

WHY IN SPANISH “*NOS PONEMOS CONTENTOS*” BUT NOT “*SATISFECHOS*”: A COGNITIVE-LINGUISTIC REVIEW OF THE “CHANGE-OF-STATE VERB *PONERSE* + ADJECTIVE” CONSTRUCTION*

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Abstract. Constructionist approaches to language have often viewed metaphors and metonymies either as motivating factors or constraints on lexical-constructional integration (Goldberg 1995, 2006; the Lexical-Constructional Model: Butler & González 2014, González 2020, Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014). In a similar spirit, the present article provides a detailed study of the role of metaphor in the analysis of the Spanish resultative change-of-state construction “ponerse (‘put CL’) + adjective” by examining a list of metaphorical motion constructions of this kind, which are frequent in everyday language when describing temporary arousal states. By paying special attention to constraints in its lexical and constructional structure, we aim to examine whether the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION is attested in this type of construction in the Spanish language (i.e., whether it plays a role and, if so, of what kind). It is presumed that the metaphors under analysis in connection to “ponerse + adjective” constructions systematically motivate the meaning of this change-of-state verb in Spanish when coappearing with an evaluative adjective, as long as the fact that the latter profiles a normally temporary (short duration) arousal state.

1. Introduction

Within the context of the philosophy of embodied thought, some cognitive linguistics (CL) and constructionist approaches to grammar have regarded metaphor and metonymy as motivating factors more systematically than others on an ad hoc basis (see Panther et al. 2009 for a discussion of that motivational role in grammar at length). This is even the case with Goldberg’s (1995, 2006) Construction Grammar, which explicitly acknowledges the role of STATES ARE LOCATIONS in the resultative use of the caused-motion construction, and in a less-known development of this approach, the Lexical-Constructional Model (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014), which more aggressively postulates the systematicity of metaphor and metonymy as constraints on

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lexical-constructional integration, but only analyze a handful of examples in a programmatic way within the context of other theoretical pursuits. The importance of metaphor and metonymy in grammar has not been researched in enough depth, although there are exceptions, like the recent article by González (2020), which provides an in-depth analysis of the role of the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy in the intensification of nouns in Spanish predicative and attributive constructions. In a similar spirit, this article provides a detailed study of the role of metaphor in the analysis of the construction “*ponerse* + adjective” in Spanish. The pseudo-copulative change-of-state (PCOS) verb *ponerse* involves a transient change (physical or psychological) in the entity undergoing a particular event.¹ As a result, its lexical and constructional structure presents some specific internal and external constraints. Scholars have paid attention to their categorization (e.g., Conde 2013; Morimoto & Pavón 2007; Van Gorp 2017; phraseological studies by Corpas Pastor 1996, or Koike 2001), internal classification (e.g., Morimoto & Pavón 2007, Nilsson et al. 2014, RAE/ASALE 2009), and explanation (e.g., Conde 2013, Fente 1970, Van Gorp 2017). Yet, their complex nature, both syntactically and semantically, and the lack of a unified account renders the acquisition of PCOS constructions a real challenge and a target of interest for linguists.

For the purposes of the present study, we start out with a list of Spanish motion constructions frequent in everyday language when describing temporary arousal states (i.e., states of physiological activation or energy expenditure associated to an emotion), which are potential metaphorical expressions of the ubiquitous metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION (e.g., *Me pongo rojo* ‘I get red’). In this line, we aim to examine whether the metaphor A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION is attested in Spanish by reading into each motion construction to recognize the type of underlying metaphor (and metonymy), as well as by addressing internal and external or higher-level metaphorical constraints based on the different realizations of the “*ponerse* + adjective” construction. In other words, we will ask ourselves why native speakers of Spanish utter constructions such as *ponerse triste* ‘get sad’ or *ponerse contento* ‘get happy’, but not *ponerse afligido* ‘get distraught’, nor *ponerse vergonzoso* ‘get shy/timid’, for instance. We contend that certain constraints are licensing factors that filter out impossible combinations of lexical items with the construction under analysis. By paying special attention to these semantic and metaphorical limitations in change-of-state constructions and their conceptualization, we offer a cognitively motivated explanation for a list of PCOS

¹ Note that for a psychological change to take place, the affected entity must be a sentient being (i.e., a human or a higher-order animal like a dog: *El perro se puso triste* ‘The dog became sad’).

constructions. It is presumed that the metaphor under analysis in connection to *ponerse* constructions systematically motivates the meaning of motion verbs in Spanish when appearing along with an evaluative adjective as second predicate, as long as the latter is transient and conveys a normally temporary arousal state.

This study is structured as follows. To begin with, in section 2 we briefly describe the cognitive mechanism of metaphor and we put the emphasis on the developments of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (section 2.1) and on emotion (section 2.2) –focusing, more specifically, on the metaphor A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION. In section 3 we discuss the *ponerse* change-of-state construction and narrow down the scope of study to constructions with adjectival predicates in which the subject is an experiencer of the change and a self-mover in the spatial source domain. Literature on constraints on lexical and constructional integration processes is then presented alluding to the constructions under study (section 3.1). In section 4 we introduce Barcelona's (2002) metaphor and metonymy identification procedure (MMIP). This procedure provides the researcher with a tool to read into a linguistic expression and recognize more easily the type of metaphors and/or metonymies, as well as their interaction, which are at work. Subsequently, in section 5, we show the results of the *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes (PCIC)* corpus, aiming at identifying linguistic expressions that potentially convey metaphors and metonymies, in relation to motion and emotion (5.1). Based on those findings, in section 5.2 we look at the Spanish Web Corpus, where the linguistic expressions previously found are examined in context, and we discuss our results in the light of the methodologies implemented. Finally, in section 6 we draw some concluding remarks and establish future lines of research to improve the Spanish as a second language (L2) teaching-learning process of these change-of-state constructions. To our knowledge, no investigation to date has explored the cognitive motivation of the “*ponerse* + adjective” construction using methodological insights from the metaphor identification procedure to enrich analytical work along the lines of the lexical-constructional account of meaning.

2. Metaphor: Physical and abstract change

A metaphor is a natural and unconscious mental mechanism where one experiential domain (donor domain) is partially mapped onto a different experiential domain (recipient domain), this latter being to some extent understood in terms of the other. In other words, in metaphor, unlike metonymy, we find a systematic set of correspondences between two domains of experience. Source and target are either “in different functional domains” (i.e., frames or idealized cognitive models, Barcelona 2011:53) or “not linked by a pragmatic function” (i.e., they

do not follow a contextually shaped, inferential pathway) by being “in different taxonomic domains” (Barcelona 2002:346). This definition captures metaphor both as a *process* and a *product*. According to Kövecses (2017:1), “the cognitive process of understanding a domain is the *process* aspect of metaphor, while the resulting conceptual pattern is the *product* aspect”.

Metaphor is also a productive way of semantic extension or polysemy (e.g., Deignan 1999a, 2020, Dirven 1985); we do not have a unique word for each object, action or abstract concept. Hence, it is a well-known phenomenon in lexicon, for it serves to economize on words allowing us to apply the same word to different contexts, so that existing linguistic resources are exploited and not necessarily new ones. Linguistic expressions of a metaphor cease to be metaphorical if the source domain meaning is lost and only the formerly figurative meaning is left, e.g., the adjective *sad* (Latin *satis* ‘enough’) has lost its original sense, i.e., “full, satiated”, extended to ‘unhappy’. Others, on the other hand, remain “alive and kicking” and the old use remains under the same lemma as the literal meaning, thus broadening or extending the semantic range or meaning of the word. Consider the following primary metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1999) where an abstract concept (change) is systematically referred to in terms of a more concrete one (motion). Whereas in (1a) the change is interpreted as physical, in (1b) the change can only be understood as metaphorical:

CHANGE IS MOTION: (1a) *Pierre* went into the room. – (1b) *Pierre* went into a coma.

Our perception of movement is completely embodied even before we start crawling, and this has been tested, for instance, in studies looking at newborn infants showing how they are sensitive to visual motion, via rapid responses to moving objects (see e.g., Simion et al. 2008; Valenza et al. 2006). Besides being one of the most basic and earliest human experiences, the perception and conceptualization of motion and, in particular, the linguistic expressions used to describe physical motion, are among those first acquired by native speakers and are notable for their high frequency (Miller & Johnson 1976:527). For this reason (their pervasiveness in experience), they are frequently used to talk about basic events such as changes of psychological state. Attending to changes of state has been found to begin as early as six months, when infants concentrate more on changes of state than on spatial changes without corresponding state changes (Woodward 1998, 1999).

Experiences that are harder to apprehend directly, such as emotions, are understood on the basis of more direct and easy-to-describe experiences, normally bodily ones. The linguistic expressions used for the conceptual primary orientational metaphors HAPPY IS UP (examples 2–5) and SAD IS

DOWN (example 6) are clear instantiations of space projected onto emotions where words whose literal meaning belongs to the domain of space undergo metaphorical extensions to convey happiness and sadness.

(2) *I'm feeling up today.*

(3) *Your arrival raised my spirits.*

(4) *¡Arriba ese ánimo!*
Up that mood
'Cheer up!'

(5) *¿Qué puedo hacer para levantarte el ánimo?*
What I-can do to raise-you the mood
'What can I do to lift your spirits?'

(6) *Estoy baja de ánimos.*
I-am low of moods
'I'm in low spirits.'

2.1. *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor and Developments*

The earliest approach to conceptual metaphor emerges from Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), which served as a basis for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, relabeled as The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor – CTM, Lakoff 1993), which was developed in the 80's and succeeding decades and is considered as a preliminary effort to classify metaphors. CTM has contributed to changing our understanding of what the term *meaning* essentially refers to in contemporary semantics. One of the highlights from this Copernican revolution within the field of Linguistics is how metaphor is approached and understood from that moment onwards.² Metaphors start to be regarded as a set of cross-domain correspondences (i.e., mappings of one concept onto another) involving a reasoning process and carried out in everyday language. Hence, they are an open-ended,³

² This is not the only cognitively oriented metaphor theory proposed. There are different versions of metaphor theory (to name but a few, Fauconnier & Turner's 2008 blending theory; Lakoff's 2009 neural theory of metaphor; or Kövecses' 2008 emphasis on the idea of main meaning focus). See also González et al. (2013) for an updated revision of CTM and its recent developments and applications, and Kövecses' (2020) most recent book in which he tackles some of the weaknesses of "standard" CTM and proposes an extended view by offering new insights into the cognitive phenomenon of metaphor.

³ Open-endedness varies according to the degree of conventionalization of the metaphor (see Barcelona 1997, 2002 for one of the earliest works on the open-endedness of metaphor; work by the cognitive psychologist Glucksberg 2001, 2006; and Ruiz de Mendoza's 2020 study, where he incorporates the notion of conventionalization into the CL account of metaphor and simile).

imaginative and creative conceptual mechanism. Since for cognitivists language is a manifestation of general cognitive abilities, imagination – which is a basic human cognitive ability– becomes fundamental and worthy of attention. As a result, metaphors become universal didactic tools that allow us to reflect on the complexities of the mind.

See, for instance, the expression *I don't think this relationship is going anywhere* (Kövecses 2010:6) and its Spanish literal (lit. henceforth) equivalent *No creo que esta relación vaya a ninguna parte*. These are linguistic realizations of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:44), which, according to some of the developments of CTM (to name a few, e.g., Barcelona 2000, 2002; Gibbs 2015; Kövecses 2000, 2010; Ruiz de Mendoza & Peña 2005; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2007a) is a complex or enriched form of the primary metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (Grady 1997). Primary metaphors are the direct product of correlations that arise from basic experiences common to all humans. They have been claimed to be developed through conflation, that is, through an association based on experience between two conceptual domains. Yet, some scholars criticize this view pointing out the metonymic basis of primary metaphors, thus redressing the balance between metaphor and metonymy (i.e., Barcelona 2000, 2002, 2011; Rad-den 2002). Grady's account (1997) on primary metaphors presents an advantage in comparison to the preliminary approach to CTM, which is the power of generalization. According to his approach, abstract concepts such as love, or professional careers, are better understood in terms of the broader PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS metaphor than of LOVE IS A JOURNEY and A CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphors, respectively.

The complex metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION, which is based on the primary or basic-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Lakoff 1987), uses vocabulary of motion or change of location to express changes of state (see examples 7 and 8). Such a correlation between our location and how we feel, as well as between perceiving change of location and being aware of a change in our emotional state is one based on our bodily and physical experience with the world around us (see Figure 1).

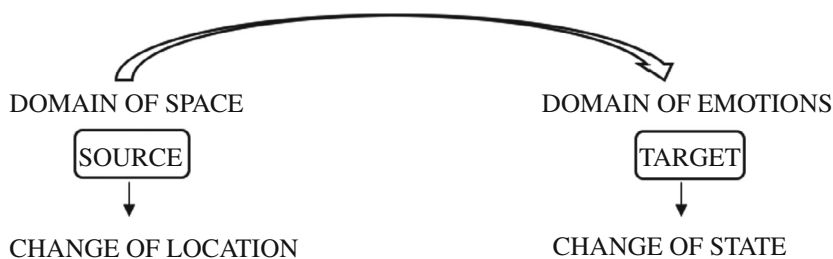


Figure 1. A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor.

A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION: (7a) *My mom fell straight in love with my dad.* – (7b) *My mom fell on the floor.*

STATES ARE LOCATIONS: (8a) *I was once in love.* – (8b) *I was once in Yosemite.*

Lakoff (1987) contends that humans understand motion based on an image schema which has as structural elements a source, a path, a goal, and a direction. Hence, spatial motion occurs along a path (forward or backward motion) and it can be mapped onto a change of state. This involves the submapping of the spatial path onto the various stages in the change of state. If CHANGE, in general, and CHANGE OF STATE in particular, is understood as a linear progression, explained by means of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema (Lakoff & Johnson 1999:147, Van Gorp 2017), the SOURCE of motion corresponds to the beginning and it is mapped onto the experiencer's *initial state*. The PATH within a location is mapped onto the *transition* from one state to another, i.e., to the development of the change of state. Lastly, the experiencer's GOAL is mapped onto the experiencer's *resulting final state* or *arousal state*, which corresponds to the achievement of the change of state (see Figure 2, where the two bounded regions represent the SOURCE and GOAL as well as the initial and final states; the black arrow stands for the PATH for abstract motion; and the intermittent arrow shows the temporary nature of the PCOS construction *ponerse rojo*; after its completion the experiencer will not remain in such a state and will go back to the initial one).

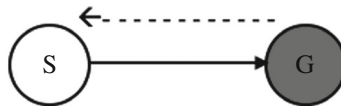


Figure 2. A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION: *ponerse rojo*.

2.2. Metaphor and emotion

Emotions belong to an abstract domain whose expression was for long conceived as unstructured. Thanks to the contribution of cognitive linguists, and more specifically of CTM, the semantic structure of a list of emotions in both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages was found to be systematic and motivated, and in some cases universal. One of the pioneering works was Lakoff & Kövecses' (1987) study on anger conceptualization in English. Subsequent research has studied this

emotion in other languages such as Chinese⁴ (King 1989); Japanese (Matsuki 1995); Hungarian (Bokor 1997); Wolof (Munro 1991); English and Spanish (Barcelona & Soriano 2004); English, Spanish and Russian (Ogarkova et al. 2018); as well as other emotions such as fear and happiness in English (Kövecses 1991), love in Spanish and English (Barcelona 1992), or sadness in English (Barcelona 1986), among others.

Emotions are mental states and thus are embodied in us and in our physiological and social experiences. It is exactly their physical and bodily grounding that makes emotions so special. As previously argued, the linguistic forms used to describe and talk about one emotion in particular (e.g., anger) show only a blueprint of our mental representations. In the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor, a set of sub-mappings of the conceptual structure of the source domain HEAT onto the specific target domain ANGER is naturally and systematically established. Yet, there exist other metaphors, e.g., CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION, whose conceptual structure applies to a broader range of emotions, since the target domain expresses result, referring to the transformation of someone's emotional state from one initial state into a wide variety of possible transient emotional states. This metaphor, although applied to changes of state in general (e.g., 'He drank himself into a coma'), is restricted to the field of emotions in our analysis.

As observed in this section, lexical, syntactic and grammatical aspects of space are used to conceptualize states by replicating them. Linguistic configurations are shaped in such a way that they can be used to talk and reason about abstract –and, therefore, harder to be expressed– concepts, such as emotional states. In other words, the mental (in the sense of cognitive and/or conceptual) mechanism of metaphor, as well as its expression (linguistic and / or pictorial, gestural, musical, etc.), allow this linkage between physical space and abstract space or states.⁵ The target of the metaphor under analysis is a process with an end-result, and it thus calls for a source domain based on (non)-instigated motion. Because space in general and motion and location in particular are accessible to our perception and cognition, we use them to categorize abstract relationships. Metaphor thus unifies both domains, the source and target, by generating polysemy. As a result, the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION also plays an important role in filtering out non-grammatical combinations of lexical items within a construction, as will be observed in the following section and in our analysis.

⁴ For an extensive study on Chinese emotions, see Yu's (2009) work on the conceptualization of the Chinese HEART.

⁵ Metaphor is mental (conceptual metaphors) and linguistic (metaphorical expressions) and its linguistic forms activate different ways of construing the same concept.

3. The change-of-state construction “*ponerse* + adjective”

Owing to its pervasiveness in both thought and everyday language, the CHANGE IS MOTION metaphor is expected to exploit motion verbs used as expressions for change of state. In the Spanish language, one of the most common verbs that conveys a transient change in someone’s emotional state is the predicate *ponerse* ‘put CL’, generally considered as a pseudo-copulative (Alcina & Bleuca 2001) or as a functional verb (Funktionsverb) in the Germanic tradition (Polenz 1963). The verb *poner(se)* (from latin *pōnere*) has originally a specific spatial meaning, which has gone through several metaphorical processes. The original meaning is still preserved (to put, place or station an entity at some location) and expressions such as *arma pōnere* ‘put down weapons, lay down arms’ are an indicator of how the old meaning is, which is caused motion (resulting in a new location of the theme, this new location pre-existing the motion). This meaning is very similar to the current sense of Spanish *poner* (Ernout & Meillet 2001). In examples 9 and 10, we observe how the metaphoric projection extends caused motion (9) to a caused emotional change (10):

(9) *Puse al bebé de pie.*
 I-put to-the baby of foot
 ‘I brought the baby to a standing position.’

(10) *Puse al bebé de mal humor.*
 I-put to-the baby of bad humor
 ‘I put the baby in a bad mood.’

In the figurative extensions, the space is no longer physical but abstract, and instead of placing someone at a material external place, position or in a different body posture, it is an emotional state or a condition that is being metaphorically co-located within someone. In the case of the PCOS verb *ponerse*, the experiencer is either a mover whose motion is directly caused by another (animate or inanimate) entity (11) or a self-mover (12). The expressions conveying an emotion are based on our experience with space, where space becomes the source domain, and the experiencer’s new and temporary arousal state, the target domain. According to Ibarretxe & Cheikh (2019), PCOS verbs involve a change in the composition of the entity undergoing a particular event. In their proposal, based on specificity levels, the *ponerse* construction is said to express a temporary change, not necessarily intrinsic. The state of

⁶ It could be argued that *de pie* does not profile a location, but a bodily posture presented as resulting from body motion. Throughout this paper, we label CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION as source, as we include in this category all sorts of motion, including those involving partial, not holistic, spatial changes of a theme after moving. In this specific example, the baby was previously sitting or lying; when standing, his/her body does no longer occupy the same spatial coordinates as before.

nervousness expressed in the construction *ponerse* + *nerviosa* is experienced by an entity either as a transient non-intrinsic change of state (11) or as a transient intrinsic one, with the state of nervousness originating directly from the experiencer (12).

(11) *Me ponen nerviosa los exámenes.*
 put CL [myself] nervous the exams
 'Exams make me nervous.'

(12a) *Me pongo nerviosa.*
 I-put CL [myself] nervous
 'I get nervous.'

(12b) *Me pongo nerviosa al hacer exámenes.*
 I-put CL [myself] nervous to-the do exams
 'I get nervous when taking exams.'

Hence, the PCOS construction *ponerse* + adjective can express position either at a particular spatial area (location), and thus can be regarded as a location verb,⁷ or a particular state. We can find it in constructions where the interpretation is spatial/locative (13) or of state (14):

(13) *Me pondré sentada (ahí/en el suelo) cuando empiece la obra de teatro.*
 I-will put CL [myself] sitting (there/on the floor) when
 begins the work of theater
 'I will sit down (there / on the floor) when the theater play begins.'

(14) *Me pondré triste cuando empiece la obra de teatro.*
 I-will put CL [myself] sad when begins the work of theater
 'I will get sad when the theater play begins.'

When referring to physical spaces, the location verb *ponerse* normally appears along with a prepositional phrase (15) or an adverbial one (16). Yet, there are also some expressions in abstract spaces (states) with prepositional phrases (i.e., *Me pone* de buen humor 'It puts me in a terrific mood').

(15) *Carmen se puso en el salón.*
 Carmen put CL [herself] in the living room
 'Carmen went to the living room.'

(16) *Elena se puso detrás.*
 Elena put CL [herself] behind
 'Elena went behind.'

⁷ Note that when conveying a physical space or position, as in (13), the secondary predication (*sentada* 'sitting') is a participle adjective.

When referring to emotional states, adjectives are comparatively more common than when expressing literal locations: *Me pongo contenta / histérica / colorada* ‘I get excited / hysterical / red’, etc. These constructions involve a change in a physiological aspect (*colorado* ‘red’) or in the person’s mood –implying a fast, non-voluntary change of state that can be either positive (*contenta* ‘excited’) or negative (*histérica* ‘hysterical’). For the purposes of this research, special attention will be paid to the construction form [SUBJ VCL PRED], in which the *subject* is both an experiencer of the emotional change in the target and a theme in the source, as in examples (12) and (14). This theme can be presented as self-moving (and then is at the same time an agent in the source); this self-caused motion can in some cases be mapped onto self-caused emotional change (e.g., *Juan se puso nervioso a sí mismo a base de pensar que lo haría mal* ‘Juan put himself nervous through thinking that he wouldn’t succeed’). Yet, most times, the verb *ponerse* is pseudo-reflexive or “middle” when used to express change of state (i.e., *Me puse roja de ira* ‘I got red with anger’ does not (normally) mean that the subject intentionally causes that change in herself). This is a lack of parallelism between the argument structure of this verb in the source domain and its argument structure in the target. More specifically, we will focus on cases where the PCOS verb *ponerse* is followed by an evaluative adjective (the secondary *predication*) and there is no expressed external circumstance (12a), as well as on those where the PCOS construction “*ponerse* + adjective” is accompanied by the expression of an external circumstance (e.g., *al hacer exámenes* ‘when taking exams’) (12b), which explains why the change of state is triggered in the experiencer. These PCOS constructions show, likewise, a subject who, despite participating in the change-of-state event, has lost some control features present in an active agent. Maldonado (1999) refers to this type of subject as being simultaneously agent and experiencer (cf. Ibarretxe & Cheikh 2019:9).⁸

3.1. Constraints on lexical-constructional integration processes

The entrenched pairing *ponerse* + adjective, which is conventionalized and mostly non-compositional, can be referred to as PCOS or change-of-state construction in the sense of Goldberg’s (1995, 2006) Construction Grammar. In her framework, constructions are defined as fixed form-meaning pairings whatever their form or functional complexity. *Form* alludes to any type of linguistic structure (from phonemic to prosodic) and *meaning* refers to any type of semantic or pragmatic information.

⁸ These characteristics (i.e., their middle-voice structure and their intransitive, pronominal character) are also shared by other PCOS constructions (Ibarretxe & Cheikh 2019:10). With changes of state in general, we could also refer to the subject as seldom agent (see, i.e., *Se pugo hasta arriba de pasteles*, ‘He pigged out on cakes’).

Constructions are claimed to carry meaning regardless of the items that compose them. The meaning carried by the PCOS construction under study is, as previously discussed, “X (subject/experiencer) undergoing a change of state Y (a new, and to some extent transient, arousal state)”. In line with this, Goldberg (1995, 2006) acknowledges the role of the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS in the resultative use of the caused-motion construction. This correlation metaphor can therefore be used to motivate lexical-constructional integration. On the Goldbergian constructionist perspective, resultatives are viewed as metaphorical extensions of the caused-motion construction (Goldberg 1995:87). Yet, although related, these two constructions are distinct in that some predicates only occur in one or the other. See for instance (17), where the verb *hacer* ‘make’ only occurs in the resultative, yet in (18), *mover* ‘move’ cannot appear with a resultative construction:

- (17) *Me hizo feliz.*
 me it-made happy
 ‘It made me happy.’
*Me hizo *a casa.*
 me it-made at house
 ‘It made me at home.’
- (18) *Lo moví hacia atrás.*
 him I-moved to behind
 ‘I moved it backwards.’
*Lo moví *triste.*
 him I-moved sad
 ‘I moved him sad.’

The Lexical-Constructional Model (LCM henceforth) is also a usage-based account of meaning construction reconciling insights from functional and cognitive constructionist views (Butler 2009, 2013, Butler & González 2014, Ruiz de Mendoza 2013, Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014), but it defines constructions as a form-meaning (or function) pairing where *form* enables access to *meaning*, and this latter is represented formally in a way that such processes have prevailed through use and have become entrenched in the speakers’ mind. These processes are recognized as stably associated or potentially replicable by native or other competent speakers of the language with immaterial variation in their *form* and *meaning* (Ruiz de Mendoza 2013:237). The LCM recognizes the existence of constructional families and, in agreement with Goldberg’s constructionist approach, claims that resultatives (transitive and intransitive ones) belong to the same family of constructions as caused-motion ones, for there are sufficient elements in common: an event (whether instigated or not) that causes an object to change location or state. In a study on meaning

construction from the point of view of the descriptive tools of the LCM, Ruiz de Mendoza (2013) concludes that constructional structure mediates the syntactic realization of predicate meaning. In his view, meaning is not formed by assembling concepts, but rather by the conceptual scaffolding provided by the construction.

Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2007b, 2008, 2011) provide an exhaustive account of internal and external constraints on the cognitive operation of subsumption. The former are concerned with the semantic units encoded in a lexical or constructional template, whereas the latter refer to higher conceptual mechanisms such as metaphor and metonymy (2008:395). Subsumption is defined as a constrained process or a gradual meaning production mechanism consisting of the incorporation of lower levels of semantic structure into higher levels of “syntactically-oriented” structure (2009:16). Hence, the authors, following Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez (2003), defend the existence of a general principle of conceptual interaction in which higher-level patterns incorporate lower-level ones, which serves to account for constructional templates interacting in constrained ways – “coercion”, i.e., the resolution of a conflict between lexical and constructional denotata (González 2011, 2020: 159; Michaelis 2011). This alludes to Michaelis’ (2003) Override Principle, which states that the meaning of a lexical unit conforms to the meaning of the construction in which it is embedded.

Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo’s (2016) discussion of motion in the expression of result in English shows that adjective phrases are preferred when the experiencer or “affected entity” acquires a new humanly relevant property, yet it retains its essence. In line with Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo (2016), there exist constraints based on the low-level conceptual structure of the lexical items filling in the various constructional slots, which explains why constructions such as *José se puso metálico* (‘metallic’) are simply not said, for “metálico” is not a human property. Yet, apart from limitations on the low-level conceptual structure, there exist also constraints based on the high-level conceptual structure (i.e., generally the construction requires lexical predicates to have certain high-level properties, so utterances like **La considero en casa*, lit. ‘I consider her at home’ are incorrect, since the resultative element of the construction must be an evaluative adjective) and on re-construal of predicates. This latter happens as a motivation for “constructional coercion” over lexical predicates. In this respect, metaphor and metonymy play an important role and allow for constructions like *ponerse* + transient adjective. Regarding the positive constraints on lexical-constructional subsumption, the high-level metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION opens the door to a list of subcategorical conversions of predicates classified as CHANGE OF STATES. This is the case of predicates such as *convertirse*, *transformarse*, or the one under study: *ponerse*, which have a new (and temporary, in the case of *ponerse*) state goal and which

tend to be marked, in their default syntactic expression, by an adjective (again, a one designating a transient property when appearing with *ponerse*), an adverb or a preposition.

González's (2009) study of object-related depictives also sheds some light into the PCOS construction *ponerse* + adjective in the sense that the pseudo-reflexive *se* profiles the object of change and the adjective marks a secondary predication.⁹ González (2007, 2009) shows how the evaluative subjective-transitive construction (e.g., *Lo veo conveniente*, lit. 'I see it convenient') in Spanish and English features some semantico-pragmatic restrictions on the noun phrase (e.g., *lo* 'it') and the secondary predication (e.g., *conveniente* 'convenient') which cannot be derived from the meaning of its components (González 2009:667). As the author highlights, this is evident especially in cases when the lower-level configurations exhibit coercion effects.

In a more recent study, González (2020) examines evaluative subjective resultative constructions as a type of resultatives, paying attention to their abstract configuration and higher-level schema. The author investigates metonymic coercion of nouns in predicative and attributive constructions and claims that the intensifier *muy* ('very') in present-day Spanish coerces the noun within its scope into encoding a positive or negative property of an entity or event through a generic for specific metonymic inferencing process (e.g., *un tema muy Madonna*, 'a very Madonna song') (González 2020:164). Another recent work by Ibarretxe & Cheikh (2019) aims at offering a unified account of the linguistic behavior of PCOS by proposing a multi-level family of change-of-state constructions based on the analysis of the verbs *hacerse* ('make') and *volverse* ('turn'). Their approach accounts for the specificity of saturated constructions (e.g., *María se volvió loca*, 'María went crazy') and the more general abstract patterns (e.g., [Subject *volverse* Adjective]). They also highlight the need to consider the specific meaning of the lexical verb, as it is the verb that is responsible for the meaning differences in the speaker's interpretation of the event and for the metaphorical understanding of the whole construction (e.g., *María se ha vuelto / hecho / puesto / quedado roja*, lit. 'María has turned / made / put / remained red') (Ibarretxe & Cheikh 2019:3).

4. Methodology

4.1. Corpus Analysis and Barcelona's (2002) MMIP

Corpus Linguistics has been shown to bring new insights into the study of metaphor as observed in works by Cameron & Deignan (2003),

⁹ The term "profile", proposed by Langacker (1987), can be used as both a noun and a verb. It is used to refer to a *designatum* that stands out and is "profiled" against the base, which is the ground against which the profiled element is construed.

Charteris-Black (2004), Deignan's (1999b, 2005, 2008) pioneering papers and Wikberg (2006), among others. More particularly, corpus-based methods have become in the last two decades one of the major empirical methods in the field of linguistics. Yet, in the case of metaphor research, corpus analysis had for long been disregarded, and, as a result, studies using introspective methodologies based on the researchers' intuition prevailed until the early 2000s. In contrast to this intuitive and unsystematic approach, methods that use corpora not only enhance the exhaustivity of data examination, but they also provide authentic and valid examples of language (written and oral) in use.¹⁰

For this study, we have started out with the hypothesis that emotional states are conceptualized in terms of motion prior to exhaustively examining the *PCIC*, which is a guideline instrument that guarantees homogeneity and coherence in the academic world of Spanish/L2 teaching-learning. Figurative expressions that represent a repeated pattern were selected and we formulated the metaphor that served as an umbrella for a number of instances of a certain kind. This allowed us to identify linguistic forms expressing metaphors in relation to emotions and to narrow them down to constructions combining a motion verb and an adjective denoting change of emotional state. Yet, since conceptualization is the product of our experiential interaction with reality (Lakoff 1987), the different socio-cultural conditions articulate the way a speaker conceives the world. Hence, the study of metaphor can be enriched by adding a contextual analysis that allows for a deeper examination of the conceptual system of the target language, for metaphorical mappings can vary across time (diachronic variations). According to Deignan (2003), variations depend on the importance that a certain culture gives to a particular domain. Domains that are more salient in a specific culture are more likely to form metaphorical mappings. For this reason, an analysis of the target constructions was conducted using Barcelona's (2002) MMIP and looking at the Spanish Web Corpus to identify and describe the metaphorical structure in a given construction. In his procedure, he proposes two steps and four subordinate operations. He looks at the kind of mapping, the type of evidence that has to be sought and used, the classification of the mapping as an instantiation of a more general mapping, the functioning of the mapping in the textual example, and the possible metaphorical, metonymic or metaphonymic complexity of the example. If the metaphor is documented enough in the literature on metaphor, step 1 (examining where the mapping takes place) can be skipped as well as the first two operations of step 2 (looking for additional conventional

¹⁰ It is important to also bear in mind the limitations of Corpus Linguistics with respect to metaphor and metonymy, as the figurativity of an utterance often depends on the broader context or on the interpreter's mind.

linguistic expressions and for additional semantic and pragmatic evidence). Thus, the characterization step would be reduced to the last two operations of step 2 (recognizing the most general metaphorical mapping and describing the functioning of it within its context). Yet, since the gathering of data was based on intuition, we considered it relevant to follow each phase to identify and describe the metaphorical structures in as accurate and detailed a way as possible.

5. Results and discussion

5.1. The PCIC

The *PCIC* (Instituto Cervantes 2007) is a reference document that develops in a detailed and verifiable manner and sets the different reference levels (A1-C2) for Spanish following the recommendations of the Council of Europe (2001) in its Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). After having examined the document in detail, we elaborated a comprehensive list including potentially metaphorical expressions such as *Tengo unos nervios* (lit. 'I have some nerves'; idiomatic 'I have the butterflies'), *Estoy de buen humor* (lit. 'I am of good humor'; idiomatic 'I'm in a good mood'), or *Me pongo en tu piel* (lit. 'I put myself in your skin'; idiomatic 'I put myself in your shoes'), among others. Yet only constructions with the motion verb *ponerse* were examined (see Appendix A) and only the ones in which the PCOS verb collocates with an evaluative adjective were considered for further analyses.

The target metaphoric and mostly conventional constructions conveying different emotions were found in section 3. *Expresar gustos, deseos y sentimientos* 'Expressing preferences, wishes and feelings' under a broader section named *Funciones* 'Functions' (Appendix B).¹¹ Levels A1 and A2 did not include any of the constructions under analysis. It is the inventory of emotions for levels B1-B2 that incorporates for the first time constructions where the person experiences a change of emotional state (see Table 1). B1 level includes mostly negative emotions (sadness, affliction, anger, indignation, and nervousness), and the positive emotions of happiness and satisfaction. B2 level introduces a new negative emotion: embarrassment.

¹¹ Due to extension limitations, see all Appendices in the following Open Science Framework URL: <https://mfr.osf.io/render?url=https%3A%2F%2Fosf.io%2F4cq3u%2Fdownload>

Table 1. Emotions, linguistic expressions and examples for levels B1 and B2

B1	Construction	Example
alegría y satisfacción <i>happiness and satisfaction</i>	me pongo contento	<i>Nos dicen algo agradable y nosotros nos ponemos contentos</i> ¹² No example is given by the <i>PCIC</i> for some of the emotions (examples in bold), and thus, the ones included were retrieved from the Spanish Web Corpus.
tristeza y aflicción <i>sadness and affliction</i>	me pongo triste	<i>Me pongo triste cuando escucho esta canción</i>
enfado e indignación <i>anger and indignation</i>	me pongo furioso	<i>Me puse furioso cuando descubrí que todo era mentira</i>
nerviosismo <i>nervousness</i>	me pongo nervioso / histérico	<i>Se puso nerviosa al ver que no había cogido el pasaporte</i> <i>Que si me pongo histérica, me pegue una carrera y vuelva. Y que piense que todo esto es temporal y que no durará demasiado</i>
B2		
vergüenza <i>embarrassment</i>	me pongo rojo / rojo como un tomate	<i>Tú eres muy amigo suyo, ¿no? Neville se puso rojo, y sonrió</i> <i>Se puso rojo como un tomate cuando descubrimos que nos estaba mintiendo</i>

Similarly, the *PCIC* adds two new constructions in both the C1 and C2 levels for emotions that had already appeared in previous levels (see Table 2). As observed, the adjectives that accompany the motion verb *ponerse* are of different kinds. All of them, except from *contento* ('happy'), lexically express negative emotions –*triste* ('sad'), *furioso* ('angry'), *nervioso* ('nervous'), *histérico* ('hysterical'). Co-occurring with the verb *ponerse*, the *PCIC* also presents adjectives allowing for literal and figurative readings (e.g., *enfermo* lit. 'sick' > fig. 'annoyed'; and color adjectives *colorado*+lit. 'red-colored' > –lit. 'red-faced' > fig. 'ashamed'; *rojo* +lit. 'red' > –lit. 'blushing' > fig. 'red with anger'.

Table 2. Emotions, linguistic expressions and examples for levels C1 and C2

C1	Construction	Example
enfado e indignación <i>anger and indignation</i>	me pongo enfermo	<i>Solo de pensar en él siento que me pongo enfermo</i>
vergüenza <i>embarrassment</i>	me pongo colorado	<i>Me imagino que se pondrá colorado al ver las fotos, ¿no te parece?</i>
C2		
enfado e indignación <i>anger and indignation</i>	me pongo rojo de ira/de rabia	<i>El joven se puso rojo de ira, gritó (...)</i> <i>Se puso roja de rabia y se fue</i>

Furthermore, the *PCIC* does not recommend the introduction of this PCOS verb in the Spanish/L2 classroom until B1 level. This suggestion is based on the premise that *ponerse* is to be presented along with other change-of-state verbs, such as *hacerse* (lit. ‘make oneself’; idiomatic ‘become’, ‘turn’), *volverse* (lit. ‘turn around’; idiomatic ‘become’), *convertirse en* (lit. ‘convert in’; idiomatic ‘become’), *transformarse en* (lit. ‘transform in’; idiomatic ‘become’) or *llegar a (ser)* (lit. ‘arrive to (be)’; idiomatic ‘become’), which are formally and semantically different.¹³ This form-function heterogeneity renders the learning of such verbs a rather arduous task reserved for higher levels. Such difficulty is compounded by the diversity in the structure that each of these verbs requires, since some might take a prepositional phrase, others an adjectival phrase, and others, like *ponerse*, either choice. Furthermore, their meaning of change may vary and can be understood as physical or metaphorical. Yet, in terms of pedagogical impact, the inclusion of PCOS verbs at earlier stages (e.g., A2) focusing on one of their forms (e.g., *ponerse* + adjective) and on one basic meaning contrast (e.g., physical vs. metaphorical), as well as drawing attention to the conceptual and linguistic similarities between the learner’s first language and L2 could be very beneficial for their correct acquisition.¹⁴

5.2. The Spanish Web Corpus in Sketch Engine

One of the tools offered in Sketch Engine to work with a corpus is “Concordance”. As stated in the introduction page of the users’ manual, a concordance is a list with all the examples of the word or phrase searched, which appear in context. The query or keyword can be a word form, a lemma, a construction, or even a complex structure. When clicking

¹³ Spanish, as opposed to other languages, does not have a verb that is used in a general way to express a change-of-state (i.e., French *devenir*, Portuguese *ficar*, Italian *diventare*, German *werden*, English *become*).

¹⁴ The outcomes of the metaphorical analysis presented in this research are a first step in the developing of a didactic material to be further implemented in a follow-up study with English learners of Spanish/L2 at the University of Columbia, NY.

“search”, a KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance is automatically generated in red text, which allows to observe clearly the context to the right and left. The Spanish expressions extracted from the *PCIC* conveying change of emotion and using the motion verb *ponerse* + adjective were searched in the Spanish Web Corpus using the Concordance tool in their different forms, i.e. all the verb forms and persons (*me pongo contento, te pones contenta, se puso contento, nos pongamos contentas*, etc.). This corpus contains almost 100 million words compiled by using a list of URLs (varying from philosophical online texts to online newspapers: e.g., *El Mundo*) provided by the University of Leeds and intended to serve as a resource for the study of the Spanish language. The analysis of the corpus allowed us to examine the metaphoric expressions in context.

Results from the query showed a total number of 14 tokens for the linguistic construction *ponerse contento* in the Spanish Web Corpus (example 19), 21 for *ponerse triste* (example 20), 17 for *ponerse furioso* (example 21) and, in the case of nervousness, 75 tokens for *ponerse nervioso* (example 22) and 9 for *ponerse histérico* (example 23) were found.¹⁵ All these expressions belonged to B1 level in the *PCIC*.

(19) *Tú notas que te pones contento, ella lo nota y*
 you note that you-put CL [yourself] happy she it notes and
se pone también contenta.
 she-put CL [herself] also happy
 ‘You realize that you get excited, she notices it and she also gets excited.’

(20) *¡Venga!, no se ponga triste. Ha de*
 you-come not you-put CL [yourself] sad you-must of
aprender a superar estas cosas.
 learn to overcome these things
 ‘Come on! Don’t get sad. You must learn how to overcome these issues.’

(21) *Hay gente que se pone furiosa cuando la*
 There-are people that put CL [herself] furious when her
pones en evidencia.
 put in evidence
 ‘There are people who get mad when you poke fun at them.’

(22) *Y rápido, ¡o me pongo nervioso!*
 and fast or I-put CL [myself] nervous
 ‘And quickly or I’ll get nervous!’

¹⁵ All the examples in the paper extracted from the Spanish Web Corpus are included in Appendix C showing the type of text or discourse in which the PCOS construction has been documented.

(23) *Te preguntan de qué demonios estás hablando (...) – Te pones histérico y les gritas.*

you they-ask of what demons you-are speaking you-put CL
[yourself] hysterical and them you-shout

‘They ask you what the hell you’re talking about (...) You get hysterical and shout at them.’

Regarding the expressions *ponerse rojo* / *ponerse rojo como un tomate*, which refer to the emotion of embarrassment for B2 level, we encountered 16 and 6 cases, respectively (examples 24a and 24b). Embarrassment expressed through the construction *ponerse colorado* (C1) appeared a total of 16 times (example 25). Another expression that belonged to this level, anger and indignation with the expression *ponerse enfermo*, showed only 9 tokens (example 26). These same emotions, also included in the C2 level, but with the constructions *ponerse rojo de ira* and *ponerse rojo de rabia*, appeared only once in the case of the former (example 27) and the latter did not present any instantiation. Thus, apart from the construction *ponerse nervioso*, the remaining analyzed PCOS constructions showed little presence in the Spanish corpus, which allowed for a qualitative and more-in-depth analysis.

(24a) *Joder, solo de pensarlo me pongo rojo.*
f*** only of thinking-it I-put CL [myself] red
‘Shit, just thinking of it I get red.’

(24b) *Se puso rojo como un tomate y echó a correr hacia el castillo.*
he-put CL [himself] red like a tomato and he-threw
to run to the castle
‘He turned red and started to run to the castle.’

(25) *Aunque parezca mentira me pongo colorada.*
although it appears lie I-put CL [myself] colored
‘Believe it or not, I do turn red.’

(26) *Solo de pensar en él, siento que me pongo enfermo.*
only of think in him I-feel that I-put CL [myself] sick
‘I get sick just thinking of him.’

(27) *El joven se puso rojo de ira, gritó, maldijo y tiró las botas al suelo.*

the young put CL [himself] red of anger he-shouted he-cursed
and he-threw the boots to-the floor

‘The young man turned red with anger, shouted, cursed and threw
the boots to the floor.’

With regard to the target constructions and the cognitive constraints on the expression of the CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor (further discussed in section 5.3), it is worth highlighting at this point that in Spanish, expressions such as *ponerse contento* (‘get excited’) or *ponerse triste* (‘get sad’) are commonly used, whereas Spanish speakers would not say *ponerse satisfecho*¹⁶ (‘get satisfied’) nor *ponerse afligido* (‘get distraught’). Likewise, to express anger and indignation, the *ponerse furioso* / *enfermo* / *rojo de ira/de rabia* PCOS constructions are frequent in everyday language; yet, *ponerse enfadado* or *ponerse indignado* are simply not prototypical constructions to express a new temporary state of arousal in which the subject experiences those emotions. These findings are in line with RAE-ASALE (2009:2842), for they attest the co-appearance of *ponerse* with adjectives denoting circumstantial or episodic states, but not with participle adjectives. This departs from Morimoto & Pavón (2004: 391), who defend that *ponerse* can appear with participles of predicates of psychological affection that denote states which diverge from what might be considered “normal” (e.g., *emocionado* ‘thrilled’, *descompuesto* ‘decomposed’). Yet, the authors also claim, in agreement with our results, that the acceptability/grammaticality of this verb when appearing along with participles that do not carry markers¹⁷ (intensifiers) of an extreme degree is dubious. Still, this does not apply to all participles (e.g., *Se puso muy *descompuesto* ‘He became very shattered’, *Se puso muy *satisfecho* ‘He became very satisfied’) where *descompuesto* and *satisfecho* allude to resulting states that have been accomplished and are not subject to temporary change. In relation to this, subsumption of the semantic structure of lexical items into constructional templates (i.e., high-level or abstract semantic representation of syntactically relevant meaning elements abstracted

¹⁶ This construction appeared only once; *ponerse enfadado* appeared twice; *ponerse afligido*, *ponerse indignado* and *ponerse vergonzoso* showed 0 cases.

¹⁷ In relation to this, and following González’s (2020) study, it could be argued that the intensifier combines with a participle and coerces it into having an adjectival construal. This categorial conversion is licensed by the high-level metonymy DEGREE OF INTENSITY FOR DEGREE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.

away from multiple lower-level representations) is, as has been discussed, regulated by internal and external constraints (Butler & González 2014:119–120). The former refer to lexical class constraints, i.e., Spanish pronominal verbs of affection like, for instance, *enfadarse* ‘get angry’, *avergonzarse* ‘be ashamed of’, *afligirse* ‘to grieve’ and *indignarse* ‘be indignant’ can be used to show the result of a new accomplished emotional state: e.g., *Se indignó* ‘He was indignant’, while the PCOS verb *ponerse*, which expresses a normally temporary and spontaneous emotional state, cannot be followed by a participle adjective normally conveying the result of a psychological process: e.g., *Se puso enfadado* ‘He got angry’ even though both involve a change of state in the subject. This lexical blocking accounts for the quasi non-existence of *ponerse* + participle adjective constructions. The reflexive verbs might block out or otherwise preempt the use of their potential metaphorical counterparts with *ponerse*. The latter (external constraints) are the result of high-level metaphoric and metonymic operations on the lexical items involved in the subsumption process (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2007b, 2008, 2011) and will be examined in more depth when discussing the systematicity of the metaphor under study in the next section.

Similarly, Spanish uses the construction *ponerse rojo* and *ponerse colorado*, but very rarely uses *ponerse vergonzoso*. This latter tends to be discarded from predicational contexts where it holds for animate beings, with the meaning to ‘get shy / timid’¹⁸, which are the ones under study. It can be used, although also rarely, with inanimate subjects when *vergonzoso* is metonymic for ‘causing shame’ (example 28). This causal meaning is found in dictionaries: “Se dice de lo que es motivo de vergüenza: *Un asunto vergonzoso*”, ‘Said of that which is a source of shame: A shameful affair’ (DUE 1998). In this example, the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy acts as a licensing factor. Furthermore, every adjective retrieved from the PCIC can also co-appear with the resultative state verb *estar* denoting an accomplished emotional state (e.g., *Estoy triste*). Yet, as observed, the change-of-state verb *ponerse* does not always co-occur with all adjectival complements (e.g., *ponerse vergonzoso*) nor does it appear along with participial adjectives (e.g., *ponerse afligido*) conveying people’s new and temporary states.

- (28) *La situación se puso vergonzosa.*
 ‘The situation put CL [itself] shy
 ‘The situation got shameful/embarrassing.’

¹⁸ No example was found in the corpus. Still, we include one example with an animate subject from CREA, but we emphasize that it is a very rare construction: *Les llevan a filiações y la Madrileña se pone vergonzosa. ¡Que no quería desnudarse!* This construction can be used colloquially to express an ironical and somehow disapproving attitude, suggesting that the subject is a bit of a hypocrite.

- (29) *Me puse nervioso.*
 I-put CL [myself] nervous
 ‘I got nervous.’
- (30) *Me puse *vergonzoso.*
 I-put CL [myself] shy
 ‘I got shy.’

The reason why (29) is possible but not (30) may lie in the non-transient nature of the property expressed by *vergonzoso*. Here, the metaphor creates a general framework for the use of a resultative adjective with a position verb, both with a non-material meaning. This lexical-constructional integration constricts as a motivation for constructional coercion over lexical predicates (Ruiz de Mendoza 2013), which accounts for A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION as the reason why speakers produce some predicates but not others.

The expression of emotions that persist in time normally requires intransient verbs, such as the static copular *ser* (‘be’) or the normally resultative verb *estar* (‘be’), for the experiencer and the conceptualized emotional state correspond to the same entity. In this case, when the speaker describes her own states or changes of state, she shares an internal conceptualization of herself that includes, amongst others, her emotional states.¹⁹ Thus, instead of using *ponerse*, Spanish speakers would utter *ser vergonzoso* ($n = 399$) (‘be shy / timid’), *estar satisfecho* ($n = 10,344$) (‘be satisfied’); *estar afligido* ($n = 115$) (‘be distraught’); *estar enfadado* ($n=1,740$) (‘be angry’); and *estar indignado* ($n=727$) (‘be outraged’). The positive and negative emotions under study can be considered either emotional changes or emotional states depending on how long the agent/experiencer undergoes them: +temporary for emotional changes, –temporary for emotional states. In the case of emotional changes (e.g., a change into sadness), they are linguistically represented with a PCOS verb, such as *ponerse*, followed by evaluative subjective resultative expressions that profile a spontaneous quality that does not necessarily imply a certain permanence (e.g., *ponerse triste*), although the same predicate could also profile a relatively durational emotional state, e.g., *estar triste*). Regarding emotional states (e.g., sadness), adjectives conveying a state that requires a certain duration (e.g., *afligido*) cannot co-appear with a change-of-state verb, such as *ponerse*, which also implies spontaneity. The concepts of spontaneity and permanence in time, are,

¹⁹ It should be stressed at this point that when using these constructions with 2nd or 3rd person subjects (e.g., *Te pusiste nerviosa*, ‘You got nervous’) the speaker or conceptualizer is different from the experiencer (i.e., she is not profiled as the conceptualizer, but just as an experiencer).

therefore, paramount to understand all elements of this PCOS construction, that is, not only the predicate, but also its complements. This cognitive constraint on the linguistic representation of the metaphor under study disagrees to some extent with findings in Ibarretxe & Cheikh's (2019) study, as it is both the lexical verb and the adjective (thus not only the verb), which are responsible for the semantic differences and the metaphorical interpretation of the PCOS construction.

5.3. Barcelona's (2002) MMIP and the systematicity of A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) STATE IS A CHANGE OF (TEMPORARY) LOCATION in the PCOS construction ponerse + adjective

The metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION is rather well-known from the literature on CTM, and the emotions analyzed which are involved in a change of state or condition include those analyzed above (happiness and satisfaction, sadness and affliction, anger and indignation, nervousness, and embarrassment). This conceptual metaphor seems to be highly motivated and probably universal; yet, these aspects still need to be attested in the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION in Spanish. Hence, a further analysis is needed to i) gain a deeper understanding of the metaphorical mappings from the source onto the target domain and to ii) study the extent to which this metaphor might act as a licensing factor of lexical integration into the PCOS construction under study.

As Barcelona (2002) highlights, if the mapping is construed as a metaphor, we need to ensure that the mapping occurs between two domains that are not included into a broader functional or taxonomic domain. In the case of the analyzed PCOS constructions, there is a mapping from the source domain of temporary *location* to the target domain of temporary *states*. These are two independent taxonomies, in other words, both of them are discrete domains of experience, for *location* belongs exclusively to the taxonomy of space and *states* to that of emotions and emotional states. Yet, they can be conflated through experiential co-occurrence. We can call this metaphorical mapping STATES ARE LOCATIONS and when the experiencer assumes a new temporary state or condition, either internally caused, or produced by an external factor or stimulus, the mapping can be named A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION. Research has extensively focused on the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor and its related metaphors. Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo's (2016) study on English caused-motion constructions, for instance, shows the motivation of the metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION to express result. In the same line, in her works, Goldberg (1995:87, 180; 2006:21) contends that resultative constructions only apply to arguments that can potentially undergo a change of state as a result of the action profiled by the verb. The CHANGE

OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor acts as a licensing factor of lexical integration into some constructions. In this case, it accounts for the relation between the semantics of the caused-motion construction and the resultative construction. The form of the metaphorical extension in the resultative under study (see Figure 6) is indirectly inherited from the caused-motion construction (see Figure 3) and directly from the *self*-caused-motion construction (see Figure 5). As claimed in the LCM, both the resultative and the caused-motion construction present an event (whether instigated or not) that causes an object to change location or state.

	<i>(El joven)</i>	<i>Lo (al niño)</i>	<i>puso</i>	<i>sentado / de pie</i>
	(The youngster)	him (to the kid)	put	sitting / standing up
Sem.	causer	THEME	cause-MOVE	GOAL
Syn.	SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	ARG

Figure 3. Active transitive caused-motion construction. Source Domain.

	<i>(El joven)</i>	<i>Lo (al niño)</i>	<i>puso</i>	<i>furioso</i>	<i>(con su actitud)</i>
	(The youngster)	him (to the kid)	put	furious	(with his attitude)
Sem.	causer	experiencer.	cause-UNDERGO	result-GOAL	(direct cause)
Syn.	SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	ARG	(ARG)

Figure 4. Active transitive resultative construction. Target Domain.

Poner ‘put’ is a causative position locative verb that tends to correspond to the transitive caused-motion constructional meaning “X causes Y to move to location Z” (see Figure 3). In Figure 5, however, the locative verb *ponerse* can be explained as having the self-caused-motion meaning “X causes X to move to location Z”, for the subject both performs and undergoes the action expressed by the verb. Similarly, *ponerse* can be used to metaphorically express, not only the meaning corresponding to Figure 4, i.e., “X causes Y to undergo the temporary state Z”, but also the meaning corresponding to Figure 6, namely “X causes X to undergo the temporary state Z”, within the resultative construction. In this latter, we observe how the subject or experiencer X undergoes a spontaneous and temporary arousal state Z.

	<i>El niño</i> ↔ <i>se</i>		<i>puso</i>	<i>sentado / de pie</i>
	The boy	CL	put	sitting / de pie
Sem.	mover	self-moved	cause-MOVE	GOAL
Syn.	SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	ARG

Figure 5. Self-caused-motion construction. Source Domain.

	<i>El niño</i> ↔ <i>se</i>		<i>puso</i>	<i>furioso (con su actitud)</i>
	The boy	CL	put	furious (with his attitude)
Sem.	effector	effected	cause-UNDERGO	result-GOAL(external cause)
Syn.	SUB	OBJ	PRED	ARG (ARG)

Figure 6. PCOS resultative construction. Target Domain.

This middle voice resultative construction involves no split representation of the self (see Figure 5), since it depicts a deponent event happening within the subject's dominion (Maldonado 1999).²⁰ As compared to the active transitive resultative construction, the subject in Figure 6 is both an agent (causer) and an experiencer of the action expressed by the verb (undergoing a change of state).²¹ The subject's action cannot be thus distinguished from the object's affectedness. This is in line with Maldonado (2009:91), who highlights that one evident property of the representation for the middle construction is that, as opposed to the transitive or the real reflexive one, there is only one real participant. This metaphorical process depends, therefore, on the relationship between the actor and the object. In both cases, the actor and the object are the same – mover and self-moved, effector and effected. Yet, the actor's or effector's action (causing an emotional change) has a direct effect on the object (effected) in the evaluative resultative complements (see Figure 6), whereas in the self-caused motion construction, the actor is a mover whose movement is undergone by the moved entity (see Figure 5). In line with González's (2009) study, the

²⁰ By deponent we allude to an event that describes an action somehow intermediate between the active and the passive forms (in Latin grammar, the deponent conjugation affects verbs which have passive form but active meanings).

²¹ We can also find utterances like *Los zapatos se pusieron negros* with no sentient being that can perform the experiencer role. In these cases, the subject is normally patient (mapped from theme).

clitic *se* in the PCOS resultative construction undergoes the change and the adjective marks a secondary predication.

Furthermore, the use of this *se* implies, as suggested by Maldonado (1999:16), a higher flow of energy and an *increased* participation. As opposed to Figure 4, or even to utterances such as *Su actitud lo puso furioso*, lit. ‘His attitude put CL [himself] furious’ or *Su actitud lo enfureció*, lit. ‘His attitude infuriated him’, which go beyond the scope of this article, the experiencer in the PCOS resultative shows a higher level of involvement. The experiencer does not merely suffer a change imposed by an abstract external cause, but she participates in it with her emotionality and not with her rational control (Maldonado 1999:95).

As observed, this constructionist view conceives language as a hierarchical inventory of constructions in which high-level constructions, like resultatives, inherit features from low-level ones (i.e., caused-motion constructions) so that generalizations on both vertical and horizontal relations can be captured (Goldberg 1995:72–81). The choice of linguistic items that saturate these constructions is, therefore, not fully constrained. This results in a family of constructions interacting by means of inheritance relations, in this case, by metaphorical extension links.

The Spanish Web Corpus allowed us to gather a bigger sample of additional linguistic constructions of the metaphor under analysis. These additional instantiations had to satisfy the following two requirements: the linguistic expression of the source domain must be grammatically compatible with a linguistic expression of the target domain and the source domain expression must be interpretable (metaphorically) in the target domain (Barcelona 2002:250–251) thus creating a mapping between the two domains. Take example (23) which conveys a temporary state of nervousness and the corresponding spatial or locative constructions that code it: *Te pones histérico y les gritas - Te pones ahí | de pie | sentado y les gritas*.

The source domain construction *Te pones sentado*, where the secondary predication is a particle indicating the position of referent of the subject noun phrase (*sentado* ‘sitting’), is more compatible with locative predicates (e.g., *en el suelo* ‘on the floor’), since that locative expression can more naturally take up that role in the construction.²² As evidenced in the results from the corpus analysis, in the non-literal use, it is very common to encounter an evaluative adjective as the resultative element of the construction (*Te pones histérico*) instead of the locative expression. *Ponerse* undergoes subcategorical conversion from a change of location verb requiring spatial complements (e.g., prepositional or adverbial

²² This construction is also less odd in a context in which the speaker describes or suggests the addressee’s posture in a potential photograph or any other type of graphic representation (i.e., *Veo que te pones sentado en la foto*, ‘I see you’re sitting on the photograph’, or *Tú, José, te pones sentado y tú, Carmen, te pones de pie y de perfil*, ‘José, you sit down and you, Carmen, stand up and turn sideways’).

phrases) to a change-of-state verb with an evaluative adjective. Such a conversion is observed as features from the source domain of position [–change + control] (Dik 1978: 55) are reversed to [+change – control] in the change-of-state construction (e.g., from constructions like *ponerse de pie* – stand up / *de rodillas* – on one’s knees / *tumbado* – lying down / *tendido de espaldas* – lying on one’s back, to resultatives such as *ponerse histérico*). This feature reversal only occurs when the metaphorical transfer maps the construction in Figure 5 onto the construction in Figure 6 and not when it maps the construction of Figure 3 on that of Figure 4. In this case, +control is always attached to the causer of the change undergone by the theme>experiencer, which is a distinct participant lacking control in both constructions. Hence, although literal motion constructions might present participle adjectives as predicates indicating position, these usually appear along with prepositional or adverbial phrases specifying the location (e.g., *Te pones reclinado en la pared /ahí*, lit. ‘You put CL [yourself] reclining on the wall /there) and, otherwise, are not very common.

Some of the general features of the family of object-related depictives (González 2009), more specifically of configurations that involve perception verbs or verbs of “mental processes” comprising the domains of “affection, perception, and cognition” (Halliday 1985:116–118), such as *ver* (‘see’), also carry over to the change-of-state construction *ponerse* + adjective. For instance, the pseudo-reflexive direct object *te* in *te pones histérico* and *te* in *te veo histérico* refer to the undergoer of a change (in the case of the latter, *te* is also the bearer of the property *histérico*) and the adjective *histérico* marks a secondary predication in both cases. Yet, the PCOS verb *ponerse* adds the change of state component, which is a differentiating factor (see examples 31 and 32):

(31) *Te veo histérico.* - Object-related depictive attribute, evaluative subjective-transitive

you I-see hysterical

‘I see you hysterical.’

(32) *Te pones histérico.* - Object-related depictive attribute, evaluative subjective-resultative

you-put CL [yourself] hysterical

‘You get hysterical.’

In this regard, we can use non-literal expressions such as *Veo ese comentario fuera de lugar* (lit. ‘I see that comment out of place’) or *Se ve fuera de lugar* (lit. ‘She sees herself out of place’), but not **Veo ese comentario fuera del salón* (lit. ‘I see that comment outside the living room’) nor **Se ve fuera del salón* (lit. ‘She sees herself outside the living room’). As González (2009:668) contends, the metaphorical extension STATES ARE LOCATIONS accounts for the fact that, despite their form, the object-related depictive secondary predicates are functionally equivalent to adjectives encoding a state and are suitable with verbs that bring into focus a cognitive (i.e. evaluative) sense as opposed to prepositional phrases with literal locative meaning. The prepositional phrase –and secondary predication– *fuera de lugar* is used metaphorically with a value of *inadecuado* (‘inappropriate’) and tends to be predicated with inanimate entities. When predicated with animate entities, it means ‘uncomfortable, far from the normal situation or circumstances’: *Se ve fuera de lugar* (‘She feels out of place = uneasy’). Whereas the evaluative subjective-transitive construction only allows metaphorical prepositional phrases construed as expressing an evaluative perspective on the part of the speaker or subject and disallows prepositional phrases with literal location meanings (González 2009:714), the evaluative subjective-resultative construction accepts figurative adjective phrases and tends to exclude participle adjective phrases with both a concrete and a non-literal positional or locative meaning (e.g., *sentada*, *indignada*, respectively). Such constraints are based on the high-level conceptual structure (event structure) of the construction, which requires lexical predicates to have certain high-level properties (Langacker 2000). The metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION furnishes an explanation as to why secondary predicates are equivalent to adjectives encoding a transient state (*histórico*) in contrast to non-transient participial adjective phrases with a literal and non-literal position meaning (*sentada*, *indignada*).

Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2016:17) claim that subcategorical conversion is the result of the Override Principle (Michaelis 2003), in virtue of which an adjustment of the meaning of *ponerse* would be required to acquire attributes that are compatible with the caused-motion construction. According to these authors, the constructional requirement for converting *ponerse* + locative predicates into *ponerse* + adjective is to have a causative accomplishment predicate initiating the causal chain that has the object of the action change from one state to another, momentarily. Since the change-of-location verb *poner* (‘put’) is a predicate that requires action and does not possess an evaluative component, the only way to make the construction a change-of-state one is to reinterpret the activity predicate as an evaluative subjective resultative. The above-mentioned adjective, *histórico*, is a secondary predicate of the target domain, that of *states*, whereas *ponerse* is a

locative or motion verb belonging to the source domain of *location*, and more specifically, of the subdomain TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION, which is implied in its semantics.

Following Barcelona's (2002) MMIP, we searched for evidence that the metaphor was still alive, which can be examined by looking whether it is still used in reasoning and in making inferences or not, and by finding out some of its ontological and epistemic (or knowledge) submappings. To illustrate this, take, for instance, the passage extracted from the Spanish Web Corpus (example 27):

(27) *El joven se puso rojo de ira, gritó, maldijo y tiró las botas al suelo.*

El joven ('the youngster') is an indirect experiencer and undergoer; the element that suffers most directly the physical effect of reddening is the face and neck area, so we have grounds for suggesting that a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, an active zone metonymy, is involved in the first clause. The more relevant metonymy at work, however, is the PART FOR PART metonymy, whereby stating that "*se puso rojo*" (EFFECT) i.e., stating that the young man exhibited the physiological response of reddening, activates the emotional CAUSE (embarrassment) for that response. Bearing this in mind and looking for the ontological submappings of A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION, the *mover* or causer of motion (in Langacker's 1987 terms) is mapped onto the *experiencer* of the state (onto him as a whole experiencer "*el joven*" and, from this person onto a part of his body, the face).

The systematic mappings between two conceptual domains (the correspondences bring together elements and relations between elements in the domain of space with elements and their relations between them in the domain of emotions and change of state) allow us to understand the meaning of the PCOS constructions under analysis, which are common in everyday language. The set of correspondences is said to be systematic, for it captures a coherent view of motion that is mapped onto states: there is someone who is in an emotional state (experiences an initial state of rest) then, either an internal or external cause appears (causing him/her to change that initial state, to temporarily go from one state to another). As a result, the person is for a certain period of time in an emotional state different from the one he/she first experienced.

The third subordinate operation dealt with the recognition of the most general metaphor manifested in the mapping in particular or which yielded that mapping in combination with other metaphors. As Barcelona (2002) highlights, metaphors are often extensions or elaborations of more abstract metaphors. Hence, this exercise aimed at describing the mapping at the highest superordinate level, which is a hard operation to undertake, since the hierarchies and structures of the metaphor system underlying our conceptual schemes are not entirely

clear (Barcelona 2002). The TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION metaphor offers one of the most elementary mappings: a basic *image schema* (schematizations: e.g., abstractions of spatial experience as posited by Johnson (1987)) is mapped onto an abstract domain. The metaphor is an entailment of the generic or high-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS, in which bounded regions in space refer to states. Similarly, A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION is coherent with one of the mappings of the abstract EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1993), which accounts for the understanding of events and causes. Regarding the normal version of the metaphor, the metaphor maps two domains, that of *space* and that of *force dynamics* onto the domain of *events*. Emotional state changes are thus regarded as motions from/to spatial positions or locations: *Se puso histórico* (change of state) or *Estaba en una crisis de ansiedad* (state), lit. ‘He was in a crisis of anxiety’. See, for instance, the metaphorical expressions *Se pone contento* or *Se pone nervioso*, where motion occurs in an imaginary manner and the experiencer moves metaphorically from one emotional state to another, spontaneously and momentarily. As for the dual version, the entity that changes (the experiencer) does not move metaphorically but is rather regarded as a possessor of an object (emotional state) which moves and corresponds to the new state and which then becomes a possession. See the following examples that correspond to the POSSESSIONS version: *Estoy llena de alegría*, lit. ‘I’m full of happiness’ or *Tengo muchos nervios*, lit. ‘I have many nerves’, where the possessed object or possession (happiness, nerves) is the dual of the location in the normal version of the metaphor, and the possessor (I) is the dual of the changing entity. In this case, we could speak of the EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES metaphor, where the emotions are *objects* located inside a *container* (the *possessor*).

The last subordinate operation aims at describing the functioning of the metaphor in a particular context and is divided into two other operations: 1) observing if some submappings are highlighted and 2) checking if the linguistic expressions are metaphorically and/or metonymically complex, that is, examining whether the same linguistic expression shows more than one metaphorical mapping. Since the source and target belong to different superordinate taxonomic domains, there seems to be a pragmatic function whereby the activation of location leads to the activation of a new arousal state. As a representative illustration, let us consider example 21: *Hay gente que se pone furiosa cuando la pones en evidencia*, where the metaphor appears in a particular context. On the one hand, the epistemic or knowledge submappings related to the existence of different mental and emotional states, to the possibility of new self-caused arousal states –even when being affected by an external stimulus to a certain extent– and to the context in which these are shown (*cuando la pones en evidencia*) are highlighted at the expense of other

possible submappings such as the experiencer's initial state or state of rest. That is, it is essentially the submapping onto the last phase of the Motion Event (the goal or the final temporary emotional state) that receives the most attention.

On the other hand, this construction is metaphorically complex, for the CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION metaphor can be further developed by means of metaphorical entailments, which give rise to entailed submetaphors such as SELF-INITIATED (OR SELF-CAUSED) CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS SELF-INITIATED (OR SELF-CAUSED) CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION. Considering all the cognitive aspects retrieved from each subordinate operation and from the lexical-constructional account of meaning, we can conclude that the metaphor under analysis is attested in the Spanish language and serves as a motivating factor on lexical-constructional integration –more specifically, it accounts for the relation between the semantics of the caused-motion construction and the resultative. On the one hand, the metaphor A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF STATE IS A TEMPORARY CHANGE OF LOCATION seems to be manifested by conventional expressions. On the other, it is specified and expressed linguistically by using a motion verb accompanied by a pseudo-reflexive clitic, which designates the undergoer and experiencer of the change of state, and by a transient adjectival predicate. Hence, this metaphor seems to furnish an explanation as to why secondary predicates correspond to adjectives encoding transient emotional states as opposed to their literal non-transient adjectival phrasal counterparts.

6. Conclusions

This paper has examined PCOS metaphorical constructions in Spanish used to describe a wide range of temporary arousal states (as grouped in the *PCIC*: happiness and satisfaction, sadness and affliction, anger and indignation, nervousness, and embarrassment). In order to identify potential linguistic forms that express metaphors in relation to emotions, we have looked at the *PCIC* and have selected those expressions that presented a recurrent pattern. The sample was reduced to the PCOS construction *ponerse* + adjective. The fact that we started out from an initial corpus which serves as a reference for textbook writers and curriculum advisors was a guarantee that the constructions under analysis are ubiquitous in everyday language, since its content is based on frequency and language use. Apart from the initial 11 metaphorical constructions found in the *PCIC*, the analysis of the Spanish Web Corpus contemplated similar constructions conveying the same target emotions yet showing cognitive constraints. It was expected that the CHANGE OF STATE metaphor would occur in the target language, for it is grounded in experiential and bodily-based concepts. Still, we aimed to explore the type of role that the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE

IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION played and, as we reflected upon its different realizations, we found both conceptual and linguistic limitations in the metaphor.

Results from the Spanish Web Corpus yielded a high diversity in the frequency of the target expressions. Constructions denoting nervousness such as *ponerse nervioso* showed a higher rate of tokens, whereas other emotions, such as anger and indignation, presented in some of its linguistic forms few or no tokens (*ponerse rojo de ira*, *ponerse rojo de rabia*). The low frequency of some of the target constructions can be due to the nature of the corpus, which might not be completely representative of real language use, for those Spanish linguistic forms were included in the *PCIC* and this latter does show the linguistic reality of Spanish and its varieties.

Barcelona's (2002) MMIP allowed us to read deeper into the linguistic examples in order to gain a better insight into the underlying metaphors and metonymies. In this sense, we started out from linguistic instantiations within their context, which activated more than one metaphor, to check whether the metaphor A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION is attested in Spanish. We arrived at the conclusion that the metaphor under analysis has a role in Spanish, since the number of expressions illustrates the two domains. Still, the goal was to also gain a better understanding of how the PCOS verb *ponerse* followed by an adjectival predicate works. *Ponerse* undertakes subcategorical conversion from spontaneous and temporary change of location requiring spatial predicates to sudden and temporary change of state with an evaluative adjective. Hence, the combination is indeed found to be metaphorical, yet not all evaluative adjectives can appear with *ponerse* (e.g., *Se puso *vergonzosa*) nor can adjective participles (e.g., *Se puso *indignada*), since these profile relatively stable states. The distinction between relatively transient and relatively stable or permanent properties determines the collocability of the corresponding adjectives with certain verbs. In the context of the LCM, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera (2014) propose an explanation by contending that this model accounts for the existence of re-construal processes at the highest level of linguistic activity. In line with their claim, A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION acts as a constraint on the ascription of certain verbs and certain resultatives, and not others, to the verb construction based on the evaluative subjective resultative expression that follows them. Hence, few or no cases were found for constructions such as *ponerse satisfecho*, *ponerse enfadado*, *ponerse vergonzoso*, *ponerse afligido* or *ponerse indignado* in the Spanish Web Corpus, whereas the STATES ARE LOCATIONS metaphor can be applied to the expression of all the emotions under study (e.g., *estar contento* 'be excited', *estar satisfecho* 'be satisfied').

One of the aspects that renders the target metaphor so interesting to be studied is its source domain of physical motion. Motion plays a significant part in the speaker's perceptual organization and conceptualization of the world, and that abstract reading of reality is concretized through language use. As shown in our results, the caused-motion construction displays the motivation of A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY STATE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPORARY LOCATION, and the metaphor accounts for the relation between the semantics of both the caused-motion and the resultative construction. This is in line with constructionist approaches and the LCM, which acknowledge that resultatives are metaphorical extensions of caused-motion constructions, as the former inherit features from these low-level constructions (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo 2016). Furthermore, following a constructionist approach which contends that users draw generalizations in the form of form-function patterns from the input is consistent with the finding that PCOS constructions have psychological plausibility for Spanish learners (Valenzuela & Rojo 2008, Eddington & Ruiz de Mendoza 2010). By highlighting the constraining factors in the representation of this metaphor, we have tackled the versatile semantic nature of this PCOS construction in Spanish. It is paramount to solve these difficulties by offering a structured and motivated explanation along the lines of the lexical-constructional account of meaning. In this sense, we claim that not only the verb but also the satellite arguments (i.e., the adjective in the resultative) are responsible for both the semantic differences and the metaphorical understanding of change-of-state constructions.

Furthermore, our results have evinced that the *PCIC* does not introduce the target constructions until B1 level, and we consider it important to present them altogether at an earlier level. Albeit the didactic transportation being a challenge, we believe that findings from this study will contribute to the field of Spanish/L2 learning and teaching in follow-up studies. Since metaphor and metonymy (this latter discussed throughout the paper in less detail) are cognitive mechanisms involved in the acquisition of expressions of temporary change in arousal states, a prior cognitive and construction-based analysis was necessary. In line with previous studies focusing on metaphor and PCOS verbs from a cognitivist perspective as a way to enhance learners' metaphoric and linguistic competence, findings from this study offer preliminary informed options for the design of cognitive-based pedagogical proposals to be implemented in the Spanish/L2 classroom. By offering learners an explanation along the lines of lexical-constructional and metaphorical accounts of meaning, they will be closer to becoming autonomous and competent speakers of Spanish.

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