

Conceptual blending and metaphor in Spanish speaking ghost stories

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Abstract

Using the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Blending this paper aims to show how Spanish-speaking ghost story tellers think and talk about death, the afterlife, and ghosts. Based on the language of personal supernatural experiences recounted on the popular Mexican call in radio show *La Mano Peluda* (1995-2018), the study is a qualitative linguistic investigation into how ghost stories construe the end of life. This work proposes a Conceptual Blending model of ghosts which offers a topological view of how callers organize and elaborate on concepts related to death. Additionally the blending model anchors the analysis of patterns discovered within the data. These patterns include two prevailing metaphorical roles ghosts facilitate in the stories: GHOST AS A MESSENGER, and GHOST AS A GUARDIAN. These roles contribute to the notion of death as a continuation of existence for the deceased through vigilance and protection from the afterlife construed as Heaven. The results show the cultural influence of religious ideas in structuring metaphorical expressions regarding death and death-related concepts. The conceptual preference towards Christian beliefs regarding the end of life, play a crucial role in the positive evaluation of ghost encounters in the narratives.

1. INTRODUCTION

The oral tradition of ghost storytelling requires a complex negotiation of legitimacy, eventful storytelling and the pragmatic challenge of skepticism. As Herman (2004) notes, “It is the business of the story teller to establish that a ghost did (or does) in fact exist and that it manifested itself in some noteworthy or tellable way” (p. 145). Given the obscured nature of the mysterious figures, we are drawn to claims of encounters with ghosts and the supernatural. Evoked within the language of ghost stories are images of otherworldly entities, supernatural events, and incidents far too intentional to be coincidental; consider the following:

(1) “Yo no sé si era un este un..una presencia, un fantasma, un parecido que anda en los hospitales, o de plano era un ángel que estaba allí echándome la mano...”

“I don’t know if it was a..a..a presence, a ghost, a spirit who walks around the hospital, or in fact an angel who was lending me a hand...”

From these oral narratives, insight into cultural practices, traditions, communalism, and spiritual convictions surface throughout the tales. Ghost stories deal with a perception of abstract concepts which are neither physically manifested nor comprehensively understood. Central to ghost storytelling are themes which distinguish it from other oral narratives: death, the afterlife, and ghosts. It is these themes which are significant, as within ghost stories we explore our ideas and beliefs of human mortality. We are reminded of the termination of life as we listen to stories about entities which have experienced the natural event which awaits us all, death.

According to Vázquez González, “Ghosts form part of popular beliefs, are straightforward cultural products, link with the world of emotions (FEAR, ANGER, etc.), and, above all, belong to the abstract domain.” (2014, p. 321). As a result, much like horror films, ghost storytelling often addresses the unknown and uncertain with the goal of inducing fear

(Winter, 2014). An abstract concept such as death requires creativity of thought in order to construct cogent meaning. At the level of language, metaphor serves as a discursive tool to talk about abstract concepts such as love, time, life, death, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: p. 211). For example, often within the language of death is a notion of leaving/departing: “He’s gone”, “She’s passed away”.¹ Moreover, death is likened to the stationary/inactive nature of rest/sleep: “Rest in peace”, “The big sleep”.² These metaphors reflect our conceptual understanding of death as an event in which one departs and/or rests. Metaphors found within oral narratives like ghost stories then serve as linguistic structures which reflect the perceptions of a larger cognitive cultural model (Sweetser, 1995). Therefore, a cognitive linguistic analysis of ghost story narratives provides insight into a conceptual structure responsible for the way we think and talk about the phenomena of death, the afterlife, and ghosts.

The present investigation analyzes several personal ghost story narratives from the long-running, late night Mexican call-in radio show “*La Mano Peluda*.” The show, broadcast from 10 pm to midnight every weeknight, was popular amongst many, including those who kept late working hours like truck and taxi drivers, security guards, nurses, etc. The program attracted many fans not only in México but internationally, including a large audience in the US. Callers to the program recount their personal experiences with spectral figures and the supernatural. In doing so, ghost story tellers provide rich metaphoric language regarding the phenomena. Through the lens of cognitive linguists, this work aims to unpack the language of the callers to reveal how death, the afterlife, and ghosts are conceptualized according to their stories.

Using the theoretical framework of *Conceptual blending* (“blending” henceforth) (Fauconnier & Turner 1994; 1998), I propose a conceptualization of “ghosts” informed by the personal ghost encounters of *La Mano Peluda*. The analysis will explore how the blending model draws from the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE to reveal a cognitive understanding of ghosts. Since DEATH IS DEPARTURE implies an act of leaving, journey based language as well as path image schemata will provide evidence of novel elaborations within the conceptual blend. The investigation will then explore the metaphorical roles of the spectral entities in the stories identified as: GHOST AS A MESSENGER and GHOST AS A GUARDIAN. In characterizing the discursive patterns of ghosts in the stories, I will demonstrate the similarities of how ghosts appear and function. Additionally, I will provide an analysis categorizing and identifying the metaphorical language as well as implicit moral principles regarding death, the afterlife and the supernatural. Finally, I will investigate the cultural models native to México which structure the cultural perception of death and the afterlife.

Ghosts as common cultural phenomena would suggest that many cultures use similar conceptual models to talk about the supernatural/paranormal (Vázquez González, 2014). Ruiz’s (2007) cross linguistic analysis of myths and legends revealed “...the categories DEATH IS DEPARTURE, DEATH IS COLD, DEATH IS SLEEP, among others, can account for the basic meaning and interpretation of many popular stories” (quoted in Gathigia et. al., 2018: p. 360). It would appear ghosts have a cognitive basis in human mortality, and are conceivably motivated by cultural values and practices. This analysis aims to demonstrate the inferences and novel elaborations within the cognitive model of ghosts and the supernatural, by focusing on the language of callers to *La Mano Peluda*.

¹ This language evokes the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE.

² This language evokes the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP/REST.

2. BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*

The cognitive approach to the study of metaphor is credited to the work of Lakoff and Johnson's *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (1980) (CMT henceforth). The theory claims that metaphor is both linguistic and conceptual, and thus allows a more penetrating look into the cognitive models used to understand the world around us. Metaphor consists of understanding one concept in terms of another. According to CMT, elements from one domain of knowledge are mapped elements of another domain via analogy and similarity. For example, DEATH IS DEPARTURE is a well known "entrenched" example of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This metaphor is common in language as the dead "pass away", "go to a better place", "are gone", and can "depart". In this metaphor, what we know about *departure* constitutes our source domain (concrete knowledge) and maps onto our target domain: *death* (conceptual/abstract). Clearly *departure* and *death* are different events, but in language they're "...partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about" in regards to departing or leaving and therefore metaphoric in nature (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980 p.5). DEATH IS DEPARTURE is then structured in the following way:

SOURCE		TARGET
<u>DEPARTURE</u>		<u>DEATH</u>
Traveller/person departing	⇒	person dying
Guide/for the departing ⇒		death personified
Vehicle	⇒	the act of dying
Destination	⇒	afterlife
Point of departure	⇒	real world

If DEATH IS DEPARTURE is a common means of understanding death, then similar analogical mapping could be blended together to conceptualize ghosts. Furthermore, the language in the data suggests not only the idea of departure from the real world but also a belief in the afterlife as demonstrated below:

(2) "...te digo un vez más que aparte de este mundo plano digo physico hay un mundo espiritual no?"

"...I'll tell you one more time, apart from this physical world there is a spiritual world right?"

I will partially draw on source and target mapping shown by Lakoff & Turner (1989) for DEATH IS DEPARTURE to anchor my analysis of conceptual blending in ghost stories. I will argue that we must make use of three frames of knowledge to construe ghosts: *life*, *death*, and *departure*.

2.2 Conceptual metaphor and fear

In Winter (2014), conceptual metaphors in horror movies are investigated with emphasis on two "embedded metaphors:" EVIL IS DOWN and EVIL IS DARK (151).³ In the investigation, the author references examples from horror films to demonstrate how metaphors are visually comprehended. Winter explores negative associations with verticality and darkness, explaining them through entailments as well as the experiential nature of metaphor. For example, when one feels "down", they may assume a lower position or posture evoking a negative

³ "Embedded metaphors" are understood to mean metaphors that function within or contribute to other metaphors present in horror films. Winter (2014) cites *POWER IS UP* and *UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING* as just a few metaphors that can correspond to *EVIL IS DOWN / EVIL IS DARK* (152, 162).

sensation. In darkness comes a heightened sense of alert, tension, or fear, as it is more difficult to visually distinguish one's surroundings. In horror movies, monsters appear from below, concealed or hidden by darkness. The author claims that the audience is already culturally informed on the expectation that bad things will happen when a character in a horror movie descends or goes into the darkness (162). Winter argues that in horror movies, we are emotionally reminded of EVIL IS DOWN and EVIL IS DARK via the fear and terror we have come to associate with their presence in this genre.

The author suggests that metaphors are understood via three levels of metaphor. Embodied experience, primary metaphor, and cultural representation cognitively engage with each other and create a cultural feedback loop (cited in Kövecses 2002, Ch. 2). Metaphors in horror films do not solely stem from embodied experience but also from witnessing the primary metaphors with cultural representations. In this way, metaphor in horror films elaborate and reinforce the metaphorical understanding of primary metaphors. Winter's investigation reveals many similarities between metaphors which are maintained in the ghost stories of present analysis. Of particular interest is FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING, as suggested by Kövecses (2000) in both horror films and ghost stories where the supernatural are the assumed agents of fear or terror as demonstrated in the following excerpt:⁴

(3) “Yo de la desesperación, del miedo porque yo ya sabía que esa niña estaba muerta... Yo lo único que hice fue decirle “Vete largate vete de aquí!”

Yo lo único que hice fue decirle “Vete largate vete de aquí!”

“Out of frustration of fear because I knew that that little girl was deceased...The only thing I did was tell her “Leave, get out of here!”

Both verticality and light/darkness metaphors within the ghost stories facilitate a sense of suspense and fear by affecting the visual perception of the narrator. Similar to Winter's analysis of how camera angle reinforces verticality metaphors, story perspective places the listener in the ghost story, providing them with similar orientation metaphors (2014, p.152).⁵ The similarities in conceptual metaphor in both ghost story telling and horror films allow participants to engage in “...a cultural practice that revolves around inducing fear.” (Winter 2014, p.151).

2.3 Conceptual blending

Elaborating on the work of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), *blending*, Fauconnier & Turner (2002) offers a conceptual model for how we construct meaning. Blending is a cognitive process which occurs through a network of mapping and projections. What differentiates CMT from blends are the additional components which fuse together to create meaning. The phrase “That surgeon is a butcher” illustrates how blending maps associative elements to create accurate and novel meaning (Grady et al., 1999, p. 103). CMT would explain this metaphor in terms of a source (butcher) target (surgeon) analogy. But understanding the role of a surgeon in terms of butchery does not account for the intended meaning of the expression: the surgeon is incompetent (1999, p. 103). Blending offers mental spaces known as *inputs*, capable of interacting with each other. Speakers create these *inputs* in real time during discourse. Conceptual blending has a minimum of four mental spaces: two input spaces, a generic space,

⁴ An example of the conceptual metaphor in language “He was haunted by fear” (Vázquez González, 2013: p. 340)

⁵ Winter's cites many orientation metaphors such as “EVIL IS DOWN”, “VIRTUE IS UP” etc. He further elucidates the pragmatic effect of verticality metaphors as “up” having a positive evaluation and “down” having a negative evaluation (2014 p. 152).

and the blend. In the blending model selected elements from each input “feed” the emergent structure to create meaning.

Modeling the aforementioned example, one input space holds what we know about butchery, the other, our knowledge about surgeons. The generic space then maps elements which the input spaces have in common; for example: *agent, undergoer, sharp instruments*, etc. (Grady et al, 1999 p.105). The result of the interaction between the generic space, inputs, and the “cross-space mapping between” is an emergent structure known as the blend (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 470). The emergent structure is composed of selected elements from both inputs. These elements in the blend allow us to create novel meaning, as not all elements from the inputs are relevant or imported into the blend. Figure 1 demonstrates how the blend works.

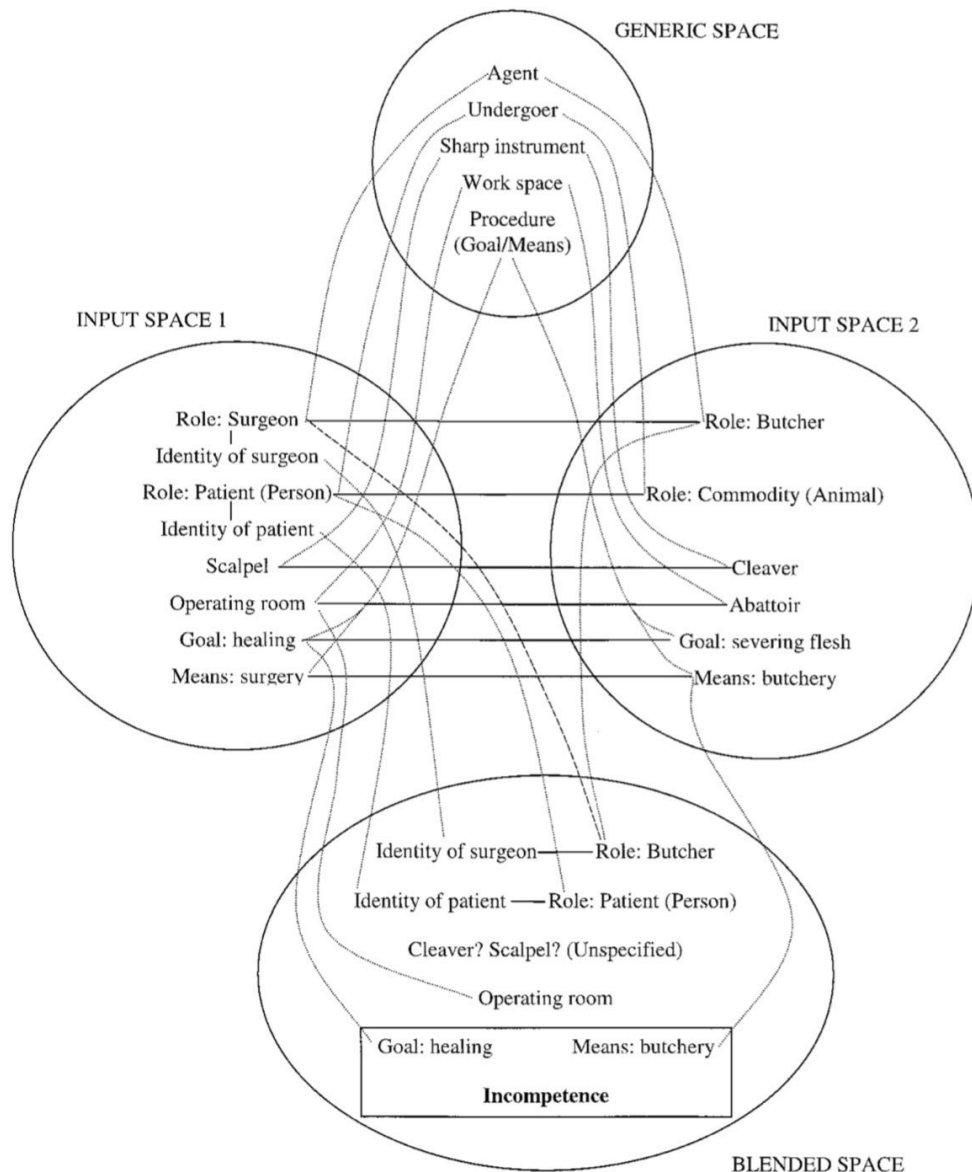


Fig. 1 “That surgeon is a butcher” (Grady et al, 1999: p.105)

Both inputs are structured by their similarities which are featured in the generic space. Dotted lines represent the projections made between the mental spaces, and the solid lines

represent the mapping between inputs 1 and 2 (1999: p. 104). The elements of input 1 have a direct counterpart in input 2 and are mapped accordingly: a surgeon uses a scalpel and a butcher a cleaver, a surgeon works in an operating room and the butcher in an abattoir, etc. A new structure known as the blend is created from the projected contents of inputs 1 and 2. As noted in the diagram, *identity* and *role* form two different elements in the mental input spaces. According to Fauconnier & Turner, “Within mental spaces, and across mental spaces, an element can be linked, as a role, to another element that counts as its value.” (2002: p. 98). Therefore, the identity of the surgeon from input 1 now fuses with the role of the butcher from input 2. The identity of the patient and the workplace are projected from input 1. Finally, the goal of healing from input 1 stands in contrast with the means of butchery from input 2.

Together the contents of the blended space adequately express a sense of incompetence in the given expression. The butcher assumes the role of a surgeon in an operating room with intentions to heal but skilled in butchery where precision is not as crucial. Our real-world knowledge informs us that a butcher would not make a suitable surgeon, therefore the surgeon is inept as his work is likened to a butcher.

This cognitive approach demonstrates the projection of each element in the blended space, makes use of our real world knowledge to draw meaning in the blend, and allows for elaboration of the blend in different scenarios (Fauconnier & Turner, 2009: p. 48).⁶ Blending then offers a detailed schematic cognitive process capable of demonstrating the human capacity for real-time meaning construction. Though I argue “ghosts” require no intentional imagining of the concept, blending proves a valuable tool for making sense of the supernatural entities. I will draw on blending to support and model a conceptualization of ghosts relevant to the narratives of the ghost storytellers.

2.4 Blending and narrative

Herman (2013) presents a cognitive analysis of the discourse patterns storytellers use to build “storyworlds”. The term “storyworld” refers to the mental representation of the world evoked in a narrative (Herman, 2009: p.105). The storyworld is composed of references both explicit and implicit, which allow the listener spatial conceptualization of the world within the story. Herman argues, engagement with the storyworld is an important part of sense-making. The investigation focuses on the interplay between what is told and what is presented in narratives that aid in spatial configuration and further the cognitive mechanisms required for it.

The author introduces monomodal (singular modality, in this case textual referents) and multimodal narratives (verbal, and visual referents) and their facility for “exploring storyworlds” (p. 108).⁷ Monomodal narration (text) requires at least one reference world to structure storyworld construction as in a description of setting or location. However, perspective in literature can shape the storyworld, leading to multiple reference worlds. For In the example of a fictional text where the reader enters the frame of mind of a character within a given narrated world, two reference worlds are evoked but neither may coincide with the narration itself. Figure 2 is a representation of how monomodal narration interacts with reference worlds to evoke a storyworld:

⁶ Fauconnier & Turner refer to these three processes as *composition*, *completion*, and *elaboration* respectively. The authors hold, that through these processes novel content can be made available in the emergent structure (2009, 49).

⁷ The term “multimodal narratives” refers to storytelling which makes use of both words and images such as comic books, gesture in narratives etc.

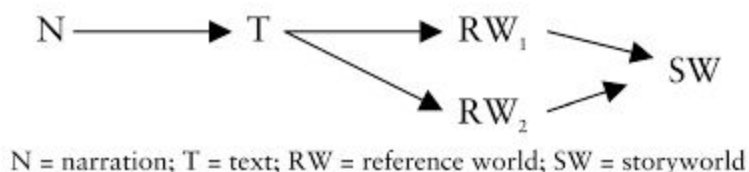


Fig. 2 Monomodal narration used to evoke multiple reference worlds (Herman, 2013: p. 110)

In this model, the storyworld is the result of projections from both reference worlds and as such is engaged through conceptual blending (2013: p. 110). The model is structured by the text narration projecting onto reference worlds (inputs) which create an emergent structure (the blend). Evoked through the projection of selected elements from each referent, the storyworld orients the narrated environment to the reader. According to Herman, “Mapping words (or other kinds of semiotic cues) onto worlds is fundamental - perhaps the fundamental - requirement for narrative sense-making...” (2009: p.105).

Ghost stories, as listened to on the radio, are monomodal (auditory) and as such rely on blending for “worlding the story” (2013: p. 2). In real time, listeners are combining narrative information regarding time, location, environment, etc., and from it constructing the world within the narrative. Within the data collected, narrators will describe hazy, dream-like states or ephemeral transportation in which listeners are guided through different spatial relationships between protagonist and environment.

(4) “Mi papá giro me dio la espalda y se fue por un túnel oscuro oscuro y me fui yo detrás de ellos. Pero iban a una velocidad y yo conciente que estaba el ya había fallecido...”

“My father turned his back to me and he left through a dark, dark tunnel, and I went behind them. But they were going so fast and I was conscious that he was deceased”.

Listeners then are negotiating different worlds and fusing them into a comprehensive storyworld. I argue that conceptual blending for story setting makes use of a similar mental operation as that used to conceptualize ghosts. In both instances, two inputs are filled with real-world knowledge and connections are made between inputs, projecting a new mental space which structures our comprehension. My investigation will demonstrate blending as a cognitive blueprint capable of accounting for the rich metaphoric language found within the ghost story data. The following sections will present detailed explanations of primary concepts relevant to the analysis of the Spanish-speaking ghost stories.

2.5 Conceptual metonymy

Conceptual metonymy references a specific relationship between a property of “...one entity, or thing...to indicate, or to provide mental access to, another entity.” (Kövecses, 2010: p.172). For example *glove* is metonymic in the phrase “We need a better *glove* at third base” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, cited in Kövecses, 2010: p.171). *Glove* in the phrase refers to a baseball player, more specifically a third base player. Via PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, a close association between baseball equipment and baseball players facilitates an understanding of *glove* as a lexical stand in for baseball player. Metonymy as a figure of speech is metaphorical in nature and construed as non-literal language. The example phrase highlights a category of metonymy known as AN OBJECT USED FOR THE USER. Within conceptual blending, metonymy influences connections and associations with elements. On this issue, Fauconnier &

Turner (1999) claim, “Given the structural and dynamic mechanisms of blending and the optimality constraints that guide it, metonymy plays an important role in constructing conceptual integration networks.” (p. 89).⁸ Demonstrating the role of metonymy in the blending, Fauconnier & Turner’s (2009) analysis of *The Grim Reaper* reveals “Death as a cause is metonymically associated with *skeleton* as an effect” (p. 476). At a cognitive level, in this example, the metonymic connections are made instantly in the blend through our knowledge of bodily decomposition as a product of death. The skeletal figure of *The Grim Reaper* metonymically stands in for the event of death, as death is conceived to produce skeletons. *The Grim Reaper* reflects a PART FOR WHOLE metonymic association “in which the skeleton is the structural form of death.” (Kövecses, 2010: p.270).

The data collected demonstrates the many forms in which a ghost presence can be manifested. Examples include ghosts as spirits, apparitions, full corporeal humans, animated corpses, shadows, and floating body parts. I argue these ghost types are metonymic, thereby triggering the identity of the spectral figure through familiarity in appearance. In his research of ghosts in Old English lore, Vázquez González (2014) suggests that a process of metonymy takes place through *shape, form, appearance, and color*. Recognizing one identifiable feature or characteristic of the supernatural entity allows for PART FOR WHOLE metonymic construction.

(5) “...haga de cuenta, que vi la cara del esposo de mi hermana, que en paz descanse...”
 “...just imagine, I saw the face of my sister’s husband, may he rest in peace...”

At a conceptual level, seeing the face of a deceased loved one (PART) stands in for the presence of the loved one (WHOLE). Therefore, ghosts can represent a former living person. In the data, that person is often a family member or loved one providing some type of assistance. Metonymy correlates with the intent of the ghosts, as such visits from deceased family members are often associated with vigilance through the guidance or messages they offer from beyond (Yu et.al. 2016). Metonymy personalizes the spectral figures and triggers the stored knowledge about the former living person.

Not all ghosts are metonymic representations of deceased loved ones. Some of the narratives describe ghosts as indistinguishable from the living and completely unknown to the protagonist. According to the data, the identity of the ghost influences the encounter, suggesting a positive “visitor” frame when familiar. The form of the supernatural entity directly affects the narrator’s ability to recognize the figure as a ghost.

As mentioned earlier, ghosts in the stories can manifest in conventional human appearance. In the data, these types of ghostly visitors are understood to be completely human. In the collected ghost stories, the protagonists discover much later that the encounter they experienced was with a supernatural entity. In this type of scenario, ghosts are non-metonymic as they appear in prototypical human form and therefore correlate to physical humans. Conversely, figures such as apparitions, spirits, and shadows are readily understood as ghostly/supernatural through the non-conventional form in which they present. I will argue that

⁸ The *optimality constraints* are a set of principles for used for metonymy in blending. The most vital of all the constraints is the *Metonymy projection constraint* which holds :

“When an element is projected from an input to the blend and a second element from that input is projected because of its metonymic link to the first, shorten the metonymic distance between them in the blend.” (Fauconnier & Turner, 1999:p.85)

the link between metonymy and elements within the blend facilitate *identity* of spectral figures and associations of the *afterlife* with a divine source.

2.6 Entrenched metaphors

Entrenched metaphors are those which are common in everyday language, well established, and often so natural that they go completely unnoticed. Their frequency in language form part of our understanding of concepts and ideas. A few examples of entrenched metaphors include:

ARGUMENT IS WAR: I *defended* my argument.

IDEAS ARE FOOD : I can't *digest* all these facts.

LOVE IS JOURNEY: We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.

(Kövecses, 2010: p. 34)

Common in the discussion of death is the use of the conventional metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE: "He *passed away*" "Grandpa is *gone*" (p. 26). Similarly, in Spanish *fallecer* is used to describe the passing of life "*pero no me dio miedo,*" "*ya fallecistes*" ("but I was not scared", "you've passed away"). These types of metaphors occur frequently and can be retrieved from memory, requiring no real-time processing for speakers or listeners to understand (Coulson & Oakley, 2005: p. 1530). The analogical mapping between *death* and *departure* form part of a commonplace conceptual structure and as such metaphorical expressions like *passed away* and *fallecer* are understood immediately (Gathigia et. al., 2018). We conceive *death* and *departure* as having a start and a finish where we reach a goal. According to Lakoff & Turner, "Via DEATH IS DEPARTURE, this final location is the final destination toward which one departs." (1989: p.7).

The data collected for this investigation demonstrates a large preference for the verb *fallecer* ("pass away") over *morir* ("to die") when describing the death and dying⁹. From this, I have chosen to build off of the metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE as death is conceived as an act of leaving. Due to their prominence in Mexican pop culture, folktales, and lore, ghosts do not require online processing to conceptualize (Portocarrero, 2012, Wrigley, 2011). Rather, much like an entrenched metaphor, the concept of ghosts can be accessed instantaneously in real time.

3. METHODOLOGY

To carry out this qualitative investigation, I will analyze the narratives of callers to "*La Mano Peluda*" ("The Hairy Hand"). "*La Mano Peluda*" was a popular radio program broadcast from Mexico City, Mexico which ended in January 2018. Airing every midnight, the show's twenty-two year run developed a large audience of fans known as "*los peludo-maniaticos*" ("*the hairy-hand maniacs*"). The show was hosted by supernatural and paranormal enthusiast Don Ramón Saenz whose own death was clouded by mystery. The program encouraged listeners to call in and recount supernatural or paranormal experiences. Since the program dealt with reports of and interactions with "other worldly" forces, callers openly told stories without challenges of skepticism or incredulity.

The narratives were transcribed from episodes of the program uploaded to YouTube. Twenty four stories in total were collected for this investigation based on a common pattern where ghosts were depicted as providing some type of assistance. Transcriptions of each call are made available in *Appendix A.1*. While many stories were taken into consideration, the narratives

⁹ While both verbs imply dying, García Marrugo categorizes them as "state" verbs in regard to their semantic function "indicating only the change from living to dead" (2017: p. 6). He further notes neither require external agents in grammatical use.

analyzed in the present work demonstrate two prevalent metaphors: GHOST AS A MESSENGER and GHOST AS A GUARDIAN. It is important to note that throughout the analysis, I will make the distinction between narrators (callers to *La Mano Peluda*) and protagonists (the principal character in the ghost story).¹⁰ The differentiation is important as not all callers are the protagonist of their stories. The calls may recount the experience of those related or close to the narrator. In separating the two (in applicable instances), the views and attitudes of the narrators are made explicit. A firsthand account is one in which multiple stimuli are mitigated and organized in terms of real world experience, i.e. the narrator/protagonist. A secondhand account is one which must be conceptualized in terms of reference worlds, i.e. a narrator recounting a story he heard. Therefore a secondhand account synthesizes and recounts relevant details structured by an established conceptual model not grounded in a firsthand sensory-motor experience. A large majority of the callers are residents of Mexico City, with many calls coming from Iztapalapa, a disenfranchised and densely populated borough of México City.¹¹ The average story time is about eight to twelve minutes with interjecting questions by Don Ramón Saenz. The aim of the following section is to propose a cognitive structure responsible for the concept of ghosts according to the ghost story tellers. Additionally, the following section details how DEATH IS DEPARTURE functions in the blend schema and its production of an emergent space where ghosts are conceptualized.

4. CONCEPTUAL BLENDING AND GHOSTS

4.1 A conceptual model for ghosts

Necessary for the analysis of metaphorical roles found within the ghost stories collected is an understanding of *ghosts*. A basic sense of ghost as simply a *dead person* is inadequate in describing the complexity of the entities within the narratives. What will be outlined in this section is a cognitive schema representing how ghosts are conceptualized according to the data. Developing an understanding of how we think about spectral figures will allow for greater depth in the analysis. In the stories, ghosts are primarily referred to by name, relation, or by divine association “*ángel*.” Crespo-Fernández (2006) claims “metaphor is, by far, the most powerful mechanism in the formation of euphemisms for the taboo of death” (p. 111). The very nature of ghosts as an immaterial and ephemeral agent encountered by few is thus prone to metaphorical expression. Fauconnier & Turner hold, “In the case of metaphor, a source and target serve as inputs to the blend.” (2009: p. 469). A basic conceptualization of ghosts construes them as representing a dead person who travels from the afterlife to the real world. I argue DEATH IS DEPARTURE licenses core elements related to ghosts (*real world, afterlife, travel, etc.*) however we must draw on our knowledge of life and living in relation to death in order to fill out the blend. *Life* much like *death* is metaphorically conceptualized as a journey, where we are born and journey through our existence in order to reach our goals.¹² Additionally, the *life* frame in the blend best illustrates the underlying notions of *event structure (states and changes)*: the *state* of

¹⁰ The term *caller* will additionally be used interchangeably with narrator (when the narrator is the protagonist).

¹¹ While the correlation between frequency of ghost encounters and communities affected by poverty, crime, and lack of potable water (such as Iztapalapa) are significant, it is outside the scope of the present investigation. Though these factors ultimately manifest through the cultural perception of death and ghosts, an in depth analysis will not be explored in the present work.

¹² Examples of LIFE IS A JOURNEY in everyday language include: *He had a head start in life, I took the road less traveled, etc.* (Kövecses, 2010: p.35)

living is *changed* by the event of death to the *state* of being dead (Lakoff in Ortony, A. (1993)).¹³ The analysis will be anchored by the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE where *departure* will serve as input 1, *death* as input 2, and *life* as input 3. The content of each input consists of a basic understanding of the principles of each frame and not an exhaustive list of all components of *departure*, *death* and *life*. Selected contents from all three inputs will give rise to a blend space offering a cognitive structure of ghosts.

4.2 Input 1 - DEPARTURE

The first input space makes use of our knowledge of departing in regards to travel or journeys, i.e. traveller, means of transportation, guides, landmarks, paths, point of departure, point of arrival. Part of the structure of ghosts relies on a conceptualization of human mortality as a journey: setting off, moving along paths towards destinations, and gradually reaching a stopping point. In this input space, listeners evoke experiential knowledge of journeys: planning routes, consulting maps/guides, departure time(s), arrival time(s), etc. This mental space is represented in Figure 3.

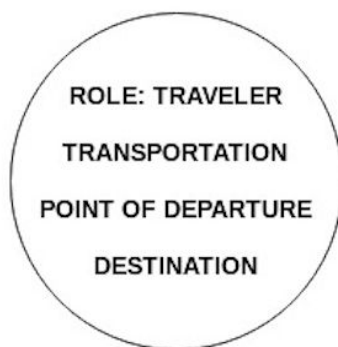


Fig. 3 Input 1 - DEPARTURE

4.3 Input 2 - DEATH

The contents of this input space pertain to our grasp of the phenomena of death. The mental space represents a store of information speakers have about the end of life. Knowledge of the experience, nature, and act of death are evoked; *the irreversible conclusion to life, the act of dying, means of dying, funerals, tombstones, afterlife, unpredictability/predictability, personification of death* etc. Highlighting a basic conceptualization, Figure 4. represents the core features of human death in input 2.

¹³ According to Lakoff & Johnson, "We use ontological metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities, and states." (1980: p.30). *Event structure* metaphors include: States are locations, Changes are movement, Purposes are destinations, etc.(SEE Lakoff in Ortony, A. 1993: p. 219)



Fig. 4 Input 2 - DEATH

4.4 Input 3 - *LIFE*

DEATH IS DEPARTURE follows similar analogical reasoning as the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY.¹⁴ This metaphor posits the experience of life as having a point of origin, a destination and an agent (person living a life) who travels through it all. Further elaborated, a person is born and sets off for life where choices and decisions are made and obstacles are encountered and overcome with the intent of finding purpose “as the goal in life” (Lakoff quoted in Ortony, A., 1993: 223). The concept of *life* can be composed of any multitude of elements: *living person, family, choices, events, resources, role models, obstacles, progress*, etc. This input space draws on what we know about life and living; a basic concept of which is illustrated in Figure 5.



Fig. 5 Input 3 - LIFE

4.5 Mapping between inputs

A process of cross space mapping occurs amongst the DEPARTURE, DEATH, and LIFE inputs via analogy and anchored by a journey metaphor. For example, the *traveler, living person*, and *dead person* are mapped according to the collective goal of reaching a destination. *Transportation, family/parents*, and *process of dying* map according to their role in facilitating *departure, life*, and *death* respectively. *Point of departure, aspirations*, and *real world* are construed as the starting point from which the journey toward the goal begins. And finally, *destination, purpose*, and *afterlife* are conceptually linked as the destination or goal of the journey. The mapping is demonstrated in Figure 6.

¹⁴ Examples of LIFE IS A JOURNEY include: “*Later on, down the line...*”, “*He’s at the end of the road.*”, “*She’s at a crossroads.*” etc.

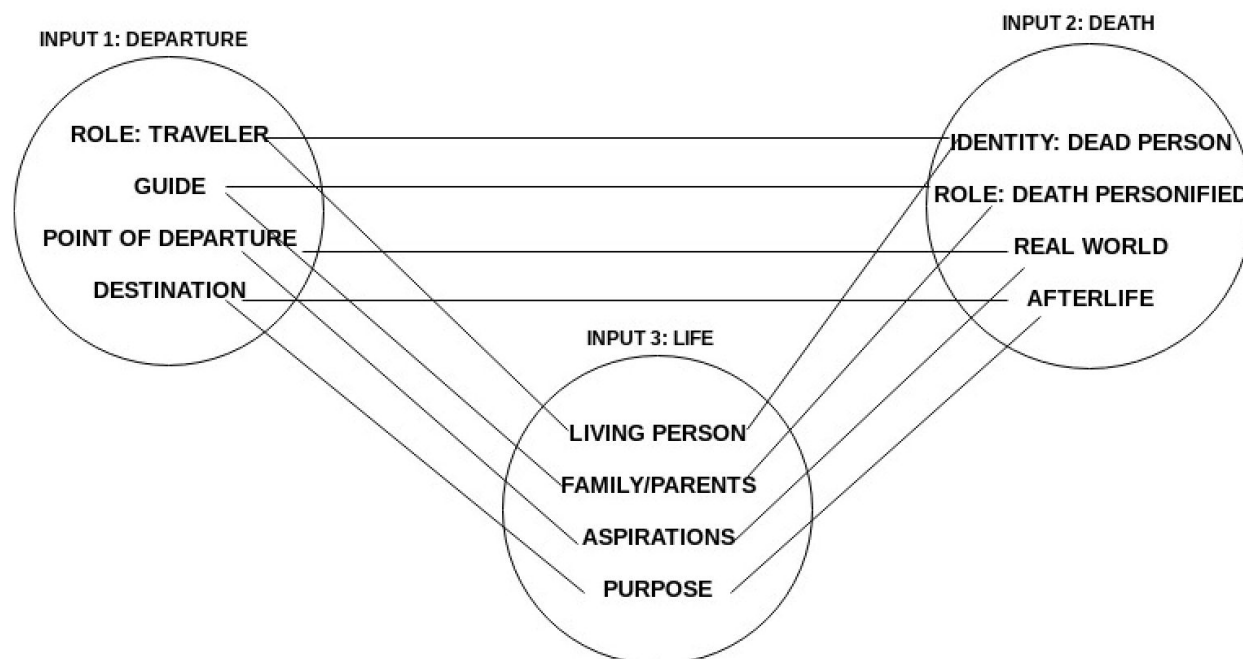


Fig. 6 Cross-space mapping

4.6 The emergent structure

In real time, all input spaces are activated; connections and associations are made and processed. However relying only on mapping among input spaces would allow for a basic conceptualization of human mortality. Instead, through analogy and similarity speakers must import key elements of each input into the blend to arrive at the concept of ghosts. While the input spaces have many elements, only relevant pieces of each input frame are projected into the blend. From these projections, the concept of ghost takes shape.

For example, our experiential knowledge informs us that a ghost is a perceptible and physical manifestation of a former *living person*. Moreover, a ghost has some semblance of a *living person* but is understood to be dead. Further, in assuming the *point of departure* for ghosts is the *afterlife* and the *destination* is the *real world*, then a metaphorical *traveler* could operate between the two. This is informed by our knowledge that a common goal for *travelers* is to reach destinations. Assuming the event of death is responsible for the transition from *real world* to *afterlife* the *identity* of the *traveler* must be a *dead person*. The full blend diagram is represented in Figure 7.

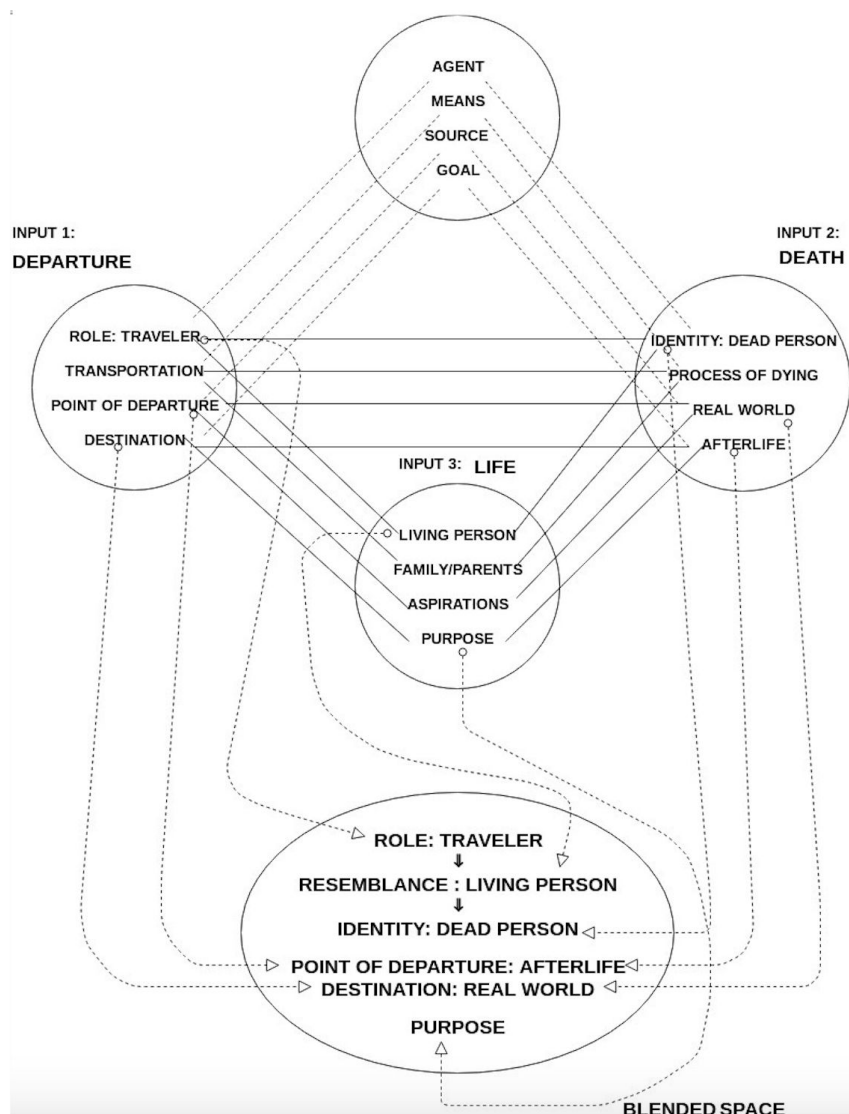


Fig. 7 The ghost blend

4.7 Projected elements in the blend

The blend is a composition of structural elements imported from all three inputs. The mapping and projections demonstrated in Fig. 7 offer a model of how the callers of *La Mano Peluda* conceptualize ghosts. Callers import the *role: traveler* from the DEPARTURE frame to the blended space. Following the mapping, the *identity: dead person* is projected from the DEATH frame along with *living person* from the LIFE frame. Fusing the three elements together produces a *traveler* whose *resemblance* is that of a *living person* but whose *identity* is a *dead person*. Ghosts demonstrate transient qualities, allowing for short visits with arrivals and brief departures similar to a *traveler* abroad. The temporary nature of ghosts is then structured in similarity to how a *traveler* operates destinations. Ghosts in the narratives are often described as conventionally human in appearance and normative habits:

(6) “...es impresionante no porque, el aspecto de que hayas visto tú una persona y te hayas despedido de ella, haz visto a qué lugar se metió. Que te diera su numero de telefonico, entonces si es algo, algo especial.”

“...it’s incredible right? The appearance was that of a person, and you said goodbye to her, and you saw where she went. Then she gave you her phone number, that is something special.”

The *resemblance: living person* in the blend supports the corporeal characteristics associated with ghosts as encountered in the *real world*. However, this element only represents the physical manifest properties of ghosts, the *identity* of the ghost is *dead person* as they are construed as incarnate representations of the dead. As such, ghosts in the blend are *travelers* from beyond who look like the *living* but are *dead*.

Through connections exported from both inputs and *SOURCE PATH GOAL image schema*, callers conceptualize the location where ghosts travel from. Since ghosts are dead, they are associated with or representative of the *afterlife* and travel to the *real world*. Therefore the *point of departure (SOURCE)* from input 1 is fused with *afterlife* from input 2 in the blend, indicating where ghosts travel from. *Destination* from input 1 is joined with *real world* from input 2 as the *GOAL* in the blended space. Thus callers understand ghosts as other worldly, more specifically pertaining to an *afterlife* with the *goal* of reaching the *real world* as a means of intervention.

The conceptualization of “visitors” to the *real world*, supports the transient (traveling) associations evoked by ghosts in the discourse. The language in the data demonstrates lexical items pertaining to arrival and departure analogous with traveling: *apareció* “showed up”, *aparece* “shows up”, *llegó* “arrived”, *llegaron* “they arrived”, *venir* “to come”, *recibir* “to receive”, *vinieron* “they came”, *despedirse* “to say goodbye”, *hizo la parada* “made the stop”, *acude* “attend”, *visito* “visit”, etc. Since ghosts are understood as dead, their visits are brief because they are expected to return from where they came. Analogously, a person traveling does not stay indefinitely during visits, as doing so would mean he is no longer a *traveler* and but a resident.

In the data, ghost intervention is predicated by a strong motivation for the visit to the *real world* as illustrated in the following example:

(7) “La primera vez que se le apareció, le dije que fuera a pagarle un dinero que le debía a un compadre.”

“The first time that he appeared to her, he told her to go and pay some money he owed his buddy.”

The association between ghosts and motivating purpose is not unfamiliar to us, as we understand ghosts to be agentive much like a *living person*. Accordingly, *purpose* is imported from the LIFE frame into the blend. *Purpose*, and the achievement thereof, is central to ghostly intervention be it soliciting help, offering solutions, inquires about living descendants, etc.

The blended space is an integrated formation of inferences and associations which structure the concept of ghosts and their faculties. However, the dynamic cognitive process does not end with elements in the blend, the following section illustrates the associations and inferences callers produce in the emergent structure.

5. Elaboration and novel inference

Blending, much like human thought, is creative, productive and capable of providing a rich image of an idea or concept. The blend is to account for a general cognitive structure; all speakers, however, will not make the same inferential patterns. The positive and negative associations of ghosts are a result of the complexity of the conceptualization influenced by cultural perception. Introduced in the previous section, combinations and recombinations in the

mental spaces allow for unique mapping patterns between knowledge and concepts. Therefore, conceptual blending offers us a productive model for how we arrive at an understanding of the spectral figures. The emergent structure can further be elaborated, rendering new inferences and novel meaning. As Fauconnier & Turner posit, “Part of the power of blending is that there are always many different possible lines of elaboration, and elaboration can go on indefinitely.” (2002: p.48). The aim of this section is to detail novel elements in the blend which will introduce the analysis of the Spanish-speaking ghost stories.

5.1 *Intentionality* and personhood

Demonstrated in Fig. 7, the concept of ghosts is structured by human mortality; more specifically, life, death, and departure. Ghosts can travel between the *real world* and the *afterlife*, but why? Given the intervention is erratic and not anticipated, relevant patterns in the data show ghosts as having an agentive intent. Not all people who die return as ghosts, and as a result, “intentionality” form part of the concept of ghosts (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).¹⁵ A sense of reverence is produced as a result of callers recognizing the *intentionality*. Consider the following:

(8) “No sentí miedo sino que sentí algo algo bien porque digo ‘bueno se acordó de mí, me vio en problemas pues ahora sí me quiso ayudar’...”

“I didn’t feel fear, in fact I felt something, something good because I said “well he remembered me, he saw me in a problem and now he wanted to help me...””

The terror and anxiety of a sudden ghost appearance is mitigated as a reflection of vigilance and personal investment ascribed to ghosts. The intentional framing of the sudden appearance of a ghost is an elaboration of the *purpose* element in the blend. Elaboration via intentionality ties agent-like qualities to an immaterial entity like that of a ghost. Historically, this idea is supported in literature and popular culture where ghostly visits are motivated by revenge, justice, concern, assistance etc. (Edwards, 2012). Blending makes use of our experiential knowledge of the world. Therefore, the portrayal of ghosts in societal culture has direct influence on the concept of them, as demonstrated below:

(9) “En eso yo así abrí mis ojos y era mi papá, pero ya su piel toda este...como se dice? Haz vistos los muertos del video del Michael Jackson?... Así! Así era mi papá usted cree? Pero yo lo vi, clarito lo vi pero, no me dio miedo...”

“In that moment I opened my eyes and there was my father, but his skin was like...how do you say? Have you seen the dead from the Michael Jackson video?...Like that! That was my father, can you believe it? But I saw him, I saw him clearly, and I was not scared.”

As the blend suggests the *identity* of a ghost is semantically structured by the PERSON frame (*living person, dead person*). This frame activates qualities of personhood such as memories, interests, feelings, responsibilities, etc. The concern and interest of the ghost then results in intervention as the purpose for the visit. Fauconnier & Turner’s analysis of the conceptual blending in tombs, graves, and the dead illustrate a conceptual pattern analogous with ghosts:

And once the blend for dead person has become entrenched, it can serve as an input to a standard extension of the category person, so that now the category includes dead people, whose help we implore, whose wrath we avoid, and whose advice we seek. (2002: p.205)

¹⁵ *Intentionality*, according to Fauconnier & Turner (2002) refers to “...hope, desire, want, fear, belief, memory, and other mental attitudes and dispositions directed at content.” (p.100)

The observation bears on the esteem with which we hold our deceased and how even in death the concept of personhood persists as a quality of the dead.

5.2 *Spirit* and a divine agency

Grounded in our knowledge of death and corpses, the concept of “spirit” enters the frame. The notion of spirit suggests the following logic: if death leaves a physical body on Earth, then that which has “departed” is the spirit. The spirit, thought of as the essence or intangible self of a person, is construed as the portion that makes the journey to the *afterlife*. While a burial site is where the body of the deceased remains, the life/animacy motivated by the spirit is absent. In expressions like “in high or low spirits”, we conceive spirit as our liveliness and vitality, capable of being positively or negatively manipulated. Hence we can be “full of spirit” or have our “spirit sunk” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Spirit is elaborated from the personality and qualities of the *living person* which map on to the *dead person* element in the blend. “Espíritu” is associated with ghosts as either an embodiment of spirit or as a non-physical force perceptible through sensory stimulation as illustrated in the following example:

(10) “...desde el primer momento que entró a ese hospital... sentí una presencia de alguien bueno, de un espíritu bueno porque ya ve cuando uno hay espíritus malos los sientes luego luego...”

“...from that first moment he entered that hospital...I felt a presence of someone good, of a good spirit because you know when there are bad spirits you feel them right away...”

The narrator in the example provides insight into a sensory awareness of spirits as being able to be felt. The example suggests the spirit has an incorporeal and invisible form similar to the Holy spirit or holy ghost” in the Christian tradition. Many of the ghost stories recount deceased family members or loved ones visiting them to provide assistance. This suggests that spirit is conceptualized as a unique composition of attributes, and qualities which remains relevant in the *afterlife*.¹⁶ These qualities and attributes include preservation of responsibilities to family and moral character. Following a *SOURCE PATH GOAL image schema*, the spirit of a person is conceived as moving along the *path* towards the *goal*, the *afterlife*. Within the Christian model, human mortality is indicative of divine agency (Matu et. al., 2012). In other words, death is understood as a divine ordinance pertaining to the highest moral authority that must be obeyed as a devotional practice.

5.3 Ghostly attributes and positive connotations

Because ghosts are referred to in a context where they have agent-like qualities and have or share protagonism, unique abilities are associated with them. Ghosts are construed to have faculties not explicit to the blend, but rather, elaborated from elements within “...running them imaginatively according to the principles that have been established for the blend.” (Fauconnier, Turner, 2002: p.48).¹⁷ The protagonists experience the abilities of ghosts and benefit from their knowledge and aid. Ghosts demonstrate insight into the future or are informed about the affairs of the living as is shown in the following example:

¹⁶ I argue that a basic conceptualization of the afterlife is thought to be consisting of “spirits” and not “ghosts”. At a semantic level “ghosts” require an interaction with the real world unlike “spirit” which does not share the same necessity.

¹⁷ For example, *intentionality*, *spirit*, and *heaven* are not explicit elements in the blend however, we understand them through elaborations of *purpose*, *dead person*, and *afterlife* respectively.

(11) “Sabes que se me apareció El Chato, me dijo que la niña estaba mala y las medicinas para que se componga la niña están en una caja debajo de equis cosa detrás de la puerta.”

“You know El Chato appeared to me, he told me that the little girl was sick and the medicine that she needed is in a box below X-thing behind the door.”

The positive overtone of the interaction assume favorable connotations with the dead. It is these connotations which are conceptually structured by Christian concepts of the *afterlife* element in the blended space. References to a divine source, such as “el ángel de mi primo”, “la voluntad del altísimo”, “el señor”, etc., conceive the *afterlife* as pertaining to the divine.¹⁸ Additionally the verticality metaphor HEAVEN IS UP is used in reference to the *afterlife* in the stories. Callers describe spectral entities appearing over them, monitoring from above, and descending upwards. “Y mi mamá dice que vio así no más unos pies se empezaron a elevar...” *“And my mom said she saw feet beginning to elevate.”* Research into verticality bias demonstrates a human tendency to deem objects in a higher visual space as good, and conversely for objects in a low visual space as bad (Meir & Robinson, 2004). “In the Bible, for example, the righteous go “up” to heaven, where as sinners go “down” to Hell” (p. 243). In an investigation of conceptual metaphor in Spanish epitaphs, Crespo-Fernández found a consensus conceptualization of the final destination of human mortality as an encounter with God (2013). According to Allan (2007), “Identifying the connotations of a term is to identify the community attitude towards it.” (p. 1047). Assuming a culturally informed cognitive perspective of death (later to be explored in the analysis), callers associate the Christian idea of death with the dead. If God is the all-knowing all-powerful entity who resides in heaven, then those within his kingdom benefit directly from his knowledge. Narrators are thus filling out a pattern of associations between the *afterlife*, the *dead person*, and the *real world* available in the blended space. Narrators describe their experience with ghosts as providing some type of aid. In the following example, directions from a ghost on how to arrive home are given to the protagonist after he was found unconscious.

(12) “Hubo un momento en donde me dijo la niña, me dice “Vete caminando por aquí derecho y hasta allá arriba donde se termina la calle vas a esperarte allí porque va pasar un camión que te va llevar a tu casa...”

“There was a moment when the little girl told me, “Keep walking straight further ahead, you will wait around where the street ends and there will be a bus there to pick you up and take you home.”

A majority of ghost encounters according to the data collected for this investigation are evaluated positively, as ghosts provide assistance or solutions to problems. While ghost encounters can have negative connotations (haunting, possession, etc.), the stories from callers to *La Mano Peluda* challenge the notion of ghosts as being ill-intentioned. Beyond the inherent benefit of the interaction, classifying ghosts as “good/positive” is based on moral inferences of the *dead person* with the *afterlife* and a divine source. For example, a spirit residing in heaven has demonstrated virtue and has been deemed worthy of entrance into the *Kingdom of God*. Positive and negative associations with ghosts are thus the result of speakers exploiting the

¹⁸ “My cousin’s ángel.”, “the will of the most high”, “God”.

afterlife element in the blend.¹⁹ The “nefarious” ghosts capable of terror and haunting is rooted in connection with the *afterlife*, and a malevolent source. The role of “noble” ghost is identified by narrators as interest or concern on behalf of the ghostly entities, therefore evaluating the intervention as positive.

The *guardian* and *messenger* roles are rooted in the conceptual blend of ghosts proposed above. These roles are specific to patterns found in the data, patterns which reflect how callers think and talk about *death*, the *afterlife*, and *ghosts*. The issues of specificity and context is important to keep in mind as Cánovas (2014) holds:

Identifying an embodied pattern across disparate individual cases is very useful, but only if we do not consider it as a timeless and decontextualized entity. (p. 297, quoted in Díaz-Vera, 2014).

Benefit through aid, assistance and other acts are facilitated by supernatural entities, detailed by the callers, and give rise to a pragmatic understanding for the visit. The following section will explore GHOST AS A MESSENGER according the personal stories of callers to *La Mano Peluda*. Anchored in an analysis of language at the discursive, semantic, and conceptual level, the investigation will examine how callers conceive GHOST AS A MESSENGER. Analysis supported by examples from the data will demonstrate the *messenger* role as an elaboration of the conceptual blend of ghosts.

6. GHOST AS A MESSENGER

In a majority of the stories, protagonists identify the ghosts as a family member or friend upon interaction. However, ghosts do not always appear familiar, instead they can manifest as strangers, encountered for the first time. The relational tie to the protagonist, however, does not alter the purpose of the visit: concern or interest. Demonstrating agentive qualities, ghosts in the following stories find the relevant party and communicate via direct imperative and reported speech constructions. Elaborations then serve the conceptualization of GHOST AS A MESSENGER, where ghosts make use of an omniscient awareness of events past, present and future. One example of each pattern will be analyzed, concluding with a section detailing how these patterns function within the proposed blend.²⁰

6.1 Harbingers

Interactions between the ghosts of deceased family members and the protagonist in the following example demonstrate a pattern of ghosts as harbingers of caution or warning.²¹ In example 13, the ghost of a grandmother expresses concern for her granddaughter and emphatic caution for the granddaughter’s husband. The grandmother appears as an apparition to her grandson, who is the narrator, and serves as a conduit for her message. That is, the apparition takes hold of the narrator’s body and expresses her urgent concern through him.²²

¹⁹ Rajandran’s (2017) investigation of metaphors in religious texts posits: “The righteous travelers (believers) go to Heaven and the wicked travelers (non-believers) go to Hell (Abdulmoneim, 2006 quoted in Rajandran, 2017: pg. 165)

²⁰ The Appendix A.2 demonstrates the multiple examples of each pattern discovered in the data for both the *messenger* and *guardian* roles. The patterns are grouped by subcategories which highlight the type of messenger or guardian role they facilitate in the narratives.

²¹ Other relevant examples from the data demonstrating this pattern are listed in Appendix A.2.1.

²² “Ósea mí abuelita en ese momento tomó posesión de mí cuerpo y empecé a hablarle a mí hermana.”
“Like my grandmother in that moment took possession of my body and began to talk to my sister.”

(13) “Bueno dile que se cuide mucho ella y dile a su esposo que no salga hoy...Por favor dile que no salga hoy.”

“Well tell her to take good care of herself and tell her husband not to go out tonight...Please tell him not to go out tonight.”

The ghost (deceased grandmother) inquires about the wellbeing of her granddaughter and is concerned about the grief the granddaughter faces regarding her husband’s actions. Though the event will directly affect her husband, the focus of the concern is for the granddaughter as indirect *patient*. The ghost pleads to her grandson (whom she is communicating through) “Llama le, por favor llámale a tú hermana. Estoy muy preocupada.” (*“Please call your sister. I’m very worried.”*).

The example reveals an inferential pattern structured by kinship, a common theme throughout the data. An idealized model of the nuclear family implies a responsibility for the well-being of each member. There is an assumed hierarchical responsibility beginning with the older to protect and care for the young. The concept is structured by our experiential knowledge of childhood, child rearing, and moral authority (Lakoff, 1996).²³ The ghostly intervention then suggests the social and familial roles extend to death and are construed as continually relevant. Once identified, the conceptualization of ghost is then elaborated to include human qualities of memory, intimacy, and well being as relevant values.

Accordingly, the spectral visitor is aware of the will and desire of whom she is cautioning. For example, the grandmother knows that the grandson-in-law will want to go out. Further, the grandmother shows an awareness that appearing to the granddaughter as an apparition would cause terror, resulting in a failure to communicate the urgent message. The narrator alludes to his sisters timorous nature as he questions her “Oyes porque eres miedosa te estaba hablando.” (*“Why are you so easily scared she was talking to you.”*). Appearing through her grandson is a means of facilitating the message of caution, as it reflects an intimate relationship which aims to redirect the habitual behaviours/feelings of living descendants. It is worth noting that the grandmother appears to the narrator during a dream-like state, which triggers a prevalent conceptual metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP that will be explored later in the analysis. Thus identification of the spectral figures suggests an understanding that ghosts: 1. maintain distinguishing qualities, and 2. correlate with their real-world responsibilities and demonstrate intentionality.²⁴ Additionally, the *identity* of “grandmother” evokes positive connotations as the ghost provides assistance by way of caution and warning, thus continuing to fulfil the responsibilities of familial convention.

Ghosts are depicted as being privy to future events and have knowledge of how such knowledge could affect their loved ones. This heightened aptitude is outside the limits of human capacity and thus categorized as relating to the supernatural world. The legitimacy of the ghostly claims is constructed via imperative discursive patterns. Information is presented as commands “...*dile que no salga hoy...*” (*“tell him not to go out tonight”*), “*vuelve* a llamar...” (*“call her again”*). The grandmothers cautioning proves to be accurate as the granddaughter’s husband is violently attacked at a bar later that night.

²³ Moral authority refers to the legitimacy with which caretakers can exert authority over family members, partially based on hierarchical family model (See Lakoff, 1996: p. 76).

²⁴ Fauconnier & Turner suggests intentionality reveals a complex pattern where, “...someone is aware in one input space of the participants in the other and has an intentional stance towards them.” (2002: p. 313).

Supernatural events are categorized by supernatural acts such as the non-conventional means of communication illustrated in the narrative. “Possessed” as the narrator describes, implies an external force acting on one's self agency. Often associated with malicious intent or demonic control, *possession* in the context of a ghost story holds negative connotations. In contrast, the narrator describes the act in positive evaluation as enjoyable “...sé me hizo padrisimo...” (“*I thought it was very cool*”). The conceptual metaphor CONTROL IS POSSESSION structures the supernatural act, whereby the possessing agent is a deceased family matriarch. The positive overtones are influenced by reverence for the deceased grandmother and the recognition of the unique form of contact, and cautionary message.

The *afterlife* is referenced in the narrative when the grandmother informs the grandson “Sí mijito, aquí donde estoy las cosas están muy tranquilas, son muy padres.” (“*Yes my son, here where I am things are very calm, and very cool*”). The language evokes the pervasive conceptual metaphors DEATH IS DEPARTURE and STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Lakoff & Johnson, 1989). The inference of spatial configuration suggested in the discourse posits the dead as not residing in the *real world*. This concept draws on folk theories of death which hold that upon death the dead leave the real world (*departure*).²⁵ The conceptual metaphor reasons “...first, the act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving; second, the deceased is the one that embarks on the journey...” Crespo-Fernandez (2013: p. 104). STATES ARE LOCATIONS conceptualizes the *afterlife* by virtue of condition, therefore the living reside in the *real world* and dead go to the *afterlife*. Further, the grandmother’s remarks about the enjoyable nature of the *afterlife* not only supports the belief in the *afterlife*, but also provides comfort to her living descendants. The grief experienced in losing a loved one is mitigated by the cultural belief in the *afterlife* where “...las cosas están muy tranquilas, son muy padres.” The psychological effects of these cultural beliefs will be explored in detail later in the analysis.

6.2 Instruction/direction

Aside from being harbingers of caution, ghosts are described as giving instructions and directions. Example (14) describes a ghost appearing to a family friend and instructing her on where to find a medicine that will cure his ailing daughter.²⁶ The ghost identifies himself but does not manifest in a physical form to the protagonist. Rather, he is perceived through sensation:

(14) ...y le dijo “Te quiero pedir un favor, mí hija la Chata está mala. Necesito que le vayas a decir que las medicinas están detrás de la puerta de tal cuarto.”

“... and he told her “*I want to ask you a favor, my daughter Chata is sick. I need you to tell her that the medicine is behind the door of said room.*”

The ghost in the example is familiar to the protagonists and provides instructions for assistance to be carried out on his behalf. Highlighting a human sense of intentionality, the ghost is direct and illustrates forward and agentive language used to express necessity to the protagonist: “*Necesito* que vayas...” (“*I need you to go*”). The significance of the visit is expressed via the source of the message and the implications. The ghost, *El Chato*, presents with

²⁵ *Folk theories*, according to Fauconnier & Turner (2002) “are elaborate and indispensable systems of thought in everyday life.” (p.107)

²⁶ The full transcribed narrative of this and all ghost stories explored in this thesis can be found in the Appendix A.1. This story is found under the heading *La Mano Peluda (11 Tales of terror) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (91)*.

an acute knowledge of the current wellbeing of his children as well as a medical awareness of the medicine in need. The intervention represents a solution to the troubling condition of his daughter, *La Chata*. The implications would suggest *La Chata*'s illness could grow worse with potential fatal consequences if his instructions are not carried out. However, the protagonist shows uncertainty of the request as she investigates for legitimacy. The family friend meditates over the instructions, deciding to act the following day.²⁷

To receive instructions by way of ghostly intervention presupposes a sense of importance. The unconventional nature of receiving instructions from a ghost transmits a sense of urgency which ultimately motivates the protagonist.²⁸ The ghosts do not engage in long conversation. Rather, the brief duration and imperative language which characterizes the interaction implies the pressing nature of the requests. The protagonist finds the medicine exactly where *El Chato* directed her to and in doing so, confirms the supernatural event.

GHOST AS A MESSENGER of instruction depicts the protagonist (as agent) fulfilling the orders of the ghosts (source) which is a less common thematic configuration of this narrative genre. Herman's (2004) research of thematic roles in ghost stories posits the *actor/experiencer* becomes the *patient*, and or *theme/undergoer* throughout the course of the narrative. This unconventional pattern is in part due to the ghost soliciting help or favor from a living person close to the family. Thereby, the ghost is not acting upon the protagonist but rather, dependent on her ability to perform his request.

Besides the protagonist, *El Chato* appears before *La Chata*, and his three year old son at the end of the story who is able to identify his father. "...el niño empezó a gritar "Chata, Chata papá!" Y mí mamá dice que vio así no más unos pies se empezaron a elevar..." (*"the little boy began to scream "Chata, Chata, dad!" And my mom says that she only saw feet elevating"*). The example illustrates an ontology of verticality metaphors: AFTERLIFE IS UP (HEAVEN IS UP) associating positive connotations with height and vertical positioning. *El Chato* is identified through PART-WHOLE metonymy where his *elevating feet* represent his presence. Analyzed further, the manifestation of *El Chato* highlights ghostly intentionality. By appearing to *La Chata* (the thematic *benefactor*), the ghost makes evident his role in the medical intervention and his role as "father" within the family hierarchy. The appearance before his young son exploits association between youth, innocence, and curiosity, as the child is excited, rather than scared, to see his father.

Of note, *El Chato* does not appear to his wife or any adult within the family who could have provided immediate assistance. It becomes apparent that ghosts exhibit discretion, and are tactful of whom they appear to in order to achieve goals. Ghostly intervention then supports a

²⁷ "...y la señora pues no pudo dormir, y al otro día su esposo surgió a su esposo..."
And the lady she could not sleep, and the next day urged her husband...

It is worth noting that the uncertainty relates to the request and not the apparition as the ghost introduces himself and his intentions "No te espantes soy yo El Chato." (*"Don't feel scared it's me El Chato."*)

²⁸ "Sabes que vámonos a México, porque se me apareció El Chato y me dijo esto y esto."

"You know what, lets go to México (City), because El Chato appeared to me and told me this and that."

cultural perception of the *afterlife* as an extension of existence where the dead continue to care for living descendants. This concept is sublimated by the notion of *spirit* which is believed to continue on after death. The section *Cultural Models* will explore the ancestral roots of this concept as established in México.

6.3 Support

GHOST AS MESSENGER of support reflects themes of counsel and encouragement as the purpose for the spectral visit. The caller in example (15) is grieving the loss of his recently deceased father when an interaction with his father's spirit illuminates feelings of love and support. The caller is able to identify his father during the interaction, and in doing so, makes sense of his presence as a spirit.

(15) “Sentí bonito... “Aquí estoy”...Sí lo sentí ese día sí dije “Sí eres tú eres tu ya lo se.”... Y me quedó muy claro, este año nuevo que paso esto.”

“I felt wonderful... “I’m here”...I felt him that day and I said “Yes it is you, it is you, now I know it”...and it was very clear to me, this last New Years when it occurred.”

Our memories of our deceased loved ones construe our concept of their personality and character. We are able to recall with affection the care and mentorship of our deceased, which in turn strengthens our convictions of the guidance they provide posthumously. Indeed, the protection and care associated with familial roles is manifested in the above example as moral support. Ghosts lend support as a means of strengthening moral disposition during hardships encountered by loved ones.

The caller in the example (15) is able to recognize the spirit of his father through sensation and metonymy. His father’s hair follicles inexplicably fall on the protagonist after admiring his photograph “Yo conozco su cabello y no me explico de donde cayó...” (*“I know his hair and I cannot understand where they fell from...”*). Following a PART-WHOLE metonymic understanding, the caller associates his father's hair as standing in for the presence of his father. Of note is the description of the spirit as an experience of sensory stimulus. This construal of spirit follows our real world knowledge of sensory-motor physical experiences (Gathigia et. al., 2018). Since the spirit is an abstract biological concept lacking perceptual or motor grounding, spirits are described as being immaterial and invisible, similar to the the “Holy Ghost”. In this way, a spirit can be seen when influenced by metonymy in an apparitional sense but could also be felt when lacking physical manifestation.

The caller in this story finds himself still grieving the loss of his father. “Ah papá pues que falta me haces, ya sabes. Pero bueno aquí te dejo las luces prendidas y al rato regreso.” (*“Ah dad I really do miss you, you know. But I’ll leave the lights on for you here until I return later.”*). A prominent cultural phenomena, communicating with tombstones, images, or other meaningful objects reveals psychological implications regarding our ability to adjust to the life event of death. Fauconnier & Turner (2002) posit an object like a tombstone represents a physical

material anchor for the bereaved.²⁹ An object which represents our dead draws on our desire to make our deceased accessible by maintaining a *continuing bond*.³⁰ According to Parkes (2009) “The commonest means of mitigating the pain of grieving comprises the maintenance of a feeling or impression that the bereaved person is nearby.” (p.138). Often described as a *mechanism* for loss, interaction with a recently deceased loved one is argued as offering a conceptual means of negotiating feelings of *attachment*. Yu et. al. (2016) outlines the reasoning:

Thus, when the attachment figure (the deceased) dies, the bereaved person will lose his/her secure base, feel unsafe, want to retrieve the lost attachment figure and maintain the ongoing connection with the deceased, which promotes the continuing bonds between the deceased person and the bereaved individual. (Bowlby, 1980; Field et al., 2005) (p. 94)

If perceiving the presence of our deceased is psychologically rooted, then belief in where the dead reside draws on similar concepts. Empirical studies on the belief of the *afterlife* as a psychological innovation demonstrate its capacity in improving stages of grief as well as the emotional well being of the bereaved (Smith et. al. (1992) quoted in Parkes (2009)). While the aim of the paper is not to scrutinize the legitimacy of the caller’s claims, the correlation between mourning and the perception of ghosts and spirits demonstrate notable similarities.

The mitigation of loss is further exemplified by the caller’s decision to *leave the lights on* for his father while he steps out of the house. The act is a continuation of habitual customs and indicative of the narrator’s consideration for his deceased father. GHOST AS A MESSENGER of support then enriches the conceptualization of ghosts/spirits as offering moral intervention and elaborating on perceptibility through sensory stimuli.

6.4 GHOST AS A MESSENGER within the blend model

The *messenger* role demonstrates how the elements of *traveler*, *living person*, and *dead person* are activated congruently. For example, *resemblance*, be it physically through metonymy (*feet, hair*) or nonphysically through spirit (Ex. 12 & 14), trigger knowledge of that person, resulting in the *identity:dead person*. The abrupt visit from the deceased highlights the impermanent nature of a *traveler*, which evokes the *afterlife* and *real world* elements. The protagonists fill in the missing pieces, and the *traveler* correlation is made between the former *living person* in the *real world* and the *dead person* in the *afterlife*; producing: ghost/spirit.

As discussed earlier, the conceptualization of the *afterlife* element in the blend brings with it religious ideas. Hernandez’s (2000) investigation into how the elderly of Xalapa Veracruz, Mexico think about death and the afterlife revealed concepts which were heavily influenced by religion. Death was understood as ordained by God and therefore not to be feared

²⁹ *Material anchors* are physical material structures which are associated with the concepts of a blended space (Hutchins, 2003). Therefore if a grave is where one would find a deceased loved one, then a tombstone is the material structure which anchors the conceptual blends involved with death and the dead. The association between a deceased person and a tombstone which represents that deceased person, allows the dead to become accessible.

³⁰ “A continuing bond (CB) is an ongoing inner relationship with the deceased person by the bereaved individual.” (Field et al., 2003, Klass et al., 1996, quoted in Yu et. al., 2016: p. 94)

as it is construed as natural eventuality of the human experience.³¹ I would argue that for many callers, the *afterlife* frame includes dichotomous concepts such as heaven and hell, angels and demons, good and bad, etc. Inherent in the *messenger* role is an elaboration of where the ghosts travel from: the *afterlife*, specifically heaven. This concept of death and the *afterlife* sees the deceased uniting with God in the domain of his *Kingdom* (Gathigia, 2017). The moral implications suggest that only those of true merit and moral character are rewarded with entrance into heaven (Meier & Robinson, 2004). The theistic powers of an all-knowing God in heaven is then the source of the present and future knowledge, a knowledge demonstrated by ghosts in examples 13 & 14. Spirits presumably residing in heaven make use of this insight in order to protect their living descendants. God, understood as an omniscient entity, then acts as a source of knowledge for future events. The spirits of the deceased can manifest as ghosts and travel to bring messages from beyond. Ghosts are then conceived as supernatural entities capable of providing caution to their living descendants or loved ones. The relation to the protagonist teemed with the Christian concept of *afterlife* profiles ghostly attributes of attentiveness and omniscient awareness.

Purpose elaborated as intentionality suggests the motivation for the ghost visit as well as the deliberate selection of who the ghost interacts with. Ghosts are conceived to be intentional; therefore, it makes a difference who ghosts appear to. The ghosts in examples 13 & 14 illustrate this tact, as they do not directly appear to those who warranted the intervention. Instead, they appear to those who could best facilitate the message on their behalf. Additionally, the supernatural acts in examples 13 & 14 are motivated by the ghost's knowledge (conceptually linked to the *afterlife*) of an undesirable event that will happen. Lastly, emphasizing a sense of vigilance, the ghost in example 15 appears to his son during a moment of grief, thereby demonstrating an intentional act of support. Through these connections and associations, callers highlight the specific function of *messenger* as metaphorical role and elaborate on a dynamic concept of ghosts.

GHOST AS A MESSENGER follows a pattern of supernatural entities having omniscient knowledge and sharing it with recipients of whom such information is significant. Further, GHOST AS A MESSENGER reveals the capacity of the blending model as well as illustrating the influence of elaboration in producing a rich conceptual image of the language in the ghost stories. The metaphorical role of *messenger* carries with it positive connotations of ghosts as vigilant caretakers. The following section will explore GHOST AS GUARDIAN, a common conceptual pattern found in the Mexican-Spanish speaking data. This role sees ghosts assuming a full agentive function in interaction with and protection of the protagonists in the callers' narratives.

7. *GHOST AS GUARDIAN*

The phenomenology of ghosts posits a notion that the living are observable to the dead (Edwards, 2012). We are under the watchful surveillance of our deceased loved ones as well as

³¹ Apparent in Hernandez (2000) is a sizable age difference between the participants of the investigation and the callers to *La Mano Peluda*. However, Hernandez's findings do highlight the influence of Judeo-Christianity within a larger cultural perspective in Mexico.

those who see us in need. In the previous section, we saw how ghostly messages can influence or modify the behavior, sentiments, and habits of the living. The following section demonstrates ghostly intervention as physical protection from undesirable situations or events. It is the supernatural act of physical intervention that is understood by callers as protection and/or guidance. The role GHOST AS A GUARDIAN refers to the conceptualization evoked by callers when recounting their tales of being saved or guided by spectral entities. The following sections explore the *guardian* role as offering protection from violence or assault, being lost or stranded, fatigue, and calamity.

7.1 Violence/assault

Guarding as well as protection requires an *agent* preventing harm to a *beneficiary*. A role commonly associated with parents, a *guardian* sees the implicit danger in an event or action and acts accordingly in order to keep the *beneficiary* safe. Protection via physical interventional act sees the protector as a barrier, halting that which aims to harm. The following example illustrates an interventional act of protection, whereby a ghost shields the protagonists from further violence and potential death. The caller recounts an eventful night working as a taxi driver when he is violently attacked by two strangers in his cab. Just as the attack begins, the narrator recalls:

(16) “Y yo, haga de cuenta que vi la cara del esposo de mi hermana, que en paz descansa... El ya tenia mas de medio año de fallecido. En ese momento... siento algo pesado encima de mi. Algo que me callo haci encima y yo trataba de buscarlo o asi pero yo ya no lo veia.”

“And I, saw the face of my sister’s husband, rest in peace...He had passed away more than six months ago. In that moment...I felt something heavy on top of me. Something that fell on top of me, and I was trying to find him or something but I could not see him.”

The ghost in the encounter is described as having a physical presence which is felt by the narrator on top of him effectively protecting him from death. Ghost as perceived through sensorio-motor experiences are commonly associated with spirits in the data. In keeping with the apparitional appearance of the narrator’s brother-in-law, his face is seen before his presence is felt.³² Recognizing the face of the ghost will prove valuable for the caller later in the narrative when reflecting on the attack, encounter, and results. The physical contact with the ghost was brief, as the frantic encounter in the midst of the chaotic attack left the narrator unconscious. He was stabbed 30 times, only to wake up much later in the hospital, where an X-ray showed a curious image. “Pero en la radiografía haga de cuenta que sale lo que es mi cuerpo y se ve algo una otra persona se ve algo así como voluminoso encima de mi.” (*“But in the X-ray, just imagine you see my body and you can see another person, you can see something large on top of me.”*). The mention of medical documents such as X-ray images discursively support both the supernatural event experienced by the narrator and the concept of spirit as an intentional and invisible force (to the human eye).

³² Of note is the metonymic representation of *the face* as PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

According to the narrative, the ghost informs the caller's wife about the event, and in doing so, eases her worry by addressing his role as *guardian*: "Yo lo ayude para que no le pasara nada, pero tu esposo esta bien"... ("I helped him so nothing would happen to him, but your husband is fine"). The supernatural intervention presupposes a ghostly capacity to closely observe and monitor the living. Additionally, the ghost is able to console the narrator's wife by exploiting an omniscient knowledge of events and outcomes. In contacting the narrator's wife, the ghost demonstrates pragmatic awareness of discretion and relevance. It is the ghost's assurance which comforts the wife and allows for composure when she visits her husband in the hospital.³³

The significance of the ghost acting as a protective physical barrier is analogous to the work of a *guardian ángel* in the Christian tradition. As will be explored later, both ghosts and *guardian angels* are associated with heaven, demonstrate an interest in the living, and are capable of intervention. The narrator, however, does not elude to nor references such a notion; rather, the event is understood as a caring favor which the protagonist aims to repay.³⁴ Given the nature of the injuries sustained during the attack, the caller miraculously arrives at the hospital alive. The doctor, surprised by his condition, acknowledges the work of a supernatural force in keeping him alive.

(17) "Me dice la doctora "Mira no sé quién viene contigo, pero cuando salgas de aquí le tienes que ir a dar gracias porque pues no te dejo morir"..."

"The doctor tells me "Look I don't know who came with you, but when you leave here you must go and say thank you because well they didn't let you die."

It would seem as if the "who" that accompanied the narrator to the hospital was the deceased brother-in-law. As such, in the coda portion of the narrative, the caller is resolute in his attesting to the life-saving supernatural intervention. Identifying the face of the ghost triggers the significance of the interventional role of his deceased loved one; drawing on cognitive associations between family, life, death, love, and protection, etc. Making sense of an unexplainable ghost visit is then rationalized through these associations, whereby a supernatural event is understood as a manifestation of concern.

7.2 Lost/stranded

Similar to the patterns found in the *messenger* role, ghosts in the *guardian* role can be unfamiliar to the protagonist appearing in conventional human form. Such is the case in the example below, where the protagonist is guided by hand to safety by a mysterious small child. The protagonist regains consciousness after being attacked and left for dead. Frightened and unaware of where he is, he encounters a little girl who provides him with water and guidance.

³³ "Le dije, "Es que estas muy tranquila.""

"I told her, "You are very calm."

³⁴ "Y un dia asi como sentado le dije "Sabes que amigo, lo que hiciste de verdad te lo agradezco porque pues no me tocaba. Pero dime lo que te hace falta para que puedes irte a descansar."..."

"And one day I was sitting and I told him "You know what my friend, I am truly grateful for what you did because well they didn't touch me. But tell me what you need so you could go and rest."..."

(18) “Yo en el momento de verla con sus zapatitos blancos, su vestidito blanco, pero lo que nunca le vi fue la cara porque el fleco que ella tenía le cubría todo el rostro... nunca me dio miedo. Inmediatamente me da su manita así como dando me entender “ven conmigo”. Entonces yo la agarre y ahí empezamos a caminar.

“In that moment of seeing her with her little white shoes, little white dress, but what I never saw was her face because her bangs hid her features...I never felt fear. Immediately she gave me her small hand as if to tell me “come with me”. So I grabbed her hand and from there we began to walk.”

While very little is spoken between the two throughout the journey, the protagonist recalls a sense of safety and warmth from the little girl.³⁵ Physical temperature expressed through sensory words such as “caliente” (*warm*) is often used metaphorically for affection and comfort (Yang et. al 2016). Based on human physiology, “warmth” triggers positive associations, as evident by the lack of fear the protagonist felt in following the unknown child. Given the encounter occurred in the early hours of the morning, the child is able to navigate through the darkness while being aware of the location of the assailants who remained in the area. In avoiding the attackers, providing water, and traveling through a corn field, the small child informs the protagonist on how to get home. That is to say, the child is aware of where the protagonist lives, how far away his home is relative to where they are, and what bus the protagonist needs to take in order to arrive home.³⁶

For the first time in the analysis, we are introduced to a ghost who is not an adult appearing as an apparition. The ghost child, however, demonstrates all the capacities and attributes of previous spectres, including knowledge of the present and future and interventional support. While offering solutions to real-world problems is a prominent function of ghosts in the data, seldom is it associated with children. Children are often *beneficiaries* of the guidance and protection of their parents. The *disanalogy* of these features mapped on to a small child are significant, as the protagonist later learns about the virtuous motivation of the child from the bus driver who drives him home.

(19) “A sí, esa niña la asesinaron por allá hace como diez años, y esa niña se dedica a ayudar a la gente.”

“Oh yes, that little girl was assassinated around there about ten years ago, and now she is dedicated to helping people.”

The bus driver later remarks that the protagonist was lucky to have been guided by her as she is a “niña buena” (“*good girl*”). Purity and innocence are profiled by the child’s vestments, drawing on the conceptual metaphor PURITY IS WHITE. Appearing in all white evokes

³⁵ “Y yo me acuerdo que sentía su manita caliente pero nunca se me ocurrió voltear la ver...”

“And I remember feeling her little warm hand but it never occurred to me to turn to see her...”

³⁶ “...me dice “Vete caminando por aquí derecho y hasta allá arriba donde se termina la calle vas a esperarte allí porque va pasar un camión que te va llevar a tu casa...””

“...she tells me “continue walking straight, and further along where the street ends you will wait there because a bus will pass which will take you home...””

associations with innocence, divinity, and other positive connotations of the sort (He, 2011). The child's white outfit is more visible than darker colors at night, allowing the protagonist to see her better throughout the darkness and guiding the path as if illuminated. Religious associations begin to surface in the discourse through color, as white is a holy color within Christianity. Religious authority figures such as God, Jesus, and angels are often portrayed in white, reinforcing the positive associations with the color. Though the interaction occurred at a time and place where children are unlikely to be encountered, the protagonist is not alarmed by the child and is quick to follow her to safety. The narrator's compliance suggests a confidence in the protection offered by the little girl, as such an encounter would otherwise have likely produced terror.

The ghost child models virtue through selflessness, as the protagonist inquires about her safety and where she lives. ““Si no te preocupes, lo importante es que tu ya te vas a tu casa” (*“Yes don't you worry, the most important thing is that you are going home now.”*). The child makes it her mission to ensure the protagonist arrives home, appearing to him once more at his house to say goodbye.³⁷ The final appearance of the child substantiates the consensus idea of ghosts being omnipresent and caring for the living. Since the child was completely unfamiliar to the protagonist, the intervention is understood as a supernatural response to someone in need, which was later attested to by the bus driver in the narrative.

7.3 Fatigue

Driving professionals such as truck and taxi cab drivers endure long work hours, often driving through the night with very little time to rest. As a result, many drivers experience fatigue which can have fatal consequences when falling asleep at the wheel. Managing fatigue is a crucial element of the profession; unfortunately, even the most seasoned are vulnerable to its overwhelming effects. The following example recounts a supernatural experience of a truck driver who, in the midst of great fatigue, is alarmed to see a woman traveling alongside him outside of the truck. The driver pulls over at a vending stand to investigate when a local vendor informs him of what he experienced.

(20) “Y me dijo “Sabes que, es que es una señora que se sube para que no se duerman. Si! No les hace nada no les dice nada. Simplemente cuando llegan con mucho sueño es cuando aparece la señora””

“And he tells me “You know, she is a woman who gets in (the truck) so drivers won't fall asleep. Yes! She does not do or say anything. Basically when someone is very sleepy and driving the woman appears to them”... ”

Startled by the encounter, the narrator continues on his route, and once completed, drives back at night, only to encounter the same ghost drawing his attention to one of his tires. It is at this point where the narrator feels frightened by the encounter, disregarding his previous

³⁷ “Pues como si me hubieran dicho “voltea!”, en ese momento voltee y estaba la niña ahí diciendome adios...”
“Well it was as if someone said “turn around!”, in that moment I turned around and there was the little girl telling me goodbye...”

dismissiveness.³⁸ Truck drivers become used to traveling alone and focusing their attention at night, when objects are difficult to distinguish and vision is frequently strained. Such was the condition of the caller moments before the encounter: “Antes de llegar a Hernan Colina yo ya iba muy cansado, iba solo...” (“*Before arriving at Hernan Colina, I was already very tired, and alone...*”). The ghost is able to exploit the perceptual vulnerabilities associated with driving at night by manifesting close to the driver. Though the woman does not have direct contact with the narrator, the sight of the ghost is enough to achieve the goal of maintaining alertness by protecting against fatigue.

According to the data, ghost encounters are unsolicited; therefore, ghostly intervention is erratic in nature and unpredictable. In previous sections, we explored how the sense of surprise is less frightening when recognition of the identity of the ghost (family member/loved one) or supernatural act (informing of events, guarding/protecting) is established. In the present ghost story, the woman is unknown and, while she is not described as frightening in appearance, she does induce fear. The ghost appears as if standing on one of the step boards on the exterior of the truck, which horrifies the caller. The fear experienced by the caller is grounded in the unknown, as the appearance of the woman has no natural explanation nor does the woman seem subject to the laws of the natural world. The *supernatural* is beyond the human grasp of understanding and prone to folk theories where entities are conceived as harmful or malicious in intent.

It is, however, the induced fear which is most effective in protecting against vision strain and fatigue. In this way, ghostly intentionality is attributed to the spectral figure, where fear is used as a tool to maintain driver awareness and, more importantly, to fend off sleep. As such, the appearance reflects consideration for the driver as well as the resulting effects. The ghost conceptualized as the source of fear demonstrates intentionality through proximity of manifestation. By appearing on the exterior of the truck, the ghost is separated from the driver by a physical barrier, which is the truck cabin. The narrator was able to drive further, securely pull over, and investigate what he had seen.³⁹ Whereas, appearing as a passenger could have resulted in a fatal loss of control or hysteria, as the source of fear would have been within physical reach. The proximity and appearance is enough to produce a sensory jump-start to the narrator’s waning energies, evidencing the lore of the woman as *guardian* of fatigued commuters.

7.4 Calamity

Presenting as an ordinary stranger creates a natural discourse between ghost and protagonist within many of the *guardian* narratives. The protagonist, under no impression of the supernatural, are able to reason and communicate clearly with the spectral figures. Ghosts appearing as human and eliciting help reflects the moral character of the protagonist as either

³⁸ Otra vez, allí si me espante. Mis patitas me temblaban y decía “Qubole?”

“*Again, that’s when I did feel scared. My little feet were trembling and I said “What’s up?”*”

³⁹ “Y seguí caminando prácticamente como unos diez once kilómetros más...Haz de cuenta que yo me pare en un paradero donde había comida, además eran las cuatro de la mañana.”

“*And I continued on for practically ten or eleven kilometers more...Then imagine, I stopped at a lot where they sold food, also it was four in the morning.*”

willing or unwilling to help a stranger. Protection from calamity follows a pattern where callers perform an *altruistic* act for the “strangers”, which is compensated by a supernatural act of guarding from a disastrous event. The narrator in the following example relates a story of a young woman who approaches him in need of a ride home late one night. After consulting his friends with whom he is traveling, they agree to do her the favor. The narrator’s friends begin to mistreat and harass the woman in the car; upset by this, the narrator demands they stop their behavior. Feeling uncomfortable, the woman insists on getting out of the car with the narrator; he obliges and accompanies her to her doorstep, where the woman gives him her phone number. He later learns his friends were in a terrible automobile accident moments after leaving the woman. When he calls the phone number, he is informed that she had been dead for over a year.

(21) “Entonces este ya de ese tiempo para aca, cada dia de los muertos que se pone la ofrenda, le ponemos un espacio a Ella no, que fue la que me salvo a la mejor de una muerte no.”

“So now ever since, every Día de los Muertos when we make the altar, we make a space for her, because she was the one that saved me, possibly from death.”

While the car accident did not prove fatal for the narrator’s friends, they were arrested and subjected to pay large bail bonds.⁴⁰ In performing a favor for the young woman, the narrator did not expect anything in return, profiling a sense of moral *altruism*. *Altruism* is a moral principle which reflects the narrator’s intentions of helping the woman without the expectation of a return of favor. The moral character of the narrator is evidenced by his reprimand of his friends: “Si le íbamos hacer un favor se lo hacemos bien o sino no le hacemos nada” (*“If we are going to do her a favor, we do it right or we won’t do it.”*). The caller shows a moral distaste for the aggressive sexual advances, thereby illustrative of the caller’s sincerity in helping, which is of no personal gain. Further, in addressing the unwanted advances, the caller is able to safeguard the woman from the abuse of the other passengers (protection from defilement).

The narrator uses direct command constructions “*lo hacemos bien o sino no le hacemos nada*” in reprimanding the behavior while tactfully using the first person plural (“nosotros”) form, thereby establishing a shift from the aggressive behavior. This direct and assertive language not only reflects the narrator’s disapproval of the conduct of the other men but is indicative of his own principles. The moral obligation of providing the woman a safe ride home then includes preserving the decency and respect for the woman in the car. Discursively similar is the woman’s emphatic persistence on the narrator staying with her once she exits the car:

(22) “Mi amigo dijo “vente, subete, dejala alli.” y dijo la chava “No, yo me quedo y él se queda conmigo.””

⁴⁰ “Cuando yo deje la chica, ellos al siguiente semaforo chocan, ehhs los meten a la cárcel y luego se pagaron una gran fianza.”

“When I left the young woman, they crashed at the next traffic light, they put them in jail and had to pay a large bond.”

“My friend said “come on, get in, leave her there.” and the girl said “No, I stay and he will stay with me.””

The imperative construction “...y él se *queda* conmigo” marks a command informing the other passengers as well as the caller of a mandate. The agentive language of demanding the caller stay with her suggests conviction, which is informed by a supernatural knowledge of future events. In that moment, unbeknownst to the caller, was her interventional role in protecting him from a disastrous evening. The woman, who we later find out was a ghost, has conceptual associations to the *afterlife* that licenses an omniscient awareness motivating the intervention. The role of *guardian* is acknowledged by the caller’s friend who remarks: “Oyes esa chava era socia de la guardia?” (“Hey was that girl a member of civil services?”). The remark hints at the perceived coincidence of the woman separating the narrator from the rest of the passengers moments before their car crash. Suggestive of the *guardian* role, the young woman manages to save the caller from the undeserved fate the other passengers were subject to. When asked by the host Don Ramón Saenz why the intervention occurred, the caller reasons according to *moral accounting*, a frequent conceptual pattern in the data which will be explored in detail later in the analysis. The caller’s response echoes a notion *reciprocation* of moral action in that the ghost is conceived as paying back a moral deed.

(23) “Entonces como yo fui uno de los que se portó de cierta manera bien con ella, este pues me cuido.”

“But because I was one of the ones who treated her well, well she protected me.”

7.5 GHOST AS A GUARDIAN within the blend model

Within the blend, there is a greater sense of mystery behind the *identity* of the ghosts in the *guardian* role. Compared to the *messenger* role, the *guardian* role shows more instances where ghosts appear as strangers (examples: 18, 20, and 21). Blend elements such as *traveler* and *resemblance: living person* remain relevant and are engaged simultaneously. The *identity* element, however, is unclear, as the ghosts appear human for the entire interaction and only later are protagonists informed otherwise. Since ghosts appear as strangers, they lack a referent to a former living person that would inform the protagonists of a ghost encounter. The *identity* element in other instances facilitates positive connotations with spectral figures as former loved ones providing care from beyond. GHOST AS A GUARDIAN engenders positive evaluation from the recognized action of safeguarding against an undesirable event. Therefore, the *guardian* role highlights the beneficial action, whereas the *messenger* role highlights the supernatural agent as continuing to fulfill a role from a prior existence.

The narratives illustrate a close vigilance associated with the spectral figures within the conceptual model of ghosts. GHOST AS A GUARDIAN reveals an underlying discourse pattern of servitude to the protagonists. Whether keeping living descendants safe or repaying a moral deed through protection from danger, the conceptualization of the *afterlife* as heaven remains relevant. The reward for faithful *servants* is entry into heaven. In the *afterlife*, the deceased are believed to be of service to God in his Kingdom. Supernatural means of protection as well as the

ghostly knowledge of future events is associated with the omnipotence of God and his *servants* in the *afterlife*. According to Navarro (2007), religion has generationally played an important cultural role in the way death is understood in Mexico:

“...the Catholic religion, and its ideological substructure, traverse discourse, and determines how we deal with the passing of family members, as much as the perception of phenomena like euthanasia.” (p.364) ⁴¹

Service, as a semantic subframe of *guardian* in GHOST AS A GUARDIAN, evokes a sense of motivation for the ghostly intervention. The blend element of *purpose* for the ghost visit to *real world* demonstrates the volition of the ghost. With the intentional and often effortful goal of guardianship, ghosts offer the service of protection to those who are in need (examples 18, 20, and 22) or deserving of protection (example 16). The *guardian* role sees ghosts comparatively more involved in the story as they physically guide, shield, and remove protagonists from dangers. The involvement of the ghost in the act of protecting correlates with the appearance of the ghost in a physical form. The ghost must physically intervene in order to protect, thereby requiring a corporeal or abstract metaphysical form (example 16). While ghosts do appear as spirits in the *guardian* role, their invisible presence manipulates properties of the natural world in order to provide safety. For example, the invisible spirit in example (16) shields the caller by acting as a form of physical barrier. The effort required in *guarding* from danger evidences ghostly intentionality, which illustrates the *purpose* for the visit.

Contemplating a supernatural entity, who provides intervention in the *real world* and is from the *afterlife* (heaven), brings to mind the concept of a *guardian ángel*. Given the cultural role of Christianity in México, it would seem likely that guardianship is associated not only with the dead, but also with celestial entities such as angels. Similar to ghosts, angels travel from the *afterlife* to the *real world* with the *purpose* of providing messages or protection. Further qualities such as omnipotent knowledge, vigilance, and concern are analogous to both supernatural entities. However, the distinction between the two is important to make in order to grasp the complexity of the conceptual structure of death and ghosts in the ghost stories. The following section will explore the *guardian angel* pattern as an extension of a generic *guardian* role in the data.

7.6 Guardian Angel

Upon close analysis of the *guardian* role, we encounter questions over how we label and group concepts. How do we classify the supernatural? How do we describe and differentiate the immaterial and formless? Previously in the analysis, we explored how similar concepts such as ghosts and spirits can be differentiated within the narratives. A supernatural *guardian* role brings into question the distinction between ghosts and *guardian angels*. Both evoke the semantic category of *supernatural* and are conceptually linked to the *afterlife*. What then makes two

⁴¹ “...la religion catolica, y su sustrato ideológico, atraviesa todos los fragmentos discursivos y determina tanto el afrontamiento del fallecimiento de familiares, como la percepción de otros fenómenos como la eutanasia.” (Navarro, 2007: p. 364)

seemingly analogous concepts such as ghosts and angels different in the way callers think and talk about their encounters? Consider the following:

(24) “Dijo “No, no estoy cansada, alguien me mando a cuidarte, alguien me mando cuidarte, y no me voy a separar de ti hasta que salgas de aquí”.

She said “No, I am not tired, someone sent me to take care of you, someone sent me to take care of you, and I will not separate from you until you leave here.”

In the above example, the narrator recounts the last few days of his father’s life in the hospital where he was attended to by a nurse only visible to his dying father. According to the father, the nurse is a beautiful blonde woman, thereby subverting the panic and terror of an interaction with a ghost or the supernatural.⁴² When encountered for the first time, the woman is understood to be a compassionate nurse and leaves no indication of being a ghost or supernatural entity. The nurse then does not represent a former living person as we have come to discern ghosts within the data. For the duration of his fifteen-day stay at the hospital, the narrator’s father is under the watchful eye of the nurse at all hours, leading up to his death.⁴³ She administers his medication, manages his treatment, and comforts the caller’s father, much to the bewilderment of the narrator and his family. The narrator describes his father’s calm disposition in announcing his death to his family when the nurse manifests to take him to the *afterlife*:

(25) ““Aquí está mi enfermera, ya me está esperando, ya me voy”. Se despidió de todos señor Rubén... Dio su último respiro y se fue mi padre, pero con un perfume, un perfume señor Rubén que dejó impregnado muy rico, no no no fuera de lo normal, olía muy bonito.

““My nurse is here, she is waiting for me, I am leaving now”. He said goodbye to everyone Mr. Rubén... He gave his last breath and my father left, but with an aroma, a wonderful permeated scent. It was out of the ordinary, it smelled so nice.”

Of note is the use of the metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE in conceptually structuring the language of death in the father’s farewell (*me voy*). The nurse reappears, calling him to the *afterlife*, which is met with resolve and tranquility by the father. Death understood as the irreversible conclusion to life proves to be a challenging topic for the bereaved and those facing their own mortality. The father however does not appear hysterical at the thought of his nearing expiration, but instead poised and ready for his “departure”. According to Gathigia (2017), the summons to the afterlife “is founded on the Christian belief that when one dies, one is assumed to have been called by God to go and rest in heaven.” (p. 230). The discursive allusions to divinity suggest heaven as the destination and the nurse as acting on behalf of a divine agency. The divine entity thus demonstrates *properties* of holiness evoked through the interventional

⁴² “El cuando empezó a hablar decía que había una enfermera, una enfermera guerita, de ojos claros, bonita que estaba a lado de él cuidándolo.”

“When he started to talk, he said there was a nurse, a blonde nurse, with light-colored eyes, very pretty and was by his side taking care of him.”

⁴³ “...y se me cuida Carlos, me cuida las veinticuatro horas no se mueve de aquí.”

“... and she takes care of me Carlos, she takes care of me twenty-four hours a day and she doesn’t leave my side.”

acts, supernatural qualities (exclusively appearing to and engaging with the protagonist's father), and association with the *afterlife* (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Celestial beings calling upon family members reflects moral discipline which is to be rewarded in the *afterlife*. Further, the divine entity functions on behalf of God representing his love, therefore, the entity is intrinsically holy.

The narrative brings into focus a challenge to what we have identified as characteristics and qualities of *real world* intervention from the *afterlife*. What clearly categorizes both entities as supernatural begins to highlight differences between ghosts and *guardian angels*. For example, encounters with ghosts are brief in duration and seldom re-encountered after the initial interaction. In the current example, the nurse remains close to the father over consecutive days, offering moral and medical support. Ghostly intervention puts in place a means of offering solutions to problems. The solution provided by ghosts are proven to have “*immediate, concrete, and admissible utility*” for the protagonist in the story (Bigliardi, 2016: p. 316). The nurse, however, does not offer a remedy for impending death; rather, acting as a guide facilitates the transition towards death, and in doing so, engenders great affection and ease of mind.⁴⁴ It would appear that *death* is a core element of our understanding of ghosts as a supernatural phenomena. This concept suggests that only those who have experienced death can reappear in the *real world* as ghosts or spirits. Whereas *holiness*, in contrast, is central to our understanding of the phenomenology of divine entities such as angels. The differences proves subtle, as we are not confused by the language that evokes the concept of the mysterious nurse as a *guardian angel* in the current example. A deeper analysis into the *supernatural* category reveals analogous concepts which conceptually structure both ghosts and angels.

(26) “Yo te voy a cuidar y tengo esa esa esa como se puede decir, misión de cuidar hasta que el señor te manda”.

“*I am going to take care of you, and I have that, how can I say, mission to take care of you until God calls for you.*”

Similar to ghosts, the example shows a conceptual preference for the *afterlife* conceived through the Judeo-Christian model, as God is suggested as the source calling the family member to heaven. Vigilance from the *afterlife* makes use of the conceptual metaphor HEAVEN IS UP. Ghosts and angels who are believed to reside in heaven are conceptually situated above us, as the ethereal *Kingdom of God* is understood to be skyward. This spatial configuration facilitates the deceased monitoring living descendants and angels guarding those who are in need. Conceptually, the *birds eye view* allows ghosts and angels to look down onto us and recognize the need for intervention. The role of *guardian* in this example conjures positive overtones partially through the associations with God and heaven. For believers, “his will” constitutes an eventuality, thereby the nurse’s pledge to take care of the caller’s father and his eventual death assume divine intentionality.

⁴⁴ “Decía “Una muchacha guerita, bajita una una muy simpática, hermosa hermosa la muchacha...”
“*He would say, “A young blonde girl, short very nice, a beautiful, beautiful young lady.”*”

We now must address the conceptual underpinnings of the deceased being referred to by divine association “ángel de mi primo” ,“a lo mejor o un ángel” (“*my cousin’s angel*”, “*perhaps it was an angel*”). According to the data, how are the ghosts of deceased loved ones likened to *guardian angels*? Ghosts functioning as *guardian angels* are produced through conceptual inferences of heaven via elaboration of ascribed holiness therein. The deceased, upon entering heaven and directly serving God, assume a status of divine servitude much like the concept of angels. While the callers show hesitation in identifying ghosts as divine beings, “mi abuelita dijo que posiblemente fue un ángel” (“*my grandmother said that it was possibly an angel.*”), the shared conceptual elements, *afterlife*, *real world*, and *purpose*, illuminate the cognitive associations. The concept of a deceased loved one as a *guardian angel* is comprehensible and “can be particularly useful to understand the interplay between creativity and entrenchment under very different conditions.” (Cánovas, p. 297, quoted in Díaz-Vera, 2014).⁴⁵ Further, this conceptualization is substantiated by the physiological mitigation of death, where our deceased continue in existence as holy celestial beings.

Beyond the patterns currently explored are those which are common to both the *messenger* and *guardian* roles. These patterns include similarities in discursive characterization, and the use of prevailing conceptual metaphors as mental patterns to frame encounters with spectral figures. The following sections analyze these patterns as well as the metaphorical reasoning models used by callers to describe or make sense of interactions with ghosts.

8. Ghosts within the narratives

The examination of the conceptual properties of ghosts demonstrate discursive similarities in the way in which ghosts seem to operate. Drawing on Bigliardi’s (2016) work on *La Santa Muerte’s* (Death) popularity via her intervention in human affairs, this section will address patterns of how ghosts operate at the level of discourse. It is worth noting that these observations reflect only the narratives collected for this analysis and not general patterns of ghost appearances.⁴⁶ Close examination of ghosts in the narratives collected exhibit the following discursive patterns that characterize ghosts:

- (A) Ghost/spirit visits are brief, cannot be anticipated, and can occur through sensory stimulation. Visits are motivated by circumstances; the manifestation of ghosts is unsolicited and interrupt an ordinary succession of events. The amazement characterizing the reaction to a ghost visit is a result of its unexpectedness, as the supernatural are not evoked through prayer or religious/cultural practice.
- (B) The messages offered by ghosts in the *messenger* role are within the real world of feasible events and, more importantly, not fantastical nor beyond reason. While

⁴⁵ In this instantiation the term “conditions” refers to the attributed element of holiness to the concept of our deceased, as opposed to other examples where callers refer to deceased entities as non-specific supernatural figures.

⁴⁶ This is not to be interpreted as a general claim suggesting everyone shares a uniform concept of ghosts. Instead I argue that we draw from similarity in analogical reasoning patterns structured by our knowledge of the domains of *life*, *death*, and *departure*.

interaction with a spectral entity challenges an understanding of human mortality, the information imparted by ghosts is grounded in *actionable* solutions. The interaction references prior or future events involving the protagonist or those close to them. Ghost solutions are pragmatic and achievable within the normative currents of daily life.⁴⁷

These patterns additionally point to an interpretation of the intervention as either a *favor* performed by the ghosts, or a *favor* performed by the protagonist on behalf of the ghost. This is substantiated not only by the interactions benefiting the protagonists, but the investment and concern which ultimately motivates the visits. This type of interaction gives rise to a perception of benevolent agency attributed to ghosts, which correlates with the positive overtones of the narratives. We understand favors as an act of kindness. When the ghost is a deceased family member, the favor reflects the responsibility family members share in protecting each other. When the ghost is an unknown stranger, favor is influenced by the moral character of the protagonist, implicit of the platitude: *good things happen to good people*. To this, Bigliardi (2016) suggests “...it seems easier to accept the narrative of a natural favour due to a supernatural agency than that of a supernatural event due to a supernatural agency” (p. 317). Bigliardi’s claim bears on the concept of favor being a result of moral worthiness or familial responsibility and how both contribute to the *believability* (legitimacy) of the encounters. It is not difficult for us to imagine the continual *well wishes* of our deceased, nor is it challenging to understand morality being rewarded. In the ghost stories of *La Mano Peluda*, it would appear that, for both the bereaved and the virtuous, to receive the favor of intervention is an extension of kindness. Bearing on this issue, noted philosopher and psychologist William James observed:

The truth is that in the metaphysical and religious sphere, articulate reasons are cogent for us only when our inarticulate feelings of reality have already been impressed in favor of the same conclusion. (1997: p.74)

9. DEATH IS SLEEP/REST

Ghosts and spirits are often encountered in vivid dreams or sleep-like states offering a direct channel for communication with the supernatural. Our ability to think of death in terms of sleep makes use of our experiential knowledge of the physiological effects of death (Marín-Arrese, 1996). During sleep, we are motionless, lying down, inattentive, and resting. Analogously, the dead are motionless, lying down, inattentive, and conceived as resting. Through mapping between the source domain *sleep* to the target domain *death*, metaphorical inferences are understood (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). In the example below, the host of *La Mano Peluda*, Don Ramón Saenz, explores the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP/REST.

(27) “...pues yo sí lo creo eh, que había recibido ese mensaje del más allá. Porque como son más sensibles los espíritus en el mundo espiritual puede pasar ese mensaje a través de los sueños. Se reciben se hacen caso o no.”

⁴⁷ Consider examples: 7, 13, and 14.

“...well I do believe that you had received a message from beyond. Since spirits are more attentive in the spiritual world they can send messages through dreams. They are received and are given attention or not.”

If ghosts/spirits represent the dead and the *afterlife*, and sleep is considered the closest human behaviour to approximate death, then sleep allows for contact with the unconscious, non-living world. Sleep and rest demonstrate a *cause-effect* relationship where the cause of rest is the effect of sleeping. Similarly, expressions like “En paz descansa” (“*rest in peace*”) demonstrate the cause of rest as the effect of death. Both *real world* and *afterlife* beings are in similar states and understood to be resting. Therefore, the ethereal dream world we enter in sleep is thought of as producing a sensibility in which one can interact with the *afterlife*. The examples below demonstrate how in dreams and sleep, figures and voices of the former living reappear for a brief moment as the protagonist rests.

(28) “... Yo estoy dormido, entre dormido y despierto escuchando que ya me debo de sentar a comer. Y en eso aparece mí abuelita...”

... I'm asleep, well in between being awake and being asleep and I'm hearing that I need to come, sit-down, and eat. And in that moment my grandmother appears...

(29) “Me quedé yo dormida ya a media noche me despierto, yo según yo desperté y vi a mi padre parado en la puerta.”

I was asleep, and around midnight, I wake up, or according to me I wake up and I saw my father standing at the door.”

(30) “...y que soñó a su hermano Miguel Ángel que le decía “Salte de aquí inmediatamente porque va pasar algo...”

...and he dreamt about his brother Miguel Ángel who was telling him “Leave here immediately because something is going to happen...”

The association between sleep and death by Spanish-speaking storytellers elaborate the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP/REST to produce a channel of communication grounded in the *death-like* qualities of sleep. The ghosts and spirits encountered during sleep do not cause fear; rather, they are welcomed by the protagonist as an opportunity to communicate with deceased loved ones. Similarly, the *afterlife* as the location where the deceased get to rest is described as an enjoyable place, as referenced by the deceased grandmother in section 6.1 “Sí mijito, aquí donde estoy las cosas están muy tranquilas, son muy padres.”⁴⁸ The positive overtones are attested in Matu’s et. al. (2012) investigation of DEATH IS REST in Eke Gusii:

In this conceptual mapping, death is viewed as a desirable condition in that the euphemistic substitutes portray death as a peaceful repose after an earthly existence. Thus, these euphemisms show a positive assessment or attitude towards death. (p. 1455)

Reflective of a larger cultural perspective, DEATH IS SLEEP/REST suggests the mitigation of the taboo subject of death (Crespo-Fernández, 2011). The conceptual metaphor

⁴⁸ *Yes my son, here where I am things are very calm and really cool.*

investigated in this section is one of the many common ways to think and talk about death. Heaven as the *final destination* is conceived as a reward for those capable of demonstrating a strong moral character. If morality is a requirement for entry into the *afterlife*, then it comes as no surprise that ghosts are described as performing positive acts or deeds. What surfaces in the ghost stories is an implicit negotiation and framing of moral issues. Narrators recount events where actions and decisions have consequences which could be fatal. Yet how does one negotiate moral issues with or about an entity whose “self-hood” is a challenge in itself? These matters will be examined in the following section. Specifically, how ghost storytellers encoded moral judgement in the data, and how such evaluation elaborates on the conceptualization of ghosts.

10. Moral Accounting

Questions of morality surround the phenomena of death, *the afterlife*, and ghosts. For example, to receive a solution to a real-world problem via supernatural encounter assumes moral integrity as a motivation for the intervention. It would appear that ghost intervention reflects the moral quality of either the deceased providing assistance or living persons receiving it. However, we are left wondering about questions which *hang in the balance* of human mortality. We look to examples like the following to gain insight.

(31) “Pues le voy a decir una cosa que dicen que todo se depende de su comportamiento de cada persona sus actos...como va morir alguien Señor Rubén.”

“Well I’ll tell you one thing, they say that it all depends on the behavior of every person and their actions... how someone will die Señor Rubén.”

Originally explored in *Moral Politics, How liberals and conservatives think, moral accounting* is a cognitive reasoning model where moral acts and deeds are conceived as building moral credit (Lakoff, 1997). Structured as an economic metaphor, moral accounting posits an even return on moral actions as Lakoff details:

By this conceptual mechanism, an action of moral import is conceptualized in terms of a financial transaction, with a moral interaction being metaphorically equivalent to a financial transaction, one in which the books are balanced. (1997: p. 45)

Just as the concept of “bookkeeping” is associated with a finance frame, we understand the importance of keeping the moral books *balanced* through moral deeds similar to *Karma* in the Buddhist tradition. Moral accounting occurs via various moral schemas: *reciprocity, restitution, retribution, altruism*, etc. Evident in the data is an experiential logic whereby performing good moral acts for others gains favor or reward as recompense. In the ghost stories, the concept follows a pattern in which the protagonists act morally towards a stranger (ghost) and are rewarded via protection from a destructive event. The same is true for strangers (ghosts) performing a moral act and the protagonists *paying off* debt through action or prayer. The examples below demonstrate moral accounting via *reciprocation* of good deeds. Both callers avoided automobile accidents as a result of their interactions with spectral figures. In the

examples, callers are reflecting on their encounter with the ghosts and making sense of the interaction via moral principles.

10.1 *Reciprocation*

Reciprocity implies a one-to-one correspondence between moral deed and moral debt. In other words, if I do something good for you, you “owe” me via moral action. This concept is structured by *the positive-action principle*, where “moral action is giving something of positive value;...”, and by *the debt-payment principle*, which highlights the importance of paying off moral debts and considers the inability to do so immoral (p. 47). Callers then construe their actions as moral/noble, to which the ghosts reciprocated with the moral action of protection from potentially fatal automobile accidents. According to the principles of reciprocation, the following examples demonstrate callers as agents of the moral actions and the ghosts are patients/recipients of said action.

(32) “...osea si yo me hubiera tratado mal con ella, pues este igual en el choque nos matamos no? Entonces como yo fui uno de los que se portó de cierta manera bien con ella, este pues me cuidó, y pues este no dejó que pasara nada.”

“...well if I would have treated her poorly, well I probably would have died in the car accident right? But because I was the one who treated her well, she took care of me and she did not let anything happen to me.”

(33) “No porque como yo hice un bien, son personas que te agradecen no? El no haber cobrarle a su hijo, el llevarla, y ser paciente no?”

“No, since I did something good, they are grateful people right? Since I didn’t charge her son, to take her (to the hospital), and being patient right?”

Of note is how the *positive-action and debt-payment principles* of reciprocation facilitate the GHOST AS A GUARDIAN role. *Balancing the books* in these examples means ghosts exploit their transient *traveler* associations to intervene temporarily in order to avoid a harmful situation. The intervention is then recognized as the ghosts returning the *positive-action* performed by the callers via protection. Protection is a core semantic element of the guardian frame, hence the ghostly visitors are conceptualized as guardians in these examples. However, ghosts can initiate the moral action of protecting or guarding the protagonist from harm. The examples below demonstrate the ghosts as agents of the moral interaction and the callers as patients or beneficiaries of said action. The callers describe how they “paid off” the moral debt:

(34) “Yo lo único que hice fue dedicarle mucho tiempo de mi oración a la niña y me sentí tranquilo.”

“The only thing I did was to dedicate a lot of prayer time to the little girl, and that made me feel calm.”

(35) “Sabes que amigo, lo que hiciste de verdad te lo agradezco porque pues no me tocaba. Pero dime lo que te hace falta para que puedes irte a descansar.”... Estoy muy muy agradecido con el...”

“You know what my friend, I am very grateful for what you did because well it wasn’t my time. But tell me what you need so that you can go and rest.”...I am very grateful for him.

The examples allude to a moral deed performed by the ghost which is “...conceptualized metaphorically as giving something of positive value...” and benefitting the callers (p. 52). The protagonists recognize the good deed and are compelled to do what they can to reciprocate the moral action. Prayer, as the reciprocated moral deed, illustrates the conceptual elaboration of an *afterlife* associated with God. In example 25, asking a ghost how one could be of help conceives ghosts/spirits as: 1. omnipresent and communicative and 2. in need of assistance/soliciting help. Reciprocation with a ghost in this example is then only a matter of asking how one could “pay off” the moral debt. Of note are how the conceptual metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS, DEATH IS REST, and DEATH IS DEPARTURE are used in evaluating how to reciprocate the moral deed.

10.2 *Reward and punishment*

A ghost appearance can serve a function of evaluating the moral conduct of the protagonist. The appearance of need and vulnerability can compromise the moral integrity of those in a position of power. The difference within the narratives is often those in need are the supernatural, and the supernatural as authority figures are to be obeyed and respected. Inability to maintain moral standards results in discipline by the spectral figures. The following examples demonstrate the *reward and punishment* moral schema found in the data. According to Lakoff (1997), “Rewards and punishments are moral acts; giving someone an appropriate reward or punishment balances the moral books.” (p. 52). The ghost in the following example presents as a young vulnerable woman who ultimately rewards the protagonist (a taxi driver) for his chivalrous conduct.⁴⁹ The woman hails his cab, requesting only a ride home; in doing so, the narrator offers her his coat and drives her home safely. Later, the ghost compensates the narrator with protection from a potentially dangerous event. In the example, however, the protagonist recounts the lore of other taxi drivers who have tried to take advantage of her during the ride.

(36) “Pero que crees, a cada taxista, ósea de la que le aparecen, intentan a tocarla, y abusar de ella y se le convierta la cabeza en caballo. Y les pone una santa tranquizza Don Rubén, que los deja un mes en cama.”

“But guess what, when she appears to other taxi drivers and they try to touch and abuse her, her head transforms into that of a horse. And she gives them a holy beating Don Rubén, that leaves them bedridden for a month.”

According to the principles of *reward and punishment*, paying heed to the orders or agency of a spectral figure is understood as a way in which moral debt can be paid off. The example alludes to the punishment of immoral conduct that is the result of the disobedience of

⁴⁹ The cab driver, offers his coat to the young woman who appeared cold. He quietly takes her to her destination and realizes she forgot to ask for his coat back. He returns the following day only to learn that the woman had been dead for over twenty years. He then goes to visit her grave only to find his coat on top of her grave which is permeated by the scent of jasmine and assumes that the interaction potentially saved him from a disastrous event.

the request. Disobedience is seen as an inability to pay the moral debt, therefore, immoral. Punishment is then a means of balancing the books, as it is construed as a moral action which in essence “pays off” the moral debt. The legend of the young woman holds she was raped and murdered many years ago and now seeks to punish transgressors.⁵⁰ Through inferences and entailments of moral schemas, we can begin to see associations between *moral accounting* and *fairness* and *justice*. *Justice* enacted posthumously by the deceased young woman maintains a moral equilibrium, where violators are punished and the noble are protected from unfortunate events.

10.3 Heaven

According to the data, the conceptualization of ghosts activates cultural knowledge of death and the *afterlife* which, exemplified in the caller narratives, draws on religious ideas. If heaven is the *final destination* and reward for believers of the Judeo-Christian tradition, then moral schemas must enter into our understanding of the *afterlife* (Crespo-Fernández (2013). As Lakoff (1992) observes:

*...one common interpretation of the Judeo-Christian tradition rests on the metaphor of Moral Accounting, on the ideas of reward and punishment, and on the two principles of positive action and debt-payment.*⁵¹ (p. 53)

In this interpretation, God is seen as the central authority figure and religious interdictions are to be observed and obeyed. Therefore, entering his kingdom is a result of moral and virtuous commitment to the word of God. Gomola (2016) bares on this issue by identifying the moral schemas of retribution and restitution in Christian scriptures. Gomola argues that conceptual blending and moral accounting have structured the Christian idea of salvation, which has shaped the Christian doctrine (p. 213). The ghosts of deceased family members are construed to be of moral character, as they have been awarded entry into the *Kingdom* and thus demonstrate benevolence. The concept of heaven is then a reward for the moral action of obedience to the divine authority. This is then representative of the *reward and punishment* system where subservience to authority and the payment of moral debts are central. The *reward and punishment schema* are suggestive of *strict father morality* (Lakoff, 1996) or *the patriarchal schema* (Counted, 2015) where God commands “...his creatures with moral obedience” (p. 2).

10.4 Cultural reinforcement of acceptable behavior

Inherent in the narratives are morality lessons imparted via moral schemas. Callers present examples where good deeds are moral, therefore reciprocated, and disobedience/ lack of moral action is immoral and punished. Schuettler (2007) argues:

⁵⁰ “Que crees, esta muchachita hace muchos años la mataron, la violaron y anda penando.”

“Would you believe, this young woman was raped and murdered many years ago, and now she haunts and punishes.”

⁵¹ In this quote Lakoff references another common interpretation of Christianity which places more emphasis on God’s grace over his authority. This interpretation is more reflective of *the nurturing parent* model. (SEE Lakoff, 1992)

Folklore, myth, and other narrative traditions then take on a conservative role as the maintainers and enforcers of conformity to “the accepted patterns of behavior”. By accepting a folktale as a depiction of a society’s values and mores, one would equate acceptable behavior with the lessons that the story portrays. (p. 189)

Moral conduct is evaluated culturally and in the data it is explored through ghostly interactions with deceased loved ones, spirits, or supernatural entities. The stories serve as cautionary tales of immorality/punishment, and virtue/reward. This suggests that the experiential correlations between moral/immoral action and *reward (reciprocity)/ punishment (retribution)* support a cultural conditioning of moral behavior. In his research on conceptual metaphors in horror film, Winter (2014) explored the related effects of metaphorical representations in films. His findings are in consonance with Schuettler (2007), who identifies “Reinforcing and maintaining” as culturally prevalent metaphors used to induce fear within horror films (Winter, 2014: 164).⁵² It becomes apparent that encoded within each ghost story narrative is a moral lesson which strengthens a cultural perception of moral behavior. Moral accounting in regards to the data then preserves and supports cultural attitudes by reinforcing cognitive associations between actions and outcomes and deeds and justice.

Through *moral accounting*, we are able to explore the conceptual network of associations which are evoked in the ghost stories of *La Mano Peluda*. However, analyzing how linguistic structures in the data reflect cognitive models of understanding presumes a much broader cultural understanding of the phenomena of death, the *afterlife*, and ghosts/spirits. I will now turn my attention to examine the cognitive *cultural models* which inform the linguistic structures of the Mexican Spanish speaking storytellers.⁵³ The following section will explore societal attitudes and beliefs within México which contribute to the way callers think and talk about death and ghosts/spirits.

11. Cultural models

The ghost stories of *La Mano Peluda* are shaped by and reflective of the cultural and societal attitudes towards the phenomena of death and ghosts. Lakoff (1990) posits, “Truth is relative to the metaphorical conceptual systems of a culture.” (p. 193). Therefore, *cultural models* provide a conceptual representation of societal life which contributes to our ability to talk about and understand different domains of knowledge (Holland & Quinn, 1987). The purpose of the following section is to explore the *cultural models* that structure the narratives by callers of *La Mano Peluda*.⁵⁴ Specifically, how do the views and attitudes of a group of people form a cogent conceptual understanding of death, *the afterlife*, and ghosts? In order to arrive at a sense

⁵² These metaphors include “*EVIL IS DOWN*”, “*EVIL IS DARK*”. The author argues that seeing these metaphors expressed visually makes “...them more tangible and perhaps more memorable.” (Winter, 2014: p. 164).

⁵³ According to Lakoff & Kovecses (1987) *cultural models* “...make use of imaginative mechanisms - metaphor, metonymy, and abstract scenarios.” but do not solely rely on human imagination as “...they can be motivated by the most concrete of things, bodily experience.” (quoted in Holland & Quinn, 1987: p.221).

⁵⁴ Balaban (1997) refers to cultural models as “...cognitive schemata that are shared by a cultural group.”(p. 127) (SEE D’Andrade 1990).

of what informs such a *cultural model*, histories, cultural practises, folklore, and phenomenology will be analyzed.

11.1 The influence of pre-hispanic México

According to the *Political database of the Americas*, México has the largest indigenous population of any Latin American country (*Indigenous Peoples, Democracy and Political Participation / Pueblos Indígenas, Democracia y Participación Política*, 2006).⁵⁵ It would then seem reasonable that remnants of indigenous practices and folklore remain relevant in the Mexican concept of death and the *afterlife* as investigated by other authors (Portocarreo, 2012, Wrigley, 2011, Schuettler, 2007, Navarro, 2007, Brandes, 1997, Margarita et. al., 2009). Indigenous creation myths posit a notion of death bringing new life via regeneration, which suggests a cyclical and fluid nature to the concept of human mortality (Wrigley, 2011). DEATH IS DEPARTURE and STATES ARE LOCATIONS conceptually structure the Aztec belief in the many different *afterlives* one can be fated to (Margarita et. al., 2009). Moreover, *earthly transcendence* becomes a central element in an early *cultural model* of death. The abrupt arrival of the Church ended many indigenous spiritual/religious practices, as the Catholic hierarchy established dominance a mere 26 years after conquering the capital of the Aztecs (Torres, 2000). However, within many early Meso American tribes, offerings were dedicated to the deceased, a ceremony that continues to be observed and maintains ancestral roots in modern practises (Brandes, 1997).

11.2 *Día de los Muertos*

México's most well known annual festivity is *Día de los Muertos* ("Day of the Dead"). Over the course of two days, the spirits and souls of deceased family members are celebrated, honored and believed to visit family. Altars (*ofrendas*) are meticulously arranged, vigils are held, and tombstones are adorned in honor of the dead as food is prepared for the visit. The tombstones of the deceased serve as a *material anchor* for the departed person (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). *Material anchors* are physical material structures which are associated with the concepts of a blended space, in this case death, dying, transcendence, etc. (Hutchins, 2003). Therefore, if a grave is where one would find a deceased loved one, then a tombstone is the material structure which acts as a tangible referent for the deceased. The association between a deceased person and their corresponding tombstone, allows the dead to become available to the bereaved. Tombstones as a *material anchor* for the dead then gives rise to cultural practises such as bringing flowers, singing songs, communicating with the dead and similar traditions observed during *Día de los Muertos*.

While I would argue that most do not believe spirits/souls or ghosts actually visit family members during *Día de los Muertos*, the belief in *ghosts/spirits* and *moral responsibility* are

⁵⁵ It is worth noting that México has the lowest percentage of indigenous peoples in regards to the total nation population. In this regard, Bolivia has the largest percentage of indigenous peoples in regards to total national population (*Indigenous Peoples, Democracy and Political Participation / Pueblos Indígenas, Democracia y Participación Política*, 2006).

evoked during the jovial celebration of the dead. The deceased family members are the *travelers* making the trip to the *real world* and our *responsibility* is to honor them according to principles of moral authority and models of family hierarchy.⁵⁶ The vibrant bright colors, the adorned sugar skulls, and orante pageantry of the celebration creates a sense of levity concerning death while maintaining a reverence for it. On this topic, former director of the *Instituto Nacional Indignista* Miguel Limón Rojas holds:

...the Mexican does not invite death, does not want to die, but perhaps because of our indigenous origin we accept it as an unavoidable phenomenon, which is an implicit consequence of life; and for that reason, the Mexican tries to ingratiate himself with death, be death's friend and accept death with the naturalness that this phenomenon bears.

(quoted in Brandes, 1997: p. 274).

11.3 Folklore/Phenomenology

Woman and the supernatural in Mexican folklore/phenomenology have a history of being modeled after archetypal roles and female stereotypes. Women as the maternal divine figure (*Virgen Maria/ Virgin Mary, angels*), the hysterical seeking atonement (*La Llorona*), or the treacherous deity of Death. Death personified as *La Santa Muerte* in Mexican culture is a female, “non-canonical” saint commonly depicted as similar in resemblance to The Grim Reaper (Bigliardi, 2016: p. 313). She is worshipped through prayer and petition in exchange for her intervention, which is thought to provide immediate solutions. Representing death proves *La Santa Muerte's* infallibility, as “her deeply ambiguous nature makes for interpretation of circumstances constantly favourable to her.” (p. 319). Worship of Death for believers of *La Santa Muerte* demonstrates a cultural reverence and acceptance of *supernaturalism* (Bigliardi, 2016).

The myth of *La Llorona* (“*The weeping woman*”) is a tale of a woman who drowned her children out of spite of her partner’s infidelity (Portocarrero, 2012). Overwhelmed by the guilt caused by her *immoral* act, she kills herself. It is believed that she appears at night, weeping and looking for her children. The folklore of *La Llorona* highlights the intentionality motivating ghostly appearances. In searching for her children, the sense of purpose is linked with ghosts; motivation becomes a factor in making sense of ghost appearances. Children are warned by parents that she can appear and take them as she searches for her own. A sighting of or interaction with *La Llorona* is believed to have ominous or potentially deadly results.

Folktales and myths about ghosts in the domain of popular culture and public discourse shape the consensus views and attitudes on death and the *afterlife*. An ontology of “nested cultural models” for morality, religion, external forces, family, resolve, causation, events, purpose, and others substructure a collective understanding of ghosts within the tradition of

⁵⁶ These models would suggest family elders are to be respected and obeyed as authority figures. The responsibility to these members of the family are carried over in the *afterlife* as evidenced in *Día de los Muertos* traditions such as: *ofrendas*, decorating tombstones, etc.

ghosts and the supernatural in Mexico (Quinn, 1987: p.189). The cultural models are reflected in the data as is demonstrated in the following examples:

(37) “Yo pienso que es porque dicen que se vienen a despedir cuando no llegan a verlos en vida. Yo pienso que alcanzan a despedir.”

“I think that’s why they say that they (deceased loved ones) come and say goodbye when they didn’t get the chance to in life. I think they are able to say goodbye.”

(38) Y se me hizo padrisimo que pudiera contactar a mí abuelita aunque mi abuelita tuvo una pues sí posesión de mí cuerpo para poder comunicarse con mí hermana...”

“And I thought it was awesome that I was able to contact my grandmother even though she took possession of my body in order to communicate with my sister.”

Both examples ascribe models of purpose and causation to the concept of ghosts. Ghosts are thought of as external agentive forces which act upon the protagonist in order to complete an objective. Both examples engender positive evaluation, as investment and concern are central to the motivating purpose of the visit. The similarities amongst the ghosts stories of *La Mano Peluda* point to the shared beliefs and attitudes of death and the supernatural. A society whose cultural heritage evokes life and death with fluidity from ancestral roots, levity through celebrations of the deceased, and reverence for the dead through devotional practise. Lastly, I would argue that the cultural presence of supernatural entities in México does not demystify ghosts; rather, it contributes understanding to the complexity of the phenomena through conceptual elaboration.

12. Conclusion

This investigation analyzed the language of Spanish-speaking ghost stories and what it reveals about the way narrators think and talk about death, the afterlife, and ghosts. Given the abstract and conceptual nature of death, I identified the pervasive conceptual metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE as anchoring the concept of death and ghosts. Implementing DEATH IS DEPARTURE, I proposed a blending model for how narrators conceptualize ghosts as a means of furthering our investigation into how they function within the stories. From this, two characterizing patterns of understanding were revealed: GHOST AS A MESSENGER and GHOST AS A GUARDIAN. Based on the blending model, the analysis of the *messenger* and *guardian* roles demonstrated a conceptual preference for the *afterlife* as understood through the Christian idea of heaven. It can be concluded that religious concepts structure not only the way callers understand death, the afterlife, and ghosts, but also moral responsibility and reward. The results show that while ghosts may be challenging to describe, the language regarding ghosts demonstrates conventional patterns of thought which draw on societal and religious influences.

While these results account for only the ghost stories compiled for the current investigation, questions of a comprehensive conceptualization of ghosts and the supernatural remain unanswered. I would argue that many patterns explored in this work could be extended to stories of nefarious and malevolent ghost encounters. However, there are clear limitations to making such generalizing claims; primarily, the data shows positive connotations in regards to

the encounters. This of course would not hold for stories of hauntings, possessions, or demonic activity, which draw on a different domain of knowledge within the Christian model. I would argue that such ghost stories conceptually draw on associations between immorality and a dark source hell/Satan. The blending model, however, illustrates a basic mapping schema for ghosts, flexible enough to account for broader applications such as supernatural meaning making.

The implications of the current study are attributed to a novel approach towards the study of death and phenomenology. In highlighting elements of each domain of knowledge, the blending model provides a cogent representation of the human capacity to create meaning through similarity and analogy. Central to this investigation are the discursive techniques callers use in describing encounters with supernatural entities, not to prove or disprove the existence of ghosts. It is the language of the narratives which best demonstrates the conceptual underpinnings of abstract concepts like death, the *afterlife*, and ghosts. Yet to better understand how we use our experiential knowledge and intuition to organize complex concepts, empirical investigation through quantitative research could provide evidence to support conceptual models. Survey as well as correlation research would evidence which domains of knowledge are evoked in thinking about death and ghosts. Empirical data on the correlation between ghost encounters and economically depressed and neglected communities could further elaborate on the notion of justice through moral accounting. Finally, greater focus on activation of frame semantics in the ghost stories would explain the network of associations and internal relationships between abstract concepts.

The language of the Spanish-speaking ghost storytellers is rich with cultural insights into how we understand human mortality. By proposing a cognitive model which incorporates the concept of mortality, this investigation illuminates how abstract concepts are evoked and processed according to the data. The research has demonstrated how a cultural belief system is integrated in a comprehensive understanding of the termination of life and the belief in an afterlife. Additionally, by teasing apart analogous concepts such as ghosts, spirits, and angels, the research identifies characteristics which are specific to each phenomena. By analyzing patterns discovered in the data, we are provided with an argument for flexibility of blending in accounting for the supernatural.

The findings of this study support the suggested influence of religion within the cultural concept of death in México explored in Hernández (2000) and Navarro (2007). Further, the narrative genre of ghost storytelling elaborates on Dundes' (1999) argument of folklore as a tool to conserve cultural values and principles. The oral narratives posit moral takeaways which shape our understanding of how positive and negative events or actions occur. Though the argument could be made that ghost stories can draw on motifs from folklore, the ghost stories collected are personal experiences, therefore processed through a personal understanding of the phenomena of death. The analysis shows how conceptual metaphor and blending can integrate and strengthen analysis through mutually supported theories of mapping through analogical reasoning. It is the human mind which organizes networks of associations in real time to

facilitate meaning making. While the results are instant, examining the process allows for insight into the way we interact with the world.

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Appendix:

A.1 Transcription of calls

It is worth noting, the phone calls were transcribed verbatim, which includes all speech disfluencies. *DR* in the transcription stands for *Don Ramón Saenz's* who often asks clarifying questions as a means of further probing the caller. Not all of the callers names are provided, however the ones which are discernable are included.

La Mano Peluda (Unexpected Death) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (27)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Gi4sXWKeo8&t=1182s&list=WL&index=21>

Begins at 5:30 minutes

Umberto - "...dice mi esposa a los dos dias que regrese "Oyes que crees?" le dije "Que paso?". Me dice "Que se mató pues el esposo de tu hermana". Le dije "Como crees?" me dice "Si". Y el se mato en el baño de la casa de mi mama. Este... el se ahorcó allí...En julio de hace tres años , a mi me asaltaron señor Juan Ramón...En ese asalto, haga de cuenta a mi me metieron treinta puñaladas. Traigo de lo que es el glúteo derecho... en este tramo tengo treinta puñaladas. Cuando a mi esas personas me habían (unrecognizable speech sounds) bueno no me dijeron que era un asalto me metieron la primer puñalada y me avientan para atrás. El que venía sentado a lado de mi este, se pasa al volante. Y en el momento que me empiezan acostar en la parte trasera de carro, volteo hacia el asiento del copiloto. Y yo, haga de cuenta que vi al cara de esposo de mi hermana, que en paz descanse... El ya tenia mas de medio año de fallecido. En ese momento... siento algo pesado encima de mi. Algo que me callo haci encima y yo trataba de buscarlo o asi pero yo ya no lo veia. Haga de cuenta que en un lapso de tres horas que me habían paseando, este me dieron esas treinta puñaladas

Ya llegue al hospital, me sacaron radiografias. Pero en la radiografía, yo no soy así muy voluminoso peso sesentitres kilos. Pero en la radiografía haga de cuenta que sale lo que es mi cuerpo y se ve algo una otra persona se ve algo así como voluminoso encima de mi. Y ya estando allí en el hospital empiezo hablar con mi esposa. Le digo "Oyes sabes que mira me paso esto yo veía, yo vi a este Miguel" le digo "En el carro".... Le dije "Es que estas muy tranquila". Ella me decía que en el mismo horario que a mi me asaltaron... que ella de repente vio a una persona en el en la ventana que da para la calle y que la veía muy desesperada. Dice mi señora que le veía la cara así como que le quería decir algo...como que me quiere decir algo. Y mi esposa regresa al cuarto y dice... en el sueño dijo que escuchó que le decía "Mira tu esposo tuvo un accidente. No te preocupes tu esposo esta bien". Dice "Yo lo ayude para que no le pasara nada, pero tu esposo esta bien"...

Me dice la doctora "Mira no sé quién viene contigo, pero cuando salgas de aquí le tienes que ir a dar gracias porque pues no te dejo morir"... Y un día asi como sentado le dije "Sabes que amigo, lo que

hiciste de verdad te lo agradezco porque pues no me tocaba. Pero dime lo que te hace falta para que puedes irte a descansar.”... Estoy muy muy agradecido con el...”

La Mano Peluda (The Woman in White) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (42)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fbWh_OCfIE&list=WL&index=24

Isabel - “...Fallece mi papá, pero después de que falleció ya cuando estábamos dormidos oíamos como arrastraban los pies y con el bastón golpeaba el piso. Salimos al pasillo y no había nadie... Y así sucedían cosas seguidas. Me quedé yo dormida ya a media noche me desperté, yo según yo desperté y vi a mi padre parado en la puerta. Mi papá estaba parado en la puerta con su hermano mayor, mi papá era el más chico de diez hermanos y estaba parado con el más mayor quien era el que los había cuidado... porque este hermano ya falleció hace treinta años antes de mi papá. Y estaba con mi papá y lo tenía agarrado de un brazo y el otro mi papá se sostenía del bastón. Yo voltee a la puerta y dije “Papá que está haciendo aquí?” pero no me dio miedo “ya falleciste”. Pero el no me contestó nada el que me contestó fue mi tío me dice “Es que el está muy preocupado por tú mamá”. Dije “Papito mi mamá está bien”. Entonces mi tío le dice a mi papá “Ya ves tú esposa está bien, vámonos”. Pero mi papá no decía ni una palabra. Mi papá giro me dio la espalda y se fue por un túnel oscuro oscuro y me fui yo detrás de ellos. Pero iban a una velocidad y yo conciente que estaba el ya había fallecido... Al otro día en la mañana me levanto (unrecognizable speech sounds) de tanto llorar estaba mi mamá en la cocina inyectándose su insulina... Dice “Oye hija sí te digo algo me lo crees?” Le digo “Que mamá?” Dijo “Anoche vino tú papá”. Me quedé yo fría le digo “Como mamá?” dijo “Fijate que yo estaba acostada, dormida, no fue sueño, fijate que estaba dormida volteada hacia la ventana... y sentí como tú papá se acostó detrás de mí y me abrazo fuerte fuerte y me quito la almohada y se la puso el. Le dije “No este Domingo dame mi almohada. Me levanto la cabeza y me puso la almohada”. No pues yo me quedé fría era demasiada coincidencia que mi papá nos había visitado en el mismo tiempo a mi mamá y a mí. Y mi mamá entró en un estado de coma exactamente cuando mi papá cumplió un año, el veintitres de enero noventaiocho, y el veinticinco de enero del noventaiocho murió mi mamá. Entonces yo pienso que mi papá vino por mi mamá...”

La mano peluda - La advertencia de la abuela

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WxNxIISM3eY&list=WL&index=25>

Antonio - “... Yo estoy dormido, entre dormido y despierto escuchando que ya me debo de sentar a comer. Y en eso aparece mi abuelita... y me toca el pecho. Y me dice “Mijito, mijito despiertate”. Y en eso le digo “Que paso abuelita, como estas?”. Mi abuelita ya tenía como seis años desde que falleció. Que me dice “Es que estoy muy preocupada mijo.” Le dije que “Abuelita no te preocupes.” Entonces siento como me toca el pecho, y empiezo hablarle a mi hermana. Pero lo que yo decía era lo que mi abuelita estaba diciendo. Ósea mi abuelita en ese momento tomó posesión de mi cuerpo y empecé a hablarle a mi hermana. Diciéndole “Nayeli, Nayeli soy yo. Soy tú este soy tú abuelita”. Yo le dije “Abuelita esperame.” porque se siente raro no? “Llame le por favor llámale a tú hermana. Estoy muy preocupada”... Yo le decía “Nayeli es mi abuela ven.” Pues mi hermana le dio miedo y pensó que la iba espantar. Entonces le digo “No viene abuelita no viene.” Dice “vuelve le a llamar.”... “Haber abuela no viene tiene miedo. Así es mi hermana es bien miedosa.” “Bueno dile que se cuide mucho ella y dile a su esposo que no salga hoy... Por favor dile que no salga hoy.” Yo le dije “Sí yo le digo”. “Y por favor que se cuide mucho es que estoy muy preocupada.” Le dije “Ok abuelita pero me dio mucho gusto saber de ti.” Dijo

“Sí mijito, aquí donde estoy las cosas están muy tranquilas, son muy padres.” Bueno total me desperté le dije a mí hermana “Oyes por que eres miedosa te estaba hablando.” Me dijo “No es que pensé que me ibas a espantar o algo.” Entonce lo platico con mí chica le digo lo que había pasado no?... Entonce mí cuñado iba salir en la noche y le dije “Sabes que mí abuelita me dijo que no salieras. Es muy necesario que salgas con tus amigos?” me dijo “No sí es la reunión del fin del año.” Le dije “Bueno, yo te digo que te cuides mucho.” Total sale, sale mí cuñado yo aquí lo espero en la casa tú casa cuando gustes señor Rubén. Y este yo te digo porque mí abuelita vino a avisarme no? Llega en la madrugada mí cuñado Don Rubén, como eso de las cuatro de la mañana. Llega con un círculo completo en la sien, rojo rojo como sí le hubieran puesto un encendedor de carro. Y le digo “Oye que te paso?” Llega todo no tembloroso sino sacado de onda... Ya me cuenta mí cuñado que estaban en un bar y un tipo llegó y se hicieron de palabras. El tipo sacó la pistola se lo puso en la cabeza y que la pistola se encasquilla. Pero dejó completamente el círculo del cañon se lo marcó. De hecho todavía lo sigue teniendo en la sien. Entonce le digo “Ves, te dije que mí abuelita se contacto conmigo y me dijo que no salieras eso era la preocupación de mí abuelita que iban a matar a mí cuñado... Y para mí me dio mucho gusto porque te digo un vez más que aparte de este mundo plano digo physico hay un mundo espiritual no? Y se me hizo padrisimo que pudiera contactar a mí abuelita aunque mí abuelita tuvo una pues sí posesión de mí cuerpo para poder comunicarse con mí hermana...”

La mano peluda - Relatos (10 Febrero 2017)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_2f3hO24yE&list=WL&index=30&t=264s

Begins at 3:00 minutes

Omar - “...el veintisiete de este mes cumple un año mí padre de fallecido...Venía yo bajando las escaleras de la misma casa donde te cuento lo del anterior... Tengo su retrato allí en el (unrecognizable speech sounds) pues con imagenes no? Y me lo quedo viendo y empiezo a hablar con él no? A decirle “A papá pues que falta me haces, ya sabes. Pero bueno aquí te dejo las luces prendidas y al rato regreso.” porque me fui a casa de mí novia para pasar el año nuevo. Cuando termino de bajar las escaleras, me callen dos cabellos blancos en el brazo derecho. Yo en ocasiones le llegue a cortar el cabello de mí padre. Yo conozco su cabello y no me explico de donde cayó osea del techo. Guarde los cabellito los puse en una copita y los metí en la vitrina. Son cosas que no me explico... Sentí bonito... “Aquí estoy”...Sí lo sentí ese día sí dije “Sí eres tú eres tu ya lo se.”... Y me quedó muy claro este año nuevo que paso esto.”

La Mano Peluda (11 Tales of terror) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (91)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mNNEL9F6Sxo&index=30&list=WL>

Begins at 28:00 minutes

Luis - “...Ira para esto, mí abuelo falleció cuando mí mamá tuvo quince años. Ya total pasó como dos o tres meses y el se le manifestó. Has de cuenta que mí mamá se puso mala. Y se fueron dos matrimonios a Guadalajara y una señora se subió acostar y al momento que la señora estaba ya acostada sentio como pues cuando se sienta en su cama. Y le preguntó sí era su esposo ella volteo y le dijo “No te espantes soy yo el Chato.” Y la señora que quedó así como calmada. Y le dijo “Te quiero pedir un favor, mí hija la Chata está mala. Necesito que le vayas a decir que las medicinas están detrás de la puerta de tal cuarto.” Y la señora pues no pudo dormir, y al otro día su esposo surgió a su esposo “Sabes que vámonos a México, porque se me apareció el Chato y me dijo esto y esto.” Entonces la señora llegaron aquí a México y fueron a ver mí abuelita y a mí mamá. Y le dijeron a mí abuelita “Sabes que se me apareció el Chato, me

dijo que la niña estaba mala y las medicinas para que se componga la niña están en una caja debajo de equis cosa detrás de la puerta.” Y mí abuelita así como que dijo “No cierto” no? En eso van a ver y sí todo estaba allí como él lo dijo. Y ella se le se le, en la espalda como dice que sintió un peso muy fuerte entonces dijo “Sabes que llévame al panteón a llevarle flores.” Y dice la señora cuando ya entraron al panteón se le quitó el peso que tenía y le llevaron las flores a mí abuelito... Y a poco tiempo los hermanos de mí mamá tenían como tres años y estaban en la cocina así como un patio. Y en eso el niño empezó a gritar “Chata, Chata papá.” Y mí mamá dice que vio así no más unos pies se empezaron a elevar...”

La Mano Peluda - La Abuelita que Asusta

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S3gMp2lligU&index=33&list=WL>

“... en la presa nueva, ahí vivía mi mamá. Mí abuelita Lupita decía que mí abuelo en paz descanse seguido se le aparecía y que le decía que preparaba todo porque ya iba ir el por ella. La primera vez que se le apareció, le dijo que fuera a pagarle un dinero que le debía a un compadre. Mí abuelita fue a preguntarle al compadre sí esto era cierto. Pues el compadre le afirmó que sí, pero el desde que el momento que mí abuelito murió, el ya le había perdonado ese dinero. Que mejor con ese dinero le mandara hacer unas misas. Entonces después también falleció un compadre también de mí abuelita. Este se le apareció y le encomendaba mucho a su ahijada que a falta de papas/padrinos. Entonces esto se le va platicando mí abuelita a mí mamá. Entonces como que mí mamá no creía que a mí abuelita se le aparecían pues seguido muertos. Mí mamá un día le dijo “Yo quiero saber el día que alguien se muera que yo conozca antes que yo, yo quiero que venga y que me aparezca”. Mí abuelita solo se le quedó viendo y se sonrió. En eso ella le platico que sí ella no llegaba a pagar dos mandas que ella debía envida, que ellos hicieran el favor de pagarla. Pues mí prima se iba casar como a dos meses, en eso mí abuelita se enfermó de gravedad y ese día se murió... En eso dijo mí mamá que sintió que se le bajo el colchón y empezó a ver la silueta de mí abuelita jamás le vio la cara. Entonce mí abuelita le pregunto que sí todavía seguía en lo dicho de que sí se iba casar. Mí mamá pues no pudo contestar la porque se le hizo un nudo en la garganta. Mí mamá le contestaba pues por la mente... Bueno pues ya que mí mamá vio que mí abuelita se sentó en el colchón pues le digo que le preguntó si seguía en lo dicho... Pues mí mamá en la mente le contestó que sí. También le dijo que ella más que nada se le aparecía para agradecerle que haya pagado sus dos mandas... Pues ya mí abuelita le dijo que muchas gracias y que pues ella lo que les encomendaba que todos se vieran como hermanos y se les fue desvaneciendo...”

La mano peluda - La muerte le dio un mensaje importante sobre su padre

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i4BhEJSSHZQ&list=WL&index=34>

Arturo - “... Hace siete años mí papá se enfermó aquí en la clínica noventiuno de aquí de (unrecognizable speech sounds). Entonces yo lo cuidaba...En eso yo subo en el elevador, como mí papá estaba en el cuarto piso en el segundo piso se para el elevador y se sube una señora pero todo de negro así. Me dice “Buenas noches.” Le digo “Buenas noches.” Me dice “Su papá es el de la cama cuatrocientos quince?” Le digo “Sí, es mí papá.” Me dice “No te preocupes. Tú papá ya le van a dar de alta la semana que sigue.” Dice “Y ya va dejar de.. Ya no va sufrir.” Me quedé así no? Y le digo “Porque?” Dice “Usted ya no me pregunte más.” “Sale!” Entonce vuelvo a bajar al baño y le digo al policía. Me dice “No andas por aquí solo porque por aquí se te aparece una señora.” Le digo, me quedó así no sacado de onda. Y le digo “Como?” “Aquí se le aparece la muerte.” Le dije “Sí ya vino y dijo que mí papá ya iba dejar de sufrir y que le iban a dar de alta.” Entonce sí lo que me digo fue exacto, mí papá desgraciadamente falleció a los dos días...”

Entonces Señor Rubén yo llegue bien cansado de trabajar y me quedé así con las manos aquí en el pecho boca arriba. Y clarito sentí Señor Rubén como me voltearon, ósea me metieron la mano y me voltearon. En eso yo así abrí mis ojos y era mí papá, pero ya su piel toda este.. Como se dice? Haz vistos los muertos del video del Michael Jackson?... Así! Así era mí papá usted cree? Pero yo lo vi, clarito lo vi pero no me dio miedo...”

La Mano Peluda - Su Madre Aun Se Manifiesta En La Casa

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i4BhEJSSHZQ&list=WL&index=34>

Lupita - “Se acuerda usted de los cuates Casillas?... Los que compusieron “El Pastor”, “Flor Silvestre”, “Cuando ya no me quieras”... Bueno uno de los cuates Castilla se murillo primero. Ellos eran de Veracruz, de Xalapa. Creo que eran parientes de el poeta Diaz Miron. Y entonces uno de los cuates Castilla murillo primero este Miguel Ángel. Entonces este José Castilla todavía vivía en el ochenticinco cuando fue el temblor. Entonces José Castilla el hermano de Miguel Ángel comentó en una entrevista que le hicieron en la televisión que él cuando fue el temblor del ochietaicinco, una noche antes el estaba hospedado en el Hotel Regis. Y que soñó a su hermano Miguel Ángel que le decía “Salte de aquí inmediatamente porque va pasar algo”... “Sí va pasar algo feo”. “Sal te pero ya!” Y entonces él sí hizo caso a lo que le dijo su hermano luego luego se fue... Y al día siguiente, sí el dieciocho de septiembre y al día siguiente fue cuando tembló. Y mire se había salvado este señor José Castilla por el hermano...Osea el hermano ya había muerto, y él lo soñó que le decía eso. Como la ve Don Rubén?...”

DR - “Pues yo sí lo creo eh. Que había recibido ese mensaje del más allá. Porque como son más sensibles los espíritus en el mundo espiritual puede pasar ese mensaje a través de los sueños. Se reciben se hacen caso o no. Corazonadas le llamaríamos nosotros no?”

La Mano Peluda (6 Tales of terror) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (348)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xNL4NdrsYj8>

Begins at 46:30 minutes

Jenni - “...Hace como veintitrés años, este mí sobrino y un amigo se fueron de excursion al (unrecognizable speech sounds). Lamentablemente pues allí murieron los dos. Pero mí relato es que tres semanas antes yo venía de mí trabajo... Aquí en el aeropuerto yo como un transporte que me deja aquí en la esquina de mí casa, yo vivo cerca del aeropuerto no?...Y se subió en el transporte...una persona vestido todo de negro con su velo así largo no?... Y cuando yo ya llegue a mí destino yo sentía mucho que se me acercaba y se me acercaba y pensé “Pues que raro. Que quiere?” no?... Y ya llegando a mí destino me baje y yo sentí que ella se me agarró del hombro y se bajó así junto conmigo. Y entonces este yo tenía miedo voltear sinceramente. En esos momentos sentí su mano tan fría en mí hombro que sentí miedo no? Y a mí nunca me a pasado una experiencia así antes no? Y luego ella me dijo con una voz muy dulce “No tengas miedo” dice. “Voltea, voltea y mirame.” Y yo me quedé así con todavía un poco de temor no? Pero al final decide voltear y voltie. Entonces la vi que levantó su velo, y yo la vi así muy resplandeciente como si fuera pues como un a virgen no? Y luego ello me dijo, me dijo “Mira, vas a recibir un noticia.” me dijo. Y ese sobrino lo quería mucho sí, y el y yo estábamos muy unidos. Inclusive a mí trabajo él venía cada semana a comer conmigo no? Y dice “Vas a recibir un noticia que va doler mucho, pero es la voluntad del altísimo”. Así me dijo no? Y efectivamente a las tres semanas pues nos dieron la mala noticia que ellos habían fallecido...” ...Pues vive en nuestro corazón, y por eso nunca morirá no?

La mano peluda - 3 RELATOS [3]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OIMmGHFv9E0&t=735s&list=WL&index=43>

Alejandro - "...Noviembre del año pasado falleció mi papá... Cuando le detectaron el cáncer que ya estaba muy avanzado, hace que murió dos años antes...Me atendió una enfermera, muy amable la enfermera. Y me dio toda la información todos los datos como quieren cuidarlo todo, todo, todo, en orden...Y gracias a las indicaciones que nos dio esa enfermera, yo eh este atendí a mi papá. Yo lo atendí por dos años ya a los (unrecognizable speech sounds) como se iba ya dietoriando de la enfermedad, lo volvi a llevar al doctor. Y me volví a encontrar con la enfermera. Mire un ángel realmente esa enfermera... Inmediatamente lo paso a cama antes de que el doctor me dijera que lo iban a detener la enfermera y tenía la cama disponible... Muy raro porque estaba saturadisimo...El día que falleció a mí no me tocaba quedarme... Y esta enfermera haz de cuenta que no tenía reloj. Iba con una tranquilidad... Se sentaba ella a mi lado me aconsejaba, y yo decía "De donde conozco está enfermera. De dónde la conozco que me habla tan...vaya como si me conociera de años." Y ya después pues le pregunte... Y me dice "Sí señor se acuerda de mí, yo estaba en tal hospital pero me transfirieron aca." ... "pero usted no se preocupe, que su papá ..." Facil, facil duró una hora conmigo platicando, lo cual se me parece muy raro porque todas andan así al alterer... Y me dijo "Vaya ver su, dele una vuelta a su enfermito a su papá." Cuando fui como a los quince minutos entró el paro. Yo fui a avisarles a las enfermeras...En el momento en el que sale el doctor, y me dice "Sabes que pues su papá pues ya falleció, ya no lo pudimos sacar del paro..." Me acompaño la enfermera, me dio las monedas para hablar por el teléfono en la calle. Volví entrar... Cuarenta minutos que estuvo allí conmigo la enfermera. Me ayudó en todos los tramites, me llevó a un lado a otro...Y sentía que la enfermera estaba a mi lado y le juro que era que mis pies eran paletas, paletas de hielo... Y le dije "Sí mira tío le presentó la enfermera que..." dicha enfermera ya no estaba. La busque para agradecerle... No la encontré... Entonces le dije "Por favor dígame a la enfermera Blancarte que muchísimas gracias por toda la atención." Se me quedó viendo la trabajadora social dijo "Blancarte? Disculpe señor pero yo no conozco ningún..." "Señora estaba aquí conmigo hace rato me acompaño. Fue la enfermera que inclusive me pasó con usted y me dijo "Ahorita viene..." Y que me va diciendo la trabajadora social "Señor usted llegó solo." Y le digo "es que no puede ser ella me vino, ella me acompaño y me dijo... Y le dije a la poli que estaba allí "Poli verdad que cuando yo salí de este para bajar aquí a trabajos social bajo conmigo una enfermera?" Me dijo "No señor usted iba solo." Ya no dije nada ya no investige, ya nada más di las gracias y a terminar de hacer el trámite...No puedo olvidar esa enfermera, no la puedo olvidar. No se que seria, una aparición, un ángel, no se. Pero en ese momento me dio una tranquilidad para empezar a moverme hacer todo lo que se tiene que hacer...Hace dos años ella fue la que me atendió, la que me atendió cuando me dijeron "Sabes que tú papá tiene cancer, ya está muy avanzado"... Haga de cuenta que me dio a mí toda la receta... Le hice las preguntas que me dijo la enfermera que le hiciera. Sí y el doctor me dijo "Efectivamente usted le tiene que hacer así, así, así".. Yo no sé si era un este un..una presencia, un fantasma, un parecido que anda en los hospitales, o de plano era un ángel que estaba allí echándome la mano... Como una persona normal, normal, normal."

La Mano Peluda (7 Tales of terror) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (203)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0uG7OkaqYp8&index=20&list=WL&t=1176s>

Begins at 19:00 minutes

Julio- "Mira quiero contarles un relato de una chica que se me apareció un dos de noviembre. Este fui a un lugar para convivir con mis amigos, eramos cinco personas. Dos hermanos, otros dos hermanos, y su servidor. Salimos del lugar, una chica nos pidió de favor que le dieramos un "ride". Vivía allí por ahí el mercado de las flores de de (unrecognizable speech sound). La llevamos, le pregunté a mis amigos que eran los que llevaban el carro, y dijeron "si vamos a llevarla". Entonces yo me subí a él al lado del

copiloto y uno de mis amigos el que andaba manejando si quiso, este, sobrepasar con la chica. Entonces le dije, “si le íbamos hacer un favor se lo hacemos bien o sino no le hacemos nada”. Entonces me baje del vehículo en un semáforo y la chica se bajó conmigo. Mi amigo dijo “vente, subete, dejala allí.” y dijo la chava “No, yo me quedo y él se queda conmigo”. Eh pare un taxi y la lleve a su casa. Entonces este... me despedí de ella me dio su número telefónico y este ya mi fui a la casa de usted.”

Julio- “Eh al siguiente día en la noche, yo me iba regresando de trabajar me preguntan unos amigo unos amigos que si había salido yo. Le dije “de donde?”, “no pues este los muchachos están detenidos”. Cuando yo deje la chica, ellos al siguiente semaforo chocan, ehhs los meten a la cárcel y luego se pagaron una gran fianza. Este, después de una semana le hable yo a la chica, y su teléfono estaba suspendido. Le hable a los tres meses, y me contesta una señora. Le digo “buenas noches señora (unrecognizable speech sounds)” y la señora se quedó callada y empezó a llorar. Y le pregunté “Señora está bien?”. Me dice “perdon joven, es que no lo puedo creer”. Yo le pregunto “Porque?”. Dice “Es que mi hija tiene un año tres meses de fallecida. Falleció el día dos de noviembre en un accidente automovilístico”. Entonces este con varias cuestiones no? Si yo hubiera estado con ellos en ese momento por los antecedentes (unrecognizable speech sounds). Nos hubieramos matado no? Como ve?”

DR- “Esto cuando ocurrió?”

Julio- “Esto hace doce años.”

DR- “Vaya pero si lo acuerdas como si hubiera sido ayer no?”

Julio- “Si, si porque es impresionante no porque, el aspecto de que hayas visto tú una persona y te hayas despedido de ella, haz visto a qué lugar se metió. Que te diera su numero de telefonico, entonces si es algo, algo especial. Incluso cuando yo fui a ver a mis amigos ahí a los estados me dijeron “Oyes esa chava era socia de la guardia?”. No pues como crees no? Entonces este ya de ese tiempo para aca, cada día de los muertos que se pone la ofrenda, le ponemos un espacio a Ella no, que fue la que me salvo a la mejor de una muerte no.”

DR- “Si osea por algo suceden las cosas eh.”

Julio- “Si exactamente.”

DR -”Pero que que paso por tu mente qué ocurrió esto?”

Julio- “Pues...mire al principio pues no lo creía porque (unrecognizable speech sounds) que te digan no que la chava falleció hace un año tres meses. Entonces pasan tantísimas cosas en cuestion de mi trabajo, yo soy servidor público. Y este por los antecedente no pudiera entrar a trabajar donde ahorita estoy. O la otra, osea si yo me hubiera tratado mal con ella, pues este igual en el choque nos matamos no? Entonces como yo fui uno de los que se portó de cierta manera bien con ella, este pues me cuido. Y pues este no dejó que pasara nada.”

DR - “Vaya que cosa Julio. Pues yo creo que nunca te lo vas a olvidar.”

La Mano Peluda (the Appearance) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (12)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Gi4sXWKeo8&t=1182s&list=WL&index=21>

Begins at 19:00 minutes

“...Primo de mi papá había cumplido 16 años y iba con unos amigos a celebrar. Iban a un pueblo aquí que está a aquí en Nuevo León a una hora de aquí de la ciudad de Monterrey que se llama Ramón de Nuevo León. (unrecognizable speech sounds) y tuvieron un accidente y creo que eran cuatro o cinco muchachos. Fallecieron unos cuatro entre ellos mi primo y solamente quedó un sobreviviente. Verdad, bueno pasan diez años, hace como un año mi tío iba con un conocido de él hacia Ramones también. Y haga de cuenta

que se descompuso la camioneta como a doscientos metros en donde fue el accidente. Y mi tío le dijo al señor que iba a buscar ayuda y que el se quedara allí en la camioneta.

Mi tío se va y de rato vuelve ya con la ayuda. Pero para esto ya estaba la camioneta arreglada. Y le dice mi tío “Quien te ayudo?” “No, pasó un muchacho y me empezó a ayudar”. Dijo “Como era?” “No, así asa...” se lo describió y era era idéntico a mi primo que había fallecido hace diez años. De hecho el único sobreviviente de ese accidente,...

DR- “Qué piensan ustedes hoy que han pasado unos años?”

“Bueno pues mi tío se lo contó a mi abuelita, y mi abuelita dijo que posiblemente fue un ángel. Osea fue el ángel de mi primo. Verdad, porque estaba a doscientos metros de donde fue el accidente. Y como él murió muy joven y era conocido de mi tío, pues por eso”.

La Mano Peluda (Unexpected Death) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (27)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Gi4sXWKeo8&t=1182s&list=WL&index=21>

Begins at 5:30 minutes

Umberto - “...dice mi esposa a los dos días que regrese “Oyes que crees?” le dije “Que paso?”. Me dice “Que se mató pues el esposo de tu hermana”. Le dije “Como crees?” me dice “Si”. Y el se mato en el baño de la casa de mi mama. Este... el se ahorcó allí... En julio de hace tres años , a mi me asaltaron señor Juan Ramón... En ese asalto, haga de cuenta a mi me metieron treinta puñaladas. Traigo de lo que es el glúteo derecho... en este tramo tengo treinta puñaladas. Cuando a mi esas personas me habían (unrecognizable speech sounds) bueno no me dijeron que era un asalto me metieron la primer puñalada y me avientan para atrás. El que venía sentado a lado de mi este, se pasa al volante. Y en el momento que me empiezan acostar en la parte trasera de carro, volteo hacia el asiento del copiloto. Y yo, haga de cuenta que vi al cara de esposo de mi hermana, que en paz descanse... El ya tenia mas de medio año de fallecido. En ese momento... siento algo pesado encima de mi. Algo que me callo haci encima y yo trataba de buscarlo o así pero yo ya no lo veía. Haga de cuenta que en un lapso de tres horas que me habían paseando, este me dieron esas treinta puñaladas.

Ya llegue al hospital, me sacaron radiografías. Pero en la radiografía, yo no soy así muy voluminoso peso sesentitres kilos. Pero en la radiografía haga de cuenta que sale lo que es mi cuerpo y se ve algo una otra persona se ve algo así como voluminoso encima de mi. Y ya estando allí en el hospital empiezo hablar con mi esposa. Le digo “Oyes sabes que mira me paso esto yo veía, yo vi a este Miguel” le digo “En el carro”.... Le dije “Es que estas muy tranquila”. Ella me decía que en el mismo horario que a mi me asaltaron... que ella de repente vio a una persona en el en la ventana que da para la calle y que la veía muy desesperada. Dice mi señora que le veía la cara así como que le quería decir algo... como que me quiere decir algo. Y mi esposa regresa al cuarto y dice... en el sueño dijo que escuchó que le decía “Mira tu esposo tuvo un accidente. No te preocupes tu esposo esta bien”. Dice “Yo lo ayude para que no le pasara nada, pero tu esposo esta bien”...

Me dice la doctora “Mira no sé quién viene contigo, pero cuando salgas de aquí le tienes que ir a dar gracias porque pues no te dejo morir”... Y un día así como sentado le dije “Sabes que amigo, lo que hiciste de verdad te lo agradezco porque pues no me tocaba. Pero dime lo que te hace falta para que puedes irte a descansar.”... Estoy muy muy agradecido con el...

La mano peluda - Lo asaltaron y lo ayudo una hermosa niña

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Gi4sXWKeo8&t=1182s&list=WL&index=21>

Jonathan- “...Entonce mi jefe me dijo “Sabes que, vamos a cortar camino, vamos a por tal parte”. No recuerdo el nombre del camino que me comento para cortar el camino. Dice que era la noche y en esa

temporada era temporada de lluvias porque estaba la hierba muy muy alta muy crecida. Y de la nada ven bajar un tronco que inmediatamente obstruyo el camino de la camioneta donde iba mi anterior jefe y su jefe. Y él pensó “Chin esto es un asalto y nos van a asaltar”. Inmediatamente que eso pasa pues ya los acorralaron unas personas. El que era mi jefe le pegaron en la cabeza, lo desmayan y ya no supo nada de su jefe. Dice “Después de que yo desperté, quién sabe a qué hora despertaría... al momento de despertar estaba yo recargado un una piedra...mi mano derecha colgaba... en donde estoy? En donde me encuentro?”. Y ya que vio donde estaba la piedra, estaba a una lado de un precipicio... Entonce se levantó y dijo bueno pues donde estoy y me tengo que tranquilizar porque no se en donde me vinieron a dejar...”Bueno tengo mucha sed, que voy hacer?”

“Inmediatamente escuche por mis pies un ruido”. Y lo único que hizo fue ver, lo que él me dijo que era como un coco con agua. Entonce que lo agarro, que lo veo, que lo agarro y que lo empezó a tomar. Y dice “Era tanta mi desesperación de tomar agua, que yo recuerdo que ese recipiente que tenía forma de coco... Hubo un momento en donde el agua que me ofrecieron pues ya me lleno. Entonce lo único que hice fue dejarlo en la piedra. Pero lo que me hizo raro fue de que nunca se acabo esa agua. Y yo me acuerdo que, me lo tome con tanta desesperación que se me callia de la boca. Entonce ya inmediatamente vio quien me la dio.” y dice que era una niña. Una niña vestido de blanco como de unos cinco años. Pero dice “Yo en el momento de verla con sus zapatitos blancos, su vestidito blanco, pero lo que nunca le vi fue la cara porque el fleco que ella tenía le cubría todo el rostro... nunca me dio miedo. Inmediatamente me da su manita asi como dando me entender “ven conmigo”. Entonce yo la agarre y ahí empezamos a caminar. Y la niña me llevó por el camino donde estaba la las milpas porque no sabía mi jefe en donde se encontraba”. Dice “Yo solo camine con la niña donde había agua, milpas y de repente empezamos a ver luces de alumbrado público. Y la niña me acuerdo lo que me dijo “por aquí no nos vamos porque hay gente mala”. Pero yo nunca me sentía con miedo... yo al contrario me sentía seguro me sentía bien y empezamos a caminar, a caminar, a caminar... Y yo me acuerdo que sentía su manita caliente pero nunca se me ocurrió voltear la ver...

Hubo un momento en donde me dijo la niña, me dice “Vete caminando por aquí derecho y hasta allá arriba donde se termina la calle vas a esperarte allí porque va pasar un camión que te va llevar a tu casa...Y inmediatamente pensé y tu que va pasar contigo, donde vives tu?” Y dice “No te preocupes por mi, yo aquí en unas de estas casitas vivo aquí, por aquí yo vivo por aqui es mi casa”... “Segura, vas a estar bien?”. Dice “Si no te preocupes, lo importante es que tu ya te vas a tu casa”. Y me dice “Jonathan lo único que yo hice fue caminar, no se cuanto tiempo caminamos, que cuando yo recuerdo que desperté ya estaba oscuro, yo ya estaba esperando el camión que me llevaba al central del norte. Ya se empezaba ver los primeros rayos del sol. Entonces veo que pasa un camión, un autobús que iba al central del norte, y entonce le hago la parada. Y el señor muy amable pues, me hizo la parada y le dije “Sabes qué señor lamentablemente pues me asaltaron, no sea malito. Deme sus datos su nombre y en cuanto yo llego a mi casa yo vengo y le pago”. Y que le dijo el chofer “Señor sabe que no se preocupe usted fue el que asaltaron la del la camioneta de determinados características... no se preocupe. De hecho ya encontraron a su amigo y esta bien. Lo encontraron como a dos kilómetros del asalto pero su amigo está bien.” ...

“De hecho me despertó el aire, y me acompañó una niña. Me dio agua me acompañó me dijo que no tuviera miedo.” Y le dijo el chofer “A si, esa niña la asesinaron por alla hace como diez años, y esa niña se dedica ayudar a la gente. A las personas que en este caso asaltan o a las personas que están perdidas. Pero esa es una niña buena, y siempre se les aparece a esas personas, y bueno usted joven tuvo la suerte de que se la haya parecido y de que la había encaminado hasta acá.” Y dice mi jefe “En ese

momento me recorrió un escalofrío horrible, me dio mucho miedo porque yo la vi, yo la agarre de la mano. Me dio mucho miedo, pero ya después pensé dije bueno, porque se acercó conmigo?... Ya cuando yo estaba enfrente de mi casa tratando de abrir la puerta.” Dice “A mano derecha de mi casa tengo unos pequeños arbustos. Pues como si me hubieran dicho “voltea!”, en ese momento voltee y estaba la niña ahí diciendome adios... Yo de la desesperación, del miedo porque yo ya sabía que esa niña estaba muerta... Yo lo único que hice fue decirle “Vete largate vete de aquí.”... Luego ya cuando estaba dentro de su casa dijo “es que no puede ser, la niña me salvó, porque fui tan grosero con ella?” Y dice que salió pero ya no la vio... “Yo lo único que hice fue dedicarle mucho tiempo de mi oración a la niña y me sentí tranquilo.”

La Mano Peluda (Police Story)- Juan Ramón Sáenz (192)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fZ_EvxW3beA&list=Wl&index=23

Begins at 18:00 minutes

“Nosotros tenemos una bodega en Manzanillo. Haz de cuenta que salí de un viajecito de extra-urgente. Fui afortunadamente pues de manejar, no me dedico a si al transporte pero se manejar. Entonce si era una cosa como extra-urgente para una empresa muy importante aquí en la ciudad de México... Antes de llegar a Hernan Colina yo ya iba muy cansado, iba solo y de repente voltee a ver el espejo retrovisor y iba una mujer a lado mio pero por el lado de afuera, el lado del estribo. Entonce pues yo dije “No no no osea son mis nervios o no se que pasa no?”. Y seguí caminando prácticamente como unos diez once kilómetros más. Pero allí iba y me señalaba como la llanta o.. me señalaba hacia abajo pues. Haz de cuenta que yo me pare en un paradero donde había comida, además eran las cuatro de la mañana. Yo me bajo, yo estaba espantado, yo me bajo y cuando me doy la vuelta había un (unrecognizable speech sounds) arriba del estribo. Y yo le pregunto “Dónde está?” “Dónde está quién?” “Dónde está la..no pues que no”. Y emepe hablar con el vendedor de chicles y dulces y de todo lo que tenia ahí. Y me dijo “Sabes que, es que es una señora que se sube para que no se duerman. Si! No les hace nada no les dice nada. Simplemente cuando llegan con mucho sueño es cuando aparece la señora” “Me sacó mucho de onda. Y dije “Ok” y llegue a Manzanillo... Y me toca de regreso venirme a las diez de la noche, de ese mismo día. Pues no te crees que se me volvió a subir la señora... Otra vez, allí si me espante. Mis patitas me temblaban y decía “Qubole?”. Entonce yo sí me quedé muy impactado, muy impactado por eso, porque lo platico y nadien me lo cree.

DR - “Y la segunda vez que se subió la señora que pasó?”

“Hacia lo mismo, me señalaba la llanta... Hasta ahorita te lo juro que luego cuando me voy a dormir o voy hacer algo y se me viene a la mente el reflejo de esa señora.”

Begins at 23:00 minutes

Claudio - “...mi llamada para contarles un relato de hace como tres años. Este... Llegó una persona taxqueña, me dijo me pregunto si le pudiera hacer un servicio de coleccion en Cuautla en la ciudad de México. Le dije “Si”... Per lo que se me hizo extraño es que al hacer el servicio sacaron a la person en una cama, un la camioneta y quite los asientos y la persona (unrecognizable speech sounds) esta al hospital de cardiologia

DR - “Estaba enfermita es persona.”

Claudio - “Estaba enferma esa persona pero iba tapada totalmente con la sábana blanca. No sabía porque. Entonces llegamos al hospital y no me la querían recibir. (unrecognizable speech sounds) A radio red donde dan teléfonos para ya sabes eso de los asaltos y este ya llegaron me la recibieron pero al momento de revisar su (unrecognizable speech sounds) “sabes que dejar subir rapido porque esta en caso terminal”.

Y así fue, me la recibieron con la ayuda de (unrecognizable speech sounds) pero antes de bajarla yo la olía a la señora y tenía un olor muy raro como a humedad algo así. Entonces ya la llevaron adentro del hospital yo fui a casa de usted para dormir. Al siguiente día me llamo el hijo de esta persona, y me dijo que me agradecía porque no le cobraba nada. No le cobré ni un peso, estuve allí con ellos unos cinco horas más o menos desde salir hasta terminar. Y se me hizo una cosa de buena fe no, no cobrarles nada. Y me hablo para decirme que falleció su mamá... Si falleció en el hospital a una hora después de dejarla y en el hospital... Cuando la fui a ver era (unrecognizable speech sounds) terminal cancer...

“Hay un lapso en la Sierra de Nayarit que no me acuerdo haber pasado, pienso que me quede dormido pero seguí manejando. Ya en una curva me desperté, ya casi chocaba y el olor de la señora el cuerpo de la señora estaba allí presente

DR - “Ósea en la carretera tu olías a la señora?”

C- “Aha yo percibía su olor como antes de que falleciera...”

DR - “No te dio miedo?”

C- “No porque como yo hice un bien, son personas que te agradecen no? El no haber cobrarle a su hijo, el llevarla, y ser paciente no? Cosas que normalmente se hubiera sacado y ya... Y siempre está digamos presente no es... A veces cuando me pasan cosas o algo extraño (unrecognizable speech sounds) siempre está ese olor y nunca me pasa nada... Llegue a mi casa y dice mi esposa “Con que vieja llevas allí?”. “Cual vieja?”. Abre la puerta y no había nadie... Y ese olor siempre está allí cuando siento la presencia siempre está allí... La ayuda que tu das te revierte...”

Begins at 30:00 minutes

Benjamin - “A los doce años mi mamá me mandó...pero ella acostumbraba a mandarme a las cuatro de la mañana y ese día no se porque me mandó a las dos de la mañana. No había nadie toda la calle estaba sola. Al llegar yo a un puente que se llama Juventino Rosas es un puente muy antiguo me empezó a invadir un miedo muy grande. Voltee hacia atrás y vi a un perro chiquito y cuando iba yo acercándome al puente, el perro iba creciendo grande grande hasta casi alcanzar al mastiff. Yo le vi los ojos rojos, como que echaba no se como que me figuro pero como lumbre del hocico. Rápido que corrió, atraveso el puente, el perro se quedó atrás no se porque si se bien la vista y la sombra blanca que me ha perseguido, estaba parada a mitad del puente impidiendo al perro perseguirme. Yo me siento tranquilo con ella... En otra ocasión ya hace poquito pues como yo siempre he andado solo, nunca he andado acompañado... Y hay voy camine, camine en uno como parque estaban unos muchachos, yo creo drogadictos no se que eran pero los vi con malas intenciones porque luego luego se levantaron y intentaron seguirme. Ya me faltaban dos cuadras para llegar a la calle Constantino cuando vi que se quedaron atrás . Uno a otro se aconsejaban y no ya no optaron por seguirme. Seguí allí a la calle de Constantino, toque el timbre y salió el policía que tienen allí cuidando el zaguán. Me vio descolorido y todo tembloroso me dice “Que te pasa?”. Le digo “No se, me vinieron siguiendo unos muchachos yo creo con la intención de asaltarme”. Dice “No, nadie te viene siguiendo, una sombra se acaba de meter en esa casa. Es una sombra blanca”. Me quedé petrificado, pero a la vez ya me entró una especie de tranquilidad.

La mano peluda - La enfermera ángel

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nxSvrJVcUg&index=23&list=WL>

Don Daniel García - “...Hace seis años desde que mi padre falleció...Nos mandó de urgencia al hospital Balbuena, internan a mi padre nos lo reciben... desde el primer momento que entró a ese hospital... sentí una presencia de alguien bueno de un espíritu bueno porque ya ve cuando uno hay espíritus malos los

sientes luego luego.... Mi padre afortunadamente a los dos días me lo establecen... El cuando empezó a hablar decía que había una enfermera, una enfermera guerita, de ojos claros, bonita que estaba a lado de él cuidándolo. Y pues nosotros le preguntábamos “Quién enfermera es papa?”. Decía “Una muchacha guerita, bajita una una muy simpática, hermosa hermosa la muchacha. Y se me cuida Carlos, me cuida las veinticuatro horas no se mueve de aquí.” “Pero papá” le digo “Nosotros no, no cual? Dinos cual!” Entonces le pedimos al jefe de médicos que nos enseñara las enfermeras quien era la que era en cargo de mi papa. Pues que cree señor Rubén que ninguna era de ellas. Bueno mi padre estaba quince días de internado y el nos platico que nunca se le separó esa muchacha...Entonce él decía que ella le daba su medicamento, que ella le revisara su suero, estaba pendiente de él. Y mi papá le decía “Ya vayase a descansar señorita, vayase a descansar, usted está aquí conmigo de verdad debe de estar muy cansada. Dijo “No, no estoy cansada, alguien me mando a cuidarte, alguien me mando cuidarte, y no me voy a separar de ti hasta que salgas de aquí”.... Usted cree, un dia antes de salir señor Rubén a mi me tocó quedar de guardia...El médico de la noche me dijo “Usted le va dar su medicamento a tales horas”. Pues que cree, que yo soy tan dormilón, señor Rubén yo me quede perdido. Entonces mi papá no me despertó hasta el otro día a las siete de la mañana y dice que estaba aferrado que allí estaba la enfermera bonita que lo cuidaba... Él nos dijo que ella ya se iba que era su despedida de el con ella porque ella ya se retiraba en el momento que mi padre ya salía del hospital...y le dio las gracias y dice “Yo te voy a cuidar y tengo esa esa esa como se puede decir, misión de cuidar hasta que el señor te manda”. Sale mi padre se despide de ella, pero así ya sabe como se voltea alguien para despedirse, ninguno de nosotros la vimos, y no queríamos preguntar a nadie...No es la primera vez que la ven allí... Después con el tiempo, el nos dijo “Aquí está mi enfermera, ya me está esperando, ya me voy”. Se despidió de todos señor Rubén... Dio su último respiro y se fue mi padre. Pero con un perfume, un perfume señor rubén que dejó impregnado muy rico, no no no fuera de lo normal. Olia muy bonito.

DR - “Mi querido Dani no podemos pensar que era la muerte?”

D- “No creo señor Rubén. No creo porque en la casa con mi mamá mis padres siempre hacían sus oraciones, siempre señor Rubén... Pero se fue con un suspiro señor Rubén muy tierno muy tranquilo, ya ve que muchos sufren y el no... Y que cree que ya al siguiente día señor Rubén, para acabar (unrecognizable speech sounds) dice mi hermana que lo vio de blanco en un traje blanco bonito, muy tranquilo. Y lo vio de cierto, donde él se sentaba... Pues le voy a decir una cosa que dicen que todo se depende de su comportamiento de cada persona sus actos... como va morir alguien señor Rubén.”

DR - “Osea te refieres al karma?”

D- “Al karma, exactamente....”

La Mano Peluda - La katrina y la joven fallecida

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0W-A2uk8Ep0>

Cortes - “...de esto vivo del taxi. Hace nueve años allí sobre la avenida calle siete y avenida Chimalhuacán se me hizo la parada una muchachita. Lo juro así como se lo estoy diciendo Señor Rubén que mi hizo la parada... Se me hizo tan tierna que agarro y le digo “no te ofendes tengo un sweater un chaleco te sirve para que te calientes”. Y si pero me contestó así con una voz tranquila... Agarro y se lo presto pero que ya no me hablo, se me olvida, la dejó Don Rubén a donde pidió se bajo yo vi cuando abrió la puerta Don Rubén... Me pago, pero se me olvida mi chaleco. Entonces al otro día me presento como la las nueve de la mañana en su domicilio. Tocó la puerta y me abre una señora como de sesenta-ochenta años más o menos ya grande, y le tocó la puerta. Le digo “Muy buenos días , disculpe la molestia pero ayer en la madrugada le traje a una señorita”. Le digo este “Le traje una señorita pero que

cree que le deje mi chaleco, no más regreso por mi chaleco”... Dice “Señor” dice “Aquí no vive ninguna señorita.” “Ay cómo no señora si yo la vi cuando se metió.” “No no señor”. Bueno para no hacer se la larga en eso se le abre la puerta y está el cuadro del rostro de la muchachita y agarro y le digo “Como no si que fue ella, esta señorita la que yo traje.” Dice “No señor no se burle.” Dije “No porque señora?”. Dice “Mi hija tiene más de veinte años desde que falleció.” Le digo “No, no puede ser señora , yo vi yo vi cuando abrió la puerta y se metió”... Allí sobre el bordo hay un panteón, y fui y fui no por curiosidad digo no puede ser si yo la vi... Y llegando al panteón que cree? Allí estaba mi chaleco doblado, en la tumba de la señorita. Mi chaleco estaba doblado. Entonce yo me fui, agarre mi chaleco y me fui. Pero lo más chistoso Don Rubén, que ese chaleco me duró más de cuatro meses con un olor a jazmín... Un olor pero rico bien, osea yo lo lavaba y volvía a oler a jazmín el chaleco... Que crees, esta muchachita hace muchos años la mataron, la violaron y anda penando. Pero que crees, a cada taxista, ósea de la que le aparecen, intentan a tocarla, y abusar de ella y se le convierta la cabeza en caballo. Y les pone una santa tranquiza Don Rubén, que los deja un mes en cama. Y otros me dicen que esa muchachita me salvó de algo. Algo me iba pasar ese día, y me hizo llevarla a su domicilio... “Esto es un milagro porque es la primera vez que me vienen a tocar por mi hija”...

La Mano Peluda - Un Fantasma La Ayudo Para Encontrar El Camino

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DUnfcILXfhg&list=WL&index=37&t=11s>

Rosio- “...Pero llegando al metro nos empiezan a sacar a todos porque dicen que un muchacho se había aventado. Y pues empieza salir toda la gente, y que ya estaba cerrado el metro y ya no iban a dejar entrar. Y dije “Pues ahora que hago” y estaba lloviendo me acuerdo, me acuerdo que estaba lloviendo. Dije “Que hago como me voy yo no conocía las (unrecognizable speech sounds) que van por ahí, yo en mi vida he estado en Tacubaya. Yo no conocía nada dije “Dios que hago traigo veinte pesos. Tomaré un taxi? Por donde me voy? Que hago? Donde le hablo a mi mamá? Como lo hago?” Total que me tocan en el hombro y era una señora y me dijo “Disculpe para la colonia Roma, sabe como me puedo ir?” Dije “Sabes que yo también yo para allá pero no tengo ni idea. No conozco aquí.” Y me dijo “Mira te voy a decir, este camión va para allá, este camión va para allá, este va para tal lado, si te subes a este te deja en parque está, Y ahorita vamos a tomar un trolebús que nos va llevar cerca al el eje de baja California. Y de allí vamos a tomar un camión que se va todo insurgentes, y ya te puedes bajar cerca del metro de insurgentes.” Y yo dije “Pues no que no sabía?” quedé pensando “No que no sabía la señora”. Y me dijo “Porque si ahorita tomas un taxi, te va cobrar más de veinte pesos”. Y me quedé pensando “Y como sabía que traigo veinte pesos?” Total que nos sentamos en un trolebús y me dijo “vamos a tomar este trolebús y ahorita ya nos vamos”... Total que llegamos cerca al eje de baja California, era como las siete y media de la noche. Llegamos allí y me dice la señora “Mira ya vamos a cruzar Insurgentes, ahorita va pasar el camión.” Le dije “Sí ya por aquí ya conozco señora muchas gracias”. Y me dijo “Yo me bajo allí por Chimpan Zilco porque voy al banco”. Y me quedé pensando “Al banco a está hora? Siete y media? Bueno pues está bien señora le agradezco mucho”. Pasó el camión... Total que nos subimos le digo “Deme su dinero senora “. Este me dio su dinero, nos subimos, el camión venía muy vacío. Total que yo me senté cerca al chofer, casi frente del chofer y la señora se siguió para atrás... Y me dijo la señora “Mira yo ya me voy tú sigue.” Yo le dije “Sí señora, yo me sigo. Yo le doy hasta el tren Insurgentes y de allí camino hacia las calles de Puebla. La agradezco mucho”. “No no no tiene de que” me dijo “Es muy difícil vivir lejos de donde uno vive verdad?” Y le dije “Pues sí, la verdad es que la agradezco mucho señora váyase con cuidado ”. “Sí muchas gracias” se fue para atrás... Y la señora nunca se bajó del camión, me asomo para el camión y la señora no estaba en el camion . Entonce nunca supe que paso, digo gracias a ella pude salir de allí no?...

No se que paso si esta señora era un fantasma un ángel, no se que paso... El caso es que me ayudó, si no fuera por ella no...Una manda a lo mejor o un ángel... O a lo mejor era una alma en pena, una persona que cumple una manda para ayudar a la gente... Seguramente, ya no supe nada..."

La mano peluda - 40 Días de muerto

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DUnclLXfhg&list=WL&index=37&t=11s>

Magda - "...y me encontré con un tío que ya tenía mucho tiempo que no he visto. Yo vi a mi tío, venía con un jovenaso muy guapo vestido de blanco, de un traje color blanco. Pero mi tío sí que lo vi un poco pálido... Y luego me encuentro a mi tío y me dice "Hola hija dónde vas?" Y yo triste le empeze a hablar de lo que he habia pasado, no? Y me dice "No te preocupe hija, vas a ir conmigo y ahorita estoy arreglando mis papeles mis asunto pendientes para ya irme"... "No te preocupes, te voy a llevar a donde yo trabajo". El trabajaba en casa de moneda, el era secretario y me dijo el pues que me iba llevar pues por su plaza, me iba dejar su plaza. Yo llevaba mi hijo de la mano. Entonces ya nos fuimos con él y con el joven... Agarramos un taxi nos bajamos allí en casa de moneda y dice mi tío "Vas a pasar conmigo, te voy a mostrar donde está mi (unrecognizable speech sounds)". Le dijo "Sí" entonces llega, entramos y hay una pequeña sala de espera y allí se quedó mi niño tenía como dos años mi hijo con este joven me dijo "No te preocupes lo va cuidar allí"... Pasamos y nos dieron unas charolitas para nosotros dejaramos las pertenencias. Pero mi tío pasó como si nada, y entre con él y había unas ventanas así de vidrio pasamos y ya me explico todo, como estaba el trabajo... y me dice "Mira hija el dia dos, nos vemos aquí a las doce del dia". Le digo "Sí tío". Y me dice "Pero no me me vayas a fallar, nos vemos aquí a las doce del dia porque yo voy a dejar mi plaza a tú nombre"... "Y como yo veo que tú tienes la necesidad, entonces tú lo vas a aprovechar bien"... "Llego con mi mamá bien contenta y le digo "Mamá ya se solucionaron mis problemas"... Le platique lo que me sucedió con mi tío. Y me dice mi mami todavia me dice "Hay hija, pues que bueno. No vas a tener necesidad de estar buscando trabajo sí ya te separas no?" Llego el sabado y mi mamá con una cara de tristeza no? Y me dice "Que paso hija traes tus papeles? Le digo "Sí mami, luego el lunes voy a ir a ver a mi tío". Me dice "Bueno siéntate, quiero platicar contigo." Le digo "Que paso mami?" Yo veía a mi mamá preocupada. Dice "Oye hija cuando dices que vistes a tú tío?" Y le digo "Pues el martes" le digo.... "Siéntate, y toma con calma lo que te voy a platicar porque le verdad a mi me sorprende". Y le digo "Sí mami" y resulta que mi tío, el dia dos de noviembre cumplia cuarenta días de haber fallecido mi tío. Entonce para mi fue algo muy impactante porque me dice... "Sí tú tío estaba internado allí en el sanitario español , falleció de hecho allí. Acaba de venir su hermana para recoger sus cosas para llevarselos." Entonce cremaron los restos de mi tío... Me impactó mucho porque yo vi a mi tío de hecho entre a la casa de moneda con el... Cuando mi mamá le dijo a mi tía que me iba dar su plaza el, sí se molestó. Y me dice mi mamá "Sabes que mija tú acudes para la cita que tienes con tú tío." Pero la verdad, ya no me atreví porque me daba mucho miedo, ya me dio miedo presentarme a la cita con él... Como el dijo "Me voy ya para mi tierra". Pero el ya se iba pero él se iba en ceniza... Pero posteriormente como a la semana oía yo que me gritaba mi tío, que me gritaba que me decía que no acude a la cita. Me decía "Es que tú no acudiste a la cita." Sí no yo ya me quedé con el miedo de hecho estuve enferma unos días porque sí sí me sentí muy mal...Lo curioso es que lo que decía yo que el joven que iba con él para nada hablo. El sí para nada hablo..."

La Mano Peluda (Truck Driver Stories) - Juan Ramón Sáenz (103)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPDP3ISmNcY&list=WL&index=22>

Rocio - "...A Javi uno de mis hermanos hace quince días. Mi mamá tiene siete años que murió Don Ramón y haz de cuenta hace siete días este haz de cuenta que mi hermano iba por un (unrecognizable

speech sounds) que le dicen el túnel no se yo no tengo idea verdad?... Iba el muy recio. Dice que el (unrecognizable speech sounds) con otros trailereros de que estaba tras el. Y ya va y él dice “Oye ya se subieron cada quien a sus camiones? Oye regalame un chicle.” Dice el señor “No tengo chicle pero ten llévate estas pastillas” le da cuatro pastillas Don Ramón de esas de dulce. Y le dice él “No nada más quiero una.” Dice “No para que le des a tú familia.” Dice mi hermano “No es que vengo solo.” Dice “Es que vi a una señora en tú camión y se rió conmigo.” Y mi hermano se quedó dice “No puede ser camarada, porque yo estoy yo ando solo, pero de todos modos muchas gracias no?”... Mi hermano se sube a su trailer... y el siente mucho escalofrío Dice “Hermana” ... “Que crees que otra vez en la mañana pues me avente muchas hora allí pero otra vez en la mañana me acordé de lo que me dijo el chofer y te digo un cosa que me agarre llorando como un niño.” Cómo ves Don Ramón?... “Oyes hermano no te pones a pensar que a la mejor era mi mamá?” Ósea no se yo siento la, que a lo mejor mi madre siempre nos va cuidar no? Así ella ya no está con nosotros... No se a lo mejor mi mamá nos sigue cuidando todavía de donde ella esté. Como ves Juan Ramón?... Haz de cuenta que eran como las dos de la mañana y me entró un sueño pesado, pesado Juan Ramón... Y llegó el momento en que yo escuche, ella me decía “Chillo”. Yo escuché el momento en la que me dice “Chillo” yo le conteste Juan Ramón. Yo me levanto de mi cama y le digo “Eou” le digo “Eou, mande mami”. Yo haci le decía a mi mamá “mami” ... Entonce en ese momento digo “No es que quien le estoy contestando sí mi mamá está muerta?” Pues haz de cuenta Don Ramón que en eso entra mi papá como con unos seis, ocho perros. Y los perros lo jalaban, lo jalaban y el “Gracias amigos aquí estoy, aquí es mi casa.” Y sí los animales se metieron hasta el fondo de la casa Juan Ramón y salieron y mi papá “Gracias amigos por traerme.” Dice mi papá que nunca supo de dónde le salieron esos perros... estaba peligros por allí por la casa y los perros lo jalaban Don Ramón...

La Mano Peluda - Un Muerto Le Dio Refugio y Otras Experiencias

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPDP3lSmNcY&list=Wl&index=22>

Armando - “...Pues un día lo deje de ver y pase por su casa ya eran como las tres de la mañana y yo ya tomado pero iba así entablado ósea no iba tan tomado por el alcohol. Y en eso voy pasando y me tocan el hombro y era el. Y me dice “Oyes que está haciendo a estas horas por aquí?” le digo “No pues yo lo agarre y ahorita no quiero llegar a mi casa quiero llegar pues en la mañana.” Y estaba así llovió y hacia mucho frío. Me dice “Sabes que?” me dice “Mejor entrar a la casa, aquí te quedas y te vas mañana que ya estas tranquilo.” Abre la puerta por que era puerta calle, abre la puerta y hay un sillón dice “Mira aqui te quedas pa dormir”. Y este me llevó un café y dos piezas de pan. Dice “Come algo para que tengas algo en el estomago” dice “Yo te voy a cerrar con llave para que no te salgas (unrecognizable speech sounds) porque sí te dejo aquí te vas a salir”. Y ya me dormí pero antes de eso vi algo raro en la casa que las láminas estaban como corridas y por un lado entraba pues la llovizna. Y las mesas estaban acomodadas no como siempre. Digo “Oye que paso?” dijo “No es que voy a remodelar por eso está así.” Le digo “Va bueno”. Entonces el se fue y cerró con llave. Al otro día despierto, pues con la necesidad de tomar, todo tembloroso y veo que eran las seis, las siete, las ocho y no llega. Ya como a las nueve me desespero y como no podía salir por la parte de atrás tenía madera con ladrillo. Entonce hice fuerza y quite unos tabiques y por allí me salí. Entonce con salir da con un patio de vecindad y estaba un señor lavando ropa y que me dice “Oye cómo entraste allí?” Le digo “Es que vino Joel, me encontró en a la madrugada y me dijo pues que me quedara yo para dormir, pero como no me vino para abrir, yo estaba desesperado y quería comprar algo.” Me dice “De que Joel estás hablando?” Le dije “Del señor este el chaparrito tiene facciones como el de jarocho del puerto.” Me dice “Joel músico?” Le dije “Sí” Y que me dice “No puede ser.”... “Pero sí el tiene más de tres años desde que falleció.”... Yo pienso que es porque dicen que se

vienen a despedir cuando no llegan a verlos en vida yo pienso que alcanzan a despedir... Me quedó muy marcado eso porque sí teníamos muy buen amistad... No sentí miedo sino que sentí algo algo bien porque digo bueno se acordó de mí, me vio en problemas pues ahora sí me quiso ayudar...

A.2 Examples of each metaphorical pattern

Examples are grouped by patterns specific to the role ghosts facilitate in the narratives.

A.2.1 GHOST AS A MESSENGER

Harbinger

-“Bueno dile que se cuide mucho ella y dile a su esposo que no salga hoy...Por favor dile que no salga hoy.”

“Well tell her to take good care of herself and tell her husband not to go out tonight...Please tell him not to go out tonight.”

-“Salte de aquí inmediatamente porque va pasar algo”... “Sí va pasar algo feo”...

“Leave this place immediately because something will happen”... “Something ugly will happen”...

-“Es que él está muy preocupado por tú mamá”. Dije “Papito mi mamá está bien”. Entonce mi tío le dice a mi papá “Ya ves tú esposa está bien, vámonos!”

“He is very worried about your mother.” I said “Daddy my mom is fine”. So then my uncle tells my father “You see your wife is fine, let’s go!”.

-“...y dice “Vas a recibir un noticia que va doler mucho, pero es la voluntad del altísimo”.

“...and says “You will receive news that will hurt you very much, but it is the will of the most high” (God).

-“No te preocupes. Tú papá ya le van a dar de alta la semana que sigue.” Dice “Y ya va dejar de... Ya no va sufrir.”

“Don’t worry. Your father will be free next week.” She said “And he will no longer...he will suffer no longer.”

Instruction/Direction

-“...y le dijo “Te quiero pedir un favor, mí hija la Chata está mala. Necesito que le vayas a decir que las medicinas están detrás de la puerta de tal cuarto.”

“... and he told her “I want to ask you a favor, my daughter Chata is sick. I need you to tell her that the medicine is behind the door of said room.”

-“La primera vez que se le apareció, le dijo que fuera a pagarle un dinero que le debía a un compadre.”

“The first time that he appeared, he told her to go and pay his friend some money he owed him.”

Support

-“...y me dice “No te preocupes hija, vas a ir conmigo y ahorita estoy arreglando mis papeles, mis asunto pendientes para ya irme”

“...and he says “Don’t worry my dear, you will come with me and I will fix my paperwork, and my pending work so I could leave.”

-“Mira tu esposo tuvo un accidente. No te preocupes tu esposo esta bien”.

“Look your husband had an accident. Don’t worry your husband is fine.”

-“Sentí bonito... “Aquí estoy”...Sí lo sentí ese día sí dije “Sí eres tú eres tu ya lo se.”... Y me quedó muy claro, este año nuevo que paso esto.”

I felt wonderful... “I’m here”...I felt him that day and I said “Yes it is you, it is you, now I know it”...and it was very clear to me, this last New Years when it occurred.

A.2.2 GHOST AS GUARDIAN

Calamity

-“Entonces este ya de ese tiempo para aca, cada dia de los muertos que se pone la ofrenda, le ponemos un espacio a Ella no, que fue la que me salvo a la mejor de una muerte no.”

“So now since then, every Día de los muertos we make a space for her on our altar, because she was the one that saved me from possibly death right?”

-“Y otros me dicen que esa muchachita me salvó de algo. Algo me iba pasar ese dia, y me hizo llevarla a su domicilio...”

“And others tell me that, that young woman saved me from something. Something was supposed to happen to me that day, and she made me take her home...”

-“No sentí miedo sino que sentí algo algo bien porque digo bueno se acordó de mí, me vio en problemas pues ahora sí me quiso ayudar.”

“I did not feel fear rather, I felt something something good because I thought that he remembered me, he saw me in trouble and wanted to help me.”

Fatigue

-“Y me dijo “Sabes que, es que es una señora que se sube para que no se duerman. Si! No les hace nada no les dice nada. Simplemente cuando llegan con mucho sueño es cuando aparece la señora””

“And he tells me “You know, she is a woman who gets in (the truck) so drivers won’t fall asleep. Yes! She does not do or say anything. Basically when someone is very sleepy and driving the woman appears to them”...”

-“Y le dice él “No nada más quiero una.” Dice “No para que le des a tú familia.” Dice mi hermano “No es que vengo solo.” Dice “Es que vi a una señora en tú camión y se rió conmigo.”

“And he tells him, “I only want one.” He says “No, take these for your family.” My brother tells him “No I am traveling alone.” He says, “Well I saw a woman in your truck, and she even smiled at me.”

-“Hay un lapso en la Sierra de Nayarit que no me acuerdo haber pasado, pienso que me quede dormido pero seguí manejando. Ya en una curva me desperté, ya casi chocaba y el olor de la señora el cuerpo de la señora estaba allí presente.”

“There is a span in the Sierra de Nayarit which I don’t remember driving through, I think I fell asleep but continued on driving. Then on a turn I woke up, and almost crashed, and the scent of the body of the woman was present.”

Violence/assault

-“Y yo, haga de cuenta que vi la cara del esposo de mi hermana, que en paz descanse... El ya tenia mas de medio año de fallecido. En ese momento... siento algo pesado encima de mi. Algo que me callo haci encima y yo trataba de buscarlo o asi pero yo ya no lo veia.”

“And I, saw the face of my sister’s husband, rest in peace...He had passed away more than six months ago. In that moment...I felt something heavy on top of me. Something that fell on top of me, and I was trying to find him or something but I could not see him.”

-“el perro se quedó atrás no se porque si se bien la vista y la sombra blanca que me ha perseguido, estaba parada a mitad del puente impidiendo al perro perseguirme. Yo me siento tranquilo con ella...”

“The dog was left behind (in chasing), and I don't know why and the white shadow which was following me was standing in the middle of the bridge blocking the dog from following me. I feel comfortable with her (white shadow).”

Lost/stranded

-“Y ahorita vamos a tomar un trolebús que nos va llevar cerca al el eje de Baja California. Y de allí vamos a tomar un camión que se va todo Insurgentes, y ya te puedes bajar cerca del metro de Insurgentes.” ...El caso es que me ayudó, si no fuera por ella no...Una manda a lo mejor o un

ángel... O a lo mejor era una alma en pena, una persona que cumple una manda para ayudar a la gente...”

“And right now we are going to take a trolleybus which will leave us near Baja California street. From there we will take a bus along all of Insurgentes, then you will be near the Insurgentes metro stop.”... The truth is that she helped me, if not for her...Perhaps she was ordered or was an ángel... Or perhaps a spirit in mourning, like a person who is ordered to help people.”

-“Y la niña me acuerdo lo que me dijo “por aquí no nos vamos porque hay gente mala”. Pero yo nunca me sentía con miedo... yo al contrario me sentía seguro, me sentía bien y empezamos a caminar, a caminar, a caminar...”

And I remember what the little girl told me, “we won’t go this way because there are bad people there”. But I never felt fear... on the contrary I felt confident, I felt good and we began to walk, and walk, and walk...”

-“Quien te ayudo?”, “No, pasó un muchacho y me empezó a ayudar”. Dijo “Como era?” “No, así...” Se lo describió y era idéntico a mi primo que había fallecido hace diez años.”

“Who helped you?”, “Well, a young man came through here and began to help me. He asked “What was he like?”, “Well he was like this and that...” He described him and he was identical to my cousin who had passed away ten years ago.”

A.2.3 Guardian Angel

-“Dijo, “No, no estoy cansada, alguien me mando a cuidarte, alguien me mando cuidarte, y no me voy a separar de ti hasta que salgas de aquí”...”

“She said, “No, I am not tired, someone sent me to take care of you, someone sent me to take care of you, and I will not be separated from you until you leave here”...”

-“Yo te voy a cuidar y tengo esa esa esa como se puede decir, misión de cuidar hasta que el señor te manda.”

“I am going to take care of you, and I have that, that, that, how would you say, mission to take care of you until He (God) orders for you.”

-“No puedo olvidar esa enfermera, no la puedo olvidar. No se que sería, una aparición, un ángel, no se. Pero en ese momento me dio una tranquilidad para empezar a moverme hacer todo lo que se tiene que hacer...”

“I cannot forget that nurse, I can’t forget her. I’m not sure if she was an apparition, an ángel, I’m not sure. But in that moment she gave me a sense of calm in order to begin to do everything I needed to do...”

