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in Spanish and English with an outlook on French“

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1 Introduction

1.1 Topic

Despite significant societal changes in recent decades, stereotypes about women and men have largely remained the same (Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, 2016). Gender stereotyping occurs when, based on a person's biological sex, they are ascribed or denied certain characteristics and roles which limits their opportunities in life, hindering therefore advancements in gender equality and promoting sexism (Council of Europe, 2021). This is also the case when it comes to sexual orientation in that, due to heteronormativity, "gay and lesbian sexual orientation is associated with a violation of traditional gender roles" (Salvati, Piumatti, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco, 2019, p. 462). When people violate traditional gender roles by appearing or behaving in gender non-conforming ways, they are more likely to experience rejection, for example in the form of linguistic castigation.

One way of detecting this penalization is through metaphor. Thus, a promiscuous woman who violates the traditional female gender stereotype of the sexually passive and modest woman can be referred to as *bicycle* in English and *tigresa* 'tigress' in Spanish, for example. While the former expression conceptualizes this type of woman as an inanimate and therefore will-less object readily available to be ridden or used by men, the latter portrays her as a dangerous and voracious predator who acts out of instinct rather than choice. As another example, metaphorical expressions for a homosexual man, violating the traditional male stereotype of the virile and heterosexual man, include *daisy* in English and *mariposa* 'butterfly' in Spanish. Both conceptualizations present this type of man as delicate, frail, and pretty which are all attributes heavily associated with femininity and thus portray a homosexual man as woman-like (Crespo-Fernández, 2018, pp. 47–48).

All the above-mentioned examples have in common that a non-human source concept (INANIMATE OBJECT, FLOWER, ANIMAL) is used to conceptualize a human target concept (PROMISCUOUS WOMAN, HOMOSEXUAL MAN). To estimate the pragmatic effect of these metaphorical conceptualizations, it can be helpful to consider the so-called Great Chain of Being, an ontological folk hierarchy of the universe which ranges from celestial entities to humans, animals, plants, objects, and finally nothingness (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 170–171). When a promiscuous woman is portrayed as an entity lower than humans, e.g. an animal (*tigresa* 'tigress'), it tends to downgrade her by denying her features like morality and reason which separate humans from animals. A woman who engages in frequent casual sex, i.e. behaviour which violates the traditional female stereotype, is hence not regarded as an individual who consciously chooses to pursue her sexual desires, but instead is reduced to a wild and out-of-control animal which instinctively searches for mates and poses a threat to them.

As can be seen, the exploration of metaphor can be a fruitful approach to detecting prevalent gender stereotypes. Both – gender stereotypes (see 3.1) and metaphor (see 2.1.2 and 3.2) – lie at the

core of the present doctoral dissertation, which is guided by the research questions presented in the next section.

1.2 Research questions

The present doctoral dissertation is a cumulative dissertation, composed as part of the doctoral programme at the Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies at the University of Vienna, Austria. It consists of four published research articles (see Table 1) as well as the synopsis at hand. An overview of the four peer reviewed research articles is given in section 5.3, while the articles themselves can be found in the appendix of this synopsis.

Table 1: The four research articles which – alongside the synopsis – make up the present doctoral dissertation.

#	Research article
1	Dziallas (= Fernandes), K. (2019). Gender stereotyping: The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables. <i>Metaphor and the Social World</i> , 9(2), 199–220.
2	Fernandes, K. (2020). Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students' perceptions of different types of women and men. <i>Gender Studies</i> , 19(1), 109–136.
3	Dziallas (= Fernandes), K., & Borkovec, M. (2020). Breaking down gender subtype perception. <i>Technium Social Sciences Journal</i> , 10(1), 579–610.
4	Fernandes, K. (2021). Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors: Spanish native speakers' associations with novel metaphors. <i>Linguistik Online</i> , 108(3), 33–66.

It is important to note that research article 3 (“Breaking down gender subtype perception”) was co-authored by first author Kristina Fernandes, formerly Dziallas, and second author Martin Borkovec, who conducted the statistical analysis of the study results and wrote section 3.4 in research article 3. Kristina Fernandes, formerly Dziallas, is solely responsible for the remaining work on research article 3 as well as for the three other research articles (see 5.3 and appendix) and the synopsis at hand.

Several research questions are explored in the present doctoral dissertation which are listed in Table 2. The chapter(s) and research article(s) which correspond to the respective research question are also shown. The object languages Spanish and English (and French) were chosen due to their standing as some of the largest world languages. The research questions are aimed at addressing various dimensions:

- a) Research objects: metaphor (conceptualization, conventionality, interpretation), Spanish and English (and outlook on French), various types of women and men (special focus on homosexuality), female and male sexualized body parts
- b) Methods: dictionary search, brainstorming sessions, interviews, online questionnaires
- c) Production and perception: female and male Spanish and English subjects

Table 2: Research questions addressed in the present doctoral dissertation as well as the corresponding chapter(s) and research article(s).

#	Research question	Corresponding chapter or research article
1.a	How are different types of women and men conceptualized metaphorically in Spanish and English?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 5.1 • Chapter 5.2 • Research article 2
1.b	How is female and male homosexuality conceptualized metaphorically in Spanish and English?	
1.c	How are female and male sexualized body parts (vagina, breasts, penis, testicles) conceptualized metaphorically in Spanish, English, and French?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 5.1 • Chapter 5.2 • Research article 1
2	To what extent do conceptualizations (see research questions 1) differ depending on the methodological approach (dictionary search vs. brainstorming sessions with native speakers)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 5.1 • Chapter 5.2
3.a	Which types of women and men do Spanish and English native speakers think of spontaneously?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 5.2 • Research article 2
3.b	To what extent do female and male native speakers differ in their production of different types of women and men?	
4.a	How do Spanish and English native speakers perceive different types of women and men?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research article 2 • Research article 3
4.b	To what extent do female and male native speakers differ in their perception of different types of women and men?	
5.a	How do Spanish speakers interpret novel metaphors that are conventional in English?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research article 4
5.b	To what extent does the methodological approach (Likert scales vs. open questions) influence novel metaphor interpretation?	

The theoretical framework in which the research questions above are approached is introduced in the next section (1.3), followed by the methodology (1.4) employed to answer the research questions.

1.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of the present doctoral dissertation is divided into two main parts, namely language and thought (see 2.1) and language and evaluation (see 2.2). The former comprises the topics of linguistic relativity (see 2.1.1) and cognitive metaphor (see 2.1.2), while the latter is concerned with the notion of the Great Chain of Being (see 2.2.1) and the research field of language and gender (see 2.2.2).

At the theoretical core of the present doctoral dissertation which investigates metaphorical conceptualizations of women and men as well as their body parts lies Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2020) – a major theory within Cognitive Linguistics. According to this theory, metaphor is not just a figure of speech used to embellish language but is instead fundamental to the structure of human thinking. Thus, “[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). When referring

to a promiscuous woman as *tigress*, for example, we understand and experience the target concept PROMISCUOUS WOMAN in terms of the source concept TIGRESS. However, by conceptualizing this type of woman as a big cat, only the salient aspects of the source are mapped onto the target (*highlighting*), while the less salient features remain concealed (*hiding*). Metaphor, then, allows a speaker to direct a listener's attention to certain features and to conceal others. In the case of *tigress*, salient features include wild, dangerous, aggressive, ravenous, and instinctual behaviour, hiding the fact that a woman who frequently engages in casual sex does so out of conscious choice and sexual desire and does generally not pose a threat to her sexual partners.

Thus, this type of metaphorical language use demonizes female promiscuity which can ultimately influence our thinking. In order to understand how a linguistic mechanism like metaphor has the power to do so, it is important to consider the topic of linguistic relativity in the centre of which stands the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. While the strong version of this hypothesis claims that language *determines* thought, the weak version states that language merely *influences* thought (Sharifian, 2017b, p. 83). When it comes to Cognitive Linguistics, its commitments are aligned with a weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 101) – a position that has also been adopted for the work of the present doctoral dissertation.

As mentioned above, the concept of the folk model Great Chain of Being (Lovejoy, [1936] 2001; Lakoff & Turner, 1989) helps to estimate the pragmatic effect of metaphor. For example, conceptualizing a woman as a lower-order being, e.g. an animal (*She is a tigress.*), constitutes a top-down mapping which tends to carry negative connotations. On the other hand, the conceptualization of a woman as a higher-order being, e.g. a celestial creature (*She is a goddess.*), represents a bottom-up mapping, generally resulting in positive evaluation. Thus, this folk hierarchy proves highly beneficial for the purpose of metaphor analysis in the present doctoral dissertation.

Lastly, the theoretical framework of the research field of language and gender is of importance to the present work, too. Specifically, the present doctoral dissertation takes a dynamic approach to language and gender, as it explores the linguistic representation of various femininities and masculinities with varying degrees of gender stereotypicality, by researching the Spanish and English vocabulary used to talk about different types of women and men.

1.4 Methodology

Methodologically, the present doctoral dissertation employed

- a) Spanish, English, and French dictionary search (see 4.1),
- b) written brainstorming sessions with Spanish and English native speakers (see 4.2),
- c) recorded single interviews with Spanish and English native speakers (see 4.3), and
- d) various online questionnaires with Spanish and English native speakers (see 4.4).

The purpose of the dictionary search, which served as the basis for the studies presented in research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”) and 4 (“Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers’ associations with novel metaphors”), was to compile a database of Spanish and English metaphorical conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their sexualized body parts (vagina, breasts, penis, testicles). The latter (conceptualizations of body parts) was also the purpose of the French dictionary search. Then, brainstorming sessions were held in order to investigate which expressions actually feature in native speakers’ active vocabulary. This was backed up by recorded interviews in which participants went into detail about the meaning of the expressions that they had listed in the previous brainstorming sessions. In a last step, the same participants took part in an online questionnaire, in which they broke down the most frequently produced expressions in the brainstorming sessions on 15 slider scales concerning gender stereotypicality and personality features. Additionally, for a separate study, another two online questionnaires (Likert scales and open questions) were created in which Spanish native speakers judged novel metaphors which had been translated from English. The combination of these methodological approaches allows for a multi-perspective view on gender stereotypes and the metaphorical conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their bodies.

1.5 Outline

The present doctoral dissertation is structured in the following way. The next chapter, chapter 2, introduces in detail the relevant theoretical framework, subdivided into the sections of language and thought (see 2.1), which covers the topics of linguistic relativity (see 2.1.1) and cognitive metaphor (see 2.1.2), and language and evaluation (see 2.2), which goes into detail about the Great Chain of Being (see 2.2.1) and the research field of language and gender (see 2.2.2). Chapter 3 presents the two research topics which together form the thematic essence of the present doctoral dissertation, namely gender stereotypes (see 3.1) and gender metaphors (see 3.2). The methodology used for the present work is detailed in chapter 4, with separate sections on the dictionary search (see 4.1), brainstorming sessions (see 4.2), interviews (see 4.3), and online questionnaires (see 4.4). Chapter 5 illustrates the results obtained from the Spanish and English dictionary search (see 5.1) and the brainstorming sessions with Spanish and English native speakers (see 5.2). In 5.3, an overview of the four research articles is given, and throughout the synopsis, the relation between the respective topic at hand and the corresponding research article(s) is highlighted. Chapter 6 ends with the conclusions and implications for future research.

2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the relevant theoretical framework of the present doctoral dissertation including the four comprised research articles (see 5.3 and appendix) is presented in two main sections: language and thought (2.1) and language and evaluation (2.2). The first section explores the issue of linguistic relativity on the one hand and Conceptual Metaphor Theory and related topics (conceptual metonymy, metaphor-culture-interaction) on the other hand. Conceptual Metaphor Theory is of utmost importance to the present doctoral dissertation which investigates the linguistic representation of women and men in terms of metaphorical expressions. Since it is assumed in the field of Cognitive Linguistics that “language not only *reflects* conceptual structure, but can also *give rise to* conceptualisation” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 101), i.e. that language can influence thought, it is crucial for the purpose of the present doctoral dissertation to first explore the topic of linguistic relativity.

2.1 Language and thought

2.1.1 Linguistic relativity

This section focused on linguistic relativity begins with a brief historical overview of the emergence of questions about the influence of language on thought since the ancient world (2.1.1.1), introduces what is known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (2.1.1.2), and ends by exploring experimental research on linguistic relativity in contemporary cognitive science, e.g. the influence of grammatical gender on human perception (2.1.1.3). The purpose of this section is to demonstrate that extensive research has revealed that human thought can be influenced by the language we use. The findings presented in this section help explain that metaphorical language does not just constitute a stylistic choice but that it can influence our thinking about the people it refers to (see 2.1.2).

2.1.1.1 Brief historical overview

The idea of linguistic relativity is heavily associated with what is known today as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (see 2.1.1.2), named after the anthropologist-linguist Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941). However, the question to which degree language influences thought has been discussed since ancient times, as can be seen from the following quote by Socrates in Plato’s middle period work *Cratylus*: “[C]ustom and convention must be supposed to contribute to the indication of our thoughts” (Plato & Jowett, 2017, p. 101). Furthermore, in *De Interpretatione* Aristotle points to the possible influence of language on thought – albeit less explicitly than is the case in *Cratylus* – as the following quote translated by Penn (1972) shows:

Vocal expressions are the symbols of mental impressions, and letters are the symbols of vocal sounds. Speech, like writing, differs from culture to culture; but all mental impressions, which are

for the most part expressed by their corresponding symbols, are the same for all men, as are the objects they represent. (Penn, 1972, p. 41)

Furthermore, Charlemagne, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, is believed to have said, “To have another language is to possess a second soul”. In more recent times, philosophers Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) further contributed to the discussion of the relationship between language and thought:

Vernunft ist Sprache, *lógos*. An diesem Markknochen nage ich und werde mich zu Tode darüber nagen. (Hamann, 1825, p. 151)

Was heißt *Denken*? *Innerlich Sprechen*, d.i. die innegewordnen Merkmahle sich selbst aussprechen; sprechen heißt laut denken. (Herder, 1799, p. 200)

However, it is linguist and philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) with whom “began the heyday of 19th-century linguistic relativism” (Elffers, 1996, p. 77):

Humboldt was the first European to combine the knowledge of non-Indo-European languages with a broad philosophical background. He was also the first to emphasize the magnitude of the difference between cultures as revealed in their languages. The main tenet of Humboldt’s linguistic philosophy is that the world-view (*Weltanschauung*) of one people differs from that of another people to a hitherto unheard-of degree, and that this is due to the extreme difference in the “internal structure” (*innere Sprachform*) of their respective languages. (Penn, 1972, p. 19)

Humboldt followed other linguists at the time by claiming that Indo-European languages could be considered superior to other languages due to their inflectional grammar. Accordingly, speakers of agglutinating languages, i.e. some indigenous American languages, tended to be regarded as more primitive than those of languages with inflectional morphology (McNeely, 2011, pp. 135–136). Several decades later, Franz Boas (1858–1942), who is considered the father of American anthropology, contributed to the “disappearance of naive anthropology and romantic nationalism” (Elffers, 1996, p. 81) by rejecting the notion of Indo-European languages as the most advanced languages as well as the position of all human activity leading up to the modern West (Leavitt, 2015, p. 23). In fact, he was the first to use the term *cultures* in the plural form (Leavitt, 2015, p. 24). Boas famously studied the Inuit of Baffin Island in Canada, leading to the conclusion that the fact that Inuit has more terms for snow¹ than English “must to a certain extent depend upon the chief interests of a people” (Boas, 1911, p. 26).

¹ While Boas distinguishes four and contemporary linguists two Inuit terms for snow, the famous case of Inuit snow terms has been exaggerated and distorted repeatedly, with some claiming the existence of up to 200 snow terms (Elffers, 1996, p. 82; see also Cichocki & Kilarski, 2010, and Regier, Carstensen, & Kemp, 2016).

2.1.1.2 Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

Although the name of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests that the two scholars developed it in collaboration, they never actually worked or published their findings together. Instead, Whorf developed the hypothesis inspired by Sapir's considerations. Building on the writings of his teacher, Whorf's formulation of the hypothesis can be regarded as the most radical compared to all previous approaches (Mcnamara, 1991, p. 45):

Actually, thinking is most mysterious, and by far the greatest light upon it that we have is thrown by the study of language. This study shows that the forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of pattern of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematizations of his own language – shown readily enough by a candid comparison and contrast with other languages, especially those of a different linguistic family. His thinking itself is in a language – in English, in Sanskrit, in Chinese. And every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness. (Whorf, 1956, p. 252)

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is generally considered to have two parts, namely a strong and a weak version. The strong version states that language *determines* thought, whereas the weak version claims that language merely *influences* thought. While the above quote reveals a clear position in favour of the strong version of the hypothesis, it is important to stress that it is unclear whether Whorf (and Sapir) indeed held such a radical view with regard to the influence of language on thought (Sharifian, 2017b, p. 83).

Nowadays, it is widely assumed that the strong version of the hypothesis is incorrect as research has provided empirical evidence against linguistic determinism. Influential in this respect was Berlin and Kay's (1969) famous study on basic colour terms. Figure 1 shows the eleven colours classified by the authors as basic colour terms, which are colours that are "monolexemic, present in the idiolect of all observers and not subsumed within the meaning of other terms [e.g. crimson or turquoise]" (Roberson, Davidoff, Davies, & Shapiro, 2005, p. 379). Berlin and Kay's (1969) study showed that there are large universals across languages when it comes to basic colour terms and that linguistic differences between languages, e.g. with some languages having only two basic colour terms (black and white) and some having all eleven, do not conform with differences in categorization (Wolff & Holmes, 2011, p. 256) – findings that refute the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Furthermore, research conducted by Heider (1972) investigated the colour terms of the Dani, a New Guinea tribe, revealing that they only have two basic colour terms, one for 'light' (*mola*) and one for

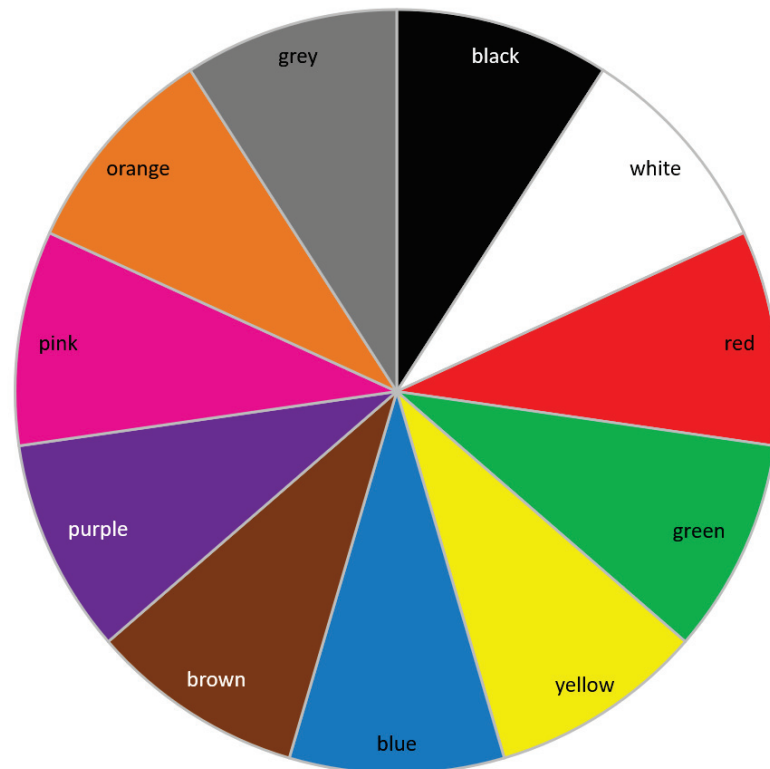


Figure 1: Basic colour terms (Berlin & Kay, 1969) (own graphic).

‘dark’ (*mili*). However, she showed that when the Dani were presented with focal colours, i.e. the prototypical shade and best example of a particular colour, they could later on easily remember and identify those colours. This should not have been possible according to the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as there are only two basic colour terms in the Dani’s language (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 97). Additionally, with the rise of the generative approach in linguistics in the 1960s, any version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis tended to be rejected entirely due to “its incompatibility with the hypothesis that there might exist a universal set of pre-linguistic conceptual primitives, and therefore a universal ‘mentalese’ or ‘language of thought’” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 96).

While nowadays the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has indeed largely been refuted, there has been a significant amount of recent empirical research which suggests that the weak version of the hypothesis, i.e. that language *influences* thought, might be true.

2.1.1.3 Linguistic relativity in contemporary cognitive science

Since the 1990s, cognitive scientists have increasingly conducted empirical research which supports the idea that human thought is indeed influenced by language. Lucy (1992) conducted a case study on speakers of English and Mayan and their categories of number and animacy, showing that Mayan nouns are not marked in the plural – similar to English mass nouns. Presenting the English and Mayan speakers with pictures of single or multiple items, he found that there was a clear tendency for Mayan

speakers not to notice the differences between one or several objects, especially when it came to inanimate objects, which was not the case for English speakers (Burns, 1994, p. 446).

But primarily since the early 2000s, numerous studies in support of the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis have been conducted – particularly in experimental cognitive psychology (Leavitt, 2015, p. 27). These include research on the domains of time (e.g. Boroditsky, 2001), space (e.g. Levinson, 2003), grammatical gender (e.g. Boroditsky, Schmidt, & Phillips, 2003), colour (e.g. Roberson, Davies, & Davidoff, 2000), and objects versus substances (e.g. Lucy & Gaskins, 2001).

In her study on Mandarin and English speakers' conception of time, Boroditsky (2001) tested whether the different ways in which Mandarin and English talk about time influences the way the respective speakers think about time. In Mandarin time is often described as vertical, while English predominantly describes time as horizontal. Boroditsky (2001) found that "Mandarin speakers were faster to confirm that March comes earlier than April if they had just seen a vertical array of objects than if they had just seen a horizontal array, and the reverse was true for English speakers" (p. 1) and concluded that "these findings make a strong case for language shaping habitual thought" (p. 19). Further support for this conclusion is presented in Boroditsky (2008), Fuhrman and Boroditsky (2010), Boroditsky and Gaby (2010), Boroditsky, Fuhrman and McCormick (2011) and Pérez and Tavits (2017).

Moving on to the domain of space, research by Levinson (2003) and Majid et al. (2004), for example, investigated whether language can play a significant role in spatial cognition. Analysing a varied sample of languages, Levinson (2003) found that there are different frames of reference, most importantly a relative (viewer-centred) and an absolute (environment-centred) frame of reference. In languages with a relative frame of reference, such as English, a sentence like 'The cat is behind the truck' is natural, while it is natural in languages with an absolute frame of reference, such as the Australian Aboriginal language Guugu Yimithirr, to find a sentence like 'The cat is north of the truck' (Levinson, 2003, p. 3). Summarizing the results of various related studies, Majid et al. (2004) concluded that "people do indeed use different non-linguistic [frames of reference] to do the same tasks, and that these non-linguistic [frames of reference] align with the preferred [frame of reference] of their language" (p. 110). Thus, as Levinson (2003) puts it, "it is language above all that drives the convergence between linguistic and non-linguistic coding of our spatial world" (p. 213). Research conducted by Bergen and Chan (2005), Levinson and Wilkins (2006), and Haun, Rapold, Janzen and Levinson (2011) has offered further support for this claim.

Apart from the domains of time and space, researchers interested in the influence of language on thought have also investigated the role of grammatical gender. Phillips and Boroditsky (2003) carried out a series of experiments to test whether participants would think of inanimate objects in either feminine or masculine terms depending on which grammatical gender the respective nouns were assigned to. For example, the German equivalent of *the clock* is *die Uhr* (feminine), while in Spanish it

is *el reloj* (masculine). To test the influence on grammatical gender on cognition, Phillips and Boroditsky (2003) had participants indicate the similarity between objects or animals and either female or male humans. Figure 2 illustrates some of the objects and animals used in the experiments as well as the female and male humans.

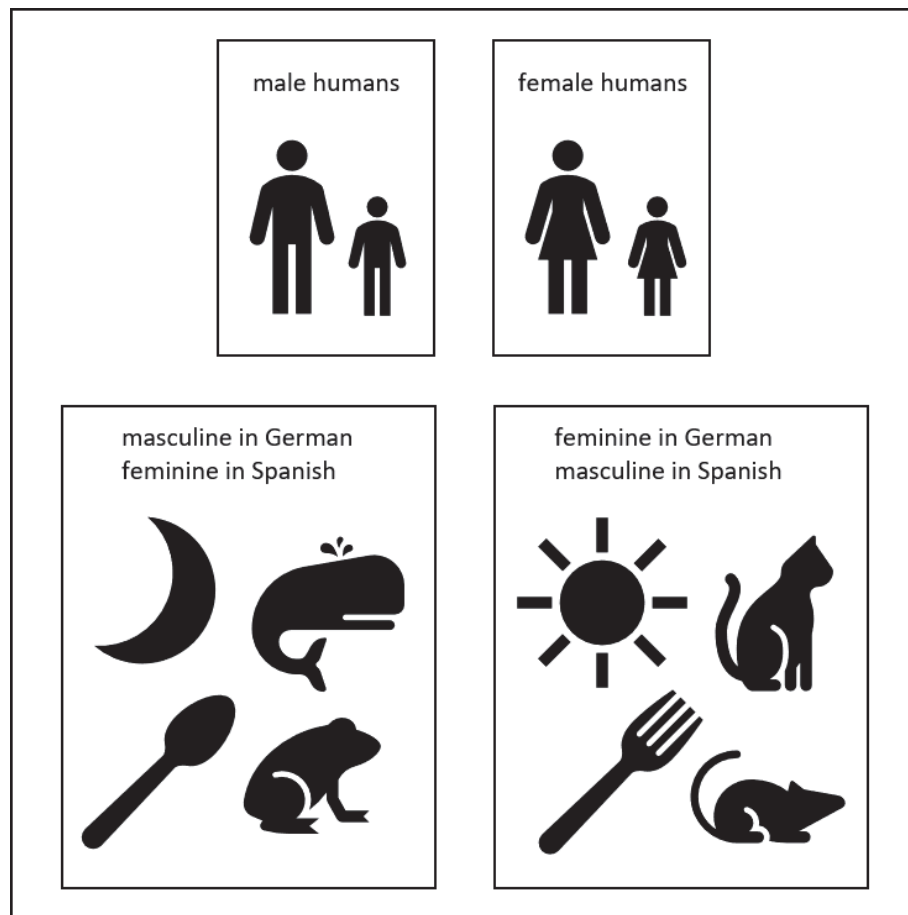


Figure 2: Some of the objects and animals as well as female and male humans used in the experiments by Phillips and Boroditsky (2003) (own graphic).

The results of the study were striking:

[A] grammatical distinction in language has the power to bias people’s memory for and their descriptions of objects and has an effect on people’s ratings of similarity between pictures of objects. This is true even though people perform tasks in a language different from the one they learned the grammatical distinction in, perform tasks involving no words (just pictures), and even despite interference from a verbal shadowing task. (Phillips & Boroditsky, 2003, p. 932)

Similarly, in her study on Italian-German bilingual and Italian monolingual children, Bassetti (2007) found that the monolinguals ascribed more female voices to objects of feminine gender in Italian and attributed voices consistently with Italian grammatical gender, while the bilinguals were not biased by Italian grammatical gender (p. 251). She concludes that “this is due to the knowledge of two specific

languages rather than to bilingualism per se, and to linguistic rather than cultural factors” (Bassetti, 2007, p. 251). Furthermore, Kurinski and Sera (2011) investigated English-speaking adults learning Spanish in a longitudinal study and observed that “learning a second language as an adult can affect one’s categorization of objects ... [and] that language (not only native, but also foreign) can influence human cognition” (Kurinski & Sera, 2011, p. 218). Corroborative results were found by Boroditsky and Schmidt (2000), Flaherty (2001), Kurinski, Jambor and Sera (2016) and Haertlé (2017), for example.

Replicating and extending Heider’s (1972) work on colour terms, Roberson, Davies and Davidoff (2000) conducted a series of studies comparing colour terms in the Berinmo language spoken by a tribe in Papua New Guinea with English. They found that, while English has eleven basic colour terms, Berinmo has five. In contrast to Heider’s (1972), their results showed that distinguishing linguistically between five or eleven basic colour terms greatly influences perceptual judgements and memory performance and that “Categorical Perception was consistently more closely aligned with the linguistic categories of each language than with underlying perceptual universals” (Roberson, Davies, & Davidoff, 2000, p. 393). Addressing criticism of their 2000 study, Roberson, Davidoff, Davies and Shapiro (2005) replicated their experiments with Himba speakers from twelve different villages in northern Namibia, making it a larger sample. Himba has the same amount of basic colour terms as Berinmo, namely five, but the Himba speakers’ territory is the desert, while Berinmo speakers live in the forest. Despite the differences in territory and sample size and the similarity in basic colour terms, Roberson, Davidoff, Davies and Shapiro (2005) found the same results as they did in their previous study. An experiment by Winawer et al. (2007) on Russian and English shades of blue further revealed a clear influence of language on perceptual colour tasks, as did research by Athanasopoulos et al. (2009) as well as Thierry et al. (2009).

Finally, studies on the linguistic effect on the perception of objects versus substances has yielded results in line with those of the above-mentioned domains. Lucy and Gaskins (2001) conducted tests with Yucatec and English speakers, showing them triplets of naturally occurring objects, with each triplet consisting of a pivot (e.g. a *wooden spoon*) and two alternate objects. One of the alternate objects had the same shape (e.g. a *ceramic spoon*) as the pivot, while the other one had the same material (e.g. a *wooden spatula*) as the pivot (Lucy & Gaskins, 2001, pp. 262, 266). When asking the participants to judge the similarity between the pivot and each alternate object, the researchers found that – in accordance with the respective language’s lexical structure – Yucatec speakers favoured the material alternates, whereas English speakers favoured the shape alternates (Lucy & Gaskins, 2001, p. 262). Additionally, Lucy and Gaskins (2001) found that Yucatec-speaking and English-speaking children showed the same tendencies as adults as early as by age 9 (p. 273). Similarly, when Imai and Mazuka (2003) investigated the construal of ontological categories among speakers of Japanese and English, they found “evidence that language plays a direct and strong role in shaping thought” (p. 460). Cook

et al. (2006) found corroborating results in their study on Japanese L2 users of English, as did Athanasopoulos (2007) in his research on Japanese-English bilinguals.

As shown in this section, a substantial amount of empirical research has been dedicated to exploring the relationship of language and thought and more precisely the way in which linguistic patterns can influence human perception and classification. While this topic continues to be the subject of discussions and a number of questions remain unanswered, it should be mentioned that, when it comes to the field of Cognitive Linguistics, its basic commitments are aligned with a weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 101). This position has also been adopted for the work of the present doctoral dissertation. With empirical evidence showing that language can influence thought, the issue of linguistic relativity is particularly relevant to cognitive metaphor research (see 2.1.2). By referring to one entity (e.g. *woman*) as another entity (e.g. *bitch*), metaphorical language use can influence how we understand and perceive the world around us. For this reason, metaphor can be a powerful tool to sway and even manipulate our perception of other people.

2.1.2 Cognitive metaphor

This section, introducing the cognitive perspective on metaphor, represents the theoretical core of the present doctoral dissertation, which investigates metaphors referring to various types of women and men. To begin with, the influential and extensive Conceptual Metaphor Theory is outlined (2.1.2.1) and a taxonomy of conceptual metaphor types is given (2.1.2.2). This is followed by explorations of the interplay between metaphor and metonymy (2.1.2.3) as well as metaphor and culture (2.1.2.4).

2.1.2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphor has been studied for more than 2000 years and for the majority of that time it was considered a rhetorical device or trope. As opposed to simile, which explicitly compares two categories by using *as* or *like* (“Achilles is as brave as a lion.”), metaphor does so implicitly: “Achilles is a lion.” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 293). This is an example of an animal metaphor in which an animal (lion) is used to refer to a human (Achilles). Among other types of metaphor, animal metaphors are of vital importance for the present doctoral dissertation as they are widely prevalent in the conceptualization of different types of women and men. I return to the topic of animal metaphors in 2.2.1 and 3.2.1.

With their ground-breaking 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By*, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson introduced the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and paved the way for a new view of metaphor and an enormous body of research (e.g. Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1987, 1990, 1993; Gibbs, 1994; Gibbs & Steen, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Kövecses, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2020; Ahrens, 2010; Deignan, 2010). Rather than seeing metaphor as a mere figure of speech used by rhetoricians and poets in order to embellish their language, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphor is fundamental to human

thinking and that “[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (p. 5). The following expressions taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 4) should make this claim clearer:

- (1) He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
- (2) I *demolished* his argument.
- (3) Your claims are *indefensible*.
- (4) You disagree? Ok, *shoot*!

The examples (1) to (4) are metaphorical expressions or linguistic metaphors of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) explain that “metaphorical thought is primary [and] metaphorical language is secondary” (p. 123). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp. 4–5), people do not just simply talk about arguments in terms of war but instead people actually win or lose arguments, people involved in an argument are seen as opponents, they attack other positions and defend their own. Thus, while argument and war clearly are two different things, we structure and understand arguments in terms of war. Importantly, linguistic metaphors like (1) to (4) are not cases of embellished language or exceptional language use but are instead ordinary ways of talking about arguments:

The metaphor is not merely in the words we use – it is in our very concept of an argument. The language of argument is not poetic, fanciful, or rhetorical; it is literal. We talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way – and we act according to the way we conceive of things. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5)

Accordingly, “most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). Blank (2001) explains that due to the metaphorical nature of our conceptual system and thus our language, it is nearly impossible to conceive of things in a non-metaphorical way:

When certain circumstances can *only* – or typically only – be expressed metaphorically, it seems that there is no other access available to our perception, or if other options do exist, speakers tend to classify them as less efficient (Blank, 2001, p. 74)²

Figure 3 shows the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, in which structure is mapped from the source domain WAR to the target domain ARGUMENT in a “cross-domain mapping” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 203). It is important to mention that this mapping is unidirectional, meaning that structure is mapped from

² Original quote in German: “[W]o bestimmte Sachverhalte *nur* – oder üblicherweise *nur* – metaphorisch versprachlicht werden können, da scheint sich unserer Wahrnehmung entweder gar kein anderer Zugang zu bieten, oder andere Möglichkeiten bestehen zwar, werden von den Sprechern aber in der Regel als weniger effizient eingestuft” (Blank, 2001, p. 74).

the source to the target domain but not the other way around. Accordingly, while we do conceptualize arguments in terms of war, war is not usually conceptualized in terms of arguments.

WAR		ARGUMENT
military conflict	→	verbal conflict
combat	→	exchange of utterances
military strategies	→	discourse strategies
actions: attack, defend	→	actions: express a view, express an opposite view
participants: at least two enemies	→	participants: discussants aligned with two views
results: win, lose	→	results: presenting more/less convincing points
tools: weapons	→	tools: expressions addressing specific aspects of the dispute

Figure 3: The conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Dancygier, 2017, p. 30).

The unidirectionality of metaphor is true even when two metaphors share two domains but differ regarding which one is the source domain, and which one is the target domain. For example, both conceptual metaphors PEOPLE ARE MACHINES and MACHINES ARE PEOPLE exist (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 132), as can be seen in the metaphorical expressions “He’s had a nervous *breakdown*.” and “This car has a *will of its own*!” respectively (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 297). However, the two metaphors differ in the fact that different things get mapped in each of them, namely (non-)functioning parts of machines onto humans and human will and desire onto machines (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 132).

When it comes to cross-domain mappings, scholars have put emphasis on the idea that structure is generally mapped from a more concrete, tangible or accessible source domain to a more abstract or less accessible target domain. This is certainly the case for a number of conceptual metaphors, including TIME IS MONEY (“You’re *wasting* my time.”), LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (“I could feel the *electricity* between us.”), and LIFE IS A CONTAINER (“I’ve had a *full* life.”) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). However, drawing upon Forceville (2006) and Szwedek (2011), Crespo-Fernández (2015, pp. 23–24) notes that a metaphorical mapping does not necessarily have to involve a concrete source and an abstract target domain. Instead, abstract and non-physical objects can be used to conceptualize other abstract or less abstract concepts. Furthermore, concrete-to-concrete metaphors exist too (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 23).

Two main notions in Conceptual Metaphor Theory that need to be presented at this point are *embodiment* and *image schemas*. The former relates to the fact that conceptual metaphors are grounded in human bodily experience. For example, our childhood experiences of our parents holding

and embracing us and making us feel their soothing bodily warmth gives rise to the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH, which is expressed through metaphorical expressions such as “They created a *warm* family home for themselves and their children.” and “We have a *warm* relationship.” (Kövecses, 1986, p. 101; 2005, p. 3). However, as Crespo-Fernández (2015) explains, embodiment is not only determined by physical configuration but also by cultural and social factors which constitute human cognition and metaphorical conceptualizations (p. 25) (see 2.1.2.4). This is in line with a point raised by Kövecses (2005, p. 3): Certain bodily experiences, such as those giving rise to the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH, are universal experiences and accordingly seem to produce universal metaphors. However, it needs to be pointed out that the world’s languages are abundant with nonuniversal metaphors and potentially even more so than with universal metaphors. We will come back to the issue of metaphor variation and the interface of metaphor and culture in chapter 2.1.2.4.

As mentioned above, the second main notion in Conceptual Metaphor Theory which is closely related to embodiment is the notion of image schemas:

[I]mage schemas appear to be knowledge structures that emerge directly from pre-conceptual embodied experience. These structures are meaningful at the conceptual level precisely because they derive from the level of bodily experience, which is directly meaningful. (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 301)

Image schemas “exist across all perceptual modalities ... [so they] are at once visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile” (Gibbs & Colston, 2006, p. 241). There seem to be over two dozen image schemas in people’s everyday thinking, reasoning, and imagination, including the schematic structures of CONTAINER, BALANCE, PATH, CYCLE, UP/DOWN, and CENTER/PERIPHERY (Lakoff, 1987, p. 267; Gibbs & Colston, 2006, p. 239). Those image schemas are not innate but instead develop during early childhood through our body’s interaction with the world around us (Mandler, 2004). In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it is assumed that image schemas can be used as source domains in cross-domain mappings. The CONTAINER image schema, for example, consists of a *boundary* separating the *interior* (IN) from the *exterior* (OUT) (Lakoff, 1987, p. 271). Humans consider their own bodies as containers and hence understand their daily life in terms of the CONTAINER image schema as the often-quoted abstract from Johnson (1987), describing our many daily in-out orientations, shows:

You wake *out* of a deep sleep and peer *out* from beneath the covers *into* your room. You gradually emerge *out* of a stupor, pull yourself *out* from under the covers, climb *into* your robe, stretch *out* your limbs, and walk *in* a daze *out* of the bedroom *into* the bathroom. You look *in* the mirror and see your face staring *out* at you. You reach *into* the medicine cabinet, take *out* the toothpaste, squeeze *out* some toothpaste, put the toothbrush *into* your mouth, brush your teeth *in* a hurry, and

rinse *out* your mouth. ... Once you are more awake you might even get lost *in* the newspaper, might enter *into* a conversation, which leads to your speaking *out* on some topic. (Johnson, 1987, pp. 30–31)

Returning once more to the topic of source and target domain, another important point in Conceptual Metaphor Theory is the idea of *highlighting* and *hiding* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 10–13). Accordingly, metaphorical mappings are always partial and never total as a total mapping would mean two things (ARGUMENT and WAR) are actually the same as opposed to one concept (ARGUMENT) merely being understood in terms of another (WAR). Since metaphorical mappings are partial, it follows that only some aspects of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain (*highlighting*), but not others (*hiding*):

For example, in the midst of a heated argument, when we are intent on attacking our opponent's position and defending our own, we may lose sight of the cooperative aspects of arguing. Someone who is arguing with you can be viewed as giving you his time, a valuable commodity, in an effort at mutual understanding. But when we are preoccupied with the battle aspects, we often lose sight of the cooperative aspects. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 10)

This idea is linked to a general cognitive feature that permeates language, namely the fact that humans notice some things more, i.e. salient features, than others, i.e. less salient features (figure-ground perception). Through metaphor, a speaker can direct a listener's attention to a certain feature by appealing to a salient reference point (Taylor & Littlemore, 2014, pp. 7–8).

Related to this is the concept of metaphorical entailment, i.e. "the knowledge about the source domain that is transferred to the target domain" (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 26). Kövecses (2010) speaks about the 'metaphorical entailment potential' which refers to the fact that source domains consist of a wide set of potential entailments which could lead to several metaphorical entailments. For example, in the metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, which gives rise to metaphorical expressions like "We will *proceed in a step-by-step* fashion." and "We have *covered a lot of ground*." (Kövecses, 2010, p. 92),

[w]e have the constituent element that the journey takes place along a path. The path corresponds to the progress of an argument. However, we also have some additional knowledge about journeys, namely, that we can stray from the path. That is, a nonconstituent element of the concept of JOURNEY in this metaphor is that we can "stray from the path" of our journey. This manifests itself in the metaphorical entailment that we can also "digress from" the line of an argument. In this case, we use an additional piece of knowledge about journeys to make sense of a possible feature of arguments. (Kövecses, 2010, p. 122)

It is important to mention that the knowledge that is mapped from the source to the target domain is not necessarily scientific knowledge or based on facts. Instead, it is our everyday knowledge or folk understanding of a domain (Kövecses, 2010, p. 124). When it comes to the metaphorical entailment potential, in many metaphors only some of the potential entailments are actually mapped from the source to the target domain. This can be accounted for by the Invariance Principle, according to which “[m]etaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 215). Thus, the Invariance Principle ensures that for the image schema CONTAINER, for example, interiors of the source domain are mapped onto interiors of the target domain, exteriors of the source domain are mapped onto exteriors of the target domain, and boundaries of the source domain are mapped onto boundaries of the target domain (Lakoff, 1990, p. 68; 1993, p. 215). However, when the structure of a source domain cannot be completely exploited for the target domain and certain entailments cannot be mapped, it has to do with the phenomenon of the target domain override:

Now consider the ACTIONS ARE TRANSFERS metaphor, in which actions are conceptualised as objects transferred from an agent to a patient, as when one gives someone a kick or a punch. We know (as part of target domain knowledge) that an action does not exist after it occurs. In the source domain, where there is a giving, the recipient possesses the object given after the giving. But this cannot be mapped onto the target domain since the inherent structure of the target domain says that no such object exists after the action is over. The target domain override in the Invariance Principle explains why you can give someone a kick without his having it afterward. (Lakoff, 1993, p. 216)

2.1.2.2 Conceptual metaphor types

Naturally, in a research field as comprehensive as that of conceptual metaphor, there are numerous approaches to the classification of different types of metaphor (for an extensive overview see Caballero, 2006, pp. 75–78 and Crespo-Fernández, 2015, pp. 27–31). It is also important to note that the distinction between metaphor types is fuzzy and the difference between them is often only a matter of degree (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 27). Table 3 shows those metaphor types which can be helpful for the purpose of the present doctoral dissertation.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish between three types of metaphor, namely ontological, structural and orientational metaphor. In ontological metaphors, abstract targets like events, activities, emotions or ideas are provided with ontological status by concrete entities and substances, as is the case in the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS which yields metaphorical expressions like “We need to *buttress* the theory.”. In structural metaphors, on the other hand, concrete sources structure abstract targets, with more information being mapped compared to ontological metaphors.

Table 3: Conceptual metaphor types and examples.

Author(s)	Metaphor type	Metaphor example
Lakoff and Johnson (1980)	ontological	THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS
	structural	ARGUMENT IS WAR
	orientational	HAPPY IS UP
Grady (1997)	primary	MORALLY GOOD IS CLEAN
	compound (or complex)	THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS
Grady (1999)	correlation	DESIRE IS HUNGER
	resemblance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2003)	one-correspondence	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	many-correspondence	LOVE IS A JOURNEY

An example is the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (“Your claims are *indefensible*.”). Lastly, orientational metaphors consist of an image schema being mapped onto a concept which is thus given a spatial orientation. This is the case in the metaphor HAPPY IS UP which gives rise to metaphorical expressions like “My spirits *rose* when I saw her.” (Caballero, 2006, pp. 75–76). Caballero (2006) points out the flaws in this classification:

The problems with this early classification derive from adopting function as a parameter for distinguishing metaphor types only at a cognitive level, that is, without taking into account their role in actual communication. This partial view may be illustrated by metaphors such as PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (e.g. “He is *a monkey*”) ..., whose main role is not to provide an ontological status to target entities but, rather, to highlight some of their properties. Thus, even if these properties may be regarded as being endowed with ontological status, the whole process is essentially attributive. Moreover, such an attribution is only meaningful in communication (where it covers our interpersonal needs) rather than at a conceptual, abstract level. In other words, equating people to animals makes no sense if what is at stake is thought organization, yet it acquires full meaning if we have a communicative need, e.g. insult, evaluate something as negative or positive, and so forth[.] (Caballero, 2006, p. 76)

Another distinction between two types of metaphor and a ground-breaking metaphor theory in itself was suggested by Grady (1997). He distinguishes between primary and compound (or complex) metaphors. Accordingly, primary metaphors are foundational, stem from our basic and physical experiences in the world and have sources and targets that are both directly experienced (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 304; Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 29). The following examples show primary metaphors and corresponding metaphorical expressions taken from Grady (1997, pp. 282–295):

- (5) FUNCTIONALITY/VIABILITY IS ERECTNESS: That record still *stands*.
- (6) SIMILARITY IS PROXIMITY: These fabrics aren't quite the same but they're *close*.
- (7) MORALLY GOOD IS CLEAN: She is a woman of *spotless* virtue.
- (8) DESIRE/NEED IS HUNGER: I have little *appetite* for that kind of experience.
- (9) ATTRACTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE: She's a *magnet* for losers and hard luck cases.

Compound metaphors, on the other hand, are the combination of two or more primary metaphors resulting in more complex mappings (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 322). Thus, they are “not the product of a straightforward connection between both experiential domains, that is, [they] cannot be proven experimentally” (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 29). While primary metaphors are grounded, compound metaphors are not. Grady (1997) illustrates compound metaphors using the example THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. This complex metaphor consists of the two primary metaphors LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. While there is no experiential or structural correlation between theories and buildings, it is easy to motivate each of the two primary metaphors:

The experiential basis of LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE is the correlation between physical structures (like that of a house) and the abstract principles that enable us to make, take apart, rearrange, or otherwise manipulate them. In the case of PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT, the experiential basis is the correlation we repeatedly experience between things that remain erect or upright when they are functional, viable, and working but fall down when they are not functional, viable, and working. (Kövecses, 2010, p. 95)

Grady (1999) made an additional distinction between correlation and resemblance metaphors in order to account for “the principles which cause some metaphors to be in the conceptual repertoire, and others not to be” (Grady, 1999, p. 80). Correlation metaphors are experientially motivated, i.e. directly grounded in experience. They involve a tight correlation between two experiential dimensions with one of them more directly related to sensory stimulation (Grady, 1999, p. 84). Examples for this type of metaphor are MORE IS UP and DESIRE IS HUNGER (Caballero, 2006, p. 79). Resemblance metaphors, however, are lacking this experiential correlation and include instead “all those cases when two concepts are cognitively linked due to their actual similarities or to the human capacity to impose resemblance between them” (Caballero, 2006, p. 79). This is the case in the linguistic metaphor “Anna is a *tigress*.” (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS), for example, which invokes the assumption that both a tigress and Anna are dangerous and voracious (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 29).

Finally, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez's (2003) approach to metaphor classification distinguishes metaphors based on the nature of the mapping, differentiating between one-correspondence and many-correspondence metaphors. As the term suggests, one-correspondence metaphors are based

on only one correspondence and only one central implication between the source and the target domain, with the rest of the conceptual structure being irrelevant (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 30). The metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (“Anna is a *tigress*.”), which is highly relevant for the present doctoral dissertation, is an example of this metaphor type. However, while there is only one correspondence between the source and the target domain – usually a non-physical behavioural attribute or ability, but rarely physical appearance –, there is still a conventionalized system underlying the mapping (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003, p. 112). I return to the topic of animal metaphor in 2.2.1 and 3.2.1. As opposed to one-correspondence metaphors, many-correspondence metaphors exploit an entire system of correspondences, with several central mappings (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003, p. 112; Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 31). This is the case in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, in which the lovers correspond to travellers, the love relationship to a vehicle, the lovers’ common goals to their common destinations on the journey and difficulties in the relationship to impediments to travel (Lakoff, 1993, p. 207). Interestingly, the target domains of one-correspondence metaphors are non-abstract in nature, while many-correspondence metaphors have abstract target domains. Thus, “we need to make use of more concrete experience to deal with them” (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003, p. 112).

While all the metaphor types listed in this section are aligned with the cognitive perspective on metaphor, it has been shown above that the different metaphor types are characterized by a variety of conceptual processes. Thus, it is important to keep in mind that the metaphor types which are of interest to the analyses in the present doctoral dissertation are manifold, providing various routes of access to conceptual structuring when it comes to the metaphorical understanding of different types of women and men. Another conceptual mechanism which closely interacts with metaphor and plays an equally crucial role in the conceptualization of different types of women and men is metonymy, which is the focus of the following section.

2.1.2.3 Metaphor and metonymy

Just like metaphor, metonymy is not just a figure of speech but central to human conceptualization and thus pervasive in everyday language. However, unlike metaphor, metonymy is not understanding one thing in terms of another. Instead, metonymy is using “one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 35). Therefore, metonymy is considered to be based on contiguity or proximity. The following examples – taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 36) – are instances of the metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE:

- (10) We need a couple of *strong bodies* for our team. (= strong people)
- (11) There are a lot of *good heads* in the university. (= intelligent people)
- (12) I’ve got a new *set of wheels*. (= car, motorcycle)

The metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE results from our experiences with the relation between parts and wholes. Hence, as is the case in metaphor, metonymy structures not only our language but also our thoughts, attitudes and actions, and is experientially grounded – and more obviously so than metaphor due to direct physical or causal associations involved in metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 39–40). Claiming that typologies of metonymy usually fail to comprise all possible types of contiguity and are largely empirical, Blank (1999) proposes a metonymy typology based on two abstract conceptual frameworks, namely co-presence, related to synchrony, and succession, related to diachrony (pp. 178–179). Co-present continuity exists between ACTORS and their ACTIVITY, INSTRUMENTS, TOOLS, and PRODUCTS, for example, whereas successive continuity exists between a STATE and its PREVIOUS and CONSECUTIVE STATE or between an ACTIVITY or a PROCESS and its PURPOSE or AIM (Blank, 1999, pp. 179–181).

While there are two domains involved in a metaphorical mapping, metonymy is “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain” (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 39). Figure 4 illustrates the two conceptual mechanisms metaphor and metonymy:

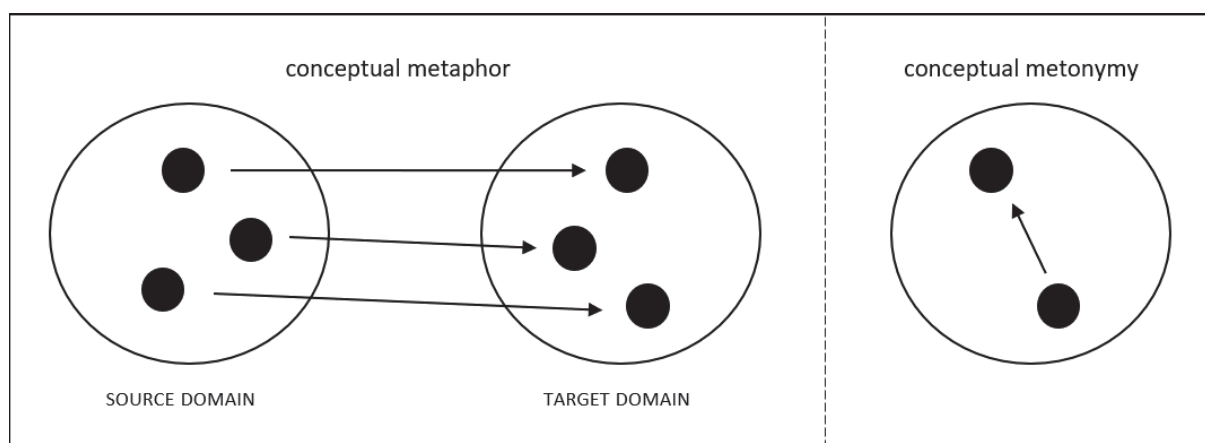


Figure 4: Conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy (own graphic).

Consider the following metonymies and their corresponding linguistic expressions, taken from Barcelona (2019, pp. 175–176):

- (13) CATEGORY FOR MEMBER: The use of the *pill* has reduced the birth rate. (= contraceptive pill)
- (14) CONTAINER FOR CONTENT: He drank a couple of *cups*. (= liquid content)
- (15) INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION: The *pen* is mightier than the *sword*. (= communication and war)

In (14), for example, the vehicle CONTAINER (*cups*) provides mental access to the target CONTENT (liquid content), with both conceptual entities belonging to the domain DRINK. Accordingly, metonymy has a primarily referential function in that one entity (*cups*) stands for another entity (liquid content) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 36). This also aligns with what Kövecses (2008) says: “Thus, metonymy, unlike

metaphor, is a 'stand-for' relation (i.e., a part stands for the whole or a part stands for another part) within a single domain" (p. 381). Croft (2003) differentiates between metaphor and metonymy by relating the former with domain mapping, i.e. the structural mapping from the source to the target domain, and the latter with domain highlighting, i.e. the mental activation of a certain aspect of a single domain matrix. Evans and Green (2006) summarize as follows:

In contrast to metaphor, metonymy appears to be the result of contextually motivated patterns of activation that map vehicle and target within a single source domain. Within a specific discourse context, a salient vehicle activates and thus highlights a particular target. Hence, while correlation-based (as opposed to resemblance-based) metaphors are pre-conceptual in origin and are thus in some sense inevitable associations (motivated by the nature of our bodies and our environment), conceptual metonymies are motivated by communicative and referential requirements and the 'routes' of access that they provide to a particular target within a single domain. (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 322)

While it might seem like metaphor and metonymy are two oppositional and unrelated mechanisms, they do in fact cooccur and interact with each other, as is expressed in the term of metaphonymy (Goossens, 2003). Among the four possible ways in which metaphor and metonymy could interact, Goossens (2003) found two of them to be common occurrences, namely metaphor from metonymy and metonymy within metaphor (p. 368). An example for the former is the expression *close-lipped*, which can be used to mean either 'silent' (metonymic reading) or 'saying little, not giving away much' (metaphoric reading) (Goossens, 2003, p. 362). This is a case of metaphor from metonymy because "the metaphoric interpretation has a metonymic basis in that it is only because being closed-lipped can stand for silence that the metaphoric reading is possible" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 320). On the other hand, a case of metonymy within metaphor can be found in sentence (16), as suggested by Goossens (2003, p. 365):

(16) She caught the Prime Minister's ear and persuaded him to accept her plan.

Here, within the metaphor ATTENTION IS A MOVING PHYSICAL ENTITY, i.e. the Prime Minister's attention has to be caught, there is the metonymy EAR FOR ATTENTION, i.e. the ear is the vehicle for the metaphorical concept of ATTENTION (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 320).

It has been argued that metonymy might be even more essential to human conceptualization than metaphor and that "every metaphorical mapping presupposes a conceptually prior metonymic mapping, or to put it differently, that the seeds for *any* metaphorical transfer are to be found in a metonymic projection" (Barcelona, 2003, p. 31; see also Niemeier, 2003, p. 210). This claim can be supported by the experiential and correlation-based nature of primary metaphors. Thus, it must be

pointed out that “[e]xperience-based connections between two different domains are often encapsulated by means of metonymic abstraction” (Barcelona, 2003, p. 52). Consider the metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN, for example, which gives rise to metaphorical expressions like “I am in *low* spirits.” (Barcelona, 2003, p. 43). Barcelona (2003) explains how primary metaphors like this have a metonymic basis:

The source domain in the metonymy is “downward oriented bodily posture”. The most salient subdomain within that source domain is “downward spatial orientation”. Therefore, downward oriented bodily posture is metonymically understood as downward spatial orientation, which, thus, mentally “stands for it”. This “pruning” of the source domain in the built-in effect-for-cause metonymy yields the purely spatial source domain of what now becomes the metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN. (Barcelona, 2003, p. 44)

As has been shown, the categorical distinction between metaphor and metonymy appears to be impossible and unprofitable. Instead, metaphor and metonymy seem to exist on a continuum of resemblance and contiguity with metaphor and metonymy as prototypical categories with fuzzy boundaries (Radden, 2003, p. 431; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003, p. 109; Barnden, 2010, p. 31). Of course, this also applies to conceptualizations of different types of women and men, which can range from clearly metaphoric to both metaphoric *and* metonymic to clearly metonymic. For example, a spiteful woman can be referred to as *bitch* (metaphoric), a young woman can be referred to as *girl* (metonymic), and a sexy woman can be referred to as *beaver* which is both metaphoric (*beaver* to refer to the vagina due to its supposed similarity in hairiness) and metonymic (*vagina* standing for *woman* in a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy). Thus, it is out of question to disregard metonymy when dealing with gender metaphors. This is also the case for cultural and social factors as will be shown in the next section.

2.1.2.4 Metaphor and culture

In the scope of Cognitive Linguistics, the concept of culture, as suggested by Caballero and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2014, p. 268), can mean two things:

- (a) shared beliefs, knowledge, and world view(s) characterizing national, ethnic, and speech communities; and (b) the discourse communities using metaphor: i.e., those subcultures within broader cultural frames that are characterized by specific knowledge schemas, needs, and interests.

Strikingly, until the mid-2000s, Conceptual Metaphor Theory did not put special emphasis on the relationship and interaction between metaphor and culture even though, as Kövecses (2005) puts it, “metaphor and culture are related in many ways” (p. 1) and metaphors are an inherent part of culture (p. 2). According to one of the main claims of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphors are based on

embodied experiences (see 2.1.2.1). These experiences are believed to be universal and hence generate large amounts of universal (primary) metaphors (Kövecses, 2005, p. 3). However, Kövecses (2005) points out that nonuniversal metaphors might be even more numerous than universal metaphors and that it is very common that abstract domains are understood in various culturally different ways (p. 3):

Love is conceptualized as a JOURNEY, UNITY, HUNTING, and so forth, in many cultures, including English, Hungarian, and Chinese, but in certain dialects of Chinese LOVE IS FLYING A KITE ...; anger is understood as a fluid or gas in many cultures, but in Zulu anger is understood as OBJECTS IN THE HEART ...; life is commonly viewed as a JOURNEY or STRUGGLE, but in Hmong it is viewed as a STRING.... (Kövecses, 2005, p. 3)

Similarly, Yu (2008) highlights the close interplay between embodiment and culture which both give rise to universal and nonuniversal metaphors:

[C]onceptual metaphors emerge from the interaction between body and culture. While the body is a potentially universal source for emerging metaphors, culture functions as a filter that selects aspects of sensorimotor experience and connects them with subjective experiences and judgments for metaphorical mappings. That is, metaphors are grounded in bodily experience but shaped by cultural understanding. Put differently, metaphors are embodied in their cultural environment. (Yu, 2008, p. 247)

Thus, when it comes to conceptualizing abstract concepts, the metaphor-culture-interaction proves to be a powerful factor. Accordingly, metaphors contribute to understanding culture by reflecting a cultural community's social values and beliefs (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 35). Kövecses (2010) proposes to approach culturally based metaphor variation in two ways, namely on the basis of cross-cultural variation and within-culture variation. The former is either caused by the leading principles and main concepts in a culture (broader cultural context) or by a cultural community's natural and physical habitat (Kövecses, 2010, p. 218). An example of cross-cultural metaphor variation is the following:

Both English and Zulu have FIRE as a source domain for anger, but Zulu elaborates the metaphor in a way in which English does not. In Zulu you can *extinguish* somebody's anger by pouring water on them. This possible metaphorical entailment is not picked up by the English fire metaphor in the form of conventionalized linguistic expressions. Notice, however, that the metaphorical entailment is perfectly applicable to enthusiasm in English, as when someone is said to be a *wet blanket* at a party. (Kövecses, 2010, p. 217)

Within-culture variation in metaphor can occur within a given culture over different time periods. Accordingly, in Victorian times male friendship was understood of in terms of FIRE instead of WARMTH as it would be conceptualized today. Furthermore, within-culture variation can also occur simultaneously in a culture. Thus, the two conceptual metaphors LOVE IS A UNITY and LOVE IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE coexist in the models 'ideal love' and 'typical love' respectively (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 222–223).

As Crespo-Fernández (2015, p. 37) points out, there are three key notions when researching metaphors from a sociocultural perspective as proposed by Kövecses (2003, 2005, 2006a): main meaning focus, central mapping and differential experiential focus. Regarding the former, Kövecses (2005, p. 11) assumes that most source domains which map structure to a variety of target domains – whether they form a part of primary or complex metaphors – have a major theme or themes which are agreed upon by a community of speakers, thus representing basic and central knowledge about source domains (e.g. the main meaning focus of HEAT IS INTENSITY). Kövecses (2005) explains that, due to its culture-sensitivity, the notion of main meaning focus might be more useful for a cultural approach to conceptual metaphor than the notion of primary metaphor (p. 12). To elaborate this claim, he considers the primary metaphor SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT. While the physical sensation of heat when experiencing sexual desire should be a universal feeling and SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT should hence be a universal metaphor, this is not the case. In the Chagga language, spoken in northern Tanzania, heat conceptualizes desirable qualities in the female partner instead of the intensity of sexual desire (Kövecses, 2005, p. 12). Importantly, however, instead of regarding the notions of primary metaphor and main meaning focus as competitors, Kövecses (2005) views them “as tools that capture two sides (the cognitive and the cultural) of the same (metaphorical) coin” (p. 12).

Moving on to the idea of the central mapping, Kövecses (2003) explains that “[m]appings are central if they map what we have called the main meaning focus of the source (i.e. central knowledge) onto the target” (p. 83). Accordingly, the main meaning focus of FIRE metaphors is INTENSITY and the central mapping in FIRE metaphors is INTENSITY IS HEAT (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 37). Central mappings share the following characteristics (Kövecses, 2003, pp. 83–84):

- a) Conceptually, central mappings lead to the emergence of other mappings, either constituent basic mappings or metaphorical entailments.
- b) Culturally, central mappings reflect major human concerns relative to the source in question.
- c) Motivationally, they are the mappings that are most motivated experientially – either culturally or physically.
- d) Linguistically, they give rise to metaphorical linguistic expressions that dominate a metaphor.

Finally, the notion of the differential experiential focus aims to explain the fact that, in different languages, universal experiences of the human body are not employed equally when it comes to metaphors (Kövecses, 2006a, p. 2). Thus, differential experiential foci might be the reason that

different peoples may be attuned to different aspects of their bodily functioning in relation to a target domain, or that they can ignore or downplay certain aspects of their bodily functioning as regards the metaphorical conceptualization of a particular target domain. (Kövecses, 2006a, p. 3)

Similarly, Crespo-Fernández (2015, p. 38) speaks about the ‘priority’ that is given to certain aspects of the source domain over other aspects when conceptualizing one thing in terms of another, depending on the differential experiential focus of a given culture. This, of course, “has important implications for the way we think about the entities we want to categorize” (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 38). He adds that due to their culture-sensitivity, complex metaphors are even more relevant for cultural issues than primary metaphors (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 38).

Another approach to the culture-metaphor-interplay is offered by Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013) with the concept of a culture sieve which is an “active mediating device that makes our physical, sensorimotor universal experiences sift through the complex and socially acquired particular beliefs, knowledge, and worldview(s) intrinsic to belonging to one or several cultures” (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013, p. 324). This scholar views the construction of the experiential basis of metaphors as a two-stage process:

In the first stage, the conceptual metaphor selects those physical bodily-grounded experiences that contribute to understanding and motivating the metaphorical mappings between the two different domains of experience. Since all human beings share the same body, this first stage should be the same for every human being, regardless of their background. In the second stage, this bodily-based experience is purged, adapted, and modified by the cultural information available, and therefore, the result is not universal, but culture-specific. (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013, pp. 323–324)

According to this view, primary metaphors are not, as often suggested, free from cultural influences but instead, like the experiential basis of any type of metaphor, conditioned by culture (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013, p. 332). Sharifian (2017a) sees the interaction between language, culture, and thought in the idea of ‘cultural conceptualisations’ and proposes that culture can influence language just as language can influence culture:

[L]anguage is a repository of cultural conceptualisations that have coalesced at different stages in the history of the speech community and these can leave traces in current linguistic practice. Similarly, interactions at the macro and micro levels of the speech community continuously can act

to reshape pre-existing cultural conceptualisations and bring new ones into being. (Sharifian, 2017a, p. 54)

It has been shown in this section that metaphor and culture are highly interdependent, and it is therefore inevitable to include culture in any approach to conceptual metaphor – especially a contrastive one like in the present doctoral dissertation. For example, as is shown in research article 4 (“Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers’ associations with novel metaphors”), while *partridge* can refer to an attractive woman in English, Spanish native speakers indicate that the Spanish equivalent *perdiz* does not generally refer to any type of woman – but, if anything, it would refer to a happy and small woman. Culture, then, seems to play a large role as a *partridge* famously features in the English Christmas carol “The Twelve Days of Christmas”, whereas *perdiz* plays a role in the Spanish collocations *estar más feliz que una perdiz* ‘to be happier than a partridge’ – which could be compared to the English expression *to be happy as a lark* – and *y vivieron felices y comieron perdices* ‘and they lived happily and ate partridges’ – which equals *and they lived happily ever after*. Hence, as Majid and Levinson (2011) put it by coining the term ‘sense-scapes’, it is important to bear in mind each culture’s rich sensorial landscapes which help “detect domains where one culture sings and another is silent” (Majid & Levinson, 2011, p. 16).

2.2 Language and evaluation

2.2.1 The Great Chain of Being

2.2.1.1 Ontological hierarchy of the universe

When analysing metaphors which conceptualize humans, the concept of the Great Chain of Being proves to be a useful tool. This ontological hierarchy “is a cognitive model that we use to make sense of, and impose order on, the universe” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 66). The notion of such a hierarchy has existed since the ancient world and, while Plato briefly touched upon it, it was Aristotle who suggested to arrange beings on a *scala naturae* based on their degree of ‘perfection’ (Lovejoy, [1936] 2001, p. 58). Through the Middle Ages and until the late 18th century, philosophers and scientists alike widely accepted the model of the Great Chain of Being (Lovejoy, [1936] 2001, p. 59). It is important to stress that the model represents an unconscious hierarchy that is acquired culturally and based on folk beliefs rather than representing a factual order of the universe and its components (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 66, 167; Pustka, 2015, p. 113). According to the idea behind the Great Chain of Being, the universe is ordered from higher-order beings, e.g. humans, to lower-order beings and elements, e.g. plants (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 166). There are two versions of the Great Chain of Being: a basic version, which relates humans to ‘lower’ beings, and an extended version, which relates humans to

‘higher’ entities such as God and the universe itself (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 167). Figure 5 encompasses both versions of the Great Chain of Being:

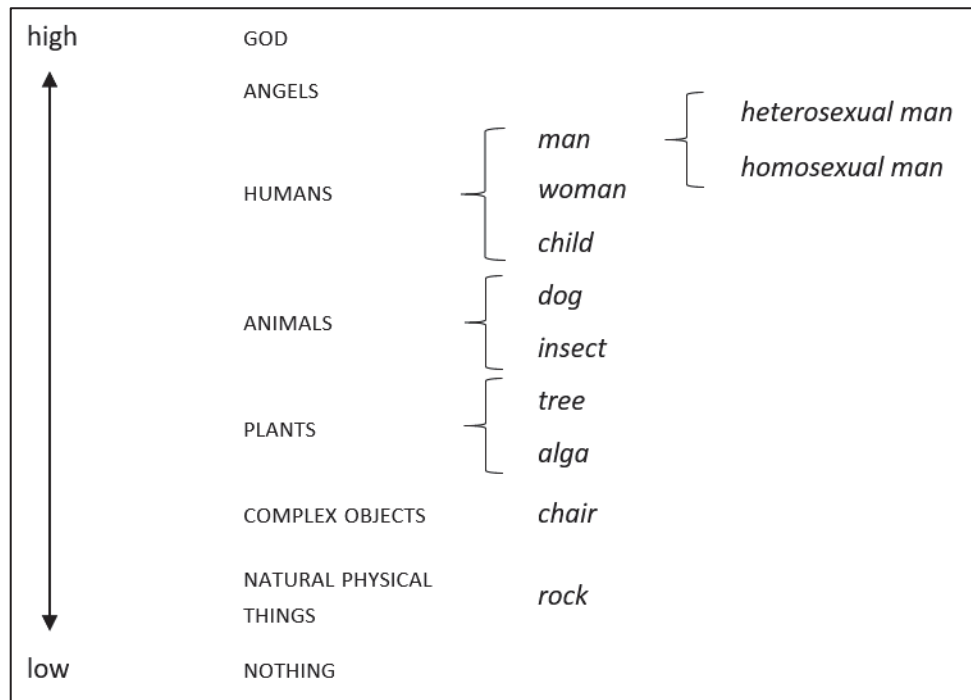


Figure 5: Great Chain of Being (adapted from Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 170–171 and Pustka, 2015, p. 114).

As can be seen from Figure 5, the Great Chain of Being ranges from celestial entities (GOD, ANGELS) to humans, animals, plants, objects and finally nothingness. Additionally, categories contain subcategories which themselves hold an internal hierarchy. Accordingly, the subcategories of the entity HUMANS are – from highest to lowest order – MAN, WOMAN, and CHILD. The hierarchical order within the Great Chain of Being arises based on the perceived individual properties of each category. Thus, each entity contains all the attributes and characteristics of its lower entity plus an additional set of attributes and characteristics:

While a rock is mere substance, a chair additionally has a part-whole functional structure, that is, it has a seat, a back, and legs, each of which serves some function. A tree has both substance and part-whole functional structure, and in addition it has life. An insect has all of these properties – substance, a complex functional structure, life – and in addition animal behavior such as self-propulsion. According to our commonplace knowledge, higher animals like dogs have all of these properties plus interior states such as desires (like wanting to play), emotions (like fear), limited cognitive abilities (like memory), and so on. Humans have all these properties plus capacities for abstract reasoning, aesthetics, morality, communication, highly developed consciousness, and so on. Thus, where a being falls in the scale of beings depends strictly on its highest property. (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 167–168)

While all humans are considered higher-order beings compared to animals, the sublevels within the category HUMANS indicate that humans are not all considered equal, otherwise they would be situated in the same sublevel. Instead, men rank higher than women as they are traditionally considered to be governed by reason whereas women are seen as being controlled by their heart and emotions. This view has historically been supported by the fact that womanhood is strongly connected with biological aspects such as menstruation, pregnancy, and breastfeeding, bringing women closer to the more instinctual and thus animalistic range of the hierarchy (López-Rodríguez, 2016, p. 94). Fernández Fontecha and Jiménez Catalán (2003, p. 794) explain that this hierarchical organization is typical for patriarchal societies. Interestingly, when it comes to the subcategory *man*, the heterosexual man is considered to be hierarchically higher than the homosexual man (Pustka, 2015, p. 114). This is due to the fact that homosexual men have historically been and often remain to be perceived as ‘less of a man’ and ‘not totally manly’ (Rodríguez González, 2008a, p. 409). Thus, stereotypically it is believed “that gay men are like women and ... have feminine mannerisms” (Schope & Eliason, 2004, p. 75), which explains their closeness to women on the hierarchy.

Within the hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being a category is higher than or beyond the one below in four ways (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 169):

- a) It has additional attributes compared to the lower category.
- b) It has more complex attributes compared to the lower category.
- c) It has more powerful attributes compared to the lower category, which enable higher-order beings to dominate lower-order beings.
- d) It is less accessible to our perception and our understanding compared to the lower category.

Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 169) elaborate the last point, which is directly related to conceptual metaphor, as follows:

For example, it is in general harder to determine a person’s moral sense than an animal’s predatory instincts because the human being can disguise that sense and because we cannot reliably infer that sense purely from the person’s behavior. Animals do not hide their instinctive nature, and we can reliably determine that nature by observing their behavior. Similarly, it is harder to determine an animal’s instinctive nature than it is to determine the physical attributes [sic!] of a rock, because determining instinctive nature requires that we deduce rationally that nature from our observations over time, while the physical attributes of rocks are directly accessible to our sensory perception.

As has been shown in this section, the Great Chain of Being is a folk model hierarchy of beings, objects, and things, relating them to each other and displaying their perceived order within the universe. The

Great Chain of Being is, however, not metaphorical per se. Instead, it is – alongside three other components – part of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor, which will be explored in the next section.

2.2.1.2 The GREAT CHAIN metaphor

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 172), the GREAT CHAIN metaphor consists of four components, which are explained in further detail below. They pertain to aspects of folk theory, common-sense casual theory, semantic theory, and pragmatic theory, respectively. The four components are:

- a) The ontological hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being (see 2.2.1.1)
- b) The common-sense theory of the Nature of Things
- c) The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor
- d) The communicative principle of the Maxim of Quantity

The common-sense theory of the Nature of Things refers to a common-sense causal theory which connects features to behaviour. This theory is then combined with the Great Chain of Being resulting in a more complex folk theory about beings and their behaviour. For example, when it comes to the entity ANIMAL, the theory of the Nature of Things in combination with the Great Chain of Being states that instinctual attributes lead to instinctual behaviour (Lakoff & Johnson, 1989, p. 171).

The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor is “a generic-level metaphor ... [which] preserves the generic-level structure of the target domain, except for what the metaphor exists explicitly to change ... and imports as much as possible of the generic-level structure of the source domain” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1989, p. 164). For example, with the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor we can interpret the specific-level proverb “The early bird catches the worm.” at a generic level. We understand that the generic meaning of the proverb is “If you do something first, you will get what you want before others.” and can apply it to many different cases (Kövecses, 2010, p. 45). Lakoff and Turner (1989) explain the effect of linking the Great Chain of Being with the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor:

[I]t allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well-understood nonhuman attributes; and, conversely, it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics. (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 172)

Lastly, as mentioned above, the fourth component of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor is a pragmatic aspect, namely the communicative principle of the Gricean Maxim of Quantity. Thus, when a human (woman) is conceptualized as an animal (bitch), for example, the communicative principle of the Gricean Maxim of Quantity ensures that the mapped structure is limited (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 173). The Maxim of Quantity dictates to only make a contribution as informative as is required, but not more informative than necessary (Grice, 1989, p. 26). Accordingly, when a speaker conceptualizes a woman as a female

dog (e.g. *she is a bitch*), the hearer assumes that the speaker acts according to the Maxim of Quantity and has thus chosen a member of the category ANIMALS because the animal-specific – as opposed to plant-, object- or thing-specific – characteristics and attributes are of interest. Had the speaker intended to refer to the characteristics of a plant, which an animal also incorporates, by using an animal term, they would have flouted the Maxim of Quantity. At the same time, by referring to a woman as an animal, the speaker implies that the woman does not possess human-specific characteristics and attributes (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 166).

There are two types of conceptual mappings in the GREAT CHAIN metaphor: The hierarchy can be viewed as a top-down hierarchy with higher-order entities conceptualized as lower-order entities or as a bottom-up hierarchy with lower-order entities conceptualized as higher-order entities (Kövecses, 2010, p. 154; López-Rodríguez, 2016, pp. 76–77). Table 4 shows examples of the two conceptual mappings:

Table 4: Examples and evaluations of top-down and bottom-up mappings.

Conceptual mapping	Source domain	Target domain	Example	Evaluation
Top-down mapping	ANIMAL	HUMAN	<i>She is a bitch.</i> <i>He is a wolf.</i>	negative
	COMPLEX OBJECT	HUMAN	<i>She is a doll.</i> <i>He is a machine.</i>	negative
Bottom-up mapping	CELESTIAL CREATURE	HUMAN	<i>She is a goddess.</i> <i>He is an angel.</i>	positive
	HUMAN	COMPLEX OBJECT	Personification of a car: <i>This car has a will of its own!</i>	

As can be seen in Table 4, when it comes to the conceptualization of humans, the direction of the mapping (bottom-up or top-down) can be a strong indicator as to whether the evaluation conveyed is positive or negative:

[I]n general terms, when people are equated with animals – or other lower substances – not only are instinctual and functional qualities or behavior being highlighted, but because humans are conceptualized in the guise of lower forms of existence, the identification is likely to convey a negative evaluation. On the contrary, when people are equated with supernatural creatures, the shift upwards in the chain tends to endow the metaphorical identification with positive evaluations. (López-Rodríguez, 2016, p. 77)

When conceptualizing a woman as a female dog (e.g. *she is a bitch*), for example, the question arises as to how this expression obtains its metaphorical meaning. This can be explained by suggesting that another metaphor, namely ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE, is responsible for attributing human features to animals

before these human features in animals are ascribed back to humans in the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. Thus, “animals were personified first, and then the ‘human-based animal characteristics’ were used to understand human behaviour” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 152). This metaphor sequence is assumed because animals do not inherently possess human qualities such as cleverness, loyalty, courage, rudeness, dependability, and fickleness (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 194; see also Cruz Cabanillas & Tejedor Martínez, 2002, p. 12; Fernández Fontecha & Jiménez Catalán, 2003, p. 774). Figure 6 shows the sequence of the two metaphors ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

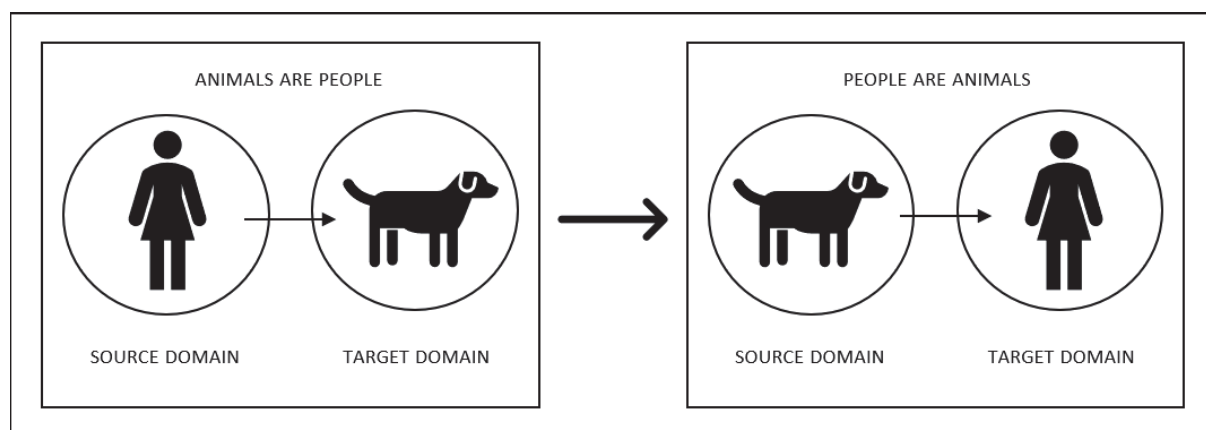


Figure 6: ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (own graphic).

In the example *she is a bitch*, *bitch* is used to mean that the woman is someone who complains a lot and speaks ill of others. Of course, female dogs – or any other animals – do not complain or speak ill of others. Similarly, in the cases of *lion* to refer to a strong and brave man, *fox* to refer to a cunning and sly man, and *vixen* to refer to a fierce and sexually attractive woman, for example, the respective characteristics attributed to the humans are not necessarily present in the animals. While humans assign human attributes such as courage, cleverness, and loyalty to animals, animals “behave the way they do out of instinct, not because they possess moral values which prepare them to distinguish between, for example, what is loyal behaviour and a non-loyal one” (Cruz Cabanillas & Tejedor Martínez, 2002, p. 12). We will return to and dive deeper into the topic of animal metaphors in 3.2.1, since women and men are frequently understood in terms of a variety of animals in both Spanish and English. In addition to the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, it has been shown in this section that the GREAT CHAIN metaphor is an important tool when analysing the metaphorical conceptualizations of women and men, as it can indicate whether a mapping serves to upgrade or downgrade the target HUMANS depending on the chosen source (GOD, ANGELS, ANIMALS, PLANTS, COMPLEX OBJECTS, NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS). This also heavily depends on whether a metaphorical expression is referring to a type of woman or a type of man, which is why the issue of the relationship between language and gender must be explored next.

2.2.2 Language and gender

This section introduces the research field of language and gender. Firstly, the term *gender* is defined. This is followed by an introduction to the foundations and approaches of the field and, lastly, the present doctoral dissertation is positioned within the field.

When researching the interplay between language and gender, it is crucial to firstly define the term *gender* – specifically in direct comparison to the term *sex*. Denmark, Rabinowitz and Sechzer (2016) explain that *sex* “refers to the biological differences in the genetic composition and reproductive structures and functions of men and women” (p. 3). Table 5 shows sex differences based on anatomical, endocrinal, and chromosomal features:

Table 5: Sex differences based on anatomical, endocrinal, and chromosomal features (Lopes, Sargent, Affara, & Amorim, 2009, p. 1; Lauretta et al., 2018, p. 2; Wood, 2018, p. 9).

Features	Female sex	Male sex
Anatomical	ovaries	testes
	labia majora (outer lips)	scrotum
	labia minora (inner lips)	underside of penis
	glans (head) of the clitoris	glans (head) of the penis
	shaft (erectile tissue) of the clitoris	corpus cavernosum (erectile tissue)
	vagina	
Endocrinal	predominantly estrogens and progesterone from the ovaries (cyclical pattern)	predominantly testosterone from the testes (constant daily amount)
	small amounts of testosterone from the ovaries and adrenal glands	small amounts of estrogens and progesterone from the testes, adrenal glands, and peripheral tissues
Chromosomal	23rd chromosome: XX	23rd chromosome: XY

Gender, on the other hand, is defined by Denmark, Rabinowitz and Sechzer (2016) as follows:

Gender is a social construction that refers to how differences between girls and boys and women and men are created and explained by society. It refutes notions that most differences between women and men are due to biology and are normal and immutable. The concept of gender underscores the fact that while we may observe many different behaviors and attitudes between women and men, there is not necessarily a biological basis for those differences. (Denmark, Rabinowitz, & Sechzer, 2016, p. 5)

It would seem, then, that sex is a purely biological (nature) and gender a purely social category (nurture) and that the two are thus easily distinguishable, but this view is not exhaustive:

However, there is no obvious point at which sex leaves off and gender begins, partly because there is no single objective biological criterion for male or female sex. Sex is based in a combination of

anatomical, endocrinal and chromosomal features, and the selection among these criteria for sex assignment is based very much on cultural beliefs about what actually makes someone male or female. Thus the very definition of the biological categories *male* and *female*, and people's understanding of themselves and others as male or female, is ultimately social. (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10)

Indeed, it is assumed that higher testosterone levels in men compared to women lead to more aggressive and dominant behaviour (Denson, O'Dean, Blake, & Beames, 2018, p. 11; Muñoz-Reyes et al., 2020). However, studies have shown that hormone levels are not only based on biological sex differences (nature) but can also be impacted by socialized gender roles (nurture), which thus lead to self-fulfilling prophecies: "A lifetime of gender socialization could contribute to 'sex differences' in testosterone" (van Anders, Steiger, & Goldey, 2015, p. 13805). Thus, while gender is a social construct derived from our understanding of sex, the latter appears to be both a biological and a social category. It is important, though, to keep in mind that the definitions of *gender* and *sex* heavily depend on the research paradigm in which the two concepts are explored. Hence, in the next section, the foundations and paradigms of the scientific field of language and gender are introduced.

2.2.2.1 Foundations and approaches of the field

While the interest in the interplay between language and gender has existed well before the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Chamberlain, 1912; Jespersen, 1922; Sapir, 1929; Furfey, 1944; Haas, 1944; Flannery, 1946), it was then – propelled largely by the Civil Rights Movement in the USA – that the so-called second wave³ of the Women's Movement began (Sunderland, 2006a, p. 10). Apart from addressing issues like domestic violence, abortion law, workplace discrimination, and unequal pay, this movement saw feminist linguists uncovering and analysing ways in which language reflects and reinforces patriarchal patterns, gender stereotypes, and sexist beliefs. Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975) was the first monograph on language and gender, which – despite having since been widely criticized theoretically, politically, and methodologically (see Bucholtz, 2004) – is generally considered to be a crucial pioneer work for the linguistic subfield within the movement (Sunderland, 2006a, p. 14). Lakoff (1975) suggested the existence of a signature feminine register which she calls 'women's language'. Some of its characteristics are the following (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 49):

- a) Women use intonation patterns that resemble questions, indicating uncertainty or need for approval.
- b) Women are more indirect and polite than men.

³ The first wave of the Women's Movement refers to the activism of the suffragettes of the late 19th and early 20th century in the USA and UK who achieved to secure women's right to vote (Kiesling, 2019, p. 54).

- c) Women use diminutives and euphemisms more than men.
- d) Women will not commit themselves to an opinion.
- e) In conversation, women are more likely to be interrupted, and less likely to introduce successful topics.
- f) Women's communicative style tends to be collaborative rather than competitive.⁴
- g) Women are more careful to be 'correct' when they speak, using better grammar and fewer colloquialisms than men.⁵
- h) Women use forms that convey impreciseness: *so, such*.
- i) Women use hedges of all kinds more than men: *well ..., I don't really know, but maybe ...*

As Cameron and Kulick (2003, p. 48) put it, the items on the list have in common that they reduce the force of utterances and make the speaker sound less certain, less confident, less authoritative, and less powerful. This finding is in line with the fact that, on the one hand, men's overall voice pitch is lower than women's voice pitch, which is partly due to physiological differences of the vocal tract and partly due to social expectations about female and male voices (Klann-Delius, 2005, p. 1566), and that, on the other hand, low voice pitch conveys impressions of dominance and power (Aung & Puts, 2020). Hence, "one marks femininity linguistically by symbolically minimizing one's power" (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 48).

'Deficit' approach (Lakoff, 1975)

In spite of writing from a feminist perspective, Lakoff (1975) has been criticized for supposedly hailing men's use of language and depreciating women's use of language, claiming that her model of women's language follows a 'deficit' approach, i.e. acknowledging that women's language is deficient and inherently flawed compared to men's language (Sunderland, 2006a, p. 14). Other examples of the 'deficit' approach are Jespersen (1922) and Trudgill (1972, 1983). However, as Bucholtz (2014, p. 26) argues, "Lakoff is not endorsing but simply describing a culture-wide ideology that scorns and trivializes both women and women's ways of speaking". Lakoff's (1975) claims were further criticized by O'Barr and Atkins (1980) who studied courtroom interactions, arguing that instead of gender, it is power, status and class that cause speakers to use Lakoff's 'women's language'. Hence, they proposed to relabel it to the more accurate 'powerless language'.

Apart from the 'deficit' approach, three other approaches have developed within the study of language and gender, namely the 'dominance' approach, the 'difference' approach, and the 'dynamic'

⁴ See also Tannen (1990).

⁵ See also Labov (2001) for the 'gender paradox'.

approach. All approaches, except for the 'dynamic' approach, have in common the following views (Cameron, 2005, p. 322):

- a) Gender is a stable characteristic of a person acquired early in life and language is, among other things, a reflection of this gender identity.
- b) Gender is a binary entity with the two homogenous groups 'women' and 'men'.
- c) Gender differences can be explained with regard to overarching social structures, such as male dominance or gendered subcultures.

'Dominance' approach (Spender, 1985; Ehrlich, 2001)

Proponents of the 'dominance' approach (e.g. Fishman, 1983; Spender, 1985; Ochs & Taylor, 1995; Ehrlich, 2001) claim the existence of female oppression by dominant males and argue that, when it comes to gendered language, "men talk more, interrupt more and control the topics of conversation" (Spender, 1985, p. 105). In her work on language and sexual violence, Ehrlich (2001) analyses the linguistic patterns in two separate Canadian rape cases involving the same male defendant and two female complainants. She argues that the man makes use of a 'grammar of non-agency', concealing any accountability ("We started kissing.", "We started to fool around."), and the women show patterns of 'complainants' ineffectual agency' ("I couldn't really think straight.", "I just sat there."), after repeatedly hearing from the questioners that fear was not an acceptable reason for their inaction. Hence, this research underlines "how the discourse of rape culture permeates the legal system in ways that structurally disadvantage female rape survivors" (Bucholtz, 2014, p. 30).

'Difference' approach (Tannen, 1990; Coates, 1996)

When it comes to the 'difference' approach (e.g. Maltz & Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1990, 1994; Holmes, 1993; Coates, 1996), advocates highlight the existence of female and male (sub)cultures with different communicational norms respectively. This ensures the examination of women's talk independently of the notions of oppression and powerlessness, allowing scholars to illustrate women's powerful linguistic strategies (Coates, 2004, p. 6). For example, in her popular book *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, Tannen (1990) claims that women and men (and girls and boys) miscommunicate on a regular basis due to the exposure to gendered language in childhood as parents speak differently to girls and boys. Accordingly, as shown in Table 6, women's and men's language use differ in six aspects. Thus, women tend to show a preference for cooperative, egalitarian interaction ('rapport talk') and emotion-based, connection-oriented communication, whereas men tend to prefer competitive, hierarchical interaction ('report talk') and fact-based, information-oriented communication (Bucholtz, 2014, pp. 27–28). Although an overt feminist, Tannen (1990) does not

appear to blame men for their interactional style, but to instead unjudgmentally mention the differences between women's and men's language use, which is what she has been criticized for:

Although Tannen does talk about men's structural power in American society, most of the criticisms of her explanation of the difference approach took her to task for not being political enough, and for not calling men to account for the effects of dominating moves in conversation. (Kiesling, 2019, p. 45)

Table 6: Differences between women's and men's language use, as suggested by Tannen (1990).

<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>
Status: language as a tool to enforce dominance	versus	Support: language as a tool to confirm ideas
Independence: language as a tool to seek autonomy		Intimacy: language as a tool to seek support
Advice: language as a tool to solve problems		Understanding: language as a tool to show empathy
Information: concerned with facts		Feelings: concerned with emotions
Orders: use of direct imperatives		Proposals: use of indirect suggestions
Conflict: offering strong opposition		Compromise: establishing middle ground

'Dynamic' approach (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 2007)

Lastly, supporters of the 'dynamic' or 'social constructionist' or 'third wave' approach (e.g. Butler, 1988, 1990; Hall, 1995; Cameron, 1995; 2007; Mills, 2003, 2008; Baxter, 2003, 2010), which is influenced by postmodern feminism, emphasize the idea that "gender is socially constructed in interaction, rather than existing as a fixed social category to which individuals are assigned at birth" (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999, p. 180). Hence, within this framework scholars see speakers as 'doing gender' instead of 'being a certain gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Similarly, Butler (1990) speaks about 'gender performativity', implying that gender is a social construct which is brought into existence by the way individuals speak, behave, dress and so on:

Gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed. It seems fair to say that certain kinds of acts are usually interpreted as expressive of a gender core or identity, and that these acts either conform to an expected gender identity or contest that expectation in some way. (Butler, 1988, pp. 527–528)

Accordingly, as opposed to 'second wave' approaches to gender (see above), 'third wave' approaches share the following views (Cameron, 2005, p. 322):

- a) Gender is not something a person 'has' but it is continually constructed through engagement in local practices and language is part of 'doing gender'.

- b) Gender is a diverse entity with multiple masculinities and femininities influenced by other social dimensions such as class, ethnicity, generation.
- c) Masculinities and femininities are created in specific contexts or 'communities of practice' so gender-related patterns must be explained by 'looking locally'.

'Third wave' approaches to gender and language are theoretically, methodologically, and politically multifaceted, as Bucholtz (2014, pp. 31–39) illustrates. For example, research has been conducted on the relationship between gender, class and variation (Eckert, 1989; Coates, 2015), on the interplay between gender, language and parenting (Sunderland, 2006b; Kendall, 2008; Luvera DelPrete, 2015), on gendered marketing (Benwell, 2004; Lazar, 2006, 2017; Middleton, Turnbull, & de Oliveira, 2019), on gendered language in beauty salons (Toerien & Kitzinger, 2007), call centres (Cameron, 2000; Llimona et al., 2015), factories (Holmes, 2008; Lal, 2011), and phone sex calls (Hall, 1995; Selmi, 2012, 2013). Crucially, the field has additionally expanded greatly to include race and ethnicity issues after criticism emerged about the one-dimensionality of research focusing on white straight middle-class women. Accordingly, as opposed to 'feminist', Walker (1983) coined the term 'womanist' to refer to black feminists and feminists of colour. Thus, (mostly US) scholars have focused their linguistic research on the experiences of African American girls and women (Jacobs-Huey, 2006; Brooks & McNair, 2015; Lanehart, 2019; Morgan, 2020), Native Americans (Ahlers, 2012; Siqueira, 2014), Asian Americans (Chun, 2004; Kubota, 2020), Latinas (Bondy, 2016; Inoa Vazquez, 2020), and postcolonial societies (Clark, 2006; Sadiqi, 2008). Research on gender and language in Spanish-speaking contexts includes explorations into the differences between women's and men's language (Lozano Domingo, 1995; Trenado, 2011; Tusón, 2016) and into whether the Spanish language is steeped in sexism (García Meseguer, 1994; Márquez Guerrero, 2016), studies on the implementation and impact of as well as attitudes towards anti-sexist language planning (Bengoechea, 2010; Centenera Sánchez-Seco, 2014; Bengoechea & Simón, 2014; Maldonado García, 2015; Lomotey, 2015a, 2015b, 2016, 2017; Cabello Pino, 2019; Núñez-Román, Hunt-Gómez, & Gómez-Camacho, 2020), investigations into gender representation, sexist language, and gender violence in the media (Ramírez Alvarado, 2003; Crolley & Teso, 2007; Santaemilia & Maruenda, 2014; González Fernández, 2017; Frasier Marchal, 2018), analyses of gender stereotyping in advertising (Royo-Vela, Aldás-Manzano, Küster-Boluda, & Vila-Lopez, 2007, 2008), explorations into the issues surrounding the translation of feminist texts into Spanish (Sánchez, 2014), studies on the acquisition of sexist language by Spanish L1 and L2 speakers (Mathews, 1995, 2000), and teaching recommendations for creating awareness of linguistic sexism (Dever, 2012), for example.

Furthermore, in recent years 'third wave' approaches to gender and language have focused on perspectives on masculinities (Benwell, 2014; Gao et al., 2017; SturtzSreetharan, 2017; Gottzén,

Mellström, & Shefer, 2020), LGBTQ identities (Jones, 2012; Motschenbacher & Stegu, 2013; Koller, 2013, 2014; Motschenbacher, 2019, 2020), and sex-positive feminism and sexual desire (Skapoulli, 2009; Kulick, 2014; Brown-Bowers et al., 2015; Farvid, Braun, & Rowney, 2016).

One aspect of ‘third wave’ approaches that has been criticized by Mills (2012) is the overall emphasis on the continuous negotiation of gender within particular local contexts, possibly neglecting the wider context of societal structures and the persistence of gendered ideologies, which are a prominent topic in ‘second wave’ research. Thus, ‘third wave’ approaches “risk formulating a feminism without politics” (Mills, 2012, p. 129).

Although the ‘deficit’, ‘dominance’, ‘difference’, and ‘dynamic’ approaches to gender and language generally represent a rough chronology in the development of the linguistic field (Bucholtz, 2014, p. 24), it is important to note that they coexist(ed) and that the boundaries between the approaches are oftentimes fuzzy (Coates, 2015, p. 7). Nowadays, however, the dynamic approach is the predominant paradigm (Coates, 2015, p. 7).

2.2.2.2 Positioning of the present doctoral dissertation

While Robin Lakoff’s *Language and Woman’s Place* (1975) is primarily famous for her model on how women use language (see 2.2.2.1), the author also dedicated a chapter to the ways in which women are talked about. Lakoff ([1975] 2004, p. 51) argues that in many word pairs denoting a woman and a man (e.g. *spinster* and *bachelor*), the female term assumes a special meaning and is derogatory towards women. Other such word pairs include *mistress/master*, *widow/widower*, *professional/professional*, *bitch/dog*, *vixen/fox*, and *pig/pig*. Lakoff ([1975] 2004) also discusses the cases of *lady* and *girl* and the forms of address *Miss* and *Mrs.* (compared to *Ms.*) whose equivalents for men are either non-existent or much less frequently used. Lakoff ([1975] 2004) concludes that these disparities exist for the same reason: “[E]ach reflects in its pattern of usage the difference between the role of women in our society and that of men” (p. 74).

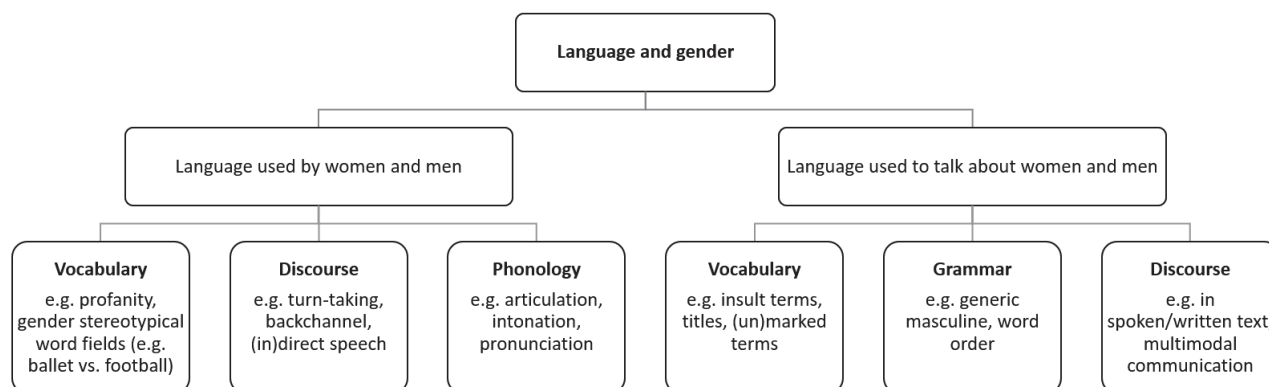


Figure 7: Research areas within the field of language and gender (own graphic).

In fact, Lakoff's two approaches to language and gender – language used by women and men on the one hand and language used to talk about women and men on the other hand – have since remained the two major research approaches within the field (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 3; Coates, 2015, p. 4), as illustrated in Figure 7. The present doctoral dissertation is positioned within the approach which researches the language used to talk about women and men and, more specifically, which studies the vocabulary used to refer to different types of women and men (see Figure 7), by investigating mostly colloquial metaphorical expressions such as *bitch* to refer to a woman who complains a lot and speaks ill of others, and *lion* to refer to a strong and brave man. Such language uses can reveal interesting patterns regarding the prevalent conceptualizations of women and men and are oftentimes instances of linguistic imbalance or even discrimination. Furthermore, the present doctoral dissertation takes a 'dynamic' approach to gender and language (see 2.2.2.1), as it explores the linguistic representation of various femininities and masculinities – with varying degrees of gender stereotypicality, which is the topic of the section 3.1.

3 State of the art

This chapter presents the two research topics which together form the thematic essence of the present doctoral dissertation, namely gender stereotypes (3.1) and gender metaphors (3.2). The first section introduces the issue of gender stereotypicality and explores prevalent societal gender stereotypes by drawing on the concepts of gender role conformity and gender role violation. This is of vital relevance for the present doctoral dissertation as the concept of gender stereotyping features in all four research articles (see 5.3 and appendix). Moreover, gender stereotypes are inextricably linked to gender metaphors since the latter tend to be based on the former and are continually perpetuating them. For example, unattractiveness and obesity are considered stereotypically negative features in a woman. This is represented in the colloquial metaphorical expression *Sp. vaca* 'cow', which degradingly refers to an unattractive and overweight woman. The second section of this chapter, then, explores common gender metaphors that have been identified to exist to refer to different types of women and men, denoting traits such as promiscuity, attractiveness, and intelligence.

3.1 Gender stereotypes

3.1.1 Theoretical background

Gender stereotypes are cognitive patterns comprising certain beliefs and expectations about the traits and features of women and men (Eckes, 2010, p. 178; Ellemers, 2018, p. 276; López-Sáez & Lisbona, 2009, p. 364). For instance, character traits that are considered stereotypically female are warmth and empathy, while competence and independence are seen as stereotypically male traits (Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, 2016, p. 354). Gender stereotypes – like other kinds of stereotypes –

may be helpful when there is a need to make quick estimates of how unknown individuals are likely to behave or when trying to understand how large groups of people generally differ from each other. However, these very same functions make stereotypes much less helpful in estimating the exact potential or evaluating the defining characteristics of specific individuals. (Ellemers, 2018, p. 278)

Thus, gender stereotypes overemphasize the existence of supposed differences between women and men when it comes to their features, traits, competencies, interests, etc. As Ellemers (2018, p. 283) explains, it seems logical that people depend on stereotypes when it comes to judging groups of people that they have limited knowledge about, e.g. homeless people or people from foreign countries. However, people generally have personal contact and close relationships with various types of women/girls and men/boys throughout their entire lives, so it would appear that oversimplified gender stereotypes have no chance to persevere. Yet, the contrary is the case – gender stereotypes are acquired early in life (Jaxon et al., 2019, p. 1194) and remain relatively stable even across different

cultures (Williams, Satterwhite, & Best, 1999) – so the assumption is that they must be beneficial to individuals for several reasons. As Eckes (2010, p. 181) points out, gender stereotypes serve people based on their following functions:

- (a) Economy: Maximizing information content while minimizing cognitive effort
- (b) Inference: Reduction of uncertainty by inferences about features that are not directly observable (includes explanations, predictions, generalizations)
- (c) Communication: Linguistic and non-linguistic interpersonal communication
- (d) Identification: Self-categorization aiming at attaining a coherent self-concept
- (e) Evaluation: Assessment of ingroups (i.e. groups which an individual considers belonging to) and their characteristics in relation to outgroups

Furthermore, when confronted with women and men who behave in non-stereotypical ways, people tend to not disregard and give up gender stereotypes but instead consider those women and men as exceptions to the rule who are consequently downgraded: “Individuals who clearly disconfirm stereotypical expectations tend to be devalued. We decide that they are not representative for their gender group rather than revising stereotypical expectations” (Ellemers, 2018, p. 286). Additionally, gender stereotypes are – knowingly or unknowingly – passed on between parents, children, siblings, and peers, continuously reproduced in the media, and expressed by females and males themselves through their body language and their portrayal of emotions (Eckes, 2010, p. 180; Ellemers, 2018, p. 284). All these factors help explain why gender stereotypes are highly prevalent, perpetual, and resistant to change.

When it comes to stereotype content, there seem to be three underlying principles, as Operario and Fiske (2003, pp. 24–26) explain:

- (a) Stereotypes contain ambivalent beliefs (mostly negative, but some positive attributes) which reflect the relationships between groups.
- (b) Stereotypes augment perceptions of negative and extreme behaviour as it captures people’s attention more than positive and normal behaviour.
- (c) Stereotypes maintain division between ingroups (“us”) and outgroups (“them”), favouring the former and discriminating against the latter.

Descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are both descriptive and prescriptive, fulfilling different purposes, i.e. describing what men and women supposedly *are* like and prescribing what they supposedly *should* be like respectively:

Descriptive stereotypes allude to beliefs about what characteristics are possessed by men and women. Similarly, prescriptive stereotypes refer to beliefs about what characteristics are desirable or appropriate for each sex within the context of a certain culture. Gender stereotypes are characterized by being more prescriptive than other stereotypes[.] (López-Sáez & Lisbona, 2009, p. 364)

Interestingly, while gender stereotypes can prescribe characteristics and behaviour which can be unrealistic and even harmful to some, people generally have the desire to be good group members, i.e. to conform to gender stereotypes. This results in women and men adapting their behaviour to stereotypical behaviour which thus leads to gender stereotypes functioning as self-fulfilling prophecies (Ellemers, 2018, p. 287). Of course, not everyone desires to be part of core groups that represent the norm since “separating the self from the group can represent an important route to self-actualization, identity, and value” (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013, p. 6). However, even when embracing one’s belonging to a marginalized group, people are aware of the existence of gender stereotypes which can lead to a confirmation of certain stereotypes (Operario & Fiske, 2003, p. 27). For example, girls who are confronted with the widespread stereotype that boys are better at math perform significantly worse in math tests than girls who are not presented with such a stereotype threat (Doyle & Voyer, 2016).

Power dynamics and status quo justification

Furthermore, there are two social aspects that determine the strength of stereotypes, namely (a) power dynamics and group hierarchy and (b) status quo justification (Operario & Fiske, 2003, pp. 36–37). When it comes to power and hierarchy, it has been shown that individuals whose power position is higher than that of others are more likely to rely on stereotypes when judging less powerful individuals. The latter, in turn, tend to stereotype powerful individuals to a lesser degree or even perceive them as unrealistically positive (Operario & Fiske, 2003, p. 36; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). This helps maintain the status quo as “people strive to protect themselves and their ingroup, and consequently must derogate or impair the outgroup, at least relatively, if not absolutely” (Operario & Fiske, 2003, p. 37). By justifying group inequality, superordinate groups can influence the attitudes and behaviours of subordinate groups leading them to accept and preserve the status quo (Calogero & Jost, 2011, p. 212). However, in the case of gender stereotypes, research has shown that bolstering the status quo depends on whether – female and male – individuals hold the belief that gender roles are fixed as opposed to malleable (Kray, Howland, Russell, & Jackman, 2017, p. 109).

Social Role Theory and Stereotype Content Model

In order to explain why character traits such as warmth and communality are ascribed to women as opposed to character traits such as competence and independence to men, two approaches can be

helpful. One of the theories that aim to clarify this issue is the Social Role Theory of Sex Differences and Similarities (Eagly, 1987; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). According to this theory, people assume that women and men must possess those features that are typical for the social role that they fill:

For example, in industrialized societies, women are more likely to fill caretaking roles in employment and at home. People make the correspondent inference that women are communal, caring individuals. The origins of men's and women's social roles lie primarily in humans' evolved physical sex differences, specifically men's size and strength and women's reproductive activities of gestating and nursing children, which interact with a society's circumstances and culture to make certain activities more efficiently performed by one sex or the other. (Eagly & Wood, 2012, p. 458)

Thus, biological differences form the basis for the ascription of social gender roles. However, research clearly indicates that the different social roles emphasize and magnify those biological differences as they influence hormonal regulation, self-regulation, and social regulation which ultimately cause different thoughts, emotions, and behaviours in women and men (Ellemers, 2018, p. 278).

Another model which can help to make sense of the different contents of stereotypes of women and men is the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). According to this model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002, p. 897),

- (a) out-group stereotypes are differentiated by perceived competence and warmth,
- (b) many out-groups are viewed as competent but cold or incompetent but warm,
- (c) perceived social status predicts perceived competence, whereas perceived competition predicts perceived lack of warmth,
- (d) pity, envy, contempt, and admiration differentiate the four combinations of perceived warmth (warm, cold) and competence (competent, incompetent).

Table 7 shows the taxonomy of gender stereotypes in the four combinations of perceived competence and warmth, including indications with regards to perceived status and competitiveness.

According to the Stereotype Content Model, the in-group and cultural default is rated both warm and competent (in-group favouritism). The in-group considers its group members as high in status but not competitive as they do not compete with themselves (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002, pp. 881–882).

Paternalistic stereotypes represent the traditional view of womanhood: women as homemakers who are warm, not competent, low in status, and not competitive. Represented by envious stereotypes, on the other hand, are non-traditional women, such as career women, who are considered competent but not warm, high in status and competitive.

Table 7: Taxonomy of gender stereotypes based on four combinations of competence and warmth, including indications about status and competitiveness (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002, p. 881; Eckes, 2010, p. 182).

Warmth	Competence	
	low	high
high	Paternalistic stereotypes <i>low status, not competitive</i> pity e.g. <i>housewife</i>	Admiring stereotypes <i>high status, not competitive</i> admiration e.g. <i>professor</i>
low	Contemptuous stereotypes <i>low status, competitive</i> contempt e.g. <i>redneck</i>	Envious stereotypes <i>high status, competitive</i> envy e.g. <i>career woman</i>

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Instead of claiming that sexism is always hostile, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001a, 2001b) aims to explain the warm and therefore positive evaluation of traditional women and the cold and therefore negative evaluation of non-traditional women. Accordingly, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory measures two types of sexism, namely hostile sexism and benevolent sexism:

Hostile sexism seeks to justify male power, traditional gender roles, and men's exploitation of women as sexual objects through derogatory characterizations of women. *Benevolent sexism*, in contrast, relies on kinder and gentler justifications of male dominance and prescribed gender roles; it recognizes men's dependence on women ... and embraces a romanticized view of sexual relationships with women. (Glick & Fiske, 1997, p. 121)

Table 8 gives a summary of the characteristics of hostile and benevolent sexism:

Table 8: Characteristics of hostile and benevolent sexism.

	Ambivalent sexism	
	Hostile sexism	Benevolent sexism
Characteristics	Negative evaluation of non-traditional women (envious stereotypes)	Positive evaluation of traditional women (paternalistic stereotypes)
	Justification of men's power over women	Acknowledgement of men's dependence on women
	Derogatory exploitation of women as sexual objects	'Women-are-wonderful effect'
	Overt sexism	Covert sexism
	Increasingly less prevalent	Prevalent tool to mask sexism

It is important to note that the attitudes expressed by benevolent sexism are positive for the sexist, reflecting protectiveness and affection, but a woman might, when receiving unsolicited help from a man, detect the assumption that she is less competent than him and therefore in need of his help

(Glick & Fiske, 1997, p. 121). Thus, benevolent sexism can disguise sexist attitudes by focusing on allegedly positive implications of patriarchy, thereby justifying and sustaining its social structures. Related to benevolent sexism is the 'women-are-wonderful effect' (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994), stating that both women and men tend to evaluate women more positively than men, with women's in-group biases 4.5 times stronger compared to men's (Rudman & Goodwin, 2004, p. 506). At first, this seems contrary to the prevalent world-wide issue of violence and discrimination against women (McQuigg, 2018, p. 305; Phipps, 2019; United Nations, 2019). However, this phenomenon has been explained as the 'discrimination-affection paradox' (Eckes, 2002, p. 100), which is in line with the findings of benevolent sexism in that the kind of positive attitudes towards traditional women "is just the other side of the same sexist coin" (Eckes, 2002, p. 100).

The second type of sexism, hostile sexism, is represented in the attitudes towards envious stereotypes, who are competent but not warm, high in status and competitive. Accordingly, hostile sexism targets non-traditional women, e.g. career women, for violating the traditional gender role of the warm and non-threatening woman. Although expressions of hostile sexism – which is considered the 'traditional' type of sexism (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2013, p. 174) – are becoming increasingly less likely, this is not the case for benevolent sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015, p. 149). However, this development does not mean that the threats of sexism are a thing of the past:

[E]xpressing benevolent sexism may be a particularly successful way of spreading stereotypical expectations. ... [B]enevolent sexism – which is subjectively positive and therefore often undetected as a form of sexism – communicates gender stereotypes at least as well as hostile sexism. ... [B]enevolent sexism is far from inoffensive. Indeed, it appears to be the ideal vehicle to communicate sexist beliefs in ways that remain uncensored. (Ramos et al., 2018, p. 174)

Accordingly, studies have shown that, compared to hostile sexism, benevolent sexism has a more deteriorating effect on women's cognitive performance (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007), that exposure to benevolent sexism lowers women's engagement in collective action for social change, while exposure to hostile sexism in fact boosts it (Becker & Wright, 2011), and that the warm affective tone of benevolent sexism, especially when displayed by men, masks its socially conservative attitudes (Hopkins-Doyle, Sutton, Douglas, & Calogero, 2019).

In a 19-nations study, Glick et al. (2000) found that hostile sexism and benevolent sexism correlate positively across nations, and that national averages on benevolent and hostile sexism predict gender inequality across nations. Additionally, they found that women are more likely than men to reject hostile sexism compared to benevolent sexism, particularly in cultures with overall high levels of sexism in which women may feel the need to be protected by men. However, the authors showed that, across nations, men's mean scores strongly predict women's mean scores on hostile and benevolent

sexism which is consistent with the idea that discriminated groups take on the system-justifying beliefs of superordinate groups (Glick et al., 2000, p. 772; also see above).

Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory

When it comes to measuring sexist beliefs about men, the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1999) – which is related to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory – proves to be a useful tool. Parallel to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory reveals hostility as well as benevolence towards men. It is important to note that hostile and benevolent attitudes towards men *and* women emerge from the intersection of three prevalent structural elements, namely patriarchy, gender role differentiation, and female-male interdependence (Connor, Glick, & Fiske, 2016, p. 296). Table 9 shows hostile and benevolent attitudes towards men together with exemplary statements:

Table 9: Hostile and benevolent attitudes towards men, emerging from the intersection of patriarchy, gender role differentiation, and female-male interdependence (Glick & Fiske, 1999, p. 523).

	Structural elements		
	Patriarchy	Gender role differentiation	Female-male interdependence
Hostile attitudes towards men	Resentment of Paternalism	Compensatory Gender Differentiation	Heterosexual Hostility
Exemplary hostile statement	<i>Men will always fight to have greater control in society than women.</i>	<i>Men would be lost in this world if women weren't there to guide them.</i>	<i>A man who is sexually attracted to a woman typically has no morals about doing whatever it takes to get her in bed.</i>
Benevolent attitudes towards men	Maternalism	Complementary Gender Differentiation	Heterosexual Intimacy
Exemplary benevolent statement	<i>Women ought to take care of their men at home because men would fall apart if they had to fend for themselves.</i>	<i>Men are less likely to fall apart in emergencies than women are.</i>	<i>Every woman needs a male partner who will cherish her.</i>

In a 16-nation study, Glick et al. (2004) found that hostile and benevolent attitudes towards men are found across cultures, are positively correlated with each other as well as with hostile and benevolent sexism towards women (see above), and are negatively correlated with gender equality across cultures. Glick et al. (2004) further point out that their data shows far more agreement than differences between female and male subjects (p. 726) and that men tend to be viewed as possessing less positive but more powerful traits than women (p. 725):

Although men may be evaluated less positively than women (by men and women alike), these attitudes hold little promise for greater equality so long as the basis for hostility toward men is the belief that they will inevitably and naturally retain greater status and power and the basis for benevolence toward women is paternalistic solicitude toward the supposedly weaker sex. (Glick et al., 2004, p. 727)

Studies on benevolent and hostile sexism towards men have yielded interesting results. For instance, in their study on male rape myth acceptance, Chappleau, Oswald and Russell (2007, 2008) found that benevolent, but not hostile sexism towards men strongly predicts rape myth acceptance for both men and women. Thus, the authors state that “individuals high in benevolent sexism toward men may believe that men are supposed to be invincible and, if a man is raped, he must have showed some unmanly weakness to provoke or permit the assault” (Chappleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2008, pp. 611–612). In contrast, Davies, Gilston and Rogers (2012) ascertained that male rape myth acceptance related moderately positively with hostile sexism, but not with benevolent sexism. Investigating preferences for male political candidates, Russo, Rutto and Mosso (2014) detected that system justification is positively related to benevolent sexist attitudes towards men, but not to hostile sexist attitudes towards men.

Spain vs. England

Table 10: Results of relevant studies on sexism and gender inequality scores in Spain and England. Red cells indicate higher sexism/inequality scores, green cells indicate the opposite. Grey cells indicate equal scores in both countries.

Author(s)	Sexism and gender inequality scores	
	Spain	England
Glick et al. (2004)	Women and men: higher scores on hostile and benevolent sexism towards women and men	Women and men: lower scores on hostile and benevolent sexism towards women and men
Brandt (2011)	Less sexist	More sexist
	More gender equality	Less gender equality
	Lower sexism scores among women and men	Higher sexism scores among women and men
	Greater sexism among men than women	Greater sexism among men than women
Hofstede et al. (2010)	More ‘feminine’ country: more likely to evaluate traditional and non-traditional women and men equally	More ‘masculine’ country: more likely to evaluate traditional women and men positively (benevolent sexism) and non-traditional women and men negatively (hostile sexism)
Henry and Wetherell (2017)	Lower gender equality	Higher gender equality
	More positive attitudes towards homosexual women and men	Less positive attitudes towards homosexual women and men
	Highly progressive sexual orientation laws	Highly progressive sexual orientation laws

Although comparisons between nations must be drawn with caution, there are indications as to the sexism and gender inequality scores of Spain and England – the two nations that are at the core of the present doctoral dissertation. Results of relevant studies are presented in Table 10.

Cultural lag hypothesis

Even though the last decades have undoubtedly brought significant societal changes for women (and men) – for instance regarding occupations, education, and sports –, gender stereotypes have largely remained the same (Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, 2016). An explanation for this phenomenon could be the cultural lag hypothesis (Ogburn, 1922; Brinkman & Brinkman, 1997). According to the concept of the cultural lag, societal beliefs and attitudes change slower than social structures and thus lag behind them: “Groups that succeed in entering new roles may still be identified in the culture at least partially in terms of their traditional roles and associated characteristics” (Diekmann, Eagly, & Johnston, 2010, p. 220). For this reason, gender stereotypes are by no means a thing of the past but instead remain highly pervasive in society and thus deserving of continued investigation, especially considering their potency when it comes to the perpetuation of gender inequality. In order to better understand the nuanced contents of gender stereotypes, the next section focuses on female and male subtypes.

3.1.2 Gender subtypes

Female and male stereotypes which regard the overall categories of women and men, as they have been discussed in the previous section, are considered global stereotypes. However, they are believed to be too broad, heterogeneous, and fuzzy to be useful for social categorization (Eckes, 2010, p. 181; see also Vonk & Ashmore, 2003). Instead, global stereotypes comprise a variety of more specific and homogeneous subtypes. Thus, global stereotypes (e.g. *woman*) can be considered to exist at the macrolevel and subtypes (e.g. *housewife*, *career woman*) at the microlevel of the representation of social groups (Carpenter & Trentham, 2001, p. 456). As can be seen, the above-mentioned categories of the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; see 3.1.1) are represented in the microlevel gender subtypes, such as *housewife* and *career woman*. The topic of gender subtypes is at the core of research article 2 (“Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students’ perception of different types of women and men”) and 3 (“Breaking down gender subtype perception”).

Based on the findings illustrated in 3.1.1, a large amount of female and male subtypes has been identified in the literature, mostly using dimensional or cluster analyses of the perceived similarities between different subtypes. Before turning to the individual subtypes, it is important to fan out the independent components of gender stereotypes, namely physical, cognitive, and positive and negative personalities of women and men (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Schneider & Bos, 2014, p. 248), as summarized in Table 11. The stereotypical traits of women and men should be kept in mind

when investigating female and male subtypes as they represent the key aspects of gender stereotypes (Oswald & Lindstedt, 2006, p. 448).

As Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 258) explain, female and male subtypes tend to be organized on three dimensions: positive/negative (e.g. *sweetheart* vs. *bitch*, *businessman* vs. *nerd*), traditional/non-traditional (e.g. *housewife* vs. *career woman*, *businessman* vs. *wimp*), and sexual/non-sexual. The latter dimension differs for female and male subtypes. While for male subtypes this dimension tends to indicate the level of sexual activity and interest – with subtypes like *playboy* as the one extreme and *bureaucrat* as the other –, for female subtypes this dimension comprises two subdimensions. Accordingly, there is a negative sexuality dimension regarding respectability – with subtypes like *whore* vs. *mother* – as well as a positive sexuality dimension regarding sexual attractiveness – with subtypes like *babe* vs. *dyke* (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 258; Becker, 2010, p. 454).

Table 11: Trait stereotype dimensions of women and men (Schneider & Bos, 2014, p. 248; Lopez-Zafra & Garcia-Retamero, 2012, p. 174).

	Women	Men
<i>Positive personality</i>	Affectionate Sympathetic Gentle Sensitive Supportive	Competitive Daring Adventurous Aggressive Dominant
<i>Negative personality</i>	Spineless Gullible Servile Subordinates self to others Whiny Complaining Nagging Fussy	Egotistical Hostile Cynical Arrogant Boastful Greedy Dictatorial Unprincipled
<i>Cognitive</i>	Imaginative Intuitive Artistic Creative Expressive	Good with numbers Analytical Good at problem solving Quantitatively skilled Mathematical
<i>Physical</i>	Cute Gorgeous Beautiful Pretty Sexy	Rugged Muscular Physically strong Burly

In detail, Tables 12 to 22 show relevant studies which identified a variety of female and/or male subtypes and investigated their organization regarding a multitude of dimensions and clusters. The captions of the tables indicate the research country and method. As can be seen, studies focused on the identification of traditional and non-traditional subtypes are Eckes (1994) (Table 13), Vonk and Ashmore (2003) (Table 12), and Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) (Table 14). Thus, traditional female

Table 12: Vonk and Ashmore (2003), Netherlands, linear multiple regression analysis.

Female subtypes	Male subtypes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Masculine/feminine dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • female subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>mother, family woman, wife, middle-aged woman, heterosexual woman, intentionally unmarried mother, lesbian, woman with part-time job, modern woman, feminist, cold woman, liberated woman</i> • female subtypes close to the male side <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cafeteria worker, cashier, society woman, slut, bimbo, prostitute, sex bomb, man eater, female athlete</i> • Traditionality dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • traditional female subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>housewife, mother, bourgeois woman</i> • women with low-education jobs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cafeteria worker, cashier</i> • non-traditional female subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>independent, liberated, intelligent women who have careers</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>businesswoman, liberated woman, feminist</i> • sexual types <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>man eater, femme fatale, flirtatious woman</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Masculine/feminine dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • male subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>farmer, dustman, technician, sailor, soldier, male chauvinist, macho, body builder, bruiser, jerk, show-off, windbag, tough guy, bold man, stud, pub crawler, male athlete</i> • male subtypes encroaching into the female side <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>grandad, family-man, father, male homemaker, homosexual, sissy, feminine man, modern man</i> • Traditionality dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • traditional male subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lower-class jobs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>farmer, labourer, dustman</i> • office jobs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bookkeeper, clerk</i> • non-traditional male subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>happy-go-lucky types who do not work</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bon-vivant, adventurer, eternal bachelor, good-for-nothing, professionally unemployed</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • young subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>schoolboy, adolescent, schoolgirl, prissy girl</i> • older, mostly male subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>minister, professor, old man, grandad, old maid</i> • Settledness dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • settled into their role in society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>mother, bourgeois woman, family man</i> • being free to do as they please <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>eternal bachelor, adventurer, professionally unemployed</i> • Choice dimension <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assigned roles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lower-class occupations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>male: farmer, labourer</i> • <i>female: cafeteria worker, cashier</i> • <i>soldier, sailor (male)</i> • young types who have not yet made any conscious choices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>schoolgirl, schoolboy, adolescent, first-year student</i> • independent female subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>businesswoman, working woman, career woman, intentionally unmarried mother</i> 	

subtypes include *secretary, wallflower, housewife, mother, and princess*, while non-traditional female subtypes are *career woman, society lady, vamp, feminist, businesswoman, man eater, femme fatale, whore, bitch, and lesbian*, for example. For males, traditional subtypes include *bum, career man, macho, social climber, farmer, clerk, stud, and businessman*, whereas *softy, professor, eternal bachelor, and professionally unemployed* constitute non-traditional male subtypes.

When it comes to researching the evaluation of gender subtypes, Geiger, Harwood and Hummert's (2006) (Table 15) study on homosexual female subtypes clearly reveals a positive (e.g. *lipstick lesbian*,

career-oriented feminist) and a negative cluster of subtypes (e.g. *sexually confused, angry butch*).

Table 13: Eckes (1994), Germany, cluster analysis and multi-dimensional scaling.

Female subtypes	Male subtypes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: accepting the traditional female role <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chick Cluster: conformist, fashion conscious, politically uninterested <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>chick, trendy, secretary, bourgeois</i> • Housewife Cluster: non-demanding, selfless, longing for security, focusing on family affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>wallflower, naïve type, typical woman, housewife</i> • Cluster 2: rejecting the traditional female role, looking for some alternative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Career Woman Cluster: independent, educated, occupying high social status, unconventional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>confident type, intellectual, career woman, society lady</i> • punk • vamp • Women's Libber Cluster: critical of society, ideologically minded, politically committed, rebellious-aggressive <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>hippy, feminist, women's libber</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: relatively non-traditional subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hippie Cluster: critical of society, politically interested, sensible, show feelings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>softy, hippie, radical</i> • Professor Cluster: top-heavy, unrealistic, not paying attention to their appearance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>intellectual, professor</i> • Cluster 2: varieties of the traditional male role <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punk Cluster: marginal group of society, politically uninterested, tendency to be aggressive, without ambition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bum, punk, rocker, cad</i> • Yuppie Cluster: materialistic, single-minded, eager for recognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>yuppie, manager, career man, confident type</i> • Macho Cluster: superficial, setting great store by appearances, egoistic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>macho, playboy, trendy, Mr. Joe Cool, jock</i> • typical man • Bourgeois Cluster: loves order, not at all striking, conservative-unsophisticated, boring <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>social climber, bureaucrat, bourgeois, egoist</i> • senior citizen

Table 14: Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005), United States, cluster analysis and multi-dimensional scaling.

Female subtypes	Male subtypes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: prototypical female, traditionally female roles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>woman, mother, grandmother, old lady, widow, housewife, wife, sister</i> • Cluster 2: relationships and traditional female traits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>girlfriend, princess, chick, honey, mistress, sweetheart, cheerleader, feminist, brunette, blonde, beautiful, motherly, dependent, caring</i> • Cluster 3: females employed outside the home <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>nurse, waitress, career woman</i> • Cluster 4: women who violate the traditional female stereotypes of passivity and heterosexual attraction to men <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>whore, bitch, witch, lesbian</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: prototype for maleness, personal relationships, masculine traits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>man, gentleman, brother, boy, boyfriend, ladies' man, stud, masculine, strong, handsome</i> • Clusters 2 and 3: traditionally male occupations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>construction worker, farmer, soldier, policeman, doctor, professor, comedian</i> • <i>businessman, athlete, hard worker, priest</i> • Cluster 4: negatively evaluated subtypes (homosexual and weak types, disapproved of by society) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>homo, fag, wimp, gay, redneck, son of a bitch, jerk, prick, drunk, pimp, nerd</i>

Table 15: Geiger, Harwood and Hummert (2006), United States, cluster analysis and multi-dimensional scaling.

Homosexual female subtypes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: positive subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>lipstick lesbian:</i> beautiful, maternal, sexy, girlish • <i>career-oriented feminist:</i> outgoing, proud, cool, independent • <i>soft-butch:</i> athletic, powerful, feminist • <i>free-spirit:</i> eccentric, different, mysterious, persuasive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 2: negative subtypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>hypersexual:</i> promiscuous, sexcrazy, bisexual • <i>sexually confused:</i> shy, submissive, scared of men, sex frustrated • <i>sexually deviant:</i> queer, dirty, immoral, abnormal • <i>angry butch:</i> loud, obnoxious, selfish, masculine

In part, the studies by Carpenter and Trentham (1998, 2001) (Tables 16 and 17), Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) (Table 14), DeWall, Altermatt and Thompson (2005) (Table 18), and Ashmore, Griffo, Green and Moreno (2007) (Table 19) also point to the importance of evaluation in the organization of gender subtypes. For example, positively evaluated female subtypes are *homemaker* and *beauty*. On the other hand, subtypes that are negatively evaluated are *bitch*, *spoiled woman*, *prostitute*, and *dizzy head* for females and *bigot*, *chauvinist*, *fag*, *wimp*, *redneck*, and *prick* for males.

Table 16: Carpenter and Trentham (1998), United States, taxonomy.

Gender subtypes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category 1: interpersonal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • power: <i>aggressor, pushover, tough guy</i> • popularity and sociability: <i>frat rat, outcast, extrovert</i> • people with expectations: <i>goody two shoes, perfectionist, spoiled rich brat</i> • interpersonal roles: <i>family man, lover, wife</i> • sexual preference/style: <i>bisexual, lesbian, virgin</i> • physical appearance: <i>amazon, fox, pretty boy</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appearance and sexual style: <i>butch, drag queen, playboy</i> • appearance/sociability/talents and mental abilities: <i>barbie, cheerleader, dizzy blond</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category 2: personal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • talents and mental abilities: <i>airhead, genius, scholar</i> • ideology: <i>atheist, feminist, racist</i> • interests: <i>biker, outdoorsman, shopper</i> • Category 3: collective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • occupations and work roles: <i>boss, accountant, receptionist</i> • demographics: <i>Hispanic, divorced, college grad</i> • Category 4: negative evaluation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • derogatory: <i>bitch, geek, weirdo</i> • inadequacies: <i>busybody, loser, whiner</i> • Category 5: other <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>doll, hero, participant, clown, killer, queen</i>

Table 17: Carpenter and Trentham (2001), United States, cluster analysis.

Female subtypes	Male subtypes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: sexual style and bad women <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>user of men, hussy, bitch, spoiled woman, prostitute, dizzy head</i> • Cluster 2: caretaking women <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>homemaker, housewife, baby-sitter</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: negative men <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bigot, stuck up guy, chauvinist</i> • Cluster 2: strong jock types <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>skirt chaser, he-man, jock-popular, tough guy, weightlifter, football player</i> • Cluster 3: sports interests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>sports fan, baseball player, runner</i> • Cluster 4: occupation or vocational roles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>coach, golfer, hunter, referee, umpire</i>

Table 18: DeWall, Altermatt and Thompson (2005), United States, hierarchical cluster analysis.

Female subtypes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: <i>professional</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high in power and competence • Cluster 2: <i>feminist</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high in power and competence • Cluster 3: <i>homemaker</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high in warmth, evaluation, moral virtue, and sexual conservatism, low in power and competence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 4: <i>female athlete</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high in power and competence • Cluster 5: <i>beauty</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high in evaluation • Cluster 6: <i>temptress</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low in warmth, evaluation, moral virtue, sexual conservatism, and competence

Table 19: Ashmore, Griffo, Green and Moreno (2007), United States, cluster analysis and multi-dimensional scaling.

Female college student subtypes	Male college student subtypes
Derogated females: <i>airhead, bitch, concealed, ho, sleaze, hussy, frat girl, sorority sister, playgirl, sorority bitch</i>	Fraternity and partying males: <i>frat boy, frat brother, party animal, partier, frat rat, playboy</i>

Lastly, DeWall, Altermatt and Thompson (2005) (Table 18), Clausell and Fiske (2005) (Table 20), Wade and Brewer (2006) (Table 21), and Brambilla, Carnaghi and Ravenna (2011) (Table 22) explore gender subtypes by measuring their perceived competence and warmth. Accordingly, the subtypes *single mother* and *female teacher* are high in competence and in warmth, the female subtypes *temptress*, *beautician*, *sorority girl* and *closeted lesbian*, and the male homosexual subtype *crossdresser* are low in competence and in warmth. Examples of ambivalent subtypes are the female *homemaker* (low in competence, high in warmth) and *businesswoman* (high in competence, low in warmth), and the homosexual male subtypes *feminine* and *flamboyant* (low in competence, high in warmth) and *straight-acting* and *hyper-masculine* (high in competence, low in warmth).

Table 20: Clausell and Fiske (2005), United States, hierarchical cluster analysis.

Homosexual male subtypes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: high in competence, low in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>activist</i> • <i>in the closet</i> • <i>straight-acting</i> • <i>hyper-masculine</i> • <i>artistic</i> • <i>body-conscious</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 2: low in competence, high in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>feminine</i> • <i>flamboyant</i> • Cluster 3: low in competence, low in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>crossdresser</i> • <i>leather/biker</i>

Table 21: Wade and Brewer (2006), United States, Dimensional complexity (H statistic).

Female subtypes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: high in competence, high in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>single mother</i> • <i>female teacher</i> • Cluster 2: high in competence, low in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>businesswoman</i> • <i>female scientist</i> • <i>female athlete</i> • <i>tomboy</i> • <i>feminist</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 3: low in competence, high in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>homemaker</i> • <i>grandmother</i> • Cluster 4: low in competence, low in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>beautician</i> • <i>sorority girl</i>

Table 22: Brambilla, Carnaghi, and Ravenna (2011), Italy, hierarchical cluster analysis.

Homosexual female subtypes		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 1: high in competence, high in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>feminine lesbian</i> • <i>outed lesbian</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 2: high in competence, low in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>butch lesbian</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster 3: low in competence, low in warmth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>closeted lesbian</i>

Female and male subtypes reveal how we perceive different types of women and men and the way we cognitively organize them in a set of clusters depending on a variety of dimensions. It is these gender subtypes and more generally gender stereotypes that form the basis of gender metaphors, i.e. the metaphorical conceptualizations of various types of women and men. For that reason, gender metaphors – which form the core of the present doctoral dissertation – are explored in the next section.

3.2 Gender metaphors

A number of gender metaphors conceptualizing different types of women and men have been identified and subsequently analysed in the literature. For example, an attractive young woman can be referred to as *cookie* in English and *bollito* ‘bun’ in Spanish, while an unattractive old woman can be denoted as *crow* in English and *bruja* ‘witch’ in Spanish. When it comes to male subtypes, a promiscuous man can be called a *player* in English and a *buitre* ‘vulture’ in Spanish, and an effeminate homosexual man can be referred to as *blouse* in English and *mariposa* ‘butterfly’ in Spanish.

However, not only men and women are referred to metaphorically, but also their highly gendered sexualized body parts, namely the vagina and breasts in women and the penis and testicles in men. Metaphorical representations of the vagina include *pussy* in English and *alcancía* ‘piggy bank’ in Spanish, while the female breasts can be denoted as *fun bags* in English and *melones* ‘melons’ in Spanish. Turning to male sexualized body parts, the penis can be called *cock* in English and *salchicha* ‘sausage’ in Spanish, and the testicles can be denoted as *nuts* in English and *huevos* ‘eggs’ in Spanish.

Evidently, these examples constitute metaphorical expressions of various metaphors, for example WOMAN IS A DESSERT (*cookie*) or SEX IS A GAME (*player*, *fun bags*). In the following sections, prominent gender metaphors are introduced and explored in more detail.

3.2.1 WOMAN/MAN IS AN ANIMAL

The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor has already been mentioned in sections 2.1.2.2 and 2.2.1.2 and is at the core of research article 4 (“Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers’ associations with novel metaphors”). It constitutes a resemblance metaphor (Grady, 1999) or one-correspondence metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003) (see 2.1.2.2). This metaphor is a prevalent gender metaphor as women and men are conceptualized as a multitude of different animals, i.e. lower-order beings according to the Great Chain of Being (see 2.2.1.1). Therefore, a large body of research has focused on this type of metaphor revealing clear patterns in the types of animals used to refer to different subtypes of women and men. However, generally speaking, for both women and men certain animal categories are favoured over others when it comes to serving as source domains, with mammals taking the sole lead, as Table 23 shows.

The fact that there is a preference for mammals as opposed to the other animal categories to function as source domains in the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is “due to their widely-understood similarity, familiarity and closeness to mankind” (Kiełtyka & Kleparski, 2007, p. 89). Similarly, Wierzbicka (1985, 1996) explains that ethnobiological animal taxonomies rely on five parameters, namely an animal’s habitat, size, appearance, behaviour, and relation to people. Furthermore, animal metaphors are highly cultural (see 2.1.2.4), in that they “reflect the attitudes and beliefs held by a particular community towards certain animal species” (López-Rodríguez, 2009, p. 94). However, as

Table 23: Frequency ranking of animal categories used in the conceptualizations of women and men (Kiełtyka & Kleparski, 2007, p. 89).

Rank	Animal category used in the conceptualizations of women and men
1	mammals
2	insects, reptiles, birds
3	fish
4	arachnids, amphibians
5	crustaceans

Deignan (2003) states, cross-linguistic variation in animal metaphors cannot always be explained by differences in cultural values and attitudes as a certain degree of arbitrariness remains. The author points out:

For example, both English and Spanish speakers associate dogs with faithfulness, and in both languages the animal is associated with generally positive qualities. However, the figurative use of the lexeme *dog* does not reflect this. (Deignan, 2003, p. 258)

Indeed, both *dog/bitch* and the Spanish equivalent *perro/perra* metaphorically refer to men and women with a number of negatively evaluated personalities, such as worthlessness, spitefulness, and promiscuity (see Tables 25 and 33).

In both English and Spanish, like in many other languages, several metaphorical expressions of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor refer to people in general, regardless of their sex. For instance, a stupid person can be designated as *donkey* in both English and Spanish (*burro/burra*). Since conceptualizations of this nature do not highlight perceived gender differences as they are not derived from gender stereotypes, they are not of direct importance to the present doctoral dissertation and are therefore disregarded. Gender-specific animal metaphors, on the other hand, can reveal interesting insights into the construction of social identities, as the following quote shows:

Table 24a: Major findings from relevant studies on the *WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL* and/or the *MAN IS AN ANIMAL* metaphors.

Author(s), language(s), major findings
<p>Radtke (1980), Spanish</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A large part of the word field PROSTITUTE is metaphoric and to a lesser degree metonymic (both euphemistic and dysphemistic). • Metaphoric and metonymic expressions for the word field PROSTITUTE are mostly colloquial. • PROSTITUTE IS AN ANIMAL metaphor: Source domain ANIMAL is dysphemistic.
<p>Nilsen (1996), English</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When using a usually sex-specific animal term to refer to the unexpected sex (e.g. <i>wolf</i> for woman instead of man), the comparison is not made to the entire animal but to a specific characteristic or action (e.g. “She wolfed down her food.”). • Certain features, e.g. size difference between males and females, are exaggerated (<i>beast</i> vs. <i>shrew</i>) and others are ignored.
<p>Hines (1999), English</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common animals (e.g. <i>cat</i>, <i>bird</i>) appear more frequently in animal metaphor than rarer animals (e.g. <i>zebra</i>, <i>porcupine</i>). • DESIRED PERSON IS AN ANIMAL metaphor: significantly more terms for women than men • Desired women are conceptualized as hunted or possessed animals, conflating sex, appetite, and control. • Features of the active central terms of the DESIRED WOMAN IS A SMALL ANIMAL metaphor: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phonetics: initial labial or velar consonant (e.g. <i>pussy</i>, <i>fox</i>, <i>kitten</i>; exception: <i>chick</i>) • Semantics: small animals when mature (e.g. <i>cat</i>, <i>chicken</i>) or immature animals (e.g. <i>filly</i>, not <i>mare</i>)
<p>Mata Pastor (1999), Spanish</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animal metaphors are mostly used to insult people and to a lesser degree to designate, describe or praise people. • Insulting animal metaphors largely refer to women. • Insulting WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors mostly refer to promiscuity. • Insulting MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors mostly refer to men whose masculinity is in question and whose wife is unfaithful, making him the victim and her the culprit.
<p>Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez (2002), English</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source concepts of animal metaphors are most often animals that are familiar to humans (e.g. domestic animals). • Many animal metaphors apply to both women and men. • There are more abusive, contemptuous, and pejorative animal terms referring to women than to men. • Women are reprehended via animal metaphors more than men regarding old age, bad temper, and excess interest in sex.
<p>Fernández Fontecha and Jiménez Catalán (2003), English and Spanish</p> <p>Findings regarding the animal pairs <i>fox/vixen-zorro/zorra</i> and <i>bull/cow-toro/vaca</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semantic derogation occurs more for women, both in English and Spanish. • When animal terms are applied to the opposite sex (e.g. <i>fox</i> to refer to a woman), the meaning (positive or negative) tends to be kept the same. • Differences in derogation between the languages: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>vixen</i> vs. <i>zorrra</i>: Spanish more derogatory due to promiscuity • <i>cow</i> vs. <i>vaca</i>: English more derogatory due to coarseness • Sexual behaviour features in all animal pairs for women, but not for men.

Table 24b: Major findings from relevant studies on the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL and/or the MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors.

Author(s), language(s), major findings
<p>López-Rodríguez (2009), English and Spanish</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor is prevalent in both English and Spanish and reflects stereotypical views on women. • Women are conceptualized as pets, farmyard animals, and wild animals, which all portray women as in dire need of subjugation, domestication, and tight control. • Animal category: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pets and farmyard animals, e.g. <i>kitten, canary, filly, bunny, chicken</i>: positive connotations (domesticated, tamed, depend on men, harmless) • All wild animals, e.g. <i>coyote, vixen, tigress, crow, whale</i>: negative connotations (out of man's control, menacing) • Physical strength: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak animals: positive connotations (e.g. <i>chicken, bunny, bird</i>) • Strong animals: negative connotations (e.g. <i>vixen, hyena, lioness</i>) • Age, looks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young, small, beautiful: positive connotations (e.g. <i>filly, kitten, quail</i>) • Old, large, ugly: negative connotations (e.g. <i>cow, walrus, coyote</i>) • Related conceptual metaphors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DESIRE IS HUNGER: animals reared for consumption used to conceptualize sexually attractive women (e.g. <i>chicken, quail, pigeon</i>) • SEX IS HUNTING: man as active hunter, woman as passive prey (e.g. <i>fox</i>) • SEX IS RIDING: man as active rider, woman as passive animal (e.g. <i>mare, nag</i>)
<p>Fernández Martín (2011), English and Spanish</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animal pairs (e.g. <i>cow</i> vs. <i>bull</i>) display a sexist load. • Animal terms are used derogatorily to describe women, their behaviour or their appearance. • Animal metaphors reinforce gender roles: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Man: hunter, superior, entitled to exploit, positive • Woman: hunted, inferior, available for abuse, in need of domestication, negative
<p>Crespo-Fernández (2015), English</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discrimination type and force of animal metaphors depend on two factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animal used as source domain • Prioritized components of source domain • PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS metaphor: ferocity, strength, dominance, independence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MAN IS A WILD ANIMAL: praise for male sexual behaviour • WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL: woman as a threat to man's hegemony and self-assurance • WOMAN IS A SMALL FURRY ANIMAL and WOMAN IS A BIRD implicitly reduce women to their sexual organs, portraying women as no more than desirable sexual objects.

Drawing a clear boundary between the rational human and the instinctual beast, animal metaphors are often used in English and Spanish to degrade particular social groups that are regarded as inferior or marginal. Obviously, taking into account that within the English- and Spanish-speaking world, the male white heterosexual is assumed to be the norm, that is, “the self”, any other social group deviating from this, such as women ... [or] homosexuals ... will fall into the category of “the other”. Belittlement of such “other” ... is often carried out via animal metaphors, as though implying the inappropriateness of their behavior. (López-Rodríguez, 2009, pp. 94–95)

Such behavioural inappropriateness of the ‘other’ necessitates control by the ‘self’ in order to ensure the ‘self’s’ rights and interests are protected (López-Rodríguez, 2009, p. 94). Animal metaphors, then, are a way of expressing concern and disagreement about certain types of behaviour which could prove damaging to group interests (MacArthur, 2005, p. 72). Animal metaphors are, in fact, a way of expressing ambivalent sexist beliefs (see 3.1.1). For example, hostile sexism is reflected in metaphorical expressions such as *cow*, used to refer to an unattractive and overweight woman, or *bitch*, used to refer to a spiteful and bossy woman, while benevolent sexist expressions such as *kitten* and *bunny* seemingly praise attractive young women.

Tables 24a and 24b show the major findings of relevant studies on the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL and the MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors in both English and Spanish regarding overall patterns and tendencies of animal metaphors. Tables 25 to 32 show metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor and Tables 33 to 36 metaphorical expressions of the MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor, as identified in the studies in Tables 24a and 24b (and in James, 1998). The tables are arranged according to animal groups (e.g. WOMAN IS A BIRD, MAN IS A STRONG WILD ANIMAL). It should be noted that some animals could, of course, belong to several categories. For example, a vixen is both a wild mammal/predator (Table 29) and a small furry wild animal (Table 30). However, animal species are only listed in one category, namely in the more precise or prototypical category for the respective animal (e.g. *vixen* only in WILD MAMMAL/PREDATOR, not in SMALL FURRY WILD ANIMAL).

WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL

Frequent animal conceptualizations of different subtypes of women include WOMAN IS A PET, as can be seen in Table 25 (WOMAN IS A CAT) and Table 26 (WOMAN IS A DOG).

Table 25: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A CAT metaphor.

Subtype	WOMAN IS A CAT		
	English		Spanish
Prostitute, promiscuous, sexually active woman	• <i>cat</i> • <i>kitten</i>	• <i>alley cat</i>	• <i>gata</i> ‘cat’ • <i>gatita</i> ‘kitten’
Sexually attractive, young woman	• <i>cat</i> • <i>pussy</i> • <i>pussycat</i> • <i>alley cat</i>	• <i>kitten</i> • <i>sex kitten</i> • <i>tabby</i> • <i>chit</i>	• <i>gatita</i> ‘kitten’
Ill-tempered, spiteful, evil woman	• <i>cat</i> • <i>wild cat</i>	• <i>hell cat</i> • <i>grimalkin</i>	• <i>gata</i> ‘cat’
Ugly, old woman	• <i>tabby</i> • <i>tab</i>	• <i>grimalkin</i> • <i>gib</i>	
Cunning woman	• <i>puss</i>		

Table 26: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A DOG metaphor.

Subtype	WOMAN IS A DOG	
	English	Spanish
Prostitute, promiscuous, sexually active woman	• <i>dog</i> • <i>she-dog</i>	• <i>bitch</i> • <i>minx</i> • <i>perra</i> 'she-dog' • <i>perrita</i> 'puppy'
Ugly woman	• <i>dog</i> • <i>bowser</i>	• <i>bow-wow</i> • <i>mud-puppy</i> • <i>perro</i> 'dog'
Sexually attractive, young woman	• <i>minx</i>	• <i>perrita</i> 'puppy'
Uncontrollable woman	• <i>bitch</i> • <i>minx</i>	
Cunning woman	• <i>minx</i>	
Stupid woman	• <i>bitch</i>	
Despicable woman		
		• <i>perra</i> 'she-dog'

Table 27: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A BIRD metaphor.

Subtype	WOMAN IS A BIRD	
	English	Spanish
Sexually attractive, young woman	• <i>bird</i> • <i>chick</i> • <i>chicken</i> • <i>quail</i> • <i>partridge</i> • <i>canary</i> • <i>goose</i> • <i>grouse</i> • <i>pigeon</i> • <i>plover</i> • <i>chickadee</i> • <i>wren</i> • <i>pheasant</i>	• <i>game hen</i> • <i>game pullet</i> • <i>(sea) gull</i> • <i>lone dove</i> • <i>lone duck</i> • <i>loon</i> • <i>nightingale</i> • <i>owl</i> • <i>squab</i> • <i>peacock</i> • <i>coquette</i> • <i>flapper</i> • <i>pollita</i> 'chicken' • <i>paloma</i> 'pigeon' • <i>pichón</i> 'baby pigeon'
Prostitute, promiscuous, sexually active woman	• <i>crow</i> • <i>chippy</i>	• <i>gallina</i> 'hen' • <i>ganso</i> 'goose' • <i>pisca</i> 'turkey hen' • <i>lora</i> 'parrot' • <i>cisne</i> 'swan' • <i>gaviota</i> 'seagull' • <i>lechuza</i> 'owl' • <i>burraca</i> 'magpie' • <i>pájara</i> 'bird'
Ugly, old woman	• <i>bidly</i> • <i>hen</i> • <i>crow</i>	• <i>magpie</i> • <i>gallina</i> 'hen' • <i>pava</i> 'turkey hen' • <i>cuervo</i> 'crow' • <i>urraca</i> 'magpie'
Dirty, slovenly woman	• <i>bidly</i> • <i>hen</i>	• <i>gallina</i> 'hen' • <i>pava</i> 'turkey hen'
Young woman	• <i>bird</i> • <i>canary</i>	• <i>parakeet</i> • <i>periquita</i> 'parakeet'
Chatty woman	• <i>magpie</i> • <i>parrot</i>	• <i>urraca</i> 'magpie' • <i>cotorra</i> 'parrot' • <i>loro</i> 'parrot'
Cunning woman		• <i>pájara</i> 'bird'

Table 28: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A FARMYARD MAMMAL metaphor.

Subtype	WOMAN IS A FARMYARD MAMMAL			
	English		Spanish	
Prostitute, promiscuous, sexually active woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>horse</i> • <i>stallion</i> • <i>cow</i> • <i>heifer</i> • <i>mare</i> • <i>nag</i> • <i>pig</i> • <i>sow</i> 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cabra</i> 'goat' • <i>chiva</i> 'goatling' • <i>vaca</i> 'cow' • <i>ganado</i> 'cattle' • <i>vaquilla</i> 'heifer' • <i>oveja</i> 'sheep' • <i>yegua</i> 'mare' • <i>jaca</i> 'small horse' • <i>buena jaca</i> 'nice small horse' • <i>cerda</i> 'sow' • <i>cochina</i> 'sow' • <i>guarra</i> 'sow' • <i>puerca</i> 'sow' • <i>marrana</i> 'sow' • <i>gorrina</i> 'piglet' 	
Ugly woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pig</i> • <i>sow</i> • <i>porker</i> • <i>cow</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>heifer</i> • <i>horse</i> • <i>mare</i> • <i>mule</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>vaca</i> 'cow' • <i>vaquilla</i> 'heifer' • <i>cerda</i> 'sow' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>yegua</i> 'mare' • <i>mula</i> 'mule' • <i>jaca</i> 'small horse'
Fat woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pig</i> • <i>sow</i> • <i>porker</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cow</i> • <i>horse</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>vaca</i> 'cow' • <i>cerda</i> 'sow' 	
Dirty, slovenly woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pig</i> • <i>sow</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cow</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cerda</i> 'sow' 	
Stubborn woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>mule</i> 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>mula</i> 'mule' 	
Sexually attractive, young woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>filly</i> • <i>lamb</i> • <i>lambkins</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>nanny (goat)</i> • <i>stallion</i> 		
Aggressive towards men, complaining woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cow</i> • <i>nag</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>tit</i> • <i>bush pig</i> 		
Young woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>tit</i> • <i>heifer</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>filly</i> 		
Old woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>runt</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>crone</i> 		
Worthless, disreputable, coarse, unpleasant woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>jade</i> • <i>cow</i> 			
Ill-tempered woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>runt</i> 			
Passive, dull woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cow</i> 			

Furthermore, other highly productive source domains in the conceptualization of a variety of types of women are the domains BIRD (see Table 27) and FARMYARD MAMMAL (see Table 28). While in English, birds are mainly used to conceptualize sexually attractive and young women, they tend to denote promiscuous women in Spanish. When it comes to farmyard mammals, in both English and Spanish they predominantly refer to promiscuous and ugly women.

As Table 29 shows, in both English and Spanish, wild mammals or predators tend to mainly be used to metaphorically refer to promiscuous and sexually active women, but also to ugly, vociferous, and shrewish women. Small furry wild animals, on the other hand, appear to serve as source concepts mainly in English, in which they generally refer to sexually attractive women (see Table 30).

Table 29: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A WILD MAMMAL/PREDATOR metaphor.

WOMAN IS A WILD MAMMAL/PREDATOR			
English		Spanish	
Animal	Meaning	Animal	Meaning
<i>vixen</i>	spiteful, shrewish, ill-tempered, quarrelsome, malicious, threatening, sly, tricky, negative, flirty, attractive, sexually alluring	<i>zorra</i> 'vixen' and derivatives <i>zorrilla</i> , <i>zorrón</i> , <i>zorrona</i> , <i>zorruela</i> , <i>zorrupia</i> , <i>zorrupio</i> , <i>zurrona</i>	prostitute, promiscuous, cunning
<i>lioness</i>	sexually active, promiscuous, prostitute <i>starving lioness</i> : sexually active, dominant	<i>leona</i> 'lioness'	sexually active, promiscuous, prostitute
<i>tigress</i>	aggressive, sexually active, promiscuous, prostitute <i>tigress in bed</i> : sexually active, aggressive	<i>tigresa</i> 'tigress'	sexually active, promiscuous, prostitute
<i>hyena</i>	ugly, vociferous	<i>hiena</i> 'hyena'	ugly, vociferous
<i>(ugly) coyote</i>	ugly, unattractive		
<i>fox (also foxy lady)</i>	sexually attractive, young		
		<i>loba</i> 'she-wolf'	sexually active, promiscuous, prostitute, shrewd

Table 30: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A SMALL FURRY WILD ANIMAL metaphor.

WOMAN IS A SMALL FURRY WILD ANIMAL			
English		Spanish	
Animal	Meaning	Animal	Meaning
<i>bunny</i>	promiscuous, prostitute, sexually aggressive, sexually attractive, nightclub hostess <i>dumb bunny</i> : brainless <i>Playboy bunny</i> : sexually attractive	<i>conejita</i> 'bunny'	attractive, young
<i>rabbit (also Jessica Rabbit)</i>	sexually attractive, procreative	<i>coneja</i> 'rabbit'	procreative woman
<i>doe, fawn, bambi</i>	sexually attractive	<i>corza</i> 'doe', <i>venado</i> 'deer'	prostitute
<i>shrew</i>	negative, married, aggressive towards men		
<i>beaver</i>	sexually attractive <i>eager beaver</i> : lustful		
<i>badger</i>	sexually attractive		
<i>mink</i>	sexually attractive		
<i>squirrel</i>	sexually attractive		
<i>fluff</i>	brainless		

Table 31: Metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS A FISH/MOLLUSC metaphor.

Subtype	WOMAN IS A FISH/MOLLUSC	
	English	Spanish
Prostitute, promiscuous woman	• <i>cunner</i>	• <i>bacalao</i> 'cod' • <i>pulpo</i> 'octopus' • <i>bagre</i> 'catfish' • <i>trucha</i> 'trout'
Sexually cold, unavailable woman	• <i>cold fish</i> • <i>dead fish</i>	

Table 32: Other metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor.

Subtype	WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL	
	English	Spanish
Ugly, fat woman	• <i>seal</i> • <i>walrus</i> • <i>whale</i>	• <i>foca</i> 'seal' • <i>morsa</i> 'walrus' • <i>ballena</i> 'whale'
Prostitute, promiscuous, sexually active woman		• <i>pulga</i> 'flea' • <i>lagarta</i> 'lizard' • <i>mula del diablo</i> 'stick insect' • <i>rana</i> 'frog' • <i>araña</i> 'spider' • <i>sapo</i> 'toad'
Shrewd woman		• <i>lagarta</i> 'lizard' • <i>lagartona</i> 'big lizard'

MAN IS AN ANIMAL

In English, as opposed to Spanish, the metaphor MAN IS A PET is rather fruitful as Table 33 shows:

Table 33: Metaphorical expressions of the MAN IS A PET metaphor.

MAN IS A PET			
English		Spanish	
Animal	Meaning	Animal	Meaning
<i>dog</i>	promiscuous, sexually predatory, offensive to women, gay, jovial	<i>perro</i> 'dog'	lazy
<i>horndog</i>	promiscuous, sexually predatory, offensive to women		
<i>boozehound</i>	drunkard, unsuccessful		
<i>gay dog</i>	self-indulgent		
<i>bitch</i>	passive homosexual, spiteful, vindictive homosexual		
<i>hound</i>	detested, mean, despicable, lecherous, seducer of women		
<i>puppy</i>	vain, impertinent, conceited, ill-mannered, young		
<i>pup</i>	arrogant, conceited, young		
<i>whelp</i>	young		
<i>cat</i>	sneaky		
<i>pussy</i> (also <i>pussyface</i>)	weak in character, finicky, old-maidish, effeminate, like a woman		

As Table 34 shows, a variety of types of men seem to be conceptualized as farmyard animals in English and less so in Spanish, in which a husband's wife's unfaithfulness is an important factor though:

Table 34: Metaphorical expressions of the MAN IS A FARMYARD ANIMAL metaphor.

MAN IS A FARMYARD ANIMAL			
English		Spanish	
Animal	Meaning	Animal	Meaning
<i>bull</i>	strong, stout, stubborn	<i>toro</i> 'bull'	strong, stout, manly, intelligent, angry
		<i>novillo</i> 'steer'	man whose wife is unfaithful
<i>cock</i>	man (informal address)	<i>gallo</i> 'rooster'	virile, gallant, daring, authoritarian
<i>cockalorum</i>	self-important, little		
<i>cockerel</i>	young		
<i>chicken</i>	fearful, little, negative		
<i>(old) goat</i>	promiscuous, sexually predatory, offensive to women, lecherous, licentious, lascivious	<i>cabrón</i> 'billy goat'	man who tolerates his wife's unfaithfulness
<i>jackass</i>	negative, hostile to women, stupid		
<i>pig (also swine)</i>	negative, gluttonous, promiscuous, sexually predatory, offensive to women		
<i>horse</i>	man (contemptuous or playful address)		
<i>stallion</i>	lascivious		
<i>stud</i>	promiscuous, sexually predatory/potent/active, offensive to women, accomplished, successful with women		
<i>ram</i>	lecherous, sexually aggressive		
<i>wether</i>	eunuch		
<i>tup</i>	young		

Table 35: Metaphorical expressions of the MAN IS A STRONG WILD ANIMAL metaphor.

MAN IS A STRONG WILD ANIMAL	
English	
Animal	Meaning
<i>fox</i>	sly, cunning, admired
<i>wolf</i>	sexually active, aggressive, negative, untrustworthy
<i>lion</i>	sexually active, dominant
<i>sexually charged lion</i>	lustful man in search for sex
<i>predator</i>	lustful man who looks for women in a dishonest way
<i>beast</i>	violent, negative
<i>shark</i>	untrustworthy

As can be seen in Table 35, the metaphor MAN IS A STRONG WILD ANIMAL is fruitful in English, but it seems not to be the case in Spanish. In English, strong and wild animals mostly refer to sexually active, lustful, untrustworthy, and negative men.

Table 36: Other metaphorical expressions of the MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor.

MAN IS AN ANIMAL			
English		Spanish	
Animal	Meaning	Animal	Meaning
<i>rat</i>	lying, dirty, negative, mistreats others, promiscuous, sexually predatory, offensive to women		
<i>louse, skunk, weasel, worm</i>	mistreats others		
<i>octopus</i>	promiscuous, sexually predatory, offensive to women		
<i>shrimp</i>	physically weak		
		<i>lagarto</i> 'lizard'	cunning

Overall, the findings of the studies (see Tables 24a and 24b and Tables 25 to 36) paint a clear picture. There tend to be significantly more metaphorical expressions of the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor than the MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor, indicating – from a patriarchal perspective – a greater need for women to be subjugated, domesticated, and controlled (López-Rodríguez, 2009, p. 95). The variety of animal terms used to refer to women appears to be larger, with animals ranging from a multitude of pets (e.g. *kitten, bird*) to farmyard animals (e.g. *heifer, chicken*) to wild animals (e.g. *shrew, vixen*). The MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor does in some cases insult and depreciate men, e.g. when referring to a man whose wife is unfaithful as *cabrón* 'billy goat' or *novillo* 'steer' in Spanish or to a finicky and weak effeminate man as *pussy* and to a spiteful homosexual man as *bitch*. It is, however, important to note that ultimately such metaphorical expressions are offensive to women as well since they insult men for supposedly being 'like a woman' (e.g. castrated in the case of *novillo*). Women, on the other hand, experience reprehension through animal metaphors primarily for promiscuity (*alley cat, lioness*), unattractiveness (*mule, dog*), and old age (*hen, crow*), but also, for example, for spitefulness (*cat*), coarseness (*cow*), dirtiness (*pig*), garrulousness (*parrot*), stupidity (*dumb bunny*), masculinity (*bush pig*), dominance (*bitch*), aggressiveness (*tigress*), and frigidity (*cold fish*).

Apart from metaphorical animal expressions referring to different types of women and men, the domain ANIMAL also serves as a source for the target domain SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS. For example, when it comes to the female sexualized body parts, the vagina can be referred to as *pussy, pussycat, cat, beaver, badger, monkey, fish, clam*, or *tuna cave* in English, and *conejo* 'rabbit', *pescadito* 'fish', *bacalao* 'cod', *almeja* 'clam', or *mejillón* 'mussel' in Spanish. Thus, this body part is commonly conceptualized as a furry animal, due to its perceived similarity to the pubic hair, or as fish, for its fishy smell and slimy

texture supposedly resemble those of a vagina (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 195). Furthermore, a woman's breasts, for example, are referred to as *tits* in English and Spanish (*tetas*). Turning to the male sexualized body parts, animal terms for the penis include *cock*, *bird*, (*trouser*) *snake*, *black mamba*, *lizard*, *worm*, *eel*, *tail*, or *chicken neck* in English, and *polla* 'pullet', *pajarito* 'little bird', *serpiente* 'snake', *boa* 'boa', *cobra* 'cobra', *rabo* 'tail', *rabón* 'big tail', and *cola* 'tail' in Spanish. The penis, then, appears to be conceptualized as a long and legless animal or a bird – an imagery with a long tradition (McGrady, 1984, p. 83). Similarly, López-Rodríguez (2009) explains that sexual intercourse is connected to flying, which is “presumably motivated by the physical appearance of the penis when erected” (p. 86). Accordingly, the term *eggs* and its Spanish equivalent *huevos* designate the testicles (Allen, 2000; Coperías, Redondo, & Sanmartín, 2000; Braun & Kitzinger, 2001a; Florczyk, 2010; Crespo-Fernández, 2015; Škvárová & Šlechta, 2015).

Of course, many animals are reared for consumption and eaten by humans, for example poultry and fish. Referring to humans or their sexualized body parts as those types of animals (e.g. *chicken* for a young and attractive woman or *clam* for the vagina), relates the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor to another widespread metaphor, namely the PEOPLE ARE FOOD metaphor, which is explored in the next section.

3.2.2 WOMAN/MAN IS FOOD

Another prevalent gender metaphor is the PEOPLE ARE FOOD metaphor. This metaphor derives from the conceptual metaphor DESIRE IS HUNGER, a primary (Grady, 1997) or correlation metaphor (Grady, 1999) (see 2.1.2.2). Conceptualizing women and men as food items downgrades them to a lower entity on the Great Chain of Being (see 2.2.1.1). According to Allan and Burridge (2006), the PEOPLE ARE FOOD metaphor is grounded in the close connection between eating and sex: “Food is often the prelude to sex. ... Eating and love-making go together. ... Both depend on a tangle of bodily sensations – sight, touch, taste, smell” (p. 190). Furthermore, aphrodisiac foods like chocolate, chilli, and oysters have been consumed since ancient times to enhance sexual pleasure in order to ultimately produce more offspring (Hospodar, 2004). This last point ties in with the perceived similarity between eating and sex, namely that when we stop eating, we die and – in the same line – when we stop reproducing, the human race dies (Goatly, 2007, p. 90). This connection between eating and sex leads to a sense of entitlement:

Equating sex with eating might suggest that sex is essential for our life, and therefore we are entitled to obtain it by any means, just as a starving man would be entitled to steal food. By applying

these metaphors mainly to women, men suggest they are entitled to have sex with them, even by force⁶ or illegal means. (Goatly, 2007, p. 90)

Thus, although this metaphor – just like in the case of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor – exists for both women and men, “[f]ood metaphors constructing humans as sexually desirable are disproportionately used of females” (Goatly, 2007, p. 90). Detecting a sexist ideology in this disproportion, Goatly (2011, p. 23) states that, as food, women’s purpose is to satisfy men’s appetite. Accordingly, in both English and Spanish, women are equated with meat products (e.g. *rib* or *jamona* ‘ham’), seafood (e.g. *fish* or *gamba* ‘prawn’), fruits and vegetables (e.g. *peach* or *melocotoncito* ‘small peach’), and sweets (e.g. *candy* or *bombón* ‘chocolate’) (López-Rodríguez, 2008, p. 180).

3.2.2.1 DESSERTS

The conceptualization of women as sweets has been studied in detail by Hines (1999b) and Crespo-Fernández (2015) for English, and by López-Rodríguez (2008) for English and Spanish. Hines (1999b) explains the evolution of the WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor as shown in Figure 8:

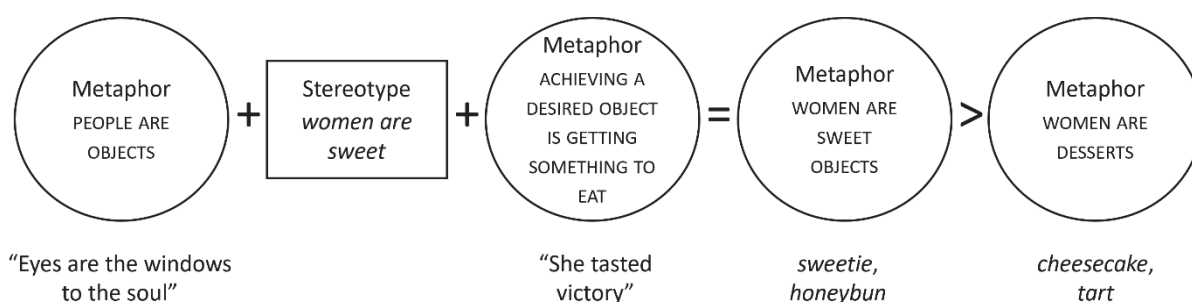


Figure 8: Evolution of the WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor (Hines, 1999b, p. 147).

English and Spanish examples of the WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor, denoting a sexually attractive woman, are listed in Table 37:

Table 37: English and Spanish examples of the SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor (Hines, 1999b; Crespo-Fernández, 2015; López-Rodríguez, 2008).

SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS A DESSERT		
English		Spanish
• (piece of) cake	• (cherry) pie	• <i>bombón</i> ‘chocolate’
• cheesecake	• poundcake	• <i>bomboncito</i> ‘small chocolate’
• cookie	• pumpkin (pie/tart)	• <i>bizcocho</i> ‘sponge cake’
• crumpet	• punkin	• <i>bizcochito</i> ‘small sponge cake’
• cupcake	• (jam) tart	• <i>pastel</i> ‘cake’
• (a tasty bit of) pastry	• tartlet/tartlette	• <i>pastelito</i> ‘small cake’

⁶ See 3.2.3 for the SEX IS WAR metaphor.

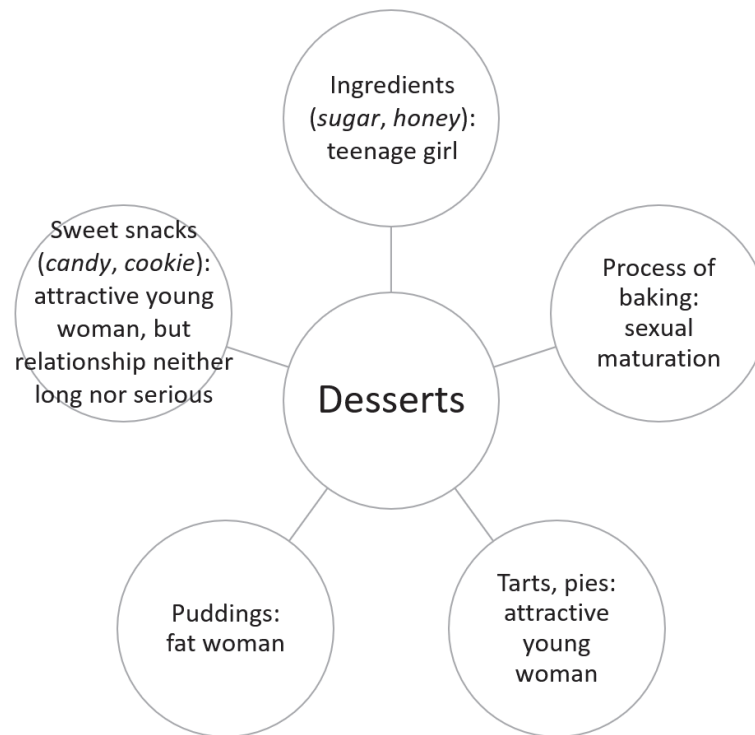


Figure 9: Metaphorical network of the *WOMAN IS A DESSERT* metaphor in English (López-Rodríguez, 2008, p. 188).

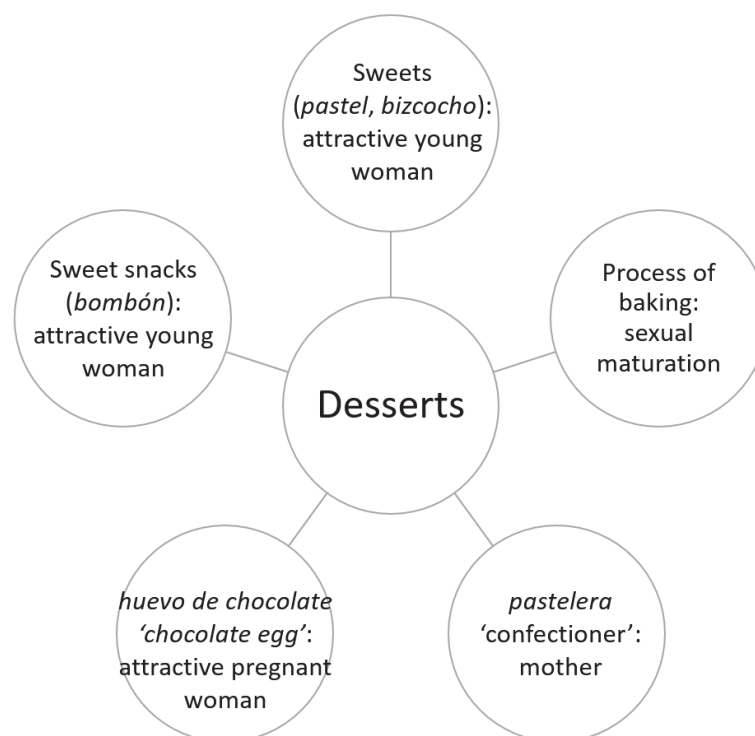


Figure 10: Metaphorical network of the *WOMAN IS A DESSERT* metaphor in Spanish (López-Rodríguez, 2008, p. 191).

In her study on the *WOMAN IS A DESSERT* metaphor in the English and Spanish press, López-Rodríguez (2008) points out that, both in English and Spanish, the metaphor has become so successful that it has

spawned a metaphorical network in each language, as shown in Figures 9 and 10. As can be seen, the metaphor comprises teenage, sexual maturation, pregnancy, motherhood, overweight, and – of course – young age and attractiveness.

While apart from the WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor there are other conceptualizations of women as food items, e.g. seafood or fruits and vegetables, Hines (1999b) explains why the WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor is especially degrading for women:

The DESSERT metaphor, however, goes further, implicitly trivializing women, first reducing them to their sexuality and then equating them with not just any edible objects but specifically peripheral food items: compare the clearly fanciful male *beefcake* with the readily available female *cheesecake*. As desserts, women can be bought and sold, eaten, elaborately decorated (as in the use of *frosting* to describe the makeup of beauty pageant contestants), admired for their outward appearance, dismissed as *sinful* and *decadent* – or, in the ultimate degradation, simply done without: desserts are optional/inessential, frivolous, perhaps even a waste of time. (Hines, 1999b, pp. 147–148)

The degradation is further intensified when considering that sweetness is equated with compliance and that *pieces* of desserts (*piece of cake*, *a tasty bit of pastry*) reinforce the stereotype of promiscuity in that women are depersonalized and robbed of their uniqueness by becoming just one of several identical pieces of a cake (Hines, 1999b, pp. 146, 154).

3.2.2.2 FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Another food metaphor, which relates to the idea of sweetness, is the conceptualization of humans and especially their sexualized body parts as fruits (and vegetables). This metaphor is the topic of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”). Examples of this metaphor⁷ include *peach* and *melocotoncito* ‘small peach’, *cherry*, *plum*, (*hot*) *tomato*, and *sweet potato* to refer to an attractive young woman. A *wrinkled old prune*, on the other hand, designates a woman past her sexual prime. The Spanish *lechuga* ‘lettuce’ denotes an available but undesired woman. The *prune* example highlights the finding that “a dried anything is likely to have negative associations, [while] a sweet anything is likely to have a positive association” (Sommer, 1988, p. 670), whereas the *lechuga* example emphasizes that “fruit metaphors reflect ... more favorable characteristics than ... vegetable metaphors” (Sommer, 1988, p. 665; see also Adams, 2016, p. 15).

⁷ See Sommer (1988), Hines (1999b), Allen (2000), Allan and Burridge (2006), López-Rodríguez (2008, 2014), Seiciuc (2010), Florczyk (2010), Gutiérrez-Rivas (2011), Kowalczyk (2015, 2019), Ensler (2018), and Kleparski and Górecka-Smolińska (2019).

When it comes to the conceptualization of the target domain *SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS*, the source domain *FRUITS AND VEGETABLES* proves highly productive, as Table 38 shows:

Table 38: English and Spanish examples of the *SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS ARE FRUITS AND VEGETABLES* metaphor.

Body part	SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS ARE FRUITS AND VEGETABLES			
	English		Spanish	
BREASTS	Average size: • <i>apples</i> • <i>pears</i> • <i>oranges</i> • <i>peaches</i> • <i>mangoes</i> • <i>coconuts</i> Small size: • <i>lemons</i> • <i>grapes</i> • <i>chestnuts</i>	Large size: • <i>grapefruits</i> • <i>melons</i> • <i>watermelons</i> • <i>casabas</i> • <i>cantaloupes</i> • <i>pumpkins</i>	Average size: • <i>manzanas</i> ‘apples’ • <i>peras</i> ‘pears’ • <i>naranjas</i> ‘oranges’ • <i>melocotones</i> ‘peaches’ Small size: • <i>albaricoques</i> ‘apricots’ • <i>limones</i> ‘lemons’ • <i>uvas</i> ‘grapes’	Large size: • <i>melones</i> ‘melons’ • <i>sandías</i> ‘watermelons’ • <i>cocos</i> ‘coconuts’ • <i>berzas</i> ‘cabbages’ • <i>berenjenas</i> ‘aubergines’
VAGINA	• <i>(split) fig</i> • <i>apple</i> • <i>plum</i> • <i>(split) apricot</i> • <i>orange</i> • <i>rhubarb</i> • <i>jelly (box)</i>	• <i>juice box</i> • <i>cabbage (patch/ garden/field)</i> • <i>cauliflower</i> • <i>mushroom</i> • <i>red onion</i> • <i>pumpkin</i>	• <i>papaya</i> ‘papaya’ • <i>higo</i> ‘fig’ • <i>pepa</i> ‘seed’ • <i>pepitilla</i> ‘small seed’ • <i>alcachofa</i> ‘artichoke’ • <i>tomate</i> ‘tomato’ • <i>castaña</i> ‘chestnut’	
PENIS	• <i>carrot</i> • <i>potato</i> • <i>yam</i> • <i>dill pickle</i>	• <i>rhubarb</i> • <i>banana</i>	• <i>pepino</i> ‘cucumber’ • <i>zanahoria</i> ‘carrot’ • <i>nabo</i> ‘turnip’ • <i>seta</i> ‘mushroom’	• <i>champiñón</i> ‘mushroom’ • <i>banana</i> ‘banana’ • <i>plátano</i> ‘banana’
TESTICLES	• <i>apples</i> • <i>grapes</i> • <i>berries</i> • <i>gooseberries</i> • <i>apricots</i> • <i>plums</i> • <i>nuts</i> • <i>chestnuts</i>		• <i>guisantes</i> ‘peas’ • <i>aguacates</i> ‘avocados’ • <i>tomates</i> ‘tomatoes’ • <i>bellotas</i> ‘acorns’ • <i>nueces</i> ‘nuts’ • <i>avellanas</i> ‘hazelnuts’	• <i>almendras</i> ‘almonds’ • <i>castañas</i> ‘chestnuts’ • <i>cacahuetes</i> ‘peanuts’ • <i>aceitunas</i> ‘olives’ • <i>pasas</i> ‘raisins’ • <i>cerezas</i> ‘cherries’

Furthermore, *cherries*, *raspberries*, and *strawberries* refer to a woman’s nipples, with *cherry* also referring to the hymen, likely due to the fruit’s red colour resembling the colour of blood when the hymen breaks (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 159). Metaphorical extensions are *cherry orchard* for a girls’ dormitory, *cherry picker* for a man who desires young girls, *cherry-buster* for a man who deflowers a virgin, and *cherry splitter* for the penis.

According to Sommer (1988, p. 671) fruits and vegetables are especially suitable as source concepts for the conceptualization of sexualized body parts due to their prosaic quality and physical appearance. However, while both female and male sexualized body parts are conceptualized as both fruits and vegetables, it is important to note that there is a clear tendency for femaleness to be linked to fruits and maleness to vegetables (see also the results of research article 1). Thus, “most fruits are

considered female (they are, after all, the overdeveloped ovaries of flowering plants)” (Allen, 2000, p. 36) and especially “root vegetables are considered phallic because of their shape and the fact that they are buried in the earth (which is always female)” (Allen, 2000, p. 36). On the other hand, Veenker (1999–2000) explains the link between fruits and female genitalia as follows:

Fruit is ... very colorful and shaped so that it is readily differentiated from foliage. It is attractive to the eye, and tempts one to approach and touch it. Fruit exudes an appealing fragrance, especially strong and irresistible when it is very ripe. Fruit makes an ideal metaphor for sex because the two have quite similar sensual attributes. The sex organs are irregular in shape in comparison to other body parts. They increase in size and change color during sexual arousal, making them more attractive. The odors of the vaginal and seminal fluids also serve to attract and arouse. And the juiciness of both fruit and pudenda is obvious. (Veenker, 1999–2000, p. 58)

3.2.2.3 MEAT

As mentioned at the start of this section, women and men as well as their sexualized body parts are also frequently conceptualized as meat. For example⁸, *piece/chunk/a bit of meat*, *cunt meat*, *sweet meat*, *pork*, *veal*, *filet*, *lambchop*, *beefsteak*, and *prime cut/rib* refer to a sexually attractive young woman, *hot beef/meat/mutton* designates a prostitute, and *mutton dressed as lamb* and *(laced/rig-/split-)mutton* denotes an old woman who is dressed and behaves like a young woman. Furthermore, as pointed out at the end of section 3.2.1, the meat of many animals serves as food, e.g. *chicken* and *quail*, which are used to refer to a young and attractive woman. A man, too, can be referred to as *hunk/piece of meat*, while singles bars or red-light districts are called *meat markets*, *meat racks*, and *fleshpots*. Importantly, women are portrayed as meat significantly more often than men (Kövecses, 2006b, p. 156). As Table 39 highlights, sexualized body parts seem to be conceptualized as meat more often in English compared to Spanish.

At the root of the portrayal of women as meat lies the metaphor SEX IS HUNTING (Chamizo Domínguez & Sánchez Benedito, 2000; Bock & Burkley, 2019; López Maestre, 2020; see also 3.2.1). This metaphor represents “the quest for the ideal sexual partner, with men as the hunters and women as their game” (Vasung, 2020, p. 224). This idea ties in with the conceptualization of the man as a wolf and the woman as prey (see 3.2.1 and Table 24b): “The animal called the *wolf* has a ravenous appetite for the meat of other animals. The human *wolf* has a ravenous appetite for members of the opposite sex” (Palmatier, 1995, p. 418). This results in the conceptualization of women as meat – a metaphor for men’s control

⁸ See Emanatian (1995), Hines (1999a), Allen (2000), Braun and Kitzinger (2001a), Kövecses (2006b), Florczyk (2010), Fernández Martín (2011), Gutiérrez-Rivas (2011), Morton (2014), Crespo-Fernández (2015), Kowalczyk (2015, 2019), Kleparski and Górecka-Smolińska (2019), and Adams (2020).

Table 39: English and Spanish examples of the SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS ARE MEAT metaphor.

Body part	SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS ARE MEAT	
	English	Spanish
BREASTS	• <i>bacon bits</i>	• <i>pechugas</i> ‘chicken breasts’
VAGINA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (fresh/hot/raw) meat • <i>bacon sandwich</i> • <i>beef</i> • <i>meat seat</i> • <i>mutton</i> • <i>chopped liver</i> • <i>bacon rashers</i> • <i>fur/beef burger</i> • <i>meat/beef curtains</i> • (badly wrapped) <i>kebab</i> 	
PENIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>meat</i> • <i>lump of meat</i> • <i>beef (stick)</i> • <i>T-bone</i> • <i>ham bone</i> • (lunch/pork) <i>sausage</i> • <i>hot dog</i> • <i>baloney</i> • <i>salami</i> • <i>beef bugle</i> • <i>love/tube steak</i> • <i>meat puppet/whistle</i> <p>Combination of the domains MEAT and WAR (see 3.2.3)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>meat spear</i> • <i>beef bayonet</i> • <i>beef torpedo</i> • <i>bacon bazooka/assegai</i> • <i>ham howitzer</i> • <i>pork sword</i> <p><i>meat and two veg(etables)</i> ‘penis and testicles’</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>chorizo</i> ‘chorizo’ • <i>salchicha</i> ‘sausage’ • <i>salchichón</i> ‘hard sausage’ • <i>morcillón</i> ‘big blood sausage’ • <i>carne en barra</i> ‘stick meat’

over women (Balza Múgica, 2018, p. 33). It is, however, not surprising that, as objects of male desire, women and their bodies are equated with meat since “meat is a masculine food and meat eating a male activity” (Adams, 2016, p. 4). Indeed, it has been shown that a preference exists for men to consume meat products over other types of food (Newcombe, McCarthy, Cronin, & McCarthy, 2012, p. 396; Rozin, Hormes, Faith, & Wansink, 2012). Thus, equating women and their bodies with meat reduces them to be viewed as purely sexual objects ready to be consumed by men (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, pp. 151, 160).

However, as has been shown above, it is not only women and their body parts that are conceptualized as meat, but men and especially the penis, too. As Kövecses (2006b, p. 165) notes, women seem to adopt the male perspective to some degree when it comes to viewing members of the other sex as sexual objects – a reversal that has been made famous in the US television series *Sex and the City* which aired from 1998 to 2004 (Lorié, 2011; Nash & Grant, 2015). Regarding the conceptualization of the penis, it might be possible that metonymy plays a role in the association of the penis with meat. As noted above, meat is considered a prototypical masculine food, and the penis is seen as inextricably linked to maleness (Potts, 2000, p. 85). However, it is the obvious similarity in shape between the erect penis and especially a sausage that plays a key role in the motivation of this metaphor (Marsh, 2014, p. 201). In any case, metaphorical conceptualizations of the penis as meat “[a]ll share the distancing from sexual pleasure and the reduction of the male genitals to a piece of meat or an object external to the man” (Murphy, 2001, p. 57).

3.2.3 SEX IS WAR

As mentioned above, a third metaphor has frequently been discussed in the conceptualization of sex, namely SEX IS WAR (Lakoff, 1987, pp. 411–412; Emanatian, 1995, p. 173; Crespo-Fernández, 2008, p. 103; Waśniewska, 2020). This metaphor constitutes a structural (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) or many-correspondence metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003) (see 2.1.2.2). Crespo-Fernández (2015) explains the set of correspondences as well as the main meaning foci at play when conceptualizing sex in terms of war:

[T]he man is a warrior, to seduce the sexual partner is to overcome an enemy, the sexual encounter is a battle, the penis is a weapon, to ejaculate is to shoot, etc. ... Accordingly, the main meaning foci of this metaphor are HOSTILITY and VIOLENCE, which leads to the reinterpretation of the WAR metaphor as SEX IS A VIOLENT AND HOSTILE ACTIVITY. (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 162)

A large number of metaphorical expressions of this metaphor⁹ are, in fact, terms for the penis, as Table 40 illustrates. The metaphor of the penis as a weapon is also noticeable in the expressions *to cut a slice of the joint* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ as well as *to shoot one’s load* and *to shoot blanks*, with the former referring to ejaculation during copulation and the latter indicating a man’s inability to procreate, “figuratively diminish[ing] sperm to a form of ammunition that cannot kill anyone” (Murphy, 2001, p. 96). In the same line, the Spanish expressions *limpiar el sable/fusil* ‘to clean the sabre/rifle’ and *afilarse el sable* ‘to sharpen the sabre’ denote the act of fellatio, and the verbs *empalar* ‘to impale’ and *pincharla* ‘to prick her’ refer to the act of forceful penetration. On the other hand, the equation of the vagina with wounds and slits portrays sexual intercourse as a painful act or violent rape. Furthermore, the conceptualization of the vagina as an open, bloody wound might be partly motivated by the image of period blood emerging from the vagina (Frueh, 2003, p. 138).

As can be seen, the SEX IS WAR metaphor has generated a large number of expressions for sexualized body parts, emphasizing the stereotypical roles of the sexually active man and the sexually passive woman (Braun & Kitzinger, 2001b, pp. 224–225; Zaikman & Marks, 2014; Farvid, Braun, & Rowney, 2016). Thus, the metaphor depicts sexual intercourse as a “one-sided, affectionless activity” (Waśniewska, 2020, p. 80). Murphy (2001) discusses the relationship between sex and war at length, highlighting the heterosexual male perspective that the SEX IS WAR metaphor portrays:

Men are taught it is manly to destroy the enemy, whether that enemy takes the shape of a citizen of another nation, a woman on the street, a gay man, or an opponent on the other team. ... Men

⁹ See Cameron (1992), Weatherall and Walton (1999), Braun and Kitzinger (2001a), Florczyk (2010), Seiciuc (2010), Fernández Martín (2011), Wolf (2012), Marsh (2014), Morton (2014), Crespo-Fernández (2015), Popek-Bernat (2015), and Ensler (2018).

are taught to compare the size of their muscles, their penises, and their possessions as the source of their social significance. In war the size of the weapon, its capacity to do the most harm, is a measure of strength, potency, and, alas, masculinity. (Murphy, 2001, pp. 79–80)

Table 40: English and Spanish examples of conceptualizations of *PENIS* and *VAGINA* as part of the *SEX IS WAR* metaphor.

Body part	SEX IS WAR		
	English		Spanish
PENIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •(squirt/sperm) gun •bayonet •lance •love/morning missile •(love) pistol •love/stabbing truncheon •passion rifle •lightsabre •sword •(pink) torpedo •heat-seeking (moisture) missile •stealth bomber •destroyer •polished/shiny helmet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •purple helmeted love warrior •purple headed warrior •mission-seeker •chopper •sputnik •prick Combination of the domains of WAR and MEAT (see 3.2.2.3) •meat spear •beef bayonet •beef torpedo •bacon bazooka/assegai •ham howitzer •pork sword 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •arma (letal/automática) '(lethal/automatic) firearm' •ametralladora 'machine gun' •fusil 'rifle' •escopeta 'shotgun' •revólver 'revolver' •pistola 'pistol' •pistolón 'big pistol' •espada 'sword' •sable 'sabre' •trabuco 'blunderbuss' •cuchillo 'knife' •cuchillín 'small knife' •navaja 'pocket knife' •hacha 'axe' •porra 'club' •cachiporra 'club' •rompebragas 'panty breaker'
VAGINA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •gash •slash •slit •(gaping) axe wound •hatchet wound •open wound •wounded soldier 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •sliced stomach •slit arse •black cat with its throat cut •chopped liver •stench trench •hairy growler •bomb doors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •boquete 'breach' •raja 'slit' •rajita 'small slit' •grieta 'crack' •hendidura 'slit' •ranura 'groove'

3.2.4 HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN

As mentioned at the end of the previous section, language about sex and sexuality is characterized by its heterosexual male perspective (Gauger, 2012, p. 226). This is noticeable not only in the way women and their bodies are metaphorically conceptualized but also when it comes to homosexual men. One prevalent way of conceptualizing male homosexuality is by equating it with femininity, generating the HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN metaphor (Crespo-Fernández, 2018, pp. 47–48), a resemblance (Grady, 1999) or one-correspondence metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2003) (see 2.1.2.2). Metaphorical expressions of this metaphor are listed in Table 41.

Part of the HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN metaphor is the HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FLOWER metaphor (Crespo-Fernández, 2018, p. 47). Throughout history, flowers have been a symbol of femininity due to their beauty and delicacy (Holm, Bencard, & Tøjner, 2004, pp. 21–22), which is especially evident in

Table 41: English and Spanish examples of the *HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN* metaphor (Rodríguez González, 2008b; Florczyk, 2010; Crespo-Fernández, 2018).

Domain	HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN	
	English	Spanish
WOMAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>girl</i> • <i>girlboy</i> • <i>galboy</i> • <i>lad-lass</i> • <i>gentlemiss</i> • <i>sister-boy</i> • <i>sissy-boy</i> • <i>ladyboy</i> • <i>nancy boy</i> • <i>antiman</i> • <i>unman</i> • <i>she-male</i> • <i>womanish</i> • <i>fembo</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>adamado</i> (from <i>dama</i> 'lady') • <i>amadamado</i> (from French <i>madame</i> 'lady') • <i>afeminado</i> 'effeminate' • <i>amaricado</i> (from the female name <i>María</i>) • <i>amujerado</i> (from <i>mujer</i> 'woman') • <i>cuasihembra</i> 'quasi-female' • <i>chico femenino</i> 'feminine boy' • <i>mediohembra</i> 'half-female' • <i>mediohombre</i> 'half-man' • <i>mujer</i> 'woman' • <i>mujeril</i> 'womanish' • <i>niña</i> 'little girl' • <i>nena</i> 'little girl' • <i>miss</i>
FEMALE NAME	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nancy</i> • <i>Mary</i> • <i>Betty</i> • <i>Jessie</i> • <i>Nellie</i> • <i>molly</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>maría</i> (from <i>María</i>) <p>Derivatives of <i>maría</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>marica</i> • <i>maricón</i> • <i>maricon</i> • <i>mariquita</i> • <i>marujo</i> (from <i>Maruja</i>, hypocorism for <i>María</i>)
VAGINA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pussy</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>chocho</i> 'cunt' • <i>chochón</i> 'big cunt'
FEMALE MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>nymphette</i> • <i>Shiva</i> ('half-man' Hindu god) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ninfa</i> 'nymph' • <i>blancanieves</i> 'Snow White' • <i>sirena</i> 'mermaid'

the many flower-based female names like *Daisy*, *Rose*, and *Violet* in English, and *Flor*, *Rosa*, and *Violeta* in Spanish. Examples of the conceptualization of the homosexual man as a flower are shown in Table 42:

Table 42: English and Spanish examples of the *HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FLOWER* metaphor (Rodríguez González, 2008b; Crespo-Fernández, 2018).

HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FLOWER			
English			Spanish
• <i>flower</i>	• <i>daffodil</i>	• <i>buttercup</i>	Compounds of the female name <i>María</i> and <i>flor</i> 'flower':
• <i>daisy</i>	• <i>pansy</i>	• <i>lily</i>	
			• <i>mariflor</i> • <i>mariflora</i> • <i>marifloro</i>

From a heterosexual male perspective, homosexual men are by default considered to have less status than heterosexual men, according to the Great Chain of Being (Pustka, 2015, p. 114; see 2.2.1.1). By equating homosexual men with women and flowers, two symbols of effeminacy, homosexual men are downgraded even more to supposed lower-order beings (Fernández Fontecha & Jiménez Catalán,

2003, p. 794). Hennen (2008) explains the historical connection between male homosexuality and effeminacy in the Western world which created the stereotype of the effeminate gay man:

Effeminacy and homosexuality are two discrete social constructions with separate histories. However, ... social and political developments ... secured the marriage of the two concepts in the Western imagination sometime during the eighteenth century. Since then the effeminate homosexual has acted as a powerful mechanism for policing hegemonic masculinity. (Hennen, 2008, p. 58)

Downgrading the homosexual man by equating him with a woman might be especially effective as it has been shown that a large proportion of gay men tend to place much importance on stereotypically masculine looks and behaviour in themselves as well as their male partners (Sánchez & Vilain, 2012, p. 117; see also Glick et al., 2007). However, it is important to note that by conceptualizing homosexual men as women, it is not only the former who experience discrimination, but women too:

In this way, it is not only male homosexuals that are degraded; this metaphor implicitly undermines women insofar as females become material for the dysphemistic language against gays ... In this way, both male homosexuals and women are considered, according to the heteronormative social order, as “inferior” beings. This implicitly reinforces heteronormative assumptions of masculinity whereby both gays and women are considered as marginal groups. (Crespo-Fernández, 2018, p. 47)

Thus, as has been shown throughout section 3.2, on the whole, gender metaphors benefit heterosexual men while disadvantaging women and homosexual men by conceptualizing them in a number of discriminating ways, thereby reinforcing the concepts of patriarchy and heteronormativity. This is in line with insights from gender stereotype research presented in 3.1.

With the findings in mind which were presented in this chapter regarding the state of the art of the present doctoral dissertation (chapter 3) together with the theoretical framework (chapter 2), it is time to turn to the project of the present doctoral dissertation itself, which will be presented in the following chapters 4 (Methodology) and 5 (Results).

4 Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the present doctoral dissertation will be introduced. In order to compile a database of Spanish and English metaphorical conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their sexualized body parts, an extensive dictionary search was conducted (see 4.1). This made it possible to investigate the (dis)similarities between Spanish and English when it comes to conceptualizing gender. Then, to be able to determine which expressions actually feature in native speakers' active vocabulary when they think of different female and male subtypes and body parts, written brainstorming sessions with Spanish and English native speakers were held (see 4.2). These were followed by recorded single interviews with the same participants (see 4.3) in which they negotiated the meaning, evaluation, use, and frequency of the expressions they had come up with during the brainstorming sessions. In a last step, an online questionnaire was created (see 4.4) in which the same participants rated the expressions that they had most frequently produced during the brainstorming sessions on 15 slider scales pertaining to gender stereotypicality and personality features. Additionally, for a separate study, another two online questionnaires (Likert scales and open questions) were created in which Spanish native speakers judged novel WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors which had been translated from English (see 4.4.2.2).

The combination of these methodological approaches makes it possible to detect overarching patterns in the conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their body parts in the form of largely conventionalized metaphorical expressions (dictionary search), while at the same time investigating which of those documented and additional undocumented expressions are actually in the active vocabulary of native speakers (brainstorming sessions). Furthermore, interviews allow for more detailed, nuanced, and up-to-date meaning negotiations compared to definitions given in dictionary entries. Lastly, online questionnaires involving slider scales and Likert scales provide quantitative data, while those employing open questions yield qualitative data, ensuring a mixed methods approach.

The following sections outline all the methodological procedures mentioned above, starting with the dictionary search. However, it must be noted that each research article details the specific methodological approach taken in the respective study/studies (see 5.3 and appendix).

4.1 Dictionary search

In order to compile a database of metaphorical conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their sexualized body parts, several Spanish and English standard and colloquial language dictionaries as well as one French colloquial language dictionary (for research article 1) were consulted. Dictionary entries can reveal overarching and cross-linguistic patterns in the conceptualizations of female and male subtypes and body parts which are at least conventionalized to

some degree. However, dictionary entries are not always up to date and oftentimes their concise definitions struggle to capture the entire meaning scale of an expression. For this reason, additional methodological approaches, like brainstorming sessions (see 4.2), interviews (see 4.3), and questionnaires (see 4.4), are necessary in order to control for the shortcomings of a dictionary search.

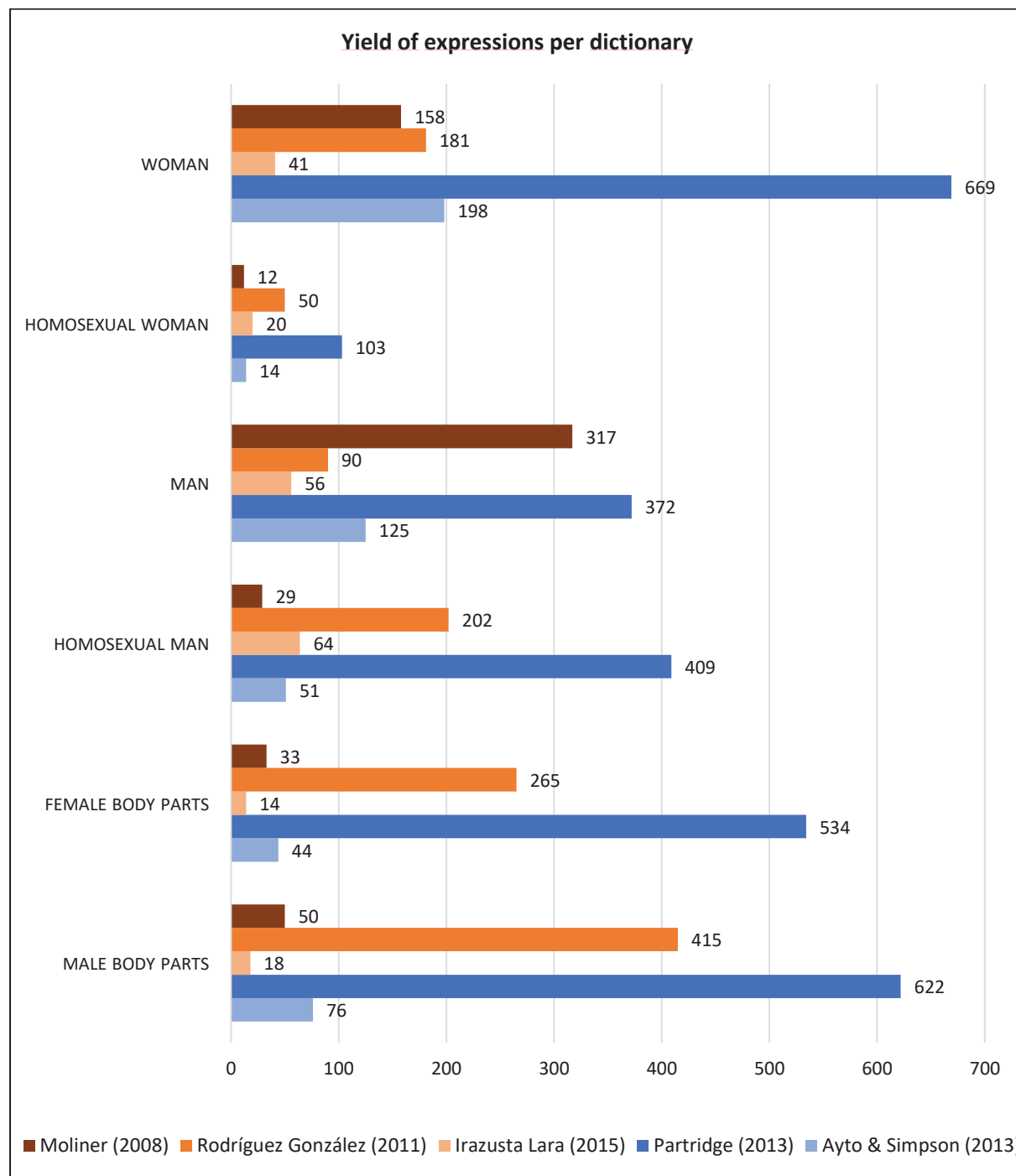


Figure 11: Numbers of expressions found in the Spanish (orange tones) and English (blue tones) dictionaries (see Table 43) for WOMAN, HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN, MAN, HOMOSEXUAL MAN, FEMALE BODY PARTS, and MALE BODY PARTS.

The dictionary search employed for the present doctoral dissertation included the English search terms *woman, man, female, male, homosexual, gay, lesbian, vagina, breast(s), penis, testicle(s), and genitals*,

as well as their Spanish (and French) equivalents. Table 43 shows the dictionaries that were consulted for each language and the number of entries per dictionary, while Figure 11 shows the final yield of expressions in the database, divided into the Spanish and English dictionaries and the respective groups of expressions.

Table 43: Dictionaries consulted for the dictionary search in each language.

Language	Dictionary	Entries
Spanish	<i>Diccionario de la lengua española</i> (online version)	93,000
	<i>Diccionario de uso del español</i> (Moliner, 2008, electronic version)	90,000
	<i>Diccionario del sexo y el erotismo</i> (Rodríguez González, 2011)	6,200
	<i>Eso lo será tu madre. La biblia del insulto</i> (Irazusta Lara, 2015)	2,000
English	<i>Oxford English dictionary</i> (online version)	600,000
	<i>The new Partridge dictionary of slang and unconventional English</i> (Partridge, 2013)	60,000
	<i>Stone the crows. Oxford dictionary of modern slang</i> (Ayto & Simpson, 2013)	6,000
French	<i>Bob. Dictionnaire de français argotique, populaire et familier</i> (online version)	60,000

Of course, the varying dictionary sizes must be kept in mind when analysing the results of the dictionary search, which is at the core of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”) and 4 (“Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers’ associations with novel metaphors”). The French dictionary search was solely conducted for the study of research article 1. As opposed to the six other dictionaries, the two principal dictionaries *Diccionario de la lengua española* and *Oxford English dictionary* were only indirectly consulted for crosscheck purposes.

4.2 Brainstorming sessions

In order to see which expressions for women and men as well as their sexualized body parts are indeed part of the active vocabulary of Spanish and English speakers – compared to those found in the dictionary search –, spontaneous brainstorming sessions with native speakers were conducted. In comparison with a dictionary search, this method ensures a more accurate representation of which expressions are actually used to refer to female and male subtypes and body parts. On the other hand, however, it is possible that, during the brainstorming sessions, participants are not thinking of all the terms that they know or do not feel comfortable sharing all of them due to the delicate nature of the topic. Thus, a mixed method approach as applied in the present doctoral dissertation seems beneficial. Keeping in mind the chances and limitations of brainstorming sessions, which are at the core of research article 2 (“Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students’ perception of different types of women and men”), their procedure is presented in the following sections 4.2.1.(Spanish) and 4.2.2 (English).

4.2.1 Spanish

4.2.1.1 Seville (Spain)

As a pilot study, the first brainstorming sessions were carried out in Seville (Spain). They were organized as seven spontaneous group brainstorming sessions of altogether 25 Spanish participants (19 females, 6 males¹⁰), with three groups of two participants, one group of three participants, two groups of four participants, and one group of eight participants. The participants were students at the University of Seville (Spain) with a mean age of 21.4 and the brainstorming sessions were carried out on the university grounds. The participants were recruited in lectures and participation was voluntary and unpaid. Before the brainstorming sessions, the participants were given a brief introduction into the topic of insults directed at women and men and subsequently given an empty sheet of paper and instructed to write down insults for four groups of people, namely heterosexual women and men and homosexual women and men. Additionally, they were asked to note down colloquial terms for the body parts vagina, breasts, penis, and testicles. During the sessions the participants were requested to remain silent. The brainstorming sessions took approximately ten minutes. At the end of the sessions, I collected the sheets of paper.

4.2.1.2 Madrid (Spain)

After the pilot study in Seville (see 4.2.1.1), the procedure for the brainstorming sessions was adapted and accordingly applied in Madrid (Spain) and London (United Kingdom) (see 4.2.2). Instead of focusing solely on insults, the intention was to have participants generate expressions for a variety of different types of women and men in order to see which subtypes would be salient. The sessions were single spontaneous brainstorming sessions followed by interviews (see 4.3). The participants were eight female and four male Spanish students at different universities in Madrid with a mean age of 19.9, who were recruited via private contacts. The brainstorming sessions were carried out on university grounds and in private accommodation. Participation was voluntary and unpaid. Before the brainstorming sessions, the participants completed a gender questionnaire which aimed at identifying their attitudes towards gender roles and stereotypes – based on Williams, Satterwhite and Best (1999), Baber and Tucker (2006), and López-Cepero Borrego, Rodríguez-Franco, Rodríguez-Díaz and Bringas Molleda (2013) – as well as their own gender identity – based on Magliozzi, Saperstein and Westbrook (2016). For the brainstorming, the participants were given an empty sheet of paper and instructed to write down expressions for different types of women and men. They were told to consider aspects such as looks, lifestyle choices, behaviour, personality, and sexuality. Unlike in Seville (see 4.2.1.1),

¹⁰ The imbalance between female and male participants might have been due to the researcher being female. It is likely that females felt more comfortable than males to participate in brainstorming sessions about potentially delicate topics with another female.

participants were not explicitly asked to note down words for homosexual women and men. This allowed to test whether participants would think of homosexual subtypes, i.e. ‘peripheral’ subtypes (see 3.1.2). Additionally, the participants were told to note down expressions for sexualized body parts. The participants were free to choose how to design the sheet of paper. The brainstorming sessions took approximately ten minutes.

4.2.2 English: London (United Kingdom)

The brainstorming sessions in London were practically identical to the ones in Madrid (see 4.2.1.2). The briefing, gender questionnaire, and procedure were the same as in Madrid, but naturally in English. The participants were seven female and five male English students at the University College London (United Kingdom) with a mean age of 19.4, who were recruited via private contacts. The brainstorming sessions were carried out in private accommodation and took approximately ten minutes.

4.3 Interviews

Directly after each brainstorming session in Madrid (see 4.2.1.2) and London (see 4.2.2), a recorded interview was conducted in which the respective participants talked in detail about every expression listed on their brainstorming sheet. This allowed for meaning negotiation and elaborate input from the participants regarding the terms which they had previously produced. The great advantage of this method is the detailed information provided by the participants for each expression which, of course, exceeds definitions given in dictionaries and makes it possible to detect subtle differences between supposedly synonymous terms, such as *slut*, *slag*, and *whore* (see 5.2.2). A drawback of recorded interviews is the possibility of participants feeling uncomfortable talking explicitly about sensitive topics and therefore holding back. Furthermore, as all participants produced different sets of expressions during the brainstorming sessions and showed varying degrees of talkativeness during the interviews, the latter were all unique in terms of length and content which complicated standardization and comparability to some degree.

The procedure of the recorded interviews is presented in the following sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. The interviews are at the core of research article 3 (“Breaking down gender subtype perception”), in which the results are presented in detail (see 5.3 and appendix).

4.3.1 Spanish: Madrid (Spain)

After each single brainstorming session in Madrid (see 4.2.1.2), a recorded interview was conducted between the respective participant and me. In the interview, the participants were asked to explain one by one the words that they had written down on their sheet of paper during the brainstorming session. They were encouraged to talk about the meaning, the connotations, the usage, the frequency, and the evaluation of the expressions. The interviews were between 20 and 47 minutes long (mean

length: 34 minutes), depending on the number of expressions produced during the brainstorming session and the talkativeness of the participant.

4.3.2 English: London (United Kingdom)

The procedure in London was identical to the procedure in Madrid (see 4.3.1). The interviews were between 20 and 46 minutes long (mean length: 28 minutes).

4.4 Online questionnaires

Apart from the dictionary search (see 4.1), brainstorming sessions (see 4.2), and interviews (see 4.3), several online questionnaires were employed for quantitative and qualitative data collection in the present doctoral dissertation. Advantages of online questionnaires are the relatively big reach, the standardization, and the comparability – especially in questionnaires utilizing slider scales (see 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.1) and Likert scales (see 4.4.2.2). However, due to the anonymous nature of online questionnaires and the lack of (verbal) interaction between researcher and participants, one runs the risk of misinterpretation on both sides without the possibility of clarification – an issue that barely arises in in-depth one-on-one interviews (see 4.3).

The online questionnaires, of which the procedure is presented in the following sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.1, are at the core of research article 2 (“Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students’ perception of different types of women and men”) and 3 (“Breaking down gender subtype perception”). Section 4.4.2.2 presents the methodology for the study at the core of research article 4 (“Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers’ associations with novel metaphors”). The results from the online questionnaires can be found in the respective research articles (see 5.3 and appendix).

4.4.1 English: Gender subtype perception, London (United Kingdom)

After the utilization of the expressions produced in the English brainstorming sessions (see 4.2.2), an online questionnaire was created using the survey tool LamaPoll in which 20 terms for different subtypes of women and men (ten each) had to be rated on 15 slider scales from 0 (e.g. *bad person*, *incompetent person*) to 100 (e.g. *good person*, *competent person*), which are shown in Table 44. The choice of scales was influenced by the research designs in Vonk and Ashmore (2003) and Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005). Since the English scales were compiled based on the research designs of these studies and the Spanish scales thus translated from the English template, the English questionnaire is presented first, followed by the Spanish questionnaire in the next section.

The participants in the questionnaire were the same participants as in the brainstorming sessions (see 4.2.2) minus one female participant who did not take part. The 20 expressions to be rated in the questionnaire included the 18 most frequently produced expressions for women and men (nine each)

Table 44: Scales and their negative and positive extremes used in the English online questionnaire.

Scale	Negative extreme (0)	Positive extreme (100)
<i>typical adult woman</i>	not the typical adult woman	the typical adult woman
<i>typical adult man</i>	not the typical adult man	the typical adult man
<i>female stereotype</i>	not like the traditional female stereotype	like the traditional female stereotype
<i>male stereotype</i>	not like the traditional male stereotype	like the traditional male stereotype
<i>violation of the female role</i>	does not violate the female role	completely violates the female role
<i>violation of the male role</i>	does not violate the male role	completely violates the male role
<i>freedom</i>	free to do as they please	settled into their role in society
<i>choice of role</i>	being given their role	consciously chose their role
<i>warmth</i>	cold person	warm person
<i>competence</i>	incompetent person	competent person
<i>strength</i>	weak person	strong person
<i>activity</i>	passive person	active person
<i>age</i>	young person	old person
<i>respectability</i>	not a respectable person	respectable person
<i>evaluation</i>	bad person	good person

in the brainstorming sessions as well as one common colloquial expression for the subtype *homosexual woman* (*dyke*) and one for the subtype *homosexual man* (*fag*). This was done to test the participants' perceptions of these subtypes, despite not having produced them frequently in the brainstorming sessions themselves, as homosexual subtypes are widely discussed in gender subtype literature (e.g. Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005). All 20 expressions included in the English questionnaire are shown in Table 45, including the number of times they were produced by the twelve participants.

Table 45: Expressions featuring in the English online questionnaire. Numbers in brackets indicate how many of the twelve participants in the brainstorming sessions (see 4.2.2) mentioned the respective expression.

Female subtypes	• <i>slut</i> (11/12) • <i>bitch</i> (11/12)	• <i>girl</i> (7/12) • <i>slag</i> (6/12)	• <i>Ms</i> (5/12) • <i>Mrs</i> (5/12)	• <i>lady</i> (5/12) • <i>whore</i> (5/12)	• <i>babe</i> (5/12) • <i>dyke</i> (2/12)
Male subtypes	• <i>lad</i> (9/12) • <i>guy</i> (8/12)	• <i>boy</i> (7/12) • <i>mate</i> (4/12)	• <i>Mr</i> (4/12) • <i>dick</i> (4/12)	• <i>Sir</i> (4/12) • <i>player</i> (4/12)	• <i>dude</i> (4/12) • <i>fag</i> (2/12)

4.4.2 Spanish

Two Spanish online questionnaires were created for the purpose of the present doctoral dissertation, namely the Spanish equivalent to the English questionnaire investigating gender subtype perception (see 4.4.1) as well as a questionnaire on the interpretation of novel animal metaphors, with two separate questionnaire versions.

4.4.2.1 Gender subtype perception, Madrid (Spain)

The procedure in the follow-up Spanish questionnaire on gender subtype perception was the same as in the English questionnaire (see 4.4.1). Of course, the 15 slider scales were translated into Spanish¹¹. The participants were the same twelve Spanish participants of the brainstorming sessions (see 4.2.1.2). Table 46 shows the 20 expressions to be rated in the questionnaire as well as their rough meanings in English. Like in the English questionnaire, the subtypes *homosexual woman (bollera)* and *homosexual man (maricón)* were included in the questionnaire despite having been mentioned infrequently.

Table 46: Expressions featuring in the Spanish online questionnaire. Numbers in brackets indicate how many of the twelve participants in the brainstorming sessions (see 4.2.1.2) mentioned the respective expression.

Female subtypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>tía</i> ‘aunt, woman’ (8/12) • <i>chica</i> ‘girl’ (8/12) • <i>señora</i> ‘lady’ (6/12) • <i>niña</i> ‘little girl’ (6/12) • <i>piba</i> ‘girl, young woman’ (5/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>guarra</i> ‘slut, bitch’ (5/12) • <i>chavala</i> ‘girl, chick’ (5/12) • <i>señorita</i> ‘young woman’ (5/12) • <i>princesa</i> ‘princess’ (4/12) • <i>bollera</i> ‘dyke’ (0/12)
Male subtypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>chico</i> ‘boy’ (8/12) • <i>señor</i> ‘man, gentleman’ (8/12) • <i>chaval</i> ‘boy, lad’ (6/12) • <i>tío</i> ‘uncle, guy’ (6/12) • <i>macho</i> ‘male, macho’ (5/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>niño</i> ‘little boy’ (5/12) • <i>pibe</i> ‘boy, lad’ (4/12) • <i>colega</i> ‘colleague, mate’ (4/12) • <i>cabrón</i> ‘bastard, son of a bitch’ (4/12) • <i>maricón</i> ‘fag’ (2/12)

4.4.2.2 Novel animal metaphor interpretation, Spain

For another separate Spanish study (see research article 4), two types of online questionnaires – one employing Likert scales (see Figure 12) and the other one open questions (see Figure 13) – were created using the web application SoSci Survey to test Spanish native speakers’ interpretations of novel animal metaphors referring to different types of women (for the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor see 3.2.1). The aim of the study was to contribute to the contrastive exploration of animal metaphors that are established in one language (English) but novel in another (Spanish), instead of contrasting animal metaphors that are conventional in both languages as had been the focus of previous studies (e.g. Fernández Fontecha & Jiménez Catalán, 2003; López-Rodríguez, 2009). Of course, the risk in studying novel metaphor interpretation is that the results depend to some degree on the creativity and openness of the study participants. For example, as shown in research article 4, while some participants indicate that they cannot think of any type of woman who could be referred to as

¹¹ The Spanish scales were (1) *no la típica mujer adulta/la típica mujer adulta*, (2) *no el típico hombre adulto/el típico hombre adulto*, (3) *no como el estereotipo tradicional femenino/como el estereotipo tradicional femenino*, (4) *no como el estereotipo tradicional masculino/como el estereotipo tradicional masculino*, (5) *no viola el rol femenino/totalmente viola el rol femenino*, (6) *no viola el rol masculino/totalmente viola el rol masculino*, (7) *puede hacer lo que quiere/ocupa un rol fijo en la sociedad*, (8) *le fue asignado el rol/eligió su rol conscientemente*, (9) *persona cálida/persona fría*, (10) *persona incompetente/persona competente*, (11) *persona débil/persona fuerte*, (12) *persona pasiva/persona activa*, (13) *persona joven/persona anciana*, (14) *persona no respetable/persona respetable*, (15) *persona mala/persona buena*.

murciélago ‘bat’, others clearly interpret this expression as designating a nocturnal and ugly woman. Despite the possible drawbacks, researching novel metaphor interpretation can offer valuable clues on native speakers’ associations with certain animal species which are not conventional source concepts.

By means of randomization, participants of the animal metaphor study took part in only one of the two questionnaires, in which they were presented with 15 Spanish sentences of the type *Ana es una musaraña* ‘Ana is a shrew’, with the animal term changing on each page. The animal metaphors included three well-documented ones, ten animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish, and two animal metaphors that are documented to exist neither in English nor Spanish (see Table 47). This design was chosen in order to compare Spanish novel metaphor interpretation with Spanish conventional metaphors as well as with the English metaphor meanings.

Table 47: The 15 animal terms included in both versions of the questionnaire. White cells represent animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English, but not in Spanish, light grey cells represent well-documented Spanish animal metaphors and their meaning in Spanish, dark grey cells represent animal metaphors that neither exist in English nor Spanish.

English		Spanish
animal term	meaning	translation
<i>quail</i>	young woman	<i>codorniz</i>
<i>shrew</i>	ill-tempered, malignant, aggressive, quarrelsome woman	<i>musaraña</i>
<i>roach</i>	unpleasant, despicable, unattractive, licentious woman	<i>cucaracha</i>
<i>mouse</i>	young woman	<i>ratón</i>
<i>beaver</i>	sexually attractive woman	<i>castor</i>
<i>stud</i>	homosexual woman with a stereotypically masculine identity or appearance	<i>semental</i>
<i>trout</i>	unattractive, old, ill-tempered woman	<i>trucha</i>
<i>bat</i>	unattractive, promiscuous, disagreeable, foolish woman; or a prostitute who walks the streets at night	<i>murciélago</i>
<i>crow</i>	unattractive, old woman	<i>cuervo</i>
<i>partridge</i>	attractive woman	<i>perdiz</i>
<i>vixen</i>	promiscuous, cunning woman	<i>zorra</i>
<i>cow</i>	fat, unattractive woman	<i>vaca</i>
<i>lizard</i>	promiscuous, cunning woman	<i>lagarta</i>
<i>stork</i>	–	<i>cigüeña</i>
<i>otter</i>	–	<i>nutria</i>

The participants were 112 Spanish native speakers from Spain of which 59 took part in the first questionnaire (Likert scales) and 53 in the second (open questions). The participants were aged between 22 years and 72 years (mean age: 36.15 years), recruited via private contacts, and not paid for their participation.

Figure 12 shows a screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorra* ‘vixen’ as presented to the participants of the first questionnaire employing Likert scales, while Figure 13 shows

a screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorra* ‘vixen’ as presented to the participants of the second questionnaire employing open questions.

1. Ana es una zorra.

Indique el grado en que la frase arriba significa lo mismo que cada de las frases abajo.

	no significa lo mismo en absoluto, no sería posible usar esta expresión en este sentido	totalmente significa lo mismo, sería posible usar esta expresión en este sentido	no sé
Ana es una mujer <u>gorda</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>guapa</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>promiscua</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>sexí</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>amable</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>anciana</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>cizañera</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>lesbiana</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>joven</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>fea</u> .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Siguiente

Figure 12: Screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorra* ‘vixen’ as presented to the participants of the first questionnaire (Likert scales).

1. Ana es una zorra.

¿Cómo describirías el tipo de mujer que es una zorra?

☐ no sé

Siguiente

Figure 13: Screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorra* ‘vixen’ as presented to the participants of the second questionnaire (open questions).

5 Results

This chapter presents the results obtained in the studies conducted for the present doctoral dissertation. However, it must be pointed out that the majority of the study results can be found in the results sections of the four research articles (see 5.3 and appendix), in which the respective results are analysed in detail. Presented in the following sections are the results of the dictionary search (see 4.1) for Spanish in 5.1.1 and English in 5.1.2. Furthermore, section 5.2 is concerned with the results of the Spanish and English brainstorming sessions with the university students in Seville, Madrid, and London (see 4.2). As mentioned above, the results of the interviews (see 4.3) and the online questionnaires (see 4.4) are presented in the results sections of research articles 2, 3, and 4.

5.1 Dictionary search

The following Tables 50 to 126 show the expressions that were found in the dictionary search (see 4.1) for different types of women and men, including homosexual women and men, as well as the expressions for the female and male sexualized body parts VAGINA, BREASTS, PENIS, and TESTICLES. Only the expressions for those types of women and men are presented which frequently (i.e. at least 10 different expressions) featured in the dictionaries consulted. For example, while the English dictionary search yielded many expressions for the subtype UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN (e.g. *beast*, *haybag*, *roach*; see Table 90), the male equivalent UNATTRACTIVE MAN was virtually non-existent among the expressions found in the dictionaries and is thus not listed in this results section. Similarly, the Spanish dictionary search produced several expressions for both the subtypes CUNNING MAN (e.g. *perro* ‘dog’, *zorro* ‘fox’; see Table 73) and STUPID MAN (e.g. *bolo* ‘bowling pin’, *ciruelo* ‘plum tree’; see Table 74), but when it comes to the female subtypes, neither CUNNING WOMAN nor STUPID WOMAN featured in the results. Thus, Table 48 gives an overview of the female and male subtypes which were frequently found among the dictionary results. Similarly, Table 49 shows the expressions found for female and male sexualized body parts. As mentioned in 4.1, the varying sizes of the dictionaries must be kept in mind when looking at the following results, especially in terms of the numbers of identified types. Regardless of the numerical differences though, the results provide interesting insights into the (dis)similarities between Spanish and English regarding the focus on certain female and male subtypes over others and the conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their sexualized body parts.

Table 48: Overview of the female and male subtypes that were frequently found among the Spanish and English expressions in the dictionary search. Light grey cells indicate homosexual subtypes.

Subtype	Spanish		English	
	woman	man	woman	man
WOMAN/MAN	Table 50		Table 87	Table 99
POSITIVE PERSONALITY		Table 66		Table 100
NEGATIVE PERSONALITY	Table 51	Table 62	Table 88	Table 101
ATTRACTIVE	Table 53	Table 63	Table 92	Table 102
UNATTRACTIVE	Table 52	Table 64	Table 90	
PROMISCUOUS	Table 54	Table 65	Table 95	Table 105
SEX OBJECT			Table 93	
PROVOCATIVE	Table 55			
COLD, FRIGID			Table 96	
YOUNG			Table 94	Table 103
OLD	Table 56		Table 89	Table 104
OVERWEIGHT	Table 57			
TALL		Table 72		
MANLY, STRONG, AGGRESSIVE	Table 58	Table 66	Table 91	Table 106
WEAK, COWARDLY, EFFEMINATE		Tables 67 + 68		Table 107
CUNNING		Table 73		
STUPID		Table 74		Table 108
UNFAITHFUL SPOUSE		Table 69		
LOVER	Table 59			Table 109
PESTERING		Table 70		
SHOWY, VAIN		Table 71		
HOMOSEXUAL	Table 60	Table 75	Table 97	Table 110
MANNISH, AGGRESSIVE HOMOSEXUAL	Table 61	Table 79	Table 98	
EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL		Table 76		Table 111
ACTIVE HOMOSEXUAL		Table 78		Table 112
PASSIVE HOMOSEXUAL		Table 77		Table 113
YOUNG HOMOSEXUAL				Table 114
OLD HOMOSEXUAL				Table 115
OPENLY HOMOSEXUAL				Table 116

Table 49: Overview of the female (dark grey cells) and male (light grey cells) sexualized body parts that were frequently found among the Spanish and English expressions in the dictionary search.

Body part	Spanish	English
VAGINA	Table 80	Table 117
BREASTS	Table 81	Table 118
LARGE BREASTS	Table 82	Table 119
SMALL BREASTS		Table 120
PENIS	Table 83	Table 121
LARGE, ERECT PENIS	Table 84	Tables 122 + 123
SMALL PENIS	Table 85	Table 124
FLACCID PENIS		Table 125
TESTICLES	Table 86	Table 126

5.1.1 Spanish

In this section, the Spanish expressions for different types of women (5.1.1.1) and men (5.1.1.2) as well as female and male sexualized body parts (5.1.1.3) are presented which were found in the Spanish dictionary search (see 4.1).

5.1.1.1 Woman

As Table 50 shows, only a small number of expressions was found in the Spanish dictionaries referring to the global stereotype WOMAN (see 3.1.2). Among those expressions are, for example, *cerda* ‘sow’, a metaphorical expression of the WOMAN IS A FARMYARD MAMMAL metaphor (see Table 28), and *reina* ‘queen’ which – according to the GREAT CHAIN metaphor (see 2.2.1.2) – constitutes a bottom-up mapping from the source domain ROYALTY to the target domain HUMAN. While the former tends to downgrade the woman, the latter conveys a positive evaluation (see Table 4 in 2.2.1.2).

Table 50: Expressions for WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for WOMAN				
• <i>cerda</i>	• <i>costilla</i>	• <i>ja(i)</i>	• <i>reina</i>	• <i>vieja</i>
• <i>chancleta</i>	• <i>fémína</i>	• <i>madama</i>	• <i>señora</i>	
• <i>chati</i>	• <i>gachí</i>	• <i>meona</i>	• <i>titi</i>	
• <i>chocho</i>	• <i>hembra</i>	• <i>mina</i>	• <i>varon(es)a</i>	

Unsurprisingly, when it comes to the subtype WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 51), the conceptualizations are generally pejorative. Among the expressions are several animal metaphors, namely the mammals *guarra* ‘sow’, *pazpuerca* ‘peace sow’, *mala pécora* ‘bad sheep, cattle’, *zurróna* ‘big vixen’, and *mica* ‘monkey’, the birds *lechuza* ‘owl’, *lora* ‘parrot’, *pájara* ‘bird’, and *perica* ‘parakeet’, the insects *chichilasa* ‘red ant’ and *moscona* ‘fly’, and finally the reptile *víbora* ‘viper’. Other conceptualizations of a woman with a negative personality include fearsome mythical creatures (*arpía*

‘harpy’, *bruja* ‘witch’, *circe* ‘Circe’, *tarasca* ‘Tarasque’) and pejoration through derivation of *mujer* ‘woman’ (*mujerota*, *mujeruca*, *mujerzuela*). Mythical creatures, such as *arpía* ‘harpy’, *bruja* ‘witch’, *tarasca* ‘Tarasque’, and *calchona* ‘Calchona’, and animals also serve as source concepts for the target domain UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN (see Table 52). The latter include the mammals *foca* ‘seal’ and *caballuna* (from *caballo* ‘horse’), the birds *cacatúa* ‘cockatoo’ and *loro* ‘parrot’, the fish *bagre* ‘catfish’, and the reptile *cuija* ‘gecko’.

Table 51: Expressions for WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY				
• <i>albendera</i>	• <i>corralera</i>	• <i>mala pécora</i>	• <i>moscona</i>	• <i>pingo</i>
• <i>andorra</i>	• <i>cotarrera</i>	• <i>malcogida</i>	• <i>moza de cántaro</i>	• <i>rabisalsera</i>
• <i>arpía</i>	• <i>culebrón</i>	• <i>mal follada</i>	• <i>pájara</i>	• <i>rana</i>
• <i>arrabalera</i>	• <i>doña</i>	• <i>margaritona</i>	• <i>pandorga</i>	• <i>raspa</i>
• <i>bacante</i>	• <i>escaldada</i>	• <i>marisabidilla</i>	• <i>pazpuerca</i>	• <i>soleta</i>
• <i>bachillera</i>	• <i>farota</i>	• <i>ménade</i>	• <i>pecadora</i>	• <i>sota</i>
• <i>bruja</i>	• <i>fregatriz/fregona</i>	• <i>mesalina</i>	• <i>pelleja</i>	• <i>suripanta</i>
• <i>chichilasa</i>	• <i>gorrera</i>	• <i>mica</i>	• <i>pendón</i>	• <i>tarasca</i>
• <i>chirusa/chiruza</i>	• <i>guarra</i>	• <i>morros calientes</i>	• <i>desorejado</i>	• <i>verdulera</i>
• <i>choni</i>	• <i>halconera</i>	• <i>mujerota/</i>	• <i>perica</i>	• <i>víbora</i>
• <i>circe</i>	• <i>lechuza</i>	• <i>mujeruca/</i>	• <i>petarda</i>	• <i>viltrotera</i>
• <i>coqueta</i>	• <i>lora</i>	• <i>mujerzuela</i>	• <i>pindonga</i>	• <i>zurrona</i>

Table 52: Expressions for UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN				
• <i>arpía</i>	• <i>caballuna</i>	• <i>cañavestía</i>	• <i>escoba</i>	• <i>pepona</i>
• <i>bagayo</i>	• <i>cacatúa</i>	• <i>carcamonía</i>	• <i>foca</i>	• <i>piruja</i>
• <i>bagre</i>	• <i>calchona</i>	• <i>chaleco</i>	• <i>infollable</i>	• <i>tarasca</i>
• <i>bruja</i>	• <i>callo</i>	• <i>cuija</i>	• <i>loro</i>	

Table 53: Expressions for ATTRACTIVE WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for ATTRACTIVE WOMAN				
• <i>atractiva</i>	• <i>chica play boy</i>	• <i>gamba</i>	• <i>monada</i>	• <i>sabrosura</i>
• <i>baby top</i>	• <i>chichilasa</i>	• <i>hembrón</i>	• <i>monumento</i>	• <i>señor(it)a</i>
• <i>barbie</i>	• <i>conejita</i>	• <i>hurí</i>	• <i>mujer-mujer</i>	• <i>estupenda</i>
• <i>beldad</i>	• <i>cover-girl</i>	• <i>jaca</i>	• <i>muñeca</i>	• <i>serafín</i>
• <i>belleza</i>	• <i>cuer(az)o</i>	• <i>jai</i>	• <i>nacarona</i>	• <i>sex symbol</i>
• <i>bollito</i>	• <i>cuerpo de</i>	• <i>jamona</i>	• <i>negra(za)</i>	• <i>sílfide</i>
• <i>bomba sexual</i>	• <i>infarto/pecado</i>	• <i>loba</i>	• <i>ninfa/nínfula</i>	• <i>sueca(za)</i>
• <i>bombón/</i>	• <i>danone</i>	• <i>maricoño</i>	• <i>pasada</i>	• <i>tía buena/pulpo</i>
• <i>bombonazo</i>	• <i>despampanante</i>	• <i>merengue</i>	• <i>pelicharca</i>	• <i>tigresa</i>
• <i>budín</i>	• <i>encabada</i>	• <i>miss</i>	• <i>pimpollo</i>	• <i>top model</i>
• <i>(buena/guapa/</i>	• <i>explosiva</i>	• <i>modelo</i>	• <i>pin-up (girl)</i>	• <i>topolino</i>
• <i>real) moza</i>	• <i>filete</i>	• <i>mujer objeto/de</i>	• <i>playmate</i>	• <i>vaca</i>
• <i>cacha negra</i>	• <i>follable</i>	• <i>bandera/buen</i>	• <i>quesito</i>	• <i>valkiria/valquiria</i>
• <i>camera</i>	• <i>gacela</i>	• <i>ver/escándalo/</i>	• <i>rajable</i>	• <i>vamp(i/iresa)</i>
• <i>cañón</i>	• <i>gachona</i>	• <i>espanto/miedo</i>	• <i>real hembra</i>	• <i>Venus/venus</i>

When it comes to the target domain ATTRACTIVE WOMAN (see Table 53), on the other hand, a different set of animal terms serves as source concepts. They are mainly small and/or farm mammals (*conejita* ‘bunny’, *jaca* ‘small horse’, *vaca* ‘cow’, *gacela* ‘gazelle’) and mammalian predators (*loba* ‘she-wolf’, *tigresa* ‘tigress’). In accordance with the DESIRE IS HUNGER metaphor and thus with the DESIRED PEOPLE ARE FOOD metaphor (see 3.2.2), conceptualizations of the attractive woman include the proteins *gamba* ‘prawn’, *tía pulpo* ‘octopus girl’, *filete* ‘fillet’, *jamona* ‘ham’, and *quesito* ‘cheese’, the sweets *bombón* ‘chocolate’ and its derivative *bombonazo*, *merengue* ‘meringue’, and *danone* (after the yoghurt brand), as well as *bollito* ‘bun’ and *sabrosura* ‘tastiness’. Other conceptualizations of the attractive woman include source domains such as HEAT, PRESSURE, and DANGER (e.g. *bomba sexual* ‘sex bomb’, *cañón* ‘canon’, *cuerpo de infarto* ‘infarct body’, *explosiva* ‘explosive’, *mujer de escándalo/espanto/miedo* ‘woman of scandal/terror/fear’, *vamp(i/resa)* ‘vamp(ire)’).

Table 54: Expressions for PROMISCUOUS WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for PROMISCUOUS WOMAN				
• <i>anabolena</i>	• <i>coqueta</i>	• <i>jaca</i>	• <i>niña</i>	• <i>put(on)a</i>
• <i>arruinahogares</i>	• <i>cortesana</i>	• <i>lagart(on)a</i>	• <i>ninfómana</i>	• <i>ramera</i>
• <i>bacante</i>	• <i>coscolina</i>	• <i>lechuguina</i>	• <i>pájara</i>	• <i>robamaridos/</i>
• <i>buscona</i>	• <i>cualquiera</i>	• <i>leona</i>	• <i>pecatriz</i>	<i>robanovios</i>
• <i>(cabra)loca</i>	• <i>descocada</i>	• <i>levantanovios</i>	• <i>pecorana</i>	• <i>rompecorazones/</i>
• <i>cachoputa</i>	• <i>deshonrada</i>	• <i>ligera (de cascos)</i>	• <i>peland(r)usca</i>	<i>rompeparejas</i>
• <i>calientacamás/</i>	• <i>facilona</i>	• <i>loba</i>	• <i>pendeja</i>	• <i>sicalíptica</i>
<i>calientasábanas</i>	• <i>farota</i>	• <i>lolita</i>	• <i>pendolera</i>	• <i>sirena</i>
• <i>camera</i>	• <i>farrusca</i>	• <i>mamachicho</i>	• <i>pendón</i>	• <i>sobaja</i>
• <i>casquivana</i>	• <i>femme fatale</i>	• <i>Mata-Hari</i>	(<i>desoreja(d)o/</i>	• <i>suripanta</i>
• <i>chicomaniaca</i>	• <i>follatriz</i>	• <i>media virtud</i>	<i>verbenero)</i>	• <i>tanque</i>
• <i>chuquisá</i>	• <i>fresca</i>	• <i>mesalina</i>	• <i>perdida</i>	• <i>tigresa</i>
• <i>cocú</i>	• <i>furcia</i>	• <i>mondaria</i>	• <i>pichicata</i>	• <i>tragona</i>
• <i>comehombres/</i>	• <i>golf(ill)a/golfanta</i>	• <i>mujer alegre/de mala</i>	• <i>pilingui</i>	• <i>tulipanda</i>
<i>devorahombres/</i>	• <i>guarr(on)a/</i>	<i>vida/de mal vivir/de</i>	• <i>pingo</i>	• <i>tunanta</i>
<i>devoradora de</i>	<i>guarreta/</i>	<i>mala nota/de moral</i>	• <i>piruja</i>	• <i>turra</i>
<i>hombres</i>	<i>guarridonga/</i>	<i>distraída/de vida</i>	• <i>pisca</i>	• <i>vamp(iresa)</i>
• <i>con los dientes</i>	<i>guarriguarri/</i>	<i>alegre/fatal/galante</i>	• <i>prójima</i>	• <i>viuda alegre</i>
<i>apretados</i>	<i>guarridongui</i>	• <i>mujerzuela</i>	• <i>putón</i>	• <i>yegua</i>
• <i>coñocaliente</i>	• <i>hombrieriega</i>	• <i>nabiza</i>	(<i>verbenero)</i>	• <i>zorr(ill)a</i>

Table 55: Expressions for PROVOCATIVE WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for PROVOCATIVE WOMAN				
• <i>calientabraguetas/</i>	• <i>catalítica</i>	• <i>levanta-/inflatollas</i>	• <i>(mujer/chica)</i>	• <i>tentona</i>
<i>-huevos/-pichas/</i>	• <i>gachona</i>	• <i>lolita</i>	<i>pantera</i>	• <i>tigresa</i>
<i>-pollas</i>	• <i>levantabraguetas</i>	• <i>mujer fatal</i>	• <i>sobandera</i>	• <i>vamp(iresa)</i>

This is also the case for the subtypes PROMISCUOUS WOMAN (see Table 54) and PROVOCATIVE WOMAN (see Table 55). The expressions found in the dictionaries depict these female subtypes as man-eaters (e.g. *comehombres* ‘man-eater’, *devorahombres* ‘man devourer’, *chicomaniaca* ‘boy maniac’, *robamaridos*

‘husband robber’, *ninfómana* ‘nymphomaniac’, *tragona* ‘glutton’), teases (e.g. *calientapollas* ‘cock warmer’, *calientacamás* ‘bed warmer’, *inflapollas* ‘cock inflater’, *levantapollas* ‘cock lifter’), and dangerous creatures (e.g. *femme/mujer fatale* ‘femme fatale/fatal woman’, *tanque* ‘tank’, *pantera* ‘panther’, *tigresa* ‘tigress’, *vamp(iresa)* ‘vamp(ire)’). Additionally, the subtype PROMISCUOUS WOMAN is conceptualized as a dishonoured, ruined, and crazy woman (e.g. *deshonrada* ‘dishonoured’, *perdida* ‘lost’, *(cabra)loca* ‘crazy(goat)’, *mujer de mala vida/de mal vivir/de mala nota/de moral distraída* ‘woman of bad life/of bad living/of ill repute/of loose morals’).

Among the expressions for the subtypes OLD WOMAN (see Table 56) are those that refer to an older woman with an interest in younger men – the big cats *cougar*, *puma* ‘cougar’, and *pantera* ‘panther’, and *(señora/Sra./Mrs.) Robinson* (from the movie *The Graduate*) and *vieja verde* ‘old green’ – and those that portray an old woman as one past her prime (e.g. *bruja* ‘witch’, *calchona* ‘Calchona’, *callonca* ‘half roasted’, *jamona* ‘ham’, *mujeruca* from *mujer* ‘woman’), thus aligning with some of the conceptualizations of the subtypes UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN (see Table 52) and WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 51). Furthermore, the conceptualizations of the subtype OVERWEIGHT WOMAN (see Table 57) are partly in line with these subtypes, too, portraying an overweight woman as an unattractive puppet (*gigantilla* ‘Gigantilla’, *pepona* ‘big cardboard doll’), a heavy-duty vehicle (*narria* ‘load carriage’, *tanque* ‘tank’), or an animal or meat (*vaca(burra)* ‘cow (donkey)’, *jamona* ‘ham’). In any case, it appears that women belonging to these four subtypes (NEGATIVE PERSONALITY, UNATTRACTIVE, OLD, OVERWEIGHT) tend to be castigated for violating the traditional female gender stereotype of the kind-hearted, young, and beautiful woman (see 3.1). Similarly, as shown in Table 11 in 3.1.2, physical strength and aggressiveness are considered stereotypical male traits, leading to conceptualizations of women exhibiting such traits (see Table 58) as men or mannish individuals (e.g. *machorra* and *machota* from *macho* ‘male’, *marimacho* from *María* and *macho*, *virago* ‘virago’, *sargent(on)a* ‘sergeant’). This is even more evident when it comes to the conceptualizations of the female subtype MANNISH HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 61) that additionally violates the assumption of heteronormativity.

Table 56: Expressions for OLD WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for OLD WOMAN				
• <i>bruja</i>	• <i>cougar (woman)</i>	• <i>matronaza</i>	• <i>mujeruca</i>	• <i>(señora/Sra./Mrs.) Robinson</i>
• <i>calchona</i>	• <i>jamona</i>	• <i>(mujer/chica) pantera</i>	• <i>puma (woman)</i>	• <i>vieja verde</i>
• <i>callonca</i>	• <i>mamancona</i>		• <i>señora</i>	

Table 57: Expressions for OVERWEIGHT WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for OVERWEIGHT WOMAN				
• <i>callonca</i>	• <i>mamancona</i>	• <i>narria</i>	• <i>pandorga</i>	• <i>tanque</i>
• <i>gigantilla</i>	• <i>matronaza</i>	• <i>neumática</i>	• <i>pepona</i>	• <i>tocinera</i>
• <i>jamona</i>	• <i>mujerona</i>	• <i>pandera</i>	• <i>sargenta</i>	• <i>vaca(burra)</i>

Table 58: Expressions for MANLY AND STRONG WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for MANLY AND STRONG WOMAN				
•amazona	•machorra	•machucambo	•sargent(on)a	•varon(es)a
•dominatrix	•machota	•marimacho	•sargento	•virago

Table 59: Expressions for FEMALE LOVER as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for FEMALE LOVER				
•barragana	•compañera de	•cuero	•lacroi	•programa
•coima	alcoba	•ja(i)	•manceba	•protegida
•combleza	•cortesana	•jamba	•otra	

Homosexual woman

Overall, the results from the dictionary search reveal that the conceptualizations of female homosexuality are not only concerned with masculinity, but they are also heavily impacted by the notion of sexual intercourse between two women. Accordingly, many of the expressions for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 60) and some of those for MANNISH HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 61) relate to *bollo* ‘bun’ or other similar baked goods – a well-documented conventional Spanish metaphor for the vagina due to the perceived visual similarity, and thus via metonymic extension for sexual intercourse between women (Rodríguez González, 2011, p. 158). These expressions include *bollo* ‘bun’ and the derivatives *bollito*, *bollicao*, *bollacón*, *bollotrón*, and *maribollo*, *bollera* ‘bun maker’, *tortillera* ‘omelette maker, tortilla maker’, and *cachapera* ‘cachapa maker’, for example.

Table 60: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN				
•arep(er)a	•cachap(er)a	•invertida	•Levi's	•sáfica
•bollaca(ta)/ bollacón	•cadeneta	•jorra	•librera	•Safo/safista/safito
•bollera/boyera	•chica	•lea	•manflora	•scissor
•bollicao/bollycao	•comecoños	•lela	•maraca	•torta/torti(llera)
•boll(it)o	•de la otra acera	•lencha	•más que amiga	•trí(/i)bada/tribade
•bufarreta	•estibadora	•lesbi(a/ana)/ lésbica/lesbo	•rara	•trola
	•fricatriz		•ribada	•virada

Table 61: Expressions for MANNISH HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for MANNISH HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN				
•ahombrada	•butch	•machirulo	•machucambo	•masculina
•amazona	•camionera/ camionero	•machito	•maribollo	•tierra
•bollotrón		•machona	•marimacha/ marimacho	•virago
•bombero/ bombero	•chulaza	•machorra		•zaraballo
	•machanga	•machota	•marota	

Some interesting findings emerge from the dictionary search results compared to those presented in 3.2.1: While the WOMAN IS A BIRD metaphor (see Table 27) appeared to be highly fruitful for

conceptualizing the subtype PROMISCUOUS WOMAN, this is not reflected in the results from the dictionary search. Accordingly, only two (*pisca* ‘turkey hen’, *pájara* ‘bird’) out of the nine birds in Table 27 were found. Another apparently common animal metaphor, PROMISCUOUS WOMAN IS A FARMYARD MAMMAL (see Table 28), is not very prevalent among the dictionary search results. Out of the 15 animal terms in Table 28, only three (*yegua* ‘mare’, *jaca* ‘small horse’, *guarra* ‘sow’) appear in the results. Lastly, none of the six farmyard mammals denoting an unattractive woman (see Table 28) were found in the dictionary search.

5.1.1.2 Man

The expressions for the male subtype MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 62) reveal that one of the most frequent conceptualizations of this subtype is as an animal. Accordingly, among the terms are several birds of prey or large birds (*buitre* ‘vulture’, *cernícalo* ‘kestrel’, *galfarro* ‘hawk’, *pajarraco* ‘big bird’) and mammals (*cabrito* ‘goatling’, *gazapo* ‘young rabbit’, *panarra* ‘bat’, *perro* ‘dog’, and *zorrocloco* from *zorro* ‘fox’ and *clueco* ‘broody’) as well as *culebrón* ‘big snake’ and *peje* ‘fish’. Other expressions from the domain ANIMAL include *lana* ‘wool’, *madeja* ‘ball of wool’, and *zamarro* ‘sheepskin’. Furthermore, this subtype is conceptualized as an unimportant man or a good-for-nothing (the names *don nadie*, *John Bull*, and *Juan Palomo*, *fulano* ‘so-and-so’, *un cualquiera* ‘a nobody/anybody’, *sobrancero* ‘casual labourer’), hinting at a lack of competitiveness, dominance, and adventuresomeness which are all positively evaluated personality traits in men (see Table 11 in 3.1.2).

Table 62: Expressions for MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY				
• <i>alarbe</i>	• <i>don nadie</i>	• <i>huevazos</i>	• <i>nebulón</i>	• <i>salteador</i>
• <i>bacín</i>	• <i>dondorondón</i>	• <i>John Bull</i>	• <i>nerón</i>	• <i>sátiro</i>
• <i>bandido</i>	• <i>drope</i>	• <i>Juan Palomo</i>	• <i>pajarraco</i>	• <i>sayagués</i>
• <i>bato</i>	• <i>duelista</i>	• <i>judas/Judas</i>	• <i>panarra</i>	• <i>sayón</i>
• <i>bergante</i>	• <i>echacantos/</i>	• <i>lana</i>	• <i>paseante en corte</i>	• <i>sobrancero</i>
• <i>buitre</i>	• <i>tiracantos</i>	• <i>macarelo</i>	• <i>patán</i>	• <i>tartufo</i>
• <i>cabrito</i>	• <i>echacuervos</i>	• <i>machín</i>	• <i>payaso</i>	• <i>títere</i>
• <i>cachafaz</i>	• <i>fariseo</i>	• <i>machista</i>	• <i>peje</i>	• <i>troglodita</i>
• <i>cachivache</i>	• <i>fulano</i>	• <i>madeja</i>	• <i>percusor</i>	• <i>trompeta</i>
• <i>calavera/</i>	• <i>galavardo</i>	• <i>majagranzas</i>	• <i>perdis</i>	• <i>un cualquiera</i>
• <i>calaverón</i>	• <i>galfarro</i>	• <i>malandrín</i>	• <i>perro</i>	• <i>vaina(zas)</i>
• <i>calvatrueno</i>	• <i>galopín</i>	• <i>mandria</i>	• <i>petate</i>	• <i>verruugo</i>
• <i>capullo</i>	• <i>gambalúa</i>	• <i>maricón</i>	• <i>pinchaúvas</i>	• <i>viejo verde</i>
• <i>cateto</i>	• <i>gañán</i>	• <i>mastuerzo</i>	• <i>pinta</i>	• <i>virote</i>
• <i>cernícalo</i>	• <i>ganapán</i>	• <i>matón</i>	• <i>pobre diablo/</i>	• <i>zamarro</i>
• <i>charrán</i>	• <i>gazapo</i>	• <i>maxmordón</i>	• <i>hombre</i>	• <i>zambombo</i>
• <i>chuchumeco</i>	• <i>golfo</i>	• <i>modrego</i>	• <i>polizón</i>	• <i>zanguayo</i>
• <i>cojonazos</i>	• <i>grandullón</i>	• <i>mogrollo</i>	• <i>porro</i>	• <i>zarramplín</i>
• <i>crápula</i>	• <i>hampón</i>	• <i>molondro</i>	• <i>portero</i>	• <i>zascandil</i>
• <i>cuartazos</i>	• <i>hombracho</i>	• <i>morral</i>	• <i>ravachol</i>	• <i>zorrocloco</i>
• <i>culebrón</i>	• <i>hominicaco</i>	• <i>naranjo</i>	• <i>rufián/rufiancete</i>	• <i>zurriburri</i>

Comparing the expressions found for the subtypes ATTRACTIVE MAN (see Table 63) and UNATTRACTIVE MAN (see Table 64), reveals interesting patterns: While the former is conceptualized in terms of gods and heroic figures (*Adonis* ‘Adonis’, *Apolo* ‘Apollo’, *apolíneo* ‘Apollonian’, *superman* ‘Superman’, *tarzán* ‘Tarzan’) and in terms of food (*cacho carne* ‘chunk of meat’, *pechugón* from *pechuga* ‘chicken breast’, *pintón* ‘ripening’, *yogur* ‘yoghurt’) (see 3.2.2), for example, the latter is portrayed as an ape (*gorilla* ‘gorilla’, *orangutan* ‘orangutan’) or other types of animals (*oso* ‘bear’, *gansarón* ‘gosling’, *tagarote* ‘Barbary falcon’).

Table 63: Expressions for ATTRACTIVE MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for ATTRACTIVE MAN				
• <i>Adonis/adonis</i>	• <i>cacho carne</i>	• <i>gigoló</i>	• <i>nínfulo</i>	• <i>tarzán</i>
• <i>apolíneo</i>	• <i>cañón</i>	• <i>guaperas</i>	• <i>nuclear</i>	• <i>tío bueno</i>
• <i>Apolo/apolo</i>	• <i>como un tren</i>	• <i>guayabo</i>	• <i>pechugón</i>	• <i>todobueno</i>
• <i>barbilindo</i>	• <i>dandi</i>	• <i>lolito</i>	• <i>perchas</i>	• <i>yogur</i>
• <i>(buen/guapo/real) mozo</i>	• <i>fibrado</i>	• <i>míster</i>	• <i>pintón</i>	
	• <i>galán</i>	• <i>muñeco</i>	• <i>supermán</i>	

Table 64: Expressions for UNATTRACTIVE MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for UNATTRACTIVE MAN				
• <i>adán</i>	• <i>gambalúa</i>	• <i>gorila</i>	• <i>oso</i>	• <i>vainazas</i>
• <i>cuartazos</i>	• <i>gansarón</i>	• <i>grandullón</i>	• <i>pestuzo</i>	• <i>zancarrón</i>
• <i>galavardo</i>	• <i>golfo</i>	• <i>orangután</i>	• <i>tagarote</i>	• <i>zanguayo</i>

Table 65: Expressions for PROMISCUOUS MAN AND WOMANIZER as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for PROMISCUOUS MAN AND WOMANIZER				
• <i>acuesta mujeres</i>	• <i>Casanova/casanova</i>	• <i>fardón</i>	• <i>manilargo</i>	• <i>pingo</i>
• <i>alegraesposas</i>		• <i>fauno</i>	• <i>mariposeador</i>	• <i>pistolo</i>
• <i>alipéndoli</i>	• <i>castigador</i>	• <i>follador (de la pradera)</i>	• <i>mariposón</i>	• <i>playboy</i>
• <i>asaltacamás/asaltacunas/trotacamás</i>	• <i>chocho-/bragadicto</i>	• <i>follarín</i>	• <i>mico</i>	• <i>salido</i>
• <i>baboso</i>	• <i>crápula</i>	• <i>fornifollador</i>	• <i>moro</i>	• <i>sátiro</i>
• <i>bailabonitas</i>	• <i>Cupido/cupido</i>	• <i>hombre liana</i>	• <i>mozo</i>	• <i>seductor</i>
• <i>braguetero</i>	• <i>desbraguetado</i>	• <i>huelebraguetas</i>	• <i>mujerero/mujeriego</i>	• <i>siete machos</i>
• <i>buitre</i>	• <i>destrozacorazones</i>	• <i>jodón</i>	• <i>ñaca ñaca</i>	• <i>Tenorio</i>
• <i>burlador</i>	• <i>devoramujeres/tronchamozas</i>	• <i>latin lover</i>	• <i>ninfómano</i>	• <i>tentón</i>
• <i>burraquero</i>	• <i>Don Juan/donjuán</i>	• <i>ligón/ligohortera</i>	• <i>palanquero</i>	• <i>tirador</i>
• <i>calavera</i>	• <i>faldero</i>	• <i>macho (cabrío/man)</i>	• <i>picaflor</i>	• <i>trabuquito</i>
	• <i>farolero</i>	• <i>machucante</i>	• <i>pichabrava/-loca</i>	• <i>triunfador</i>
				• <i>viejo pellejo</i>

While it has been shown that the female subtype PROMISCUOUS WOMAN (see Table 54) is generally conceptualized in negative terms, the male equivalent (see Table 65) appears to have both negative and positive connotations. On the one hand, a promiscuous man is considered an assaulter (e.g. *asaltacamás* ‘bed invader’, *asaltacunas* ‘crib invader’, *trotacamás* ‘bed trotter’, *destrozacorazones* ‘heart breaker’, *devoramujeres* ‘woman devourer’), on the other hand, he is praised for his sexual

prowess (e.g. *alegraesposas* ‘wife pleaser’, *casanova* ‘Casanova’, *cupido* ‘Cupid’, *donjuán* ‘Don Juan’, *Tenorio*, *latin lover*).

Regarding the conceptualizations of the subtype MANLY, BRAVE AND SUPERIOR MAN (see Table 66) versus the subtypes WEAK AND COWARDLY MAN (see Table 67) and EFFEMINATE MAN (see Table 68), clear patterns can be detected: The former is considered a prototypical man (e.g. *muy hombre* ‘very manly’, *todo un hombre* ‘a total man’, *macho* ‘male’) with prototypical features such as strength (e.g. *hombre fuerte* ‘strong man’, *toro* ‘bull’) and growth of hair (e.g. *hombre de pelo en pecho* ‘man with a hairy chest’, *tío con toda la barba* ‘guy with a full beard’), while the latter two are conceptualized as incomplete (e.g. *poco hombre* ‘little manly’, *hombre de poco* ‘little man’, *calzonazos* ‘wife-dominated man’, *huevazos* ‘wife-dominate man’) and womanlike men (e.g. *adamado* ‘effeminate’, *amujerado* ‘effeminate’, *cocinilla* ‘camping stove’, *palabrimujer* ‘man with womanlike voice’, and the many derivatives of *María* such as *marica*, *maricón*, *maricono*, *marión*, *amariconado*). This is even more so the case for the subtypes HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 75) and EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 76).

Table 66: Expressions for MANLY, BRAVE AND SUPERIOR MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for MANLY, BRAVE AND SUPERIOR MAN				
• <i>buen hombre/</i> • <i>muy hombre/</i> • <i>prohombre/</i> • <i>superhombre/</i> • <i>todo un hombre</i>	• <i>caballero</i> • <i>fiera</i> • <i>gallo</i> • <i>garañón</i> • <i>gentleman</i>	• <i>hombre fuerte/de</i> • <i>bien/acción/pelo en</i> • <i>pecho/pro(vecho)</i> • <i>jefe</i> • <i>latin lover</i>	• <i>machazo/machete/</i> • <i>machito/machote</i> • <i>machista</i> • <i>macho (ibérico/man)</i> • <i>optimite</i>	• <i>Sansón</i> • <i>santo varón</i> • <i>tío (grande/con</i> • <i>toda la barba)</i> • <i>toro</i>

Table 67: Expressions for WEAK AND COWARDLY MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for WEAK AND COWARDLY MAN				
• <i>achichinle/</i> • <i>achichinque</i> • <i>baboso</i> • <i>baldragas</i> • <i>borrego</i> • <i>borricón</i>	• <i>bragazas</i> • <i>caco</i> • <i>calcillas</i> • <i>calzonazos</i> • <i>calzonudo</i> • <i>doctrino</i>	• <i>fuguillas</i> • <i>huero</i> • <i>huevazos</i> • <i>Juan Lanas</i> • <i>liebre/lebrón</i> • <i>mandilón</i>	• <i>mandinga</i> • <i>mandria</i> • <i>mantecón</i> • <i>maridazo</i> • <i>mollejón</i> • <i>muñeco</i>	• <i>pendejo</i> • <i>pobre diablo</i> • <i>poco hombre/</i> • <i>hombre para poco</i> • <i>pollerudo</i> • <i>tirillas</i>

Table 68: Expressions for EFFEMINATE MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for EFFEMINATE MAN				
• <i>adamado</i> • <i>afeminado</i> • <i>ahembrado</i> • <i>amanerado</i> • <i>amariconado</i> • <i>amariposado</i>	• <i>ambiguo</i> • <i>amujerado</i> • <i>cacorro</i> • <i>cazolero</i> • <i>cocinilla</i> • <i>cundango</i>	• <i>enerve</i> • <i>equivoco</i> • <i>fileno</i> • <i>joto</i> • <i>lindo</i> • <i>marica/mariquita</i>	• <i>maricón/maricono</i> • <i>mariol</i> • <i>marión</i> • <i>mariposa/-o/-ón</i> • <i>muñeco</i> • <i>nenaza</i>	• <i>neutro</i> • <i>palabrimujer</i> • <i>perico entre ellas</i> • <i>pollerudo</i> • <i>sarasa/zaraza</i> • <i>volteado</i>

Interestingly, the subtype MAN WHOSE WIFE IS UNFAITHFUL (see Table 69) does not have an equivalent in English nor a female equivalent (see Table 48). Spanish conceptualizations mostly involve the notion of *cuernos* ‘horns’, derived from the well-established metaphor of the cheating woman putting horns onto her husband (*poner los cuernos* ‘to put the horns’) in an act of utter mockery and insult resulting in his dishonouring (Rodríguez González, 2011, p. 834). Examples among the expressions found in the dictionary search include *cabrón/cabrino* (*consentido*) ‘(consenting) billy goat/goatling’, *cabronazo* ‘big billy goat’, and the derivatives of *cuernos* ‘horns’ *cornudo* (*consentido*), *cornis*, *cornúpeta*, *cornuto*, and *cuernazos*.

Table 69: Expressions for MAN WHOSE WIFE IS UNFAITHFUL as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for MAN WHOSE WIFE IS UNFAITHFUL				
• <i>cabrito</i> (<i>consentido</i>)	• <i>cabronazo</i> • <i>consentidor</i>	• <i>cornis</i> • <i>cornúpeta</i>	• <i>cuernazos</i> • <i>gurrumino</i>	• <i>predestinado</i> • <i>sobrero</i>
• <i>cabrón</i> (<i>con pintas/</i> <i>consentido</i>)	• <i>cornudo</i> (<i>consentido(r)</i>)	• <i>cornuto</i> • <i>cuclillo</i>	• <i>novillo</i> • <i>paciente</i>	• <i>sufrido</i> • <i>tragón</i>

Table 70: Expressions for PESTERING MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for PESTERING MAN				
• <i>cabrón</i> • <i>cabronazo</i> • <i>gavilán</i>	• <i>maltratador</i> • <i>mazacote</i> • <i>moscardón</i>	• <i>moscatel</i> • <i>moscón</i> • <i>mosquillón</i>	• <i>pulpo</i> • <i>rabero</i> • <i>tocón</i>	• <i>zamarro</i>

Table 71: Expressions for SHOWY AND VAIN MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for SHOWY AND VAIN MAN				
• <i>cajetilla</i> • <i>dondorondón</i> • <i>fantoche</i>	• <i>farfantón</i> • <i>fifi</i> • <i>gallo</i>	• <i>hampón</i> • <i>milhombres</i> • <i>narciso/ninfo</i>	• <i>pije</i> • <i>pisaverde</i> • <i>superhombre</i>	• <i>tipazo</i> • <i>tragahombres</i> • <i>virote</i>

Table 72: Expressions for TALL MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for TALL MAN				
• <i>fariseo</i> • <i>filisteo</i>	• <i>galavardo</i> • <i>gambalúa</i>	• <i>gansarón</i> • <i>grandullón</i>	• <i>real mozo</i> • <i>tagarote</i>	• <i>tipazo</i> • <i>zanguayo</i>

Table 73: Expressions for CUNNING MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for CUNNING MAN				
• <i>cachicán</i> • <i>culebrón</i> • <i>fistol</i> • <i>gato</i>	• <i>gazapo</i> • <i>guitarrón</i> • <i>maxmordón</i> • <i>nebulón</i>	• <i>pajarraco</i> • <i>pardal</i> • <i>peje</i> • <i>perro</i>	• <i>pollastro/pollo</i> • <i>raposo</i> • <i>rodaballo</i> • <i>sátrapa</i>	• <i>séneca</i> • <i>zascandil</i> • <i>zorro</i> • <i>zorzal</i>

Table 74: Expressions for STUPID MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for STUPID MAN				
•bato	•calvatrueno	•macho	•morral	•rocín
•bobatel	•capullo	•majagranzas	•moscatel	•zambombo
•bolo	•cateto	•mamacallos	•naranjo	•zanguayo
•bucéfalo	•cernícalo	•maxmordón	•panarra	•zarramplín
•cabestro	•ciruelo	•merluzo	•patán	•zorrocloco
•calavera	•jula(y)/julandrón	•modrego	•porro	

Homosexual man

As mentioned above, the subtypes HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 75) and EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 76) are conceptualized as incomplete (e.g. *medio así/hembra/hombre* ‘half like that/female/man’) and womanlike men (e.g. *madre* ‘mother’, *nena* ‘little girl’, *princesa* ‘princess’, *rein(on)a* ‘queen’), but also as confused (e.g. *equivocado* ‘mistaken’), strange (e.g. *raro* ‘strange’), crazy (e.g. *loca* ‘crazy’, *malvaloca* ‘crazy mauve’), and perverse individuals (e.g. *invertido* ‘inverted’). Similarly, the subtype HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH PASSIVE ROLE IN SEX (see Table 77) is associated with femininity (e.g. *madre* ‘mother’, *marica* from *María*, *hueco* ‘hole’) and the subtype HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH ACTIVE ROLE IN SEX (see Table 78) with masculinity (e.g. *padre* ‘father’, *ojalador* ‘buttonhole maker’).

Table 75: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
•achorongado	•camarón	•homófilo	•meco	•puto/putón
•adorador de la yucateca	•canca/canco	•hueco	•medio así/hembra	•queer
•afeminado	•canao	•invertido	•moña	•rana
•amable	•colibrí	•jet	•mono	•recogepelotas
•amariconado	•colipato	•joto	•ñaño	•reinona
•androtrópico	•comestacas	•jula(i/y/ndras/ndrón)	•napolitano	•rosa
•apajarado	•cuchillo	•lila/lilo	•nefand(ari)o	•rosquete
•arco iris	•culero/culón	•limaraza	•nenaza	•ruminé
•arroz quemado	•de la otra acera/	•lirio	•ojalador	•sarasa
•badea	•acera de enfrente	•loca/malva(loca)	•pájaro	•sodomita
•blando	•del mismo sexo/	•mamplora	•pajo	•tabla
•brisco	•otro bando	•mamporrero	•pajubique	•tamarindo
•bubia	•desviado	•mano quebrada	•palomo cojo	•tonino
•bufanda	•entendido	•maraco	•pederasta	•tortillero
•bufarrón/bugarrón	•equivocado	•marica/maricón/	•pera	•trabuco
•bujarra/rrón)	•faquir	•maricona(zo)/	•perico	•trastocado
•bujendi/bujendí	•fleto	•mariquita	•perverso	•trava
•bullaca	•flora	•marimba	•picañaona	•travieso
•cacorro	•gai/gay(o)/gáyer	•marinero	•pink	•trollo
•café con leche	•hermafrodito	•mariposón	•puñal	•uranista
	•homo(erótico/sex)	•marujo	•putiflor	•virado

Table 76: Expressions for EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• <i>acaponado</i>	• <i>cazoletero</i>	• <i>marichuchi</i>	• <i>nen(za)</i>	• <i>rein(on)a/queen</i>
• <i>adamado</i>	• <i>(de la) cáscara</i>	• <i>marimoña</i>	• <i>palomo</i>	• <i>róseo/rosillo</i>
• <i>afrancesado</i>	• <i>amarga</i>	• <i>mariol</i>	• <i>pargo/pargui</i>	• <i>rosita</i>
• <i>ahembrado</i>	• <i>de la piompa/serie</i>	• <i>marión</i>	• <i>parguela(s)</i>	• <i>sapia</i>
• <i>amadamado</i>	• <i>esteta</i>	• <i>(mari)marica/</i>	• <i>parguelón</i>	• <i>sarasa(te)</i>
• <i>amanerado</i>	• <i>fémimo/(chico/</i>	• <i>maricón/maricona/</i>	• <i>pato</i>	• <i>sartona</i>
• <i>amaric(on)ado</i>	• <i>hombre) femenino</i>	• <i>maricuela/mari-</i>	• <i>petarda</i>	• <i>serie B</i>
• <i>amariposado</i>	• <i>filipichín</i>	• <i>quilla/mariquita</i>	• <i>pisaverde</i>	• <i>subiela</i>
• <i>amujerado</i>	• <i>hembrero</i>	• <i>mariposa/-o/-ón</i>	• <i>plátano</i>	• <i>vaciola</i>
• <i>apio</i>	• <i>jibi(on)a</i>	• <i>maromo</i>	• <i>pluma</i>	• <i>vagoneta</i>
• <i>barbi(e)/lindo/lucio</i>	• <i>llorica</i>	• <i>marusa/maruso</i>	• <i>plum(if)ero</i>	• <i>vena</i>
• <i>blancanieves</i>	• <i>loca(za)</i>	• <i>medio hombre</i>	• <i>princesa</i>	• <i>verdonga</i>
• <i>camp</i>	• <i>madre</i>	• <i>mondragón</i>	• <i>principona</i>	• <i>volteado/voltio</i>
• <i>canario flauta</i>	• <i>manflor(it)a</i>	• <i>mondri(gueta)</i>	• <i>rar(it)o</i>	• <i>za(ra)pe/zapirón</i>

Table 77: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH PASSIVE ROLE IN SEX as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH PASSIVE ROLE IN SEX			
• <i>bardaja/</i> • <i>bardaje</i>	• <i>hueca/hueco/</i> • <i>huecona</i>	• <i>madre</i> • <i>mari(ca)</i>	• <i>muerdealmohadas/</i> • <i>comealmohadas</i>

Table 78: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH ACTIVE ROLE IN SEX as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH ACTIVE ROLE IN SEX				
• <i>activo</i>	• <i>clavadista</i>	• <i>erasta/erastés</i>	• <i>muerdeorejas</i>	• <i>top</i>
• <i>agente</i>	• <i>dante</i>	• <i>espalda</i>	• <i>ojalador</i>	
• <i>bujarrón</i>	• <i>enculador/</i>	• <i>haciente</i>	• <i>padre</i>	
• <i>bulador</i>	• <i>(por)culeador</i>	• <i>jula(ndra)</i>	• <i>soplanucas</i>	

Table 79: Expressions for MANLY HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for MANLY HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• <i>chiva</i>	• <i>heterogay</i>	• <i>macha</i>	• <i>maricallo</i>	• <i>mariconzón</i>
• <i>galletero</i>	• <i>gay(-)(h)etero</i>	• <i>machirulo</i>	• <i>maricón</i>	• <i>pluma cero</i>

Overall, the dictionary search results for male subtypes reveal that the MAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor is much more prevalent across a variety of subtypes of men than the altogether six animal terms which were identified in 3.2.1 (*perro* ‘dog’, *toro* ‘bull’, *novillo* ‘steer’, *gallo* ‘rooster’, *cabrón* ‘billy goat’, *lagarto* ‘lizard’) would suggest. Thus, the dictionary search showed that there were multiple animal terms referring to the male subtypes MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 62), UNATTRACTIVE MAN (see table 64), PROMISCUOUS MAN AND WOMANIZER (see Table 65), MAN WHOSE WIFE IS UNFAITHFUL (see Table 69), PESTERING MAN (see Table 70), and CUNNING MAN (see Table 73), for example. Furthermore, when it comes to male homosexual subtypes, the dictionary search indeed yielded several expressions of the metaphor HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FLOWER (see 3.2.4). However, there was no congruence between the

expressions listed in 3.2.4 (compounds of *María* and *flor* ‘flower’: *mariflor*, *mariflora*, *marifloro*) and those found in the dictionaries (e.g. *flora*, *putiflor*, *manflora*, *manflorita*).

5.1.1.3 Sexualized body parts

Female

The Spanish dictionary search revealed several conceptualizations of the female body part VAGINA (see Table 80). They include the following metaphors.

Table 80: Expressions for VAGINA as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for VAGINA				
• <i>abertura (del sexo/golosa)</i>	• <i>cepillo</i>	• <i>dulce gruta</i>	• <i>mochelo</i>	• <i>pilón</i>
• <i>agujero</i>	• <i>charco</i>	• <i>etcétera</i>	• <i>mono</i>	• <i>pimiento</i>
• <i>ajo</i>	• <i>chichi/chicho</i>	• <i>fafarique</i>	• <i>moño</i>	• <i>pipa</i>
• <i>albaricoque</i>	• <i>chipichí</i>	• <i>fandango</i>	• <i>monte de Venus</i>	• <i>pipe</i>
• <i>albérchigo</i>	• <i>chiribiqui</i>	• <i>fany</i>	• <i>montera</i>	• <i>potorro</i>
• <i>alcachofa</i>	• <i>chirimbolo</i>	• <i>funda</i>	• <i>morrión</i>	• <i>pozo</i>
• <i>alcancía</i>	• <i>chirla</i>	• <i>garaje</i>	• <i>morrongo</i>	• <i>puñalada</i>
• <i>alcantarilla</i>	• <i>chirri</i>	• <i>gatito/gatera</i>	• <i>murciélago</i>	• <i>quiquiricuando</i>
• <i>almeja</i>	• <i>chisme</i>	• <i>gazapera</i>	• <i>naturaleza</i>	• <i>raja/rajica/rajita</i>
• <i>altramuz</i>	• <i>chocho/chocha/chochá/chochito</i>	• <i>golondrina</i>	• <i>negro/negrete</i>	• <i>ratón/ratonera</i>
• <i>amapola</i>	• <i>chocolatera</i>	• <i>gorra de torero</i>	• <i>nido</i>	• <i>rendija</i>
• <i>antro de Satanás</i>	• <i>chona</i>	• <i>gorrión</i>	• <i>níspero</i>	• <i>reverendo</i>
• <i>aparato</i>	• <i>chucha</i>	• <i>grieta</i>	• <i>ñoca</i>	• <i>roscó</i>
• <i>arope</i>	• <i>chumino/chomi(no)</i>	• <i>guajerro</i>	• <i>órgano (sexual/reproductor)</i>	• <i>rubio</i>
• <i>asunto</i>	• <i>chupajornales/chupapieras</i>	• <i>guardapolvos</i>	• <i>orificio</i>	• <i>ruleta</i>
• <i>bacalao/bacalá/bacalada</i>	• <i>cimbel</i>	• <i>guirre</i>	• <i>ostra</i>	• <i>sacaleches</i>
• <i>bandurria</i>	• <i>clica</i>	• <i>hazanacue(n)co</i>	• <i>pájaro</i>	• <i>sartén</i>
• <i>barba</i>	• <i>coello</i>	• <i>higo/figa/jigo</i>	• <i>paloma</i>	• <i>seda</i>
• <i>beo</i>	• <i>concha</i>	• <i>horno</i>	• <i>panocha</i>	• <i>seta</i>
• <i>bigote</i>	• <i>coñe(it)o</i>	• <i>hoy(it)o</i>	• <i>papagayo</i>	• <i>sexo femenino</i>
• <i>boca sin dientes</i>	• <i>coñ(az)o/coñada/coñamen/coñete/coñi</i>	• <i>hucha</i>	• <i>paparrús</i>	• <i>sonrisa vertical</i>
• <i>bollo/bollería</i>	• <i>cotorrón</i>	• <i>huroner</i>	• <i>papaya</i>	• <i>taller</i>
• <i>bombilla</i>	• <i>cresta</i>	• <i>jeta</i>	• <i>papo(te)</i>	• <i>tete</i>
• <i>breva</i>	• <i>críca</i>	• <i>jisca</i>	• <i>parachoque</i>	• <i>tintero</i>
• <i>burraco</i>	• <i>cuca</i>	• <i>jojoy</i>	• <i>parlús/parrús/perrús</i>	• <i>tonto</i>
• <i>buzón</i>	• <i>cuchara</i>	• <i>lo de abajo</i>	• <i>pasa</i>	• <i>tostá</i>
• <i>cachucha</i>	• <i>cuervo</i>	• <i>machango</i>	• <i>patata</i>	• <i>toto/totó/totete</i>
• <i>cajeta</i>	• <i>cuestión</i>	• <i>manguito</i>	• <i>pato(nino)</i>	• <i>totus tuus</i>
• <i>calandria</i>	• <i>cueva</i>	• <i>marisco</i>	• <i>peladilla</i>	• <i>triángulo de las Bermudas</i>
• <i>canario</i>	• <i>cuío</i>	• <i>mejillón</i>	• <i>pepe/pepito/pepo/pepón</i>	• <i>verigüé</i>
• <i>caramelito</i>	• <i>cul-de-sac</i>	• <i>melocotón</i>	• <i>perejil</i>	• <i>yoni</i>
• <i>casquillo</i>	• <i>dedil</i>	• <i>meo</i>	• <i>petaca</i>	• <i>zorongo</i>
• <i>castaña</i>		• <i>merengue</i>		• <i>zorro</i>
		• <i>miche</i>		• <i>zurumbela</i>
		• <i>minoni</i>		

- (a) VAGINA IS A WORTHLESS RECEPTACLE FOR THE VALUABLE PENIS: e.g. *hucha* ‘money box’, *garaje* ‘garage’, *tintero* ‘ink pot’, *petaca* ‘flask, case’, *guardapolvos* ‘dust cover, dustcoat’
- (b) VAGINA IS A SAFE PLACE FOR THE PENIS TO HIDE: e.g. *dulce gruta* ‘sweet grotto’, *cueva* ‘cave’, *nido* ‘nest’, *dedil* ‘fingerstall’, *garaje* ‘garage’
- (c) VAGINA IS A DANGEROUS PLACE: e.g. *antro de Satanás* ‘Satan’s den’, *triángulo de las Bermudas* ‘Bermuda triangle’
- (d) VAGINA IS A WOUND: e.g. *puñalada* ‘stab wound’, *raja/rajica/rajita* ‘slit’
- (e) VAGINA IS A FRUIT¹² (see 3.2.2.2): e.g. *albaricoque* ‘apricot’, *albérchigo* ‘apricot’, *melocotón* ‘peach’, *higo* ‘fig’, *figa* ‘fig’, *breva* ‘early fig’, *papaya* ‘papaya’, *pepe* ‘bad melon’
- (f) VAGINA IS SWEET FOOD (see 3.2.2.1): e.g. *caramelito* ‘caramel’, *dulce gruta* ‘sweet grotto’, *abertura golosa* ‘sweet opening’, *merengue* ‘meringue’, *peladilla* ‘sugared almond’
- (g) VAGINA IS A BAKED ITEM: e.g. *bollo* ‘bun’, *rosco* ‘doughnut’, *boltería* ‘pastries, bakery’, *tostá* ‘toast’
- (h) VAGINA IS SEAFOOD (see 3.2.1): e.g. *bacalao* ‘cod’, *almeja* ‘clam’, *chirla* ‘baby clam’, *mejillón* ‘mussel’, *concha* ‘mussel’, *ostra* ‘oyster’, *clica* ‘heart cockle’, *marisco* ‘seafood’
- (i) VAGINA IS A SMALL FURRY ANIMAL (see 3.2.1): e.g. *conejo* ‘rabbit’, *conejito* ‘bunny’, *coello* ‘rabbit’, *gatito* ‘kitten’, *morrongo* ‘pussycat’, *ratón* ‘mouse’, *zorro* ‘fox’
- (j) VAGINA IS A BIRD: e.g. *pájaro* ‘bird’, *calandria* ‘lark’, *canario* ‘canary’, *cuervo* ‘crow’, *golondrina* ‘swallow’, *gorrión* ‘sparrow’, *guirre* ‘Egyptian vulture’, *papagayo* ‘parrot’, *pato* ‘duck’

Table 81: Expressions for BREASTS as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for BREASTS				
• <i>achucháis</i>	• <i>cacharras</i>	• <i>lolas</i>	• <i>pechera</i>	• <i>semáforos</i>
• <i>aldabas</i>	• <i>camellas</i>	• <i>mamas</i>	• <i>pechines</i>	• <i>restaurante (de los niños)</i>
• <i>amígdalas</i>	• <i>castañas</i>	• <i>mamadera</i>	• <i>pechugas</i>	• <i>senos</i>
• <i>anginas</i>	• <i>catalinas</i>	• <i>ma(r)mellas/</i>	• <i>peras</i>	• <i>telefónicas</i>
• <i>aparador</i>	• <i>chichis/chiches</i>	<i>mamelles</i>	• <i>periscopios</i>	• <i>teres(it)as</i>
• <i>atributos</i>	• <i>chirimoyas</i>	• <i>manflas</i>	• <i>petulias</i>	• <i>tet(ill)as (de novicia)</i>
• <i>balcón (con gente dentro)/balconada</i>	• <i>chuchai(ler)s</i>	• <i>margaritas</i>	• <i>pimientos asados</i>	• <i>tetamen</i>
• <i>bolas/bolamen</i>	• <i>domingas</i>	• <i>naranjas</i>	• <i>plumas</i>	• <i>téticas/tetos</i>
• <i>brevas</i>	• <i>escaparate</i>	• <i>opulencias corporales</i>	• <i>poitrine</i>	• <i>ubres</i>
• <i>bubis</i>	• <i>gandumbas</i>	• <i>orejas</i>	• <i>protuberancias</i>	• <i>vanguardia</i>
• <i>busto</i>	• <i>ganglios</i>	• <i>parachoques</i>	• <i>pulmones</i>	• <i>zumbas</i>
	• <i>limones</i>		• <i>relieves torácicos</i>	

¹² The conceptualization of the vagina in terms of fruits (and vegetables) is at the core of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”).

Table 82: Expressions for LARGE BREASTS as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for LARGE BREASTS				
• <i>botijos</i>	• <i>fachada</i>	• <i>pechamen</i>	• <i>pitones</i>	• <i>tetazas</i>
• <i>delantera</i>	• <i>melones/sandías</i>	• <i>pechera</i>	• <i>serones</i>	• <i>tetorras</i>
• <i>espetera</i>	• <i>mostrador</i>	• <i>pechonalidad</i>	• <i>tetamen</i>	• <i>tetuda</i>

When it comes to the conceptualizations of the female body parts BREASTS (see Table 81) and LARGE BREASTS (see Table 82), the source domain FRUITS AND VEGETABLES (see 3.2.2.2) appears productive: *brevas* ‘early figs’, *chirimoyas* ‘cherimoyas’, *limones* ‘lemons’, *naranjas* ‘oranges’, *peras* ‘pears’, *melones* ‘melons’, *sandías* ‘watermelons’, *pimientos asados* ‘roasted peppers’. Interestingly, the only vegetable (*pimientos asados* ‘roasted peppers’) refers to saggy breasts, hinting at a loss of fullness and thus youthfulness. The conceptualization of the breasts as fruits and vegetables is at the core of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”). Other expressions in Table 81 hint at the female breast’s biological function of lactation: *ubres* ‘udders’, *cacharras* ‘milk cans’, *mamadera* ‘baby bottle’, *restaurante (de los niños)* ‘(childrens’) restaurant’, and *botijos* ‘jugs’.

Male

When looking at the many expressions found in the dictionaries referring to the male body part PENIS (see Table 83) and the more specific LARGE AND ERECT PENIS (see Table 84), the number of concepts belonging to the source domain WEAPON is striking (see 3.2.3 for the SEX IS WAR metaphor). Among these expressions are *arma* ‘weapon’, *cachiporra* ‘club’, *escopeta* ‘shotgun’, *espada* ‘sword’, *fusil* ‘rifle’, *lanza* ‘spear’, *lanzallamas* ‘flamethrower’, *mandoble* ‘large sword’, *tranca* ‘club’, *estoque* ‘rapier’, *dardo* ‘spear’, *macana* ‘truncheon’, *porra* ‘club’, and *pica* ‘lance’. Other PENIS metaphors include:

- (a) PENIS IS MEAT (see 3.2.2.3): e.g. *chorizo* ‘chorizo’, *longaniza* ‘hard cured sausage’, *morcilla* ‘blood sausage’, *tasajo* ‘jerky’
- (b) PENIS IS A FRUIT/VEGETABLE¹³ (see 3.2.2.2): e.g. *plátano* ‘banana’, *berenjena* ‘aubergine’, *calabacín* ‘courgette’, *espárrago* ‘asparagus’, *nabo* ‘turnip’
- (c) PENIS IS AN ANIMAL (see 3.2.1): e.g. *delfín* ‘dolphin’, *lagarto* ‘lizard’, *gusano* ‘worm’, *polla* ‘pullet’, *serpiente diabólica* ‘diabolical snake’
- (d) PENIS IS AN ITEM WHICH IS PUT IN THE MOUTH (in reference to oral intercourse): e.g. *chupete* ‘pacifier’, *pito* ‘whistle’, *flauta* ‘flute’, *saxo* ‘sax’, *pirulí* ‘lollipop’, *pitillo* ‘cigarette’, *puro* ‘cigar’

¹³ The conceptualization of the penis in terms of fruits and vegetables is at the core of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”).

Table 83: Expressions for *PENIS* as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for <i>PENIS</i>				
• <i>acero</i>	• <i>chile</i>	• <i>gusan(ill/it)o</i>	• <i>nabo</i>	• <i>poronga</i>
• <i>aguijón</i>	• <i>chinguilindango</i>	• <i>haba</i>	• <i>nardo</i>	• <i>porr(et)a</i>
• <i>almocafre</i>	• <i>chisme</i>	• <i>hierro</i>	• <i>negra</i>	• <i>poste de</i>
• <i>anchoa</i>	• <i>chola</i>	• <i>hombría</i>	• <i>negrete</i>	• <i>telégrafo</i>
• <i>anguila</i>	• <i>chopo</i>	• <i>hurón</i>	• <i>ñoro</i>	• <i>potra</i>
• <i>aparato (de</i>	• <i>chorizo</i>	• <i>inferior</i>	• <i>organillo</i>	• <i>príapo</i>
• <i>mear/follador)</i>	• <i>chorr(it)a</i>	• <i>instrumento</i>	• <i>órgano (sexual/</i>	• <i>pudendo</i>
• <i>aparejo</i>	• <i>choto</i>	• <i>jeringa</i>	• <i>reproductor)</i>	• <i>puro</i>
• <i>arma</i>	• <i>chupete</i>	• <i>joy-stick</i>	• <i>pájaro/pajarico/</i>	• <i>quil(ate/é/ó)</i>
• <i>artillería</i>	• <i>churro/churra</i>	• <i>juanito</i>	• <i>pajarita/pajarito</i>	• <i>rabo/raba</i>
• <i>as de bastos/</i>	• <i>chuzo</i>	• <i>kil(ate)</i>	• <i>pal(it)o/palitraque</i>	• <i>raspa</i>
• <i>espadas</i>	• <i>cigarrín</i>	• <i>la</i>	• <i>paloma</i>	• <i>reata</i>
• <i>asunto</i>	• <i>cilindro/c(h)ilindrín</i>	• <i>lagarto</i>	• <i>palustre</i>	• <i>ripio</i>
• <i>báculo</i>	• <i>cimbel</i>	• <i>lanza(llamas)</i>	• <i>paquete</i>	• <i>sable</i>
• <i>badajo</i>	• <i>cimborrio</i>	• <i>lapicero/lápiz</i>	• <i>pava</i>	• <i>salchicha/</i>
• <i>banote</i>	• <i>cingamocho</i>	• <i>largo</i>	• <i>péndulo</i>	• <i>salchichón</i>
• <i>bartolillo</i>	• <i>cipo(te)</i>	• <i>látigo</i>	• <i>pepino</i>	• <i>sardin(et)a</i>
• <i>bastón (de</i>	• <i>ciri(o) (pascual)</i>	• <i>linga(m)</i>	• <i>pera</i>	• <i>saxo</i>
• <i>mando)</i>	• <i>ciruelo</i>	• <i>(lo de) abajo</i>	• <i>perejil</i>	• <i>señor</i>
• <i>berenjena</i>	• <i>clavo</i>	• <i>longaniza</i>	• <i>pértiga</i>	• <i>serpiente</i>
• <i>berraco</i>	• <i>cock</i>	• <i>lucero del alba</i>	• <i>pescad(ill)a</i>	• <i>diabólica</i>
• <i>biberón</i>	• <i>col(et/ill/it)a</i>	• <i>macana</i>	• <i>peto</i>	• <i>sinpecado</i>
• <i>(hinchable)</i>	• <i>colgajo</i>	• <i>macuto</i>	• <i>pica</i>	• <i>socio</i>
• <i>bicha/bichillo</i>	• <i>cosaco</i>	• <i>magué</i>	• <i>picha/pichón</i>	• <i>soplillo</i>
• <i>bigote</i>	• <i>cotorra</i>	• <i>manda(d)o</i>	• <i>pichula</i>	• <i>surtidor</i>
• <i>bite</i>	• <i>croqueta</i>	• <i>mandanga</i>	• <i>pico</i>	• <i>taco</i>
• <i>bolígrafo</i>	• <i>cuca</i>	• <i>mandarria</i>	• <i>picota</i>	• <i>taladro</i>
• <i>boniato</i>	• <i>cuestión</i>	• <i>mandoble</i>	• <i>pija/pijo(te)</i>	• <i>talla</i>
• <i>braguetamen</i>	• <i>dardo</i>	• <i>mango</i>	• <i>pilil(l)a</i>	• <i>tallo</i>
• <i>brocha</i>	• <i>dedo sin uña</i>	• <i>manguera</i>	• <i>pilinga</i>	• <i>tasajo</i>
• <i>bulto</i>	• <i>delfín</i>	• <i>manubrio</i>	• <i>píncel(in)</i>	• <i>titola</i>
• <i>butifarra</i>	• <i>(el) sin orejas</i>	• <i>máquina</i>	• <i>pincho</i>	• <i>todobueno</i>
• <i>cacharrería</i>	• <i>equipamiento</i>	• <i>mástil (de la</i>	• <i>pinga</i>	• <i>todopoderoso</i>
• <i>cacharr(ic)o</i>	• <i>escombro</i>	• <i>virilidad)</i>	• <i>pino</i>	• <i>toledano</i>
• <i>cachiporra</i>	• <i>escopeta</i>	• <i>material</i>	• <i>pipí</i>	• <i>tolete</i>
• <i>cacho</i>	• <i>espada</i>	• <i>mechero</i>	• <i>pirindola/pirindolo</i>	• <i>tontona</i>
• <i>caliche</i>	• <i>espaguete</i>	• <i>mejor amigo</i>	• <i>piringulo</i>	• <i>trabuco</i>
• <i>caliqueño</i>	• <i>espárrago</i>	• <i>menudillo</i>	• <i>pirola</i>	• <i>tranca</i>
• <i>calvo</i>	• <i>estaca</i>	• <i>miembro (viril/</i>	• <i>pirula/pirulo</i>	• <i>trasto</i>
• <i>calzo</i>	• <i>estilográfica</i>	• <i>masculino)/</i>	• <i>pirulí</i>	• <i>troncho</i>
• <i>campana</i>	• <i>estoque</i>	• <i>miembrito</i>	• <i>pit(ill)o/pita/pitilín/</i>	• <i>tronco/tronca</i>
• <i>caña</i>	• <i>etcétera</i>	• <i>(mi) hijo predilecto</i>	• <i>pitolina/pitilina</i>	• <i>tubo del amor</i>
• <i>canario (flauta)</i>	• <i>falo</i>	• <i>mimbre</i>	• <i>pitorro</i>	• <i>vara (de alcalde)</i>
• <i>candela</i>	• <i>filibustero</i>	• <i>minga/mingo</i>	• <i>pizarrín</i>	• <i>vela</i>
• <i>canoa</i>	• <i>flauta (de jade)</i>	• <i>minina</i>	• <i>plátano/platanazo/</i>	• <i>verga(jo)</i>
• <i>canuto</i>	• <i>flor de un día</i>	• <i>mondongo</i>	• <i>platanito/banana</i>	• <i>veta</i>
• <i>capullo</i>	• <i>fusil</i>	• <i>morcilla</i>	• <i>plomada</i>	• <i>violín</i>
• <i>carajo/caraja</i>	• <i>gallarda</i>	• <i>morrunga</i>	• <i>pluma</i>	• <i>zambomba</i>
• <i>cebolleta</i>	• <i>gallo</i>	• <i>músculo del amor</i>	• <i>poderosa</i>	• <i>zanahoria</i>
• <i>cetro</i>	• <i>garompa</i>	• <i>muñeco/</i>	• <i>polla/pollón/</i>	• <i>zupo</i>
• <i>chiflo</i>	• <i>gurrina</i>	• <i>muñequito</i>	• <i>polluelo</i>	• <i>zurriago</i>

Table 84: Expressions for LARGE AND ERECT PENIS as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for LARGE AND ERECT PENIS				
•acordeón	•diamante con	•morcillón/ morcillona	•pistolón	•tranco
•calabacín	brillo/imperial (con brillo)	•periscopio	•rabilargo	
•pichagorda			•rabudo	

Table 85: Expressions for SMALL PENIS as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for SMALL PENIS				
•chivín	•herman(it)o pequeño	•micropene	•rubicorto	•rabón
•cilindrín		•piturrín	•rabito	•tubillo

Lastly, frequently found TESTICLES metaphors (see Table 86) among the results from the dictionary search include the following:

- (a) TESTICLES ARE FRUITS/VEGETABLES ¹⁴ (see 3.2.2.2): e.g. *melocotones* ‘peaches’, *mandarines* ‘mandarines’, *aceitunas* ‘olives’, *alcaparras* ‘capers’, *castañas* ‘chestnuts’
- (b) TESTICLES ARE ROUND PLAYTHINGS: e.g. *bolas* ‘balls’, *canicas* ‘marbles’, *bolindres* ‘marbles’, *pelotas* ‘balls’, *bolos* ‘bowling pins’, *castañuelas* ‘castanets’
- (c) TESTICLES ARE EGGS: e.g. *huevos* ‘eggs’ and the derivatives *huevada*, *huevines*, *huevamen*, *güevos*

Table 86: Expressions for TESTICLES as found in the Spanish dictionaries.

Expressions for TESTICLES				
•aberrinchos	•borlas	•coyoles	•los (dos)	•péndolas
•aceitunas	•botones	•criadillas	•mandarines	•peras
•agallas	•buñuelos	•etcétera	•melocotones	•pirindolas
•albaidas/albairas	•castañas	•gandumbas	•menudillos	•quiñones
•albaricoques	•castañuelas	•ganglios	•natura	•redaños
•alcaparras	•cataplines	•garbanzos	•nitos	•reverendos
•anglés	•chinchulines	•gemelos	•nueces	•riles
•atributos	•cojones/cojines/ cojonamen/ cojonera	•güitos	•olivas	•talega
•bemoles		•huevos/huevada/ huevamen/ huevatis/güevas/ huever(í)a/ huevines/güevos	•pajaritas	•tanates
•blanquillos	•colgajo		•paquete/paquetazo/ paquetamen	•testiculamen
•bolas/bolamen	•colgante		•pareja	•testiculario
•bolindres/canicas	•compañones		•pelés	•testigos
•bolos	•congojos	•lo de abajo	•pelotas/pelotamen	•tomates
•bombones				•turmas

While both female and male sexualized body parts seem to be conceptualized frequently as fruits and vegetables, as revealed in previous research (see Table 38 in 3.2.2.2) and the dictionary search, the latter found only some of the conceptualizations listed in Table 38: Of the seven fruit and vegetable expressions for VAGINA, three were not found in the dictionaries (*tomate* ‘tomato’, *pepa* ‘seed’, *pepitilla*

¹⁴ The conceptualization of the testicles as fruits and vegetables is at the core of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”).

'small seed'), and of the twelve fruit and vegetable terms for BREASTS, seven did not appear in the dictionaries (*manzanas* 'apples', *melocotones* 'peaches', *albaricoques* 'apricots', *uvas* 'grapes', *cocos* 'coconuts', *berzas* 'cabbages', *berenjenas* 'aubergines'). Turning to the male body parts, two (*seta* 'mushroom', *champiñón* 'mushroom') of the seven fruit and vegetable expressions for PENIS did not feature in the dictionaries, while eight (*guisantes* 'peas', *aguacates* 'avocados', *bellotas* 'acorns', *avellanas* 'hazelnuts', *almendras* 'almonds', *cacahuetes* 'peanuts', *pasas* 'raisins', *cerezas* 'cherries') out of twelve terms for TESTICLES were not found in the dictionaries. However, several fruit and vegetable terms which do not feature in Table 38 were discovered in the dictionaries consulted, e.g. *breva* 'early fig' and *níspero* 'medlar' for VAGINA, *brevas* 'early figs' and *chirimoyas* 'cherimoyas' for BREASTS, *berenjena* 'aubergine' and *calabacín* 'courgette' for PENIS, and *alcaparras* 'capers' and *mandarines* 'mandarins' for TESTICLES.

5.1.2 English

After having presented the results of the Spanish dictionary search, this section deals with the English expressions for different types of women (5.1.2.1) and men (5.1.2.2) as well as female and male sexualized body parts (5.1.2.3) which were found in the English dictionary search (see 4.1).

5.1.2.1 Woman

The conceptualizations of the global stereotype WOMAN (see Table 87) range from women's clothing (*a little bit of skirt, apron, blouse*), to female names (*Betty Coed, Doris, Jane, Judy, Miss Ann*), to certain animals (*bird, chick, doe, mare*), to vagina references (*box, hole, crotch, puss*), which prototypically stand for the overarching category of WOMAN.

The expressions found in the dictionaries referring to the subtype WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 88) reveal a pattern of conceptualizations of violence and danger (*battleaxe, ball-breaker, ball-buster, dragon (lady), hell-cat, thundercunt, wicked witch*) and animals (*bitch, cat, bidd(y), bushpig, (old) bat/cow/trout*). The last example, making reference to age, relates the subtype WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY to the subtype OLD WOMAN (see Table 89). Furthermore, other conceptualizations (e.g. *trout, bushpig, battleaxe, ball-breaker*) also appear in the subtypes UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN (see Table 90) and STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE WOMAN (see Table 91). This analogy between negative personality, unattractiveness, and old age has also been detected in the Spanish conceptualizations of these subtypes (see 5.1.1.1).

The subtype UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN is additionally conceptualized as a woman whose face needs to be covered during sex (e.g. *double-bagger, paperbag case*) and as a prototypically unsightly animal (e.g. *bat, maggot, moose, roach, beast*). Furthermore, when it comes to the subtype STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE WOMAN, the conceptualizations reveal an image of female dominance and destruction of

men: *ball-breaker, ball-buster, nutcracker, hose monster, SWAMBO* (vocalized initialism for ‘She Who Must Be Obeyed’).

Table 87: Expressions for WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for WOMAN				
• ankle	• doe	• herself	• mum	• smooth leg
• apron	• don(n)a(h)/doner	• hetgirl	• nug	• sort
• ball and chain	• Doris	• ho/hoe	• number	• split (-arse/-tail/ -whisker)
• best girl	• dough-roller	• hole	• old boot/girl/lady/ woman/OW	• squack
• Betty Coed	• doxy/doxie	• homegirl	• pash	• square bitch/Jane/ woman
• bibby	• duchess	• Jane (Q.)/jane	• pol(l)one(e)/polony	• squarie/squarey
• biddy	• eau-de-cologne	• Judy/judy	• postage stamp	• SWAMBO/swambo
• bim	• faggot	• kitty	• potato (peeler)	• tart
• bird	• female unit	• (little) bit of fluff/ goods/muslin/ mutton/skirt/stuff	• puss(y posse)	• tit
• bitch	• femme	• little woman	• quail	• tom/Tom
• blouse	• fish	• main squeeze	• Quasar	• tootsy(-wootsy)/ tootsie(-wootsie)
• boo-boo	• flooze	• mam(m)a/ mammy	• rakli	• trim
• box	• frail	• mare	• (red-hot) momma	• tuna
• bride	• gal (pal)	• mini	• Richard/richard	• twat
• broad(ie/ski)	• gash	• mink	• salt	• wifey/wifie
• chapess	• ginch	• Miss(y) Ann	• scupper	• wimp
• Charley Wheeler/ Charlie/charlie	• girly-girl	• missis/missus	• shipooopi	• wren
• chick(y/en)	• grrl	• mole	• (silly) moo	• wuzzy
• cooney	• hat	• mort/mot/mott	• sizzle	• YL
• crotch	• heifer			
• dame	• hen			
	• her/'er indoors			

Table 88: Expressions for WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for WOMAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY				
• ball-breaker/-buster	• chach	• ho-bitch	• (old) trout/cow/ witch	• udder
• battleaxe	• covered wagon	• Lady Muck	• ruck (and row)	• upslice
• bid(dy)	• drack/drac	• mare	• skank	• wagon
• bitch (on wheels)	• dragon (lady)	• moo	• slag-/minge bag	• wallflower
• bizzo	• frippet	• nice Nellie	• sleezer	• wicked witch
• bunny boiler	• haybag	• nothing-ass bitch	• thundercunt	• yenta/yente
• bushpig/bushie	• (hell-)cat	• old bat		• Zelda

Table 89: Expressions for OLD WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for OLD WOMAN				
• basket	• blue hair	• granny	• (old) bag/boiler/ crow/trout	• tab
• battle (cruiser)	• chook(ie)/chuckie	• grimmy	• old bat/bird/lady/ cow/dear/girl	• wifey/wifie
• battleax(e)	• cougar	• little old lady in tennis shoes	• skate	• winter blossoms
• Betty	• crowie	• Mother Bunch		
• bid(dy)	• gilf			

Table 90: Expressions for UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN				
• (old) bag/boiler/ boot/crow	• covered wagon	• gronk	• paperbag case	• skank
• bat	• cow	• haybag	• pig (in knickers)	• skate
• battle(ax/axe)	• dog	• horror	• plain Jane	• skunk
• bear	• double-bagger	• hound	• rag-bag	• slag
• beast	• drac(k)	• maggot	• rat head	• sleezer
• Beatrix (Potter)	• dragon	• MIWFWYD	• rip	• snatch 22
• biffer	• flash trash	• monster	• ripper	• swamp-donkey
• bushpig/bushie	• frone	• moose	• roach	• tank
• butter-face	• fugly	• mum	• scag/skag	• trout
	• grenade	• (old) witch	• scrubber	

Table 91: Expressions for STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE WOMAN				
• Amazon	• battleaxe/-ship	• her/'er indoors	• nice Nellie	• slayer
• ball(-)breaker	• head bitch in	• hose monster	• nutcracker	• SWAMBO/ swambo
• ball-buster	charge/HBIC	• mussie	• Rambette	

On the other hand, the subtypes ATTRACTIVE WOMAN (see Table 92), WOMAN AS A SEX OBJECT (see Table 93), YOUNG WOMAN (see Table 94), and in part PROMISCUOUS WOMAN (see Table 95) are conceptualized in similar ways, indicating a close overlap between them. They include:

- (a) WOMAN IS SWEET (see 3.2.2.1): e.g. *(cheese)cake, cookie, biscuit, tart, a bit of crumpet, honey, lollipop, sweet thing*
- (b) WOMAN IS TASTY (3.2.2): *yummy (mummy), filet, wolf bait, jail-bait, dish*
- (c) WOMAN IS ONE OF MANY IDENTICAL UNITS: e.g. *slice, sort, a (little) bit of ..., a piece of ...*
- (d) WOMAN IS HIGH TEMPERATURE: e.g. *scorcher, hot funky/taco/tamale/pants, wood burner, barbecue, red hot mamma*
- (e) WOMAN IS HER SEXUALIZED BODY PART: e.g. *cunt, fanny, ass, booty, butter legs, dirty leg, piece of skin/flesh*
- (f) WOMAN IS A BIRD (especially for YOUNG WOMAN) (see 3.2.1): e.g. *bird, chick, pigeon, quail, partridge, wren, poule, coot, dolly bird, chickey-babe*
- (g) WOMAN IS (A SMALL) FURRY (ANIMAL) (see 3.2.1): e.g. *beaver, fox, foxtress, pussycat, sex kitten, tabby, alley cat, bunny, (bit of) fluff, muff, pelt*

Additional conceptualizations of the subtype PROMISCUOUS WOMAN portray her as something to mount (*bicycle, (village/town/office) bike, moped, pony*), as a prostitute (*whore, whore-dog, ho, puta*), as dirty (*dirty leg, pig, alley cat, gutter slut*), and as a container for the penis/sperm (*bag, case, hosebag, rag-bag, cum dumpster*).

Table 92: Expressions for ATTRACTIVE WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for ATTRACTIVE WOMAN				
• a (little) bit of all right	• cockteaser	• fox(tress)	• orchid	• stallion
• a bit of crackling	• cookie	• glamazon	• package	• stoater
• Amazon	• cottontail	• glamour	• partridge	• stunner
• armpiece	• cracker	• golden girl	• peach	• sug
• babe	• creamie	• (good) sort	• Penelope	• sweet patootie/thing
• barbecue	• cutie(-pie)/cutey	• hammer	• piece of skin/flesh	• tabby
• Barbie (Doll)	• daisy	• honey dip	• pigeon	• table pussy
• beastie	• dish	• honey/hunny	• popsy/popsie	• tease
• beaver	• doll	• hot funky/tamale/patootie/taco/tot	• posh totty	• ten
• Betty	• dolly (bird/-bird)	• hotsty(-totsy)	• pussycat/pussy cat	• thrush
• bimbo/bimbette	• doss	• (Kansas) yummy	• queen	• tid-bit
• body by Fisher	• drop	• knee-trembler	• red hot mamma	• tomato
• bombshell	• dumb blonde	• line	• ripper	• tsatske
• cake	• eleven	• local talent	• scorcher	• twilly
• cheese	• eyeful	• lollipop/lollypop	• seat cover	• VO
• cheesecake	• fat devil	• looker	• sex bomb/kitten	• whistlebait
• chicken dinner	• filet	• lovely	• sexpot	• wolf bait
• chick(e)y-babe	• fine thing	• mam(m)a/momma	• shorty	• wood burner
• chic(k)let	• fit fanny	• man-trap	• skinz	• zinger
• classy chassis	• fluff	• mostie	• smasher(oo)	
	• fly chick/girl		• spunkette	

Table 93: Expressions for WOMAN AS A SEX OBJECT as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for WOMAN AS A SEX OBJECT				
• Amazon	• cheesecake	• ginch	• peach	• shaft
• ass	• chic(k)let	• glamour	• peep	• skinz
• beaver	• cockteaser	• (good) sort	• pelt	• skirt
• belt	• coochie	• grind	• pie	• slampiece
• Big C	• coot	• grummet	• piece (of ass/tail/arse/butt/meat)	• slice
• bimbo	• crackling	• honey	• poke	• snatch
• bit/piece of ass/crumpet/home-work	• creamie	• hot funky/patootie	• poon(y/tang)/punani	• spunkette
• bit (of brush/tit/crackling/cunt/fluff/posh/skin/skirt/tail/tickle)	• cunt	• hump	• posh/top totty	• stuff
• booger	• cush	• knee-trembler	• pratt	• sucky/suckie
• booty	• dumb blonde	• lasher	• pull	• tail
• bundle	• fine thing	• lay	• pussy(cat)	• tid-bit
• bunny	• (fit) fanny	• lollipop/lollypop	• quiff	• tott(ie/y)/a bit of totty
• C	• fluff	• lunchmeat	• red hot mamma	• trim
• charver	• fly girl	• mam(m)a/momma	• root	• tsatske
	• fur(burger)	• man-trap	• scratch	• vamp
	• gash	• mostie	• screw	• where I'd like to park my bike
	• (gasp and) grunt	• muff	• sex bomb/sexpot	• yummy mummy
	• gilf	• muffin		
	• gin and Jaguar bird	• nookie/nooky		

The majority of the expressions referring to the subtype COLD AND FRIGID WOMAN (see Table 96) emphasize the perceived similarity between cold behaviour and low temperature (Kövecses, 2010, p. 21): *cold biscuit, fridge, frigidaire, ice princess/queen, iceberg*.

Table 94: Expressions for YOUNG WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for YOUNG WOMAN				
•babe	•cutie/cutey	•hammer	•palone/polone/ polony/poloni	•sort
•bag of snakes	•daisy	•jail-/wolf bait	•pigeon	•spunkette
•Betty	•doll	•jam tart	•polo mint	•squab
•bimbo/bimbette	•dolly (bird)	•jazzy	•popsy/popsie	•sweet thing
•bint	•fem(me)	•kiddles	•poule	•tabby
•bird	•filly	•kinderwhore	•pusher	•teeny-bopper
•bree	•fox	•ladette	•quail	•thrush
•breezy	•frippet	•lemon (curd)	•quiff	•tomato
•brush	•fuzzie	•lollipop/lollypop	•Richard (the Third)	•tott(y/ie)
•cake	•geezerbird/-chick	•loosie goosie	•ripper	•twist-and-twirl
•cheese	•girlie	•mama	•sex kitten	•weeny(-bopper)
•chick	•hoo(t)ch(ie/y) (mama)	•mystery	•Sharon/Shaz	•wren
•chick(e)y-babe	•hot tot/hotsy- totsy/hotsy	•one of the lads	•sheila(h)/she(e)lah	•youngie
•chic(k)let		•package	•snapper	
•chippy/chippie		•peach		

Table 95: Expressions for PROMISCUOUS WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for PROMISCUOUS WOMAN				
•alleycat/alley cat	•chippy/chippie	•hot funky/pants	•(office/village) bike	•skunk
•beast	•come/cum	•jelly	•old grinder	•slack Alice
•bicycle	•dumpster	•jazzy	•one over the pocket	•slag
•bint	•cooz(ie)	•knob-jockey	•pecker-foolish	•slapper
•biscuit	•Daily Mail/daily	•knock	•pig	•slooze
•bissom/besom	•dirty leg	•loosie goosie	•pony	•slunt
•bit of spare/stray	•floozy/floozy/ floosie/floosy	•low(-)heel	•poule	•spanner
•(bit of) tott(y/ie)	•fluff	•lowie/lowey	•punch(-)board	•stepper
•bone hog	•freaknasty	•lust/whore-dog	•punching bag	•tart
•brasser/brazzer	•Frito	•make	•puta	•top totty
•buer	•garden tool	•mam(m)a/momma	•quim	•toss-up
•bun	•(gutter) slut	•man-eater/-hunter	•(rag-)bag	•town bike/pump/ punch
•bunny	•hairy	•mattress Mary	•roach	•tramp
•bush	•heap	•mattressback	•round heels/ roundheel	•twilly
•butter legs	•ho(e)	•Melvyn Bragg/ melvyn	•scrub(ber)	•wet deck(s)
•battered bun	•hoo(t)ch(ie/y) (mama)	•mobbie	•scupper	•whore (of Babylon)
•case	•hose queen	•moll/mole	•sex kitten	•woofie
•charity girl/ goods/stuff	•hosebag	•moped	•skank	•wrap-up
•cheek		•muff		•yo(-)yo (k)nickers

Table 96: Expressions for COLD AND FRIGID WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for COLD AND FRIGID WOMAN				
•cock-/prick-teaser	•fridge	•ice princess	•iceberg	•tease
•cold biscuit	•frigidaire	•ice queen	•(Kansas) yummy	•wet smack

Homosexual woman

When it comes to expressions referring to female homosexuality, the results of the English dictionary search reveal similar patterns to the Spanish ones (see 5.1.1.1). Accordingly, the emphasis of the

conceptualizations is on sexual intercourse between women – especially with the general subtype HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 97) – and masculinity – particularly with the subtype MANNISH AND AGGRESSIVE HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 98):

- (a) HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN IS A WOMAN WHO HAS SEX WITH WOMEN: e.g. *bagel/doughnut bumper, bean-flicker, carpet/chuff/muff muncher, cat lapper, finger artist, fishmonger, lady-lover, pussy queer, rug-eater, rug-muncher*
- (b) HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN IS A WOMAN WHO DOES NOT HAVE SEX WITH MEN: e.g. *on a meat-free diet, todger dodger*
- (c) HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN IS MALE: *boy, daddy, king, old Tom, stud broad, diesel/bull (dyke), truck driver, big truck, butch*

Table 97: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN				
• Amy-John	• dagger	• leslie	• Lizzie/lizzie	• pussy queer
• (bagel/doughnut) bumper	• DOB	• les/les(s)ie/lessy/	• mam	• rug-eater/
• bean-flicker	• dyke/dike	lez(z)/lezzy/lezzie/	• Magnus Pike/	rug-muncher
• boy	• finger artist	Les/Les(s)ie/Lessy/	magnus	• stud broad
• carpet/chuff/muff muncher	• fishmonger	Lez(z)/Lezzy	• on a meat-free diet	• three wheel trike/
• cat lapper	• hillybin	• lesb(ie)/lesbo/	• palone-omee	three-wheeler
• chemise-lifter	• jasper (broad)	Lesb(ie/o)/lezbo	• Raleigh/village bike	• todger dodger
	• lady-lover	• leso/lez(z)o		• velcro
	• lemon	• lezza/lezzier		• West End thespian

Table 98: Expressions for MANNISH AND AGGRESSIVE HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for MANNISH AND AGGRESSIVE HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN				
• bad butch	• bull(-)dyke(r)/	• daddy	• hard dresser	• old Tom
• battle (cruiser)	bull(-)dike(r)	• diesel (dyke/dike)	• king	• pop
• big truck	• butch (broad/	• doughnut bumper	• mantee	• stomper
• bull(dagger)	dike)	• dyke(y)	• mintie	• truck driver

Overall, while many animal terms were found in the dictionaries referring to different subtypes of women, the majority of the terms listed in 3.2.1 under ATTRACTIVE AND YOUNG WOMAN IS A BIRD (see Table 27), PROMISCUOUS WOMAN IS A FARMYARD MAMMAL (see Table 28), and UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS A FARMYARD MAMMAL (see Table 28) did not appear in the dictionaries consulted. Accordingly, out of 25 bird terms referring to an attractive and young woman, only seven were found in the dictionaries (*bird, chick, quail, partridge, pigeon, wren, squab*). Regarding farmyard mammals, out of eight terms denoting a promiscuous woman, only *pig* appeared in the dictionaries, while only *pig* and *cow* featured in the dictionaries out of the eight expressions identified in Table 28 as conceptualizations for the subtype UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN. Additionally, most of the expressions of the SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS A DESSERT

metaphor (see 3.2.2.1) were not found in the dictionaries consulted, such as *cupcake*, (*a tasty bit of*) *pastry*, *pumpkin (pie/tart)*, (*jam*) *tart*, and *tartlet*.

5.1.2.2 Man

Many of the expressions for the global stereotype MAN (see Table 99) refer to a prototypical man through male names, such as *Jack*, *Jeff*, *Johnny*, and *Oscar*, as well as *Joe* plus one of the many ‘last names’ *Average*, *Bloggs*, *Blow*, *Citizen*, *College*, *Public*, and *Sixpack*. Other terms include typical insults (e.g. *bastard*, *dick*, *fucker*, *pisser*, *prick*, *son of a bitch*), terms for kinsmen (e.g. *bro*, *dads*, *pops*), and prototypically male items and body parts (e.g. *blade*, *pants*, *hairy leg*).

Table 99: Expressions for MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for MAN				
• <i>bag of coke</i>	• <i>character</i>	• <i>gadgie</i>	• <i>Johnnie/Johnny</i>	• <i>Oscar</i>
• <i>bastard</i>	• <i>Charlie Ronce/</i>	• <i>gee(zer)</i>	• <i>josser</i>	• <i>pants</i>
• <i>beggar/begger</i>	• <i>Charley Ronce</i>	• <i>gink</i>	• <i>juck/juk/juckie</i>	• <i>pisser</i>
• <i>bimbo</i>	• <i>chav(v)y/chavvie</i>	• <i>guy</i>	• <i>lemon(-squeezer)</i>	• <i>plug</i>
• <i>blade</i>	• <i>clunk</i>	• <i>hairy leg</i>	• <i>lump (of coke)</i>	• <i>(old) pot and pan</i>
• <i>blighter</i>	• <i>cocker</i>	• <i>heap (of coke)</i>	• <i>matey (boy)</i>	• <i>prick</i>
• <i>bloke(y)</i>	• <i>cookie</i>	• <i>hombre</i>	• <i>MOS</i>	• <i>son(-)of(-)a(-)bitch/</i>
• <i>bo</i>	• <i>cully/cull/cul</i>	• <i>ice-cream</i>	• <i>mother</i>	• <i>sonofabitch/</i>
• <i>bro</i>	• <i>dads/pops</i>	• <i>(freezer)</i>	• <i>mug</i>	• <i>sonuvabitch</i>
• <i>broth of a boy</i>	• <i>dick</i>	• <i>Jack/Jeff</i>	• <i>musher</i>	• <i>straighter</i>
• <i>buffer</i>	• <i>dude</i>	• <i>Joe Average/</i>	• <i>old bastard/pot/</i>	• <i>stud</i>
• <i>bushel of coke</i>	• <i>fellow/fella(h)/</i>	• <i>Bloggs/Blow/</i>	• <i>fellow/man/OM</i>	• <i>Tom, Dick and</i>
• <i>cat</i>	• <i>feller</i>	• <i>Citizen/College/</i>	• <i>ome(e/y/r)/homi(e)/</i>	• <i>Harry</i>
• <i>chap(py/pie)</i>	• <i>fucker</i>	• <i>Public/Sixpack</i>	• <i>homee/homey/omie</i>	• <i>white van man</i>

While the subtype MAN WITH POSITIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 100) is conceptualized in terms of big size (e.g. *big daddy*, *Mr. Big*), fatherhood (e.g. *big daddy*, *cat daddy*, *cool dad*), and authority (e.g. *boss hoss*, *king of the hill*, *cock of the walk*), the subtype MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (see Table 101) is considered physically deficient (e.g. *chinless wonder*, *needledick*, *tampon dick*, *dickweed*), an (unsanitary) animal (e.g. *dirty dog*, *smut-hound*, *collie dug*, *pig*, *bucks*, *skunk*), and the son of a dishonourable woman (e.g. *son of a bitch*, *bastard*, *cowson*, *hijo de la chingada*), which ultimately results in an insult towards the mother (Pustka, 2015, p. 115).

Table 100: Expressions for MAN WITH POSITIVE PERSONALITY as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for MAN WITH POSITIVE PERSONALITY				
• <i>big/cat daddy</i>	• <i>Charlie Potatoes</i>	• <i>golden boy</i>	• <i>macher/mac(k)</i>	• <i>one of the best</i>
• <i>boss hoss</i>	• <i>cock of the walk</i>	• <i>hard cat</i>	• <i>Mister Nice Guy</i>	• <i>player</i>
• <i>brick</i>	• <i>cool dad</i>	• <i>hondo</i>	• <i>Mr. Big</i>	• <i>white man/hat</i>
• <i>buffer</i>	• <i>gent</i>	• <i>king of the hill</i>	• <i>(old) codger</i>	• <i>working john</i>

Table 101: Expressions for MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY				
• alter kocker/ alte kaker/AK	• bum-fluff	• four-letter man	• Meldrew	• sham
• barney/barnie	• cábóg	• gal(l)oot	• momzer/momser	• shicer/sheister
• bawbag	• chat	• gilly	• needledick/ tampon dick	• skate
• bellend	• chav	• hijo de la chingada	• ocker/Ocker	• skunk
• big girl's blouse	• chinless wonder	• his lordship	• (old) buffer	• smoothie
• bit of rough	• Chuck Fuck	• hooray Henry/ hooray (Henry)	• pig	• smut-hound
• blighter	• cob	• jeff	• plug	• sod
• blokey	• collie dug	• jowlster	• Pogo	• son(-)of(-)a(-)bitch/ sonofabitch/S.O.B./ sonuvabitch/s.o.b.
• bolo	• cowson	• lair/lare	• prick	• spiv
• boy wonder	• dickweed/dickhead	• Lord Muck	• scobie	• wide boy
• bucko	• dirty dog	• MCP	• scroat/scrote	• yob
• bugger	• fancy Dan/pants		• shadie	
	• Flash Harry/flasher			

Furthermore, the results of the dictionary search show that the subtype ATTRACTIVE MAN (see Table 102) is frequently conceptualized as meat (see 3.2.2.3) or other food items (see 3.2.2) – e.g. *beef-a-roni*, *beefcake*, *hunk*, *scampi*, *stud muffin*, *hot taco*, *yumlicious* – or as irresistible to women – e.g. *chick magnet*, *ladykiller*, *debbies' delight*, *heartthrob*, *spong-worthy*. The expressions hinting at young age (e.g. *babe*, *backstreet boy*, *lover boy*, *muscle boy*) relate this subtype to the subtype YOUNG MAN (see Table 103), which explains the many coinciding expressions. The subtype OLD MAN (see Table 104), on the other hand, is mostly conceptualized as an old(er) relative (e.g. *daddy*, *grampa*, *grandpa*, *pops*, *sugar daddy*) or an old individual (e.g. *dirty old man*, *alter kocker*, *old bollocks/git/buffer/codger*).

Table 102: Expressions for ATTRACTIVE MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for ATTRACTIVE MAN				
• babe	• dapper Dan	• fox	• himbo	• mellow man
• backstreet boy	• deb's'/debbies' delight	• gate	• hondo	• muscle boy/man
• Baldwin	• diesel	• glad lad	• hot taco	• scampi
• baller	• fabulicious	• handbag	• hunk	• smoothie
• beef-a-roni/beefcake	• fancy Dan	• hard cat	• ladykiller	• sponge-worthy
• chick magnet	• firefighter cute	• heartthrob	• lover boy/man	• stud muffin
• cool dad	• fit 'n' furry	• hep cat/hepped cat/hip cat	• Marlboro man	• swell
• daddy mac			• masher	• yumlicious

Table 103: Expressions for YOUNG MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for YOUNG MAN				
• babe	• cake-eater	• feely/fee/feelier/ fella/feely-omi	• larrikin	• stud muffin
• barney/barnie	• chap	• feller	• moddy/muscle/ pretty/toy boy	• Turk
• bear	• chav	• firefighter cute	• San Quentin	• wallyo/wal-yo
• (bit of a) lad	• daddymac	• gal-boy	• breakfast	• young, dumb, and full of come
• boychik	• deb's' delight	• gorsoon	• scobie	• youngblood
• bug	• ese	• kitty	• spunker	• yumlicious
• bum-fluff	• fag-bait			

Table 104: Expressions for OLD MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for OLD MAN				
• alter kocker/ alte kaker/AK	• chat	• geezer/geeser/geyser	• Meldrew	• poppa stoppa
• buffer	• dirty old man/DOM	• gramp(a/s)/grandpa	• old bollocks/git	• pops
	• duffer/duffy	• lollipop	• (old) buffer/codger	• (sugar) daddy

When it comes to the subtype PROMISCUOUS MAN (see Table 105), it appears to be frequently conceptualized as a dog (e.g. *ass hound*, *cock hound*, *cunt hound*, *gash hound*, *pussy hound*, *poonhound*, *dirty dog*, *poodle-faker*, *wolf*), as a man who chases and pesters women (e.g. *chaser*, *box-chaser*, *chippy chaser*, *skirt-chaser*, *tuft-hunter*, *Chester the Molester*, *ladykiller*, *MTF* (initialism for ‘Must Touch Flesh’)), and as a man who is celebrated for his sexual prowess (e.g. *cockmaster*, *stickman*, *swordsman*, *God’s gift*, *ladies’ man*).

Table 105: Expressions for PROMISCUOUS MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for PROMISCUOUS MAN				
• ass/cock/pussy/ gash/cunt hound	• C-man	• hoser	• MTF	• stickman
• beaver cleaver	• cock-jockey	• hot nuts	• mystery punter	• (super)stud
• (bit of a) lad	• cockmaster/-smith	• ladies’ man	• pantsman	• sweet man
• bird bandit	• cocks-/swordsman	• ladykiller	• pimp	• sweetback (man)
• boomerang	• crumpet man	• lounge lizard	• player	• tit-kisser
• (box-/skirt-)chaser	• cunt man/zombie	• loverboy/lover	• poodle-faker	• tramp
• Casanova	• dirty dog/old	boy/man	• pooner/poonhound	• tuft-hunter
• Chester (the	man/DOM	• Mack Daddy	• pretty boy	• whore(-)hopper
Molester)	• shag-/filth merchant	• mac(k)/macker	• ram	• wolf
• chippy chaser	• God’s gift	• man whore	• shagger	
	• hammer man	• masher	• slut	

As opposed to the subtype MANLY, STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE MAN (see Table 106), who is regarded in terms of strong and aggressive animals (e.g. *bear*, *bucko*, *bull-moose*, *ram*, *stud*, *cock*, *(curly) wolf*, *tush hog*) and cowboys (e.g. *buckaroo*, *Marlboro man*), the subtype EFFEMINATE AND WEAK MAN (see Table 107) is conceptualized as a woman through female names (e.g. *Jessy*, *Margery*, *Sheela*, *nancy*) and other direct references to womanness (e.g. *big girl*, *bitch*, *gal-boy*, *he-she*, *old woman*, *pussy*, *tart*). This is the case even more so when it comes to the male homosexual subtypes (see Tables 110 to 116).

Table 106: Expressions for MANLY, STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for MANLY, STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE MAN				
• aggie	• bucko	• he-man	• Marlboro man	• stud
• bear	• bull-moose	• hench	• momzer/momser	• ten-man job
• boofy	• butch	• larrikin	• muscle boy/man	• Turk
• brick shithouse	• cock	• macher	• muscles	• tush hog
• buckaroo/ buckeroo	• curly wolf	• macho	• nutcrusher	• wolf
	• enforcer	• man-man	• ram	• yob

Table 107: Expressions for EFFEMINATE AND WEAK MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for EFFEMINATE AND WEAK MAN				
• <i>Andy Pandy</i>	• <i>(cream) puff</i>	• <i>kissy</i>	• <i>pencil-neck geek</i>	• <i>queenie/queeny</i>
• <i>angel face</i>	• <i>do-boy</i>	• <i>Margery</i>	• <i>Percy</i>	• <i>quiche-eater</i>
• <i>(big) girl</i>	• <i>fag-bait</i>	• <i>milksop</i>	• <i>pillow</i>	• <i>quince</i>
• <i>(big) girl's blouse</i>	• <i>fig</i>	• <i>mo</i>	• <i>polone/pollone/ polony/polonee</i>	• <i>Sheela</i>
• <i>bitch</i>	• <i>foofoo</i>	• <i>monkey-man</i>	• <i>poof(s)ter/ poofta(h)/ poofteroo</i>	• <i>spooney</i>
• <i>blouse</i>	• <i>gal-boy</i>	• <i>muscles</i>	• <i>po(o)nce</i>	• <i>swish</i>
• <i>butterbox</i>	• <i>hairy fairy</i>	• <i>namby-pamby</i>	• <i>pretty(-)boy</i>	• <i>tart</i>
• <i>cake-eater</i>	• <i>he-she</i>	• <i>nancy(-boy)</i>	• <i>puss(y)/pussy-ass</i>	• <i>tweetie</i>
• <i>capon</i>	• <i>ho(e)</i>	• <i>old woman</i>		• <i>twink(ie/y)</i>
• <i>Charlie boy</i>	• <i>Jessy/Jessie/ jessy/jessie</i>	• <i>pansy(-boy)</i>		• <i>wifed up</i>
• <i>chinless wonder</i>		• <i>pansy ass</i>		• <i>wonk</i>

Table 108: Expressions for STUPID MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for STUPID MAN				
• <i>bellend</i>	• <i>duffy</i>	• <i>Hooray Henry</i>	• <i>Oscar</i>	• <i>stiff</i>
• <i>boofy</i>	• <i>gal(l)oot</i>	• <i>lug</i>	• <i>plug</i>	• <i>young, dumb, and full of come</i>
• <i>dickweed</i>	• <i>geezer</i>	• <i>nut</i>	• <i>Pogo</i>	
• <i>duffer</i>	• <i>himbo</i>	• <i>(old) buffer</i>	• <i>prick</i>	

Table 109: Expressions for MALE LOVER as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for MALE LOVER				
• <i>bit of rough</i>	• <i>daddy/papa</i>	• <i>lover/toy boy</i>	• <i>sweet man/ sweetback (man)</i>	• <i>tootsy(-wootsy)/ tootsie(-wootsie)</i>
• <i>bow tie</i>	• <i>God's gift (to women)</i>	• <i>lover/fancy man</i>		

Homosexual man

The subtypes HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 110) and EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 111) are conceptualized in several ways with reference to a number of domains:

(a) INTERCOURSE

- a. ANAL INTERCOURSE: e.g. *anal amigo, arse-bandit, ass burglar, booty bandit, brown-hatter, brownie, bum bandit, bum robber, bummer, buttfucker, fart-catcher, fudge nudger, fudgepacker, Marmite driller, Marmite miner, poo-jabber, poop pusher, rear gunner, ring raider, shitpuncher, shitshover, shitstabber, turd burglar, turdtappler, Vegemite-driller*
- b. ORAL INTERCOURSE: e.g. *blowboy, dick sucker, flutter, headhunter, lollipop artist, man-eater, pipesmoker, pricklick*

(b) FEMININITY (see 3.2.4)

- a. WOMAN: e.g. *girl, she, sister, lady, bird, birdie, auntie, queen, Mary Ann, Margery, Meg Ryan, molly, pussy, three-legged beaver, light on her feet*
- b. FLOWER: e.g. *flower, daisy, daffodil, lavender*
- c. COLOUR: e.g. *pink, mauve, lilac, pink tea*

(c) OTHERNESS: e.g. *one of those, one of them, bent, queer, weirdy*

Table 110: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• 50 Cent	• chi-chi	• goggler	• mo/'mo	• rear (seat)
• Alphonse	• chin-chin man	• hairdresser	• moffie/mophy	gunner/rear-
• anal amigo/ groundsman	• chuff (chum)	• handbag	• morphodite	gunner
• angel	• chut(ney farmer/ ferret)	• haricot (bean)	• MSM	• ring raider
• arsetronaut/-bandit	• Clark Kent	• Harry Hoof	• nancy(-boy)	• rump ranger
• arsy-versy	• collar and cuff	• headhunter	• nell(ie/y)/Nell(ie/y)	• shirt(-)lifter
• ass burglar	• crafty butcher	• homie/homo	• nut/four-letter man	• shitpuncher/ -shover/-stabber
• augustus	• Crossmyloof	• horse's (hoof)/ horses	• off-brand stud	• silk
• bale of hay	• Cyril Sneer/cyril	• hot buns	• (h)ome(e)-palone(y)/ omi(e)-palome/	• sister
• bati-man/battyman	• daffodil	• Howard's Way	• on the hog	• skippy
• batty (b(w)oy/bwai)	• daisy	• iron (hoof)	• one of those/them	• snake
• beaver leaver	• Darling Buds (of May)	• jere/jeer	• Oscar	• so
• behind with the rent	• date-packer	• Jessie/Jessy/jessie/ jessy	• pansy(-boy)	• sod
• bent	• dick sucker	• jobbie-jabber	• pantywaist	• starfish trooper
• bequeenum	• D(octo)r Dre	• jocker/knob-jockey	• Perry Como	• Stoke-on-Trent
• bird	• fag(got)	• Julian Clary/clary	• phon(e)y	• sweet
• blowboy	• fagola	• Khyber-diver	• pillow-biting	• swish
• booty bandit	• fair/nice enough	• kiki/kai-kai	• pineapple	• swordsman
• bottle of scent	• fairy	• King Lear	• pink	• tailgunner
• boy-gal	• fart-catcher	• lady	• pipesmoker	• Ted Ray
• Brighton pier/ brighton	• fay(ed)/faygeleh	• lavender	• pixie	• three-dollar bill
• (brown-)hatter	• Finley Quaye	• left-footer/-sided/ -handed	• ponce	• three-legged beaver
• brownie	• flit	• Lenny the Lion	• poof(teroo)/pooftah/ pouf(f)/poove/pouve /poofdah/poof(s)ter	• tickle your fancy
• Browning Sister	• flossie	• Leo (Fender)	• poo-jabber	• tiger
• buccaneer	• flower	• light on her feet/ in the loafers/ across the carpet/	• poop pusher	• tonk
• buck	• flox(y)	• live wire	• pork and bean	• Torvill and Dean
• budli-budli	• fluter	• loin landlord	• pretty-boy	• triss(y)
• buftie	• fooper	• lolipop artist	• pricklick	• turd burglar/ turdtapper
• bufu	• freckle-puncher	• man-eater	• prissy lad	• twink(ie/y)
• bum bandit/robber	• friend of Dorothy	• Margery	• puff	• Vegemite-driller
• bummer (boy)/BB	• fruit(er)/fruta	• Marmite driller/ miner	• pug	• weirdy/weirdie
• bun buddy	• fudge nudger	• mauve	• pussy (Nellie/Nelly)	• white turtle-neck brigade
• Burton(-on-Trent)	• fudgepacker	• Meg Ryan	• puto	• whoopsie
• buttfucker	• fufu	• midnight cowboy	• Q	• (willy/woolly) woofter/ wooftah/woolly
• cake	• funny (boy)	• Milky Way	• queenie/queenly	• wonk
• camp/kamp	• gay(er)/afgay	• minnie	• queer	• XYZ
• capon	• gaylord		• quiff	
• careless fister	• gear		• quince	
• cat	• ginger (beer)		• raver	
• chandelier/shandy	• glass chandelier			

When it comes to the conceptualizations of the active (see Table 112) and passive (see Table 113) partners in male homosexual intercourse, clear patterns emerge. While the former is conceptualized as an aggressive and masculine person (e.g. *arse bandit, ass burglar, daddy, wolf*), the latter is regarded as feminine (e.g. *bitch, birdie, queen, pussy boy, wife, she-male*) and is ultimately objectified (e.g. *gash, boy-hole, round eye*).

Table 111: Expressions for EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for EFFEMINATE HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• <i>auntie</i>	• <i>camp as a row of tents/Christmas</i>	• <i>glitter fairy</i>	• <i>pussy/pansy-boy</i>	• <i>sissy</i>
• <i>belle</i>	• <i>chemise-lifter</i>	• <i>lilac</i>	• <i>pink tea</i>	• <i>stuff</i>
• <i>birdie</i>	• <i>faggy/faggish</i>	• <i>Mary Ann</i>	• <i>poofter</i>	• <i>sweet(ie)</i>
• <i>(boy-)girl</i>	• <i>femme queen</i>	• <i>minty</i>	• <i>powder puff</i>	• <i>swish (faggot)</i>
• <i>broken/limp wrist</i>	• <i>flit</i>	• <i>molly(coddle)</i>	• <i>quean/queen</i>	• <i>swishy</i>
• <i>Bruce</i>	• <i>fruit(-)loop</i>	• <i>nance</i>	• <i>royal</i>	• <i>teacup queer</i>
• <i>camp (bitch)</i>		• <i>nellie</i>	• <i>she</i>	• <i>twink(le-toes)</i>

Table 112: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH ACTIVE ROLE IN SEX as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH ACTIVE ROLE IN SEX				
• <i>arse bandido/bandit</i>	• <i>ass burglar/bandit</i>	• <i>Greek/Turk</i>	• <i>pitcher</i>	• <i>stuffer</i>
• <i>asshole/booty/bun/keister bandit</i>	• <i>bone</i>	• <i>hock</i>	• <i>Prussian</i>	• <i>top man</i>
	• <i>daddy</i>	• <i>mason</i>	• <i>steamer</i>	• <i>wolf</i>

Table 113: Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH PASSIVE ROLE IN SEX as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN WITH PASSIVE ROLE IN SEX				
• <i>bender</i>	• <i>brownie queen</i>	• <i>gash</i>	• <i>pillow-biter</i>	• <i>round eye</i>
• <i>birdie</i>	• <i>bum chum</i>	• <i>gump</i>	• <i>pogey</i>	• <i>she-male</i>
• <i>bitch</i>	• <i>butt slut</i>	• <i>kid</i>	• <i>pogue</i>	• <i>todge omee-palone</i>
• <i>bottom (man)</i>	• <i>cat</i>	• <i>Mister/Mr Brown</i>	• <i>punk</i>	• <i>toe toucher</i>
• <i>boy-hole</i>	• <i>catcher</i>	• <i>nephew</i>	• <i>pussy boy</i>	• <i>wife</i>
• <i>broad</i>	• <i>flip</i>	• <i>peg boy</i>	• <i>quean/queen</i>	

Interestingly, when comparing the age-related subtypes YOUNG HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 114) and OLD HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 115), it seems that the former is mostly conceptualized as a boy (e.g. *boy-girl*, *boy-hole*, *bum boy*, *cake boy*, *nephew*) and the latter as an elderly woman (e.g. *auntie*, *dowager*, *grandma*), which emphasizes the notion that neither subtype is considered to be a regular adult man, which according to the GREAT CHAIN metaphor (see 2.2.1.2) represents a top-down mapping within the domain of HUMANS (see Figure 5 and Table 4).

Table 114: Expressions for YOUNG HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for YOUNG HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• <i>baby</i>	• <i>bronco</i>	• <i>cupcake</i>	• <i>muscle boy</i>	• <i>SYT</i>
• <i>belle</i>	• <i>bum(-)boy</i>	• <i>gay boy/chicken</i>	• <i>nephew</i>	• <i>tart</i>
• <i>blue</i>	• <i>cake boy</i>	• <i>gunsel/gonsil/</i>	• <i>pogue</i>	• <i>twink</i>
• <i>boy-girl/-hole</i>	• <i>chit</i>	• <i>gunshel/gun(t)zel</i>	• <i>starter queen</i>	• <i>twinkle-toes</i>

While the big majority of expressions for HOMOSEXUAL MAN identified in 3.2.4 were also found in the dictionaries, the source domain FEMALE MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURE (see Table 41) does not seem to feature much, except for in (*glitter*) *fairy* which itself, however, is not listed in Table 41. Furthermore, when it comes to the MAN IS A STRONG WILD ANIMAL metaphor (see Table 35 in 3.2.1), of the seven animal terms

Table 115: Expressions for OLD HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for OLD HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• <i>antique HP</i>	• <i>Colonel Sanders</i>	• <i>elderberry</i>	• <i>madame</i>	• <i>quean</i>
• <i>auntie</i>	• <i>countess</i>	• <i>geriatric</i>	• <i>Mary Worthless</i>	• <i>toad</i>
• <i>chicken queen</i>	• <i>DOM</i>	• <i>Grandma/</i>	• <i>Mother Superior</i>	• <i>toff omee</i>
• <i>chickenhawk</i>	• <i>dowager</i>	• <i>grandma</i>	• <i>overripe fruit</i>	

Table 116: Expressions for OPENLY HOMOSEXUAL MAN as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for OPENLY HOMOSEXUAL MAN				
• <i>bandit</i>	• <i>campy</i>	• <i>faggy/faggish</i>	• <i>gay boy/gayly</i>	• <i>poofy/poufy</i>
• <i>bent as a nine-bob note</i>	• <i>clothes queen</i>	• <i>flamer</i>	• <i>gay as a French horn</i>	• <i>queen(y)</i>
• <i>camp as a row of tents/Christmas</i>	• <i>cuff link faggot/cuff link queen</i>	• <i>fruit(y)</i>	• <i>Miss Piggy</i>	• <i>raging queer</i>
• <i>camp (bitch)</i>	• <i>faggotron</i>	• <i>fruitcake</i>	• <i>nellie</i>	• <i>screamer</i>
	• <i>faggot(t)y</i>	• <i>fruit-loop</i>	• <i>poncey</i>	• <i>swish/swishy</i>
		• <i>fruitnugget</i>		• <i>swish faggot</i>

only *fox* and *wolf* were detected in the dictionaries. However, while Table 35 shows that *fox* is known to refer to a sly, cunning, and admired man, it was found in the dictionaries to designate an attractive man (see Table 102). The connotations of *wolf*, on the other hand, appear to be the same in both Table 35 and the dictionaries (see Tables 105 and 106), with both indicating this animal term as denoting a promiscuous and aggressive man.

5.1.2.3 Sexualized body parts

Female

Turning to the expressions that were found in the English dictionary search referring to female sexualized body parts, the body part VAGINA (see Table 117) seems to be conceptualized in many ways:

- (a) VAGINA IS A CONTAINER: e.g. *box, bucket, cup, hairy goblet*
- (b) VAGINA IS A CONTAINER FOR THE PENIS/SEX: e.g. *pencil sharpener, wank shaft, monkey box, disk drive, shagbox, socket, fuckhole, manhole, furry letterbox, parking lot, toolbox, gear-box, willy warmer, love canal, skin chimney, tunnel of love, love hole, love box, joyhole*
- (c) VAGINA IS A CONTAINER FOR THE SEMEN: e.g. *gism pot, gluepot, honey box, honey pot, jelly box, juice box, mustard pot, powder box, spunk bin*
- (d) VAGINA IS A SAFE PLACE FOR THE PENIS: e.g. *cave, gate to heaven, holy of holies, Fort Bushy, love nest, nookie, nooky, stench trench, bomb doors*
- (e) VAGINA IS A DANGEROUS OBJECT/PLACE/CREATURE: e.g. *Bermuda triangle, black hole, jungle, woods, squirrel trap, clacker valve, hairy growler, biter*
- (f) VAGINA IS A WOUND (see 3.2.3): e.g. *axe-wound, cut, gash, scratch, slash, slit, split, upslice*
- (g) VAGINA IS A CRACK: e.g. *crack, cranny, nook and cranny, hole, slot, crevice, canyon*
- (h) VAGINA IS THE BUTTOCKS: e.g. *ass, derrière, front bottom, front bum, front door*

Table 117: Expressions for VAGINA as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for VAGINA				
• ace of spades	• coolie-do	• ghoulie	• monster munch	• Sigourney Weaver
• Annie's alley	• coot	• giblets	• moot	• skin chimney
• apple	• cooter	• gig	• mott	• slash/slit/slot
• ass	• cooze/coozie	• ginch	• mowed lawn	• slushing fuck pit
• axe-wound	• crack	• giner	• muff	• smelly hole
• (baby) hole	• crevice	• gism/mustard pot	• mushmellow	• smoo
• bacon rashers	• crush	• giz	• nasty	• snail trail
• (badly packed) kebab	• cuckoo's nest	• gluepot	• nishi	• snapper
• bearded clam/lady	• cunny/cunt (pie)	• golden doughnut	• (nook and) cranny	• snatch (box)
• beaver (pie)/pie	• cup	• goodies	• nookie/nooky	• snoopy
• Berkshire/Berkeley	• cush	• grind	• noo(-)noo	• snootch
• hunt	• cut	• groceries	• orphan (Annie)	• socket
• Bermuda triangle	• cylinder	• gusset	• oyster	• split (knish)
• biff	• dee dee	• ha'penny	• pajama	• spunk bin
• bike space	• derrière	• hair(y)/happy pie	• panty hamster	• squirrel trap
• bird	• dickey-dido	• hairy clam/goblet/growler	• parking lot	• stench trench
• biter	• dignity	• hatch	• patoot	• stink pot/stank
• black forest/hole	• dirtbox	• holy of holies	• peach	• stuff
• blurt	• disk drive	• honey box/honey(-)pot	• peepee	• sugar dish
• boiler	• dolly	• horseshot	• pencil-sharpener	• tail
• bomb doors	• doodah	• hothouse	• peter pocket	• tamale
• booger/boogie	• downstairs	• itsy bitsy	• piche	• tang
• booty/bootie	• drop-kick	• Jack and Danny	• pink snapper/taco	• tenuc/teenuc
• bucket	• Edinburgh fringe	• jam	• pisser	• the Mrs
• bun	• Elizabeth Regina	• jelly (box/roll)	• pocketbook	• thing(ie/y)
• bunny	• fanny(boo)	• joxy	• pom-pom	• toadie
• Burlington hunt	• fish	• (juice) box	• poochi	• toothless gibbon
• cabbage	• fitbin	• juicy (Lucy)	• pooki	• top hat
• cake (hole)	• flange	• jungle/woods	• poon(-poon)/poontang/poony	• tottita
• candy	• floor liner	• kipper	• poopelu/poopi	• treasure (hunt)
• canyon	• flower patch	• koochie	• pootie	• trim
• carpet	• foofoo	• labbe	• pooze	• tuna
• cash register	• Fort Bushy	• ladybits	• possible	• tunnel of love
• (catty-)cat/kitty	• front bottom/botty/bum/door	• lemon	• powderbox/toolbox	• tuppy
• cave	• fuckhole/joy hole	• long eye	• pozzle	• twat/twot(t)
• chach	• fur cup/pie	• love box/canal/hole/muffin/mussel/nest	• prat	• unit
• Charlie (Hunt)	• furburger/fuzzburger/hairburger	• manhole	• pun(y)a(a)ni/pun(n)a(a)n(n)y/pudenany/poonani	• upslice
• chat	• furry folds/hoop/letterbox/monkey	• meat (curtains/seat)	• puss(y)/pussycat/pussy cat	• VA
• chocha	• galmeat	• michael	• quiff	• va(d)g(e)/vaj
• chopped liver	• gash	• mick(ey)	• quim	• vajayjay/va-jay-jay/va-j-j
• chuff (box)/chuftie	• (gasp and) grunt/growl (and grunt)/growler/grumble (and grunt)	• Mimi/mimsy	• rubyfruit	• vertical bacon sandwich
• clacker valve	• gate to heaven/jade gate	• minge	• schmende	• wank shaft
• clam	• gear-box	• mini-moo	• scrantz	• wazoo
• clevie	• gee	• minky	• scratch	• wee-wee
• clodge		• money-getter	• shag(box)	• willy warmer
• clunge		• mongo	• sharp and blunt	• winker
• cock(pit)		• monkey (box)	• Shereen Nanjiani/shereen	• winky/winkie
• connie				• ya-ya
• coo/cooch(ie)				• Y-bone
• coochi snorcher				• zatch
• cookie				

- (i) VAGINA IS MEAT (see 3.2.2.3): e.g. *meat curtains, meat seat, galmeat, bacon rashers, kebab, badly packed kebab, vertical bacon sandwich, furburger, hairburger, pink taco, chopped liver, giblets, Y-bone*
- (j) VAGINA IS A SMALL FURRY ANIMAL (see 3.2.1): e.g. *cat, kitty, pussy, pussycat, chat, bunny, panty hamster, monkey, toothless gibbon, muff*
- (k) VAGINA IS SEAFOOD (see 3.2.1): e.g. *fish, tuna, snapper, pink snapper, kipper, clam, oyster, love mussel, bearded clam, hairy clam*
- (l) VAGINA IS A FRUIT¹⁵ (see 3.2.2.2): e.g. *apple, lemon, peach, rubyfruit*
- (m) VAGINA IS SWEET FOOD (see 3.2.2.1): e.g. *candy, jam, honey box, honey pot, jelly, sugar dish*
- (n) VAGINA IS A BAKED ITEM: e.g. *bun, cake, cookie, golden doughnut, pie, beaver pie, hair pie, jelly roll, love muffin, split knish*
- (o) VAGINA IS A DISGUSTING THING: e.g. *smelly hole, stank, stench trench, stink pot, nasty, dirtbox, tang*

Table 118: Expressions for BREASTS as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for BREASTS				
• apples	• bubs/bubbies	• flight deck	• maracas	• sweater kittens/meat
• avocados	• buffers	• foofs	• marshmallows	• (sweater) puppies
• babylons	• bumpers	• front bumpers/	• maw-maws	• tackety (bits)
• bacon bits	• busty substances	saddlebags	• (meat) rack	• Tale of Two Cities/
• balcony	• cakes	• fun/joy bags	• milk bar/(milk) jugs	tale o' twos
• ballroom blitz	• cans	• garbanzos	• millennium domes	• tatas
• baloobas	• casabas	• gazongas	• mods (and rockers)	• tatty bojangles
• baps	• chabobs	• Georgie Best	• moonlight flits/	• threepenny bits/
• baskets	• charlies/Charlies/	• girls	moonlights	thrupennies/thrups/
• bazo(o)ngas/	Charleys	• globes	• na-na's	threepennies/
bazonkas/bazookas/	• chassis	• goodies	• nay-nays	• thunderbirds
bazoom(b)as/	• chest	• grapes	• nerps	• tickets
bazooms/bazooties	• chestnuts	• grid	• nippers	• tits/titties/tiddies
• bejonkers	• chi-chis	• groceries	• noras	• top 'uns
• berkeleys	• crates	• headlights	• norks	• top bollocks/ballocks
• (big) brown eyes	• cupcakes	• hoagons	• nubbins	• towns and cities
• bloobers	• dairies	• hooters	• nugs	• tumblers
• blubbers	• diddies	• jiggles	• num-nums	• twins
• bobbers	• dingleberries	• jollies	• nuts	• udders
• bombs	• dinners	• ju(ju)bes/jobs	• pair	• up top
• bonkers	• dubbies	• knobs	• Parkheid smiddies	• upper deck
• boobage/boob(ie)s	• dugongs	• knockers	• pips	• Walter Mitties/
• boom-booms	• dugs	• lamps	• pods	walter
• bouncers	• dumps	• lavaliers	• pointers	• willets
• brace (and bit)	• Eartha Kitts/	• lils	• pretties	• yabkos
• briskets	eartha	• love pillows	• pumps	• yahcos
• Bristol Cities/	• east (and) west	• (lung) balloons/lungs	• Ren and Stimpy	• ya-ya's
bristols	• fainting fits/	• mammaries/	• scuds	• yummybagos
• British Standard	faintings	mam(m)s	• set	• zonkers
Handful/BSH	• first aid (kits)	• Manchester Cities/	• shmams	• zoobs
• brownies	• flappers/flaps	manchester	• snorbs	• zoom(er)s

¹⁵ The conceptualization of the vagina in terms of fruits (and vegetables) is at the core of research article 1 ("Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables").

As is the case in Spanish (see 5.1.1.3), the source domain FRUITS AND VEGETABLES is highly productive in the conceptualization of a woman's (large) breasts (see Tables 118 and 119). Expressions for average-sized breasts include *apples*, *grapes*, *dingleberries*, *casabas*, *avocados*, *garbanzos*, *chestnuts*, *nuts*, *pips*, and *Pods*, and *grapefruits*, *cantaloupes*, *melons*, and *watermelons* for large breasts. The conceptualization of the breasts as fruits and vegetables is at the core of research article 1 ("Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables").

Other conceptualizations of the breasts as found in the English dictionary search include the following:

- (a) BREASTS ARE MEAT (see 3.2.2.3): e.g. *bacon bits*, *briskets*, *meat rack*, *sweater meat*
- (b) BREASTS ARE DESSERTS (see 3.2.2.1): e.g. *brownies*, *cakes*, *cupcakes*, *marshmallows*
- (c) BREASTS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MILK: e.g. *jugs*, *milk jugs*, *milk bar*, *udders*, *cans*, *dairies*
- (d) BREASTS ARE BULKY CONTAINERS: e.g. *crates*, *baskets*, *rack*
- (e) SMALL BREASTS ARE INSECT BITES (see Table 120): e.g. *bee stings*, *bee-stung*, *gnat bites*

Table 119: Expressions for LARGE BREASTS as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for LARGE BREASTS				
• <i>bazookas</i>	• <i>cantaloupes</i>	• <i>grapefruits</i>	• <i>mungers</i>	• <i>tig ol' bitties</i>
• <i>boomers</i>	• <i>chubbies</i>	• <i>knockers</i>	• <i>Norma Stockers</i>	• <i>wallopies</i>
• <i>bra-busters</i>	• <i>gert stonkers</i>	• <i>Mary Ellens</i>	• <i>stacked</i>	• <i>(water)melons</i>

Table 120: Expressions for SMALL BREASTS as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for SMALL BREASTS				
• <i>baby breasts</i>	• <i>boobit(it)as</i>	• <i>fried eggs</i>	• <i>itty bitty titties</i>	• <i>speed bumps</i>
• <i>bee stings/-stung</i>	• <i>buds</i>	• <i>gnat bites</i>	• <i>peas on a drum</i>	• <i>thimble-titted</i>

Male

When it comes to the English expressions referring to the male sexualized body part PENIS (see Table 121) and more specifically LARGE PENIS (see Table 122) and ERECT PENIS (see Table 123), the dictionary search reveals the source domains WEAPON, VIOLENCE, and WAR to be highly productive (see 3.2.3). Expressions include *weapon*, *gun*, *porridge gun*, *pistol*, *torpedo*, *ramrod*, *chopper*, *baseball bat*, *bazooka*, *prick*, *pork sword*, *beef bayonet*, *beef torpedo*, *flesh torpedo*, *pink torpedo*, *bacon assegai*, *yoghurt cannon*, *spam lance*, *love truncheon*, *love rocket*, *dagger of desire*, *arrow of desire*, *rebellious henchman*, *little guy with the helmet*, *purple warrior*, *purple-headed love missile*, *nature's scythe*, *rape tools*, *gruesome and gory*, *walloper*, *whanger*, *whammer*, *bitchsplitter*, *tallywhacker*, *beaver cleaver*, *bush blaster*, *cunt stretcher*, *placenta poker*, *womb sweeper*, *kidney-wiper*, and *kidney-scraper*.

Table 121: Expressions for PENIS as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for PENIS				
• almond (rock)	• crank	• (jing-)jang/(ying) yang	• one-eye	• snorker
• arm	• crimson butterfly	• jock	• one-eyed monster/	• soss(y)
• arrow of desire	• cunt stretcher	• John (Henry)/John	(trouser) snake	• splinky
• Artful Dodger	• curp	• Thomas/JT/John	• organ	• spoondoolie
• assets	• Cyclops sausage dog	• Johnson (Ronson)/	• package	• stem
• bacon assegai	• dadger	johnson/Jim Johnson	• padlock	• stick of rock
• baga(d)ga	• dangle(r)	• joint	• Pat and Mick	• stinger
• bald-headed mouse	• dangling/dangly bits	• Jones	• peanut	• stretch
• baldy lad	• dibbler	• joy knob/joystick	• pecker	• stuff
• baloney (pony)	• dickey(-bird)	• jumbo	• pee-pee/pi-pi	• stugots/stugats
• banana (tree)	• dick(ie/y)	• junk	• pee-spout	• swipe
• baseball bat	• dickory dock	• kidney-wiper/-scraper	• peewee/pee wee	• tackle
• basket	• diddler	• kielbasa	• peg	• tadger
• bat and balls	• dill (piece)/dillzy	• King Kong	• pego	• taily
• bazooka (shooter)	• ding(dong)/ding-a-ling	• kiss me (quick)	• pencil	• tailyw(h)acker
• bean	• dingle-dangle	• knob	• Percy	• telescope
• beast	• dingus	• knockwurst	• Peter (and his fuzzy	• the lad/necessaries/
• beaver cleaver	• dink(y)	• Kojak's moneybox	pals)/peter	other thing
• beef (bayonet/bugle/	• dipstick/yardstick	• ladies' delight	• piccalilli	• thing(ie/y)
torpedo)	• dobber	• langar/langer	• pinga	• third leg
• beeze	• dong(er/ce)	• length	• (pink) piccolo/oboe	• tockley
• bell rope	• donniker	• lily	• pisser	• todger
• best friend/bessie	• doodle	• little guy with the helmet	• pistol	• tonk
• bicho	• doover	• little/old man	• placenta poker	• tool(box)
• Big Ben/D	• dork	• lizard	• plonk(er)	• torpedo
• big fella	• dragon	• job	• (pocket) pole	• tossle/tassel
• bird	• dummy	• love bone/muscle/pole/	• pogo/sugar stick	• tricky Dick
• bishop	• danger/dunga	plank/pump/sausage/	• pork sword	• trouser snake/trout
• bit of elastic	• eel	rocket/stick/trumpet/	• (porridge) gun	• tube steak
• bitchsplitter	• end	truncheon/steak	• prick	• tummy banana
• bits	• excitement	• machine	• prod	• turkey neck
• Black and Decker	• (family) jewels	• (magic/wonder) wand	• prong(er)	• two dots and a dash
• Blackpool/Brighton rock	• (flesh(y)/living/bed/skin/	• main vein/meat	• pud(ding)	• Uncle Bob/Dick
• bluegill	one-holed/silent) flute	• (man) pipe/man stand	• punga	• unemployed
• Bob and Dick	• flopper	• manhood	• (purple-headed	• unit
• bobby dangler	• fox and badger	• Mars (Bar/and Venus/	womb) ferret	• vine
• boning tool	• fuck stick/fuckpole	mars)	• putz	• vomiting viper
• Boris Becker	• gear-lever	• matrimonial peacemaker	• (pyjama-)python	• wolloper
• boss	• gobstopper	• meat (puppet/whistle/	• (queer's) lunch(box)	• w(h)ang(er)
• boy (beaver)/boys	• good ship (venus)	tool/and two veg/with	• (ram)rod	• wcng-wang
• bozack	• gooter	two vegetables)	• rape tools	• wcnk(er)
• brain	• grandfather clock	• mick(e)y	• rebellious henchman	• weapon
• Brandon Block	• gristle	• middle leg/stump	• Richard	• wedding tackle
• breakfast burrito	• gruesome and gory	• Milli Vanilli	• rig	• weenie/weeny/wienie
• bulge	• hachi/hodgy	• M(iste)r Matey/Geezer/	• rooney	• wee-wee
• bush blaster	• (Hackney) Wick/	Happy/Foot/Nasty/Winky	• root	• wtammer
• captain's log	Hampton (Wick)	• monkey	• rupert	• whizzer
• carts(o)/cartz(o)/cartes	• hammer	• mutton	• Saint Peter	• wick
• Charley	• hang-down	• Mystic Meg	• salami	• wiener/weiner
• chaud	• he/him	• nards	• sausage	• wife's best friend
• cherry picker	• Herman the German	• nasty	• s(c)hlong	• wily/willie
• choad	• hog	• nature's scythe)	• schnitzel	• wink(ie/y)
• chod	• honker	• nob	• schweenie	• winny-popper
• chopper	• honourable member for	• noodle	• seed spitter	• wire
• chorizo	Fuckinghamshire	• nozzle	• shaft	• witch's cackle
• chub	• horn	• nubbin	• she	• wclver
• chubster	• hose	• nudger	• shishkebob	• wcmb broom/duster/
• cob	• iron	• nunga	• s(c)hmuck	sweeper
• cock (robin)/cockie	• it	• Oklahoma/Texas	• shvantz/s(h)wan(t)z/	• wcoter
• cocker	• jack in the box	toothbrush	shvontz	• wctsit in a sock
• cockmeat	• Jack the Dripper	• old bill/blind Bob/bloke/	• slug	• Wyatt Earp
• cod (and hake)	• jammy	boy/chap/fellow/gent	• snackpack	• yoghurt cannon
• cor(e)y/corie	• Jimmy joint/jimmy	• on the hob	• snake	• zurick/zoob

Other frequent conceptualizations of the penis include the following:

- (a) PENIS IS A DANGEROUS CREATURE: e.g. *beast, dragon, King Kong, one-eyed monster, Cyclops sausage dog, snake, python, vomiting viper, one-eyed trouser snake, Jack the Dripper, Wyatt Earp*
- (b) PENIS IS MEAT (see 3.2.2.3): e.g. *meat, salami, sausage, wiener, chorizo, baloney, kielbasa, knockwurst, love sausage, schnitzel, cockmeat, basketful of meat, meat and two veg, meat with two vegetables, love steak, tube steak, shishkebob, breakfast burrito, main meat, meat puppet, meat whistle, meat tool, spam javelin, bacon assegai, beef bayonet, beef torpedo, beef bugle, gristle, mutton*
- (c) PENIS IS A FRUIT/VEGETABLE¹⁶ (see 3.2.2.2): e.g. *banana, tummy banana, cob, piccalilli, bean, dill, almond, peanut*
- (d) PENIS IS A TOOL: e.g. *tool, hammer, machine, Black and Decker, boning tool, dipstick, yardstick, nozzle*
- (e) PENIS IS AN ITEM WHICH IS PUT IN THE MOUTH (in reference to oral intercourse): e.g. *flute, bugle, fleshy flute, skin flute, bed flute, silent flute of love, horn, pipe, man pipe, meat whistle, purple piccolo, (pink) piccolo, (pink) oboe, love trumpet, beef bugle, stick of rock*
- (f) PENIS IS A VALUABLE ITEM/AN ADMIRERED INDIVIDUAL: e.g. *assets, (family) jewels, magic wand, wonder wand, morning glory, brain, best friend, boss, honourable member for Fuckinghamshire, bishop, Saint Peter*
- (g) PENIS IS A MAN: e.g. *old man, old bill, baldly lad, big brother, Mister Geezer, dick, Richard, Charley, Percy, Peter, Jim Jonson, Tommy Tucker, Boris Becker, Uncle Bob, Herman the German, jimmy, willy, he*

On the other hand, the body part SMALL PENIS (see Table 124) is conceptualized as a small animal (e.g. *shrimp, puppy, hung like a hamster*) and a small and/or thin object (e.g. *button-dicked, pencil dick, needledick, widger*), and the body part FLACCID PENIS (see Table 125) is understood of in terms of death (e.g. *dead rabbit, deadwood*).

Table 122: Expressions for LARGE PENIS as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for LARGE PENIS				
• <i>barge pole</i>	• <i>bullhead</i>	• <i>handmade (dick)</i>	• <i>low-hung</i>	• <i>well(-)hung</i>
• <i>basketful of meat</i>	• <i>diesel dork</i>	• <i>hand-reared</i>	• <i>niner</i>	• <i>yardage</i>
• <i>big brother</i>	• <i>donkey dick</i>	• <i>hung</i>	• <i>well-endowed</i>	• <i>zoob</i>

¹⁶ The conceptualization of the penis in terms of fruits and vegetables is at the core of research article 1 (“Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables”).

Table 123: Expressions for *ERECT PENIS* as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for <i>ERECT PENIS</i>				
• <i>bat and balls</i>	• <i>diamond cutter</i>	• <i>hard-on</i>	• <i>poker</i>	• <i>silent flute of love</i>
• <i>big brother</i>	• <i>dog's lipstick</i>	• <i>horn</i>	• <i>popcorn/poppy</i>	• <i>spam javelin/lance</i>
• <i>bon(er)</i>	• <i>early/September/</i>	• <i>length</i>	• <i>purple piccolo/</i>	• <i>stalk</i>
• <i>boom</i>	<i>Sunday/hail</i>	• <i>lob/lob(-)on</i>	<i>warrior</i>	• <i>stiff(ie/y)</i>
• <i>bowsprit</i>	<i>smiling morn</i>	• <i>morning glory</i>	• <i>purple-headed</i>	• <i>stonker</i>
• <i>bugle</i>	• <i>flagpole/tent pole</i>	• <i>naughty Nazi</i>	<i>love missile/</i>	• <i>stonk-on</i>
• <i>chubby</i>	• <i>flake of corn</i>	<i>salute</i>	<i>warrior</i>	• <i>Tommy Tucker</i>
• <i>cock-stand</i>	• <i>flesh/pink</i>	• <i>niner</i>	• <i>(ram)rod</i>	• <i>tortoise head</i>
• <i>dagger of desire</i>	<i>torpedo</i>	• <i>piss-proud</i>	• <i>rise</i>	• <i>wood</i>

Table 124: Expressions for *SMALL PENIS* as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for <i>SMALL PENIS</i>				
• <i>agate</i>	• <i>hung like a</i>	• <i>nada to vada in</i>	• <i>puppy</i>	• <i>winkle</i>
• <i>button-dicked</i>	<i>cashew/hamster/</i>	<i>the larder</i>	• <i>shrimp</i>	• <i>winky/winkie</i>
• <i>gherkin</i>	<i>pimple</i>	• <i>needledick</i>	• <i>stump</i>	
• <i>pencil dick</i>	• <i>knick-knack</i>	• <i>needle-dicked</i>	• <i>widger</i>	

Table 125: Expressions for *FLACCID PENIS* as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for <i>FLACCID PENIS</i>				
• <i>dead rabbit</i>	• <i>dolphin</i>	• <i>flop on</i>	• <i>Mister/Mr Floppy</i>	• <i>Irish horse</i>
• <i>deadwood</i>	• <i>flapper</i>	• <i>hanging Johnny</i>	• <i>Mister/Mr Softy</i>	• <i>soft-on/softy</i>

Lastly, the dictionary expressions for the male body part testicles (see Table 126) reveal the following conceptualizations:

- (a) TESTICLES ARE FRUITS/VEGETABLES¹⁷ (see 3.2.2.2): e.g. *apricots, grapes, plums, prunes, kumquats, the berries, (love) spuds, nuts, chestnuts, cobs, acorns, love conkers*
- (b) TESTICLES ARE (ROUND) PLAYTHINGS: e.g. *balls, marbles, billiards, clappers, knackers, toy dolls, playmates, bangers, fun and frolics*
- (c) TESTICLES ARE VALUABLE ITEMS: e.g. *crown jewels, family jewels, diamonds, agates, minerals*

Comparing the dictionary search results for female and male sexualized body parts with the findings in 3.2 yields the following insights: While many of the expressions of the *VAGINA IS MEAT* metaphor (see 3.2.2.3) do in fact also appear in the dictionaries, it stands out that none of the beef terms *beef, beef curtains, and beef burger* (see Table 39) were found in the dictionaries. However, several of the expressions of the *PENIS IS MEAT* metaphor in both Table 39 and Table 121 are beef terms (*beef, beef bayonet, beef bugle, beef torpedo, beef stick, love steak, tube steak*). It is possible, then, that beef is so heavily associated with maleness that it does in fact not serve as a source concept for the

¹⁷ The conceptualization of the testicles as fruits and vegetables is at the core of research article 1 ("Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables").

conceptualization of the vagina (see also Adams, 2016, p. 28). Moreover, regarding the SEX IS WAR metaphor (see 3.2.3), it seems that in the dictionaries this metaphor is far more fruitful when it comes to the penis (see Table 121) and much less so when it comes to the vagina (see Table 117), compared to what the results in Table 40 suggest.

Table 126: Expressions for TESTICLES as found in the English dictionaries.

Expressions for TESTICLES				
• acorns	• clunkers	• General Smuts/ generals	• (love) spuds	• prunes
• agates	• cobbler's awls/ stalls/cobblers	• gobstoppers	• marble halls/ marbles	• quongs
• ala-ala's	• cobs	• gonies	• marshmallows	• rocks
• apricots	• cods	• goolies	• Max Walls/ maxies	• rollocks
• back wheels	• coffee stalls	• grapes	• minerals	• saddles
• balls	• cohargas	• haw maws	• (Mother Nature's)	• Sammy Halls
• bangers	• cojones/huevos	• Jackson Pollocks/ jacksons	• maracas	• santas
• baws	• comics	• Jimmy/Johnny/ Tommy Rollocks/ rollocks/rollicks	• nadgers	• slabs
• Beecham's pills	• crigs	• John Wayne's hairy saddle bags	• nads	• stones
• Berlin Wall	• croagies	• Ken Dodds/ kenny's	• Niagara Falls/ niagaras	• tadpole factory
• billards	• crown/family jewels	• Kepler Wessels	• Nicky Butt	• testicles
• bollards	• cubes	• Kerry Packers/ kerry's	• Nobby Hall	• tezzers
• bollocks/ballocks	• delicacies	• knackers	• nuggets	• the berries
• boo-boos	• diamonds	• knockers	• nurds	• tings
• Castor/Caster and Pollux	• doodles	• kumquats	• nut(cracker)s	• Tom Dooleys
• charleys	• dusters	• love conkers/ sacks	• orchestra stalls/ orchestra(l)s/orks	• towns
• cheese and/ Christmas/Jatz/ Jacob's crackers	• eggs		• pair	• toy dolls
• chestnuts	• flowers/fun and frolics		• pills	• twicicles-as- nicicles
• clangers	• fly's eyes		• playmates	• vestibules
• clappers	• frick and frack		• plums	• wank tanks
• clockweights	• gears			• wearing the smalls

5.2 Brainstorming sessions

After having presented the findings from the dictionary search in relation to the insights from 3.2 (see 5.1.), this section is concerned with the results from the brainstorming sessions (see 4.2) with Spanish speakers from Seville (Spain) (5.2.1.1) and Madrid (Spain) (5.2.1.2) as well as English speakers from London (United Kingdom) (5.2.2).

5.2.1 Spanish

5.2.1.1 Seville (Spain)

Tables 127 to 132 show the expressions for heterosexual and homosexual women and men as well as female and male sexualized body parts which were produced by the participants in Seville (Spain) in the brainstorming sessions (see 4.2.1.1). The expressions are ordered based on their frequency with the number of times they were mentioned indicated in brackets. Additionally, the number of types

and tokens per category is shown in each table. As can be seen in Tables 127 to 130, most types and tokens were produced for the category HETEROSEXUAL WOMAN (77 types, 178 tokens). While the participants produced a similar number of types for the two categories HETEROSEXUAL MAN (54) and HOMOSEXUAL MAN (50), the number of tokens is significantly larger for the latter category (98 vs. 162). The number of tokens for the category HETEROSEXUAL MAN (98) is similar to that of the category HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (93), even though only 25 types were produced for the latter category. When it comes to the production of expressions for sexualized body parts (see Tables 131 and 132), the numbers of types and tokens are similar for the terms for VAGINA (23 types, 52 tokens) and PENIS (20 types, 50 tokens), with slightly more terms produced for the former category. While 12 types and 20 tokens were produced for BREASTS, only 2 types and 4 tokens were produced for TESTICLES. Overall, these numbers paint a clear picture, namely that degrading expressions are most salient when it comes to the categories HETEROSEXUAL WOMAN and HOMOSEXUAL MAN. This corresponds to the finding that language about sex and sexuality is shaped by a heterosexual male perspective (Gauger, 2012, p. 226; see 3.2.4), “in the form of offensive and degrading references to females and male homosexuals” (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 190).

Looking at the most frequently mentioned terms per category, one can see that in the category HETEROSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 127), the big majority of terms refers to women as prostitutes and promiscuous women (e.g. *zorra* ‘vixen’, *puta* ‘whore’, *guarra* ‘sow’, *cal(i)entapollas* ‘cock warmer’, *perra* ‘she-dog’, *putón* ‘big whore’, *buscona* ‘searcher’, *golfa* ‘scoundrel’, *salida* ‘horny’, *facilona* ‘easy’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’), with four animal metaphors featuring among the most frequent ones (*zorra* ‘vixen’, *guarra* ‘sow’, *perra* ‘she-dog’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’). While some of the less frequently mentioned terms refer to other types of women, e.g. good-looking (*bonita* ‘pretty’, *guapa* ‘pretty’, *maciza* ‘gorgeous’), ugly/overweight (*ballena* ‘whale’, *fea* ‘ugly’, *fondona* ‘fat’, *vacaburra* ‘cow donkey’, *vacagorda* ‘fat cow’), flat-chested (*plana* ‘flat’, *fideo* ‘noodle’, *tabla* ‘table’, *tabla de planchar* ‘ironing board’), the topic of prostitution, promiscuity, and loose character is prevalent also in the less frequent expressions, such as *fulana* ‘so-and-so’, *loba* ‘she-wolf’, *mujer de calle* ‘street woman’, *mujer pública* ‘public woman’, and *ninfómana* ‘nymphomaniac’.

When it comes to the most frequently listed expressions for HETEROSEXUAL MAN (see Table 128), *cabrón* ‘big billy goat’ takes the sole lead with 13 tokens (see also *cabronazo*). This animal metaphor refers to a man who tolerates his wife’s unfaithfulness (see Table 34), making her the culprit for his misery. Interestingly, *hijo de puta* ‘son of a whore’, too, insults a female person close to the man, namely his mother (see Pustka, 2015, p. 115), by referencing her promiscuity. This mother reference is also noticeable in the general insult term *mamón* which literally refers to someone who is still being breastfed. The same goes for the feminine form *mamona* and the augmentative *mamonazo*. Other frequently mentioned terms include *capullo* ‘idiot’, *chulo* ‘cute man; pimp’, *guarro* ‘dirty, rude,

Table 127: Subtypes of HETEROSEXUAL WOMAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Seville (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a subtype was produced by the 25 participants. No number indication means the respective subtype was produced by one participant. Subtypes in bold mean the respective subtype is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtypes of HETEROSEXUAL WOMAN				
77 types, 178 tokens				
• zorra (22)	• fresca (2)	• cabrona	• guapa	• pendón
• puta (21)	• gorda (2)	• cachoputa	• illa	• pendona
• guarra (18)	• mal follada (2)	• capulla	• ligera	• potra
• cal(i)entapollas (7)	• pilingui (2)	• cerda	• ligera de cascós	• putona
• perra (7)	• plana (2)	• chismosa	• loba	• sebosa
• putón (5)	• putón verbenero (2)	• choco	• machorra	• suelta
• buscona (4)	• ramera (2)	• choriza	• maciza	• tabla
• golfa (4)	• tetona (2)	• chuminosa	• mala pécora	• tabla de
• salida (4)	• abierta 24 horas	• comepollas	• mamona	• planchar
• facilona (3)	• abre fácil	• coñona	• media neurona	• tía
• hija de puta (3)	• arpía	• escaldada	• microondas	• tonta
• lagarta (3)	• ballena	• fea	• mujer de calle	• vacaburra
• calentona (2)	• barbuda	• fideo	• mujer privada	• vacagorda
• calentorra (2)	• bicho	• fondona	• mujer pública	• zorra mala
• chupapollas (2)	• bigotuda	• fulana	• ninfómana	
• cualquiera (2)	• bonita	• furcia	• peazo puta	

contemptible man', *mujeriego* 'womanizer', *golfo* 'fucker', and *salido* 'horny'. Overall, many of the expressions make reference to weak and effeminate men, e.g. *maricón*, *maricono*, and *amariconado* (derivatives of *María*), *nenaza* from *nena* 'little girl', and *impotente* 'impotent, powerless', as well as womanizers, e.g. *donjuan* 'Don Juan', *ligón* 'flirter' and the derivative *ligonate*, *pichabrava* 'brave dick', *rompebragas* 'panty breaker', and *tiracañas* 'rod thrower'.

Table 128: Subtypes of HETEROSEXUAL MAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Seville (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a subtype was produced by the 25 participants. No number indication means the respective subtype was produced by one participant. Subtypes in bold mean the respective subtype is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtypes of HETEROSEXUAL MAN				
54 types, 98 tokens				
• cabrón (13)	• gañán (2)	• chorizo	• maricono	• rompebragas
• hijo de puta (5)	• gigoló (2)	• chulo pitas	• maromo	• soplapollas
• mamón (5)	• illo (2)	• cojonudo	• mojabragas	• tiarrón
• capullo (4)	• machito (2)	• donjuan	• morenazo	• tío
• chulo (4)	• mamona (2)	• gordo	• muñeco michelín	• tío bueno
• guarro (4)	• maricón (2)	• guapo	• musculitos	• tiracañas
• mujeriego (4)	• amariconado	• impotente	• nenaza	• tronista
• golfo (3)	• bola de sebo	• ligón	• payaso	• viejo verde
• salido (3)	• calentón	• ligonate	• pibón	• vividor
• cabronazo (2)	• carajaula	• macizorro	• pichabrava	• zampabollos
• cerdo (2)	• chico gamba	• mamonazo	• pichafloja	

The most frequently mentioned terms for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (see Table 129) are *bollera*, which literally translates to ‘bun baker’, and *tortillera*, which translates to ‘omelette maker, tortilla maker’. They are examples of the well-known association of homosexual women with the process of preparing, kneading, and working with dough. This is likely due to the supposed visual similarity between the touching, massaging, and turning of dough and sexual intercourse between two (naked) women (Rodríguez González, 2011, pp. 155–156, 1024–1025). This association is also apparent in *bollo* ‘bun’, which was mentioned by two participants as a term for a homosexual woman, and is additionally documented as a metaphor for the vagina due to their visual similarity¹⁸ (Rodríguez González, 2011, p. 158). Other expressions listed by the participants include terms referring to masculinity (*machorra*, *machona*, and *marimacho* (from *macho* ‘male’), and *camionera* ‘truck driver’) and oral sex (*comecoños* ‘pussy eater’, *come toto* ‘pussy eater’, *nadadora de aguas profundas* ‘deep sea swimmer’), for example.

Table 129: Expressions for the subtype HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Seville (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the 25 participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtype HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN				
25 types, 93 tokens				
• <i>bollera</i> (22)	• <i>comecoños</i> (3)	• <i>cardo porca</i>	• <i>lesbi</i>	• <i>tijerita</i>
• <i>tortillera</i> (21)	• <i>bollo</i> (2)	• <i>come toto</i>	• <i>machona</i>	• <i>viciosa</i>
• <i>machorra</i> (9)	• <i>invertida</i> (2)	• <i>de la otra acera</i>	• <i>nadadora de</i>	
• <i>lesbiana</i> (8)	• <i>bujarra</i>	• <i>espidermita</i>	<i>aguas profundas</i>	
• <i>marimacho</i> (6)	• <i>camionera</i>	• <i>feminazi</i>	• <i>panarra</i>	
• <i>desviada</i> (4)	• <i>cardo borriquero</i>	• <i>guarra</i>	• <i>tijeras</i>	

Moving on to the category HOMOSEXUAL MAN (see Table 130), by far the most frequently produced expression is *maricón*, followed by *mariquita* which are both derivatives of the female name *María* (see 3.2.4). Other examples include *maricona* (*loca/de mierda/mala* ‘crazy/shitty/bad’), *mariconazo*, and *marica*. Equating a homosexual man with femininity, delicacy, and weakness is also apparent in expressions such as *mujerona* (from *mujer* ‘woman’), *afeminado* ‘effeminate’, *nenaza* (from *nena* ‘little girl’), *reina* ‘queen’ and the derivative *reinona*, *mariposón* (from *mariposa* ‘butterfly’), and *pluma* ‘feather’, while *desviado* ‘deviant’, *invertido* ‘inverted’, *de la otra acera* ‘from the other pavement’, *raro* ‘strange’ and the derivative *rarito*, and (*muy*) *loca* ‘(very) crazy’, for example, highlight the notion that male homosexuality in particular is considered a deviation from the heterosexual norm (Martínez Expósito, 1996–1997, p. 188).

¹⁸ See also the terms *mollete* ‘flatbread’ and *tortillón* ‘large omelette cake’ which were produced in the brainstorming sessions as expressions for the vagina (see Table 131).

Table 130: Expressions for the subtype *HOMOSEXUAL MAN* (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Seville (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the 25 participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtype <i>HOMOSEXUAL MAN</i>				
50 types, 162 tokens				
• <i>maricón</i> (24)	• <i>marica</i> (5)	• <i>(muy) loca</i> (2)	• <i>julay</i>	• <i>pujarrón</i>
• <i>mariquita</i> (13)	• <i>afeminado</i> (4)	• <i>nenaza</i> (2)	• <i>mamporrero</i>	• <i>rarito</i>
• <i>gay</i> (10)	• <i>invertido</i> (4)	• <i>parguela</i> (2)	• <i>maricón de mierda</i>	• <i>raro</i>
• <i>bujarra</i> (9)	• <i>chupapollas</i> (3)	• <i>reinona</i> (2)	• <i>maricona mala</i>	• <i>reina</i>
• <i>desviado</i> (8)	• <i>maricona loca</i> (3)	• <i>soplanucas</i> (2)	• <i>mariconazo</i>	• <i>rompeculos</i>
• <i>sarasa</i> (8)	• <i>bujarrón</i> (2)	• <i>arañacolchones</i>	• <i>mujerona</i>	• <i>sodomita</i>
• <i>amanerado</i> (7)	• <i>comepollas</i> (2)	• <i>cabrón</i>	• <i>palomo cojo</i>	• <i>trucha</i>
• <i>mariposón</i> (7)	• <i>de la otra acera</i> (2)	• <i>chupanabos</i>	• <i>petaculos</i>	• <i>vena</i>
• <i>maricona</i> (6)	• <i>julandrón</i> (2)	• <i>enfermo</i>	• <i>pierdeaceite</i>	• <i>vicioso</i>
• <i>pluma</i> (6)	• <i>muerde almohadas</i> (2)	• <i>jarrona</i>	• <i>plumífero</i>	• <i>zalamero</i>

Lastly, when it comes to the terms produced in the brainstorming sessions for female (see Table 131) and male sexualized body parts (see Table 132), one can see that many terms for the vagina belong to the source domains *SEAFOOD* (*almeja* ‘clam’, *chirla* ‘baby clam’, *concha* ‘mussel’, *mejillón* ‘mussel’, *chocho bacalao* ‘cod cunt’) and *FRUIT* (*higo* ‘fig’, *breva* ‘early fig’, *kiwi* ‘kiwi’, *pipita* ‘seed’, *pipa* ‘seed’), which were discussed in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.2 respectively. Regarding a woman’s breasts, the participants mostly produced terms belonging to the source domain *FRUITS AND VEGETABLES* (*melones* ‘melons’, *peras* ‘pears’, *melocotones* ‘peaches’, *berzas* ‘cabbages’), which were all mentioned in 3.2.2.2.

Table 131: Expressions for the female sexualized body parts *VAGINA* and *BREASTS* (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Seville (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the 25 participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Female sexualized body parts					
VAGINA	• <i>coño</i> (10)	• <i>conejo</i> (3)	• <i>potorro</i> (2)	• <i>chocho eléctrico</i>	• <i>raja</i>
23 types, 52 tokens	• <i>chocho</i> (6)	• <i>chirla</i> (2)	• <i>toto</i> (2)	• <i>kiwi</i>	• <i>tortillón</i>
	• <i>almeja</i> (4)	• <i>concha</i> (2)	• <i>breva</i>	• <i>mollete</i>	• <i>totete</i>
	• <i>chichi</i> (3)	• <i>higo</i> (2)	• <i>chirri</i>	• <i>pipita</i>	
	• <i>chumino</i> (3)	• <i>mejillón</i> (2)	• <i>chocho bacalao</i>	• <i>pipa</i>	
BREASTS	• <i>melones</i> (4)	• <i>ubres</i> (2)	• <i>delantera</i>	• <i>pechotes</i>	
12 types, 20 tokens	• <i>peras</i> (3)	• <i>berzas</i>	• <i>lolas</i>	• <i>pechugas</i>	
	• <i>tetas</i> (3)	• <i>bufas</i>	• <i>melocotones</i>	• <i>tetorras</i>	

Terms for the penis produced by the participants include concepts of the source domains *CHICKEN*, (*polla (caldo)* ‘(broth) pullet’, *pollada* ‘brood’), *FRUITS AND VEGETABLES* (*plátano* ‘banana’, *pepe* ‘bad melon’, *pepino* ‘cucumber’, *nabo* ‘turnip’), and *PLANT* (*nardo* ‘tuberoses’, *penca* ‘stalk’), for example. A meat item was only produced once (*morcilla* ‘blood sausage’), although it appeared in 3.2.2.3 that *MEAT* would be a relatively fruitful source domain. Consistent with the *CHICKEN* metaphor and due to the apparent similarity in shape, the participants listed the term *huevos* ‘eggs’ for the testicles. However,

no concepts belonging to the domain FRUITS AND VEGETABLES – which in 3.2.2.2 seemed to be an important domain – were produced for this body part.

Table 132: Expressions for the male sexualized body parts *PENIS* and *TESTICLES* (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Seville (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the 25 participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Male sexualized body parts					
PENIS	• <i>nabo</i> (8)	• <i>rabo</i> (4)	• <i>pirulo</i> (2)	• <i>nardo</i>	• <i>plátano</i>
20 types, 50 tokens	• <i>polla</i> (8)	• <i>churra</i> (3)	• <i>cipote</i>	• <i>penca</i>	• <i>polla caldo</i>
	• <i>picha</i> (4)	• <i>pepino</i> (3)	• <i>manguera</i>	• <i>pepe</i>	• <i>pollada</i>
	• <i>pichacorta</i> (4)	• <i>pito</i> (3)	• <i>morcilla</i>	• <i>pilila</i>	• <i>sislango</i>
TESTICLES	• <i>cojones</i> (2)	• <i>huevos</i> (2)			
2 types, 4 tokens					

5.2.1.2 Madrid (Spain)

In Tables 133 to 137, the results of the Spanish brainstorming sessions in Madrid (Spain) are shown (see 4.2.1.2). As can be seen, the participants produced more types and tokens for MAN (see Table 134) compared to WOMAN (see Table 133). Of course, many of the expressions are mentioned in both the feminine and masculine form (e.g. *chica/chico* ‘girl/boy’, *tía/tío* ‘aunt, girl/uncle, guy’, *señora/señor* ‘lady/sir’) due to the Spanish grammar system. If during the brainstorming session participants think of *chica*, for example, they are likely to also note down *chico*. There are, however, interesting differences when it comes to the other subtypes. Similar to the brainstorming results from Seville (see 5.2.1.1), several of the expressions produced by the Madrid participants referring to female subtypes (see Table 133) denote the subtype PROMISCUOUS WOMAN. Examples are the animal terms *guarra* ‘sow’, *zorra* ‘vixen’, and *perra* ‘she-dog’, as well as *puta* ‘whore’, *facilona* ‘easy’, *fresca* ‘fresh’, and *mujerzuela* (from *mujer* ‘woman’). Other produced expressions include those conceptualizing the woman as a superior and saint being (e.g. *princesa* ‘princess’, *marquesa* ‘marquise’, *dama* ‘lady’, *santa* ‘saint’, *cielo* ‘heaven’, *ejecutiva* ‘executive’) and as a beautiful woman (e.g. *bonita* ‘pretty’, *preciosa* ‘gorgeous’, *cañón* ‘cannon’, *tía buena* ‘pretty girl’, *maja* ‘pretty’) in bottom-up mappings, or as an unpleasant and malicious woman of low status in a top-down mapping (e.g. *cabrona* ‘goat’, *víbora* ‘viper’, *barriobajera* ‘slum dweller’, *borracha* ‘drunkard’, *mujerona* (from *mujer* ‘woman’), *solterona* ‘spinster’, *verdulera* ‘greengrocer’).

When it comes to the subtypes of MAN (see Table 134), the Madrid participants produced expressions referring to the man as superior and brave (e.g. *león* ‘lion’, *jefe* ‘boss’, *macho* ‘male’ and the derivative *machote*, *hombre de pelo en pecho* ‘man with a hairy chest’, *caballero* ‘gentleman’, *varón* ‘man’), as attractive (e.g. *buenorro* ‘hottie’, *bombón* ‘chocolate’, *galán* ‘handsome’, *guapo* ‘handsome’, *majo* ‘good-looking’), as a womanizer (e.g. *mujeriego* ‘womanizer’, *macho man*), as a

Table 133: Subtypes of WOMAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Madrid (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a subtype was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective subtype was produced by one participant. Subtypes in bold mean the respective subtype is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtypes of WOMAN				
83 types, 149 tokens				
• <i>chica</i> (8)	• <i>(mi) amor</i> (2)	• <i>choni</i>	• <i>fresca</i>	• <i>perra</i>
• <i>tía</i> (8)	• <i>dama</i> (2)	• <i>chorba</i>	• <i>gorda</i>	• <i>persona</i>
• <i>niña</i> (6)	• <i>fémica</i> (2)	• <i>cielo</i>	• <i>gordita</i>	• <i>pichón</i>
• <i>señora</i> (6)	• <i>hembra</i> (2)	• <i>coco</i>	• <i>imbécila</i>	• <i>pituti</i>
• <i>chavala</i> (5)	• <i>joven</i> (2)	• <i>compañera</i>	• <i>jovenata</i>	• <i>preciosa</i>
• <i>guarra</i> (5)	• <i>moza</i> (2)	• <i>crack</i>	• <i>jovenzuela</i>	• <i>prima</i>
• <i>piba</i> (5)	• <i>niñata</i> (2)	• <i>creída</i>	• <i>lerda</i>	• <i>santa</i>
• <i>señorita</i> (5)	• <i>teta</i> (2)	• <i>cuerpo</i>	• <i>loca</i>	• <i>sexo débil</i>
• <i>princesa</i> (4)	• <i>abuela</i>	• <i>damisela</i>	• <i>madame</i>	• <i>solterona</i>
• <i>hermana</i> (3)	• <i>barriobajera</i>	• <i>doncella</i>	• <i>madre</i>	• <i>tía buena</i>
• <i>muchacha</i> (3)	• <i>beba</i>	• <i>ejecutiva</i>	• <i>maja</i>	• <i>tiwi</i>
• <i>nena</i> (3)	• <i>bonita</i>	• <i>ella</i>	• <i>marimacho</i>	• <i>trueno</i>
• <i>pava</i> (3)	• <i>borracha</i>	• <i>esa</i>	• <i>marquesa</i>	• <i>verdulera</i>
• <i>puta</i> (3)	• <i>cabrona</i>	• <i>esposa</i>	• <i>mujerona</i>	• <i>víbora</i>
• <i>tronca</i> (3)	• <i>cañón</i>	• <i>facilona</i>	• <i>mujerzuela</i>	• <i>vieja</i>
• <i>zorra</i> (3)	• <i>chiquet</i>	• <i>femenina</i>	• <i>pechiplana</i>	
• <i>amiga</i> (2)	• <i>chocho</i>	• <i>figura</i>	• <i>pequeñita</i>	

Table 134: Subtypes of MAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Madrid (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a subtype was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective subtype was produced by one participant. Subtypes in bold mean the respective subtype is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtypes of MAN				
100 types, 163 tokens				
• <i>chico</i> (8)	• <i>masculino</i> (2)	• <i>coco</i>	• <i>imbécil</i>	• <i>parse</i>
• <i>señor</i> (8)	• <i>mozo</i> (2)	• <i>compadre</i>	• <i>joven</i>	• <i>persona</i>
• <i>chaval</i> (6)	• <i>pibón</i> (2)	• <i>compi</i>	• <i>jovenazo</i>	• <i>personaje</i>
• <i>tío</i> (6)	• <i>primo</i> (2)	• <i>crack</i>	• <i>jovenzuelo</i>	• <i>pinche</i>
• <i>macho</i> (5)	• <i>señorito</i> (2)	• <i>crío</i>	• <i>león</i>	• <i>prim</i>
• <i>niño</i> (5)	• <i>sujeto</i> (2)	• <i>degenerado</i>	• <i>loco</i>	• <i>príncipe</i>
• <i>cabrón</i> (4)	• <i>tronco</i> (2)	• <i>él</i>	• <i>macho man</i>	• <i>putero</i>
• <i>colega</i> (4)	• <i>amigo</i>	• <i>el puto ama</i>	• <i>machorro</i>	• <i>salido</i>
• <i>pibe</i> (4)	• <i>bebé</i>	• <i>fiera</i>	• <i>majo</i>	• <i>sexo fuerte</i>
• <i>hermano</i> (3)	• <i>bombón</i>	• <i>flipado</i>	• <i>mal nacido</i>	• <i>subnormal</i>
• <i>muchacho</i> (3)	• <i>borracho</i>	• <i>friki</i>	• <i>manín</i>	• <i>tete</i>
• <i>pavo</i> (3)	• <i>bragas</i>	• <i>galán</i>	• <i>manito</i>	• <i>tipo</i>
• <i>caballero</i> (2)	• <i>bro</i>	• <i>golfo</i>	• <i>marica</i>	• <i>tiwi</i>
• <i>compañero</i> (2)	• <i>buenorro</i>	• <i>gordi</i>	• <i>maromo</i>	• <i>tronki</i>
• <i>gilipollas</i> (2)	• <i>capullo</i>	• <i>gordo</i>	• <i>marqués</i>	• <i>varón</i>
• <i>guarro</i> (2)	• <i>cerdo</i>	• <i>guapo</i>	• <i>mujeriego</i>	• <i>viejo</i>
• <i>humano</i> (2)	• <i>chavalote</i>	• <i>hijo de mal</i>	• <i>nano</i>	• <i>wey</i>
• <i>jefe</i> (2)	• <i>chiquet</i>	• <i>hombre de pelo</i>	• <i>nene</i>	
• <i>machote</i> (2)	• <i>chiqui</i>	• <i>en pecho</i>	• <i>novio</i>	
• <i>maricón</i> (2)	• <i>chorbo</i>	• <i>hombretón</i>	• <i>padre</i>	
• <i>marido</i> (2)	• <i>chulo</i>	• <i>idiota</i>	• <i>pana</i>	

disreputable and malicious man (e.g. *guarro* ‘pig’, *fiera* ‘beast’, *gilipollas* ‘idiot’, *hijo de mal* ‘son of evil’, *idiota* ‘idiot’, *borracho* ‘drunkard’), and as a homosexual man (e.g. *maricón* and *marica* (from *María*), *degenerado* ‘degenerate’). Interestingly, while *cabrón* ‘billy goat’ – an expression referring to the subtype MAN WHOSE WIFE IS UNFAITHFUL (see Table 69) – is among the most frequently produced expressions, no other expression of this subtype was produced by the participants.

Table 135: Expressions for the female sexualized body parts VAGINA and BREASTS (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Madrid (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Female sexualized body parts					
VAGINA	• <i>coño</i> (7)	• <i>chumino</i> (2)	• <i>concha</i>	• <i>partes bajas</i>	• <i>seta</i>
17 types, 32 tokens	• <i>chocho</i> (4)	• <i>higo</i> (2)	• <i>juju</i>	• <i>partes íntimas</i>	
	• <i>conejo</i> (3)	• <i>toto</i> (2)	• <i>manzana</i>	• <i>pepe</i>	
	• <i>chichi</i> (2)	• <i>chochillo</i>	• <i>mejillón</i>	• <i>potorro</i>	
BREASTS	• <i>tetas</i> (8)	• <i>mamas</i> (2)	• <i>bufas</i>	• <i>pechugas</i>	
11 types, 25 tokens	• <i>melones</i> (4)	• <i>ubres</i> (2)	• <i>delantera</i>	• <i>peras</i>	
	• <i>senos</i> (3)	• <i>bubis</i>	• <i>limones</i>		

Table 136: Expressions for the male sexualized body parts PENIS and TESTICLES (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Madrid (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Male sexualized body parts					
PENIS	• <i>polla</i> (8)	• <i>rabo</i> (2)	• <i>falo</i>	• <i>partes íntimas</i>	• <i>soldado</i>
19 types, 31 tokens	• <i>nabo</i> (2)	• <i>verga</i> (2)	• <i>mazorca</i>	• <i>picha</i>	• <i>tranca</i>
	• <i>pepino</i> (2)	• <i>banana</i>	• <i>paquete</i>	• <i>pijo</i>	• <i>vaina</i>
	• <i>pito</i> (2)	• <i>cimbrel</i>	• <i>partes bajas</i>	• <i>salchicha</i>	
TESTICLES	• <i>huevos</i> (5)	• <i>gemelos</i>			
5 types, 11 tokens	• <i>cojones</i> (3)	• <i>pelotas</i>			
	• <i>bolas</i>				

Moving on to sexualized body parts, for both the female (see Table 135) and male body parts (see Table 136) a relatively small number of expressions was produced compared to the vast number of terms which were found in the dictionaries for VAGINA (see Table 80) and PENIS (see Table 83) especially. Even more striking is the fact that among the 17 expressions for VAGINA, four (*chochillo* from *chocho* ‘cunt’, *juju*, *manzana* ‘apple’, *partes bajas* ‘lower parts’) do not appear in the dictionaries (i.e. 23.53%), and among the 19 terms for PENIS, five (*cimbrel* from *cimbrar* ‘to whip something about’, *mazorca* ‘cob’, *partes bajas* ‘lower parts’, *soldado* ‘soldier’, *vaina* ‘pod’) are not listed in the dictionaries (i.e. 26.32%).

The sole lead as the most produced term for VAGINA takes *coño* ‘cunt’, while it is *tetas* ‘tits’ for BREASTS, *polla* ‘pullet’ for PENIS, and *huevos* ‘eggs’ for TESTICLES. Other conceptualizations of the vagina include seafood (*concha* ‘mussel’, *mejillón* ‘mussel’), and fruits for both the vagina (*higo* ‘fig’, *manzana*

‘apple’) and breasts (*melones* ‘melons’, *limones* ‘lemons’, *peras* ‘pears’). The expressions for the penis conceptualize it as a fruit or vegetable (*nabo* ‘turnip’, *pepino* ‘cucumber’, *banana* ‘banana’, *mazorca* ‘cob’) and those for the testicles as balls (*bolas* ‘balls’, *pelotas* ‘balls’).

Table 137: Expressions for TO HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in Madrid (Spain). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Expressions for TO HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE				
31 types, 80 tokens				
•follar (12)	•coger (3)	•hacerlo (2)	•encamarse	•pasarse por la
•hacer el amor (9)	•tener sexo (3)	•mojar (2)	•garchar	piedra
•acostarse (6)	•chiscar (2)	•pinchar (2)	•hacer chiqui-chiqui	•reventarse
•echar un polvo (5)	•hacer el coito (2)	•beneficiarse	•hacer el acto	•tener relaciones
•tirarse (5)	•copular (2)	•chuscar	sexual	sexuales
•trincar (4)	•focar (2)	•echar un kiki	•intimar	•zumbar
•chingar (3)	•fornicar (2)	•empotrar	•joder	

5.2.2 English: London (United Kingdom)

When it comes to the English participants in London, they produced subtypes of WOMAN (see Table 138) referring to promiscuity (e.g. *slut*, *slag*, *whore*, *hoe*, *mistress*), sexual objectification (e.g. *piece of that*, *doll*, *pet*), old age (e.g. *old witch*, *old ball and chain*, *old hag*), homosexuality or manliness (e.g. *lesbian*, *dyke*, *boy*, *boyish*), sweet nature and attractiveness (e.g. *honey*, *sweetheart*, *sweetie*, *sweet*, *darling*, *lovely*, *beautiful*, *model*, *girl next door*), and frigidity and sexual refusal (e.g. *prude*, *nun*, *tease*).

Table 138: Subtypes of WOMAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in London (United Kingdom). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a subtype was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective subtype was produced by one participant. Subtypes in bold mean the respective subtype is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtypes of WOMAN				
58 types, 131 tokens				
•bitch (11)	•love (3)	•sweetheart (2)	•heterosexual	• piece of that
•slut (11)	•dyke (2)	•sweetie (2)	•hoe	•queen
•girl (7)	•female (2)	•actress	•lovely	•sis
•slag (6)	•girlfriend (2)	•beautiful	•lover	•straight
•babe (5)	•her (2)	•bird	•madame	•sweet
•lady (5)	•honey (2)	•boy	•mistress	•tease
•Mrs (5)	•madam (2)	•boyish	•model	•wench
•Ms (5)	•mum (2)	•chick	•mother	•white trash
•whore (5)	•(old) witch (2)	•doll	•nun	•wife
•lass (4)	•prude (2)	•feminist	•old ball and chain	•wifey
•darling (3)	•she (2)	•gay	•(old) hag	
•lesbian (3)	•sister (2)	•girl next door	•pet	

The produced expressions for MAN (see Table 139), on the other hand, make reference to stupidity and contemptuousness (e.g. *dick*, *dickhead*, *prick*, *asshole*, *bastard*, *cunt*, *fucker*, *loser*, *scrub*, *wanker*, *sleaze*, *idiot*, *stupid*, *twat*, *bellend*, *fool*, *son of a bitch*), promiscuous behaviour (e.g. *lad*, *player*, *fuckboy*, *casanova*, *manslag*, *manwhore*), and homosexuality and effeminacy (e.g. *fag*, *gayboy*, *ladyboy*, *bitchboy*, *puff*, *pussy*, *queer*).

Table 139: Subtypes of MAN (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in London (United Kingdom). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a subtype was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective subtype was produced by one participant. Subtypes in bold mean the respective subtype is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Subtypes of MAN				
70 types, 132 tokens				
• <i>lad</i> (9)	• <i>bro</i> (2)	• <i>asshole</i>	• <i>fool</i>	• <i>monk</i>
• <i>guy</i> (8)	• <i>brother</i> (2)	• <i>babe</i>	• <i>fucker</i>	• <i>nonce</i>
• <i>boy</i> (7)	• <i>cock</i> (2)	• <i>baby</i>	• <i>gayboy</i>	• <i>n-word</i>
• <i>dick</i> (4)	• <i>dickhead</i> (2)	• <i>bastard</i>	• <i>geezer</i>	• <i>puff</i>
• <i>dude</i> (4)	• <i>drag (queen)</i> (2)	• <i>bellend</i>	• <i>he</i>	• <i>pussy</i>
• <i>mate</i> (4)	• <i>fag</i> (2)	• <i>bitchboy</i>	• <i>hench</i>	• <i>queer</i>
• <i>Mr</i> (4)	• <i>fella</i> (2)	• <i>bloke</i>	• <i>heterosexual</i>	• <i>scrub</i>
• <i>player</i> (4)	• <i>gay</i> (2)	• <i>boss</i>	• <i>honey</i>	• <i>sleaze</i>
• <i>Sir</i> (4)	• <i>gentleman</i> (2)	• <i>bruv</i>	• <i>husband</i>	• <i>son of a bitch</i>
• <i>fuckboy</i> (3)	• <i>idiot</i> (2)	• <i>bud</i>	• <i>ladyboy</i>	• <i>straight</i>
• <i>him</i> (3)	• <i>love</i> (2)	• <i>casanova</i>	• <i>legend</i>	• <i>sweetheart</i>
• <i>male</i> (3)	• <i>master</i> (2)	• <i>cunt</i>	• <i>loser</i>	• <i>tranny</i>
• <i>prick</i> (3)	• <i>stupid</i> (2)	• <i>darling</i>	• <i>manslag</i>	• <i>trans</i>
• <i>boyfriend</i> (2)	• <i>twat</i> (2)	• <i>father</i>	• <i>manwhore</i>	• <i>wanker</i>

As was the case in the Spanish production data (see 5.2.1), only a small number of expressions were produced by the London participants referring to sexualized body parts (see Tables 140 and 141) in comparison with the dictionary search results (see 5.1.2.3), with several produced expressions not featuring in the dictionaries consulted (see expressions in bold).

Table 140: Expressions for the female sexualized body parts VAGINA and BREASTS (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in London (United Kingdom). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Female sexualized body parts			
VAGINA	• <i>pussy</i> (5)	• <i>flower</i>	• <i>that</i>
9 types, 17 tokens	• <i>cunt</i> (3)	• <i>it</i>	• <i>twat</i>
	• <i>fanny</i> (3)	• <i>slit</i>	• <i>v</i>
BREASTS	• <i>boobs</i> (9)	• <i>girls</i>	• <i>knockers</i>
9 types, 23 tokens	• <i>tits</i> (7)	• <i>hooters</i>	• <i>nunga-nungas</i>
	• <i>funbags</i>	• <i>jugs</i>	• <i>rack</i>

One term for the penis, *aubergine emoji*, which alludes to the emoji depicting a purple aubergine which is “[w]idely used to represent a penis” (Emojipedia), highlights how influential current events and popular culture can be when it comes to conceptualization. Additionally, as Table 141 shows, *aubergine emoji* does not appear in any of the dictionaries consulted, which is likely due to the rather conservative nature of dictionaries lagging behind when it comes to lexical innovation, especially regarding coarse slang. This emphasizes the methodological importance of the inclusion of brainstorming sessions with native speakers in order to generate currently and actively used and readily available conceptualizations.

Table 141: Expressions for the male sexualized body parts *PENIS*, *TESTICLES*, and *PENIS AND TESTICLES* (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in London (United Kingdom). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Male sexualized body parts					
PENIS	• <i>dick</i> (8)	• <i>aubergine emoji</i>	• <i>length</i>	• <i>schlong</i>	• <i>wood</i>
13 types, 26 tokens	• <i>cock</i> (6)	• <i>junk</i>	• <i>prick</i>	• <i>snake</i>	
	• <i>willy</i> (2)	• <i>knob</i>	• <i>sausage</i>	• <i>the d</i>	
TESTICLES	• <i>balls</i> (5)	• <i>scrot</i>			
4 types, 9 tokens	• <i>bollocks</i> (2)				
	• <i>crown jewels</i>				
PENIS AND TESTICLES	• <i>japs</i>				
2 types, 2 tokens	• <i>meat and two veg</i>				

Table 142: Expressions for *TO HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE* (including the number of types and tokens) produced in the brainstorming sessions in London (United Kingdom). The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times an expression was produced by the twelve participants. No number indication means the respective expression was produced by one participant. Expressions in bold mean the respective expression is not documented in the consulted dictionaries (see 4.1).

Expressions for TO HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE				
34 types, 69 tokens				
• <i>to bang</i> (9)	• <i>to get with</i> (2)	• <i>to bone</i>	• <i>to get your end wet</i>	• <i>to ram</i>
• <i>to fuck</i> (9)	• <i>to hook up</i> (2)	• <i>to dick</i>	• <i>to go at it</i>	• <i>to rut</i>
• <i>to make love to</i> (5)	• <i>to hump</i> (2)	• <i>to drill</i>	• <i>to hammer</i>	• <i>to screw</i>
• <i>to sleep together</i> (5)	• <i>to nail</i> (2)	• <i>to fornicate</i>	• <i>to hit</i>	• <i>to slam</i>
• <i>to shag</i> (4)	• <i>to be with</i>	• <i>to get off with</i>	• <i>to knock boots</i>	• <i>to take</i>
• <i>to do it</i> (3)	• <i>to be fed</i>	• <i>to get laid</i>	• <i>to mate</i>	• <i>to tap</i>
• <i>to sex</i> (3)	• <i>to boink</i>	• <i>to get lucky</i>	• <i>to pork</i>	

5.3 Research articles

At the core of the present doctoral dissertation lie the four research articles which have been referenced throughout this synopsis and are shown in Table 143. The articles can be found in the appendix at the end of this document.

Table 143: The four research articles at the core of the present doctoral dissertation.

Research articles					
#	Title	Journal	Author(s)	Peer reviewed	Published
1	<i>Gender stereotyping. The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables</i>	Metaphor and the Social World, 9(2)	Dziallas (= Fernandes), Kristina	✓	05/11/2019
2	<i>Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students' perceptions of different types of women and men</i>	Gender Studies, 19(1)	Fernandes, Kristina	✓	31/12/2020
3	<i>Breaking down gender subtype perception</i>	Technium Social Sciences Journal, 10(1)	Dziallas (= Fernandes), Kristina (first author) & Borkovec, Martin	✓	13/07/2020
4	<i>Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers' associations with novel metaphors</i>	Linguistik Online, 108(3)	Fernandes, Kristina	✓	10/05/2021

6 Conclusions and implications for future research

This final chapter is concerned with offering conclusions about the results presented in chapter 5 as well as in the four research articles (see 5.3 and appendix). It must be noted, though, that in each of the research articles the conclusions about the respective study are given in detail.

Regarding the production data, one major finding when comparing the dictionary search results (see 5.1) with those from the brainstorming sessions (see 5.2) is the striking difference between the number of expressions found in the Spanish and English dictionaries and the number of expressions produced by the Spanish and English native speakers. Of course, it is to be expected that the participants do not produce all the dictionary expressions. However, in most cases only a fraction of the terms found in the dictionaries ended up being produced by the participants. For example, only two terms for TESTICLES were produced by the participants in Seville (see Table 132), compared to 81 terms found in the dictionary search (see Table 86), which equals 2.47%. In Madrid, 19 terms for PENIS were produced, five of which do not even appear in the dictionaries (see Table 136), compared to 333 dictionary expressions for PENIS (see Tables 83 to 85), which equals 4.20%. Lastly, participants in London produced five expressions for the subtype PROMISCUOUS WOMAN (see Table 138), compared to 134 terms identified in the dictionary search (see Table 95), which equals 3.73%.

Similarly, several source domains that appeared to be fruitful for the conceptualization of female and male subtypes as well as body parts (see 3.2 and 5.1) did not feature at all among the expressions produced in the brainstorming sessions. For instance, while the Seville participants did produce some conceptualizations which portray the homosexual man as womanlike (HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN, HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FEMALE NAME), no instances of the remaining metaphors HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A VAGINA, HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FEMALE MYTHICAL CREATURE, and HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A FLOWER (see 3.2.4) were mentioned (see 5.2.1.1). Moreover, the London participants produced expressions pertaining to the metaphors VAGINA IS A WOUND (*slit*) and VAGINA IS A SMALL FURRY ANIMAL (*pussy*), for example, but listed no instances of other seemingly high-yield metaphors (see 5.1.2.3), such as VAGINA IS MEAT, VAGINA IS SEAFOOD, and VAGINA IS A BAKED ITEM (see 5.2.2).

Equally, in the brainstorming sessions, the Spanish and English study participants only listed expressions referring to some of the subtypes of women and men which were identified in the dictionaries, while other subtypes (almost) did not feature at all. For example, no expressions for the subtype UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN (see Table 52) were mentioned by the Madrid participants (see Table 133), and neither were expressions for the subtype STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE WOMAN (see Table 91) by the London participants (see Table 138). Another crucial example is the case of the homosexual subtypes. Most of the Madrid participants did not mention homosexual subtypes in the brainstorming sessions. This is the case for both HOMOSEXUAL MAN and HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN, although the latter was produced

much less than the former (one vs. four times). The London participants, on the other hand, mentioned several terms referring to both female and male homosexuality, although homosexual subtypes were overall largely disregarded by many participants. As discussed in research article 2 (“Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students’ perception of different types of women and men”), this might be an indication for the perceptual periphery of homosexuality when thinking about various types of women and men in general. This claim is substantiated by the fact that in the Seville brainstorming (see 5.2.1.1), in which participants were explicitly told to list expressions referring to the subtypes HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN and HOMOSEXUAL MAN, they did not struggle to do so (see Tables 129 and 130).

Overall, it seems then that the above-mentioned findings suggest that only a small number of potential expressions found in the dictionaries are indeed on people’s minds when having to spontaneously list different types of women and men. Additionally, some subtypes are not cognitively accessible at all (e.g. STRONG AND AGGRESSIVE WOMAN in London) or much less (e.g. HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN in Madrid) than other more salient ones (e.g. PROMISCUOUS WOMAN in Madrid and London, SUPERIOR AND BRAVE MAN in Madrid, STUPID AND CONTEMPTUOUS MAN in London). This can offer valuable clues about gender stereotyping in that the frequently mentioned expressions and subtypes seem to be highly accessible when thinking of either women or men as they represent stereotypically prevalent subtypes.

It is important, though, to keep in mind that many of the brainstorming expressions were only mentioned by one participant each, as indicated in all the tables in 5.2. So, while those terms do give interesting clues regarding the conceptualizations of different types of women and men as well as their body parts, it is of course the high-frequency expressions which are most insightful. In the case of the terms for women, they include the subtypes PROMISCUOUS WOMAN (*zorra* ‘vixen’, *guarra* ‘sow’, *puta* ‘whore’, *slut*) and WOMAN WITH A NEGATIVE PERSONALITY (*bitch*). The most produced terms for men belong to the subtypes MAN WHOSE WIFE IS UNFAITHFUL (*cabrón* ‘big billy goat’) and MANLY MAN (*macho* ‘male’, *lad*). However, as shown in 5.2.1.2, many of the female and male terms produced in Madrid are in fact feminine and masculine pairs due to the Spanish grammar system (e.g. *chica/chico* ‘girl/boy’, *tía/tío* ‘aunt, girl/uncle, guy’, *señora/señor* ‘lady/sir’). The fact that many of such pairs were produced by the participants could, on the one hand, be interpreted as having little explanatory power, i.e. when participants think of *chica* they subsequently also think of *chico*. Thus, this possible morphological link might be provoked by the research method with participants having to produce both female and male subtypes and could be prevented if participants were asked to only produce either female or male subtypes. On the other hand, however, the participants’ production of these pairs could be construed as a sign of the existence of largely congruent gender subtypes regardless of gender. Furthermore, frequent Spanish expressions for HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN are *bollera* ‘bun baker’ and *tortillera* ‘omelette

maker, tortilla maker’, and for HOMOSEXUAL MAN it is *maricón* from *María* (produced in Seville; see 5.2.1.1). When it comes to body parts, the most frequent expressions for VAGINA include *coño* ‘cunt’ and *pussy*, and *melones* ‘melons’, *tetas* ‘tits’, and *boobs* for BREASTS. The most produced terms for PENIS are *nabo* ‘turnip’, *polla* ‘pullet’, and *dick*, and for TESTICLES they are *huevos* ‘eggs’ and *balls*.

Moreover, the brainstorming sessions revealed that several of the produced expressions do not appear in the dictionaries consulted. For example, one Seville participant mentioned *peazo puta* as an abusive term for a woman. This expression is a case of intervocalic elision of [ð] (*pedazo puta*) and literally translates to ‘piece of whore’. It was made famous in the late 2000s by the late transgender media personality Cristina Ortiz Rodríguez, known as La Veneno, who used the term on the Spanish television show *Dónde estás corazón*.¹⁹ Another example is the neologism *tronista* (from *trono* ‘throne’) which was produced by another Seville participant as a term denoting a type of man. The term was coined in the Spanish dating show *Mujeres y hombres y viceversa* which aired from 2008 to 2021. The term refers to the show’s protagonists who are looking for a match and are famously sitting on a throne while doing so.²⁰ English examples of expressions that were produced in the brainstorming sessions, but do not appear in the dictionaries consulted include *nun* ‘frigid woman’, *manslag* ‘promiscuous man’, *aubergine emoji* ‘penis’, and *nunga-nungas* ‘breasts’, a term that was coined in the teenage book series *Confessions of Georgia Nicolson* (late 1990s to late 2000s) by English author Louise Rennison.²¹

All in all, when it comes to the production data it seems that, while dictionaries are of course a rich source for the collection and analysis of expressions for different types of women and men as well as female and male sexualized body parts, they can struggle to represent (young) speakers’ active vocabulary. As mentioned in 5.2.2, to some degree, dictionaries tend to be conservative and lag behind with regard to lexical innovation, especially concerning the register of slang. Furthermore, when comparing dictionary results from two or more languages, as was the case in the present doctoral dissertation, one runs the risk of having to make do with significantly unequal base cases due to certain dictionary traditions in a given language. As Figure 11 and Table 43 in 4.1 show, the numbers of entries and yield of expressions per dictionary vary greatly, with the English dictionary *The new Partridge dictionary of slang and unconventional English* (Partridge, 2013) taking the sole lead in fruitfulness. Thus, solely relying on the methodology of dictionary search for data collection can be misleading. Instead, when it comes to the explorative collection of existing expressions for female and male

¹⁹ There are 4,500 Google hits for *peazo puta*.

²⁰ There are 1,400,000 Google hits for *tronista* (many in relation to the corresponding Italian dating show), and 120,000 Google hits for *tronista* in combination with *Mujeres y hombres y viceversa*.

²¹ There are 36,300 Google hits for *nunga-nungas*.

subtypes and sexualized body parts, the combination of dictionary search results with those from brainstorming sessions appears to be a more profitable approach.

A multi-methodological approach also proved beneficial regarding the perception data in the present doctoral dissertation. On the one hand, the combination of recorded single interviews (see 4.3) and online slider scale questionnaires (see 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.1)²² allows for detailed meaning negotiation by brainstorming session participants of their produced expressions, which is subsequently backed by precise personality trait ratings. For example, as research article 3 (“Breaking down gender subtype perception”) highlighted, while the English terms *slut*, *slag*, and *whore*, and the Spanish term *guarra* ‘sow’ were all described in the interviews to refer to promiscuous women of low status, the slider scale questionnaires revealed that *guarra* is perceived as significantly different from the English terms (less respectable, less masculine, less likely to have consciously chosen societal role).

On the other hand, as research article 4 (“Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors. Spanish native speakers’ associations with novel metaphors”) showed, the methodological combination of questionnaires employing either Likert scales or open questions (see 4.4.2.2) allows for more quantifiable data and less blank values (Likert scales) as well as for more detailed information about the multidimensionality of subtypes and less perceptual manipulation of study participants (open questions). In any case, both methodological approaches highlight the fact that concise and oftentimes one-dimensional dictionary definitions do not encompass the multifaceted associations conveyed by metaphors.

Based on the results and conclusions offered in the present doctoral dissertation, there are several implications for future research. For example, in order to yield a more comparable dataset of produced expressions for different types of women and men, it could be helpful to specify the respective subtypes ahead of the brainstorming sessions. Thus, participants could specifically be asked to think of terms denoting subtypes such as PROMISCUOUS WOMAN/MAN, (UN)ATTRACTIVE WOMAN/MAN, and WOMAN/MAN WITH NEGATIVE/POSITIVE PERSONALITY. Of course, a drawback to this method would be that it would be harder to distinguish between salient and less salient subtypes.

Another option for future research could be to present native speakers with relevant dictionary expressions and have them interpret them in terms of their meaning, evaluation, use, and frequency. In this way, it would be possible to investigate the degree to which native speakers are familiar with the terms listed in dictionaries and one would not have to solely rely on the expressions produced by the participants themselves. This could be done using interviews or online questionnaires employing

²² See also research article 2 (“Does traditional mean good? A pilot study on university students’ perception of different types of women and men”) and 3 (“Breaking down gender subtype perception”).

slider scales, Likert scales, or open questions. However, depending on the methodology it must be factored in that participants could to some degree be swayed if presented with different options.

Further additions to the research design of the present doctoral dissertation could be the investigation of the conceptualizations of other sexual identities, such as bisexuality, transsexuality, and asexuality. Spanish terms for bisexuals such as *convertible* 'convertible', *medio marica* 'half fag', and *redondo* 'round' (Rodríguez González, 2011) or the English expressions *shemale*, *transformer*, and *Danish pastry* denoting transsexuals (Partridge, 2013) suggest gender stereotyping might just as much be at play in these cases. Similarly, as has been touched upon in the present research (see 3.2.3 and Tables 137 and 142), metaphorical conceptualizations of sexual intercourse also reveal interesting patterns when it comes to gender stereotyping and are thus worth exploring in more detail. For example, several of the Spanish and English expressions for TO HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE produced by the Madrid (see Table 137) and London participants (see Table 142) pertain to the SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS A FORCEFUL AND VIOLENT ACT metaphor, portraying the man as the agent and the woman as the patient: *trincar* 'to split', *pinchar* 'to prick', *empotrar* 'to wedge', *to bang*, *to hit*, *to ram*, *to slam*, *to nail*, *to screw*, *to drill*, *to hammer*, and *to bone*.

As has been shown throughout the present doctoral dissertation, the intersection of gender and metaphor offers a multifaceted view of the various conceptualizations of women and men and thus into the broader topic of gender stereotyping. While this present research has covered a lot of ground both theoretically and methodologically, there is ample opportunity to further explore this extensive research field.

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Appendix

Research article 1

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Gender stereotyping

The head and sexualized body parts as fruits and vegetables

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Across languages, the head and sexualized body parts (i.e., vagina, breasts, penis, testicles) are conceptualized in a number of ways, for example as fruits and vegetables: heads are conceptualized as cabbages, vaginas as figs, breasts as melons, penises as carrots, and testicles as olives, to only name a few. The present study draws on the theories of conceptual metaphor and metonymy by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) to analyze the conceptualizations of the five body parts as fruits and vegetables in English, Spanish and French. For this purpose, a slang dictionary-based database of 184 conceptualizations was compiled. Research on the head and sexualized body parts is particularly interesting as they represent the core of intellect and sexuality respectively, which makes them prone to being conceptualized in a variety of expressive and euphemistic ways. The results of the present study show that female body parts are primarily conceptualized as sweet fruits, while the penis as well as the head are mostly understood of as savory vegetables. This finding suggests a case of gender stereotyping, whereby sweet-natured women are denied intelligence as the head is stereotypically seen as a male body part (i.e., as a savory vegetable).

Keywords: body part metaphors, dictionary search, fruits and vegetables, gender stereotypes, English, Spanish, French

1. Introduction

Gender stereotyping can manifest itself in a number of different ways, for example in the way female and male bodies and especially body parts are conceptualized in human cognition. Sexualized body parts (i.e., breasts, vagina, penis, testicles) are highly gendered and seen as inherently female and male respectively. For this reason, their conceptualizations are expected to be possible sources for gender

stereotyping. The case of the head, however, is different: From a neurological perspective, the head and the brain contained in it are the seat of both emotions and intelligence. In folk representations, however, for the most part the brain tends to be associated with intelligence. Since traditional gender stereotyping sees women as emotionally guided and men as driven by their intelligence (Petrides, Furnham, & Martin, 2004), it is particularly interesting to investigate whether this tendency can be detected in conceptualizations of the human head.

Across different languages, human body parts are conceptualized in various ways, such as animals (Eng. *beaver* and Fr. *chatte* ‘cat’ for ‘vagina’), fruits and vegetables (Eng. *pumpkin* for ‘head’, Sp. *melones* ‘melons’ for ‘breasts’), or inanimate objects (Eng. *pole* for ‘penis’, Sp. *hucha* ‘money box’ for ‘vagina’). According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Deignan, 2010; Gibbs, Lima, & Francozo, 2004; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Kövecses, 2000), such conceptualizations are not just a case of poetic figures of speech; rather, “[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). Thus, metaphor is not just restricted to language but is also and primarily a matter of human cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993). Metaphorical language expresses the way people conceptualize one domain, i.e., the target domain, in terms of another domain, i.e., the source domain (e.g., *LIFE IS A JOURNEY* (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 3; Kövecses, 2002, p. 3; Kromhout & Forceville, 2013)). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), target domains tend to be abstract and non-physical (*LIFE*), while source domains tend to be concrete and physical (*JOURNEY*). However, as Forceville (2006) notes,

we should not forget that a metaphor can also conceptualize the concrete in terms of the concrete ... [since] metaphors may have targets as well as sources that are directly accessible to the senses.

(Forceville, 2006, p. 387; see also Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 23)

The conceptualization of the human head as a pumpkin, for example, metaphorically highlights certain aspects (round shape, hard consistency), while it hides others (like ‘container’ for the brain, or highly complex body part) (Kövecses, 2002, pp. 79–83). This perspectivizes the concept *HEAD* and, according to the notion of the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lovejoy, 1936; see Section 2.2), creates a pejorative pragmatic effect by denying the intelligence of the person whose head is conceptualized as a pumpkin. Following Crespo-Fernández (2015), this can be seen as an example of a dysphemistic metaphor, a resource capable of strengthening the negative emotional valence of a particular topic (i.e., lack of intelligence) in communication (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 50):

[T]hrough dysphemism the language user intensifies the least acceptable aspects of a given concept in order to deliberately damage the hearer's face or that of some third party involved in the communicative act. (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 51)

Closely related to metaphor is metonymy, which, just like metaphor, is not just a trope in figurative language but conceptual in nature and central to human cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses & Radden, 1998). Lakoff & Johnson (1980) see metonymy as “one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 35) and emphasize the contiguity of those entities on the extra-linguistic level. According to Lakoff & Turner (1989), metonymy is a mapping within a single domain as opposed to the mapping from one domain to another in metaphor. However, it is important to note that, rather than being two unrelated mechanisms, metaphor and metonymy exist on a continuum and are therefore not always easily distinguishable. Furthermore, metaphor and metonymy often interact in a phenomenon called *metaphonymy* by Goossens (1990). Consider the examples Eng. *bean* and *pod* to refer to the human head. Both are metaphorical conceptualizations of the head as a vegetable, but there is also the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, as a pod is a part of a bean. While, according to the Great Chain of Being, conceptualizing the human head as both a bean and a pod creates a pejorative pragmatic effect by denying a person's intelligence, the notion of the empty head, i.e., the head which does not contain a brain, is even stronger in *pod*.

In this paper, the theoretical framework of CMT is used to analyze the metaphor BODY PARTS ARE FRUITS/VEGETABLES in English, Spanish and French. This permits one not only to draw conclusions based on one language, but to determine cross-linguistic patterns of human cognition in three well-documented world languages. Firstly, the state of the art on body part metaphors is outlined. The paper then turns to the issue of fruit and vegetable categorization depending on the perspective, i.e., botany vs. cuisine, in order to classify the source concepts in the database. After this, the methodology of this paper is introduced, i.e., dictionary search, and the choice of the relevant body parts explained. This is followed by the presentation of the results and, finally, their discussion. The data suggest that female body parts are primarily conceptualized as fruits, whereas male body parts and the head are primarily conceptualized as vegetables, which indicates a case of gender stereotyping in language and possibly society (i.e., the sweet-natured woman vs. the tough man).

2. State of the art

Most research on body part metaphors has to date focused on body parts as source domain, i.e., the conceptualization of a number of different – mostly abstract – things in terms of body parts. Less focus has been put on body parts as the target of a metaphorical mapping.

In CMT it has been established that “[m]any abstract concepts are inherently structured [...] by metaphors arising from recurring embodied experience in the physical and cultural world” (Yu, 2003, p. 28). Following that line of research interest, a lot of work has focused on the metaphorical mapping from concrete bodily concepts to abstract concepts. A number of studies investigate heart metaphors, i.e., the heart as the source concept, to determine its role in the conceptualization of emotions (e.g., Gutiérrez Pérez, 2008; Niemeier, 2008; Yu, 2009). This has generated the conceptual metaphor THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS, with love as the most frequent emotion (e.g., *to have a broken heart*).¹

It seems that the motivation behind the metaphorical mapping from the source domain BODY PART to another target domain is the conceptualization of an abstract concept (e.g., emotions) in terms of a concrete bodily concept. The motivation seems to be quite a different one, however, when it comes to the target domain BODY PART, namely the use of expressive and euphemistic figurative language (Blank, 1998, p. 15; Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 2).

2.1 Target domain BODY PART

So far, research on the conceptualizations of sexualized body parts (i.e., vagina, breasts, penis and testicles) has provided a broad overview of a range of different conceptualizations.² Only a limited number of specific source domains for sexualized body parts have been thoroughly investigated, e.g., VAGINA IS A DESSERT OR RECEPTACLE (Braun & Kitzinger, 2001; Fernández Martín, 2011; Hines, 1999) and PENIS IS A MACHINE/TOOL OR WEAPON (Cameron, 1992; Crespo-Fernández, 2015; Murphy, 2001). Examples of these metaphors are Eng. *pie* and *toolbox* for ‘vagina’, and *tool* and *gun* for ‘penis’.

Hines (1999) investigates the conceptualization of the woman and her body as sweet desserts (WOMAN IS SWEET). One of her major findings regards the degree of

1. The source domain-related words are underlined here.

2. E.g., Cameron (1992) and Murphy (2001) on English and Radtke (1980) on Italian terms for the penis; Braun & Kitzinger (2001) on English terms for female genitalia; Crespo-Fernández (2008, 2015) on English and Odebunmi (2010) on Nigerian English terms for both male and female genitalia.

the metaphorical extension of the WOMAN IS A DESSERT metaphor: “Women [...] are not just objects, but *sweet* (that is, compliant, smiling), and not just desserts, but *pieces* or *slices*” (Hines, 1999, p. 146; italics not mine). Additionally, she points out that desserts are not prototypical, but instead peripheral food items, leading her to the conclusion that

[a]s desserts, women can be bought and sold, eaten, elaborately decorated [...], admired for their outward appearance, dismissed as *sinful* and *decadent* – or, in the ultimate degradation, simply done without: desserts are optional/inessential, frivolous, perhaps even a waste of time. (Hines, 1999, p. 148; italics not mine)

By metonymic extension, this not only applies to the woman (WOMAN IS A DESSERT) but also to the vagina (VAGINA IS A DESSERT) and breasts (BREASTS ARE DESSERTS) (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 141; Sutton, 1995, p. 286). Examples of the VAGINA IS A DESSERT metaphor are Eng. *pie* ‘vagina’ and *jelly roll* ‘vagina’, and of the BREASTS ARE DESSERTS metaphor Eng. *cupcakes* ‘breasts’ and *marshmallows* ‘breasts’ (Partridge, 2013).

Additionally, Fernández Martín (2011) notes that female genitalia are mostly conceptualized as receptacles which emphasizes the passive role that women stereotypically play in sexual intercourse (Fernández Martín, 2011, p. 77). Referring to expressions denoting the vagina, such as Eng. *toolbox* and *muff* and Sp. *cueva* ‘cave’ and *gruta* ‘grotto’, she concludes that “[w]omen [...] exist as holes, and pots full of nice things for men [...] [and as] a place for men to hide” (Fernández Martín, 2011, p. 77); or as Braun & Kitinger (2001, p. 151) put it: “the vagina/woman as receptacle for male desire”.

When it comes to the male body, according to Murphy (2001), PENIS IS A MACHINE/TOOL is the predominant metaphor (Murphy, 2001, p. 17). Following Mumford (1947), he distinguishes the machine metaphor (e.g., Eng. *machine* ‘penis’) from the tool metaphor (e.g., Eng. *tool* ‘penis’), the former being associated with activity, the latter with passivity: “[T]he tool lends itself to manipulation, the machine to automatic action” (Mumford, 1947, p. 10, in Murphy, 2001, p. 17). Cameron (1992), however, understands the tool metaphor as evidence of the penis’s “active [...] role in sexual intercourse” (Cameron, 1992, p. 371).

Closely linked to the tool/machine metaphor and its idea of male activity, is the PENIS IS A WEAPON metaphor, which forms part of the broader SEX IS WAR metaphor in which “the lover is the enemy, to seduce the sexual partner is to overcome an enemy, the penis is a weapon, etc.” (Crespo-Fernández, 2011, p. 61; see also Kövecses, 2000, p. 29; Odebunmi, 2010, p. 284; Radtke, 1980, p. 244). This war metaphor is evidence of the conceptualization of sex as a hostile, violent and dominant act carried out by men against women (Crespo-Fernández, 2011, p. 62;

Romaine, 1999, p. 245). Examples of this metaphor are Eng. *gun* ‘the erect penis’ and *love missile* ‘the erect penis’ (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 201; Partridge, 2013).

As can be seen, the research focus of the conceptualization of sexualized body parts has been on the vagina and penis and to a lesser degree on the breasts and testicles. When it comes to the investigation of conceptualizations of the head (i.e., as target concept), a research gap still remains. Exceptions are Sommer (1988) and Blank (1998) (see Section 2.2).

2.2 BODY PARTS ARE FRUITS/VEGETABLES

It would appear that the source domains FRUITS and VEGETABLES have only rarely been the sole focus of past studies on body parts. Sommer (1988) conducted a dictionary search of English colloquial body part terms of the source domains FRUITS and VEGETABLES (e.g., Eng. *gourd* ‘head’, *onion* ‘head’ and *potato* ‘head’), while Blank (1998) looks at diachronic metaphors for the head in Romance languages and detects the universal cognitive conceptualizations of the head as a bowl, a ball and a big round fruit (e.g., Sp. *calabaza* and Fr. *citrouille* ‘pumpkin’).

According to the notion of the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lovejoy, 1936), conceptualizing the head in these ways creates a pejorative pragmatic effect: in this universal hierarchy from nothingness to divine creatures, every category inherits an additional feature over the category below it. For example, an object like a chair is more complex than nothingness because it has physical features. However, plants additionally have biological functions, while animals have physical features, biological functions and instinct. Humans possess all of the above and, in addition, are capable of reason and morality. According to the maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975), the Great Chain of Being can serve as an indication for the degree of degradation of a metaphorical mapping: calling a person an animal, for example, often only makes sense if the speaker is keen on denying this person their all-human features. Thus, when conceptualizing a complex human body part like the head as a pumpkin, the complex ability of the human brain inside the head remains hidden, while mere physical similarities like the round shape or the hardness, that both concepts have in common, are highlighted.

Referring to the example of Eng. *nut* ‘head’, Sommer (1988) points out that the metaphorical mapping is not only motivated by the round shape of both concepts but, in this particular case, also by the looseness of the nut in the shell, conceptualizing the craziness of the person (Sommer, 1988, p. 670). Focusing on examples of sexualized body parts like Eng. *carrot* ‘penis’ and *melons* ‘breasts’, Sommer (1988) explains that “[i]t is the prosaic quality of fruit and vegetables, as well as their physical appearance, that makes them such suitable candidates for sexual euphemisms” (Sommer, 1988, p. 671). Spang (2011) investigates SEX IS

FOOD and particularly SEXUALIZED BODY PARTS ARE FRUITS metaphors in English-language Caribbean music. Firstly, she finds that fruits that are the source of a metaphorical mapping tend to be fruits that are well-known to the speech community, so “a Caribbean artist is more likely to discuss mangos than peaches” (Spang, 2011, para. 4). Secondly, she, too, emphasizes the importance of the physical resemblance between fruit and body part, i.e., the factors shape, texture, smell and taste, for the conceptualization (Spang, 2011). In his study of Nigerian English metaphors for sexual organs, Odebunmi (2010) argues that “[sexual] pleasure is associated with the organs, and each is likened to the taste enjoyed in [...] fruits” (Odebunmi, 2010, p. 292) and that when conceptualizing body parts as sweet fruits “[t]he cognitive processing derives from the pleasure associated with sex” (Odebunmi, 2010, p. 291).

Regarding the object language(s) of past studies, most work on body part conceptualizations evidently tends to focus on one language (mainly English), with cross-linguistic analyses being rare. However, analyzing more than one language gives an opportunity to detect broader patterns of human cognition. Thus, the present paper aims to contribute to the research on body part conceptualizations by investigating the source domains FRUITS and VEGETABLES cross-linguistically in the three big world languages English, Spanish and French.

2.3 Botany vs. cuisine

When looking at fruits and vegetables, it becomes clear that often it is not an easy task to determine which category a certain candidate belongs to (e.g., olive, melon, avocado). However, for the purpose of this paper, the distinction between the two is crucial, since previous research suggests that there are clear differences in the conceptualization of body parts (i.e., female body parts as fruits and male body parts and the head as vegetables). The categorization of fruits and vegetables depends heavily on the perspective taken, typically botany vs. cuisine (Thompson et al., 2011). To give an example: from a botanical point of view, peppers, tomatoes and olives are fruits, whereas in the realm of cuisine they are more likely to be considered vegetables. To tackle the issue of categorizing fruits and vegetables, the common procedure of classifying them according to taste was chosen. Fruits are commonly described as “[e]dible parts of plants that [...] have a sweet or tart taste” (Vainio & Bianchini, 2003, p. 1), whereas vegetables “tend to be savory in taste” (Vainio & Bianchini, 2003, p. 2). Since, according to cognitive science, human categorization results from bodily experience (i.e., taste), it seems to be the culinary rather than the botanical factor that is crucial (certainly in all three languages considered here) for identifying something as fruit or vegetable. In addition to the categories of fruits and vegetables, a third frequent category was included in the

study, namely nuts, which culinarily are neither fruit nor vegetable, but are related to fruits and vegetables in human categorization and, for this reason, tend to be included in figurative research studies dealing with fruits and vegetables (Aerts et al., 2016).

3. Methodology

In order to generate the database of conceptualizations of the five body parts, a manual dictionary search of colloquial print and online dictionaries (see Section 3.1) without reliability checks was conducted for the keywords *head*, *vagina*, *breast(s)*, *penis* and *testicle(s)*, and their equivalents in Spanish (*cabeza*, *vagina*, *pecho(s)*, *pene*, *testículo(s)*), and French (*tête*, *sexe féminin*, *sein(s)*, *sexe masculin*, *testicule(s)*).³ The aim of the present study is the collection of conceptualizations of (sexualized) body parts as fruits and vegetables. The relevant expressions belong to the register of slang and, for the most part, constitute linguistic taboo. As this is very much a preliminary study, the methodology focuses on slang dictionary consultation only and does not employ discourse analysis. For that reason, a metaphor-in-discourse identification procedure (e.g., Pragglejaz Group, 2007) was not applied.

3.1 Dictionaries

The dictionaries consulted were “The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English” (2013) for English, the online slang dictionary “Bob” of the online dictionary “ABC de la langue française” for French, and for Spanish the “Diccionario del sexo y el erotismo” (2011) for all keywords except for *cabeza* ‘head’, since it is a dictionary of sex-related content only. For that reason, the online dictionary “tuBabel.com” was used for the search of *cabeza* ‘head’. Table 1 gives an overview.

3.2 The choice of the analyzed body parts

It is particularly interesting to look at those five body parts (head, vagina, breasts, penis, testicles), since the vagina and the breasts, as well as the penis and the testicles, are gendered sexualized female and male body parts respectively and, for this

3. Searching using the keywords *sexe féminin* and *sexe masculin* was more fruitful than searching for the cognate keywords *vagin* and *pénis* due to the conventions of the dictionary consulted (Bob, 2018).

Table 1. Dictionaries consulted for English, Spanish and French

English	Keywords <i>head, vagina, breast(s), penis, testicle(s)</i> : “The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English” (2013)
Spanish	Keyword <i>cabeza</i> : “tuBabel.com” (online dictionary) Keywords <i>vagina, pecho(s), pene, testículo(s)</i> : “Diccionario del sexo y el erotismo” (2011)
French	Keywords <i>tête, sexe féminin, sein(s), sexe masculin, testicule(s)</i> : “Bob” of the “ABC de la langue française” (online dictionary)

Note. “The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English” (2013) contains around 60,000 entries, “tuBabel.com” around 70,500 entries, the “Diccionario del sexo y el erotismo” (2011) around 6,200 entries and the “Bob” of the “ABC de la langue française” around 60,000 entries.

reason, constitute a linguistic and non-linguistic taboo (Allan & Burrige, 2008; Crawley, Shehan, & Foley, 2008; Crespo-Fernández, 2015). This makes them highly prone to being conceptualized in a variety of expressive and euphemistic ways, e.g., as fruits and vegetables. The non-erogenous body part head, on the other hand, is not a taboo topic but an interesting exception when it comes to the conceptualization of non-erogenous body parts as fruits and vegetables:

With the exception of the human head which can be described using virtually any round or ellipsoid vegetable (e.g., bean, gourd, nut, onion, or potato), there are few or no botanomorphs for most of the other major non-erogenous body parts, such as arms, legs, shoulders, ankles, feet, toes, or fingers. (Sommer, 1988, p. 671)

Additionally, the head is worth taking a closer look at for a second reason: even though from a neurological perspective the brain (and therefore the head as its ‘container’) is the seat of both emotions and intelligence, stereotypically it is more linked to intelligence and reason and less to emotions. Niemeier (2008) speaks of an “almost complete division of labour between ... the head as the centre of rational judgment and the heart as the centre of emotions” (Niemeier, 2008, p. 365). This is the case because “the physiological effect of an emotional experience on an internal body organ may lead to conceptualizing the affected organ as the seat of the emotion” (Sharifian et al., 2008, p. 18; see also Kövecses, 2000, pp. 159–161; Niemeier, 2008). Examples like the emotional Eng. *gut feeling* and *goose bumps* and their German counterparts Ger. *Bauchgefühl* and *Gänsehaut* illustrate this claim of the conceptualization of emotions as bodily reactions outside the brain, i.e., gut and skin in these cases, or the heart as shown in Gutiérrez Pérez (2008) (see Section 2.1.1). According to traditional gender stereotypes, men’s and women’s brains are inherently different in this regard. Thus, the male brain is associated more with intelligence (von Stumm, Chamorro-Premuzic, & Furnham, 2011), while the female brain is associated more with emotion (Barrett & Bliss-Moreau,

2009). In short, even though from a neurological perspective the human brain is the seat of both emotions and intelligence, it is the latter with which it is stereotypically associated in folk representations, namely the brain activity that is stereotypically attributed to the male brain. For that reason, it is particularly interesting to investigate whether this tendency can be detected in any way when looking at the conceptualizations of the head.

In Table 2, an overview of the database is listed, i.e., all occurrences of the dictionary search for each body part and each language.

Table 2. Overview of the database

Target concept	Conceptualizations
Head	<p>Eng. <i>melon, cherry red, mango head, nana, gourd, onion, swede, bean, pod, nut</i></p> <p>Sp. <i>chirimolla, ayote, güiro, jupa, mate, calabaza, almendra, coco</i></p> <p>Fr. <i>cantaloup, melon, cerise, cassis, fraise, sorbe, citron, pêche, poire, pomme, calebasse, citrouillard, citrouille, coloquinte, courge, bulbe, ciboulard, ciboule, ciboulet, ciboulot, ciboulotte, chou, chou rave, haricot, olive, tomate, patate, noix, marron, coco, noix de coco</i></p>
Vagina	<p>Eng. <i>peach, lemon, apple, rubyfruit, cabbage</i></p> <p>Sp. <i>albérrchigo, melocotón, breva, higo, figa, figo, chocho, chocha, chochito, albaricoque, níspero, pepe, pepito, pepón, papaya, pasa, ajo, patata, seta, alcachofa, pimienta, cuca, castaña</i></p> <p>Fr. <i>figue, mirliton, abricot, fraise, laitue, oignon, amande</i></p>
Breasts	<p>Eng. <i>melons, cantaloupes, casabas, watermelons, apples, grapefruits, dingleberries, grapes, peas on a drum, avocados, garbanzos, pods chestnuts, nuts</i></p> <p>Sp. <i>melones, sandías, peras, naranjas, brevas, limones, chirimoyas, pimientos asados, castañas</i></p> <p>Fr. <i>melons, pommes, pommes d'amour, pommes de Vénus, pamplemousses, poires, oranges, fraises, ananas, mandarines, fruits, calebasses</i></p>
Penis	<p>Eng. <i>banana, tummy banana, bean, asparagus, gherkin, pickle, cob, almond, almond rock, peanut, hung like a cashew</i></p> <p>Sp. <i>banana, plátano, platanazo, platanito, pera, zanahoria, nabo, espárrago, pepino, cebolleta, calabacín, boniato, berenjena, cuca</i></p> <p>Fr. <i>banane, pomme du genre humain, goudi, carotte, navet, flageolet, asperge, mirliton, poireau, panais, salsifis</i></p>
Testicles	<p>Eng. <i>apricots, grapes, kumquats, the berries, plums, prunes, spuds, love spuds, meat with two vegetables/meat and two veg, nuts, chestnuts, cobs</i></p> <p>Sp. <i>albaricoques, olivas, aceitunas, peras, melocotones, mandarines, tomates, garbanzos, alcaparras, nueces, castañas</i></p> <p>Fr. <i>olives, petits oignons, cacahuètes, noisettes, noix</i></p>

4. Results

Table 3 gives an overview of the overall distribution of conceptualizations found in at least two languages, with the number of occurrences of conceptualizations of a body part as either fruit, vegetable or nut in relation to the overall number of occurrences (i.e., excluding conceptualizations that were found in only one of the languages).

Table 3. Distribution of conceptualizations found in at least two languages (number of occurrences of conceptualizations of a body part as fruit (F), vegetable (V) or nut (N) in relation to all occurrences)

Conceptualization	Number of occurrences in all three languages		
	F	V	N
Head	5/32	20/32	7/32
Vagina	10/17	4/17	3/17
Breasts	17/20	0/20	3/20
Penis	7/24	12/24	5/24
Testicles	2/13	3/13	8/13

The overall tendencies of body part conceptualization across the three languages are clear. While the head (20/32) and the penis (12/24) are primarily conceptualized as vegetables, the vagina (10/17) and the breasts (17/20) are mainly conceptualized as fruits. In fact, for the breasts there is not a single conceptualization as vegetable that at least two languages share. The most common conceptualization of the testicles is as nuts (8/13).

Table 4 shows the distribution of conceptualizations for all occurrences per language, with the number of occurrences of conceptualizations of a body part as either fruit, vegetable or nut in relation to the overall number of occurrences in that language.

The cross-linguistic tendencies mostly also prove to be true for all three languages separately, additionally taking into account the conceptualizations only found in one of the languages. Thus, like the results shown in Table 3, the breasts and the penis are primarily conceptualized as fruits and vegetables respectively. Interestingly, however, the tendency is strongest in French (for the breasts 11/12, i.e., 92% and for the penis 8/11, i.e., 73%), followed by Spanish (for the breasts 7/9, i.e., 78% and for the penis 8/14, i.e., 57%), and lastly English (for the breasts 8/14, i.e., 57% and for the penis 5/11, i.e., 45%). The vagina is mainly conceptualized as a fruit in both English (4/5, i.e., 80%) and Spanish (13/23, i.e., 57%), while in French the majority of conceptualizations is as both fruit and vegetable (both 3/

Table 4. Distribution of conceptualizations for all occurrences per language (number of occurrences of conceptualizations of a body part as fruit (F), vegetable (V) or nut (N) in relation to all occurrences in that language)

Language	Number of occurrences per language								
	English			Spanish			French		
Conceptualization	F	V	N	F	V	N	F	V	N
Head	4/10	5/10	1/10	5/8	1/8	2/8	10/31	17/31	4/31
Vagina	4/5	1/5	0/5	13/23	8/23	2/23	3/7	3/7	1/7
Breasts	8/14	4/14	2/14	7/9	1/9	1/9	11/12	1/12	0/12
Penis	2/11	5/11	4/11	5/14	8/14	1/14	3/11	8/11	0/11
Testicles	6/13	4/13	3/13	4/11	5/11	2/11	0/5	2/5	3/5

7, i.e., 43%). Except for Spanish, where the head is primarily conceptualized as a fruit (5/8, i.e., 63%), the cross-linguistic tendency of the head mainly being conceptualized as a vegetable item holds true for English (5/10, i.e., 50%) and French (17/31, i.e., 55%). The major conceptualizations of the testicles, however, are different for each of the three languages: While in English they are mostly conceptualized as fruits (6/13, i.e., 46%), they are conceptualized as vegetables in Spanish (5/11, i.e., 45%) and nuts in French (3/5, i.e., 60%).⁴

There are a number of possible explanations for the relatively large differences in the numbers of occurrences between the different body parts (e.g., 31 head conceptualizations in French vs. 7, 12, 11 and 5 conceptualizations of sexualized body parts) as well as between the three languages (e.g., 31 head conceptualizations in French vs. 10 and 8 in English and Spanish): One possible explanation lies in the fact that the present study deals with both taboo (sexualized body parts) and non-taboo language (head). Furthermore, the dictionaries consulted are to varying degrees subject to normative dictionary traditions, making it even harder to draw comparisons between them. This can be seen, for example, when comparing the occurrences of vagina conceptualizations in English (5) and French (7) to Spanish (23), where the database for the sexualized body parts was not generated from a general slang dictionary, but specifically from one that specializes in entries from the language of sex and eroticism, i.e., a taboo topic (Rodríguez González, 2011). Thus, in order to draw wider conclusions regarding quantitative results, further research with additional methodology is needed (e.g., corpus analysis, brainstorm-

4. Other frequent source domains for the conceptualization of the five body parts included HOLLOW POT and PASTRY for the head, SLIT and ANIMAL for the vagina, ROUND OBJECTS and BALCONY for the breasts, WEAPON and SAUSAGE for the penis, and ROUND OBJECTS and EGGS for the testicles, for example.

ing sessions with L1 speakers, internet searches in forums and blog posts, or contrasting dictionaries of the same language for lexicographical insights).

4.1 Target concept HEAD

In all three languages, the conceptualization of the head as the vegetable pumpkin (e.g., Eng. *gourd*, Sp. *calabaza*, Fr. *calebasse*) and nut (e.g., Eng. *nut*, Sp. *almendra*, Fr. *noix*) were found. Additionally, in English and French, but not in Spanish, the head is conceptualized as the vegetables onion (e.g., Eng. *onion*, Fr. *bulbe*) and bean (Eng. *bean*, Fr. *haricot*) and the fruits melon (e.g., Eng. *melon*, Fr. *melon*) and cherry (Eng. *cherry red*, Fr. *cerise*). In Spanish and French, but not in English, the conceptualization of the head as coconut was found (e.g., Sp. *coco*, Fr. *noix de coco*).

Source concepts of the domain FRUITS/VEGETABLES/NUTS found in only one of the three languages included the vegetables swede and pod and the fruits mango (*mango head*) and banana (*nana*) in English, the fruit cherimoya (*chirimolla*) in Spanish and a variety of concepts in French, namely the fruits apple (*pomme*), pear (*poire*), peach (*pêche*), lemon (*citron*), strawberry (*fraise*), black-currant (*cassis*) and rowan berry (*sorbe*), and the vegetables cabbage (*chou*), kohlrabi (*chou rave*), tomato (*tomate*), potato (*patate*) and olive (*olive*).

4.2 Female body parts

4.2.1 Target concept VAGINA

For the target concept VAGINA there was no conceptualization that appeared in all three languages. The only mutual conceptualization of the vagina in English and Spanish is as peach (e.g., Eng. *peach*, Sp. *melocotón*). Spanish and French, however, share a number of the same conceptualizations: the fruits figue (e.g., Sp. *higo*, Fr. *figue*) and apricot (Sp. *albaricoque*, Fr. *abricot*), the vegetable mirliton (e.g., Sp. *chocho*, Fr. *mirliton*) and lastly nut (e.g., Sp. *castaña*, Fr. *amande*).

Conceptualizations of the vagina only found in one of the three languages include the fruits lemon, apple and rubyfruit and the vegetable cabbage in English, the fruits loquat (*níspero*), unripe melon (e.g., *pepe*), papaya (*papaya*) and raisin (*pasa*) and the vegetables pepper (*pimiento*), artichoke (*alcachofa*), potato (*patata*), mushroom (*seta*) and garlic (*ajo*) in Spanish, and the fruit strawberry (*fraise*) and the vegetables onion (*oignon*) and lettuce (*laitue*) in French.

4.2.2 Target concept BREASTS

The breasts are most frequently conceptualized as the fruits melons (e.g., Eng. *melons*, Sp. *melones*, Fr. *melons*) which is also the only conceptualization that all three languages have in common. While the only concept English and Spanish

have in common are nuts (e.g., Eng. *nuts*, Sp. *castañas*), English and French share the conceptualization as the fruits apples (e.g., Eng. *apples*, Fr. *pommes*) and grapefruit (Eng. *grapefruits*, Fr. *pamplemousses*). Lastly, in both Spanish and French, the breasts are conceptualized as the fruits pears (Sp. *peras*, Fr. *poires*) and oranges (Sp. *naranjas*, Fr. *oranges*).

Additionally, conceptualizations found only in English include the fruits grapes and dingleberries and the vegetables peas (*peas on a drum*), avocados, chickpeas (*garbanzos*) and pods. In Spanish only, the breasts are conceptualized as the fruits lemons (*limones*), early figs (*brevas*) and cherimoyas (*chirimoyas*) and the vegetable peppers (*pimientos asados*). The fruits that were found in the French data are strawberries (*fraises*), pineapples (*ananas*), mandarins (*mandarines*) and fruits in general (*fruits*). The only vegetable is gourds (*calebasses*).

4.3 Male body parts

4.3.1 Target concept PENIS

The fruit item banana (e.g., Eng. *banana*, Sp. *plátano*, Fr. *banane*) and the vegetable item asparagus (Eng. *asparagus*, Sp. *espárrago*, Fr. *asperge*) are the only conceptualizations of the penis that were found in all three languages. In addition, in English and Spanish only, the penis is conceptualized as the vegetable cucumber (e.g., Eng. *gherkin*, Sp. *pepino*) and a nut (e.g., Eng. *peanut*, Sp. *cuca*). The conceptualization as the vegetable bean exists only in English (*bean*) and French (*flageolet*). Finally, in both Spanish and French the vegetables turnip (Sp. *nabo*, Fr. *navet*) and carrot (Sp. *zanahoria*, Fr. *carotte*) were found.

The only other conceptualization of penis in English was the vegetable item cob. In Spanish, the penis is conceptualized as the vegetables eggplant (*berenjena*), zucchini (*calabacín*), spring onion (*cebolleta*) and sweet potato (*boniato*), as well as the fruit pear (*pera*). In French, however, the vegetable items parsnip (*panais*), leek (*poireau*), black salsify (*salsifis*) and mirliton (*mirliton*) were found, as well as the fruit items apple (*pommes du genre humain*) and goumi (*goumi*).

4.3.2 Target concept TESTICLES

The testicles are mostly conceptualized as nuts (e.g., Eng. *nuts*, Sp. *nueces*, Fr. *noisettes*), which is the only conceptualization that all three languages share. In both English and Spanish, the fruit item apricots (Eng. *apricots*, Sp. *albaricoques*) and in both Spanish and French, the vegetable item olives (e.g., Sp. *aceitunas*, Fr. *olives*) were found.

Concepts that appeared only in the English data include the fruits grapes, plums, prunes, berries (*the berries*; with the definite article) and kumquats as well as the vegetable potatoes (e.g., *spuds*) and vegetables in general (*meat with*

two vegetables for the penis plus testicles). Conceptualizations that were only found in the Spanish data are the fruits pears (*peras*), peaches (*melocotones*) and mandarins (*mandarines*), in addition to the vegetables tomatoes (*tomates*), capers (*alcaparras*) and chickpeas (*garbanzos*). The only additional concept in the French data is the vegetable item small onions (*petits oignons*).

5. Discussion

The results of the present study suggest that, when looking at the cross-linguistic similarities of the conceptualization of the five body parts in English, Spanish and French (and likely in other languages), the female body parts vagina and breasts are primarily understood in terms of fruits, while the head and the penis are mainly understood in terms of vegetables and the testicles in terms of nuts. Looking at the results for each language separately, the cross-linguistic tendencies remain the same for the penis – primarily conceptualized as vegetables in all three languages – and for the breasts – primarily conceptualized as fruits in all three languages. The same goes for the vagina (primarily conceptualized as fruit), with the only exception in the French data (both conceptualizations as fruit and vegetable: 3/7 occurrences). The cross-linguistic tendency of the head conceptualized as vegetable also holds true apart from the Spanish data (mostly fruit). The only body part for which there is a different primary conceptualization in each language are the testicles (English: fruits, Spanish: vegetables, French: nuts). Overall, the results conform to the state of the art on body part conceptualizations in that physical resemblance is a decisive factor for the conceptualization of body parts as fruits, vegetables and nuts (Odebunmi, 2010; Sommer, 1988; Spang, 2011). However, they extend it by pointing to a clear distinction between fruits and vegetables, and female and male body parts respectively.

It certainly seems to be the case that physical shape is an essential factor in the motivation behind conceptualizing either one of the body parts as fruits, vegetables or nuts (Sommer, 1988; Spang, 2011). The visual and physical similarity is evident between the majority of the body part concepts and the corresponding fruit/vegetable/nut concepts: A head and a pumpkin, for example, are both hard, roundish and similar in size. A vagina and a peach (cut in half) share similar features in terms of softness, size and color pattern (a lighter outside, i.e., the labia and the pulp, surrounding a darker center, i.e., the vaginal opening and the peach stone or the dent left when removing it).⁵ Breasts and oranges are both roundish and can be similar in size. A(n) (erect) penis and a cucumber are similar in hard-

5. Note the metonymy WHOLE (peach) FOR PART (half a peach).

ness and shape. And finally, testicles and nuts are similar when it comes to size and both have an outside layer covering the interior. Note how the choice of a certain fruit, vegetable or nut conceptualization limits which sort of body part it refers to: Only breasts of small size will be conceptualized as peas and only large breasts as watermelons (Partridge, 2013, p.1676 & p.2382).

Additionally, it appears that in most cases the consistency of a body part is similar to that of the respective fruit, vegetable or nut it is conceptualized as. Compare the soft fig (vagina) to the hard carrot (penis) or coconut (head), for instance. However, the data certainly show a number of cases where consistency appears to play a lesser role, as with hard melons (breasts) or a soft tomato (head). Another decisive factor, then, seems to be flavor (i.e., sweet or savory). As pointed out above, female body parts tend to be conceptualized mostly as fruits (i.e., sweet flavor), the head and penis, on the other hand, as vegetables (i.e., savory flavor). As mentioned before, the results regarding the conceptualization of the testicles are not as clear. So why would female body parts, for the most part, be conceptualized as sweet fruits?⁶ This conceptualization conforms to the well-established metaphor WOMAN IS (A) SWEET (OBJECT) (Crespo-Fernández, 2015; Hines, 1999) according to which “the sweetness predicated of women is itself metaphorical, referring to their supposed sweet nature rather than an actual flavor” (Hines, 1999, p.147). By metonymic extension, this applies not only to a woman but to her body (parts), too (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p.141; Sutton, 1995, p.286). This supposed ‘sweet nature’ of a woman corresponds to the stereotypical female personality traits and social roles. Gender stereotyping sees women as submissive, passive, cooperative, kind, sweet-natured and warm, while stereotypically men are seen as the very reverse to this, i.e., as dominant, active, competitive, tough and cold (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003; Eckes, 2010). The male stereotype appears to surface in the conceptualization of the male body part penis as a mostly hard, savory (i.e., not sweet) vegetable. Note how the notion of a flaccid penis is virtually nonexistent in the conceptualizations, which emphasizes the stereotype of the (sexually) dominant man.

Interestingly, as noted before, the head too is primarily seen as a vegetable. It seems then that the head with the brain as the stereotypical seat of intelligence rather than emotionality (see Section 3.2) mostly shares the same features with the penis when it comes to the conceptualization of the two body parts.⁷ This finding

6. The only conceptualization of the vagina as a fruit that is *not* sweet is lemon (in English) and those of the breasts are grapefruit (in English and French) and lemons (in Spanish).

7. Since research in Cognitive Linguistics has shown that grammatical gender influences the semantic representation of the respective concept (Boroditsky, Schmidt, & Phillips, 2003), it might be of interest to further investigate this regarding body parts. Note that breasts in Spanish

conforms to the tendency of attributing intelligence – stereotypically located in the brain – to the male brain, and emotionality – stereotypically located outside the brain, e.g., the heart or gut – to the female brain. In short and put bluntly, while the kind and sweet-natured woman is guided by her emotions, the dominant and tough man is driven by his intelligence (Petrides, Furnham, & Martin, 2004).

6. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been shown that in the English, Spanish and French data there appears to be a clear tendency of female sexualized body parts (i.e., vagina and breasts) to be understood in terms of sweet fruits whereas the penis is mostly understood in terms of non-sweet, i.e., savory, vegetables. As pointed out above, these results conform to prevalent gender stereotypes in that women are stereotypically seen as kind, sweet-natured and submissive, whereas men are seen as the opposite to this, namely tough and dominant. The fact that the head, like the penis, is primarily conceptualized as a vegetable, seems to be an additional indicator for gender stereotyping: The head as the ‘container’ of human intelligence is understood as a male body part. As the data show, gender stereotypes are deeply engrained not only in our way of thinking about women and men but even in our way of thinking about their bodies or body parts.

As this paper intends to offer first results on the topic of the conceptualizations of sexualized body parts and the head as fruits and vegetables, the study is solely based on a database generated from dictionaries of slang and colloquial language out of context. Naturally, conclusions can only be drawn for this methodology and cannot be overgeneralized to research on contextual language use. Since metaphorical language emerges from the context it is used in, research on out-of-context language data can only offer a preliminary insight into tendencies that possibly prove true in contextual language use, too. Thus, a crucial next step would be to apply discourse analysis to discourse that deals with the conceptualization of human body parts as fruits and vegetables. A possible source for language data of that kind could be online forums that discuss topics around sexuality.⁸ Moreover, the present paper lists the absolute numbers of occurrences of body part conceptualizations found in the consulted dictionaries. The cross-linguistic and individual language tendencies detected may hold true in other research designs, too. However, this need not necessarily be the case. To take the case of testicles in English,

and French are masculine (*los pechos, los senos, les seins*), the vagina in French is masculine (*le vagin, le sexe féminin*) and the head in Spanish and French is feminine (*la cabeza, la tête*).

8. Compare the methodology of Crespo-Fernández (2015).

for example: while the data in the present study suggest that in English, testicles are mostly conceptualized as fruits, one must be aware of the extremely widespread use of *nuts* to refer to the testicles colloquially. Thus, for a better understanding of the frequencies of conceptualizations, corpora should be considered while keeping in mind, however, that conventional corpora might not be suitable due to the fact that the conceptualizations mostly belong to a taboo topic and the register of slang. Furthermore, additional analysis should be carried out regarding the cultural aspect of body part conceptualizations as fruits and vegetables.⁹ It is by no means coincidental that the conceptualization of the vagina as a fig or of the testicles as olives are not found in the English data, with the British and American varieties being the main focus of the dictionary consulted (Partridge, 2013): figs and olives do not normally grow in the U.K. or the U.S., which explains why they are not prototypical food items for speakers in those parts of the world, as opposed to nuts and cabbages, for example. Not only should the overall differences between languages be considered, but also the differences between the varieties of a single language. An example for this is the American English *garbanzos* (Spanish for 'chickpeas') to refer to a woman's breasts (Partridge, 2013). In the U.K, without the Hispanic influence, this conceptualization is unlikely to exist. It becomes apparent that for a deeper understanding of the differences between the varieties of a language, the consultation of specialized corpora and the use of surveys and interviews among L1 speakers of those varieties are essential. Finally, while this paper intends to offer an insight into potentially widespread cognitive patterns, it could be of interest to further investigate if Spanish and French, being two Romance languages, are closer to each other in regard to the choice of fruit and vegetable conceptualizations as opposed to English.¹⁰ Similarities between English and French could be expected too, as a considerable amount of English vocabulary is etymologically French. While the present paper has taken a first step towards researching body-part conceptualizations as fruits and vegetables, a lot more detailed work remains to be done.

9. For a discussion of the metaphor-culture interface see Kövecses (2010) and Part IV in Gibbs (2008), for example.

10. Compare the famous example of the Vulgar Latin metaphor *testa* 'bowl; potsherd' to refer to the human head that made its way into nearly all Romance languages.

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Research article 2

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**DOES TRADITIONAL MEAN GOOD?
A PILOT STUDY ON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF
DIFFERENT TYPES OF WOMEN AND MEN**

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***Abstract:** Gender stereotyping remains a pervasive issue in society. Gender stereotypes are cognitive structures containing socially shared knowledge and expectations about women and men. Research has found that the dimensions evaluation (sweetheart vs. bitch) and traditionality (businessman vs. stay-at-home dad) have high explanatory power for identifying gender stereotypes. As a pilot study, the current paper investigates the traditionality and evaluation perceptions of expressions for women and men in English and Spanish, analysing them in the framework of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory. In an online questionnaire, university students in London and Madrid rated 20 expressions for women (e.g. Eng. bitch, Spa. princesa) and men (e.g. Eng. player, Spa. cabrón), previously produced by themselves in single brainstorming sessions. The results indicate the existence of gender stereotypes, especially regarding promiscuity, and a correlation between traditionality and evaluation. Surprisingly and contrary to previous research, female participants produce more promiscuous subtypes than male participants.*

***Keywords:** gender stereotypes, production, perception, traditionality, evaluation, Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory*

1. Introduction

Gender stereotyping remains a pervasive issue in society. Gender stereotypes are cognitive structures containing socially shared knowledge and expectations about characteristics of women and men (Eckes, 2010, p. 178). While they overemphasize alleged differences between women and men regarding personality traits, capabilities and interests, they ignore actual variation. Stereotypically, women show greater communality, while men show greater agency (Ellemers, 2018, p. 277). When due to gender stereotypes, people are discriminated against and limited in their personal developments, achievements or life choices, sexism arises (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2013, p. 174). The omnipresent inequality issue of the gender pay gap is a well-known example of that.

Stereotyping is directly linked to and shared through language use:

Language reflects which categories are singled out as targets for stereotyping, and is one of the main carriers of stereotypic information we come to associate with these categories. (Beukeboom & Burgers, 2019, p. 28)

One way of detecting gender stereotypes in language and thus human cognition is through metaphors and metonymies that refer to different types of women and men. According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Deignan, 2010; Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphor is not just a figure of speech but central to human cognition. Through metaphor, we conceptualize one domain (target domain) in terms of another (source domain). In Spanish, for example, a promiscuous woman (target concept) can be conceptualized as *guarra* ‘sow’ or *zorra* ‘vixen’ (source concepts). According to the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lovejoy, 1936) – an ontological folk hierarchy encompassing higher-order and lower-order entities, ranging from humans over animals and plants to mere objects – such metaphorical conceptualizations create a pejorative effect: The woman who, due to her sexual activity, is referred to as *guarra* ‘sow’, is denied her human-like features and downgraded to not just any animal but the prototype of a dirty animal. Such degradation arising from the conceptual metaphor PROMISCUOUS WOMAN IS A DIRTY ANIMAL is a sign of prevalent gender stereotypes, according to which women, unlike men, are expected to be sexually passive and submissive or else they are regarded as impure and dirty (Reiss, 1967; Zaikman & Marks, 2014; see Section 2). In Conceptual Metonymy Theory (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metonymy is seen as “one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 35) with an emphasis on the

contiguity of those entities on the extra-linguistic level. In contrast to metaphor, in metonymy the mapping occurs within a single domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). An example is the conceptualization of the woman as a child in the metonymy GIRL for WOMAN, which is based on the timeline of a woman's life, denying her adulthood and infantilizing her to a cognitively and physically immature being (Pustka, 2015, p. 113). In Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory, culture plays a crucial role in the creation and perpetuation of culture-specific stereotypes and prejudices:

[C]onceptual metaphors emerge from the interaction between body and culture. While the body is a potentially universal source for emerging metaphors, culture functions as a filter that selects aspects of sensorimotor experience and connects them with subjective experiences and judgments for metaphorical mappings. That is, metaphors are grounded in bodily experience but shaped by cultural understanding. Put differently, metaphors are embodied in their cultural environment. (Yu, 2008, p. 247)

In this present paper, two pilot studies on gender stereotypes are presented: The first one, a production study, investigates which types of women and men are produced by university students in London, United Kingdom and Madrid, Spain. These expressions are analysed in the framework of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory. The second one, a perception study, investigates how the same students perceive the expressions most frequently produced in study 1 in terms of evaluation and traditionality. The results show that gender stereotyping appears to be prevalent in the conceptualizations of different types of women and men, especially when it comes to promiscuity. However, female participants seem to reject the sexual double standard according to which men and women are judged differently when it comes to casual sex. According to this standard, women are expected to be sexually passive while men can be sexually active.

Moreover, the results appear to show a correlation between the dimensions *traditionality* and *evaluation*: Women who are rated traditional are rated more positive than women who are rated non-traditional. While some results conform to findings of older studies, suggesting a lack of attitudinal changes, e.g. when it comes to the positive evaluation of traditional gender roles, other results indicate possible shifts in societal attitudes and perceptions, e.g. when it comes to embracing female promiscuity and sexual freedom. If larger studies were to detect these findings too, they could serve as important clues to understanding how gender-related attitudes both persist and evolve in society – especially when directly comparing two separate cultures.

2. Gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are cognitive structures containing specific beliefs and expectations about the characteristics of women and men (Eckes, 2010, p. 178; Ellemers, 2018, p. 276; López-Sáez & Lisbona, 2009, p. 364). Thus, gender stereotypes have two aspects to them: the descriptive and the prescriptive aspect. While descriptive gender stereotypes are based on beliefs about what women and men are like and how they behave in a certain culture, prescriptive gender stereotypes are based on beliefs about how women and men should be and behave (Rudman & Glick, 2008, pp. 105-130). For example, according to descriptive gender stereotypes, women are emotional and understanding, whereas men are dominant and ambitious, and, according to prescriptive gender stereotypes, women should show emotions and compassion, whereas men should dominate others and work hard (Burgess & Borgida, 1999, p. 666; Eckes, 2010, p. 178). A violation of the assumptions generated by descriptive stereotypes normally results in surprise; a violation of the assumptions generated by prescriptive stereotypes results in condemnation and social rejection (Rudman & Glick, 2008, pp. 105-106). Even though society and gender roles are in constant development, gender stereotypes tend to be culturally invariant and highly resistant to change (Eckes, 2010, p. 178; Williams et al., 1999), though stereotypes about women seem to be more dynamic and likely to change than those about men (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000, p. 1183). For instance, over the past three decades, while their communality has remained the same, women have considered themselves as having become more agentic, while men have not considered themselves as having become more communal (Eckes, 2010, p. 179; Kite et al., 2008, p. 209). Additionally, societal and attitudinal changes happen more quickly compared to linguistic changes. Thus, language tends to represent conservative patterns that might already be outdated with regards to societal attitudes. Remaining in the language, these patterns can still influence the speakers' attitudes, making progress more difficult (Curzan, 2003, p. 188).

When gender stereotypes cause social inequality between women and men, sexism arises. In Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), sexism is distinguished into benevolent sexism (BS) and hostile sexism (HS). While both favour traditional types of women, e.g. housewives and mothers, BS consists of praising such women – creating the *women-are-wonderful-effect* (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994) –, whereas HS consists of opposing non-traditional types of women, e.g. career women, feminists, lesbians etc. (Ramos et al., 2018, p. 160). However, both BS and HS help perpetuate gender roles by rewarding role-

conforming women with positive attitudes towards them and punishing role-non-conforming women with negative attitudes (Ramos et al., 2018, p. 160). Due to increasing awareness of political correctness, explicit expressions of negative attitudes towards non-traditional women have decreased, and people are now more likely to emphasize supposed positive qualities of traditional women, often not realising that benevolent sexist views are harmful too (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015, p. 149). For example, they play a crucial role in rape victim blaming (Glick et al., 2002). Furthermore, Glick et al. (2000) found that high HS and BS mean values in a nation predict a high degree of gender inequality, and that women reject HS and endorse BS significantly more than men, the more sexist a nation is.

Stereotypical female characteristics include warmth, compassion, emotionality and passivity, while stereotypical male characteristics include competence, assertiveness, agency and competitiveness (Ellemers, 2018, p. 277; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). These stereotypes are considered global stereotypes, as they are extremely broad and heterogeneous. They consist of a set of subtypes representing more specific and homogeneous gender types, e.g. career women, housewives, athletes, sexual women, lesbians and feminists for women, and macho men, businessmen, athletes, family men, wimps and homosexual men for men (Carpenter & Trentham, 1998, p. 680; Fiske et al., 2002, p. 879; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, pp. 257-258).

These subtypes can be identified and measured on different dimensions. *Competence* and *warmth* identify four groups of stereotypes, namely paternalistic (incompetent but warm), admiring (competent and warm), contemptuous (incompetent and cold), and envious stereotypes (competent but cold). Paternalistic stereotypes include elderly people, disabled people and housewives. They are disrespected and pitied and considered a non-threatening group. Admiring stereotypes include members of the in-group and close allies. Members are proud of their respect and status. Contemptuous stereotypes include welfare recipients and poor people, who are considered parasitic to society. Finally, envious stereotypes include Asians, Jews, rich people and feminists, who are considered too competent and not likeable (Fiske et al., 2002, pp. 880-881).

Another way of identifying different female and male subtypes is by clustering them according to the following dimensions: Firstly, the dimension *evaluation* highlights the difference between positive and negative perceptions of women (sweetheart vs. bitch) and men (businessman vs. nerd). Secondly, the dimension *sexuality* shows how sexual certain subtypes are seen (playboy vs. scholar). When referring to women, the dimension *sexuality* is further divided into *respectability* (mother vs. whore) and *sexual attractiveness* (babe vs. dyke). Lastly, the dimension *traditionality* represents the difference between traditional and

non-traditional subtypes of women (e.g. housewife vs. career woman) and men (businessman vs. wimp) (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 258).

Based on two pilot studies, this paper aims at showing which subtypes of women and men English and Spanish university students produce and how the same participants rate the most frequently produced expressions regarding evaluation and traditionality. This serves two functions: Firstly, it is possible to show which female and male subtypes are perceived by the participants to be traditional and non-traditional as well as positive and negative. More importantly, however, the relationship between the perceived traditionality and evaluation of certain subtypes can be detected.

3. Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory

When comparing results obtained in the capitals of two countries, it is essential to highlight the importance of the differences between the respective cultures. To do so, the Cultural Dimensions Theory (Hofstede et al., 2010) can be helpful. The model proposed in this theory consists of six dimensions to measure a nation's cultural tendencies. Figure 1 shows the respective scores obtained by the United Kingdom and Spain on the six dimensions.

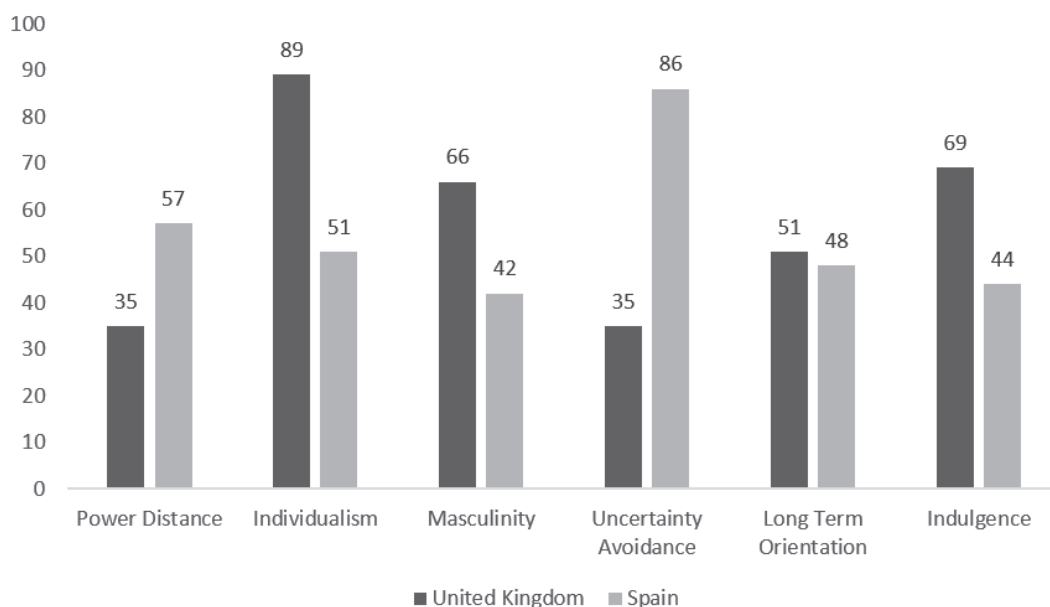


Figure 1. Cultural dimension scores of the United Kingdom and Spain (Hofstede et al., 2010).

When investigating attitudes towards gender, the dimension *Masculinity* is particularly interesting: A nation's degree of masculinity is thought to affect attitudes towards women and

men who do (not) conform to traditional gender roles. According to the theory, cultures that are considered rather masculine, like the United Kingdom (66), tend to praise and positively evaluate traditional women and men, while they show a tendency to reject and negatively evaluate non-traditional subtypes (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 158). Additionally, masculinity scores may predict attitudes towards female and male agency and responsibility. Thus, cultures with a rather high masculinity score, like the United Kingdom, tend to see men as agentic and responsible and women as passive, while cultures with a low masculinity score, like Spain (42) – despite the stereotype of the ‘macho country’ –, lean more towards seeing women and men as equally responsible and decisive (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 159). This seems to also apply to sexual activity and promiscuity. While masculine cultures tend to support the sexual double standard, feminine cultures are more likely to reject it. However, when it comes to casual sex, attitudes seem to have changed in recent years. Young women appear to become more open about it and often reject the sexual double standard also in masculine cultures (Farvid et al., 2017, p. 556). When it comes to homosexuality, cultures with a rather high masculinity score tend to feel threatened by it and appear to reject it (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 158).

Although Hofstede’s model continues to be praised and cited by many scholars, it is important to point out the criticism that has been directed at it. Critics argue, for example, that Hofstede’s findings are out-dated, that the identified dimensions are too few to adequately determine cultural differences and that his approach to culture is too homogenous and ignores differences within a culture (Eringa et al., 2015, pp. 187-188; Jones, 2007, p. 5). Additionally, Hofstede’s model has limitations when applied to small sample sizes as acknowledged by Hofstede himself (Hofstede & Minkov, 2013, p. 2). In the current study, the model must therefore be applied cautiously, keeping its constraints in mind. However, despite the wave of criticism that Hofstede’s model has drawn, “it remains the most valuable piece of work on culture for both scholars and practitioners” (Jones, 2007, p. 7).

When attempting to compare the results obtained by speakers of two languages, it is of course not only important to consider the two cultures but also the specifics of the respective languages. Conducting a large-scale study on positivity biases in different languages, Dodds et al. (2015) found that – while all human language words possess a universal positivity bias – the Spanish language is inherently more positive than the English language (p. 2391), as, on a nine-point scale from most negative/saddest to most positive/happiest, Spanish words were rated more positively by native speakers than the English equivalent words. Thus, this finding must be taken into consideration when analysing the results presented in this paper.

4. Methodology: Production and perception

Two pilot studies on gender stereotypes – a production study and a perception study built upon the first study – were conducted. The participants of both studies were 12 university students in London, United Kingdom (English L1 speakers) and 12 in Madrid, Spain (Spanish L1 speakers) aged between 18 and 25 years (mean age: 19.7). The participants were 7 females and 5 males in London and 8 females and 4 males in Madrid. One female participant in London did not take part in the second study. However, her production data was still considered in the first study.

In the production study, participants engaged in spontaneous written single brainstorming sessions, in which they were asked to note down expressions for different subtypes of women and men on a blank sheet (see Figure 2). They were told to think of aspects such as a woman's or man's looks, personality traits, lifestyle choices and sexuality. There was no interference from the researcher regarding the design of the sheet. Afterwards, in recorded interviews, each participant was asked about the expressions they had come up with regarding meanings, connotations, frequencies, etc.

In the perception study, the same participants rated the 20 in the prior study most frequently mentioned expressions for women and men (ten each) in an online questionnaire created through LamaPoll. Only nine of the ten expressions each were in fact those most frequently mentioned in the production study. However, frequent colloquial expressions for the subtypes *homosexual woman* and *homosexual man* were included in the questionnaire (Eng. *dyke* and *fag* and Sp. *bollera* and *maricón*), as this specific subtype is widely discussed in gender stereotype research (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002; Green et al., 2005). Each expression for a specific subtype was rated on 15 slider scales relating to the following aspects: female/male typicality, violation of female/male role, freedom regarding behaviour, warmth, competence, strength, agency, age, respectability, evaluation and traditionality. An important role model for the scales was Green et al. (2005). The present paper focuses on the perception data obtained from two scales relating to evaluation and traditionality. The two extremes of the evaluation scale were labelled as *not like the traditional female/male stereotype* (Spanish: *no como el estereotipo tradicional femenino/masculino*) and *like the traditional female/male stereotype* (Spanish: *como el estereotipo tradicional femenino/masculino*), respectively. The two extremes of the traditionality scale were labelled as *bad person* (Spanish: *persona mala*) and *good person* (Spanish: *persona buena*), respectively. The participants did not receive any

further input as to how to interpret the scales. By investigating the perception data for the scales *evaluation* and *traditionality*, a likely correlation between the two dimensions can be tested, i.e. positive evaluation of traditional stereotypes and negative evaluation of non-traditional stereotypes – a correlation that has been confirmed in prior research (Glick & Fiske, 1997; Ramos et al., 2018).

Male				Female			
Cruy	Dude	mate	Loa	Her	lass	bird	pet
Man	Sir	Hon	Mr	Love	Cody	miss	Mrs
Master	Prick	bustard		Madam	mistress	wench	
Fag	boy	Dick head		bitch	Doll	Nun	Slut
Nonce	Monk	manflog		Prude			

Figure 2. Example of a written brainstorming by a male participant in London.

5. Results

5.1. Study 1: Production

The numbers of tokens of expressions for women and men produced by the participants are shown in Table 1. All in all, the tendencies regarding the production of tokens conform to results obtained in other studies: Female participants tend to generate a bigger number of subtypes than men (Vonk & Olde-Monnikhof, 1998, p. 41).

Location	Participants	Expressions for women	Expressions for men
London	all (12)	140 tokens (11.7/participant)	136 tokens (11.3/participant)
	female (7)	88 tokens (12.6/participant)	84 tokens (12/participant)
	male (5)	52 tokens (10.4/participant)	52 tokens (10.4/participant)
Madrid	all (12)	153 tokens (12.8/participant)	166 tokens (13.8/participant)
	female (8)	107 tokens (13.4/participant)	111 tokens (13.9/participant)
	male (4)	46 tokens (11.5/participant)	55 tokens (13.8/participant)

Table 1. Numbers of tokens of expressions for women and men produced by the participants in London and Madrid.

Several different female and male subtypes were produced by the English and Spanish participants, which are shown in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Female subtypes	Female participants	Male participants	Total
<i>sexual/sexually attractive/promiscuous woman</i>	20	10	30
<i>sweet woman/darling</i>	14	9	23
<i>lady</i>	14	7	21
<i>young woman/girl</i>	9	6	15
<i>bitchy woman</i>	6	5	11
<i>lesbian/feminist woman</i>	5	5	10
<i>wife/mother/girlfriend/sister</i>	7	3	10
<i>woman/female/she</i>	2	4	6
<i>old/ugly woman</i>	5	0	5
<i>beautiful woman</i>	3	1	4
<i>prude woman</i>	1	2	3
<i>heterosexual woman</i>	2	0	2

Table 2. Female subtypes produced in London, with the number of tokens produced per subtype by female, male and all participants.

Female subtypes	Female participants	Male participants	Total
<i>friend/acquaintance</i>	24	10	34
<i>young/weak woman/girl</i>	17	12	29
<i>promiscuous woman</i>	15	3	18
<i>lady</i>	6	8	14
<i>woman/female/she</i>	8	4	12
<i>sweet woman/darling</i>	5	4	9
<i>beautiful woman</i>	8	0	8
<i>ugly/vulgar woman</i>	5	1	6
<i>dumb woman</i>	6	0	6
<i>wife/mother/sister</i>	3	2	5
<i>old woman</i>	2	1	3
<i>intelligent/successful woman</i>	2	1	3
<i>masculine woman</i>	2	0	2
<i>overweight woman</i>	2	0	2
<i>arrogant woman</i>	1	0	1
<i>person</i>	1	0	1

Table 3. Female subtypes produced in Madrid, with the number of tokens produced per subtype by female, male and all participants.

Male subtypes	Female participants	Male participants	Total
<i>dumb/annoying man</i>	18	11	29
<i>promiscuous man</i>	12	7	19
<i>gay man/wimp</i>	12	3	15
<i>guy</i>	10	5	15
<i>sir/gentleman</i>	6	6	12
<i>husband/father/boyfriend/brother</i>	6	3	9
<i>man/male/he</i>	3	6	9
<i>friend</i>	1	6	7
<i>babe/darling</i>	7	0	7
<i>boy</i>	4	3	7
<i>successful man</i>	2	0	2
<i>heterosexual man</i>	2	0	2
<i>strong man</i>	1	0	1
<i>child abuser</i>	0	1	1
<i>chaste man</i>	0	1	1

Table 4. Male subtypes produced in London, with the number of tokens produced per subtype by female, male and all participants.

Male subtypes	Female participants	Male participants	Total
<i>friend/acquaintance</i>	28	20	48
<i>macho/promiscuous man</i>	17	5	22
<i>young man</i>	12	9	21
<i>sir/gentleman</i>	9	8	17
<i>vulgar/lower class man</i>	6	3	9
<i>man/male/he</i>	5	2	7
<i>person</i>	5	1	6
<i>husband/father/boyfriend/brother</i>	4	2	6
<i>dumb man</i>	6	0	6
<i>intelligent/successful man</i>	3	3	6
<i>tall/strong man</i>	5	0	5
<i>handsome man</i>	5	0	5
<i>gay/submissive man</i>	3	1	4
<i>overweight man</i>	2	0	2
<i>nerd</i>	1	0	1
<i>old man</i>	0	1	1

Table 5. Male subtypes produced in Madrid, with the number of tokens produced per subtype by female, male and all participants.

Overall, the results conform to those of comparable studies regarding the subtypes produced (e.g. Carpenter & Trentham, 1998; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003). Unsurprisingly and in line with other studies (e.g. Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 261), participants produce more tokens of the subtype *friend* in their own gender in-group. In Madrid, for example, the male subtype *friend* is produced 3.5 times per female participant compared to 5.0 times per male participant. However, some tendencies differ from those detected in prior studies. While past studies have found that men generate more subtypes of women and men regarding their sexual activity (e.g. Carpenter & Trentham, 1998, p. 692; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 264), the female participants of the current study produced more tokens of the subtypes *promiscuous woman* (e.g. Eng. *slut*, *slag*, *whore*, Sp. *guarra*, *puta*, *zorra*) and *promiscuous man* (e.g. Eng. *lad*, *player*, *fuckboy*, Sp. *macho*, *mujeriego*, *cabrón*) than male participants. This result might be in line with the trend of women's changing attitudes towards casual sex in recent years. They seem to become more open about it or wish to appear more open about it on the surface, even when still perpetuating sexual double standard discourse (Farvid et al., 2017, p. 556). Female participants might therefore be keen to produce promiscuous subtypes. Since the two studies mentioned above were conducted twenty-two and seventeen years ago, there is reason to believe that attitudinal changes might be responsible for the divergent results.

The most frequently produced expressions for different subtypes of women and men in London and Madrid are shown in Table 6 (see Appendix for the less frequently produced

expressions). The numbers in brackets indicate how many of the twelve participants in London and Madrid produced each expression. In the Spanish grammar system, there are masculine and feminine versions of most nouns denoting people differing only in their ending (either *-a* or *-o/-e/-ø*). Thus, if a participant thinks of *chica* during the brainstorming, they are likely to then also think of *chico*. The respective occurrences in the Spanish data are *tía/tío*, *chica/chico*, *señora/señor*, *niña/niño*, *piba/pibe*, and *chavala/chaval*. This is of course not the case in English. The expressions in Table 6 were those included in the English and Spanish online questionnaires for the perception study (see 5.2).

Expressions for women, London (EWL)	Expressions for men, London (EML)	Expressions for women, Madrid (EWM)	Expressions for men, Madrid (EMM)
<i>slut</i> (11/12)	<i>lad</i> (9/12)	<i>tía</i> (8/12)	<i>chico</i> (8/12)
<i>bitch</i> (11/12)	<i>guy</i> (8/12)	<i>chica</i> (8/12)	<i>señor</i> (8/12)
<i>girl</i> (7/12)	<i>boy</i> (7/12)	<i>señora</i> (6/12)	<i>chaval</i> (6/12)
<i>slag</i> (6/12)	<i>mate</i> (4/12)	<i>niña</i> (6/12)	<i>tío</i> (6/12)
<i>Ms</i> (5/12)	<i>Mr</i> (4/12)	<i>piba</i> (5/12)	<i>macho</i> (5/12)
<i>Mrs</i> (5/12)	<i>dick</i> (4/12)	<i>guarra</i> (5/12)	<i>niño</i> (5/12)
<i>lady</i> (5/12)	<i>Sir</i> (4/12)	<i>chavala</i> (5/12)	<i>pibe</i> (4/12)
<i>whore</i> (5/12)	<i>player</i> (4/12)	<i>señorita</i> (5/12)	<i>colega</i> (4/12)
<i>babe</i> (5/12)	<i>dude</i> (4/12)	<i>princesa</i> (4/12)	<i>cabrón</i> (4/12)
<i>dyke</i> (2/12)	<i>fag</i> (2/12)	<i>bollera</i> (0/12)	<i>maricón</i> (2/12)

Table 6. Most frequently produced expressions for different subtypes of women and men. Occurrences are indicated in brackets.

The most frequently produced expressions are mostly metaphorical or metonymic, as identified by the Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) and an adapted procedure for metonymy identification (Biernacka, 2013) in which contextual meaning and basic meaning of a lexical item are contrasted with each other to determine whether an item is metaphorical or metonymic. This was done with the online versions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and the *Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE) respectively. The only expressions identified as non-metaphorical or non-metonymic were Eng. *Ms*, *Mrs*, *lady*, *dyke*, *mate*, *Mr* and *Sir* (7 out of 20 expressions), and Sp. *señora*, *señorita* and *señor* (3 out of 20 expressions).

The big majority of conceptualizations of the woman and man is as a child, employing the metonymy CHILD/GIRL/BOY for WOMAN/MAN (see Section 1). The respective expressions are Eng. *girl* and *babe* and Sp. *chica*, *niña*, *piba* and *chavala* for a woman, and Eng. *boy* and Sp. *chico*, *chaval*, *niño* and *pibe* for a man. All these expressions refer in their basic meanings

to a child or minor. Yet, they figuratively and mostly colloquially refer to adult women and men, often as forms of address. In London, a female young subtype is produced 12 times and a male young subtype 7 times among the most frequent expressions, while the Spanish participants produce a female young subtype 24 times and a male young subtype 23 times. Conceptualizing an adult as a child can result in belittling the person by depriving them of their fully developed cognitive and bodily functions (see Section 1). However, such forms of address can also create proximity between addresser and addressee, especially so in youth language (Díaz Pérez, 1997; Neuland, 2008; Rodríguez González, 2002). The same holds true for Sp. *tía* and *tío*. While their basic meanings are ‘aunt’ and ‘uncle’, they are used to refer to a person unrelated to the speaker (Díaz Pérez, 1997, p. 197).

The subtypes *promiscuous woman* and *promiscuous man* are conceptualized in several ways. In the following, the basic meanings of the expressions are indicated in inverted commas. A promiscuous woman is conceptualized as Eng. *slut* ‘dirty, untidy woman’, *slag* ‘by-product of smelting ore’, *whore* ‘prostitute’, and Sp. *guarra* ‘sow’; a promiscuous man, on the other hand, is conceptualized as Eng. *lad* ‘young fellow’, *player* ‘person taking part in a sport or game’, Sp. *macho* ‘male’, and *cabrón*, the augmentative of *cabro* ‘billy goat’. The difference regarding the conceptualizations is striking. While the promiscuous woman is conceptualized in terms of a dirty, piggish and undesired prostitute, the promiscuous man is conceptualized as a rather neutral male whose sex life is considered a sporty game, and as a billy goat, i.e. a male goat that naturally mates with several or all females of its herd. Thus, promiscuity in women tends to be regarded as an objectionable profession but as a healthy, natural hobby in men.

The subtype *homosexual woman* is conceptualized as Sp. *bollera* ‘woman who makes or sells buns’, derived from *bollo* ‘bun’ to metaphorically refer to the vagina (similarity in shape) and metonymically also to the woman (PART for WHOLE), and the subtype *homosexual man* as Eng. *fag*, an abbreviation of *faggot* ‘troublesome, slatternly woman’ (Johansson, 1981), and Sp. *maricón*, the augmentative of *marica*, which itself is the diminutive of the prototypical female Christian name *María*. Thus, while the homosexual woman referred to as *bollera* is identified as such by focussing solely on the importance of sexual intercourse, the homosexual man is considered a woman.

Other conceptualizations of a woman are Eng. *bitch* ‘female dog’ to denote a spiteful woman, and Sp. *princesa* ‘princess’ to refer to a very good-looking woman. While the derogatory *bitch* reduces a woman to an animal, i.e. to a lower category of the Great Chain of Being, *princesa* elevates a woman to nobility, i.e. a higher category.

The remaining conceptualizations of a man are Eng. *guy*, derived from the historical figure Guy Fawkes and later meaning ‘person of grotesque appearance’, to refer to a man, and *dick* ‘penis’ to derogatorily refer to a contemptible man by employing the metonymy PENIS for MAN, *dude* ‘stylish man’ to refer to any man, as well as Sp. *colega* ‘colleague’ to refer to a friend, mitigating the closeness between individuals. It should be noted that the expression *guy* has since lost the meaning of grotesque appearance and can now be used in plural to address both men and women, e.g. when addressing a group of male and female friends with “Hi, guys”. When it comes to the expression *dick*, the conceptualization is especially interesting as a man’s annoying behaviour seems to be attributed to his penis – a body part that is considered to be inextricably linked to maleness.

Naturally, not all expressions for subtypes of women and men are equally conventionalised. All the 20 most frequently mentioned English expressions have entries in the OED, and all the 20 most frequently mentioned Spanish expressions have entries in the DRAE, except for *cabrón* ‘promiscuous man’. However, not all the other less frequently mentioned expressions (see Appendix) have entries in the respective dictionary: 6 out of 64 types of EWL (9.4%) and 10 out of 74 types of EML (13.5%) do not have entries in the OED, and 25 out of 84 types of EWM (29.8%) and 35 out of 101 types of EMM (34.7%) do not have entries in the DRAE. On the one hand, these percentages indicate the degree of conventionalisation of (colloquial) expressions. On the other hand, the differences are to a certain degree due to different normative dictionary traditions and the overall size of the dictionaries. The OED has at least twice as many entries as the DRAE. These issues highlight the importance of spontaneous brainstorming sessions with L1 speakers for the elicitation of such expressions as participants produce expressions regardless of dictionary traditions.

Additionally, perception studies play a crucial part in research like this since they can determine subtle differences in the connotations of expressions and in the speakers’ attitudes towards them. For example, a female participant from London reported no differences between *slut* and *slag* in the interview but rated *slut* as less traditional and more negative than *slag* in the online questionnaire.

5.2. Study 2: Perception

5.2.1. Traditionality

The approximate mean results for *traditionality* for each of the 40 words (20 English and 20 Spanish words, of which 10 words each for women and men) are shown in Table 7. Low means indicate *not like the traditional female/male stereotype*, high means indicate *like*

the traditional female/male stereotype. The Spanish equivalents are *no como el estereotipo tradicional femenino/masculino* and *como el estereotipo tradicional femenino/masculino*.

EWL	EML	EWM	EMM
<i>Mrs</i> : 89.7	<i>Mr</i> : 91.4	<i>señora</i> : 86.4	<i>señor</i> : 82.4
<i>lady</i> : 81.5	<i>guy</i> : 86.7	<i>señorita</i> : 78.8	<i>macho</i> : 65.7
<i>girl</i> : 70.5	<i>lad</i> : 71.1	<i>princesa</i> : 67.3	<i>chico</i> : 59.5
<i>Ms</i> : 52.7	<i>mate</i> : 70.5	<i>niña</i> : 65.4	<i>chaval</i> : 58.1
<i>babe</i> : 51.1	<i>player</i> : 65.6	<i>chica</i> : 63.8	<i>tío</i> : 58.1
<i>bitch</i> : 32.6	<i>Sir</i> : 64.9	<i>tía</i> : 56.8	<i>niño</i> : 54.3
<i>shut</i> : 25.1	<i>dude</i> : 60.1	<i>piba</i> : 45.0	<i>colega</i> : 44.6
<i>slag</i> : 21.5	<i>boy</i> : 45.6	<i>chavala</i> : 44.3	<i>cabrón</i> : 44.1
<i>whore</i> : 17.6	<i>dick</i> : 44.6	<i>guarra</i> : 25.3	<i>pibe</i> : 39.0
<i>dyke</i> : 14.6	<i>fag</i> : 10.6	<i>bollera</i> : 8.1	<i>maricón</i> : 5.8

Table 7. Participants' mean ratings of the dimension *traditionality*. Low means indicate low traditionality, high means indicate high traditionality.

EML scores the highest mean result (61.1), followed by EWM (54.1), EMM (51.2) and EWL (45.7). EWL is in fact the only category where the mean result of less than 50 suggests an overall tendency for participants to produce more non-traditional than traditional female subtypes. The bigger difference between EWL and EML compared to the Madrid results could possibly be explained by the different scores of the United Kingdom and Spain on the dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3). In rather masculine countries, like the United Kingdom, women and men tend to be considered inherently different while rather feminine countries, like Spain, show a greater tendency to consider women and men equal.

The most traditional subtypes are Eng. *Mrs* (89.7), *lady* (81.5), *guy* (86.7), *Mr* (91.4) and Sp. *señora* (86.4) and *señor* (82.4). Interestingly, while in English the most traditional subtype is the male *Mr*, in Spanish it is the female *señora*. Regarding the expressions denoting children or young people, the female subtypes tend to be rated more traditional (Eng. *girl*: 70.5, *babe*: 51.1, Sp. *chica*: 63.8, *niña*: 65.4, *piba*: 45.0, *chavala*: 44.3) than the male subtypes (Eng. *boy*: 45.6, Sp. *chico*: 59.5, *niño*: 54.3; *pibe*: 39.0, *chaval*: 58.1). This might mean that women tend to be regarded as inherently younger than men. An indication for this could be that the youngest subtype *babe* is among the most frequently produced expressions for women, but not for men. The infantilization of women has been shown in previous research, e.g. in the contexts of sports (Spencer, 2003) or reproductive health (Cook et al., 2010). The comment of a female participant in the current study when comparing the connotations of *girl* and *boy* also points to female, as opposed to male, infantilization: "It's used in kind of a patronising context for girls but not for boys."

Turning to the other end of the traditionality scale, in London but especially in Madrid, participants perceive the homosexual woman and man as the least traditional subtypes (Eng. *dyke*: 14.6, *fag*: 10.6, Sp. *bollera*: 8.1, *maricón*: 5.8). Additionally, the English and Spanish participants rate the homosexual man as less traditional than the homosexual woman. This is expected since

it seems that [homosexual] males are more easily seen as trespassing the psychological threshold for maleness [...] than vice versa. In other words, there may be a wider range of ways to be feminine than there are ways to be masculine. (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 275)

A homosexual man is less likely to be considered traditional than a homosexual woman, while both are considered extremely non-traditional.

When it comes to the subtypes *promiscuous woman* and *promiscuous man*, the results are fundamentally different (see Table 7). Participants rate the promiscuous woman as much less traditional (Eng. *slut*: 25.1, *slag*: 21.5, *whore*: 17.5, Sp. *guarra*: 25.3) than the promiscuous man (Eng. *lad*: 71.1, *player*: 65.6, Sp. *macho*: 65.7, *cabrón*: 44.1). These findings are in line with the literature (e.g. Green et al., 2005, pp. 452-455; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277). An explanation for this rating is the prevalence of a sexual double standard (Reiss, 1967; Zaikman & Marks, 2014), according to which it tends to be more acceptable for men to be sexually active and engage in promiscuous behaviour than for women. Furthermore, there is an overall tendency for male compared to female participants to rate female and male promiscuous subtypes as less traditional.

5.2.2. Evaluation

In Table 8, the approximate mean results for the dimension *evaluation* are shown. Low means indicate *bad person*, high means indicate *good person*. The Spanish equivalents are *persona mala* and *persona buena*.

EWL	EML	EWM	EMM
<i>babe</i> : 70.0	<i>mate</i> : 74.0	<i>princesa</i> : 83.9	<i>colega</i> : 77.6
<i>lady</i> : 62.3	<i>Mr</i> : 56.2	<i>niña</i> : 76.3	<i>niño</i> : 69.5
<i>Mrs</i> : 61.6	<i>guy</i> : 55.7	<i>señorita</i> : 75.8	<i>señor</i> : 56.5
<i>girl</i> : 60.5	<i>Sir</i> : 54.0	<i>señora</i> : 69.9	<i>maricón</i> : 55.5
<i>dyke</i> : 56.7	<i>boy</i> : 53.6	<i>chica</i> : 65.1	<i>tío</i> : 55.1
<i>Ms</i> : 54.8	<i>dude</i> : 53.4	<i>bollera</i> : 58.9	<i>pibe</i> : 53.8
<i>slut</i> : 46.5	<i>fag</i> : 52.0	<i>tía</i> : 58.3	<i>chaval</i> : 53.1
<i>slag</i> : 41.1	<i>lad</i> : 44.5	<i>chavala</i> : 50.7	<i>chico</i> : 51.6
<i>whore</i> : 40.4	<i>player</i> : 35.8	<i>piba</i> : 46.1	<i>macho</i> : 42.7
<i>bitch</i> : 18.4	<i>dick</i> : 24.5	<i>guarra</i> : 38.9	<i>cabrón</i> : 9.4

Table 8. Participants' mean ratings of the dimension *evaluation*. Low means indicate negative evaluation, high means indicate positive evaluation.

The London participants perceive *babe* as the most positive female subtype (70.0) and *mate* as the most positive male subtype (74.0), while they rate *bitch* as the most negative female subtype (18.4) and *dick* as the most negative male subtype (24.5). One female participant's comment on *bitch* illustrates this perceived negativity: "It would be the worst generic word for a woman if you wanted to offend her." The Madrid participants rate *princesa* as the most positive (83.9) and *guarra* as the most negative female subtype (38.9), and *colega* as the most positive (77.6) and *cabrón* as the most negative male subtype (9.4). In Madrid, thus, the most positively rated subtype is a female subtype, whereas the most negatively rated subtype is a male subtype, i.e. contrary to the London results. Interestingly, among the Spanish expressions for women, half of them are rated as positive (65 or higher), namely *chica* (65.1), *señora* (69.9), *señorita* (75.8), *niña* (76.3) and *princesa* (83.9). Among the Spanish expressions for men, only *niño* (69.5) and *colega* (77.6) are rated positively, while *babe* (70.0) and *mate* (74.0) are the only positively rated English expressions. As mentioned above, this is in line with findings by Dodds et al. (2015) that Spanish is inherently more positive than English (p. 2391).

Regarding the expressions denoting children or young people, in London the female terms are evaluated more positively than the male counterpart: *girl* (60.5) and *babe* (70.0) vs. *boy* (53.6). This could be an indication of positive attitudes towards the infantilization of women as opposed to men. Put bluntly, the woman as a minor and in need of assistance is favoured more than the male counterpart. Interestingly, the infantilised woman is also considered more traditional than the infantilised man – both in London and Madrid (see 5.2.1). Regarding the evaluation of young subtypes, however, in Madrid the results are balanced: *chica* (65.1) vs. *chico* (51.6), *niña* (76.3) vs. *niño* (69.5), *piba* (46.1) vs. *pibe* (53.8),

and *chavala* (50.7) vs. *chaval* (53.1). This difference between London and Madrid can potentially be explained with the cultural dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3). Thus, cultures with a rather high masculinity score, like the United Kingdom, tend to see men as mature and women as immature individuals.

Focusing on the perception results of only the promiscuous subtypes, interesting patterns emerge. In London, the female *slut* is rated most positively (46.5), followed by the male *lad* (44.5), the female subtypes *slag* (41.1) and *whore* (40.4) and finally the male *player* (35.8). In Madrid, the male *macho* is rated most positively (42.7), followed by the female *guarra* (38.9) and the male *cabrón* (9.4). In other words, English and Spanish participants evaluate the male promiscuous subtype as more negative than the female one. However, most participants – in Madrid especially – are female themselves and the participant's gender tends to play a crucial role in evaluating promiscuity among the gender in- and out-group. Moreover, in Madrid, *guarra*, *macho* and *cabrón* are the three most negatively rated expressions. In London, however, it is not the promiscuous subtypes that are rated most negatively but *bitch*, a spiteful woman, and *dick*, a contemptible man. This tendency also remains the same when looking at the individual evaluation means for the promiscuous subtypes of all four categories: EWL (42.7), EML (40.2), EWM (38.9) and EMM (26.1).

The evaluation of the homosexual subtypes is similar, namely rather neutral or positive, across all four categories: *dyke* (56.7), *fag* (52.0), *bollera* (58.9) and *maricón* (55.5). However, participants rate the homosexual woman more positively than the homosexual man, which corresponds to previous findings (Monto & Supinski, 2014; Schope & Eliason, 2004). Furthermore, the Spanish participants perceive both the female and the male homosexual subtype as more positive than the English participants. Again, this can be explained by considering the cultural dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3). Cultures with a rather high masculinity score, like the United Kingdom, tend to feel threatened by homosexuality more than feminine cultures do and therefore reject it.

Looking at the results of all participants, a correlation between traditionality and evaluation can be observed in both London (0.41) and Madrid (0.34). It seems that the more traditional the participants perceive a subtype to be, the more positively they perceive it. The fact that this correlation is stronger in London can again be explained by the dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3). As a more masculine country, the United Kingdom might show the tendency to praise traditional women and men, evaluating them positively, and to reject non-traditional women and men, evaluating them negatively.

When it comes to promiscuous subtypes, male participants in London perceive all female subtypes to be more negative than female participants (*slut*: 41.2 vs. 51.0, *slag*: 39.0 vs. 42.8, *whore*: 34.0 vs. 45.7), while female participants rate *player* more negatively (34.2 vs. 37.8) but *lad* more positively (45.7 vs. 43.0). This overall tendency conforms to the results obtained by Milhausen and Herold (2001) in that people rate promiscuous subtypes of their own gender in-group more positively than the out-group. In Madrid, this tendency can only really be detected in *cabrón*, which females perceive as more negative than males (7.8 vs. 12.8), and very slightly in *guarra*, which females perceive as more positive than males (39.0 vs. 38.8). Apart from in-group favouritism and negative attitudes towards out-groups, research has shown that people distinguish further between in-subgroups and out-subgroups (Vonk & Olde-Monnikhof, 1998). So, a chaste person generally has negative attitudes towards promiscuous women and men but positive attitudes towards chaste women and men and vice versa. Since the participants in this pilot study were not asked about their own personalities or behaviours, it is unknown whether they see themselves belonging to the promiscuous or any other subtype.

Regarding the most positively evaluated female subtypes, male participants – in London especially – tend to evaluate subtypes perceived to be very traditional, e.g. *Mrs* and *lady*, more positively than female participants (*Mrs*: 65.8 vs. 58.2, *lady*: 65.8 vs. 59.3). In relation to this, one female participant reported to perceive a patronising connotation when being called *lady*. When it comes to the least traditional subtypes, e.g. *slut* and *whore*, male participants – especially in London – evaluate most of the expressions more negatively than female participants (*slut*: 41.2 vs. 51.0, *bitch*: 16.4 vs. 20.0, *slag*: 39.0 vs. 42.9, *whore*: 34.0 vs. 45.7, *dyke*: 54.6 vs. 58.5). This trend is also revealed by the gender-dependent correlations between traditionality and the evaluation of female subtypes. There is a correlation of 0.73 in the results of the male participants compared to a correlation of 0.40 in the results of the female participants. These results, then, seem to conform to findings in Ambivalent Sexism Theory that men tend to obtain higher results than women in both HS and BS (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2013). Thus, men generally favour traditional female subtypes more than women, but also show more hostility towards non-traditional female subtypes. It appears that this trend cannot be detected in Madrid. Here, the results of the female participants show a correlation of 0.70 and the results of the male participants show a correlation of 0.50. A possible explanation might again be the cultural dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3).

When it comes to the correlation between traditionality and evaluation of male subtypes, in London, the results of the male participants show a correlation of 0.44, while

those of the female participants show almost no correlation (0.05). In Madrid, in the results of the male participants there is a correlation of 0.26, while those of the female participants even show a negative correlation (-0.07). Thus, consistent with the dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3), male participants in London seem to favour traditional male subtypes more than male participants in Madrid.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The results of the pilot studies presented in this paper offer plenty of opportunity for interpretation and discussion. When it comes to the participants' production of female and male subtypes, a striking finding is that female, not male participants, in both London and Madrid, produce more items per person for both *promiscuous woman* and *promiscuous man*. As mentioned above, this tendency is contrary to results obtained in previous studies (e.g. Carpenter & Trentham, 1998, p. 692; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 264). It might indicate that young women are becoming more open about casual sex and are rejecting the sexual double standard (see Section 2). The fact that female participants perceive the subtype *promiscuous woman* as more positive than *promiscuous man* might be additional evidence for this trend. However, in terms of judging the traditionality of promiscuous subtypes, all, though especially the male, participants perceive the female subtype as less traditional than the male subtype. This tendency also reveals itself in the conceptualizations of promiscuous subtypes found among the most frequently produced expressions in study 1. As analysed above (see 5.1), the promiscuous woman is conceptualized as a dirty and undesired prostitute, while the promiscuous man is seen as a generic man with casual sex as a healthy, natural hobby. So, while female participants seem to be open about promiscuity in women and show positive attitudes towards it, they still appear to perceive them as less traditional than promiscuous men and tend to produce conservative conceptualizations reinforcing the sexual double standard of the sexually passive woman vs. the sexually active man. The conceptualizations of the subtypes *promiscuous woman* and *promiscuous man*, but also of the other subtypes in the current study (see 5.1), nicely highlight the crucial role that conceptual metaphor and metonymy play in reflecting and reinforcing gender stereotypes. Accordingly, through these two conceptual mechanisms, promiscuity is conceptualized as dirty behaviour in women but as a healthy activity in men, and the conceptualizations of female homosexuality emphasize the role of sexual intercourse between women, while male homosexuality is equated with womanhood, for example.

When it comes to the homosexual types, their evaluation rating is neutral to slightly positive (see 5.2.2), while their traditionality rating is very low (see 5.2.1). In fact, they are considered so non-traditional that for the most part they were not even produced in the brainstorming. This is potential evidence for the peripheral place of the homosexual subtypes in the ad hoc production of female and male subtypes (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, pp. 262-263). Additionally, when asked after the brainstorming sessions why the participants had not listed any expressions specifically denoting homosexual women and men, they often responded that they had not thought of sexualities other than heterosexuality. Of course, a shortcoming of the pilot study was that participants were not asked about their own gender identity. It is possible that most of the participants were heterosexual and therefore did not regard the homosexual subtype as prototypical.

As mentioned before, there seems to be an overall correlation between traditionality and evaluation. However, as mentioned in Section 2, over the years the rejection of non-traditional women (HS) has decreased, while the appreciation of traditional women (BS) is still prevalent. It appears that this trend can be detected in the results of the current study, too. Male participants evaluate the subtypes of women which they rate most traditional more positively than those they rate least traditional. On average, when it comes to evaluation, a traditional female subtype is rated 65.8 by male participants in London and 71.6 in Madrid, while a non-traditional female subtype is rated 37.0 by male participants in London and 51.7 in Madrid. Thus, the evaluation of traditional subtypes approaches the positive extreme of 100 more than the evaluation of non-traditional subtypes, which approaches the negative extreme of 0. This might be a sign for a stronger BS prevalence compared to a weaker HS prevalence among the male participants. Again, the dimension *Masculinity* (see Section 3) could explain the smaller difference between the ratings of traditional and non-traditional female subtypes and the overall more positive ratings of female subtypes in the more feminine Spanish culture compared to the more masculine culture of the United Kingdom. Additionally, the difference between the Spanish and the English ratings could be due to, as mentioned above, Spanish being inherently more positive than English (Dodds et al., 2015, p. 2391).

Since the present pilot study is based on the production and perception data of a small sample of participants, the results obtained must be regarded keeping this in mind. Additionally, it is important to consider that the participants belonged to only one age group (18 to 25 years), the gender distribution among the participants was uneven and the participants' sexual identity was unknown. Furthermore, while recruiting the same

participants for both the production and the perception study is beneficial in some respects, it could have also led to learning effects that might have skewed the ratings.

Many results obtained in the current pilot study conform to findings of previous studies, whereas some do not. An important finding of the current study is that female participants produce more items per person for promiscuous subtypes. Since this is contrary to the results of previous studies, it would be beneficial to investigate whether this tendency remains the same in large-scale studies to detect current attitudinal changes in society. The same is the case for the evaluation results regarding homosexual subtypes. A larger study with participants of different age groups could reveal whether attitudes towards non-traditional female and male subtypes are indeed changing in a way that discriminated subgroups are being evaluated increasingly more positively. The growing popularity of Gay Pride parades in London, Madrid and many other cities among the LGBTQ+ community but also among people outside of this community would speak for this trend. Furthermore, as was the case in the present pilot study, it is recommendable for future research to focus on more than one language and culture in order to not only be able to draw conclusions regarding a single culture but also compare cross-cultural gender role attitudes and perceptions. The results of such studies could thus be important indicators for understanding the way in which gender-related attitudes both persist and evolve in society as well as the role that conceptual metaphor and metonymy play in reflecting and reinforcing gender stereotypes, beliefs and prejudices.

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Appendix

Data set of the less frequently mentioned expressions for different types of women and men in the brainstorming sessions in London and Madrid (alphabetical order).

EWL	EML	EWM	EMM
- actress	- asshole	- abuela	- amigo
- beautiful	- babe	- amiga	- bebé
- bird	- baby	- (mi) amor	- bombón
- homosexual	- bastard	- barriobajera	- borracho
- boy	- bellend	- beba	- bragas
- chick	- homosexual	- bonita	- bro
- darling	- bitchboy	- borracha	- buenorro
- doll	- bloke	- cabrona	- caballero
- female	- boss	- cañón	- capullo
- feminist	- boyfriend	- chiquet	- cerdo
- gay	- bro	- chocho	- chavalote
- girl next door	- brother	- choni	- chiquet
- girlfriend	- bruv	- chorba	- chiqui
- her	- bud	- cielo	- chorbo
- heterosexual	- casanova	- coco	- chulo
- hoe	- cock	- compañera	- coco
- honey	- cunt	- crack	- compadre
- lass	- darling	- creída	- compañero
- lesbian	- dickhead	- cuerpo	- compi
- love	- drag (queen)	- dama	- crack
- lover	- father	- damisela	- crio
- madam	- fella	- doncella	- degenerado
- mistress	- fool	- ejecutiva	- él
- model	- fuckboy	- ella	- el puto ama
- mother	- fucker	- esa	- fiera
- mum	- gay	- esposa	- flipado
- nun	- gayboy	- facilona	- friki
- old ball and chain	- geezer	- femenina	- galán
- (old) hag	- gentleman	- fémina	- gilipollas
- (old) witch	- he	- figura	- golfo
- pet	- hench	- fresca	- gordi
- piece of that	- heterosexual	- gorda	- gordo
- prude	- him	- gordita	- guapo
- queen	- honey	- hembra	- guarro
- she	- husband	- hermana	- hermano
- sis	- idiot	- imbécila	- hijo de mal
- sister	- ladyboy	- joven	- hombre (de pelo en
- straight	- legend	- jovenata	pecho)
- sweetheart	- loser	- jovenzuela	- hombretón
- sweetie	- love	- lerda	- humano
- tease	- male	- loca	- idiota
- wench	- manslag	- madame	- imbécil
- white trash	- manwhore	- madre	- jefe
- wife	- master	- maja	- joven
- wifey	- monk	- marimacho	- jovenazo
- witch	- nonce	- marquesa	- jovenzuelo
	- n-word	- moza	- león
	- prick	- muchacha	- loco
	- puff	- mujer	- macho man
	- pussy	- mujerona	- machorro
	- queer	- mujerzuela	- machote
	- scrub	- nena	- majo
	- sleaze	- niñata	- mal nacido
	- son of a bitch	- pava	- manín
	- straight	- pequeñita	- manito

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>stupid</i> - <i>sweetheart</i> - <i>tranny</i> - <i>trans</i> - <i>twat</i> - <i>wanker</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>perra</i> - <i>persona</i> - <i>pichón</i> - <i>pituti</i> - <i>preciosa</i> - <i>prima</i> - <i>puta</i> - <i>santa</i> - <i>sexo débil</i> - <i>solterona</i> - <i>teta</i> - <i>tía buena</i> - <i>tiwi</i> - <i>tronca</i> - <i>trueno</i> - <i>verdulera</i> - <i>víbora</i> - <i>vieja</i> - <i>zorra</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>marica</i> - <i>marido</i> - <i>maromo</i> - <i>marqués</i> - <i>masculino</i> - <i>mozo</i> - <i>muchacho</i> - <i>mujeriego</i> - <i>nano</i> - <i>nene</i> - <i>novio</i> - <i>padre</i> - <i>pana</i> - <i>parse</i> - <i>pavo</i> - <i>persona</i> - <i>personaje</i> - <i>pinche</i> - <i>pivón</i> - <i>prim</i> - <i>primo</i> - <i>príncipe</i> - <i>putero</i> - <i>salido</i> - <i>señorito</i> - <i>sexo fuerte</i> - <i>subnormal</i> - <i>sujeto</i> - <i>tete</i> - <i>tipo</i> - <i>tiwi</i> - <i>tronco</i> - <i>tronki</i> - <i>varón</i> - <i>viejo</i> - <i>wey</i>
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Research article 3

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Breaking down gender subtype perception

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Abstract. Gender stereotype research has identified many female and male subtypes, e.g. *housewife*, *career woman*, *macho man*, and *wimp*. Regarding their perception, several dimensions, such as *Warmth*, *Competence*, *Traditionality*, and *Age*, have been found to be meaningful in people's cognitive organization of them. The present paper analyses gender subtype perception results obtained in an online questionnaire among English and Spanish participants who rated ten female and ten male subtypes on 15 scales. The subtypes were produced by the participants themselves in a prior study. The results are backed up by interview quotes of the same participants. Many of the findings conform to those of prior studies, e.g. the clear separation of female and male subtype clusters, while others are novel or contrary to previous research. Thus, the English male subtype *mate* is perceived both very masculine and feminine and the Spanish promiscuous female subtype *guarra* is seen as inherently different from the English equivalents.

Keywords. Gender subtypes, perception, stereotypes, English, Spanish.

1. Introduction

A vast amount of research on gender stereotypes has been dedicated to identifying and understanding broad global gender stereotypes. Accordingly, sensitivity, expressiveness, and dependence are typical female features and independence, activity, and competitiveness are typical male features (Irmen, 2006, p. 435; Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008, p. 207). More importantly, however, research has increasingly focused on the production and perception of more specific female and male subtypes. It has been shown that rather than thinking of the categories *women* and *men* as a whole, people tend to think of particular subtypes that are both consistent and inconsistent with the global stereotype (Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Richards & Hewstone, 2001; Eckes, Trautner, Behrendt, 2005, p. 89). While both kinds of subtypes help to maintain the global stereotype, they do so in different ways: Those subtypes that are consistent with the global stereotype (e.g. *housewife*, *mother*, *weak woman*) naturally perpetuate it. However, inconsistent subtypes (e.g. *career woman*, *feminist*) are grouped together and treated as exceptions to the rule, thereby reinforcing the global stereotype (Richards & Hewstone, 2001, p. 53).

The aim of the present study is to analyse different female and male subtypes on 15 dimensions that have been found to be meaningful in the perception of gender subtypes, using 23 participants' perception results obtained from slider scales rather than point scales, in hope of detecting subtle differences especially when it comes to very similar subtypes (e.g. *slut* vs. *slag* vs. *whore*). Furthermore, this study investigates both English (United Kingdom) and Spanish (Spain) expressions for female and male subtypes, offering a direct comparison between the two languages. An additional advantage of the present study is that the participants rate expressions for subtypes of women and men that they themselves produced in a prior study, which means that those subtypes that are relevant and accessible to them are included in the present study.

In the following section, the theoretical framework pertinent for the present study is outlined. This is followed by the presentation of the methodology used in the study, regarding the set of participants, the generation of the gender subtypes, the procedure involving slider scales in an online questionnaire, and lastly the statistical analyses employed. Next, the major results are presented before, lastly, the results of the current study are discussed and the conclusion is presented.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Gender subtypes

Previous studies have commonly identified the female subtypes *housewife*, *career woman*, *female athlete*, *sex object*, *chick*, *prep*, *nerd*, *prissy girl*, *tramp*, *lesbian*, *tomboy* and *feminist*, and the male subtypes *businessman*, *macho man*, *male athlete*, *hippie*, *professor*, *nerd*, *poser*, *gangsta*, *punk*, *yuppie*, *bourgeois*, *senior citizen*, *homosexual*, *wimp* and *family man* (Eckes, 1994, pp. 43, 45; Glick et al., 1997, p. 1327; Carpenter & Trentham, 1998, p. 680; Vonk & Olde-Monnikhof, 1998, p. 41; Coats & Smith, 1999, p. 519; Fiske et al., 2002, p. 879; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, pp. 257–258; Eckes, Trautner, & Behrendt, 2005, p. 95; Wade & Brewer, 2006, p. 756).

Using cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling to analyse the structure of gender cognition, Eckes (1994) identified six clusters of female subtypes and eight clusters of male subtypes. The female clusters, on the one hand, were the Chick Cluster, the Housewife Cluster, the Career Woman Cluster, the Women's Libber Cluster, the Punk Cluster (comprised of only one subtype) and the Vamp Cluster (comprised of only one subtype). The male subtypes, on the other hand, were the Hippie Cluster, the Professor Cluster, the Punk Cluster, the Yuppie Cluster, the Macho Cluster, the Bourgeois Cluster, The Senior Citizen Cluster (comprised of only one subtype) and the Typical Man Cluster (comprised of only one subtype). Eckes (1994) found that the Housewife Cluster, comprised of the subtypes *wallflower*, *naive type*, *typical woman* and *housewife*, resembled the global female stereotype. The global male stereotype, however, was represented in its own cluster, namely the Typical Man, making the typical man distinct from any other male subtype.

When it comes to the perception of gender subtypes, several dimensions have been found to be meaningful in people's cognitive organization of them – as will be shown in the next paragraphs in which relevant studies are presented –, namely *Evaluation*, *Traditionality*, *Respectability*, *Competence*, *Age*, *Settled*, *Choice*, *Warmth*, *Sexualness*, *Strength*, *Activity*, *Communal*, *Violation of female/male role*, *Typical adult woman/man*, *Femininity/Masculinity* (Fiske et al., 2002; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005).

In their study on subtype organization, Carpenter and Trentham (2001) used clustering in free sorting as well as in free recall to determine the role of the dimensions *Gender* and

Evaluation for subtype organization. Participants sorted around 600 female and male subtypes, making it the first study to consider female and male subtypes simultaneously, and after elimination procedures 414 of those subtypes were cluster analysed, resulting in clusters of occupations (e.g. *boss*), interpersonal roles (e.g. *buddy*), interests (e.g. *sports fan*), sexual styles (e.g. *gay boy*) and negative subtypes (e.g. *idiot*). Carpenter and Trentham (2001) found that while *Gender* and *Evaluation* do play a role in organizing gender subtypes, attributes used to classify person subtypes are predominantly responsible for it.

Vonk and Ashmore (2003) investigated the judgement of 34 gender subtypes (17 female and 17 male) on 10 dimensions. Each participant of the study judged all subtypes on one of the 10 dimensions on a 7-point bipolar scale. The subtypes were not produced by the participants themselves, but by another set of participants. Using linear regression analyses to create a multidimensional space, Vonk and Ashmore (2003) found that the dimensions *Femininity/Masculinity*, *Traditionality*, *Age* and to a lesser degree *Settled* and *Choice* were most important in the description of the different female and male subtypes. Furthermore, they detected a very clear separation between female and male subtypes, meaning they did not mingle across the multidimensional space. In other words, the subtypes *businesswoman* and *businessman* were not judged in a way that they appeared close to each other but instead appeared very clearly in the feminine and masculine spaces respectively. However, Vonk and Ashmore (2003) found two exceptions to this tendency: Firstly, family subtypes (*mother* and *father*, *housewife* and *homemaker*, *grandmother* and *grandad*) appeared grouped together in the feminine space, suggesting that “merely being at home may have a stereotypically feminine connotation” (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 274). Secondly, the male subtypes *homosexual* and *sissy* approached the feminine space much more than the equivalent female subtypes approached the masculine space, which indicates that “males are more easily seen as trespassing the psychological threshold for maleness” (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 275).

Lastly, the study on gender subtype perception by Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) was based on a free sorting of 89 gender subtypes (35 female, 36 male and 18 gender neutral) which were collected from the data sets of previous gender subtype literature. However, prior to arriving at the 89 subtypes, many subtypes were eliminated in different steps, for example due to semantic similarity, like in *flirt* and *tease*. Based on the similarity between the subtypes, they were sorted by the participants into groups who subsequently rated the groups on 11 dimensions on a 7-point scale. Applying multidimensional scaling and hierarchical clustering analyses, Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005), too, found a clear gender separation between female and male subtypes, highlighting the significance of the dimension *Femininity/Masculinity*. Furthermore, they showed the importance of the dimensions *Respectability*, *Evaluation* and *Violation of female/male role* when structuring gender subtypes.

2.2. Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory

The Cultural Dimension Theory by Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) can provide useful insights into certain tendencies found in different cultures. These insights can then prove beneficial when comparing data obtained from study participants of different cultures. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) use six dimensions to determine a country's cultural index, namely *Power Distance*, *Individualism vs. Collectivism*, *Uncertainty Avoidance*, *Masculinity vs. Femininity*, *Short-Term Orientation vs. Long-Term Orientation*, and *Indulgence vs. Restraint*. Among those dimensions, *Masculinity vs. Femininity* in particular can reveal interesting tendencies in a country with regard to attitudes toward gender: Generally speaking, the more masculine a country is, the more it tends to positively evaluate women and men who conform to traditional gender roles and to negatively evaluate non-traditional female and male

subtypes (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 158). Furthermore, masculine countries show a greater tendency to regard men as active subjects and women as passive objects than passive countries, which are more likely to consider both men and women active subjects (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 159). The dimension *Masculinity vs. Femininity* can also be an indicator of attitudinal tendencies in a country with regard to sexual activity and promiscuity. While the sexual double standard tends to be supported in masculine countries, feminine countries are likely to reject it and think of sexual activity and promiscuity as an acceptable option for both men and women. Lastly, attitudes toward homosexuality can also be influenced by the dimension *Masculinity vs. Femininity*, in that masculine countries tend to fear homosexuality and for that reason reject it. This is generally not the case for feminine countries.

The participants of the present study are English L1 speakers from London, United Kingdom and Spanish L1 speakers from Madrid, Spain respectively. According to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010), the *Masculinity vs. Femininity* index of the United Kingdom is 66 and 42 of Spain, making the former a rather masculine and the latter a rather feminine country.

While Hofstede's theory has been widely praised and applied in research, certain aspects of it have been subject to criticism. For example, it has been argued that the model's homogenous approach fails to acknowledge heterogeneity within cultures, that the model relies on too few dimensions to accurately determine a cultural index, that surveys are not the appropriate tool to analyse culture, and that the data is no longer up to date (Jones, 2007, p. 5; Eringa et al., 2015, pp. 187–188). Furthermore, Hofstede himself recognized the model's limitations with regard to small sample sizes (Hofstede & Minkov, 2013, p. 2). Despite the model's shortcomings, "it remains the most valuable piece of work on culture for both scholars and practitioners" (Jones, 2007, p. 7).

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

11 English participants (6 females, 5 males) from London, United Kingdom and 12 Spanish participants (8 females, 4 males) from Madrid, Spain took part in the study. They all were university students aged between 18 and 25 years, with a mean age of around 19.7 years. They were not paid for their participation in the study.

3.2. Gender subtypes

The gender subtypes that were rated in the present study were 20 English and 20 Spanish expressions for different subtypes of women and men (10 each per language). They had previously been generated by the same participants in a prior study (Dziallas, under review).¹ In the prior study, in single written brainstorming sessions, participants were given a blank sheet of paper and told to think of and write down words for different subtypes of women and men. For further explanation, they were asked to consider a woman's or man's looks, personality traits, lifestyle choices and sexuality. After they had finished their brainstorming, they were interviewed about the subtypes that they had come up with in recorded interviews in which they spoke about the meanings, connotations, frequencies and usages of the expressions. In the end, their sheets of paper were collected to determine the most frequently mentioned

¹ Just like in Madrid, the expressions in London were generated by 12 participants, too. However, one female participant in London did not take part in the present study, which explains the final numbers of participants in the present study (11 and 12 participants respectively). Her gender subtypes data from the prior study was still included.

expressions for female and male subtypes.² The most frequently mentioned expressions for gender subtypes that the present study is based on are shown in Table 1. The numbers in brackets indicate how many of the 12 participants in the prior study mentioned the respective expression.³

Table 1. Most frequently mentioned expressions for different gender subtypes.

English		Spanish	
Female subtypes	Male subtypes	Female subtypes	Male subtypes
<i>slut</i> (11/12)	<i>lad</i> (9/12)	<i>tía</i> (8/12)	<i>chico</i> (8/12)
<i>bitch</i> (11/12)	<i>guy</i> (8/12)	<i>chica</i> (8/12)	<i>señor</i> (8/12)
<i>girl</i> (7/12)	<i>boy</i> (7/12)	<i>señora</i> (6/12)	<i>chaval</i> (6/12)
<i>slag</i> (6/12)	<i>mate</i> (4/12)	<i>niña</i> (6/12)	<i>tío</i> (6/12)
<i>Ms</i> (5/12)	<i>Mr</i> (4/12)	<i>piba</i> (5/12)	<i>macho</i> (5/12)
<i>Mrs</i> (5/12)	<i>dick</i> (4/12)	<i>guarra</i> (5/12)	<i>niño</i> (5/12)
<i>lady</i> (5/12)	<i>Sir</i> (4/12)	<i>chavala</i> (5/12)	<i>pibe</i> (4/12)
<i>whore</i> (5/12)	<i>player</i> (4/12)	<i>señorita</i> (5/12)	<i>colega</i> (4/12)
<i>babe</i> (5/12)	<i>dude</i> (4/12)	<i>princesa</i> (4/12)	<i>cabrón</i> (4/12)
<i>dyke</i> (2/12)	<i>fag</i> (2/12)	<i>bollera</i> (0/12)	<i>maricón</i> (2/12)

3.3. Procedure

In an online questionnaire, the English participants rated the 20 English female and male subtypes and the Spanish participants rated the 20 Spanish female and male subtypes on 15 slider scales from 0 to 100. While there are benefits and drawbacks to both slider scales and Likert scales (see Chyung et al., 2018 for a literature review of the two scale types), the former was chosen over the latter for the research design as they help participants make precise decisions, increase reliability, and are more likely to generate normally distributed data which allows for the use of various statistical procedures (Chyung et al., 2018, p. 43). Researching gender bending and gender conformity, Swim, Gillis and Hamaty (2020), too, used slider scales rather than Likert scales, as did Godbole, Malvar and Valian (2019) when investigating stereotypically masculine and feminine traits in an ideal president. The scales used in the present study as well as their negative and positive extremes are shown in Table 2. The questionnaire for the participants in Madrid was the exact equivalent of the English questionnaire, just in Spanish.

Table 2. Scales and their negative and positive extremes used in the online questionnaire.

Scale	Negative extreme (0)	Positive extreme (100)
<i>typical adult woman</i>	not the typical adult woman	the typical adult woman
<i>typical adult man</i>	not the typical adult man	the typical adult man
<i>female stereotype</i>	not like the traditional female stereotype	like the traditional female stereotype

² See Dziallas (under review) for the full data set of 271 generated English and Spanish expressions for different female and male subtypes.

³ The subtypes of the last row (Eng. *dyke*, *fag*, Sp. *bollera*, *maricón*) were in fact not among the most frequently mentioned expressions but were still included in the present study to account for the subtype *homosexual woman/man* that is widely discussed in research on gender subtypes (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005).

<i>male stereotype</i>	not like the traditional male stereotype	like the traditional male stereotype
<i>violation of the female role</i>	does not violate the female role	completely violates the female role
<i>violation of the male role</i>	does not violate the male role	completely violates the male role
<i>freedom</i>	free to do as they please	settled into their role in society
<i>choice of role</i>	being given their role	consciously chose their role
<i>warmth</i>	cold person	warm person
<i>competence</i>	incompetent person	competent person
<i>strength</i>	weak person	strong person
<i>activity</i>	passive person	active person
<i>age</i>	young person	old person
<i>respectability</i>	not a respectable person	respectable person
<i>evaluation</i>	bad person	good person

3.4. Analysis

The data consists of 12 English (London) and 11 Spanish (Madrid) participants' assessments of 20 English or Spanish words on 15 scales. Each participant evaluated a set of 10 female and 10 male subtypes in the corresponding language. There are no missing values.

For an initial grasp of the contained information, various boxplots were created with the R package *ggplot2* (Wickham, 2016). A separate figure was created for each word (e.g. Sp. *chica*) consisting of 15 boxplots, one for each scale (e.g. *warmth*). This was done separately for the female and male participants for each of the altogether 40 words (20 English and 20 Spanish). The composition of the boxplots provides some basic insight into the distribution of the scale scores.

A principal component analysis was performed to reduce dimensionality and identify the underlying structure of the data. This is an orthogonal transformation of the original data matrix that aims to explain as much of its contained information (variation) as possible with as few vectors as possible. After centring and scaling the data, the *prcomp* function (R Core Team, 2019) was used to determine the principal components. The first component is the most informative one. Each further extracted component explains less than the previous one. Therefore, it is possible to reduce the dimensionality of the data, while limiting the loss of information. Apart from that, the calculated loadings allow to identify some structure in the data and to explain how different scales relate to each other. If two scales both load strongly on a single component, it is indicative for a linear relationship between those scales (Jolliffe, 2002).

To investigate how the individual words are related and whether they can be meaningfully grouped, a cluster analysis was performed. First, a matrix containing the mean scale scores of the words averaged over all participants was calculated. This matrix was then used for the subsequent analysis. With the help of the function *get_dist* (Kassambara & Mundt, 2017), a distance matrix of the words was calculated using Euclidean distance. Since all the scales extend over the same range (i.e. 0 to 100), it was not necessary to standardize the values. An element of this distance matrix corresponds to the distance between two words in the 15-dimensional space with the scales as the basis vectors. This means the maximal possible Euclidean distance would be 400, reached only between a word scoring 0 on every scale and another word scoring 100 on every scale.

Based on this distance, average-linkage was used for agglomerative hierarchical clustering, using the function *hclust* (R Core Team, 2019). This method starts with each element in its own cluster and iteratively merges two clusters into one. In any step, the average distance between each word in one cluster and every word in the other cluster is calculated. This is done for every set of two clusters. The minimum of these results is then used to identify the pair of clusters to agglomerate. This process is repeated until all words are merged into one cluster creating a clear order (hierarchy) in which the elements have been clustered, which can easily be visualized using a dendrogram (tree diagram). The y-scale of such a dendrogram represents the aforementioned average-linkage distance between the clusters. Therefore, one can easily visually inspect this plot to determine a sensible number of clusters. This number is then used to cut down the tree accordingly and identify the final cluster affiliations for each word (Cook & Swayne, 2007). By transposing the data matrix and repeating the cluster analysis the same way as outlined above, an analogous grouping of the scales was obtained.

The scores for the English words originate from the English-speaking participants and the scores for the Spanish words from the Spanish-speaking ones. Thus, any individual effects on the scoring (if there are any) do not affect all words but only the ones in the corresponding language. This is a limitation that could have only been prevented using solely bilingual speakers. Furthermore, there may of course be language effects (e.g. translated scales have slightly different meanings) which to some extent impede the comparison of the results between the languages.

4. Results

4.1. Scales with highest loadings

The results of the principal component analyses (PCA) make it possible to determine which ones of the 15 scales have the highest loadings, indicating not only which scales are largely responsible for the participants' perceptions of the gender subtypes but also which scales vary together. In the following, the PCA results for the English female subtypes are presented first, followed by those for the English male subtypes, the Spanish female subtypes, and finally the Spanish male subtypes. For each category, the four highest loadings on the first four principal components are considered. Additionally, the proportion of variance (PoV) is indicated for each principal component, explaining the percentage to which the respective principal component explains the overall variation. The most interesting PCA results are discussed.

4.1.1. English female subtypes

Table 3. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for English female subtypes.

	PC1		PC2	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.32	.37	.19	.16
4 scales	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.40)	<i>respectability</i> (-.39)	<i>strength</i> (-.49)	<i>activity</i> (-.46)
	<i>respectability</i> (-.37)	<i>warmth</i> (-.37)	<i>activity</i> (-.42)	<i>strength</i> (-.38)
	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.36)	<i>evaluation</i> (-.36)	<i>competence</i> (-.41)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.37)

	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.35)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.33)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.34)	<i>competence</i> (-.36)
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	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.15	.13	.07	.09
4 scales	<i>typical adult man</i> (.44)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.64)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.57)	<i>age</i> (.59)
	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (.43)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.63)	<i>choice of role</i> (.50)	<i>choice of role</i> (.46)
	<i>evaluation</i> (.38)	<i>choice of role</i> (-.22)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.37)	<i>freedom</i> (.37)
	<i>age</i> (-.38)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.20)	<i>typical adult man</i> (.28)	<i>warmth</i> (-.28)

When it comes to the female participants' results for PC1, they indicate that the more a woman does not conform to the traditional female role, the less she is considered a respectable person. Moreover, the more the male participants rate a woman as violating the female role, the more they perceive her as a non-respectable, cold and bad person. These results are in line with previous research in that "exceptions to the superordinate gender categories are bad and not respectable" (Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005, p. 449) and that "nontraditional women ... are viewed as task competent but not warm" (Fiske et al., 2002, p. 880).

Regarding PC2, the results of both the female and male participants are very much alike. The more a woman is perceived by both groups as a weak, passive and incompetent person, the more she is considered unlike the traditional male stereotype, i.e. like the female stereotype. This conforms to results obtained in previous research, according to which stereotypical women are considered weak, passive and incompetent, while the opposite characteristics are stereotypically ascribed to men (Rudman, Greenwald, & McGhee, 2001, p. 1165; Fowers & Fowers, 2010, p. 469).

Next, the PC3 results of the male participants show that the more a female subtype is seen by males as being given its role in society, the more it is likely to not be considered a typical adult woman, which conforms to findings that young people, i.e. non-adults, are seen as having been given their societal role rather than having chosen it consciously: "[Young people] are seen as potentially free to choose their role in society, but unlike older people, they have not made this choice yet, and their present roles ... are mostly assigned, rather than chosen" (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 273). This tendency can also be detected in the male participants' PC4 results, which indicate that the older a woman is considered, the more she is perceived to have settled into her role in society and to have consciously chosen it.

Lastly, the female participants' PC4 results suggest an – at first sight contradictory – positive correlation between *typical adult woman* and *typical adult man*, which seems to support the finding that gender subtypes are not always clustered by their similarities but instead sometimes by their role relationships. Thus, the role of the typical adult woman can be seen as a complementary match to the role of the typical adult man (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277).

4.1.2. English male subtypes

Table 4. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for English male subtypes.

	PC1		PC2	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.24	.29	.16	.18
4 scales	<i>respectability</i> (.48)	<i>respectability</i> (.38)	<i>choice of role</i> (-.49)	<i>freedom</i> (.39)
	<i>competence</i> (.37)	<i>competence</i> (.37)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.41)	<i>age</i> (.39)
	<i>evaluation</i> (.33)	<i>strength</i> (.35)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.35)	<i>warmth</i> (-.37)
	<i>violation of the male role</i> (-.33)	<i>typical adult man</i> (.34)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.32)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.36)

	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.14	.13	.13	.11
4 scales	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.46)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.42)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.48)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.55)
	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.37)	<i>evaluation</i> (.37)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.47)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.47)
	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.37)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.37)	<i>age</i> (.43)	<i>activity</i> (-.46)
	<i>age</i> (.35)	<i>respectability</i> (.35)	<i>strength</i> (.32)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (-.31)

The female participants' results for PC1 suggest that the less a man is considered to be violating the male role, the more he is perceived as a respectable, competent and good person. When it comes to the male participants, they perceive a man to be a typical man, the more respectable, competent and strong he is, which conforms to findings in previous research (Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005, p. 449; Fowers & Fowers, 2010, p. 469).

Regarding PC3, the female participants' results imply that the older a man is, the less he is considered to be like a typical man. This result contrasts with the previously shown infantilization of women, not men (Goffman, 1979; Duncan, 2006, p. 257; Namy et al., 2017, p. 47), but might be due to the fact that the participants in this case are young women. Furthermore, research has shown that older people are frequently infantilized by young people (Gendron et al., 2015; Miklyaeva, 2018).

When it comes to the male participants, the PC3 results suggest the following: The more a man does not conform to the typical male stereotype, the more he is considered a good and respectable person. This result is interesting since it contradicts the overall tendency detected in PC1 for all participants to perceive traditional male subtypes as respectable and good. However, as Dziallas (under review) showed, participants rate certain subtypes positively that they perceive to be non-traditional, e.g. homosexual women and men.

The PC4 results of the female participants indicate that the less a man is like a typical woman and the female stereotype, the older and stronger he is, which is in line with the stereotypical superiority of men and the infantilization of women. When it comes to the male participants' results, they suggest that the less a man violates the male role and is like the typical female stereotype, the more passive he is perceived to be, which does not coincide with the global stereotype of the active male (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008, p. 207; Eckes, 2010, pp. 179, 181).

4.1.3. Spanish female subtypes

Table 5. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for Spanish female subtypes.

	PC1		PC2	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.24	.26	.18	.18
4 scales	<i>strength</i> (-.46)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.41)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (.47)	<i>freedom</i> (.39)
	<i>competence</i> (-.44)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.39)	<i>evaluation</i> (.42)	<i>activity</i> (-.39)
	<i>activity</i> (-.42)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.36)	<i>warmth</i> (.40)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.37)
	<i>respectability</i> (-.37)	<i>competence</i> (-.36)	<i>freedom</i> (.35)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.37)

	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.11	.15	.10	.11
4 scales	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (.55)	<i>strength</i> (-.53)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.41)	<i>freedom</i> (.45)
	<i>choice of role</i> (-.47)	<i>typical adult man</i> (.40)	<i>age</i> (.41)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.38)
	<i>freedom</i> (.38)	<i>choice of role</i> (-.35)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.40)	<i>warmth</i> (-.35)
	<i>typical adult man</i> (.35)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (-.31)	<i>warmth</i> (-.33)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.34)

The PC1 results reveal that the more the female participants perceive a woman to be weak, incompetent and passive, the less she is considered a respectable person, while the male participants' results imply that the more a woman violates the female role, the less competent she is perceived to be. These findings conform to those obtained by previous studies (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002, p. 879).

For PC2, the female participants' results suggest that the more a woman is like the traditional female stereotype, the more she is considered a good and warm person who is settled into her role in society. Again, this conforms to results obtained by others (Fiske et al., 2002; Eckes 2010).

Moving on to PC3, the male participants' results suggest that the more a woman is considered weak and being given her role in society, the more she is perceived as a typical man. This is surprising as this tendency is in stark contrast to the global gender stereotypes of the weak and dependent woman and the strong and independent man (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008, p. 207).

Lastly, when it comes to the PC4 results, while the female participants perceive a woman to be like a typical adult woman, the older and colder she is, the male participants consider a woman a typical adult woman, the more she is a cold person and settled into her role in society. These findings seem plausible since the participants of this study generally tend to regard subtypes that they rate young and warm, e.g. *chica*, *niña* and *princesa*, as unlike the typical adult woman and settled into their societal role.

4.1.4. Spanish male subtypes

Table 6. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for Spanish male subtypes.

	PC1		PC2	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.24	.25	.15	.18
4 scales	<i>respectability</i> (-.41)	<i>respectability</i> (.42)	<i>evaluation</i> (.55)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.41)
	<i>strength</i> (-.40)	<i>evaluation</i> (.39)	<i>competence</i> (.44)	<i>freedom</i> (-.38)
	<i>activity</i> (-.36)	<i>competence</i> (.37)	<i>warmth</i> (.41)	<i>warmth</i> (.35)
	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.34)	<i>warmth</i> (.32)	<i>choice of role</i> (.26)	<i>age</i> (-.30)

	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.13	.13	.11	.10
4 scales	<i>freedom</i> (-.48)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (.47)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.49)	<i>choice of role</i> (.52)
	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (.44)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.46)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.45)	<i>activity</i> (-.43)
	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.44)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.45)	<i>freedom</i> (-.45)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.38)
	<i>choice of role</i> (.43)	<i>freedom</i> (.31)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.37)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (.36)

The PC1 results imply that while the female participants perceive a man to be unlike a typical man, the more they perceive him to be weak, passive and non-respectable – in line with previous findings in gender stereotype research according to which stereotypical male characteristics include strength, assertiveness and agency (Prentice & Carranza, 2002, pp. 269–270; Ellemers, 2018, p. 281) –, the male participants consider a man respectable, the more they perceive him to be a good, competent and warm person. This result is interesting, but little surprising as

research has shown that “[t]hrough in-group favoritism, the in-group may be rated both warm and competent” (Fiske et al., 2002, p. 881).

Moving on to the results for PC2, the female participants perceive a man as a good person, the more competent and warmer they consider him to be and the more they feel he consciously chose his own role in society. This tendency can be detected in the female participants’ ratings of *colega*: Among the ten male subtypes, they perceive *colega* to be the type of man who most consciously chose his role in society. At the same time, they consider *maricón* to be the only warmer, *señor* to be the only more competent, and *niño* to be the only better subtype than *colega*.

The male participants’ PC2 results indicate that they perceive a man to be unlike the typical adult man, the more they consider him to be a warm and young person, who is free to do as he pleases. This coincides with what Vonk and Ashmore (2003) described as: “Generally, ... the younger types are seen as more free than ... the older types” (p. 272). In this case, too, it is the perceptions of the subtype *colega* that highlight this tendency as the male participants consider it to be fairly free and unlike the typical adult man while rating it the warmest and the second youngest subtype (after *niño*).

4.2. *Similar and dissimilar scales*

As shown in the previous section, some scales behave similarly and vary together while others do not. Figure 1 shows the dendrogram for all scales taking into account all expressions for women and men in both English and Spanish. The dendrogram should be read from the bottom to the top, so the ‘earlier’ two branches meet, the more similar the respective scales are. Thus, the most similar scales are *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype*, followed by the female counterparts *typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype*. This implies that a man/woman who conforms to the traditional male/female stereotype is perceived to be the typical adult man/woman. Note, however, how ‘late’ the two couples branch, suggesting the big difference in perception between female and male subtypes, as shown in previous studies (e.g. Vonk & Ashmore, 2003).

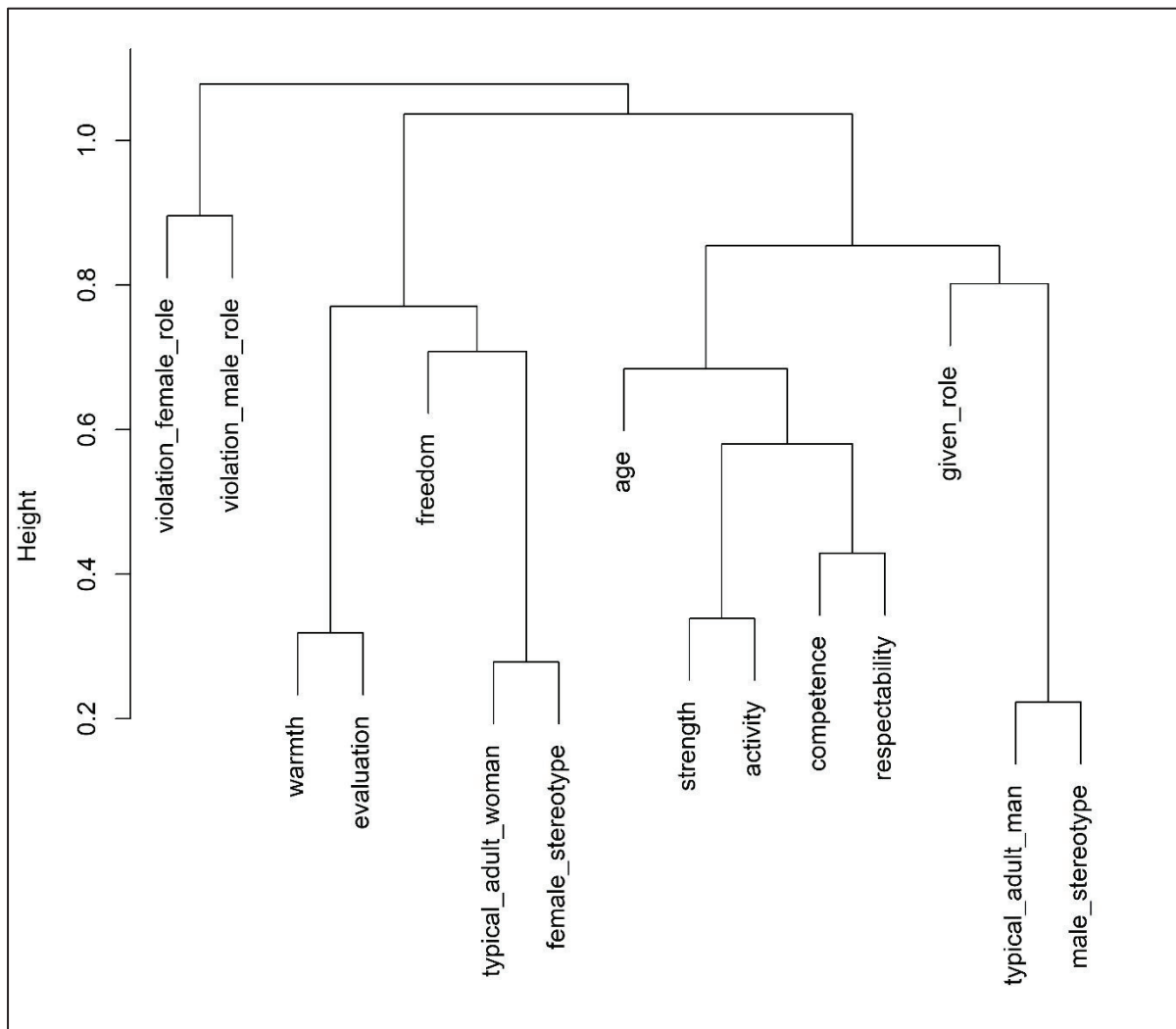


Figure 1. Dendrogram for all scales from all English and Spanish words for women and men.

Next, *warmth* and *evaluation* are similar scales, implying that subtypes that are perceived positively tend to also be rated as warm, as shown in the previous section. This conforms to findings in Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in that benevolent sexism favours warm and communal women while refusing cold and agentic women. This is also in line with research in Cognitive Linguistics: Humans connect warmth with positive feelings of being held affectionately as infants, which results in the primary metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH (Grady, 1997).

The scales *strength* and *activity* branch next, suggesting that – as shown above – the more active a subtype is perceived to be, the stronger it is considered, as well as the opposite tendency, i.e. the more passive a subtype is rated, the weaker it is perceived to be. The next two scales to branch are *competence* and *respectability*. This implies that a competent subtype is likely to also be considered respectable. The results of PC1 for both the English and Spanish words for men show this. On the other hand, the results of PC1 for the Spanish words for women show the opposite tendency, i.e. the perception of an incompetent subtype as non-respectable, revealing an association of competence and respectability with maleness and incompetence and non-respectability with femaleness (Eckes, 2002, p. 102).

The next branching occurs between the pairs *strength* and *activity* as well as *competence* and *respectability*, suggesting that there is a tendency for subtypes to be perceived as either strong, active, competent and respectable or weak, passive, incompetent and non-respectable. The positive tendency can be seen in the results of the male participants of PC1 for the English words for men, where three of the scales have high positive loadings. The negative equivalent can be detected in the results of all participants of PC2 for the English words for women (3 scales), in the results of the female participants of PC1 for the Spanish words for women (all scales), and in the results of the female participants of PC1 for the Spanish words for men (3 scales). A possible explanation for this distribution could lie in the dimension *Masculinity and Femininity* of the Cultural Dimension Theory (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). In this theory it is assumed that attitudes towards women and men are influenced by the degree of masculinity in a culture. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) have found the United Kingdom to be a rather masculine country and Spain a rather feminine country. In masculine countries, men are stereotypically considered agentic and responsible while women tend to be seen as passive objects. Contrarily, in feminine countries there is a greater tendency to consider both men and women responsible and decisive objects (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 159; see also Dziallas, under review).

The four scales *strength*, *activity*, *competence* and *respectability* next branch with the scale *age*, suggesting that a strong, active, competent and respectable subtype is generally considered older than the opposite subtype. This might be an indication for the above-mentioned infantilization of women in that, stereotypically, strength, activity, competence and respectability tend to be masculine characteristics. So, if old age is positively related to these traits, the stereotypical woman – who tends to have the opposite traits – is more likely to be associated with young age. Accordingly, on PC4 in the female participants' results of the English words for men, *strength* and *age* have high positive loadings.

Next, the pair *typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype* branch with the scale *freedom*, indicating that a subtype that is considered a typical woman is more likely to be perceived as someone who is settled into their role in society. This tendency can be detected in the PCA results above as well as in the gender subtype perception study by Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 273).

The lastly mentioned group of scales branches next with the pair *warmth* and *evaluation*. Thus, this implies that a subtype that is considered a typical woman who is settled into her role in society tends to be perceived as a warm and good person. An example of this tendency are the female participants' PC2 results for the Spanish words for women. This tendency is in line with the literature (Fiske et al., 2002; Eckes, 2010).

Followed by this is the next branching between the pair *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype* and the scale *choice of role*. Although branching rather 'late', this result indicates a tendency for a typically male subtype to be perceived as though having consciously chosen their role in society. This contradicts findings by Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 273), according to which especially traditional male subtypes are generally assigned their role in society.

The next branching involves several scales: On the one hand, there is the group of *age*, *strength*, *activity*, *competence* and *respectability*, branching with the group of *choice of role*, *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype* on the other hand. Again, this is rather unsurprising since these scales have the tendency to be associated with masculinity (Kasof, 1993; Ellemers, 2018).

One of the last scales to branch are *violation of the female role* and *violation of the male role*. Having shown how similar the scales *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype* as

well as *typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype* are, and how different the two pairs are from each other, it is little surprising that the violation of the female role is not very similar at all to the violation of the male role. Put bluntly, it seems that violating the female role is the opposite of violating the male role, and the two tend to not happen together, explaining the 'late' branching.

Lastly, the group *warmth, evaluation, freedom, typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype* branches with the group *age, strength, activity, competence, respectability, choice of role, typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype*. This 'late' branching highlights the perceived oppositeness between women and men and their respective characteristics, as demonstrated in previous research (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 275; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005, p. 451).

4.3. *Similar and dissimilar words*

After having presented the results for the 15 scales included in the perception study, this section focuses on the relationship between the expressions for women and men that were rated by the participants in the study. Figure 2 shows the dendrogram of all 40 expressions (20 English and 20 Spanish, with 10 expressions each for women and men). An advantage of including all 40 expressions into one dendrogram is that this way it becomes possible to not only see the relationship between expressions for women and men but also to compare the two languages. For example, Sp. *chica* and Eng. *girl* or Sp. *cabrón* and Eng. *dick* branch 'early', indicating their similarity despite the two different languages.

So, the first expressions to branch are Sp. *chaval* and *chico*, both in their basic meaning referring to a boy or young man and often used as a form of address for men. Branching next with Sp. *tío*, then Sp. *pibe*, followed by Eng. *dude* and finally Sp. *colega*, the group then branches with the pair Eng. *boy* and Sp. *niño*. All these expressions could be labelled as rather colloquial forms of address to refer to a male friend or acquaintance. While in this group of expressions the majority are Spanish, two English expressions are also included. What instantly stands out, however, is that this group solely contains expressions for men. A branching with expressions for women happens in the next step: It branches with a group of 9 expressions with Eng. *slag* and *whore* and Eng. *lad* and *player* each branching first at the same height. The first pair go on to branch with Eng. *slut*, forming a group of derogatory expressions referring to a promiscuous woman. Next come Eng. *dyke* and then *bitch*, informal and offensive terms to refer to a lesbian and a spiteful woman respectively. Again, all these expressions refer exclusively to one sex, namely to women. On the other hand, the pair Eng. *lad* and *player* branches with another pair, Sp. *cabrón* and Eng. *dick*, forming a group of informal expressions referring to promiscuous and/or contemptible men. The two groups, i.e. the expressions for women and men, finally branch together before doing so again with the group of expressions referring to a male friend, as mentioned above.

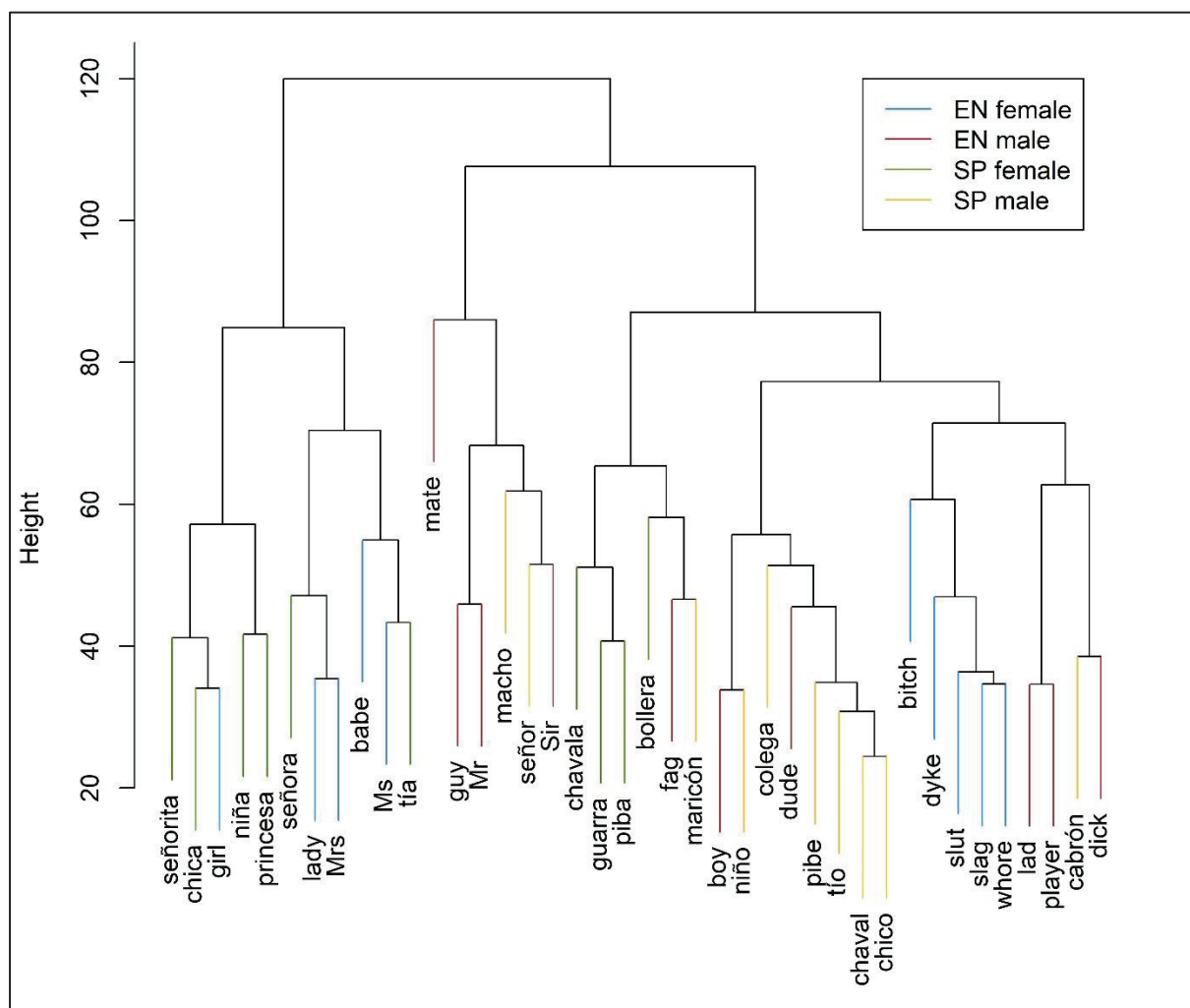


Figure 2. Dendrogram of all 40 words.

What is striking about this macro group is that among the 17 comprised expressions are only 5 expressions for women, all of which are offensive. While the fact that female subtypes such as *bitch* and *dyke* and promiscuous subtypes are perceived as less feminine or more masculine subtypes has been previously shown by Vonk and Ashmore (2003, pp. 259, 276–277), for example, the order regarding the distance to the masculine dimension seems to differ for the three subtypes compared to previous research: In Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 271) as well as in Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005, p. 451), out of the three above-mentioned female subtypes, the promiscuous subtype is the closest to the non-feminine dimension, followed by the bitchy and lastly the lesbian type. However, in the current study, as can be seen in Figure 2, *bitch* appears to be the most masculine type, followed by *dyke* and finally the promiscuous subtypes. A possible explanation for this difference might be that the studies mentioned were conducted 17 and 15 years ago. The differing results in the current study might then be an indication for attitudinal changes in that promiscuity in women especially is no longer considered a masculine trait to the same extent as over a decade ago. An increasing refusal of the sexual double standard and the endorsement of egalitarian standards for women and men offer support for that suggestion (Kettrey, 2016). Moreover, what is interesting is that Eng. *dyke* is the only subtype referring to a homosexual person that is not perceived to be similar to the other three respective expressions. In other words, while Eng. *fag* and Sp. *bollera* and *maricón*

are grouped together in the centre of the dendrogram, *dyke* is the odd one out. Thus, *dyke* seemingly is perceived to be more like the female promiscuous subtypes and less like the other – female and male – homosexual subtypes. However, based on results of previous research, it seems more likely to consider *bollera* as the odd one out since homosexual women tend to be considered non-feminine and homosexual men non-masculine (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277). Since in the perception questionnaire there was no scale included referring directly to homosexuality, it is unclear why *bollera* is grouped together with the male homosexual subtypes rather than the other female homosexual type.

Moving to the left side of the dendrogram, there is another macro group of 11 expressions, all referring to women. The first branching in this group occurs between Sp. *chica* and Eng. *girl*, two very common expressions for a woman, although in their basic meaning referring to female minors, before the pair goes on to branch with Sp. *señorita*. This step makes sense as the Spanish term also refers to a young woman. This small group of expressions then branches with the pair Sp. *niña* and *princesa*, with the first one, again, referring in its basic meaning to a female child but used widely for adult women, and the second referring in its basic meaning to a princess while used to denote a beautiful young woman. This group can thus be labelled as referring to young female subtypes.

Moving to the right of this group, Eng. *lady* and *Mrs* – both rather formal ways of referring to a woman – branch together fairly ‘early’. Interestingly, instead of branching with Eng. *Ms*, *lady* and *Mrs* form the next group with Sp. *señora*, the Spanish equivalent of *Mrs*. In fact, as can be seen in the dendrogram, the distance between *Mrs* and *Ms* is rather big. It seems then that the reason for that is that *Ms* refers to any kind of woman – married or unmarried – while *Mrs* specifically indicates the married status of a woman, resulting in very different results for the scale *freedom*, with the subtype *Mrs* perceived as a woman who is rather settled into her role in society and the subtype *Ms* perceived as a woman who is rather free to do as she pleases. *Ms* in fact branches with Sp. *tía*, which literally means ‘aunt’ but is frequently used to refer to a female friend. The pair goes on to branch with Eng. *babe* – which in this macro group of 11 expressions seems to be the least similar one to any of the others as can be seen by the ‘late’ branching –, before joining the small group of formal expressions for women. Lastly, this group branches with the group of expressions referring to young female subtypes.

On the left of the above-mentioned macro group of 17 expressions on the very right of the dendrogram and ultimately branching with it, there is a group of 6 expressions of which 3 are the homosexual subtypes *bollera*, *fag* and *maricón* (see above). Interestingly, the two male homosexual subtypes are also the only expressions referring to men in this group. This is to be expected for male homosexual subtypes since they “encroach[] further into the female side of the space than vice versa (i.e. masculine female types hardly enter[] the male side of the space)” (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 274). In this group of 6 expressions, Sp. *guarra* and *piba* are the first ones to branch. While the former colloquially refers to a promiscuous woman, the latter is used similarly to *chica*, *niña* etc., which is also the case for Sp. *chavala* which branches with the pair *guarra* and *piba*. Both groups of 3 expressions each finally branch together. What is particularly interesting in this group is that *guarra* appears to be very dissimilar to the English expressions for promiscuous women (*slut*, *slag*, *whore*). The biggest difference between them and *guarra* lies in the perception of the scale *respectability* (*guarra*: less respectable), *choice of role* (*guarra*: being given her role more), *freedom* (*guarra*: settled into her role in society more) and the scales *violation of the male role*, *traditional male stereotype* and *typical adult man*, according to which *guarra* is not rated masculine at all while *slut*, *slag* and *whore* indeed are. Thus – unlike the English participants –, the Spanish participants see a promiscuous woman

as a less respectable, less free and less masculine subtype of a woman, which explains the dissimilarity between *guarra* and the English expressions in the dendrogram.

The final group of 6 expressions solely refers to subtypes of men. Eng. *guy* and *Mr* are the first ones to branch, followed by Sp. *señor* and Eng. *Sir*, two polite ways of addressing a man. Interestingly, the pair next branches with Sp. *macho*, i.e. a supposedly very masculine man in terms of his strength, courage and sexual behaviour. Though heavily associated with sexual potency, *macho* does not seem to be perceived similarly to the other male promiscuous subtypes like *lad*, *player* and *cabrón*. Especially when it comes to the scales *respectability* (*macho*: more respectable) and *age* (*macho*: older), *macho* differs strongly from the others, explaining its closeness to the respectable and mature *señor* and *Sir*. Next, this group of subtypes referring to respectable men branches with the pair *guy* and *Mr*, before the group then branches with Eng. *mate* – in the last, i.e. highest, branching involving a single expression, implying that *mate* is most dissimilar to any of the other 39 expressions. Looking at the perception results in more detail, this difference becomes apparent: Most strikingly, *mate* seems to be the only male subtype that participants perceive as both very masculine and feminine. Additionally, it is also extremely high in terms of warmth (warm person) and evaluation (good person). This, of course, explains why it is the most left male subtype in the dendrogram but not grouped together with the male homosexual subtypes, who are seen as completely violating the male role.

The penultimate branching occurs between the lastly mentioned group and the macro group consisting of the 23 expressions on the right of the dendrogram, before finally branching with the macro group of solely female subtypes. All in all, this dendrogram – and the final branching in particular – highlights the overall clear-cut distinction between female and male subtypes, that has been shown previously (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 278). Additionally, it shows that female subtypes approach the right, i.e. masculine, side when being promiscuous or – in one case – homosexual, while male subtypes approach the left, i.e. feminine side when being homosexual or *mate*-like. While some of these results have been found in previous research (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277), the case of *mate* seems so far unexplored as this male subtype appears to not have been taken into consideration in previous studies. Knowing that, apart from scoring high on masculinity, *mate* scores high on femininity too, the question remains whether it does so because it refers to a friend who is considered a warm and good person – two characteristics heavily associated with femininity –, or whether *mate* is considered warm and good because it is seen as a feminine subtype while maintaining its masculinity.

4.4. Female and male participants' subtype perception

In this section, the most striking differences between the female participants' and the male participants' perception of the female and male subtypes are discussed. The results were obtained from the English and Spanish online questionnaires. Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 show which scales are perceived most differently by the female and male participant groups for each word. Scales with similar results among female and male participants are not listed. The results in the tables should be interpreted as follows: For example, Eng. *slut* is perceived by the female participants as warmer, stronger and more competent compared to the male participants, who perceive *slut* to be less like the traditional female stereotype and the typical adult woman and who consider this subtype to violate the female role more so than the female participants do.

4.4.1. English female subtypes

Table 7. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per English female subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>slut</i>	warmer, stronger, more competent	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more violation of the female role
<i>slag</i>	warmer, stronger, better, more respectable, more competent, less freedom to do as she pleases, more conscious choice of role	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more like the typical adult man, more violation of the female role
<i>whore</i>	better, more respectable	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the traditional male stereotype, more violation of the female role, more violation of the male role
<i>bitch</i>	warmer, stronger, better, more competent, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases	less like the traditional female stereotype, more like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more like the typical adult man
<i>dyke</i>	less violation of the female role, less violation of the male role	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the traditional male stereotype, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>girl</i>	warmer, weaker, younger, better, more respectable	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more conscious choice of role
<i>babe</i>	warmer, better, more respectable, more competent, more active	more violation of the male role, less like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult man
<i>lady</i>	more like the traditional female stereotype, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as she pleases	more like the typical adult woman, warmer, stronger, better, more respectable, more active
<i>Mrs</i>	less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as she pleases	warmer, better, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult woman
<i>Ms</i>	stronger, better, older, more respectable, more competent, more active	warmer, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult woman

Looking at the results for the three promiscuous female subtypes *slut*, *slag* and *whore*, it is striking that the differences between the female and the male participants' perceptions are similar for all three: The female participants tend to generally regard those subtypes as warmer, better, stronger, more competent and more respectful, whereas the male participants seem to consider them less like the traditional female stereotype and the typical adult woman and think more than the female participants that they violate the female role. Some of those tendencies

can also be detected in the recorded interviews. While all English participants generally agree that *slut*, *slag* and *whore* are expressions with a negative connotation, there are subtle differences in how females and males describe *slut*, for example:

I think it's come from something negative, but I know people who've used it in a way that just describes someone as sleeping around a lot but not judging them because of it. Just saying, like, they are a slut but that's fine, they can live however they want. But generally, if it's used in, like, general cases it's normally a bad thing, it's seen as a bad thing. (English female participant)

I feel like a lot of people, like, in high school have used slut, like, really, like, casually ... The original feeling behind it or, like, how harsh it was originally has kind of, like, faded away a bit because it's used so casually sometimes. (English female participant)

I don't think there's any context in which slut is positive or in which it isn't offensive ... I personally don't see it as ever being positive, I think it's quite a negative word. (English male participant)

Another interesting result is the fact that the female participants tend to consider the subtype *girl* younger than the male participants do while all participants consider *girl* very young anyways. What is striking is that the male equivalent, Eng. *boy*, shows the opposite result (see next section). It is the male rather than the female participants who consider *boy* younger. Thus, it might be the case that people tend to be more aware of the age factor in a subtype that is part of their own gender in-group. One female participant's quote from her interview also points to this: "You'd call someone a girl at the age when you wouldn't still call a boy a boy".

Lastly, another noteworthy subtype is *lady*. While the female participants consider this subtype to be like the traditional female stereotype more than the male participants do and also think less than the males that a woman referred to as *lady* is free to do as she pleases, the male participants perceive this subtype to be like the typical adult woman more than the female participants do. They also regard this subtype as warmer, stronger, better, more respectable and more active than the female participants. The following quote by a female participant about the patronising connotation of *lady* points to this tendency, too:

I feel like in the past, people have said, like, 'You ladies go first' or something like that and it'll be me and a friend and it'll be an older man talking to us and it's, I think that's a bit patronising ... I don't know cause ladies are high up but it's still 'You go first cause you're a woman and you can't handle yourself', I don't know, so yeah, I find the word lady patronising. (English female participant)

4.4.2. English male subtypes

Table 8. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per English male subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>player</i>	more like the traditional male stereotype, more like the typical adult man, more like the typical adult woman, more conscious choice of role	warmer, more respectable
<i>lad</i>	better, more violation of the male role, more like the traditional female stereotype	warmer, stronger, younger, more competent, more like the traditional male stereotype
<i>dick</i>	warmer, stronger, better, older, more competent, more freedom to do as he pleases	more violation of the male role, less like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult man, less conscious choice of role
<i>fag</i>	stronger, older	more violation of the male role, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>mate</i>	less like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult man	warmer, weaker, younger, less competent
<i>dude</i>	better, less violation of the male role, more like the traditional male stereotype	warmer, younger, less competent, more active, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>guy</i>	less like the typical adult man, more violation of the male role, more like the typical adult woman	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>boy</i>	more like the typical adult man, less violation of the female role, more violation of the male role	weaker, less competent, younger, more passive
<i>Mr</i>	more conscious choice of role	more like the typical adult man, more like the traditional male stereotype, less violation of the male role, older
<i>Sir</i>	older, more like the typical adult man, more like the traditional male stereotype, less violation of the male role	stronger, more respectable, more competent, more active, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases

When it comes to the most interesting differences between the female and the male English participants' perception of the male subtypes, there are three subtypes with similar results: *mate*, *dude* and *boy*. There is a tendency in all three cases for the male participants compared to the female participants to consider the respective subtype as warmer, weaker, younger, and less competent – traits that are stereotypically seen as rather feminine traits. As mentioned above, the case of *mate* is particularly interesting since it seems to generally be perceived as a subtype of a man that is considered to be both male and female at the same time while also being evaluated very positively. The subtype *mate* was only produced by male participants in the brainstorming sessions of the previous study (Dziallas, under review). In the interview, one of them emphasizes the positivity and closeness in relation to this subtype: "A mate is someone

you'd classify as a friend, someone you're close to. ... You'd classify this person as someone that you like. It's kind of a, you know, nice term, I think."

Next, it is interesting to look at the homosexual subtype *fag* more closely. While all participants perceive this subtype to be violating the male role very much, the male participants think so a lot more. They also consider a man referred to as *fag* weaker than the female participants do. This tendency can also be found in the following quote of one of the male participants:

That's kind of like an offensive term because of how insecure men are about their sexuality. ... That can be used as an insult and a lot of people would take a lot of offense to. ... It's seen as such a negative connotation, within the society it's such a taboo that people take as offense. (English male participant)

Finally, when it comes to *lad*, the participants regard this subtype differently in that the male participants consider it more like the traditional male stereotype and think a man referred to as *lad* violates the male role less than the female participants do. The following quotes provide some background to those tendencies:

So someone's considered a lad if they drink a lot and if they, ehm, perhaps if they're in a long-term relationship they are less of a lad, that kind of thing, if they're sort of not scared to, like, strip off, or, ehm, quite boisterous. ... Some males I feel like they want to be a lad, it's a sign of respect if someone calls you a lad, so it can be a good thing, but I think that might be, like, a bit immature. (English female participant)

These days, lad has become this kind of lad culture, ... like kind of immature and loud and rowdy and degrading, it's the lad culture which is like this group mentality. ... I think some people do kind of, it's definitely like a peer pressure thing. ... Yeah, so I think to some people that's quite important to be perceived as a lad these days. (English female participant)

Stereotypical, what a man in his early teens should be. ... A laddish behaviour is kind of a bit careless, a bit rude, funny in quotation marks, trying to be the funny guy, kind of thing, bit disrespectful towards women, ... the kind of fool that the kids in teenage years try to be, it's very male. ... I think it has quite a few negative connotations ... but it's what people are peer-pressured into being within this society. (English male participant)

I think it's definitely something in like media and culture that you should be this laddy kind of person. ... I wouldn't say pressure but that kind of thing that, yeah, maybe it is desirable to be seen as a lad. (English male participant)

4.4.3. Spanish female subtypes

Table 9. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per Spanish female subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>guarra</i>	warmer, weaker, older, more active, less respectable, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as she pleases	more violation of the female role, more violation of the male role, less like the traditional female stereotype
<i>bollera</i>	less freedom to do as she pleases	warmer, better, younger, more competent, more violation of the female role, less like the typical adult woman
<i>princesa</i>	more like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, warmer, weaker, better, younger, less respectable, less competent, more passive	more violation of the female role, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>señorita</i>	more like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, warmer, better, less active, less respectable, less competent	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>señora</i>	more like the typical adult woman, more respectable, less active, less competent, older	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>tía</i>	more like the typical adult woman, older, better, less active	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>chica</i>	younger, more like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman	warmer, better, less respectable, more active, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>niña</i>	younger, less like the typical adult woman, less respectable, more active, more like the traditional female stereotype	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>piba</i>	better, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult woman	more violation of the female role, colder, stronger, more respectable, older, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>chavala</i>	less violation of the female role, more like the typical adult woman, more like the traditional female stereotype	warmer, stronger, more respectable, better, more competent, more active, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases

The subtype *princesa*, which generally refers to a beautiful young woman, is considered by the female participants like the traditional female stereotype much more so than by the male participants. At the same time, the female participants regard *princesa* less than the male participants as the typical adult woman. This result could indicate that the female participants are aware of the stereotype conformity of the subtype *princesa* – which could also explain why

compared to the male participants they rate it warmer, weaker, better, younger, less respectable, less competent and more passive, i.e. stereotypically female characteristics –, but believe more than the male participants that a subtype like *princesa* does not represent the actual typical adult woman. The male participants, on the other hand, consider this subtype to violate the female role more than the female participants, and while both groups think a *princesa* was given her role in society and is settled into it, the female participants think so more. Comparing the following quotes from a male and a female participant highlights how their descriptions match but how the latter makes sure to exclude herself from the group of women referred to as *princesas*:

Una chica que es adorable o que es una niña ideal. No digo que sea tu niña, tu chica perfecta pero, bueno, que sea la chica de las películas tuyas. ... Aunque es un poco hipócrita esta terminología pero, pues una princesa es una chica con muy pocos chicos, con pocas relaciones, que es guapa, que es lista, que es educada, ... es de buena familia, ... que socialmente sería lo mejor. [A girl who's adorable or the perfect girl. I'm not saying that she's the perfect girl for you but she's like the girl from the movies. ... Although the expression is a bit hypocritical, a *princesa* is a girl with very few guys, few relationships, who is pretty, who is smart, who is educated, ... she's from a good family, ... socially she'd be the best.] (Spanish male participant)

Te sueles estar refiriendo a mujeres con un, pues, con un nivel socioeconómico acomodado. ... A mí personalmente no [me gusta ser llamada princesa] pero hay muchas mujeres que sí. ... Y lo he escuchado muchas veces en una pareja que el hombre la llama a ella princesa. ... Sí que hay mujeres que sí que les gusta, ¿no?, el verse tratadas como una princesa. ... ¿Cómo es una princesa? Pues es elegante, suelen ser las mujeres muy elegantes, que van muy bien vestidas siempre, muy arregladas, dulces, con el patrón de la sociedad. [It normally refers to women of a, well, higher socio-economic status. ... I personally don't [like being called a *princesa*] but there are many women who do. ... And I've heard it many times in couples that the man calls her *princesa*. ... Yes, there are women who like being treated like a *princesa*. ... What's a *princesa* like? Well, she's elegant, they tend to be very elegant women, who always dress very well, very made up, sweet, according to societal standards.] (Spanish female participant)

As with *princesa*, there are several other subtypes which the female participants perceive more than the male participants to be like the traditional female stereotype but at the same time rate them less like the typical adult woman. This is the case for *princesa*, *señorita*, *chica* and *niña* – all perceived to be very or fairly young subtypes. As mentioned above, it seems that the female participants are more aware of the stereotype conformity of those subtypes but see typical adult women represented by them less than the male participants do. This assumption is supported by the fact that the female participants perceive the homosexual subtype *bollera*, for example, much more like the typical adult woman than the male participants do while both groups consider this subtype unlike the traditional female stereotype.

Another interesting finding is the fact that for nearly all expressions, the male participants consider the female subtypes to be free to do as they please and to have consciously chosen their role in society (except for *bollera*) more than the female participants do. Thus, it seems that the female participants regard women – mostly regardless of the kind of subtype – as having been given their role in society and being settled into it more compared to the male participants. In-group and out-group bias could explain this tendency. As Molenberghs (2013) points out, “[w]e experience the actions of in-group members differently [and w]e empathize more with in-group members” (p. 1530). The female participants (i.e. the in-group) consider the different

subtypes of women to be struggling and to be stuck in rigid roles more than the male participants (i.e. the out-group).

4.4.4. Spanish male subtypes

Table 10. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per Spanish male subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>cabrón</i>	warmer, stronger, more violation of the male role, more like the typical adult man, more like the traditional male stereotype	better, younger, less respectable, less competent, less conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>macho</i>	warmer, stronger, better, younger, more competent, more respectable, more active	less like the traditional male stereotype, more violation of the male role, less conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>maricón</i>	less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	better, younger, more respectable, more competent, more violation of the male role
<i>señor</i>	more like the traditional male stereotype, less violation of the male role	better, less conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>tío</i>	more like the typical adult man, less like the traditional male stereotype	warmer, better, younger, less respectable, less competent, less active, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>colega</i>	more violation of the male role, less like the traditional male stereotype, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult female, more conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	warmer, better, stronger, more respectable, more competent, younger, more active, less like the typical adult man
<i>chaval</i>	more conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	warmer, less respectable, more active, more like the typical adult man, less violation of the male role
<i>pibe</i>	warmer, stronger, more respectable, more active	better, more like the traditional male stereotype, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>chico</i>	less violation of the male role, less freedom to do as he pleases	warmer, more active
<i>niño</i>	warmer, better, younger, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	less like the traditional male stereotype

When it comes to the Spanish male subtypes, there are interesting differences between the female and the male participants' perceptions of the subtype *macho*, for example. While the female participants consider this subtype to be warmer, stronger, better, younger, more competent, more respectable and more active, the male participants perceive a man referred to

as *macho* to be less like the traditional male stereotype and to be violating the male role more. These tendencies can also be detected in the recorded interviews, especially when it comes to the scales *evaluation*, *strength* and *respectability*:

Sería el tipo de hombre que piensa en sí mismo, lleva aires de macho alfa, y no tiene en cuenta ni los sentimientos de los demás ni los suyos, porque los apaga. ... Macho, por ejemplo, puede tener esa interpretación o puede tener otra. Porque macho puede ser también caballero. ... Puede ser como el hombre que protege a la familia, y desde un punto de vista bueno y no malentendido. ... A mí, por ejemplo, me gustan los hombres que son muy hombres. Pero también tiene ese doble, ese arma de doble filo porque son las dos cosas al final, lo sabes, como el hombre que trabaja y que tal y no sé qué, pero a la vez es algo malo porque se olvida de lo que siente y no tiene en cuenta los sentimientos de los demás. Tiene esas dos caras, yo creo. [It would be the type of man who only cares about himself, with this alpha male attitude, and who doesn't consider other people's feelings nor his own because he turns them off. ... *Macho*, for example, can have this meaning or another one. Because *macho* can also mean *caballero*. ... It can be the man who protects his family, in a good way. ... I, for example, like men who are very manly. But it's also this double, this double-edged sword because in the end there are those two sides, you know, like the man who works and all and what not, but at the same time it's bad because he forgets about his own feelings and he doesn't consider other people's feelings. I think he has these two faces.] (Spanish female participant)

Es un macho, es un hombretón, cosas positivas, digamos, para ellos, ¿no? ... Hacen referencia a que son mayores que algo, que son, que tienen más poder, que son superiores. [He's a *macho*, he's an *hombretón*, they are, let's say, positive things for them, right? ... They refer to being bigger than something, to being more powerful, to being superior.] (Spanish female participant)

Como yo lo veo es alguien, digamos, rudo, ¿no?, lleva esa masculinidad a unos extremos un poco brutos, incluso, ehm, en España decimos por ejemplo 'macho ibérico', es alguien, pues, un hombre rudo, un hombre del campo, a lo mejor, un hombre bruto, fuerte, con vello en, no sé, [un hombre] simple, por ejemplo. Quizás también está más relacionado con el ámbito sexual, depende de con quien estás hablando. [The way I see it, it's someone, let's say, rude, who takes masculinity to extremes that are a bit coarse, even, ehm, in Spain we say, for example, *macho ibérico*, it's someone, well, a rude man, a man from the countryside, maybe, a coarse and strong man, with hair on, I don't know, [a] simple [man], for example. Maybe it's also more related to the sexual sphere, it depends on who you're talking to.] (Spanish male participant)

Macho sería como, no despectivo, pero como que ha hecho algo mal y dirías algo como 'Joder, macho'. ... Que no ha estudiado, el examen era fácil, por ejemplo, y no ha estudiado mucho diría 'Joder, macho, el examen estaba tirado'. [*Macho* would be, like, not derogatory, but, like, if he did something bad and you would say something like 'Fuck, *macho*'. ... Like, if he hasn't studied, the exam was easy, for example, and he hasn't studied a lot, I'd say 'Fuck, *macho*, the exam was super easy'.] (Spanish male participant)

The female and male participants' differing perceptions of the subtype *niño* are worth mentioning, too. While all participants rate this subtype as young, the female participants do so much more than the males. In fact, their rating of the scale *age* nearly reaches the young extreme. The following quotes by a female and a male participant highlight the tendency that for the former the subtype *niño* is very much related to young age, whereas for the latter age is less of a factor.

Niño sí que solamente se utiliza para los infantes, quizá hasta los doce o así. [Yes, *niño* is only used for boys, maybe until the age of 12 or so.] (Spanish female participant)

Y niño yo también lo utilizaría para, para una persona genérica, que no tiene que ser mi amigo. [And I would also use *niño* for, for a generic person, who doesn't have to be my friend.] (Spanish male participant)

Lastly, when it comes to the homosexual subtypes, a recurring pattern seems to exist in both languages and for both female and male subtypes: Eng. *dyke* and *fag* and Sp. *bollera* and *maricón* are all considered by the male participants to be violating the female and male role respectively more than by the female participants. Thus, the female participants appear to be more open than the males to regarding less traditional subtypes of women and men – such as homosexual persons – as role-consistent.

5. Discussion

Many of the findings of the current study are in line with results obtained by previous research. Accordingly, like in previous studies (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005), the results revealed a mostly clear separation of female and male subtypes, with some female subtypes approaching the male side (e.g. the promiscuous subtypes Eng. *whore*, *slag* and *slut*, *dyke* and *bitch*) and some male subtypes approaching the female side (e.g. Eng. *fag*, *mate* and Sp. *maricón*). Additionally, as shown above in the presentation of the PCA, PC1 and partly PC2 mostly correspond to female and male global stereotypes. Thus, the participants of this study – all university students of a mean age of around 19.7 years – tend to see stereotypical women as warm, passive and weak, while they consider stereotypical men as respectable, competent and strong, which is in line with gender stereotype research (e.g. Ellemers, 2018, p. 281). However, as seen above, PCA can also reveal results that do not conform to the global stereotypes. One example is the tendency for English participants to perceive non-traditional male subtypes as positive and respectable.

Some of the results obtained in the current study do not conform to previous findings. As mentioned above, while the English female subtypes *bitch*, *dyke*, *slut*, *whore* and *slag* approaching the masculine rather than the feminine spectrum aligns with previous findings, the order in which they do so does not. Accordingly, *bitch* is the closest to the male group of Eng. *lad* and *player* and Sp. *cabrón* and Eng. *dick* but also to the group of the all-male subtypes that were labelled above as rather colloquial forms of address to refer to a male friend or acquaintance. *Bitch* is followed by *dyke* which is then followed by the promiscuous subtypes *slut*, *slag* and *whore*. As mentioned above, it seems that since the studies by Vonk and Ashmore (2003) and Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) were conducted, promiscuity – while still being heavily considered a masculine feature – has become less of a trait that is mainly connected to the male role. Farvid, Brown and Roney (2017) show a similar development in their study on heterosexual casual sex and the sexual double standard: Women tend to reject a sexual double standard and speak of heterosexual casual sex as something that has become increasingly normal and even desirable. It is, however, important to note that a tendency remains for women to use sexual double standard discourse when talking about other women (Farvid, Brown, & Roney, 2017, p. 556).

This current study additionally produced some findings that have not yet been the focus of previous studies. As mentioned above, Eng. *mate* has previously not been taken into account in studies about gender subtypes but revealed some interesting results in the current study. Accordingly, as shown above, *mate* appears to be the subtype that is most dissimilar to any other subtype, as it is considered both masculine and feminine. Apart from the ratings on scales that directly refer to perceived maleness and femaleness (*typical adult man/woman*,

male/female stereotype, violation of the male/female role), the ratings on other scales also show this ambiguity. *Mate* scores high on stereotypically masculine traits such as strength (strong), respectability (respectable) and competence (competent), while it also reaches high scores on stereotypically feminine traits such as warmth (warm) and evaluation (good). It is little surprising that *mate*, which refers to a close friend, is rated warm and good. However, what is striking is that this subtype is also perceived as quite feminine. This suggests that stereotypically feminine traits might be intertwined with femaleness to such great extent that high warmth and evaluation scores trigger the perception of *mate* as a female subtype despite still being seen as a male subtype with stereotypically masculine traits at the same time.

Moreover, there are results obtained in this study that highlight the value of incorporating more than one language in the research design. While there are many instances of the English and the Spanish equivalent subtypes being perceived in very similar ways (Eng. *girl* and Sp. *chica*, Eng. *Sir* and Sp. *señor*, Eng. *fag* and Sp. *maricón*, Eng. *boy* and Sp. *niño*, Eng. *dick* and Sp. *cabrón*), there are some with apparent differences. One example is Sp. *guarra*, a colloquial term for a promiscuous woman. Compared to the English equivalents *slut*, *slag* and *whore*, the perceptions of *guarra* differ widely in some aspects. Most apparent are the different ratings on the scales *violation of the male role* and *typical adult man*. Accordingly, *guarra* is perceived to be a subtype that is completely violating the male role and not at all like the typical adult man – much more so than the English equivalents. An explanation for this difference could be the different scores of the United Kingdom (rather masculine country) and Spain (rather feminine country) in the dimension *Masculinity and Femininity* of the Cultural Dimension Theory (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Masculine countries tend to enforce the sexual double standard according to which casual sex and promiscuity are appropriate for men but inappropriate for women, while feminine countries generally refuse the sexual double standard (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 159). This explains why the participants from the United Kingdom, a rather masculine country, consider a female promiscuous subtype one that is like a typical man more than the participants from Spain do. This example highlights the benefit of simultaneously investigating and analysing gender subtypes of more than one language.

The same goes for looking at the results obtained by female and male participants individually. While Vonk and Ashmore (2003) as well as Carpenter and Trentham (2001) did not differentiate between female and male participants in their studies, Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) found no big differences between the two groups and conducted their study gender-independently. However, the current study revealed interesting perceptual differences between the groups. Most noteworthy is the finding that participants perceive many subtypes of the gender out-group as much like the typical adult woman/man, however, when it comes to their own gender they tend to rate many subtypes as conforming to the female/male stereotype but do not actually consider the subtypes to be like the typical adult woman/man. For example, Sp. *princesa*, *señorita*, *chica*, *niña* and *tía* are each perceived by the female participants to be like the traditional female stereotype more than by the male participants but also considered to be like the typical adult woman less than by the male participants. This tendency might be evidence of participants acknowledging existent stereotypes about their own gender but rejecting their representativeness regarding their gender in-group. Accordingly, “individuals who are members of the negatively stereotyped groups will be conscious of the content of those stereotypes” (Mednick & Thomas, 2008, p. 640). It is important, however, to consider the possibility of social desirability bias due to the self-report method applied in this study.

6. Conclusion

For future research it could be beneficial to divide the participants into different groups depending on their gender identity as this allows for more differentiated results. In the current study, this was in fact attempted by using a gender identity questionnaire. However, due to the relatively small number of participants, they could not be divided into more groups other than *females* and *males* so the data obtained by the gender identity questionnaire was not used in the analysis.

Of course, the results presented in this paper are based on a small sample size which makes generalizations nearly impossible. However, the findings are to a large degree in line with those of previous studies so it can be assumed that a bigger sample size would yield similar results. Furthermore, when it comes to the novel findings of the present study – e.g. regarding the cases of Eng. *mate* and Sp. *guarra* –, it would be interesting to test whether large scale studies show similar results. Nonetheless, a methodological advantage of the present study could likely be the fact that the small number of participants allowed for extensive individual interviews which – in addition to the online questionnaire – produced in-depth insights and pointed out subtle differences.

While it was attempted in the present study to investigate the differences between English and Spanish expressions for women and men using two sets of participants, from London and Madrid respectively, it could be beneficial to consider recruiting a single set of bilingual participants in future studies. This way it would be possible to investigate gender subtype perceptions of single individuals in two separate languages.

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Research article 4

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Translating English WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphors: Spanish native speakers' associations with novel metaphors

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Abstract

Animal metaphors are prevalent across languages and convey a variety of, oftentimes negative, meanings – more so for women than men. In English, for example, both *lion* and *lioness* refer to a sexually active, dominant man or woman respectively, but while the former is endowed with positive connotations (courage, strength), the latter evokes negative associations (danger, voracity). There are some animal terms, however, that do not feature in animal metaphors in a certain language, posing the question as to which associations are evoked by those animal terms that are not part of conventional animal metaphors. This paper explores Spanish speakers' interpretations of mappings of the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish. This was tested with two online questionnaires, one employing open questions and the other one Likert scales presenting possible traits (e. g. *quarrelsome*, *kind*, *promiscuous*), in which Spanish speakers had to judge the animal metaphors which were translated from English. The results show that the novel animal metaphors are mainly associated by Spanish native speakers with negative features, first and foremost with ugliness. Additionally, most of the animal terms convey different meanings in English and Spanish. For example, *musaraña*, the Spanish equivalent of *shrew*, is not associated with bad temper and quarrelling, but instead with ugliness and muddleheadedness. Furthermore, the findings reveal significant insecurities in the interpretation of the translated metaphors by the Spanish speakers. These results might be an indication for both the arbitrariness and the stableness of associations with different animal species, depending on the speakers' culture. It also seems that novel animal metaphors mainly provide mental access to unattractiveness as it is a concrete physical feature and might therefore be more accessible than abstract personality traits such as kindness or quarrelsomeness.

1 Introduction

It has long been argued by cognitive linguists that metaphor is not just a figure of speech for the purpose of embellishing language but instead is integral to human thinking (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2000; Deignan 2010). Thus, through metaphor, humans conceptualize one concept (target) in terms of another concept (source). Examples of such conceptualizations include the metaphors ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980), and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (cf. Kövecses 2010: 153). English examples of the latter conceptual metaphor are *chick* and *cow* to refer to a young and coarse woman respectively, as well as *wolf*

and *lion* denoting a sexually aggressive and notable man respectively. These examples highlight the role that the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor can play in reinforcing gender stereotypes by likening women and men to different types of animals.

While animal metaphors can be considered universal as they are likely prevalent in all languages (cf. Kövecses 2005: 25), the associations conveyed by the animal terms can sometimes vary greatly between languages. For example, both *rabbit* and the Spanish equivalent *coneja* refer to a woman who has given birth to many children, but in another English/Spanish pair, namely *bird* and *pájara*, the associations differ greatly: *Bird* is used affectionately in English to denote a girl or young woman, whereas the Spanish equivalent *pájara* refers to a cunning woman or a prostitute (cf. López-Rodríguez 2009: 88). Such variations are due to cultural differences between the speakers of different languages, with culture serving as a filter:

While the body is a potentially universal source for emerging metaphors, culture functions as a filter that selects aspects of sensorimotor experience and connects them with subjective experiences and judgments for metaphorical mappings. That is, metaphors are grounded in bodily experience but shaped by cultural understanding.

(Yu 2008: 247)

Animal metaphors are “pre-established by a long tradition” (Bisschops 2019: 1) so the associations that they convey are rather stable. However, in each language only a certain, although large set of animal species features in animal metaphors. This poses the question as to which associations are evoked by animal terms that are not part of conventional animal metaphors in a given language. Contrastive studies have generally focussed on the comparison of animal metaphors that are documented to exist in the respective studied languages (cf. Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán 2003; Reza Talebinejad/Vahid Dastjerdi 2005; Hsieh 2006; López-Rodríguez 2009). However, it is the goal of the present study to explore the extent to which the associations conveyed by conventional animal metaphors in one language (English) correspond to those conveyed by novel animal metaphors in another language (Spanish) when they are not fixed by tradition. Thus, the present study tests Spanish speakers’ judgements about mappings of the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor that are documented in English but not in Spanish. For example, the English animal term *shrew* is conventionally used to denote an ill-tempered, quarrelsome woman, whereas the Spanish equivalent *musaraña* is not documented to be used in mappings of the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor.

So far, research on animal metaphors has had various foci. There have been contrastive studies (cf. Nesi 1995), cognitive linguistic analyses (cf. Sanz Martin 2015), combinations of those two approaches (cf. Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán 2003), studies on the translation of animal metaphors (cf. Dobrotă 2017), diachronic analyses (cf. López-Rodríguez 2014), and studies on the behavioural impact that animal metaphors can have (cf. Bock/Burkley 2018). However, to the author’s knowledge, no study has yet tested speakers’ associations with animal metaphors that are not documented in the speakers’ native language but in another language. It is the goal of the present study to contribute to filling this research gap. For that, using English dictionaries (*The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang* (Ayto/Simpson 2013), etc.), English animal terms referring to different types of women (e. g. promiscuous woman, old woman, good-looking woman) were collected which are not documented to exist in Spanish. Then, in two separate online questionnaires, native speakers of Spanish judged the

translated animal metaphors in terms of their meaning. In the first one, participants rated the animal metaphors on Likert scales, whereas the second questionnaire employed open questions, allowing for a multi-methodological approach to detect Spanish speakers' associations with undocumented animal metaphors. Accordingly, participants appear to be more unsure about the meanings of animal metaphors when confronted with open questions compared to when being able to choose from several options on Likert scales.

The present study, thus, aims to contribute to the contrastive investigation of animal metaphors by researching animal metaphors that are novel in one language, instead of comparing animal metaphors that are established in both languages as has been the focus of many previous studies. This approach should help shed light on native speakers' associations with certain animal species when they are not conventional source concepts in the WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL metaphor.

In the following, the theoretical framework of this study is outlined, which comprises Cognitive Metaphor Theory followed by an overview of the research that has been done on animal metaphor. Next, the methodology employed for the creation and analysis of the questionnaires is introduced, and finally, the results obtained from the two questionnaires are presented and discussed.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics

According to cognitive linguists, metaphor is more than simply a figure of speech. Instead, it is fundamental to human thought and cognition (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2000; Deignan 2010). Metaphor is “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 5), meaning that, through metaphor, a target domain is conceptualized in terms of a source domain. This correspondence between the two domains is understood of as *conceptual mapping*. The following sentences highlight a well-known example of metaphor, namely the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor in which a mapping occurs from the source domain WAR to the target domain ARGUMENT (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 4):

- (1) I've never *won* an argument with him.
- (2) He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
- (3) Your claims are *indefensible*.

As Lakoff/Johnson (1980) state, “we don't just talk about arguments in terms of war [...] [but] the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is one that we live by in this culture: it structures the actions we perform in arguing” (ibid.: 4).

When a target domain is conceptualized in terms of a source domain, certain aspects of the target are highlighted while others remain hidden. The ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, for example, “highlights the adversarial nature of argument but hides the fact that argument often involves an ordered and organized development of a particular topic” (Evans/Green 2006: 304). Furthermore, it is important to note that metaphors are unidirectional, meaning that structures are mapped from the source to the target domain but not the other way around, even when two different metaphors share two domains, such as PEOPLE ARE MACHINES and MACHINES ARE

PEOPLE. In other words, when conceptualizing people as machines, different structures are mapped than when conceptualizing machines as people (cf. Lakoff/Turner 1989: 132).

While metaphor research mostly focuses on the conceptualization of the abstract in terms of the concrete – as is the case with many frequently discussed metaphors such as TIME IS MONEY, ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, and THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980) – it is important to note that the target domains can be concrete, too: “[M]etaphorical mappings do not always involve abstract targets, as the source domain is not always more accessible to sense perception or closer to our everyday experience than the target domain” (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 23; cf. also Forceville 2006: 387). An example of a concrete-to-concrete mapping is the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor which is at the core of the present study (see 2.2).

An important distinction when talking about metaphor regards conventionality and novelty. The Conceptual Mapping Model (cf. Ahrens 2010) distinguishes between four types of metaphor, from most conventional to most novel:

- (a) Conventional metaphors that are common in the language, e. g. NEGATIVE PAST EMOTIONS AND MEMORIES ARE BAGGAGE.
 - (1) I need to get rid of this emotional *baggage*. (cf. Cameron/Deignan 2006: 678–680)
- (b) Novel metaphors that follow the mapping principle but are novel usages. They require the activation of an underlying connection.
 - (2) I need to get rid of this emotional *luggage*.
- (c) Novel metaphors that do not follow the mapping principle. They require the listener to make a new connection between the source and the target.
 - (3) I need to get rid of this emotional *handbag*.
- (d) Anomalous metaphors, i. e. novel metaphors that use a source-target domain pairing that never occurs in the language, e. g. ECONOMY IS FOOD.
 - (4) The two sides are *digesting* natural resources. (cf. Ahrens et al. 2007: 164)

While previous research has only distinguished between conventional and novel metaphors, Ahrens (2010) has shown in on-line and off-line psycholinguistic experiments that there are indeed differences in terms of metaphoric understanding between all four types of metaphor (a–d). Accordingly, declining conventionality and increasing novelty equal a decline in metaphor acceptability and interpretability. For that reason, it is important to distinguish between the different types of metaphors one is dealing with.

It has long been argued by cognitive scientists that metaphors which originate from human physiology and embodied experiences are universal (cf. Neumann 2001: 124; Kövecses 2005: 3; Evans/Green 2006: 308). For example, the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH (cf. Kövecses 1986: 101) – which is based on “the correlation in our childhood experiences between the loving embrace of our parents and the comforting bodily warmth that accompanies it” (Kövecses 2005: 2f.) – exists in many languages and can be considered a universal metaphor. However, in metaphor research, emphasis has also been put on the cultural and contextual nature of metaphor. This approach, which distinguishes between cross-cultural and within-culture variation, is described by Kövecses (2008) as a cultural-cognitive theory of metaphor. For example, the metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART exists in Chinese, but not in English, whereas the English metaphor BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND does not exist in Chinese (cf.

Kövecses 2008: 60). One metaphor that can be considered universal while at the same time highly depending on culture and context is the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor.¹

2.2 The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor

When dealing with the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, the question arises how it happens that animals are used to talk about humans and human behaviour. As Kövecses (2010: 152) states, animals do not inherently possess human qualities. Instead, humans ascribe human characteristics to animals, thus personifying them, before reapplying them to humans, hence animalizing them. For example, a female dog is not spiteful per se, but humans attribute spitefulness to female dogs and apply it to a woman when referring to her as *bitch*.

In order to make sense of the conceptualization of humans as animals, it is essential to consider the so-called Great Chain of Being (cf. Lakoff/Turner 1989). This cultural folk model places humans, animals, plants and inanimate objects on a vertical hierarchy, representing the supposed world order of “higher” versus “lower” entities. Accordingly, the lowest entity are inanimate objects, which are nothing but substance, while plants additionally have life. Animals have all these properties, but they also show animal behaviour such as instincts. Lastly, on top of all these properties, humans also have human-specific attributes such as reason, morality, and consciousness. However, each level contains further sublevels, so while they are both inanimate objects, a chair is more complex than a stone, and while they are both animals, a cat is more complex than a bug, for example (cf. Lakoff/Turner 1989: 167f.). Furthermore, sublevels also exist within the category of humans. Accordingly, “men rank above women because traditionally the former are believed to be ruled by reason whereas the latter by their heart, which seems to bring the female sex closer to the animal kingdom” (López-Rodríguez 2016: 94; cf. also Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán 2003: 794). When referring to a human as an animal – as is the case in the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor – the target HUMAN is downgraded to a member of the lower category ANIMAL, hence depriving the person of their human-specific characteristics (cf. López-Rodríguez 2016: 77; Tipler/Ruscher 2019: 110).

However, as Haslam/Loughnan/Sun (2011) have shown, animal metaphors are not always inherently offensive. Instead, there are factors that contribute to the offensiveness of animal metaphors while others mitigate it:

Offensiveness derives both from the transfer of reviled characteristics from taboo animals to metaphor targets and from the positioning of the target as literally less than human, even when the animal in question is not taboo. [...] It may be possible to distinguish two kinds of offensive animal metaphors: those that are disgusting and those that are degrading.

(ibid.: 318)

Furthermore, the context of the animal metaphor plays a crucial role in its offensiveness. It seems that offensiveness is greater when the metaphor is used in a hostile manner addressed to women and in intergroup contexts, especially when referring to someone’s appearance (cf. ibid.: 322). In any case, “animal metaphors may be insulting in part because they are – or are intended to be – dehumanizing” (ibid.: 312).

¹ While the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is largely considered a universal metaphor, there are some indigenous languages in which the categories of humans and animals are not distinguished (cf. López-Rodríguez 2016: 75).

As the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is so prevalent across languages, there has been extensive research on the conceptualization of humans as animals. There are diachronic studies analysing the evolution of certain animal metaphors (cf. Cruz Cabanillas/Tejedor Martínez 2002a, 2006; Kiełtyka 2005; Kiełtyka/Kleparski 2005; López-Rodríguez 2007a, 2014; Górecka-Smolińska/Kleparski 2011; Bisschops 2019). Research has also been dedicated to the issue of translating animal metaphors (cf. Ahrens/Say 1999; Bazzi 2014; Duan/Cui/Gao 2014; Dobrotă 2017). Other studies have focused on the behavioural impact that animal metaphors can have (cf. Bock/Burkley 2018; Tipler/Ruscher 2019), investigated the offensiveness of animal metaphors (cf. Haslam/Loughnan/Sun 2011), and studied which animal metaphors tend to be applied to men and which ones to women (cf. Nilsen 1996; Sommer/Sommer 2011). Most of the research on animal metaphor, however, has been contrastive analyses of two or more languages, highlighting the similarities and differences between commonly found animal metaphors (cf. Nesi 1995; Miri/Soori 2015), and cognitive linguistic analyses demonstrating the metaphorical conceptualizations prevalent in animal metaphors (cf. Hines 1999a; Hermanson/Plessis 1997; Cruz Cabanillas/Tejedor Martínez 2002b; Echevarría Isusquiza 2003; Goatly 2006; López-Rodríguez 2007b, 2016; Molina Plaza 2008; Eggertsson/Forceville 2009; Silaški 2013; Sanz Martin 2015; Kobia 2016). Many studies, though, combine the two approaches, resulting in contrastive cognitive linguistic analyses (cf. Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán 2003; Hsieh 2004, 2006, 2009; Reza Talebinejad/Vahid Dastjerdi 2005; Kiełtyka/Kleparski 2007; Wang/Dowker 2008; López-Rodríguez 2009; Wei 2011; Wei/Wong 2012; Jiang/Wen 2014; Kilyeni/Silaški 2014; Waśniewska/Kudin 2018).

As Kiełtyka/Kleparski (2007) point out – referring to research conducted by Thornton (1988) –, in English animal metaphors, humans are conceptualized as mammals far more often than as any other animal category. Table 1 shows the ranking of animal categories (source domain) used in the conceptualization of humans (target domain).

Rank	Animal category used in the conceptualization of humans
1	mammals
2	insects, reptiles, birds
3	fish
4	arachnids, amphibians
5	crustaceans

Table 1: Frequency ranking of animal categories used in the conceptualization of humans (cf. Kiełtyka/Kleparski 2007: 89)

The preference for mammals as source concepts is “due to their widely-understood similarity, familiarity and closeness to mankind” (Kiełtyka/Kleparski 2007: 89). Additionally, as suggested by Hines (1999a: 15), common animals, such as *monkey*, *rat* and *sheep*, appear more often in animal metaphor than rarer animals, such as *polar bear*, *porcupine* and *zebra* (cf. also Sanz Martin 2015: 380).

In line with the finding that men tend to rank above women on the Great Chain of Being (see above), it has been shown that women are conceptualized as animals more often than men and in more variety regarding the types of animals (cf. López-Rodríguez 2009). Furthermore, animal metaphors referring to women are overall more derogatory than those referring to men (cf.

Fernández Martín 2011). This is especially the case for animal metaphors denoting sexual behaviour, such as promiscuity (cf. Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán 2003). For example, while both *lion* and *lioness* refer to a sexually active, dominant man or woman respectively, the former is endowed with positive associations of male courage, ferocity, and strength, whereas the latter equates the woman with a dangerous and voracious animal, implying a threat to man's hegemonic masculinity (cf. Crespo-Fernández 2015: 147f.). López-Rodríguez (2009) explains the gender imbalance when it comes to (English and Spanish) animal metaphors as follows:

Drawing a clear boundary between the rational human and the instinctual beast, animal metaphors are often used in English and Spanish to degrade particular social groups that are regarded as inferior or marginal. Obviously, taking into account that within the English- and Spanish-speaking world, the male white heterosexual is assumed to be the norm, that is, "the self", any other social group deviating from this, such as women ... will fall into the category of "the other". Belittlement of such "other" [...] is often carried out via animal metaphors, as though implying the inappropriateness of their behavior.

(ibid.: 94f.)

López-Rodríguez (2007b) shows that women tend to be conceptualized as animals belonging to three main categories, namely pets (*bitch*, *kitten*, *cat*), farm animals (*mare*, *hen*) and wild animals (*vixen*, *crow*). While the first two categories tend to carry positive connotations, the latter category is tied to unfavourable associations:

Obviously, from the human perspective, pet and farmyard animals are domesticated and tamed, depend on man for their survival and do not pose any threat. Wild animals, by contrast, are not subject to man's control and are menacing. Hence, by portraying women in the guise of pets and farm animals, the idea of domesticity is being highlighted, evoking the patriarchal view that a woman's place should be confined to the domestic arena. Leaving their designated domestic sphere, however, is linguistically castigated by endowing the names of wild animals with negative associations.

(López-Rodríguez 2009: 95)

In her study on animal metaphors used by the written media to speak about women and their relationship with food, López-Rodríguez (2016) points out that an animal's size also plays a crucial role regarding the associations portrayed by the conceptualization. Hence, as suggested by Hines (1999a: 9, 17), the metaphor DESIRED WOMAN IS A SMALL ANIMAL likens young and attractive women to small animals, such as *bird*, *mink* and *bunny*. Furthermore, Hines (1999a: 12) argues that in most cases small animals are only mapped if they remain small in size when mature (e. g. *cat*, *chicken*), otherwise the immature animal is used (e. g. *filly* instead of *mare*). Sometimes though, both the immature and mature animal coexist, which can be seen in the pairs *kitten/cat* and *chick/chicken*. When it comes to larger animals, they tend to be perceived as menacing and negative (e. g. *mare*, *nag*, *seal*, *walrus* or *coyote*). Thus, when applied to women, these animal metaphors are offensive and pejorative (cf. López-Rodríguez 2016: 95). This goes hand in hand with perceived weakness and strength of certain animals so that referring to women as weak animals (e. g. *chicken*, Sp. *pollita* 'chick') appears to have positive connotations, whereas when it comes to strong animals (e. g. *vixen*, Sp. *zorra* 'vixen') the associations are negative (cf. López-Rodríguez 2009: 95).

In her study of metaphorical lexicalization, Hines (1999a) makes the interesting discovery that the animals in her list of active central terms denoting women considered sexually – *bird*, *bunny*, *canary*, *cat*, *chick*, *filly*, *fox*, *goose*, *grouse*, *kitten*, *partridge*, *pigeon*, *plover*, *pussy* (*cat*) and *quail* – seem to not only be chosen based on their semantic properties but also their phonetic features. Thus, “[e]very central term begins with a labial or velar obstruent” (ibid.: 11).² Hines (1999a: 11) argues that this sound symbolism is explicable as labials and velars have been shown to be associated with derogation in English. However, while animal terms like *coyote* and *flamingo* match the phonetic, but not the semantic prototype, *hamster* and *stork* fit semantically, but not phonetically (cf. ibid.: 14). This interplay of phonetics and semantics is not unique to this specific metaphor but instead also exists in the metaphors WOMAN IS A DESSERT, manifested, for example, in *cookie* and *cupcake* denoting an attractive woman (cf. Hines 1999b), and WOMAN IS A FEMME FATALE, manifested, for example, in *harpy* to refer to a grasping, unpleasant woman (cf. Hines 1996).

In her analysis of English and Spanish animal metaphors, López-Rodríguez (2009) shows that the two languages share many patterns and similarities when it comes to the conceptualization of women as animals. In both languages, men tend to predominantly be conceptualized as big, strong, and wild animals (e. g. *wolf*, Sp. *toro* ‘bull’), while women are mainly referred to as a variety of pets and farmyard animals or as wild animals. For example, both *dog* and Sp. *perro* are used to denote an ugly woman. *Parakeet* and the Spanish equivalent *periquita* both refer to a young woman, and *rabbit* and its Spanish counterpart *coneja* denote a woman with many children. However, there are also clear differences between the two languages: *Bird*, for example, is used affectionately in English to denote a girl or young woman, whereas Sp. *pájara* refers to a cunning woman or prostitute. Furthermore, *vixen* is applied to an ill-tempered quarrelsome woman, while Sp. *zorra* denotes a cunning or promiscuous woman or a prostitute (cf. López-Rodríguez 2009: 83, 86, 88, 91f.). Striking differences as well as interesting similarities were also found by Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán (2003) in their contrastive-cognitive analysis of two male/female examples in English and Spanish. Investigating the animal pairs *fox/vixen* and *bull/cow* as well as their Spanish counterparts *zorro/zorra* and *toro/vaca*, the authors found semantic derogation in both languages and more so for women compared to men, which seems to be evidence for the hypothesis of semantic imbalance in language (cf. ibid.: 792). Regarding the derogation conveyed by the female animal terms, there are clear differences between the two languages:

[W]ith regard to the animal pair *fox/vixen-zorro/zorra*, Spanish is more derogatory to women than English in view of the fact that in Spanish, women are related to promiscuous sexual behavior, whereas this is not so in English. On the other hand, regarding the animal pair *bull/cow-toro/vaca*, English proves to be more derogatory since, among other things, in the main metaphor from *cow*, women are associated not only with negative physical aspects, i. e. unattractiveness or large size, but also with negative behavioral aspects such as coarseness.

(ibid.: 793)

² The only exception is *chick* which is “unsurprising [...] [as] the palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ is a common element in diminutives and pet names” (Hines 1999a: 11).

Thus, Fernández Fontecha/Jiménez Catalán (2003: 789) argue that, when it comes to attempting to measure derogation, a negative behavioural aspect weighs heavier than a negative physical aspect and among negative behavioural aspects female promiscuity is considered the worst.

The many above-mentioned findings from previous research on animal metaphors are of utmost importance for the analysis of the results of the present study whose methodology is introduced in the next section, followed by the presentation and discussion of the results.

3 Methodology

In order to detect native speakers' associations with documented and undocumented Spanish animal metaphors, two online questionnaires were created using the web application SoSci Survey. Participants only took part in one of the two questionnaires by means of randomization. In both questionnaires, the participants were shown 15 Spanish sentences of the type *Ana es una musaraña* 'Ana is a shrew', with one sentence per page and only the animal term changing on each page. In order to test Spanish speakers' associations with undocumented animal metaphors and to compare them to their English meanings, ten animal metaphors referring to certain types of women which are documented in English but not in Spanish were translated into Spanish (see Table 2, white cells). Additionally, three well-documented Spanish animal metaphors referring to certain types of women were included in the questionnaire (see Table 2, light grey cells) as well as two animal metaphors that are undocumented in both languages (see Table 2, dark grey cells). This design was chosen in order to be able to draw conclusions about animal metaphor interpretation depending on the degree of metaphor conventionality. Table 2 shows the 15 Spanish animal terms that were included in the questionnaire as well as their English equivalents:

English		Spanish	
animal term	meaning	translation	metaphor conventionality
<i>quail</i>	young woman	<i>codorniz</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>shrew</i>	ill-tempered; malignant; aggressive; quarrelsome woman	<i>musaraña</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>roach</i>	unpleasant; despicable; unattractive; licentious woman	<i>cucaracha</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>mouse</i>	young woman	<i>ratón</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>beaver</i>	sexually attractive woman	<i>castor</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>stud</i>	homosexual woman with a stereotypically masculine identity or appearance	<i>semental</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>trout</i>	unattractive; old; ill-tempered woman	<i>trucha</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle

English		Spanish	
animal term	meaning	translation	metaphor conventionality
<i>bat</i>	unattractive; promiscuous; disagreeable; foolish woman; or a prostitute who walks the streets at night	<i>murciélago</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>crow</i>	unattractive; old woman	<i>cuervo</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>partridge</i>	attractive woman	<i>perdiz</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>vixen</i>	promiscuous; cunning woman	<i>zorra</i>	conventional metaphor
<i>cow</i>	fat; unattractive woman	<i>vaca</i>	conventional metaphor
<i>lizard</i>	promiscuous; cunning woman	<i>lagarta</i>	conventional metaphor
<i>stork</i>	–	<i>cigüeña</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle
<i>otter</i>	–	<i>nutria</i>	novel metaphor that follows mapping principle

Table 2: The 15 animal terms included in the questionnaire³

Some of the animal terms of the study have masculine gender (*ratón*, *castor*, *semental*, *murciélago*, *cuervo*), some feminine gender (*codorniz*, *musaraña*, *cucaracha*, *trucha*, *perdiz*, *zorra*, *vaca*, *lagarta*, *cigüeña*, *nutria*). To determine which animal terms would sound unknown or unacceptable to the participants, three native speakers judged all animal terms for which both masculine and feminine forms exist (e. g. *castor* vs. *castora*, *ratón* vs. *ratona*) in advance and unanimously decided on the above arrangement.

The ten animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish were chosen based on an English dictionary search of the following dictionaries:

- *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), online version
- *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (Partridge 2013)
- *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang* (Ayto/Simpson 2013)

The English animal terms were then directly translated into Spanish and – in order to determine if the Spanish animal terms were documented to exist as metaphors for certain types of women – they were subsequently cross-checked with a Spanish dictionary search of the following dictionaries:

- *Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española (DRAE)*, online version
- *Diccionario de uso del español*, CD-ROM version (Moliner 2008)
- *Diccionario del sexo y el erotismo* (Rodríguez González 2011)

³ Animal terms in white cells represent animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish, animal terms in light grey cells represent well-documented Spanish animal metaphors, animal terms in dark grey cells represent animal metaphors that neither exist in English nor Spanish.

Additionally, the process was supported by a Google search in both languages. By including not only animal terms that are documented in English and undocumented in Spanish (a), but also well-documented animal terms in Spanish (b) as well as animal terms that are undocumented in both languages (c), it is possible to put the results obtained from (a) in relation to likely highly accepted animal terms (b) as well as likely highly unaccepted animal terms (c). However, as indicated in Table 2, it is important to keep in mind that the metaphorical animal terms in (b) could be classified as conventional metaphors, while those in (a) and (c) could be classified as novel metaphors that follow mapping principles as animal metaphors of the respective classes of animals do exist in Spanish.

In terms of categorizing the animals featured in this study, two approaches can be helpful. Firstly, the animals belong to the following animal classes: mammals (*musaraña* ‘shrew’, *ratón* ‘mouse’, *castor* ‘beaver’, *semental* ‘stud’, *murciélagos* ‘bat’, *zorras* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, *nutria* ‘otter’), insects (*cucaracha* ‘roach’), reptiles (*lagarta* ‘lizard’), birds (*codorniz* ‘quail’, *cuervo* ‘crow’, *perdiz* ‘partridge’, *cigüeña* ‘stork’), and fish (*trucha* ‘trout’). Secondly, following López-Rodríguez’ (2007b: 26–32) classification, the animals in this study are either farm animals/typically edible animals (*codorniz* ‘quail’, *semental* ‘stud’, *vaca* ‘cow’, *trucha* ‘trout’, *perdiz* ‘partridge’) or wild animals/typically inedible animals (*musaraña* ‘shrew’, *cucaracha* ‘roach’, *ratón* ‘mouse’, *castor* ‘beaver’, *murciélagos* ‘bat’, *cuervo* ‘crow’, *zorras* ‘vixen’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’, *cigüeña* ‘stork’, *nutria* ‘otter’).

In the first questionnaire, the participants were asked to rate each animal term on a separate page on ten individual 7-point Likert scales from 0 to 6. The value 0 corresponded to *no significa lo mismo en absoluto, no sería posible usar esta expresión en este sentido* ‘does not mean the same at all, it would not be possible to use this expression in this sense’, the value 6 corresponded to *totalmente significa lo mismo, sería posible usar esta expresión en este sentido* ‘totally means the same, it would be possible to use this expression in this sense’. The scales remained the same on every page, i. e. for every animal term. For every single scale the participants had the option to indicate *no sé* ‘I don’t know’. The following scales were included (in Spanish only):

- (a) *Ana es una mujer gorda*. ‘Ana is a fat woman.’
- (b) *Ana es una mujer guapa*. ‘Ana is a good-looking woman.’
- (c) *Ana es una mujer promiscua*. ‘Ana is a promiscuous woman.’
- (d) *Ana es una mujer sexi*. ‘Ana is a sexy woman.’
- (e) *Ana es una mujer amable*. ‘Ana is a kind woman.’
- (f) *Ana es una mujer anciana*. ‘Ana is an old woman.’
- (g) *Ana es una mujer cizañera*. ‘Ana is a quarrelsome woman.’
- (h) *Ana es una mujer lesbiana*. ‘Ana is a lesbian woman.’
- (i) *Ana es una mujer joven*. ‘Ana is a young woman.’
- (j) *Ana es una mujer fea*. ‘Ana is an ugly woman.’

Figure 1 shows a screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorras* ‘vixen’. All pages were identical with only the animal term changing per page.

In the second questionnaire, for every animal term the participants were asked the same type of open question, for example, *¿Cómo describirías el tipo de mujer que es una musaraña?* ‘How

would you describe a woman who is a shrew?’, which they answered in an empty text box. For each animal term, the participants could instead indicate *no sé* ‘I don’t know’ (see Figure 2).

All participants were Spanish native speakers from Spain. They were aged between 22 years and 72 years, with a mean age of 36.15 years. Overall, 112 participants took part in the study, with 59 in the first questionnaire (Likert scales) and 53 in the second (open questions). Among the participants of the first questionnaire were 34 women, 24 men, and one intersexual participant. Among the participants of the second questionnaire were 37 women, 15 men, and one participant who indicated *otro* ‘other’ when asked about their gender. Additionally, the participants were asked to indicate their level of English on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 corresponding to very bad English skills and 5 corresponding to very good English skills. The mean value of the participants’ English skills was 3.92 in the first questionnaire and 4.15 in the second questionnaire. The participation in the study was voluntary and the participants did not receive any compensation. The study was conducted in September and October of 2020.

1. Ana es una zorra.

Indique el grado en que la frase arriba significa lo mismo que cada de las frases abajo.

	no significa lo mismo en absoluto, no sería posible usar esta expresión en este sentido	totalmente significa lo mismo, sería posible usar esta expresión en este sentido	no sé
	0 1 2 3 4 5 6		
Ana es una mujer <u>gorda</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>guapa</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>promiscua</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>sexí</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>amable</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>anciana</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>cizañera</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>lesbiana</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>joven</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
Ana es una mujer <u>fea</u> .	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>

Siguiente

Figure 1: Screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorra* ‘vixen’ as presented to the participants of the first questionnaire (Likert scales)

1. Ana es una zorra.

¿Cómo describirías el tipo de mujer que es una zorra?

☐ no sé

Siguiente

Figure 2: Screenshot of the questionnaire page for the animal term *zorra* ‘vixen’ as presented to the participants of the second questionnaire (open questions)

4 Results

In this section, the results of the study are presented. Firstly, the results obtained from the first questionnaire (Likert scales) are shown and analysed, followed by the results obtained from the second questionnaire (open questions). This allows for both theoretical and methodological conclusions. It is important to note that no significant differences were found between the overall results of the participants of either questionnaire regarding the social variables (gender, age, English skills). However, in some cases, the participants’ English skills do provide additional meaningful information.

4.1 Questionnaire I: Likert scales

Table 3 shows the 20 animal terms with the highest mean values for a single character trait. Put differently, *vaca* ‘cow’ is the animal term which was rated the highest out of all the animal terms as referring to a fat woman more than any other one of the remaining nine character traits. As can be seen, with a mean rating of 5.71 it is closest to the high end of 6, which corresponds to ‘totally means the same, it would be possible to use this expression in this sense’.

Rank	Animal term	Character trait	Mean value (between 0 and 6)
1	<i>vaca</i> ‘cow’	fat	5.71
2	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’	promiscuous	4.63
3	<i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’	promiscuous	3.24
4	<i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’	quarrelsome	3.22
5	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’	quarrelsome	3.07
6	<i>semental</i> ‘stud’	promiscuous	2.54
7	<i>cucaracha</i> ‘roach’	ugly	2.44
8	<i>cucaracha</i> ‘roach’	quarrelsome	2.34
9	<i>trucha</i> ‘trout’	lesbian	2.26
10	<i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’	ugly	2.11
11	<i>semental</i> ‘stud’	sexy	1.81
12	<i>castor</i> ‘beaver’	ugly	1.69
13	<i>murciélago</i> ‘bat’	ugly	1.66
14	<i>vaca</i> ‘cow’	ugly	1.59

Rank	Animal term	Character trait	Mean value (between 0 and 6)
15	<i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’	ugly	1.45
16	<i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’	quarrelsome	1.45
17	<i>trucha</i> ‘trout’	ugly	1.36
18	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’	sexy	1.25
19	<i>musaraña</i> ‘shrew’	ugly	1.20
20	<i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’	sexy	1.12

Table 3: The 20 animal terms with the highest mean value for a single character trait⁴

Unsurprisingly, the three well-documented Spanish animal terms (*zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’; see 3) appear in the five highest ranks. Additionally, the two animal metaphors that neither exist in English nor Spanish (*cigüeña* ‘stork’, *nutria* ‘otter’) do not feature at all in the 20 highest entries. When looking at the entries in Table 3, it is striking that some character traits seem to clearly feature more than others. Accordingly, while *vaca* ‘cow’ to refer to a fat woman is the highest-ranking entry, the character trait *fat* does not appear apart from that. Instead, the single most frequently character trait appears to be *ugly* (8/20), followed by *quarrelsome* (4/20), *promiscuous*, and *sexy* (both 3/20). Another character trait with only one instance among the 20 highest entries is *lesbian*. Thus, the character traits *good-looking*, *kind*, *old*, and *young* do not feature at all in the 20 highest entries. This tendency also reveals itself when considering the mean values of all ten character traits for all 15 animal terms per character trait, as shown in Table 4.

Rank	Character trait	Mean value (between 0 and 6), considering all animal terms
1	ugly	1.14
2	promiscuous	0.91
3	quarrelsome	0.89
4	fat	0.68
5	sexy	0.52
6	lesbian	0.40
7	good-looking	0.35
8	young	0.33
9	old	0.33
10	kind	0.30

Table 4: Mean values of all ten character traits, considering all 15 animal terms per character trait⁵

As mentioned above, *good-looking*, *young*, *old*, and *kind* score the lowest mean values, indicating that the participants perceive the animal terms tested in this study to overall not refer to women who inherit these character traits. Instead, they perceive them to mostly refer to ugly,

⁴ A mean value of 6 corresponds to ‘totally means the same, it would be possible to use this expression in this sense’, a mean value of 0 corresponds to the opposite. Animal terms in light grey cells represent well-documented Spanish animal metaphors, animal terms in white cells represent animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish.

⁵ A mean value of 6 corresponds to “totally means the same, it would be possible to use this expression in this sense”, a mean value of 0 corresponds to the opposite.

promiscuous, and quarrelsome women, followed by fat, sexy, and lesbian women. However, the overall mean values are relatively small, i. e. rather than approaching the high end of 6, they approach the low end of 0 which corresponds to “does not mean the same at all, it would not be possible to use this expression in this sense”.

Apart from the most common character traits, Table 3 also gives an indication of the animal terms that are most highly rated as referring to a woman of a specific character trait. As mentioned above, the three well-documented Spanish animal terms (*zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’) appear in the highest ranks. This tendency remains the same when looking at the mean value of all the animal term data obtained from this questionnaire. Table 5 shows the mean values of all 15 animal terms for all ten character traits per animal term.

Rank	Animal term	Mean value (between 0 and 6), all character traits
1	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’	1.17
2	<i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’	0.98
3	<i>vaca</i> ‘cow’	0.97
4	<i>semental</i> ‘stud’	0.76
5	<i>cucaracha</i> ‘roach’	0.67
6	<i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’	0.58
7	<i>trucha</i> ‘trout’	0.54
8	<i>codorniz</i> ‘quail’	0.46
9	<i>nutria</i> ‘otter’	0.42
10	<i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’	0.41
11	<i>murciélag</i> ‘bat’	0.41
12	<i>musaraña</i> ‘shrew’	0.41
13	<i>perdiz</i> ‘partridge’	0.35
14	<i>castor</i> ‘beaver’	0.35
15	<i>cigüeña</i> ‘stork’	0.30

Table 5: Mean values of all 15 animal terms, considering all ten character traits per animal term⁶

In other words, the participants perceive *zorra* ‘vixen’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’, and *vaca* ‘cow’ to be the three animal terms that most likely refer to certain types of women overall, while *cigüeña* ‘stork’, *castor* ‘beaver’, and *perdiz* ‘partridge’ are considered the least likely animal terms to refer to certain types of women. Other relatively highly rated animal terms include *semental* ‘stud’, *cucaracha* ‘roach’, *cuervo* ‘crow’, and *trucha* ‘trout’ – all animal terms that are documented to refer to certain types of women in English but not in Spanish (see 3).

It is worth looking at each animal term and its respective character traits in more detail. Figure 3 shows the participants’ ratings of every animal term based on all ten character traits. It aligns with the data in Table 3. As can be seen, while some animal terms, e. g. *zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca*

⁶ A mean value of 6 corresponds to “totally means the same, it would be possible to use this expression in this sense”, a mean value of 0 corresponds to the opposite. Animal terms in light grey cells represent well-documented Spanish animal metaphors, animal terms in white cells represent animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish, animal terms in dark grey cells represent animal metaphors that neither exist in English nor Spanish.

‘cow’, *lagarta* ‘lizard’, *cucaracha* ‘roach’, and *semental* ‘stud’, have high mean values for certain character traits, not a single character trait of the bird terms *codorniz* ‘quail’, *perdiz* ‘partridge’, and *cigüeña* ‘stork’ scores a mean value of 1 or higher. While none of the three birds seem to make for potential source concepts, there are interesting differences between them, after all: Based on the ten character traits, the participants rate *codorniz* ‘quail’ to most likely refer to an ugly (0.67), but also sexy (0.57) and good-looking woman (0.56), and least likely to a fat (0.30) and lesbian woman (0.30); *perdiz* ‘partridge’ to most likely refer to a young (0.60) and kind woman (0.58), and least likely to a lesbian (0.22), quarrelsome (0.22), and old woman (0.22); and *cigüeña* ‘stork’ to most likely refer to an ugly (0.59) and interestingly also a good-looking woman (0.54), and least likely to a quarrelsome (0.12) and lesbian woman (0.13). In English, only *quail* and *partridge* are documented out of those three bird metaphors, with the former referring to a young woman and the latter to an attractive woman. Thus, the associations evoked by the English conventional metaphors and the Spanish translations differ in these cases.

Apart from the three well-documented animal metaphors *zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, and *lagarta* ‘lizard’, the animal terms which score a mean value of 2 or more for at least one character trait are *semental* ‘stud’, *cucaracha* ‘roach’, *trucha* ‘trout’, and *cuervo* ‘crow’ (see Table 3 and Figure 3) – all documented to exist in English but not in Spanish. In comparison with the associations in English, the Spanish associations reveal interesting results: Both *cucaracha* ‘roach’ and *cuervo* ‘crow’ seem to align to a great extent with their English counterparts when it comes to the perceived character traits. The former refers to an unpleasant, despicable, ugly, and licentious woman in English, and is rated as referring to a quarrelsome and ugly woman in Spanish. The latter refers to an old and ugly woman in English, and is considered to refer to an ugly, quarrelsome, and old woman by the Spanish participants.

When it comes to *semental* ‘stud’ and *trucha* ‘trout’, however, the Spanish participants’ associations seem to differ from those documented in English. While *stud* refers to a homosexual woman of stereotypically masculine identity or appearance in English, the Spanish participants perceive *semental* ‘stud’ to predominantly refer to a promiscuous and sexy woman. However, the character trait with the third highest mean value is in fact *lesbian*, although it is far behind *promiscuous* and *sexy* (see Figure 3). A possible reason for the Spanish participants’ focus on sexual activity and attractiveness – instead of homosexuality – might be the association of a stud with frequent mating and high sex hormone levels. This topic is discussed in more detail in 5. Regarding *trucha* ‘trout’, the animal term is used in English to refer to an ugly, old, and ill-tempered woman. However, while the character trait *ugly* does have the second highest mean value, it is *lesbian* that scores the highest mean value by far (see Figure 3). This high rating likely occurs due to the fact that *trucha* ‘trout’ is a documented expression for a homosexual man – but not for a homosexual woman. It seems, then, that the participants extended this association to female homosexuality. This case is discussed in more detail in 5.

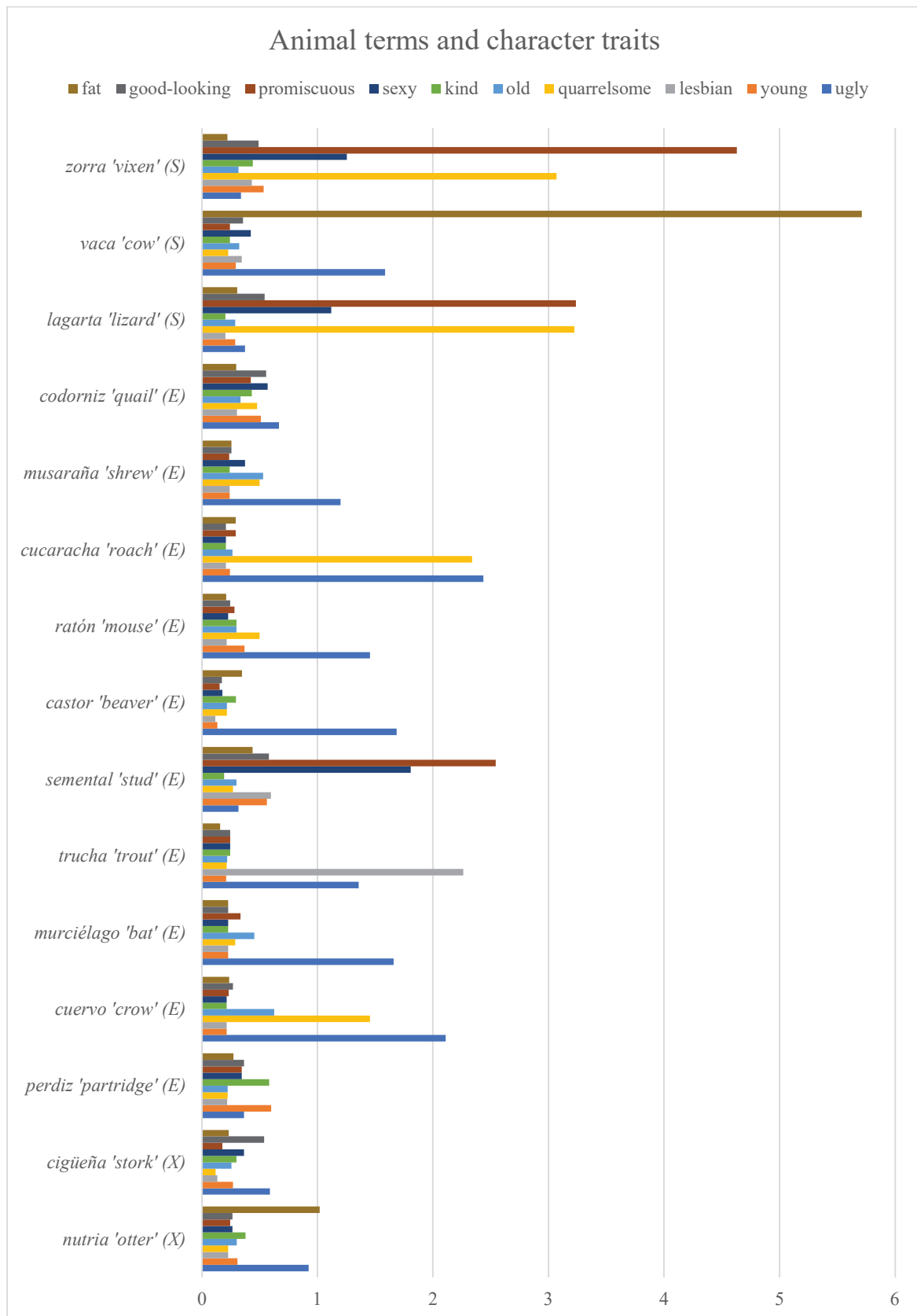


Figure 3: All animal terms and the respective character traits⁷

⁷ The letters in brackets indicate whether an animal metaphor is well-documented in Spanish (S), documented to exist in English but not Spanish (E), or not documented in either language (X).

Some additional interesting findings include the following: Apart from the character trait *promiscuous*, both *zorra* ‘vixen’ and *lagarta* ‘lizard’ – two well-documented animal metaphors in Spanish – also have high ratings for the character trait *quarrelsome* (see Figure 3). In fact, in the case of *lagarta* ‘lizard’, the scores of the character traits *promiscuous* (3.24) and *quarrelsome* (3.22) are nearly identical. Interestingly, the English *vixen* is documented to refer to an ill-tempered, quarrelsome woman. However, for both *zorra* ‘vixen’ and *lagarta* ‘lizard’, this part of the meaning seems to be novel and, so far, undocumented, as the following dictionary entries highlight:

- *zorra* ‘vixen’ (cf. Rodríguez González 2011: 1089)
Referido a la mujer fácil, promiscua, muy laxa en lo tocante a la moral sexual; prostituta.
 ‘Referring to an easy, promiscuous woman, very lax regarding sexual morality; prostitute.’
- *lagarta* ‘lizard’ (cf. DRAE, s. v. *lagarta*)
Persona pícaro, taimado; prostituta. ‘Naughty, cunning person; prostitute.’

A Google search for *zorra* ‘vixen’ and *lagarta* ‘lizard’ in combination with *cizañera* ‘quarrelsome’ did not yield fruitful results either, suggesting that this character trait is in fact undocumented as part of the meaning of the two animal metaphors.

Furthermore, Figure 3 also nicely visualizes that the character trait *ugly* has the overall highest mean value (see Table 4). Out of the 15 animal terms, it scores the highest mean value in eight of them (*codorniz* ‘quail’, *musaraña* ‘shrew’, *cucaracha* ‘roach’, *ratón* ‘mouse’, *castor* ‘beaver’, *murciélago* ‘bat’, *cuervo* ‘crow’, *cigüeña* ‘stork’). For three additional animal terms, *ugly* has the second highest score (*vaca* ‘cow’, *trucha* ‘trout’, *nutria* ‘otter’). The question arises whether this tendency is due to the specific animals featuring in this study or whether this might be a more general tendency in Spanish animal metaphors. This is further discussed in 5.

Apart from *vaca* ‘cow’, the only other highly rated animal term regarding the character trait *fat* is *nutria* ‘otter’ – an undocumented animal metaphor in both English and Spanish. For both animal terms, *fat* has the highest and *ugly* the second highest rating, implying that being corpulent is regarded an unattractive and therefore negative feature. This has been previously shown to be the case for *vaca* ‘cow’ (cf. López-Rodríguez 2009: 88).

While it is, of course, important to consider in detail the ratings that each animal term received regarding the character traits, the instances of participants indicating that they did not know which character traits to assign to an animal, i. e. where they chose *no sé* ‘I don’t know’, offer some interesting insights too. Thus, while the three well-documented Spanish animal metaphors *zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, and *lagarta* ‘lizard’ each unsurprisingly received only one indication of *no sé* ‘I don’t know’ (each one for the character trait *quarrelsome*), the results for the remaining animal terms suggests significantly more insecurity among the participants (and for all character traits), as Figure 4 shows.

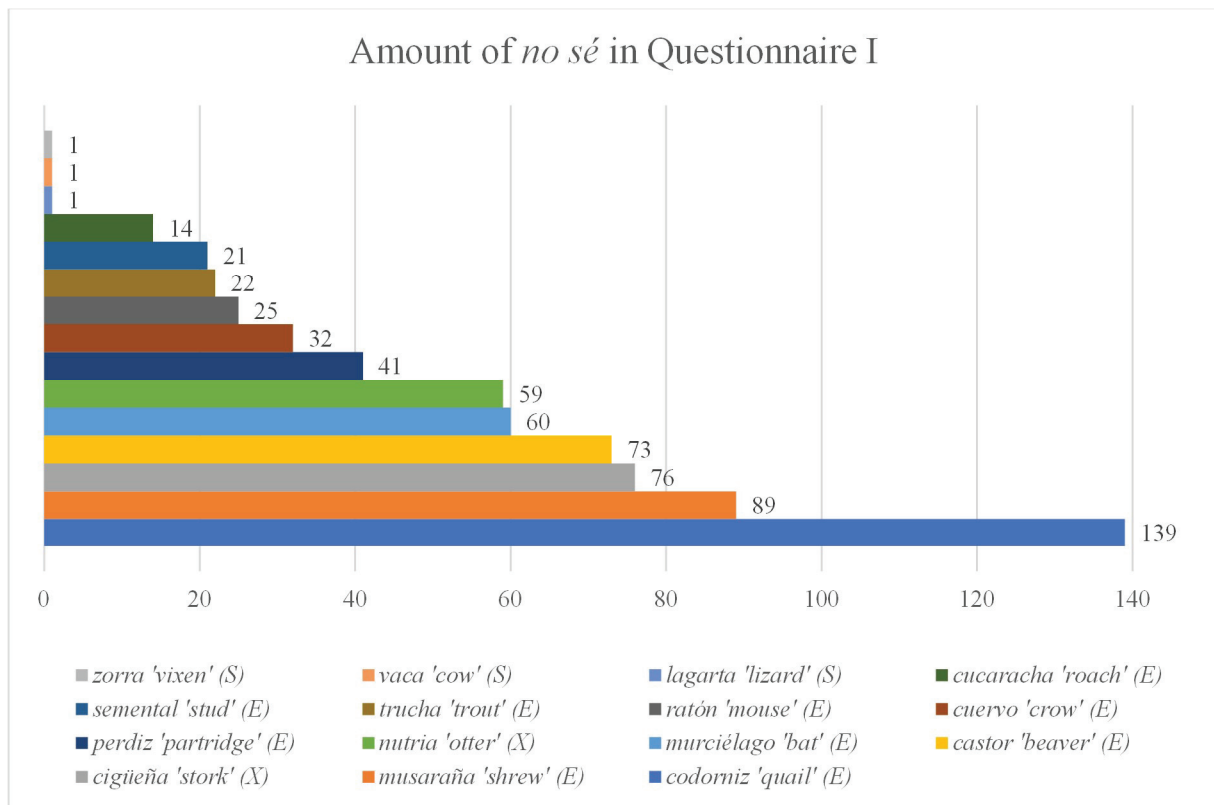


Figure 4: Total amount of *no sé* 'I don't know' in the Likert scale questionnaire⁸

Out of all 8850 data points in the Likert scale questionnaire, i. e. 59 (participants) x 15 (animals) x 10 (character traits), there are 654 instances of *no sé* 'I don't know', which equals around 7.39% of all data points. As can be seen in Figure 4, the participants indicated the most insecurity in the case of *codorniz* 'quail', with 139 instances of *no sé* 'I don't know', which means that nearly one quarter (23.56%) of all data points for this animal term are *no sé* 'I don't know'. For the Spanish translation *musaraña* of the highly conventionalized English *shrew* as a metaphor for a quarrelsome woman, participants indicated the second highest amount of *no sé* 'I don't know'. In fact, English skills seem to not have been beneficial in this case – quite the contrary: Participants who stated to have good or very good English skills indicated *no sé* 'I don't know' 1.73 times per *musaraña* 'shrew', compared to 1.05 times for those with bad English skills. What is striking in Figure 4 is the fact that the two animal metaphors that neither exist in English nor Spanish, *nutria* 'otter' and *cigüeña* 'stork', do not have the highest amounts of *no sé* 'I don't know', with *nutria* 'otter' even featuring in mid-range. This suggests that *otter* and *stork* might be equally suited for source domains in animal metaphor as other animals that are indeed documented to exist in English – or even more so than some of them, e. g. *quail* and *shrew*. In Japanese folklore, for example, otters are believed to be tricksters and shapeshifters: "They are said to emerge from the water and take human form, often that of a beautiful woman, in order to bewitch unwary travelers" (Toriyama/Yoda/Alt 2016: 17). It seems, then, that animal metaphors are to some degree arbitrary:

⁸ The numbers are given as indicated per animal term in the Likert scale questionnaire. The letters in brackets indicate whether an animal metaphor is well-documented in Spanish (S), documented to exist in English but not Spanish (E), or not documented in either language (X).

Certainly the real world provides a starting point for metaphor, but the choice of salient feature, and the significance attached to that feature, varies to such an extent as to appear arbitrary. [...] [C]onventional metaphor is not natural but cultural. Once a perceived similarity between two entities is codified, that similarity may even cease to exist, yet the metaphor will remain meaningful.

(Nesi 1995: 276)

Apart from the three well-documented Spanish animal terms *zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, and *lagarta* ‘lizard’ (*no sé*: 0.17%), the participants were most sure about *cucaracha* ‘roach’ (*no sé*: 2.37%), followed by *semental* ‘stud’ (*no sé*: 3.56%), *trucha* ‘trout’ (*no sé*: 3.73%), and *ratón* ‘mouse’ (*no sé*: 4.24%). Interestingly, when it comes to the insecurity about the animal terms featured in this study, it appears not to matter which animal class the animal belongs to, whether the animal is a farm animal/edible animal or a wild animal/inedible animal, and whether or not the animal metaphor is documented in English.

After having highlighted the most noteworthy results obtained from the Likert scales of the first questionnaire, it is time to explore the findings from the second questionnaire employing open questions instead.

4.2 Questionnaire II: Open questions

Starting, in this section, with the participants’ indication of *no sé* ‘I don’t know’ per animal term, it becomes clear that the results overlap with those of the first questionnaire to a large extent, though not in all cases, as can be seen in Figure 5, in which the ascending order of Figure 4 has been kept. It is important to note that the overall numbers are smaller in this case as the participants in the second questionnaire could only indicate *no sé* ‘I don’t know’ once per animal term (instead of answering the question in the empty text box).

Again, unsurprisingly, the participants are least unsure about the well-documented Spanish animal metaphors *zorra* ‘vixen’ (*no sé*: 0), *vaca* ‘cow’ (*no sé*: 0), and *lagarta* ‘lizard’ (*no sé*: 2). This is followed by *cucaracha* ‘roach’ (*no sé*: 8) and *semental* ‘stud’ (*no sé*: 17), just like in the first questionnaire. However, the next animal term is not *trucha* ‘trout’ (*no sé*: 27), but *cuervo* ‘crow’ (*no sé*: 18) and then *ratón* ‘mouse’ (*no sé*: 19). A possible explanation could be that in the first questionnaire the participants were presented with the ten character traits, including *lesbian* which they indicated to be most prominent. Without any leads as to what type of woman could be referred to as *trucha* ‘trout’, it appears more participants were unsure about the animal term. This is discussed in more detail in 5.

Furthermore, while *codorniz* ‘quail’ (*no sé*: 38) remains the animal term that the participants are most unsure about, it is not as far behind as in the first questionnaire (see Figure 4), with *nutria* ‘otter’ (*no sé*: 37) and *perdiz* ‘partridge’ (*no sé*: 36) yielding similar results. However, overall, the second questionnaire, employing open questions instead of Likert scales, seems to reveal significantly higher insecurities among the participants, as the percentages indicated in brackets in Figure 5 show. Accordingly, 71.70% of participants did not know what type of woman *codorniz* ‘quail’ could refer to. The only animal terms for which more than half of the

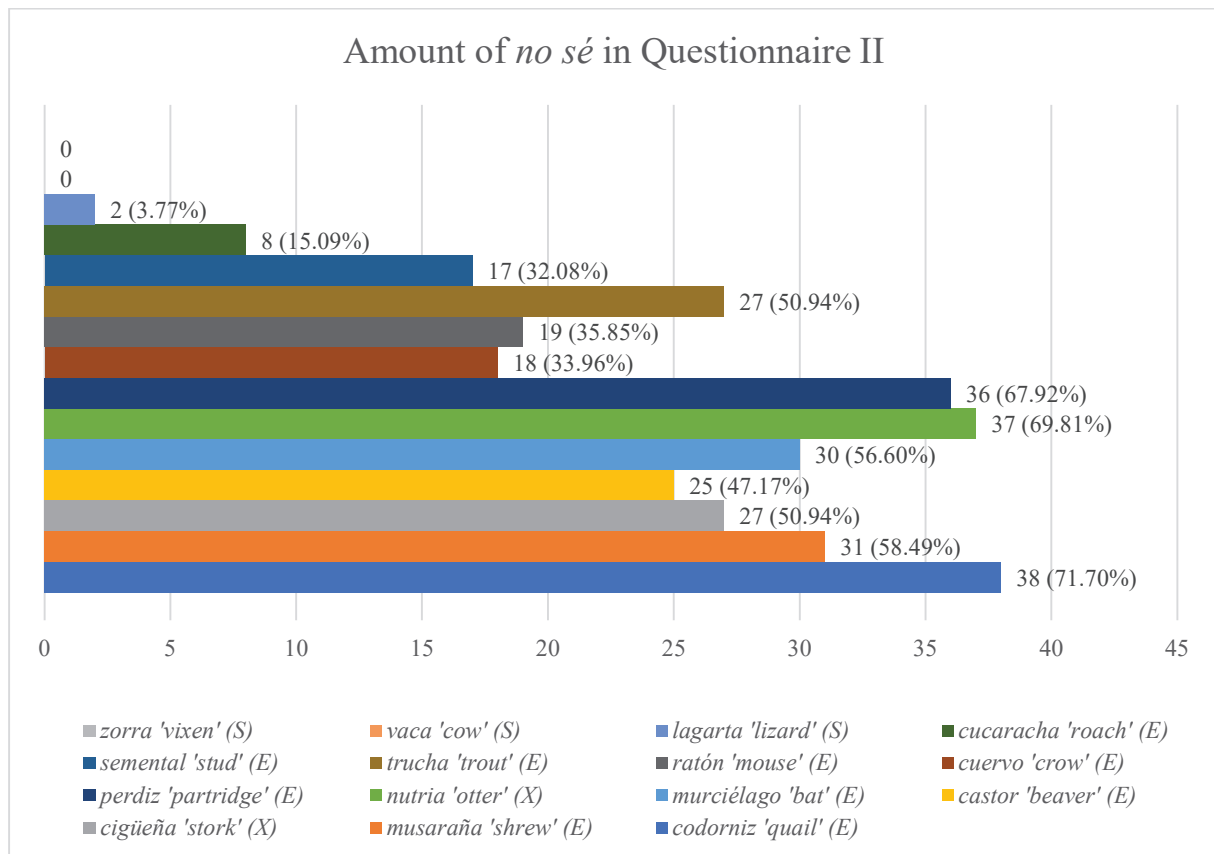


Figure 5: Total amount of *no sé* 'I don't know'⁹

participants offered an association with a certain type of woman are the three well-documented Spanish metaphors *zorra* 'vixen', *vaca* 'cow', and *lagarta* 'lizard', as well as the following animal metaphors that are documented in English but not in Spanish: *cucaracha* 'roach', *semental* 'stud', *cuervo* 'crow', *ratón* 'mouse', and *castor* 'beaver'. Methodological implications are further discussed in 5.

Table 6 shows the character traits which the participants indicated for each animal term when used to refer to a woman metaphorically. Only character traits that were mentioned by at least two participants are listed. The last column shows the total amount of all occurrences of character traits that were mentioned at least twice.

⁹ The answers are indicated per animal term in the open question questionnaire, with the percentage of participants indicating *no sé* 'I don't know' per animal term in brackets. The letters in brackets indicate whether an animal metaphor is well-documented in Spanish (S), documented to exist in English but not Spanish (E), or not documented in either language (X).

Animal term	Character traits	Total
<i>zorra</i> 'vixen'	promiscuous (31); bad (19); cunning (6); malicious (5); selfish (4); intelligent (4); perverse (2); hurtful (2); lewd (2); unscrupulous (2); disrespectful (2)	79
<i>lagarta</i> 'lizard'	promiscuous (13); bad (12); cunning (6); selfish (6); exploitative (5); mysterious (4); unreliable (4); careerist (2); talks behind people's back (2); false (2); interested in unavailable men (2); malicious (2); deceitful (2)	62
<i>vaca</i> 'cow'	fat (51); gluttonous (3); lazy (2); large (2)	58
<i>cucaracha</i> 'roach'	despicable (16); disgusting (9); bad (7); dirty (7); small (3); dark (2); insignificant (2)	46
<i>semental</i> 'stud'	not used to refer to women (8); promiscuous (6); sexual appetite (5); reproduces a lot (4); sexually potent (3); sexually active (3); transsexual (2); competent (2); coarse (2); attractive (2); masculine (2)	39
<i>cuervo</i> 'crow'	malicious (6); dark (5); dressed in black (5); intelligent (3); carrion-eating (3); big nose (3); afraid of people (2); witch (2); brings bad luck (2); in low spirits (2); cunning (2); exploitative (2)	37
<i>ratón</i> 'mouse'	small (10); likes cheese (4); cunning (4); agile (3); quiet (3); eats little (2); industrious (2); elusive (2); intelligent (2)	32
<i>castor</i> 'beaver'	big teeth (17); industrious (7); ugly (2); persistent (2)	28
<i>cigüeña</i> 'stork'	tall (6); midwife (4); has many children (4); thin (4); cautious (3); nomadic (2); brings babies (2); long legs (2)	27
<i>trucha</i> 'trout'	homosexual (10); elusive (5); agile (2); not used to refer to women (2); stupid (2); industrious (2)	23
<i>murciélagos</i> 'bat'	nocturnal (12); likes the night (6); ugly (2)	20
<i>musaraña</i> 'shrew'	scatter-brained (9); quiet (3); small (3); sleepy (2); pensive (2)	19
<i>codorniz</i> 'quail'	small (7); thin (3); caring (2); familiar (2)	14
<i>nutria</i> 'otter'	fat (3); quiet (2); likes water (2); industrious (2)	9
<i>perdiz</i> 'partridge'	happy (6); small (2)	8

Table 6: Animal terms and their respective character traits¹⁰

As can be seen in Table 6, a number of character traits are mentioned for more than one animal term. Accordingly, *small* is the most mentioned trait, namely for five animal terms. An overview of all character traits that were mentioned twice or more can be seen in Table 7.

¹⁰ The terms are given as indicated by the participants in the open question questionnaire. Only character traits that were mentioned by at least two participants are shown. Animal terms in light grey cells represent well-documented Spanish animal metaphors, animal terms in white cells represent animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish, animal terms in dark grey cells represent animal metaphors that neither exist in English nor Spanish.

Character trait	Frequency	Animal terms
<i>small</i>	5x	<i>codorniz</i> ‘quail’; <i>musaraña</i> ‘shrew’; <i>cucaracha</i> ‘roach’; <i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>perdiz</i> ‘partridge’
<i>cunning</i>	4x	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’; <i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’; <i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’
<i>industrious</i>		<i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>castor</i> ‘beaver’; <i>trucha</i> ‘trout’; <i>nutria</i> ‘otter’
<i>promiscuous</i>	3x	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’; <i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’; <i>semental</i> ‘stud’
<i>bad</i>		<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’; <i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’; <i>cucaracha</i> ‘roach’
<i>malicious</i>		<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’; <i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’; <i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’
<i>intelligent</i>		<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’; <i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’
<i>quiet</i>		<i>musaraña</i> ‘shrew’; <i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>nutria</i> ‘otter’
<i>selfish</i>	2x	<i>zorra</i> ‘vixen’; <i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’
<i>fat</i>		<i>vaca</i> ‘cow’; <i>nutria</i> ‘otter’
<i>exploitative</i>		<i>lagarta</i> ‘lizard’; <i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’
<i>thin</i>		<i>codorniz</i> ‘quail’; <i>cigüeña</i> ‘stork’
<i>dark</i>		<i>cucaracha</i> ‘roach’; <i>cuervo</i> ‘crow’
<i>agile</i>		<i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>trucha</i> ‘trout’
<i>elusive</i>		<i>ratón</i> ‘mouse’; <i>trucha</i> ‘trout’
<i>ugly</i>		<i>castor</i> ‘beaver’; <i>murciélago</i> ‘bat’

Table 7: Character traits that were mentioned for more than one animal term in the open questionnaire

Furthermore, participants indicated twice that an animal term is not used for women, namely in the case of *semental* ‘stud’ and *trucha* ‘trout’. All other animal traits were indicated for only one animal term. It is important to note that some of the animal terms (*musaraña* ‘shrew’, *perdiz* ‘partridge’) feature in relevant Spanish collocations and are therefore likely to be influenced by their meanings. Accordingly, *estar pensando en las musarañas* ‘thinking about shrews’ and *estar mirando a las musarañas* ‘looking at shrews’ both express that someone is distracted and not paying attention (scatter-brained, sleepy, pensive; see Table 6). Furthermore, when it comes to *perdiz* ‘partridge’, the Spanish expression *estar más feliz que una perdiz* ‘to be happier than a partridge’ could be compared to the English expression *to be happy as a lark*. Additionally, the English equivalent of the Spanish *y vivieron felices y comieron perdices* ‘and they lived happily and ate partridges’ is *and they lived happily ever after* (happy; see Table 6). Lastly, two collocations involving *ratón* ‘mouse’ are *jugar al gato y al ratón* which literally translates to and corresponds to the English *to play cat and mouse* (agile, quiet, elusive; see Table 6) as well as *saber más que los ratones colorados* ‘to know more than red mice’ which corresponds to the English *to be sly as a fox* (cunning, intelligent; see Table 6).

When comparing the results of this questionnaire with the meanings of the ten animal metaphors that are documented in English but not in Spanish, it is apparent that most animal metaphors convey different meanings in the two languages, as Table 8 indicates.

Animal term	English meaning (dictionaries)	Spanish association (questionnaire II)	(Partial) match
<i>quail</i>	young	small; thin; caring; familiar	×
<i>shrew</i>	ill-tempered; malignant; aggressive; quarrelsome	scatter-brained; quiet; small; sleepy; pensive	×
<i>roach</i>	unpleasant; despicable; ugly; licentious	despicable; disgusting; bad; dirty; small; dark; insignificant	✓
<i>mouse</i>	young	small; likes cheese; cunning; agile; quiet; eats little; industrious; elusive; intelligent	×
<i>beaver</i>	sexually attractive	big teeth; industrious; ugly; persistent	×
<i>stud</i>	lesbian with a stereotypically masculine identity or appearance	not used to refer to women; promiscuous; sexual appetite; reproduces a lot; sexually potent; sexually active; transsexual; competent; coarse; attractive; masculine	✓
<i>trout</i>	ugly; old; ill-tempered	homosexual; elusive; agile; not used to refer to women; stupid; industrious	×
<i>bat</i>	ugly; promiscuous; disagreeable; foolish; prostitute who walks the streets at night	nocturnal; likes the night; ugly	✓
<i>crow</i>	ugly; old	malicious; dark; dressed in black; intelligent; carrion-eating; big nose; afraid of people; witch; brings bad luck; in low spirits; cunning; exploitative	×
<i>partridge</i>	attractive	happy; small	×

Table 8: The ten animal terms that are documented in English but not in Spanish¹¹

Thus, the Spanish participants' associations with the animals *quail*, *shrew*, *mouse*, *beaver*, *trout*, *crow*, and *partridge* do not match those documented in English. In fact, in some cases the disparity seems striking: For example, while in English a woman referred to as *shrew* is considered to be ill-tempered, malignant, aggressive, and quarrelsome, the Spanish associations evoke thoughts of a rather harmless woman (quiet, small, sleepy). Similarly, while the English *beaver* refers to a sexy woman – a metonymic extension of *beaver* referring to the female genitals or pubic area due to the supposed similarity in hairiness –, the Spanish equivalent seems to remind the participants of an ugly woman with big teeth. There are, however, three close or partial matches between the two languages. Firstly, a woman referred to as *roach* is seen as an unpleasant, despicable, ugly, and licentious woman in English, while the Spanish participants associate similar character traits with this animal (despicable, disgusting, bad, dirty). Secondly, a

¹¹ The second column gives their respective meaning in English (as found in the dictionaries), the third one their respective associations in Spanish (as indicated by the participants of questionnaire II). The last column indicates whether the meaning of the animal metaphors in the two languages match.

homosexual woman with a stereotypically masculine identity or appearance is referred to as *stud* in English. Although the Spanish participants do not indicate associations with homosexuality, they do list stereotypically masculine traits, e. g. sexually potent, competent,¹² coarse, and masculine. Finally, among other things, the English animal term *bat* refers to an ugly woman or a prostitute who walks the streets at night, which corresponds to the Spanish participants' associations of *murciélagos* with an ugly and nocturnal woman. An interesting finding concerns the participants' English skills. Each of the following character traits – representing a match between the English and the Spanish animal term – was in each case mentioned by one participant with very good English skills: ugly and licentious (*cucaracha* 'roach'), homosexual (*semental* 'stud'), ugly and unkind (*trucha* 'trout'), ugly and old (*cuervo* 'crow'), and elegant and dolled up (*perdiz* 'partridge'). This could be a sign of possible L2 lexical inference.

Overall, there does not appear to be a clear correlation between the type of animal and whether or not the Spanish associations correspond to the English meanings of the respective animal metaphors. Thus, the three animals with matches between English and Spanish are one insect (*roach*) and two mammals (*stud*, *bat*), even though a bat is certainly a highly non-prototypical mammal as it is the only mammal capable of flying, which is heavily associated with birds. There are no matches between English and Spanish for the remaining three mammals (*shrew*, *mouse*, *beaver*), any of the birds (*quail*, *crow*, *partridge*) or the fish (*trout*). Furthermore, when it comes to matches between English and Spanish, it seems not to matter whether the animal is a farm animal/edible animal (*stud*) or a wild animal/inedible animal (*roach*, *bat*). The same seems to be true regarding the participants' degree of insecurity about the possible animal metaphors (see Figure 5).

5 Discussion

In this section, the most interesting results and patterns detected in section 4 are discussed in more detail in order to draw both theoretical and methodological conclusions. Firstly, when it comes to the three well-documented Spanish animal metaphors *zorra* 'vixen', *vaca* 'cow', and *lagarta* 'lizard' to refer to certain types of women, it is little surprising that the participants in both questionnaires showed no insecurity about the respective meanings and indicated them in accordance with the respective documented meanings. However, the results of both questionnaires revealed that even well-documented animal metaphors might have more multidimensional meanings than those recorded. Accordingly, while both *zorra* 'vixen' and *lagarta* 'lizard' are documented as metaphors for a promiscuous and cunning woman and were indeed rated as such by the participants, they were both indicated to refer to additional types of women. In the Likert scale questionnaire, both animal terms were indicated to refer to a quarrelsome and sexy woman, and in the questionnaire with the open questions, *zorra* 'vixen' was reported to refer to a bad, malicious, selfish, intelligent, perverse, hurtful, lewd, unscrupulous, and disrespectful woman, and *lagarta* 'lizard' to a bad, selfish, exploitative, mysterious, unreliable, careerist, false, malicious, deceitful woman who talks behind people's back and is interested in unavailable men. On the one hand, this shows that "[a]nimal metaphors [...] are multi-faceted" (López-Rodríguez 2016: 83) and that personality and character traits consist of more than only one or

¹² For gender stereotypes regarding higher competence in men and lower competence in women, cf. Eckes (2002), Fiske et al. (2002), Fowers/Fowers (2010), and Ellemers (2018), for example.

a few dimensions (cf. Corr/Poropat 2016: 27). On the other hand, it might suggest that dictionaries tend to display only the most prominent feature(s) of multidimensional personality types, disregarding features that form part of a certain personality type to a lesser degree. Methodologically, the two questionnaire types used in this present study – but especially the open question one – can help uncover the many facets of personality and character traits expressed through animal metaphor as well as provide more detail in this regard compared to dictionaries.

When it comes to the animal terms referring to different types of women that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish, *semental* ‘stud’ is an interesting case. As shown in 4, participants of the Likert scale questionnaire rated this animal term as referring to a promiscuous and sexy woman (see 4.1), while participants of the second questionnaire indicated that this animal term is either not used to refer to women or that they associate it with promiscuity, reproduction, attractiveness, competency, masculinity, transsexuality, coarseness, and sexual appetite, potency, and activity (see 4.2). In English, *stud* can refer to both a sexually successful, particularly masculine young man and a lesbian who adopts a stereotypically masculine identity or appearance. Overall, the participants seem to associate masculinity as opposed to homosexuality with this animal – even though *semental* ‘stud’ is the animal term that has the second highest score for *homosexual* in the Likert scale questionnaire, after *trucha* ‘trout’ in first place. An explanation for the participants’ focus on masculinity over female homosexuality could lie in stereotypicality: The stereotypical person of masculine appearance and behaviour, which the animal *stud* alludes to, tends to be a heterosexual man rather than a homosexual woman. In Spanish, this tendency is intensified further by the fact that *semental* ‘stud’ is derived from *semen* ‘semen’.

The animal term that was clearly indicated to be referring to a homosexual woman in both questionnaires is *trucha* ‘trout’. In English, *trout* is not documented to refer to homosexuality. As mentioned in 4, the general association of that animal with homosexuality in Spanish is likely due to the common usage of *trucha* ‘trout’ to refer to a homosexual and effeminate man. This suggestion is supported by the fact that two participants in the second questionnaire indicated that this animal metaphor is only used to refer to men. Fish and seafood are known to serve as source concepts for the metaphorical conceptualization of women and their genitalia, arguably due to the supposed similarity in slipperiness and smell (cf. Allan/Burridge 2006: 195), and that by metonymic extension male homosexuality is associated with femininity (cf. Crespo-Fernández 2015: 174). When it comes to the specific case of *trucha* ‘trout’, it has been suggested that its usage as an expression for a homosexual man has been popularized by the Spanish television series *Los Serrano* in 2003 and that it might be motivated by the association of the rainbow trout with the rainbow flag as an LGBTQ+ symbol (cf. Moscas de Colores 2020). In any case, it seems that in the present study, by a second metonymic extension, male homosexuality provides mental access to female homosexuality and causes the participants to disregard most of the other options – regardless of which questionnaire the participants were presented with.

However, while the participants of both questionnaires indicated that *trucha* ‘trout’ refers to a homosexual woman, this trend was much higher in the Likert scale questionnaire compared to the open questions – and this is not only the case for *trucha* ‘trout’. Overall, the results reveal a clear discrepancy when it comes to the participants’ insecurities about the animal metaphors.

When presented with possible character traits, it seems that the participants are more inclined to accept one or multiple options. On the contrary, when required to fill in an empty text box, it appears the participants are generally more unsure about the potential meanings of the animal metaphors. When comparing the amount of times that the participants indicated *no sé* ‘I don’t know’ out of all data points, it is 7.39% in the Likert scale questionnaire and 39.62% in the questionnaire with the open questions. Of course, the approach using the Likert scales provides more quantifiable and comparable data and less blank values, but the open questions approach offers a wider picture of the multidimensionality of personality types and appears to sway the participants less. Something that both methodologies have in common, though, is that they highlight how multifaceted the associations conveyed in animal metaphors are and how difficult it is to narrow them down for concise dictionary entries.

All in all, this present study found that the animal metaphors that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish as referring to certain types of women are for the most part not meaningful to the Spanish participants (see Figures 3 and 5) and do, to a large extent, not match with the English meaning when translated into Spanish. There are some partial or close matches (*roach*, *stud*, *bat*) that seem to largely convey the same meaning in both languages, but the remaining animal metaphors do not appear to correspond. However, from a broader perspective, there is some congruence between the English and Spanish animal metaphors in that – specifically in the questionnaire employing open questions – animals that are associated in English with what is stereotypically considered positive features in women, such as small size, young age, inferiority (cf. López-Rodríguez 2009: 95), tend to also be considered positively in Spanish; and vice versa in the case of negative associations, such as large size, old age, strength, promiscuity. Accordingly, *mouse*, *quail*, and *partridge* seem to convey positive and *crow* negative connotations in both English and Spanish.

Another important finding concerns the fact that the big majority of the tested animal metaphors refers to women pejoratively. This is the case for the documented and undocumented animal terms as well as for both types of questionnaires (Likert scales and open questions). Of course, for the well-documented animal metaphors *zorra* ‘vixen’, *vaca* ‘cow’, and *lagarta* ‘lizard’ this is to be expected as their associations are known to be negative (promiscuity, obesity, ugliness). When it comes to the undocumented animal metaphors, though, there is a clear pattern in the Likert scale questionnaire to predominantly associate various animal terms with ugliness: Out of the twelve undocumented animal terms (ten documented in English, two undocumented in English and Spanish), the participants rate *ugliness* as the number one trait in eight animals and as the number two trait in two animals. This applies for both ‘prototypically’ unsightly animals like *roach*, *beaver*, and *bat*, as well as animals that are not generally tied to unsightliness such as *quail*, *stork*, and *mouse*. It seems then that, first and foremost, novel animal metaphors provide mental access to ugliness, mostly regardless of the animal species. This might be due to the fact that ugliness is a concrete physical and visual factor which tends to be easier to grasp than abstract character traits denoting a woman’s personality. In other words, ugliness might be the default association of novel animal metaphors applied to women, while other associations (e. g. kindness, quarrelsomeness, homosexuality) might be less accessible and establish with increasing metaphor conventionality. Additionally, as suggested by the Great Chain of Being (see 2.2), animal metaphors are in any case more likely to link women to negative features.

Accordingly, in the second questionnaire (open questions), seven out of the twelve undocumented animal metaphors are endowed by the participants with rather negative traits (e. g. *despicable*, *promiscuous*, *malicious*, *scatter-brained*), while four are generally rated as positive (*ratón* ‘mouse’, *cigüeña* ‘stork’, *codorniz* ‘quail’, *perdiz* ‘partridge’) and one as neutral (*trucha* ‘trout’). Similarly, in the Likert scale questionnaire the character traits that were most often indicated to be associated with the animal terms are generally negative (*ugly*, *promiscuous*, *quarrelsome*, *fat*), with the positive ones featuring less (*kind*, *young*, *good-looking*, *sexy*) (see Table 4).

While some results of the present study conform to findings of previous studies, others do not. For example, as argued by López-Rodríguez (2009: 95), it seems to be the case that names of wild animals – as opposed to pets and farmyard animals – are consistently endowed with negative connotations. This claim can be substantiated when looking at the results from the Likert scales questionnaire, but not in its entirety when looking at the answers to the open questions. In the former case, the highest-rated character trait of each animal is one that conveys negative connotations, with *ugly* as the most common one. However, it must be mentioned at this point that, in the Likert scale questionnaire, the highest-rated character trait of all 15 animal terms (including farmyard and edible animals), except for *perdiz* ‘partridge’, is a negative one. This, then, seems to partially contradict López-Rodríguez’ (2009) overall findings. Additionally, when it comes to the open questions, the results do not fully support her claims either as all animal terms are indicated as having mostly negative character traits, with the exception of the two edible animals *codorniz* ‘quail’ (*small*) and *perdiz* ‘partridge’ (*happy*) as well as the two inedible wild animals *ratón* ‘mouse’ (*small*) and *cigüeña* ‘stork’ (*tall*). Again, it seems that the methodology chosen in this present study involving questionnaires employing Likert scales and open questions tends to yield results that differ significantly from dictionary-based approaches.

An interesting observation from this present study concerns one participant’s associations with the animal term *murciélagos* ‘bat’ in the second questionnaire (open questions). When presented with this animal metaphor and asked about the type of woman it could refer to, the answer was the following:

Right now, it would be a woman who can or in fact does transmit diseases and who is not careful about it. [Spanish original: ‘Ahora mismo sería una mujer que puede o de hecho transmite enfermedades y que no tiene cuidado con ello.’]

(female participant, 24 years old, intermediate English skills,
questionnaire with open questions)

The participant is, of course, alluding to the global COVID-19 pandemic that began in late 2019 and is believed to have spread from bats to humans. The participant’s association of a woman referred to as *bat* with the pandemic could be an indication as to how influential current affairs and developments in our environments can be on our understanding of animal metaphors. However, considering the study was conducted at the height of the pandemic but only one participant addressed it, it shows how stable people’s associations with animal species tend to be: “In our metaphorical language [animals] stand for a limited number of slots, that is to say features which can be projected upon the target. They are pre-established by a long tradition” (Bisschops 2019: 1).

6 Conclusion

It has been shown in this paper that animal metaphors for different types of women that are documented to exist in English but not in Spanish convey, to a large extent, different meanings in the two languages when translated into Spanish and judged by native speakers. This appears to be the case regardless of the type of animal (mammal vs. bird etc.; farm/edible vs. wild/in-edible animal). Additionally, it seems that novel animal metaphors denoting women are by default interpreted as referring to ugliness, regardless of whether the animal, i. e. the source concept, is generally considered an unsightly animal. This appears to be a new finding and it would be interesting to test if it holds true when investigating a larger amount of novel animal metaphors.

Furthermore, while the well-documented Spanish animal metaphors revealed no insecurities among the participants regarding their meaning, there were significant insecurities in several cases of the undocumented metaphors. However, since the documented English animal metaphors were chosen for this study based on a dictionary search, it would be interesting to investigate how well-established they really are. It is possible that English native speakers would in fact associate some of the animal terms with different character traits than those documented in the dictionaries consulted for the present study, revealing thus more similarities between Spanish and English speakers' associations. Additionally, it seems likely that the ten Likert scales in the first questionnaire were not numerous enough for the participants to precisely indicate their associations with the different animal terms as personalities are extremely multidimensional – something that the answers provided in the second questionnaire employing open questions highlighted. Such methodological refinements, then, could yield interesting divergent results. In any case, the combination of the two types of questionnaires (Likert scales and open questions) seems to be a fruitful design to approach novel animal metaphors multi-methodologically. Furthermore, instead of focussing on animal terms, follow-up studies could employ animal pictures to be presented to Spanish and English native speakers and have them assign the animals to a variety of character traits. This would shed light on potential differences between an animal concept and the respective animal term. Moreover, as opposed to investigating one or two languages, future research could focus on large-scale cross-cultural studies on novel animal metaphors, incorporating a variety of different languages and cultures.

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Abstract (English)

Gender stereotyping, i.e. the ascription or denial of certain features based on people's biological sex, remains a pervasive issue in society and thus language. When people look or behave in gender non-conforming ways, they are more likely to be linguistically castigated. For example, both promiscuous women and homosexual men tend to be reprimanded for violating their respective gender roles of the sexually passive and modest woman and the virile and heterosexual man. One way of detecting this penalization is through metaphor. Thus, a promiscuous woman can be referred to as *bicycle* in English and *tigresa* 'tigress' in Spanish, while metaphorical expressions for an effeminate homosexual man include *daisy* in English and *mariposa* 'butterfly' in Spanish.

Within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2020), the present doctoral dissertation aims to investigate Spanish and English metaphorical conceptualizations of different subtypes of women and men (e.g. UNATTRACTIVE WOMAN, MAN WITH NEGATIVE PERSONALITY, MANNISH HOMOSEXUAL WOMAN) as well as their sexualized body parts (e.g. VAGINA, PENIS), in order to detect (dis)similarities in the underlying cognitive patterns that are at play when it comes to gender stereotyping.

For this, an extensive dictionary search of both standard and colloquial slang dictionaries as well as brainstorming sessions, interviews, and online questionnaires with Spanish and English native speakers were conducted. The results are presented and discussed in the synopsis and in the four research articles (Dzallias, 2019; Dzallias & Borkovec, 2020; Fernandes 2020, 2021) that lie at the core of the present doctoral dissertation.

The mixed methods approach revealed that many of the conceptualizations of women and men and their body parts identified in the dictionary search were indeed produced by the native speakers during the brainstorming sessions. However, other conceptualizations which appeared to be productive both in the dictionaries and in previous research did not feature much or at all in the brainstorming sessions. This emphasizes the importance of including spontaneous brainstorming sessions with native speakers in future studies in order to accurately represent speakers' active vocabulary.

Abstract (German)

Geschlechterstereotypisierung, also die Zuschreibung oder Aberkennung bestimmter Merkmale aufgrund des biologischen Geschlechts, ist in der Gesellschaft und damit auch in der Sprache weitverbreitet. Im Vergleich zu gender-konformen Menschen werden Menschen, die gender-nonkonform aussehen oder agieren, eher sprachlich getadelt. So erfahren beispielsweise sowohl promiskuitive Frauen als auch homosexuelle Männer sprachliche Diskriminierung, weil sie die traditionellen Geschlechterrollen der sexuell passiven und anständigen Frau bzw. des maskulinen und heterosexuellen Mannes verletzen. Eine Möglichkeit, diese Missbilligung aufzudecken, bietet die Metaphernanalyse. Eine promiskuitive Frau kann etwa im Englischen metaphorisch als *bicycle* ‚Fahrrad‘ und im Spanischen als *tigresa* ‚Tigerin‘ bezeichnet werden, während Eng. *daisy* ‚Gänseblümchen‘ und Sp. *mariposa* ‚Schmetterling‘ einen effeminierten homosexuellen Mann bezeichnen.

In der vorliegenden Dissertation werden im Rahmen der Konzeptuellen Metaphertheorie (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2020) spanische und englische metaphorische Konzeptualisierungen verschiedener Subtypen von Frauen und Männern (z. B. UNATTRAKTIVE FRAU, MANN MIT NEGATIVEM CHARAKTER, MÄNNLICH WIRKENDE HOMOSEXUELLE FRAU) sowie deren sexualisierter Körperteile (z. B. VAGINA, PENIS) untersucht. Auf diese Weise können Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen den zugrundeliegenden kognitiven Mustern ausfindig gemacht werden, die bei der Geschlechterstereotypisierung eine Rolle spielen.

Dazu wurden eine umfangreiche Wörterbuchrecherche in Standard- und Slang-Wörterbüchern sowie Brainstorming-Sitzungen, Interviews und Online-Fragebögen mit spanischen und englischen Native Speakern durchgeführt. Vorgestellt und diskutiert werden die Ergebnisse im Manteltext und in den vier Forschungsartikeln (Dziallas, 2019; Dziallas & Borkovec, 2020; Fernandes 2020, 2021), die den Kern der vorliegenden Dissertation bilden.

Der Mixed-Methods-Ansatz zeigt, dass viele der in der Wörterbuchrecherche identifizierten Konzeptualisierungen von Frauen und Männern und ihren Körperteilen auch tatsächlich von den Native Speakern in den Brainstorming-Sitzungen produziert wurden. Andere Konzeptualisierungen jedoch, die in den Wörterbüchern und der Literatur eine ebenso wichtige Rolle zu spielen schienen, wurden in den Brainstorming-Sitzungen wenig oder gar nicht genannt. Dies betont die Wichtigkeit, in zukünftigen Studien spontane Brainstorming-Sitzungen mit Native Speakern heranzuziehen, um den tatsächlichen aktiven Wortschatz von Native Speakern abzubilden.