A Cognitive Metaphorical Approach to the Roles of Women in Sephardic Families

by Derya Agis

This article examines the characters of mothers, mothers-in-law, daughters, and daughters-in-law in different Judeo-Spanish idioms, proverbs, and anecdotes from the perspective of the Cognitive Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). According to this theory, conceptual metaphors, which are also known as cognitive metaphors, consist of two parts: a target domain and a source domain. The target domain's meaning is understood via the source domain, since the qualities of the (metaphorical) source object are attributed to the target object in order to explain a cultural or societal belief or experience.

My study consists of the analyses of diverse cultural elements belonging to different lands of the Ottoman Empire where Sephardim came after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. This research reveals that the positive and negative emotions of love and hate between mothers and their daughters, and between mothers-in-law and their daughters-in-law, are depicted in Sephardic idioms, proverbs, and anecdotes through conceptual and linguistic (ontological and orientational) metaphors founded on socio-cultural beliefs.

Ontological metaphors are metaphors that are used for referring to an object or person. These metaphors can either indicate a quantity, identifying aspects and causes, establishing goals, or motivating actions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:26-27). Orientational metaphors are expressions, and they indicate orientation, including the psychological state of a person. One example of an orientational metaphor is the English idiomatic expression, “to be down” (“to be sad”). (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:14). These types of metaphors are employed in order to express the positive emotion of love between Sephardic mothers and daughters, whereas more conceptual metaphors are used to express the negative emotion of hate between mothers-in-law and their daughters-in-law.

This research is important because the relationship between mothers and daughters is often seen as harmonious, while the relationships between mothers-in-laws and daughters-in-law oftentimes involve conflicts and taunts in many societies in the world. These verbal abuses or public humiliations and the love between mothers and daughters are explained via conceptual and linguistic metaphors related only to the Sephardic cultural beliefs in Turkey.

Emotions

According to Oatley and Jenkins (1996:96), emotions should be depicted in three ways. First, an emotion is usually caused by a person consciously or unconsciously evaluating an event as relevant to a concern (a goal) that is important; the emotion is felt as positive when a concern is advanced and negative when a concern is impeded. Second, the core of an emotion is readiness to act and the prompting of plans: an emotion gives priority for one or a few kinds of action to which it gives a sense of urgency—so it can interrupt, or compete with, alternative mental processes or actions. Different types of readiness create different outline relationships with others. Third, an emotion is usually experienced as a distinctive type of mental state, sometimes accompanied or followed by bodily changes, expressions, actions.

In this study, we have chosen the emotions of love and hate for investigating the degree of relationship between mothers and daughters, and mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, and analyzing the related terminology to the cognitive metaphors and metonymies concerning bodily emotive expressions occurring due to some emotion and knowledge processes in our minds, the automatic responses to some people's attitudes and behaviors towards us.

Review of Literature

Various studies have been conducted on the linguistic expression of emotions via different body parts, with most of them examining the conceptual metaphors and metonymies underlying the idioms and proverbs in different world languages. For example, Kövecses (1990) and Szabó (1996) suggest that most idioms are based on conceptual metonymies and metaphors. They propose a three-step process concerning the relationship between cognitive metaphors and idioms: first, 'source domains' decide on the meanings of idioms, referring to a target domain; second, ontological meaning leads to the idiomatic meanings, and third, epistemic correspondences can depict the connotative aspects of idiomatic meanings.

Agis (2007), citing Ungar and Schmid (1997), indicates that...
tional) metaphors are employed in order to express the positive emotion of love between the mothers and the daughters, whereas more conceptual metaphors are used to express the negative emotion of hate between the mothers-in-law and the daughters-in-law, and 2) More Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs imply love, referring to the mother and daughter, whereas more Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs express hate, referring to the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law.

Conceptual (Structural) Metaphors

Conceptual metaphors are known as cognitive metaphors and consist of two parts: a target domain and a source domain. The target domain’s meaning is conceived via the source domain as in love is a nutrient: mapping is the relation between the target and the source domain(s). (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:7).

Metonymy

Metonymy is a mental process during which one concept is the vehicle, allowing mental access to another ‘conceptual entity’ i.e., the target in the same cognitive representation (Radzen and Kövecses 1999:17-59). An example of a metonymy is: “Money stands for economy.”

Linguistic Metaphors

Oriental Metaphors

The orientational metaphors involve orientational expressions, such as up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-partial (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:14). Some examples of these metaphors which are based on the two conceptualizations of “happy is up” and “sad is down,” are:

I’m feeling up. That boosted my spirits. My spirits rose. You are in high spirits. Thinking about her always gives me a lift. I am feeling down. I’m depressed. He’s low these days. I fell into a depression. My spirit sank (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:15).

Ontological Metaphors

Ontological metaphors are used for the following purposes:
1. Referring. For example: “The middle class is a powerful silent force in American politics.”
2. Quantification. For example: “There is so much hatred in the world.”
3. Identifying Aspects. For example: “The brutality of war dehumanizes us all.”
4. Identifying Causes. For example: “The pressure of his responsibilities caused his breakdown.”
5. Setting Goals and Motivating Actions. For example: “I’m changing my way of life so that I can find true happiness” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:26 27).

Statistical Technique

The percentages of the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs that mention the female family members of mother, daughter, mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law were calculated, dividing them into two categories as the ones, which express love, and the others, which express hate, and the percentages of these idioms and proverbs that involve conceptual, orientational, and ontological metaphors were calculated and compared with a test of comparison of proportions with the statistical tool MedCalc (MedCalc 2009). This tool performs a Chi-Square test for the comparison of proportions, expressed as percentages from independent samples with Yates’ correction for continuity and a p-value. In case the p-value is less than 0.05 there is a statistically significant difference between the two proportions.

If a person uses the tool, a box appears on the computer screen. In the box, one must write the proportion—expressed as a percentage—and the total number of cases of the first sample on the part reserved for the first set of data, and the proportion and the total number of cases of the second sample on the part reserved for the second set of data before pressing the test button. The test results include the difference between the two proportions, a 95% confidence interval (CI) for this difference, the Chi-Square test, the degrees of freedom (df), and the p-value.

Results

In Table 1 we see the percentages of the emotions of love and hate expressed in the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs that mention different characters of mothers and mothers-in-law. Table 1 shows us that the 60% of the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs where the mothers are mentioned indicate love, whereas none of the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs where the mothers-in-law are depicted implies this positive emotion. This 60% difference is statistically significant with a p-value less than 0.0001 which is equal to the same statistical significance level of the 60% difference between the percentages of the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs with the mother (40%) and with the mother-in-law (100%) that express hate.

Regarding the differences between the percentages of the emotions of love and hate depicted in the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs where the daughters and the daughters-in-law are mentioned (Table 2), we encounter a statistical significance at a p-value equal to 0.0001 in each case where the difference between the percentages of the idioms and proverbs in the two groups is 48%. There are not any idioms or proverbs with the daughters-in-law expressing love; however, in this case, 48% of the idioms and proverbs express love.

Besides, as 52% of the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs imply hate, referring to the daughters, 100% of the idioms and proverbs in the same language describe hate via the daughters-in-law.

Furthermore, Table 3 demonstrates the differences between the percentages of the linguistic and conceptual metaphors employed in the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs.

Table 3 shows that the differences between the percentages of the linguistic and conceptual metaphors underlying the idioms and proverbs where the emotion of hate is indicated with the mothers, the daughters, and the daughters-in-law are not statistically significant with these consecutive p-values for each in the order of p = 0.1775, p = 0.1141, and p = 0.2143.

![Women from Constantinople (now Istanbul) Turkey, 1873. Library of Congress LC-USZ62-11820; Photographed by Pascal Sébah.](image)
Despite this, there are more linguistic metaphors (87%) active in the idioms and proverbs with the mothers than the conceptual metaphors (13%) with a statistical significance of p < 0.0001 that is the same as that for the 86% difference between the percentages of the idioms and proverbs with the daughters that express love where the linguistic metaphors (93%) are employed more than the conceptual metaphors (7%).

Besides, regarding the idioms and proverbs in relation with the particularities of the mothers-in-law, more conceptual metaphors (86%) underlie them than the linguistic metaphors (14%) with a statistical significance of a p-value less than 0.0001.

**Data Analyses**

In this section, some of the idioms and proverbs where the mothers, mothers-in-law, daughters, and daughters-in-law are mentioned and the emotions of love and hate between them are depicted will be analyzed.

**Idioms and Proverbs: The Mother**

The proverb in (1) implies that a mother and her daughter usually share most of their secrets, problems, happiness, or sadness. Therefore, they cannot be separated from each other, as they love one another so much to suffer as soon as they will have been separated:

(1) *La madre y la hija, como piedra en anillo, la ija kon la madre kome unya en karme.*

*The mother and the daughter resemble the stone on a ring, the daughter and the mother nail in the flesh.*


As we see, prepositions, adjectives, or descriptive nouns (such as hardness) are formulated in the human mind in the metaphorical expressions cited above. Thus, more linguistic metaphors are present in the proverb than those conceptual ones. In (2) the daughter of a mother who does not take care of her own daughter, but is dedicated to serve other poor children is described:

(2) *La madre piadoza, kita a la ija mokaza / tinyaza.* **The daughter of a charitable mother becomes smelly/bald.**

Here we encounter the following metaphorical expressions: "BEING CHARITABLE IS BEING CARELESS," "BEING CHARITABLE IS LOOKING OUTSIDE A CIRCLE IN WHICH ONE IS IN," or "BEING CHARITABLE IS NOT LOOKING AROUND ONESSELF," or "A FAMILY IS BEING IN THE SAME SHELTER," "THE MOTHER AND THE DAUGHTER ARE IN THE SAME SHELTER, WHEN THEY LOVE EACH OTHER," "SEEING POOR PEOPLE OUT OF THIS SHELTER IS BEING AN INDIFFERENT MOTHER," "A HEALTHY DAUGHTER IS A WORK OF A CAREFUL MOTHER," and "BEING SMelly / BALD IS BEING UNCAVED." These are all linguistic metaphors, as we see.

Besides, the case in (3) that is of a mother who does not cook, do the housework, or go shopping, etc.

(3) *La madre haragana, kita la ija galana / nikochera.* **A lazy mother produces a hardworking housewife.**

In (3) these metaphors are present: "THE HOUSEWORK IS HARD WORK," "DOING TOO MUCH HOUSEWORK IS BEING HARDWORKING FOR A DAUGHTER," "LOVE IS BEING INSIDE," and "HATE IS BEING OUTSIDE.

The proverb in (4) explains that the mother of a dumb person can understand what s/he tells through her / his gestures:

(4) *Lamadredelmundo, entienda almudo.* **The mother of the mute understands the mute.**

The following metaphors underlie (4): "THE MOTHER AND THE DAUGHTER ARE THE STORAGES OF EXTREME PAIN OR OTHER EMOTIONS," "THE PRESSURE IN A STORAGE MAKES THEM SHARE THE EMOTIONS IN THIS STORAGE," "THE EXTREMITIES OF PAIN AN EMOTION MAKES A DAUGHTER EXPLODE/CONSULT HER MOTHER" and "THE MOTHER'S LOVE MAKES HER UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HIDDEN IN HER DAUGHTER.

In (5) we encounter the figure of a mother who shares secrets and everything with her daughter. Therefore, she is the best friend of an individual, and "THE BEST FRIEND OF A PERSON IS THE STORAGE FOR SECRETS AND SOURCE OF ADVICE" is a conceptual metaphor, and "THE MOTHER IS THE BEST STORAGE FOR SECRETS AND SOURCE OF ADVICE" is an ontological metaphor (5):

(5) *No ay en el mundo, amiga kona la madre.* **In the whole world, there is no friend like a mother.**

On the other hand, in (6) a bad person is criticized by wishing that nobody like this person will be born:

(6) *No ayeye tripia de madre a tal partr! Let no mother's womb give birth to such a child!*

This conceptual metaphor of "THE MOTHER'S WOMB IS A SHELTER FOR THE MANKIND" and this orientational metaphor of "BEING OUT OF THE WOMB IS NOT GOOD FOR AN EXTREMELY BAD PERSON" are active in (6).

Regarding the friendship between a mother and her daughter, we can narrate the following Sapardic anecdote in which the daughter shares her secrets with her mother:

**Anecdote 1: Platonic Love**

Furtini asks her mother: "Mommy, my husband said that he wanted to make platonic love; which one is this?"

The mother: "A love based on gibberish" (Shoul 1994:74).

Additionally, these linguistic metaphors are employed in the anecdote: "A REAL MOTHER IS CLOSE TO HER DAUGHTER," "THE EXTREME AFFECTION BETWEEN THE MOTHER AND THE DAUGHTER MAKES THEM SHARE SECRETS," and "SECRETS STAND FOR CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS." Moreover, the conceptual metaphor, "THE MOTHER IS A CONTAINER FOR SECRETS/EMOTIONS/KNOWLEDGE" is also present in the anecdote.

**Idioms and Proverbs: The Mother-in-Law**

Concerning the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs where the mothers-in-law are depicted, in (7) we see how the extreme hate between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law is explained:

(7) *Amistad entre esfuerza e ermura no ay.* **There is no love between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law.**

From (7) we understand that "THE MOTHER-IN-LAW AND THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW ARE CONTAINERS FOR HATE" conceptual metaphorically. Moreover, in (8) we encounter a fight scene:

(8) *Amor de esfuerza kon ermura, de los dientes para afuera.* **[The love between the mother and the daughter-in-law, from the teeth to the outside.]**

Depicting the negative emotion of hate, these metaphors underlie (8): "THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR HATE," "THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR WORDS," and "WHEN THE MOTHER-IN-LAW AND THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW MEET, THE WORDS/ HATE GETS OUT OF THE MOUTH" (this last metaphor is orientational). Another metaphorical description of the extreme hate between the

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphors</th>
<th>Linguistic Metaphors</th>
<th>Conceptual Metaphors</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p-value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers - love</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>67% to 79%</td>
<td>248.945</td>
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<td>45%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>32% to 22%</td>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>79% to 89%</td>
<td>299.806</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daughters - hate</td>
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<td>41%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>-1.7% to 35.9%</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers-in-law - hate</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>50.7% to 83.2%</td>
<td>33.465</td>
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<td>Daughters-in-law - love</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters-in-law - hate</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>-5.5% to 38.9%</td>
<td>1.542</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>p = 0.2143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(9) De la tiza a la karvonera, es esfuerza y ermuera. [What the ember is to the coal, the mother-in-law is to the daughter-in-law.]

In (9) the following conceptual metaphor is employed: “HATE IS FIRE.” On the other hand, these ontological metaphors underlie (9): “BURNING STANDS FOR FIGHTING” and “HATE IS NOT” (10).

In (10) the mother-in-law expresses her hatred for her daughter-in-law by saying that she found the dinner organization great at first; however, she changes her opinion and says that the dinner organization is insufficient later.

(10) Para ken es esta paparrona? Para eya sinyora esfuegaz!— Para mi esta paparrona? [For whom is this big dinner? — For you esteemed mother-in-law — For me this small dinner?]

The conceptual metaphor “THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR HATE” and the conceptual metonymy “CONTAINING/SEEING THINGS SMALLER STANDS FOR HATE” underlie (10). Below is a Sephardic anecdote depicting the relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law.

Anecdote 2: Words of love

Once upon a time Djoba told his mother that he wanted to get married, and his mother found him a nice bride. When Djoba went to see her, the bride did not talk to him.

The mother told him: “Look, when you go to see your bride, tell her sweet words!” Djoba went to see the bride and said, “Halvat!”... “Baklavat!”... “Tishpishitat!”... words of this kind. Neither did the bride say anything, nor did she move. Djoba returned to his mother, and said, “Mommy, I told her everything you told me, but... nothing! She did not utter neither Gif, no nor a ‘kukurikukutu’!”

Later his mother told him: “Look, Djoba, when you go to visit her next time, tell her strong words... thus, words that can touch her heart! You are going to say her strong words!” Djoba went to see the bride, and told her strong words. The bride got so frightened about these words that she covered her head with a scarf and escaped.

When he returned, the mother asked him, “What, my son? What happened, Djoba?” Djoba answered, “What can I tell you, mommy? I told her strong words, but... she... she escaped from me!”

“And which ones did you tell her?” asked his mother. Djoba answered her: “Nails... Forks... Knives...!” The mother said, “Hey! Of course, she escapes!” Therefore, Djoba remained without a bride. — Narrated by Valentina Tsores, 1987 (Koen-Sarano 1991:133).

Djoba’s mother found a bride for her son and wanted him to say nice things to her. However, he ended up using all the wrong words instead. Djoba’s speech lacked the “flexibility and the ability to adapt to conditions,” as Djoba conceived “matters literally” (Alexander-Frizer 2008:433).

In this anecdote we encounter the following conceptualizations: “LOVE FOR THE SON IS FINDING THE RIGHT BRIDE FOR THE SON,” “SAVING NICE WORDS STANDS FOR LOVE,” “SAVING HARD WORDS STANDS FOR HATE,” “LOVE IS BEING IN THE SAME CIRCLE,” and “HATE IS BEING OUT OF THE SAME CIRCLE.” As the bride has to be chosen by the mother-in-law. In addition, the following conceptual metonymies underlie the same anecdote: “SWEET WORDS STAND FOR LOVE” and “NAILS, FORKS, AND KNIVES STAND FOR VIOLENCE.” Consequently, the following conceptual metaphors are formulated: “SWEETNESS IS A FORCE THAT MAKES ONE STAY IN THE CIRCLE,” and “BITTERNESS IS A STORM THAT SACKS A PERSON.”

Idioms and Proverbs: The Daughter

When we examine the Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs referring to the particularities of daughters, we witness a strong tie between the daughters and the mothers as in:

(11) Siempre kon la ija, de la fasha esta la mortaja [Always with the daughter, from the cradle to the shroud (the mother and the daughter never stay apart)].

The mother and the daughter share many secrets, and help each other and can therefore not be separated. Thus, the following orientational metaphor “CLOSENESS/BEING IN THE SAME PLACE/BEING INSIDE IS LOVE” and the following conceptual metonymies “THE CRADLE STANDS FOR BIRTH” and “THE SHROUD STANDS FOR DEATH” underlie (11).

These conceptualizations are also active in (12):

(12) Tala madre, tala ija. [So is the mother, so is the daughter.]

THE MOTHER AND THE DAUGHTER ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE SAME QUALITIES and “THE MOTHER AND THE DAUGHTER CAN EXPLODE, BURN OR JUMP DUE TO THE LEVEL OF THESE QUALITIES/EMOTIONS.” Thus, both the mother and the daughter may have the same attitudes and characteristics, as the daughter does what she sees from her mother.

In addition, “LOVE IS CLOSETED TO THE GIRLS” and “BEING BEHIND ONE’S EARS IS BEING CLOSE” are the orientational metaphors present in (13) that indicates that every girl marries the man that lives close to her.

(13) Las ijas tienen al mazal de la oreja [The girls have their marriage opportunities behind their ears].

Furthermore, the conceptual metonymy “NOT MAKING ANY PREPARATIONS FOR A FEAST STANDS FOR EXTREME SADNESS” depicts that a mother becomes unhappy, after having given birth to a daughter instead of a son in the proverb in (14):

(14) La mujer es parida de ija, nochakortinas inoazei rios [The woman who gives birth to a girl does not make any preparations].

Sephardic culture appreciates and values girls that make money by working and look after their parents, as depicted in (15):

(15) Mas vale ija kon maniya, ke ijo por la marina [Better to have a daughter with a bracelet than a son at the sea].

In (15) these metaphors are active: “A BRACELET IS A JOY,” “HAVING SOMETHING ON ONE’S ARM IS BEING EMPLOYED,” “BEING AT THE SEA IS BEING FAR,” and “DISTANCE IS INDIFFERENCE.” Additionally, although a girl is ugly, her mother may regard her as beautiful:

(16) Ken elavo su ija la tinoza? Su madre la moza [Who praises her bald daughter? Her snotty mother].
The metonymy "extreme hair loss stands for ugliness" and the ontological metaphors "being extremely snotty is ugliness" and "maternal love is being very indifferent to ugliness" are employed in the proverb in (16) above. Here is an anecdote regarding the fact of having several daughters.

Anecdote 3: The Small Difference
There was an unfortunate man about his wife. She was giving birth to a girl, girls, and girls... Once again she was pregnant, and again she gave birth to a girl. How would this other girl be received? She had already seven... benot heta, as one says. What will the friends and the brothers do about this? When they required circumcision the baby (organize a Brit-Mila for the baby), they covered her and made her pass through the street. They called the circumciser, and the father was shocked for joy. "Hey hey! Listen! I have a son!" When they discovered the girl in front of the circumciser, the ones who look, said, "Goodbye! There is nothing to remove here! There is something to put here!" - Narrated by Pinnah Tokatli, 1989 (Koen-Sarano 2004:179).

The ontological metaphor "HAVING TOO MANY DAUGHTERS IS A SHAME" is hidden in this anecdote. A man let his daughter wear clothes for boys, and celebrated her Brit-Mila. However, people soon discovered that the child was not a boy. From this anecdote, we understand that some Sephardim have the following ontological conceptualization in their mind: "HAVING A SON IS BETTER THAN HAVING A DAUGHTER."

Idioms and Proverbs: The Daughter-in-Law
In general, the daughters-in-law are disliked by their mothers-in-law in the Sephardic idioms and proverbs, as in (17)

(17) Bueno mi ermuera gíza, kon la alkaza yena. [My daughter-in-law cooks well, if the bottle of oil is full (if she spends too much money)].

The proverb in (17) shows that the mother-in-law rarely appreciates her daughter-in-law, accusing her of being incapable and extravagant. The following conceptual metaphors underlie the proverb: "THE BRAIN OF THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IS A CONTAINER," "MONEY IS A LIQUID," "FOOD IS A CONTAINER FOR OIL," "TASTE IS A BOTTLE," and "OIL IS MONEY."

In (18) we encounter a strong dislike for a daughter-in-law whose goodness and helpfulness are not accepted by her mother-in-law.

(18) Ermuer, ni de asukar, ni de barro es buena. [Even if made of sugar or clay a daughter-in-law is not good].

The conceptual metaphors underlying (18) are "THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IS A BUILDING OF SUGAR/CLAY," "SUGAR/CLAY IS GOODNESS/BEAUTY," and "HATE IS A FORCE THAT CAN DESTROY GOODNESS/BEAUTY."

Another proverb alludes to the daily disputes between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law:

(19) Esfuerja i ermuera en una kaza, kome diez gatos en un sako [The mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law in a house are like ten cats in the same sack].

Conclusions
This study showed that more linguistic (ontological and orientational) metaphors are employed in order to express the negative emotion of hate between the mothers and the daughters, whereas more conceptual metaphors are used to express the negative emotion of hate between the mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, as love is an emotion that has some degrees changing from affection to passion. It is inevitable that a person dislikes her mother; a person may love her / his mother at different levels, depending on their mood, attitude, and behavior towards one another. Consequently also, affection, thus the tender relationship between a mother and her daughter has some degrees. As hate is an intense emotion of nonacceptance of the attitudes and behavior of a person, it does not have any degrees, and this fact leads to the construction of more conceptual metaphors related to this emotion in the human mind.

Additionally, more Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs imply love, referring to the relationship between the mother and the daughter. However, more Judeo-Spanish idioms and proverbs express hate, concerning the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. This fact is based on Sephardic beliefs; however, a future study based on the technique of participant observation should include more analyses regarding the uses of the idioms and proverbs in real social interactions between the mothers-in-law and the daughters-in-law.

Bibliography