the effect–cause metonymy between drunkenness and the flows, usually implying the pejorative connotations underlining the explicit scatology (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230).

In a Chinese dialect, the idiom (39) is used to refer to the action of vomiting after drinking excessively, implicating that the vomit is terribly disgusting. Besides, the intoxication is described in a very exaggerated and abstract way by resorting to the soul or spirit. In the traditional Chinese philosophy, the soul/spirit is considered as a kind of vigour depending on a human's body. However, the deep drunkenness may even expel this spiritual matter from the physical body; or may cause it to turn upside down (40, 41).

In Spanish, people tend to use the image of throwing tears out (42), with dysphemistic allusions to farting (43), defecating (44) or vomiting, as external signs of being drunk, suggesting the unpleasant and unruly state and an uncontrollable behaviour (Batchelor 2006: 106). It must be pointed out that in the Spanish language, there is also a euphemism, symbolizing a real inward movement by means of a figurative outward movement (45). In this case, "blowing the bottle" ironically means sucking all the wine from it.

(39) ch. *ē gāo shǐ* 阏高屎[6]
"to shit high"
'to vomit'

(40) ch. *zuì de líng hún chū qiào* 醉得灵魂[7]出窍 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"to be so drunk that the soul/spirit is out of the body"

(41) ch. *zuì de shén hún diān dǎo* 醉得神魂颠倒 (*Shan Cha [山茶]* 1983: 155)
"to be so drunk that the soul/spirit turns upside down"

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6 *Pei Xian Ren Dui Jiu Gui De Cheng Hu Ji Cui* (沛县人对酒鬼的称呼集萃) [How an Alcoholic is Called in Pei County]. http://bbs.dzwww.com/thread-46362214-1-1.html (accessed 23 August 2018).
7 *líng hún* (灵魂): soul or spirit, believed by the superstitious to be an immaterial spiritual entity distinguished from but coexistent with the physical body of a person and a dominant spiritual force, which leaves upon the person's death.

(42) sp. *tener una llorona* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to cry a lot"

(43) sp. *estar pedo / estar apedado / tener un pedo / agarrar un gran pedo*
(Batchelor 2006: 106; DVE 2018)
"to be a fart" / "to be fart-like" / "to have a fart" / "to catch a big fart"

(44) sp. *pillar una mierda* / *estar amierdado*
(Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230; DVE 2018)
"to catch a shit" / "to be shit-like"

(45) sp. *soplarse una botella* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to blow [oneself] a bottle"

The archi-metaphor [Drunkenness is the lack of movement]

By metonymy, drunkenness is the lack of movement, which may indicate the incapacity or difficulty in standing, walking or staying awake. Drunkenness may lead to dizziness (or even unconsciousness) which, in turn, causes loss of balance and difficulty in finding one's way home (46, 47). In Spanish, the drunkenness is also viewed metaphorically as a heavy burden which keeps the drunkard from moving (48).

(46) ch. *mǐng dīng dà zuì* 酩酊大醉 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"to be so drunk as to be completely paralytic"

(47) sp. *ir abrazando farolas* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to go hugging lampposts"

(48) sp. *llevar una trompa* (Batchelor 2006: 106)
"to carry an elephant's trunk"

2.3 The iconic model [body parts]

The archi-metaphor [Drunkenness is the change of body parts]

Metaphoric somatisms of drunkenness tend to associate certain body parts with a specific movement. In both Chinese and Spanish, the most common body parts involved are head, ears, eyes, arms, legs, mouth, etc. (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 231). This kind of idioms tends to be related to the symptoms of excessive drinking.

For example, a drunkard may become dazzled (49, 50). Likewise, drunkenness may make one feel groggy and in this case the head is described (51, 52). In addition, the change of face colour is also one of the common symptoms of drunkenness. In Chinese, the red colour is used for this purpose (53), while in the case of Spanish, it is purple (54).

(49) ch. *jiǔ hān ěr rè* 酒酣耳热 (Chang 1984: 64)
"to drink to one's heart's content, with ears flushing from excitement"

(50) sp. *salírsele los ojos de la cara* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 231)
"the eyes jump out of one's face"

(51) ch. *zuì de tóu hūn nǎo zhàng* 醉得头昏脑胀 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"to be so drunk that the head is confused, and the brain is swelling"

(52) sp. *tener la cabeza caliente* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 231)
"to have a hot head"

(53) ch. *zuì yán wēi tuó* 醉颜微酡 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"the face turns slightly flushed after being drunk"

(54) sp. *ponerse morado a latigazos* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"[the face] becomes purple as if being lashed"

2.4 The iconic model [PLANT]

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS A FRUIT]

Generally speaking, phytonymic metaphors are not as common as zoonymic ones. In the case of Spanish, it is quite common to use the vegetal simile to express stupidity and it is logical to imply it in the field of drunkenness (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 231). In several examples, the drunkenness itself is viewed as a kind of fruit (55, 56) or green vegetable (57).

In Chinese phraseology, we can only find a few expressions that associate drunkenness with plants. The image of peach blossom tends to be employed, which is due to its reddish colour (58). Here, a metonymic chain is involved: the reddish drunken face is associated with the pink or light red colour which, in turn, evokes the association with the peach blossom in Chinese, or red grapes in Spanish. Other images refer to the gesture of catching a fruit (such as a chestnut, a peach or a collard cabbage) on the ground, due to the drunkard's difficulty in standing straight (57). We could quote other fruit metaphors, such as sp. *pillar*

una castaña ("to catch a chestnut") (Pamies et al. 2004: 59) and sp. *acastañarse* ("to become chestnut-like") (DVE 2018)[8].

(55) sp. *estar hecho una uva* (Alurralde 1997: 74)
"to be converted into a grape"

(56) sp. *pillar un melocotón* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 231)
"to catch a peach"

(57) sp. *pillar una berza* / *estar con la berza* / *tener la berza*
(Pamies and Cortina 2009: 231; DVE 2018)
"to catch a collard cabbage" / "to be with the collard cabbage" / "to have the collard cabbage"

(58) ch. *zuì de liǎn fàn táo huā* 醉得脸泛桃花 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"to drink so much that the face becomes reddish as the peach blossom"

2.5 The iconic model [AGGRESSION]

Under this model, in Chinese, we can only find a Cantonese idiom which associates drinking wine with the aggressor (59) and emphasizes the excessive drinking. In this case, the drinker is viewed as an aggressor. In comparison with Chinese, in Spanish, there is a large number of idioms on drunkenness which are based on the concept of AGGRESSION. In some cases, the drunkenness is viewed as the aggressor (since the drunkard hurts himself in a certain way) (61, 62, 63), while in others, the drunkard is perceived as an aggressor, and the victim could be a person, an object, or even an animal (60, 64).

The archi-metaphor [THE DRUNKARD IS AN AGGRESSOR]

(59) can.[9] *pik jáu* 劈酒 (BCC Chinese Corpus)
"to chop alcohol"
'to booze, drink crazily and excessively'

(60) sp. *echar un palo* (Venezuelan Spanish) (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to throw a stick"
'to drink alcohol'

8 The DVE author considers that it is a metonymic reference to a bottle with a chestnut shape.
9 'Can.' stands for Cantonese language, which is a Sinitic language spoken in Hong Kong, Macao, Guangzhou (also known as Canton), and its surrounding areas in the southeast of China.

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS AN AGGRESSOR]

(61) sp. *estar tocado del ala* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to be hit by the wing"

(62) sp. *estar ahogado* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to be drowned"

(63) sp. *estar fumigado* (Pamies and Cortina 2009: 230)
"to be fumigated"

(64) sp. *matar el gusanillo* (DVE 2018)
"to kill the little worm"

This metaphor (idiom 64) could also refer to eating a small piece of food to appease one's hunger, but drunkards use it to refer to the first shot they take early in the morning (pure anisette) before eating anything, just to appease their withdrawal syndrome, and to avoid tremors. The verbal image represents an alcoholic worm, living in people's stomach, which would be the real culprit of one's need to drink.[10]

2.6 The iconic model [OBJECT]

The archi-metaphor [DRUNKENNESS IS A DRINKING VESSEL]

Besides the models mentioned above, there are still other forms which express the notion of drinking or drunkenness. As a case in point, in both Chinese and Spanish, drinking vessels may stand for 'drinking', which is reflected in idioms, too. In Chinese, the drinking scene tends to be represented by means of the image of wine containers, for example, used while drinking together and serving each other (65), or toasting each other (66). If someone is too fond of drinking, "he is too greedy for wine-glass" (67). Likewise, if someone is drunk, "he is unable to bear any more wine-glass" (68). In Spanish, the wine-glass can also serve as the metonymy of drinking. If people are willing to go for a drink, they would "go for [wine] glasses" (69, 70). Similarly, the addiction to alcohol can be transferred metonymically to the bottle (71).

10 There is even an old folk text which is still displayed in some taverns, titled *Los Mandamientos del Borracho* ("The Commandments of the Drunkard"), whose 5th recommendation is: *no matar el gusanillo con menos de diez cuartillos* ("not to kill the little worm with less than ten small *quarters*") (DVE 2018).

(65) ch. *chuán bēi nòng zhǎn* 传杯弄盏 (Wu and Ma 1991: 90)
"to pass round the cups and glasses"
'to serve wine to each other'

(66) ch. *gōng chóu jiāo cuò* 觥筹交错 (Chang 1984: 150)
"the wine glasses and chips lie about"
'to drink and gamble together in a large group'

(67) ch. *tān bēi* 贪杯 (Yao 2000: 326)
"[to be] greedy for wine cups"
'to be too fond of drinking'

(68) ch. *bù shèng bēi sháo* 不胜杯杓 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"to be unable to continue with a drinking vessel"
'to be drunk'

(69) sp. *ir de copas* (Pamies and Tarnovska 2007: 308)
"to go for wine cups"
'to go for drinks [from bar to bar]'

(70) sp. *ir de cañas* (Pamies and Tarnovska 2007: 308)
"to go for canes"
'to go out for drinking [small] [glasses] of beer [from bar to bar]'

(71) sp. *darle al frasco* (DVE 2018)
"to give to the bottle"
'to be very fond of drinking'

3 Intercultural contrasts

On analysing the data mentioned above, it can be observed that in both Chinese and Spanish, a large number of idioms on drunkenness can be grouped into the five models previously described, namely, [ANIMAL], [MOVEMENT], [BODY PART], [PLANT] and [AGGRESSION]. These iconic models prove the existence of common interlinguistic mechanisms in the creation of metaphors and idioms. Yet, there are still some idiosyncratic ones, since their connotations are not based on personal experience, but depend on the shared knowledge of a specific community, transmitted from generation to generation (Dobrovol'skij 1998; Corpas 1996, Corpas 2003). On the one hand, every nation has its own history and culture, such as religious beliefs, celebrities, superstitions, customs and traditions; on the other hand, the *realia*, which exclusively exist in a certain culture, also contribute to idiomatic particularities.

3.1 Celebrities

Many Chinese idioms related to drunkenness come from historical events or characters. Thus, their etymologies are required to capture their figurative meanings. A case in point is Mr. Shan Jian (山简). During the Jin Dynasty (晋朝 266–420 A.D.), there was an official called Shan Jian (山简), known far and wide for his alcoholism. After becoming drunk, he always fell down in his carriage, with his head-covering mistakenly placed. Therefore, there is a series of idioms (72, 73, 74) referring to "being dead drunk" by narrating his drunken episodes or describing his drunken manners (Huang and Cao 2008: 191). Curiously enough, however, there is an idiom (75) resorting to a famous historic personality named Ji Kang (嵇康) in order to describe appreciatively the drunken manner of a man. Ji Kang (223–263 A.D.) was a distinguished thinker, writer and musician, and was also famed for being tall and strong, handsome and graceful. It is said that when he became drunk, his reclining figure appeared like a jade mountain about to collapse. Thus, this idiom (75) carries positive connotations: it metaphorically means 'to be charmingly drunk' (of a man) (Wang 2004: 405). In the case of Spanish, there are also idioms on drunkenness whose origins are related to well-known persons and characters. An idiom making reference to Noah would be a case in point, which will be mentioned later (80).

(72) ch. *shān jiǎn zuì jiǔ* 山简醉酒 (Yang 1993: 77)
"Mr. Shan Jian gets drunk"
'to be dead drunk'

(73) ch. *shān gōng dǎo zài* 山公倒载 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"Mr. Shan Jian [gets drunk and] lies on the carriage sleeping"
'to be dead drunk'

(74) ch. *dào zhuó jiē lí* 倒箸接篱 (Huang and Cao 2008: 191)
"Mr. Shan Jian [gets drunk], with his white head-covering inversely placed"
'to be dead drunk'

(75) ch. *zuì yù tuí shān* 醉玉颓山 (CCL Chinese Corpus)
"[Ji Kang gets drunk], and he looks like a reclining jade mountain about to collapse"
'to be charmingly drunk'

3.2 Religion

Religion is a recurring theme in the drunkenness idioms. In the case of Spanish, the Christian elements are closely embedded, while in Chinese, Taoism is

involved. The Chinese generally do not find the moderate use of alcohol to be immoral or unhealthy. There is a drunken state in which one is mentally carried away from his normal preoccupations, which is not quite the same thing as the usual 'drunk', 'intoxicated', or 'inebriated'. The term *jiǔ xiān* (酒仙 "alcoholic immortal") is a good case in point in this respect. An "alcoholic immortal" is not only addicted to drinking, but also good at drinking, different from a mediocre alcoholic. Though being drunk, under this joyful and free mental state, he is able to experience a burst of creative inspiration, as if he were a real immortal as referred to in Taoism. Effectively, those with this good reputation (*jiǔ xiān* 酒仙) are mostly elites in literature and art, such as famous poets, writers, painters, etc. Classical Chinese poets were often associated with drinking wine (Zhu and Ji 1990: 425). In Chinese history, the famous "Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup"[11] were the best poets in the Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.), among whom Li Bai (李白) was the best-known and the most legendary. He produced more than 1,000 poems during his lifetime and many of them are still enjoyed today. He also called himself "Elderly Alcoholic Immortal" (酒仙翁) (Ren 2014: 314). The image of the alcoholic immortal evolved from the Chinese Taoist religion, where the concept of the "immortal" (仙) originated.

Besides, drunkenness is also associated with the Devil. A heavy drinker is called ch. *jiǔ guǐ* 酒鬼 ("alcoholic devil"); likewise, a drunkard is ch. *zuì guǐ* 醉鬼 ("drunken devil") (Wang 2012: 2). The reason for calling such persons devils can be explained in several ways. According to Xi (2018: 18), in Chinese culture, gluttony such as wine addiction is not advocated and even disdained. Both an alcoholic and a drunkard are far too addicted to drinking; since this behaviour is rarely seen on earth, they cannot but be ranked among the group of devils.

In Spanish, we find numerous idioms on drunkenness with religious origin, mostly coming from the catholic cultural field, and often carrying an irreverent or even blasphemous sense. For example, there is a variety of ways to signify "being drunk" (76, 77, 78).

(76) sp. *cantarle a la virgen* (Pamies and Tarnovska 2007: 307)
"to sing to the Virgin"

(77) sp. *ponerse más morado que la túnica de Nazareno*
"to become more purple than the Nazarethian's tunic"
(Pamies and Tarnovska 2007: 307)

11 "Eight Immortals in Alcohol" (*jiǔ zhōng bā xiān* 酒中八仙) refers to *Li Bai* (李白), *He Zhizhang* (贺知章), *Li Shizhi* (李适之), *Ru Yangwang* (汝阳王), *Cui Zongzhi* (崔宗之), *Su Jin* (苏晋), *Zhang Xu* (张旭), and *Jiao Sui* (焦遂).

(78) sp. *ponerse más alegre que unas Pascuas* (Pamies and Tarnovska 2007: 307)
"to be more cheerful than Easter"

All these metaphors are motivated by the rituals and celebrations of Jesus Christ's Passion during the processions of the Holy Week (*Semana Santa*). For example, in the representation of Jesus (*El Nazareno*) carrying his own cross, he wears a purple tunic. There is also a *flamenco* ritual song dedicated to the Virgin (called *saeta* "arrow"), which is sung only during the Easter processions, whose date coincides with the Jewish Festivity (sp. *Pascua* gr. *Páskha* [πάσχα] < heb. *Pesakh* [פֶּסַח]).

3.3 Person's name

Several idioms contain the name of a certain person, which results in peculiarities from a cross-linguistic perspective. Although the person whose name is mentioned in the idiom is not famous, for some reason, his or her name has become a symbol of a drunkard or simply serves as a fixed element of the expression. For example, in Chinese, to describe that someone is dead drunk, speakers may use idiom (79) because *Ni Er* is known for his drunkenness in his hometown. Whenever language users talk about drunkenness, they will take him as an example. Gradually, this expression has become popular and widely used, especially in Northeast China. In Spanish, a stereotyped comparison (80) is motivated by a biblical episode, in which Noah becomes completely drunk and falls asleep naked (*Genesis* 9:21).

(79) ch. *hē de xiàng ní èr* 喝得像倪二[12]
"to be as drunk as the man *Ni Er*"

(80) sp. *más borracho que Noé*
"to be drunker than Noah"

3.4 *Realia*

Realia are words and expressions for culture-specific material elements. The word *realia* comes from Medieval Latin, in which it originally meant 'the real

12 Liu Gan (刘干), *He Gu Cheng Zui Jiu De Ren Shi Ni Er* (何故称醉酒的人是"倪二") [Why a Drunkard is Called Ni Er]. *An Hui Wen Hua Wang* (安徽文化网) [Anhui Culture Website] (21/01/2016). http://cul.anhuinews.com/system/2016/01/21/007188370.shtml (accessed 27 August 2018).

things', i.e. material things, as opposed to abstract ones. *Realia* are born in a certain culture and exclusively exist in this culture (Vlahov and Florin 1969). The Chinese dragon is a good example in this regard. Dragons are powerful and benevolent symbols in Chinese culture, totally different to the evil, dangerous, fire-breathing dragons of most Western stories. Chinese people proudly refer to themselves as "descendants of the dragon". This image is well attested in language and culture, for instance in texts such as legends, as well as in festivals, astrology, art, names, and idioms. It is not surprising that the Chinese positively compare a heavy drinker to a "wine dragon" (*jiǔ lóng* 酒龙), since this expression praises one's drinking ability (Zhu and Ji 1990: 426).

The social function of alcohol is also reflected in idioms. The way of drinking in given cultures differs markedly from each other. In Spain, drinking is a means of socialization; therefore, drinking wine straight from the bottle is considered as rude and ill-mannered (81), and, for the same reason, drinking alone (82) is perceived as shameful and selfish. These values have motivated some mocking names for solitary drinkers, such as *tarimero*, which compares a solitary drinker with someone who hides his wine bottles in the closet. On the other hand, unlike the Anglo-Saxon people, Spaniards like going out to drink together and changing bars for each round.[13] These customs and traditions are reflected in their language (83) and are even mixed with some allusions to the Holy Week (*Semana Santa*) (84).

(81) sp. *beber a morro*
"to drink [straight with] snout"

(82) sp. *beber por calabaza*
"to drink by gourd"[14]

(83) sp. *ir de copas / ir de bar en bar / andar de taberna en taberna*
(Pamies and Tarnovska 2007: 308; Pamies et al. 2008: 283)
"to go for cups" / "to go from bar to bar" / "to walk from tavern to tavern"

(84) sp. *hacer las estaciones / hacer el Via Crucis*
"to walk from one bar to another" / "to make the Stations of the Cross"

13 "Spain, Non-stop Nightlife", *Spain's official tourism website*. https://www.spain.info/en/reportajes/Espana_una_fiesta_nocturna_continua.html (accessed 23 January 2019).

14 *Calabaza* means "pumpkin", although it could also refer to "calabash", namely a gourd containing wine. This idiom is now obsolete, but according to Baretti's bilingual dictionary (1786), *beber por calabaza* could also be metaphorically extended to mean "doing everything without consideration".

Toasting exists in many cultures, but it tends to have its cultural particularities. The spoken toasting formulas are fixed expressions, sometimes transparent, like wishing good health, as in the case of Spanish (85, 86, 87). The money used previously in Spain called *peseta*[15] is obviously a kind of *realia* reflected in idiomatic expressions. In Mandarin, the toast formula is *gān bēi* (干杯), which literally means "dry the cup", while in Cantonese, speakers tend to say *yám sīng* (饮胜 "drink victory"), which pragmatically also refers to 'bottoms up'. This substitution is due to a Cantonese superstition. It is believed that water symbolizes wealth; thus, the word *gān* (干 "dry") implies that the wealth dries up. To avoid this negative association, they prefer to employ the expression *yám sīng* (饮胜 "drink victory"), which originally comes from *yám jihng* (饮净 "drink completely"), making use of their similar pronunciations (He 1994: 398). Unlike in the West, in China, one is expected to empty the cup after each toast given.

(85) sp. *Salud*. (Pamies et al. 2008: 283)
"good health"

(86) sp. *Salud, pesetas y tiempo para gastarlas*. (Pamies et al. 2008: 283)
"good health, money and time to spend it"

(87) sp. ¡*Salud y pesetas, que lo demás son puñetas*! (Pamies et al. 2008: 283)
"good health and money, everything else is bullshit"

4 Conclusions

Drunkenness is a common phenomenon which may exist in any country or culture. There is a large number of idioms and metaphors related to drunkenness in both Chinese and Spanish. In spite of the linguistic and cultural distance, the two languages share some general models (archi-metaphors and culturemes). For example, we have observed that in both languages the idioms on drunkenness can be transmitted by some shared iconic models such as [ANIMAL], [MOVEMENT], [BODY PART], [PLANT], and [AGGRESSION] (Pamies and Iñesta 1999, Pamies and Iñesta 2000).

Regardless of these similarities, these two languages also have their particular ways of expressing drunkenness, due to their different cultural backgrounds. Idioms related to drunkenness may come from a wide range of aspects of life

15 The *peseta* was the currency of Spain between 1868 and 2002.

(such as celebrities, religions, *realia*, as well as names of individuals). All of these cultural elements are idiosyncratic, since their connotations are not based on the universal human experience, but depend on the shared knowledge of a given community, transmitted from generation to generation. The comparative methodology adopted for the present study allowed us to identify some common mechanisms, as well as certain cultural specificities which are embedded in these languages.

This cross-linguistic comparison demonstrates the productivity of the metalinguistic approach tested in other lexical fields like FEAR, ANGER, POVERTY, HUNGER, INJUSTICE, etc. (Pamies and Iñesta 2000), which turns out to be applicable in the comparison of Chinese and Spanish phraseological paradigms.

Besides, this study completes the investigation on idioms of drunkenness by Pamies and other linguists, corroborating the usefulness of the Conventional Figurative Language Theory for phraseological studies (Dobrovolskij and Piirainen 2005). By means of this method, the analysis of distant languages can be significantly narrowed down, regardless of their huge differences in the outward form. Their similarities suggest the existence of universal cognitive models, while their differences demonstrate the historical cognitive specialization process of each culture, without any contradiction between these complementary poles.

Acknowledgement

We would like to express our special thanks to Dr. Joanna Szerszunowicz for her generous help in the revision of this article, as well as her valuable suggestions.

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