

praticamente desapareceu no Japão. Outro fator interessante é que o autor, passados quase 70 anos após esse evento, afirmou que o conflito comercial sobre o lucro no mercado japonês com outros países europeus tinha sido uma causa da queda dessa religião. Caso os dados sejam exatos, como se pode interpretá-los? O que significaria essa perda do Japão pelos portugueses como um dano tão grande no século anterior?

O artigo termina indicando algumas formas latinas do nome Japão: “*Japonia, ae. Fem. Natural de Japaõ. Japo, onis. Masc.ou Japonius, ij. Masc. Cousa do Japaõ. Japonicus, a, um*”.

O gentílico do Japão forma um breve artigo independente: “IAPONEZ. Iaponéz. Cousa do Japaõ., *Vid. Japaõ. He palavra Japoneza. Lucena Vida de Xaver (sic), 482. col.2*”.

Analisaram-se as descrições de Bluteau sobre o Japão, enfocando no artigo “IAPAM” devido ao seu caráter geopolítico. Contudo, ainda se acham alguns artigos no *Vocabulário* que tratam de temas religiosos e culturais do Japão. Por exemplo, o autor escreveu um outro artigo sobre o Japão no suplemento I, que trata da mitologia ou lenda da criação da terra e do povo japoneses, porém bem transformada. Para analisá-lo, precisar-se-ia pesquisar diversos autores e fontes em que se baseou Bluteau. Assunto esse que terá de ficar para outra ocasião.

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From the Bible to *Cosmopolitan*: The socialization of women through the WOMAN AS CHICKEN metaphor

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The chicken metaphor tells the whole story of a woman's life. In her youth she is a *chick*. Then she marries and begins *feathering her nest*. Soon she begins feeling *cooped up*, so she goes to *hen parties* where she *cackles* with her friends. Then she has her *brood*, begins to *henpeck* her husband, and finally turns into an *old biddy*. (Nilsen 1994: 374)

I. - A diachronic approach to the WOMAN AS CHICKEN metaphor

From the gospel of Saint Matthew to the latest pop sensation of the *Dixie Chicks* through Aesop's fables, Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, Shakespeare's comedies, the essays from *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, D. H. Lawrence's *Assorted Articles*, myths, legends, proverbs, riddles, nursery rhymes, children's stories and Disney movies, the chicken metaphor has a long tradition in Western culture.

Long ago in the ancient Greek world, the hen was a powerful totem, sacred to human beings. Hens were regarded as exotic animals and were consecrated to several female deities. In the second century A.D. Aelian wrote about the existence of two Greek temples separated by a stream. One was consecrated to Hercules; the other to his wife Hebe. Roosters were kept in the temple of the god and hens in that of the goddess. Once a year, the roosters would cross the stream to mate, returning with any male offspring and leaving the females for the hens to raise (Sax 2001).

The hen became part of the feminine symbol in the classical world. During the Roman Empire, the nurturing role as well as protective attitude held by hens towards their offspring made the hen a paragon of motherhood. Several treatises of the time devoted to the education of children such as Plutarch's *De amore parentis* often resorted to the figure of the hen as the archetype of motherly love (Smith & Daniel 1975). Furthermore, the emergence of the beast fable seemed to reinforce the associations of hens with the female sex. Women were often portrayed in the guise of this type of fowl and women's nature tended to be explained in the light of the hen's behavior, as in Aesop's fable "Venus and the hen".

As the image of the hen gradually became entrenched in the Ancient World, so did the associations between man and rooster start to be forged. Roosters were extolled for their sexual vigor, aggressiveness, vigilance and courage, representing therefore the desirable virile qualities held within the Greco-Roman society. Besides being the embodiment of manliness, the rooster also turned into a solar emblem. His cry on announcing the dawn was interpreted as a greeting to the sun and soon took on a religious dimension. In fact, the rooster epitomized the victory over the night and in classical mythology one of the most common representations of the gods of light Zeus and Apollo was a rooster (Sax 2001). Interestingly, this religious significance will continue with Christianity where the rooster's crow marking the end of darkness allegorically represents the triumph of good over evil and, ultimately, Christ (Cirlot 2002).

Within the Hebrew tradition in which the Bible is inscribed, the hen remained as a symbol of parental love. In the gospel of St. Matthew (23:37) the rejection of the Israelites to take part in the messianic banquet culminates with Jesus' lament over Jerusalem, in which he invokes the symbol of the hen to express the relationship he desires to have with the Hebrew people: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the one who kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to her! How often I wanted to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, but you were not willing!" (Cooper 1992).

By the Middle Ages, the predominant view of animals was symbolic and allegorical. Bestiaries and fables used animals as vehicles for religious allegory and moral instruction (Flores 2000, Yamamoto 2000). Based on the observation of the gregarious behavior of hens when establishing a pecking order for access to food as well as on their stubbornness about always lying in the same location, the archetype of motherly love linked to the hen gave way to the image of a domineering and obstinate animal. Chaucer's "The Nun's Priest Tale" provides "an example of human marital relationships" (Ashton 1998:113) by means of the rooster Chauntecleer and Pertelote the hen. The symbolic associations of the name Pertelote, meaning "one who confuses somebody's lot or fate", already reveal the allegorical dimension of the tale, which seems to echo the biblical story of the fall of man, with Chauntecleer as Adam misled by Eve cast in the role of Pertelote (Spearing 2000, Wallace 2002). The tale tells of Chauntecleer's fright at a dream in which he sees that a fox kills him. Asking Pertelote for advice, the hen mocks him for his cowardice telling him that he is just sick and in need of some laxative. Following the hen's counsel, Chauntecleer ignores his dream and eventually is almost devoured by a fox, although his wit enables him to escape. Pertelote, then, reflects this dual image of the hen as a symbol, on the one hand, of domestic virtues and, on the other hand, of bossiness and intransigence. Hence, the positive import originally attached to the hen started to

undergo a process of pejoration. In fact, the proverbial lore of this period echoes the relationship between women's verbosity and hens, presumably because of the almost continuous twittering of the animal (Sommer & Weiss 1996, Cabanillas & Tejedor 2006).

As far as the rooster is concerned, its religious associations with Christ strengthened at this time. Its crowing made it an emblem of the Christian's attitude of watchfulness and readiness for the sudden return of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment of humankind. Roosters, then, came to symbolize resurrection and vigilance, appearing in weather vanes (i.e. weathercocks) on church steeples and later on in houses (Sax 2001).

During the Renaissance the connections of the hen with the household strengthened. The feudal attitude whereby women were regarded as men's chattel made domestic animals a common vehicle for the conceptualization of women (Hughes 1991). The hen depicted maternal care and protection, comprising the ideals of motherhood set at the ideological center of Renaissance society. Hens were nurturers, breeders, carers of their offspring, and displayed unquestioning obedience towards their rooster. In fact, this animal couple became an example of ideal marital relation, as witnessed by the wide repertoire of old sayings marking the division of the male and female domains "If you be a cock, crow; if a hen, lay eggs", for instance, suggests that the main role of the female sex was procreation. Curiously, reversing these roles was channeled by shifting the animal imagery, as seen in Ball's description of a husband dominated by his wife in terms of "She is the Cock and I am the Hen" or in the proverbial lore "A sad barnyard where the hen crows louder than the cock" (Skeat 1910, Wilson 1970, Wilkinson 2002).

In the 17th century a strong sexual symbolism is attached to the figure of the hen. In addition to the amorous disposition of the animal, phonetic considerations might have played a major role for crediting fowl names with obscene connotations, since the term *fowl* is homophonous with *foul*, meaning *filthy* (Leach 1964). This idea of dirt resonates in the plays of the time where the names of fowl became a common vehicle to refer to prostitutes (*cf* Partridge 1993, Chamizo & Sánchez 2000).

The early years of the 18th century saw the rise of journalism and the actual vogue of the periodical essay began with the publication of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. With these two periodicals Addison and Steele held a mirror of London society. Their sketches of characters through their use of language show that at that time the metaphor of the hen was so entrenched in the English language that it had branched off, since in the number 216 of *The Spectator* Steele writes, "Madam, I have nothing to say to this Matter, but you ought to consider you are now past a Chicken; this Humour, which was well enough in a

Girl, is insufferable in one of your Motherly Character”, where the offspring of the hen, that is, the chicken, corresponds to a girl or a young woman.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Romantic spirit against the constraints of civilization led to a celebration of animals. The Victorians ascribed the hen and the rooster with the attributes of domestic happiness. The relationship between both animals reflected the ideal relation between husband and wife (Ritvo 1987, Dekkers 2000). The courtly, defender rooster and the dutiful and motherly hen became the paragons of the Victorian marriage, as observed in D. H. Lawrence’s article on “Cocksure women and hensure men” (Inniss 1971). At the same time, the increasing industrialization in agriculture and farming brought a dramatic change in the breeding of hens. From the barnyard ambience to the mass production of factories, the hen left the domestic sphere to gradually become industrial food. Hand in hand with this process of industrialization came the notion of deprivation of individuality due to the living conditions of the animal, usually squashed in a tiny space, just fed for future consumption and deprived of movement to speed the process of gaining weight. Obviously, such living conditions made this animal practically undistinguishable, which might account for the figurative uses of both *chicken* and *hen* as synonymous with girls and women respectively (Smith & Daniel 1975).

This industrial image continues during the 20th century as the production of chickens is greatly aided by new technologies. Advertisements of stationery with the logo of *Groovy Chick* and *hen parties* to celebrate the last moments of a single woman become popular (Hines 1999, Eckert 2003). In the last decades of the 20th and beginnings of the 21st centuries, the figure of the hen as a feminine symbol reveals a binary opposition in terms of praise and abuse. On the one hand, the hen takes on its original role of domestic virtue, becoming the paragon of procreation, maternal care, protection and obedience to the male, as gleaned in the opening lines of the nursery rhyme “The clever hen”: “I had a little hen, the prettiest ever seen,/ She washed me the dishes and kept the house clean;/ She went to the mill to fetch me some flour, /She brought it home in less than an hour” or in the cartoons of Clara Cuck, the Hopping Hen from the popular t.v. series *Between the Lions* or Ginger from the movie *Chicken Run*. On the other hand, the mass production of chickens and hens for food evokes the 19th-century idea of deprivation of individuality, as shown by the following lines “You can’t go off with these random chicks who just walk up and give you their number” or “Be his sexy spring chicken” from the widely read magazines *Rolling Stone* (No. 964/965 Dec. /Jan. 30/13, 2004/05: 90) and *Cosmopolitan* (March 2003: 237) respectively.

After this brief sojourn throughout history, this paper aims to offer a preliminary exploration of the socialization of women through the study of the WOMAN AS CHICKEN metaphor in widely read teenage and women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Vanity Fair*, *Nineteen* or *CosmoGirl*. For this purpose, the "GREAT CHAIN OF BEING" metaphor (Lakoff & Turner 1989) along with ethnobiological (Wierbizcka 1996, Martsa 1999, 2003), anthropological (Leach 1979) and cultural classifications of animals (Harris 1985) will be used as a framework for the study of the metaphorical uses of *chick* and *hen* in these sort of publications. This will be followed by an analysis of a corpus of linguistic metaphors extracted from teenage and women's magazines, which are then discussed in relation to language and socialization.

II. - From the Bible to *Cosmopolitan*

Before dealing with the metaphor under discussion, a preliminary note about the title of the article needs to be made. As the reader may have noticed, "From the Bible to *Cosmopolitan*" reflects the wide span of time in which the WOMAN AS CHICKEN metaphor has evolved in Western culture. Yet, at the same time, it also tries to be a humorous remark about the influence of this women's magazine in our society, especially from a feminine perspective. In fact, having been defined as "the Bible for women" (Gauntlett 2002, Gough-Yates 2003, Machin 2005), the magazine *Cosmopolitan* erected as the advocate of women's rights at the time when women, having achieved suffrage, were leaving the traditional domestic sphere and roles of mother and wife to enter the work market, gaining, therefore, personal as well as financial independence (Gauntlett 2002). In the struggle for self-definition, the so-called "women's magazines" started to proliferate to cater for the needs of what was labeled as "the new woman" (Nicholas & Price 1998, Gough-Yates 2003). *Woman's Own*, *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair*, *Marie Claire* and *Cosmopolitan*, among many others, helped women make sense of their collective experiences by providing models for women to follow. The pages of these publications covered a wide selection of topics ranging from trivial issues such as make-up tricks to more serious concerns affecting women's health through fashion articles, sexual relations, cooking, dieting, travelling, parenting or job-seeking.

The circulation of these publications gradually increased and women's magazines started to expand their readership by targeting a new audience: teenagers. In fact, adolescents, who began to enjoy quite a lot of money and leisure time, provided a rich market for the media. Modeled upon the versions of the more mature women's magazines, spin-off publications such as *CosmoGirl*, *You* or *Nineteen* started to proliferate with a very similar goal, namely, to provide models for teenagers to follow.

In the last decades, the increasing number of financially independent women and wealthier teenagers has provided a rich market that the media are ready to exploit. New magazines addressed to the female community appear almost on a yearly basis. Despite their continuous attempts to be innovative, the magazines targeted to women and teenagers are characterized by an almost identical format, content and style (Smith 1993, Talbot 1995, Currie 1999, Eckert 2003). As a matter of fact, flicking through the pages of these publications, one soon realizes that teenage and women's magazines display a very peculiar language rife with metaphors presenting women in the guise of *chicks* and *hens*. Obviously, judging from their selling numbers, the influence of these publications among females is rather significant. Products, techniques, tricks, places, clothes or hair styles dealt with in women's magazines quickly catch on among the female community, which might account for the widespread usage and acceptance of the WOMAN AS CHICKEN metaphor among the reading community of these publications.

III. - The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor

Almost from the dawn of times, human beings have been drawing instructive metaphors from the animal kingdom. *A whistling woman and a crowing hen are neither good for God nor men, Women and hens by too much gadding are lost* or *When the hen crows the house goes to ruin* are just a few examples of the way in which we understand women from just one species (Palmatier 1995). In fact, people have often resorted to animals as a way of explaining human behavior, human feelings and human relations (Kövecses 1998, 2000, 2002).

Animal metaphors originated from people's first-hand experience a long time ago. In earlier times, societies were mainly based on agriculture and, therefore, the subsistence of whole communities depended on their knowledge of the animal world. Being able to recognize which species could destroy the crops, had healing properties, were poisonous or suitable for work must certainly have been of vital use. The flight of a seagull near the port, the migration of the storks, the shearing of the sheep or the presence of deer was a sign of impending change. Seasons were also marked by the arrival of certain species and even the daily work was announced by the singing of the rooster (O'Sullivan 1991, Cirlot 2002). Hence, as animals became associated with particular beliefs so did animal names, and attitudes and beliefs towards certain animal species were captured in language. Today, however, few speakers would associate the pilots' *cockpit* with a hole where cocks fight or the relation between dogs and bad luck in *not have a dog's chance*, but the connections with the animal kingdom can still be gleaned

from many metaphoric expressions¹. The industrious donkey, widely used as a beast of burden, has generated the idiom *to do the donkey work*, meaning *to do the work nobody wants to do*; the diligent bee constantly flying from flower to flower sucking nectar and making honey has given way to *be a busy bee* to refer to an active person who moves quickly from task to task and terms for vermin, so noxious for the harvest, are applied to people with low morals or who use despicable means to make their way up in the world. So *worm* alludes to someone dishonest, *to rabbit on* conjures the image of talking continuously about unimportant things and *weasel words* are statements that are deliberately not clear or frank (Deignan 1995, Kirkpatrick 1996, Dunkling 1998).

As a matter of fact, animal metaphors not only have a cognitive basis, but are also culturally motivated, that is, they reflect the attitudes and beliefs held by a particular community towards certain animal species, and, therefore, may vary from culture to culture, in time and space (Deignan 2003, Echevarría 2003, MacArthur 2005). Despite the fact that in our modern industrial societies there is a clear estrangement from animals, every animal is part of a tradition which reflects “an intimate relationship with human beings that has been built up over millennia” (Sax 2001:10) and, therefore, alludes “to knowledge that is still shared as part of our cultural repository, but no longer directly experienced” (Deignan 2003:270). Indeed, the experience of humans with animals piled up throughout history has endowed animal names with a symbolic charge which shows, according to Kövecses (2002:124), “our fears, aspirations and desires, and our physical, emotional and spiritual connections with the animal world.”

From ancient times human beings have used their knowledge of the natural world in constructing a meaningful social existence and the animal field has provided one of the richest metaphorical sources in English and other languages (Cooper 1992, Cirlot 2002, Echevarría 2003, Talebinejad & Dastjerdi 2005). In fact, much human behavior seems to be understood in terms of animal behavior and people themselves are commonly described as animals of some sort (Kövecses 2002, Talebinejad & Dastjerdi 2005). From the pet domain we have drawn *cat* and *bitch* to refer to malicious or promiscuous women; the farmyard ambience has generated *mule* and *pig*, denoting a stubborn person and someone who is dirty or greedy, and from the wilderness stem *fox* and *lion* applied figuratively to a person who is cunning and brave respectively (Palmatier 1995).

¹ The origin of this expression can be traced back to the Roman world. The Romans were fond of gambling with dice. Each side of a dice was commonly decorated with paintings or carvings of different animals. The image of a little dog (Latin *canicula*) corresponded with the lowest throw. The expression *canicula* was translated into English as the “dog throw” or “dog chance”, meaning slim chance of winning. (Dunkling 1998)

As can be inferred from these examples, more often than not, the equation man-animal tends to be accompanied by undesirable associations. This negative import attached to most animal terms seems to respond to the folk conception of the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner 1989:170-80) whose main purpose is to assign a place for every existing thing in the universe in a strict hierarchical order which is pictured as a chain vertically extended, where the place of beings and things depends on their properties and behavior. That is, the more complex the being, the higher it stands. Hence, at the bottom stand natural physical things such as the four elements defined by their structural and functional properties and behavior. Higher up are complex objects characterized by their structural and functional properties and behavior. Then come plants, with their biological functions and attributes. Then, animals, which are defined by their instinctual characteristics and behavior and, finally, human beings, who possess higher order attributes and behavior. Within each level there are sub-levels defined by different degrees of complexity and power in relation to each other (e.g. within the animal realm the fox is above the hen, which, in turn, is above the worm). This ranked structure, thus, presupposes that the natural order of the cosmos is that higher forms of existence dominate lower forms of existence, an idea which is already found in the Bible when God tells man to have dominion over all the animal species that dwell in the sea, earth and air (Genesis 1:26).

Obviously, taking into account the cultural framework of the Great Chain of Being, when humans are equated with animals, they are being descended in the hierarchy and, thus, the animal-related metaphor is likely to become a vehicle to convey undesirable human characteristics (Talebinejad & Dastjerdi 2005). In fact, within this organization, the link separating man from animal is reason. Therefore, as opposed to the instinctual beast, man is endowed with the rational capacity that enables him to control his behavior. It is ultimately this notion of control, or rather, lack of control, that constitutes the bedrock for the metaphorical identifications of people with animals.

The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, then, presupposes that there is an instinctual or animal side inside each person and civilized people are expected to restrain their animal impulses, letting their rational side rule over them. The metaphors OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR (Kövecses 2002), ANGER IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR (Nayak & Gibbs 1990), PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE US (Kövecses 1988), OBJECTIONABLE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (Kövecses 2002), A LUSTFUL PERSON IS AN ANIMAL (Lakoff 1987) or CONTROL OF AN UNPREDICTABLE/UNDESIRABLE FORCE IS A RIDER'S CONTROL OF A HORSE (MacArthur 2005) conceptualize extreme behavior and, therefore, lack of control, by resorting to a common scenario: the animal kingdom. Seen in

this light, failure to restrain one's instincts results in the degradation of human beings to the animal realm. So, for example, the inability to control appetite, sexual urge or verbosity, for instance, is linguistically channeled through the figurative senses of *pig*, *bitch* and *parrot* respectively.

Nevertheless, although, being a lower form of life, the names of animals are likely to become vehicles for the transmission of undesirable characteristics and behavior, a closer look at metaphorical animal identifications can show that this is not always the case, for certain animal terms do capture the positive features of people. Conspicuous examples of animal metaphors charged with favorable overtones include *lion* (a brave person), *owl* (someone wise), *lamb* (a beloved person) or *dove* (a gentle woman or child), among many others (cf Nesi 1995, Nilsen 1996).

Despite the fact that cultural views attached to animal species may be responsible for their figurative senses, there appears to be a clear imbalance in the metaphorical uses of animal terms depending on their application to males or females (cf Nilsen 1996, Fernández & Jiménez 2003). Suffice it to consider, for instance, the animal pairs *fox/vixen*, *dog/bitch*, *stud/mare* and *rooster/hen*. Whereas *fox* denotes a clever, crafty person or even a good-looking individual, its female counterpart *vixen* refers to a shrewish ill-tempered woman. *Dog* is used as practically synonymous with fellow or chap, as opposed to the infamous *bitch*, meaning spiteful or promiscuous woman. Likewise, *stud* is applied to a young virile man, in contrast with *mare*, meaning ugly female. Similar considerations are seen at work with *rooster* (a leader, a person of spirit and often of a certain swagger or arrogance) as compared to *hen* (a middle-aged woman, especially a fussy one).

This dichotomy that associates the male sex with positive associations while the female one carries negative ones might corroborate the general tendency in language showing a clear bias against women (cf Fasold 1990, R. Lakoff 2003)². Yet, because most animal metaphors seem to highlight the notion of control, it might be argued that lack of restraint in human beings is more objectionable when the agent is a woman.

² There are, in fact, examples galore in language reflecting this dichotomy that associates the male gender with positive connotations while the female one carries negative ones. Fasold (1990:113) and R. Lakoff (2003:162) provide a wide repertoire of terms illustrating this imbalance in the field of power with pairs such as governor/governess, master/mistress or sir/madam. Fernández and Jiménez (2003:771-97) concentrate on the animal field with *fox/vixen* and their Spanish equivalents, Hughes (1991) studies synonymous terms for *man* and *woman* to conclude that practically every synonym for woman can mean *prostitute* and Nilsen (1994, 1996) compares names of animals, flowers, and foods applied to males and females to show how they corroborate stereotypical views about womanhood.

IV. - Analysis of data extracted from women's magazines

Metaphorical expressions that use chickens and hens as their source domain applicable to women abound in the press. Flicking through the pages of women's magazines, one comes across a host of metaphors presenting females in the guise of these two animals. In the encoding of such metaphorical identifications, the so-called "thematic parts" of animals (*cf* Martsa 2003), that is, habitat, size, appearance, behavior and relation to people seem to play a pivotal role for unveiling the assumptions which might prompt their figurative usages.

Chickens and hens can be classified as belonging to the family of *gallus domesticus*, a type of domesticated bird which is often raised as a type of poultry. Being one of the most common types of birds in the world, they provide two sources of food frequently consumed by humans: their meat and eggs. Hence, within the generic taxonomy of animals which groups them into three different classes, namely, pets, livestock and wild, chickens and hens will fall into the second category.

According to the *O.E.D.* *hen* denotes figuratively a wife or a woman, especially a middle-aged or old one whereas *chicken* is applied to a girl or a young female, as seen in the following excerpts in which teenagers are identified as *chickens* whereas the more mature animal is reserved for women who are older.

- (1) A fun-loving **chick** like you sees summer as the chance to go loco. (*CosmoGirl*, August 2003: 141)
- (2) Happy **chicks** know when to hang and when to hibernate (*Cosmopolitan*, April 2005: 188)
- (3) Brazilian bikini lines – a tiny strip or triangle of pubic hair – used to be the gutsiest below-the-belt style a girl could choose. But lately, increasing numbers of **chicks** are opting for an even more daring look: going completely bald down there. (*Cosmopolitan*, May 2006: 232)
- (4) Travel Miss Adventures – **Hen** weekends with a difference (*Cosmopolitan*, June 2002: 4)
- (5) Leave your children and husband at home and plan a **hen** weekend with your friends (*Woman*, March 2000: 19)

Such a correspondence between the mature animal and her offspring with a middle-aged and young woman respectively is likely to be motivated on physical grounds. In fact, judging these animals on the basis of appearance, one soon discovers that hens and chickens alike are characterized by their small size,

which might adjust to the wide repertoire of small animals metaphorically used in the conceptualization of women (e.g.: *cat*, *bunny*, *butterfly*, etc.). The stature of these animals, then, seems to respond to the physical appearance of women, who, when compared to men, tend to be of a small size.

Interestingly, small size and weakness in an animal appear to be favorable traits for crediting the animal name with a positive evaluation, as opposed to animals of a considerable size and strength, which tend to comprise a less condescending attitude (e.g. cow, mare, whale). In fact, the DESIRED WOMAN AS SMALL ANIMAL metaphor (*cf* Hines 1999a, 1999b) presents attractive females in the form of small and weak animals, such as *bunny*, *bird*, *kitten* and also *chicken*. Yet, although also presenting a small size, *hens* do not hold any hint of physical beauty, but, on the contrary, tend to designate middle-aged females with no positive stance regarding their appearance. Such a reversal might be explained in terms of age. Obviously, one of the characteristics which differentiate chickens from hens has to do with the youth of the animal. Whereas chickens are baby animals, the name *hen* is applied to female chickens once they have surpassed one year. Therefore, youth in an animal usually prompts positive connotations, which might account for the favorable overtones generally attached to the metaphorical names of offspring (Hines 1999, Halupka-Rešetar 2003). Getting older, on the other hand, is stigmatized when the affected is the woman (Nilsen 1994). In fact, there are examples galore of animal pairs reflecting this dichotomy that associates youth with positive connotations whereas more mature animals are tinged with pejorative ones. Consider, for example, *cat* as opposed to *kitten*, *nag* in relation to *filly*, *old crow* or *old bat* as contrasted with *bird* and, of course, the animal pair under discussion *chicken* as compared to *hen*.

Another thematic part presumably reinforcing the juxtaposition between chickens and hens pertains to their relation with people. Animals are bred for many different purposes such as utility, research, pleasure or sport, and hens and chickens, no doubt, fall into the first category. In fact, unlike pets, whose main function is to entertain and provide company, or wild animals, which can be hunted for pleasure or sport, livestock animals are raised to be exploited and eaten. Both chickens and hens are mainly reared to make use of their flesh and eggs (Baker 1981, Cabanillas & Tejedor 2006). Hence, being a common source of nourishment, edibility appears to be a significant factor in the encoding of these animal metaphors (*cf* Leach 1964, Adams 1990, Chamizo & Sánchez 2000).

In addition, there seems to exist a correlation between people's understanding of sexual desire with their embodied experiences of feeling hunger motivating the conceptual metaphors LUST IS HUNGER and THE

OBJECT OF LUST IS FOOD (*cf* Lakoff 1987), by means of which sexual desire is understood in terms of food and, consequently, the object of desire is represented as food. In fact, linguistic research on different languages has shown that eating and food are commonly used to express sexual satisfaction, sexual desire or to evaluate the sexual desirability of a person (*cf* Emanatian 1995, Kövecses 2002, Gibbs et al. 2004). Therefore, in so far as they are consumed as food, the metaphorical senses of *chick* and *hen* might hide sexual appetite. In fact, as seen below, the conflation of food with sexual desire is certainly at work in most figurative usages of *chick*

- (6) What a difference a year makes! Trashy street kids TLC have dumped the baggy togs and developed into **sexy chicks**. (*Nineteen*, February 1995: 57)
- (7) Be his **sexy spring chicken** (*Cosmopolitan*, March 2005: 237)
- (8) Studly Rob Sutter vowed to keep his hands off the **sexy new chick** in town, Kate Hamilton, but when he finds her working late one night, the two wind up burning the bawdy midnight oil. (*Cosmopolitan*, March 2005: 254)

but does not hold true for the metaphorical senses of *hen*:

- (9) Face it, you have become a middle-aged **hen** and can't go out without these make-up tricks! (*In Touch*, June 2002)

Obviously, it is true that both a chicken and a hen are consumed as food, but whereas the former constitutes a main course and is highly esteemed by its tenderness, the latter tends to be reserved for dishes of lower consistency such as broth or soup. Age, then, also appears to correlate with the link between food and sexual desire. Certainly, from a nutritional standpoint, the younger the animal, the tender its flesh or, in other words, the younger the woman, the more sexually desirable.

In addition to disclosing the negative connotations attached to getting older, the pair *chicken* and *hen* also tails with society's views on marriage. As mentioned in the introduction, there exists a long tradition in Western culture equating husbands and wives with roosters and hens respectively probably because of their well-separated domestic roles in the barnyard, since the hen lies eggs and takes care of her chickens whereas the rooster is in charge of providing them with food and care, which seems to conform with the traditional roles attributed to men and women within marriage. Thus, the fact that, unlike chickens, hens have a mate might justify their metaphorical usage when applied to married women, which reminds one that the traditional party held to celebrate one's last moments as a single woman is called in British English *hen party*.

- (10) **Hens** behaving badly: embracing your **hens' party**

(http://search.ivillage.com/search/ivillage?sk=ivi&partner_tag=ivillage_hearst_us_web-search&q=hen+weekends&restrict=Cosmopolitan&filter=p 3/15/2007)

- (11) For a girl's pre-nuptial gathering, check out these **hen parties** (*Cosmopolitan*, April 2005: 182).

It appears, at times, that the concept of marriage goes hand in hand with sexual availability. Marriage puts upon women the signal that they are not sexually available and, thus, in the transition from being single to married a woman moves from *chicken* to *hen*:

- (12) When to marry is a huge decision in most women's lives, these days, many sexy **single Cosmo chicks** are putting off getting hitched until their mid to late 20s and even 30s" (*Cosmopolitan*, April 2005: 183)

- (13) Enjoy your last moments as a **single chick** with a wild **hen party** (*In Touch*, May 2002)

As far as their habitat is concerned, chickens and hens are domestic fowl traditionally reared in farms. As opposed to wild beasts, which dwell in the wilderness, the whole lives of domestic animals spin around the house. In fact, being domestic, pets as well as livestock co-exist with man. Yet, whereas the former tend to share the same roof as their owners and enjoy certain freedom of movement, in the case of the latter their existence is restricted to the farm ambience. This image of domestic confinement, which might suggest the patriarchal ideal that a woman's place should fall within the confines of the house, is conveyed in certain metaphorical uses of *chicken* and *hen*:

- (14) Not long ago, most women's Sunday-night addiction was watching four stylish single gals in the city. But now, damn near everyone is tuning in to catch the backstabbing antics and salacious sex-capades of sizzling married suburbanites on the huge hit *Desperate Housewives*. Which got us wondering: Do **stay-at-home chicks** actually ever feel *that* desperate? (*Cosmopolitan*, February 2005: 167)

- (15) Don't be a **stay-at-home hen** (*Cosmopolitan*, February 2005: 167)

In modern times, however, with the increasingly industrialized agriculture, the presence of chickens and hens in the farmyard has almost disappeared, having been replaced by their mass-production in factories, where incubators and artificial breeding quickly produce low-cost meat and eggs. This stark contrast from the domestic ambience to the industrial image might have infiltrated in the figurative senses of *chickens* and *hens*. Certainly, if one thinks

of the conditions under which chickens and hens are kept today, the image of a tiny space packed with a crowd of animals squashed together, just being fed for future consumption and deprived of movement to speed the process of gaining weight will certainly spring to mind. These living conditions make these animals practically undistinguishable and it is this trait of lack of individuality that seems to underlie the metaphoric usages in the excerpts below.

- (16) Women maintain draining relationships with former co-workers, one-time neighbors, sisters of ex-boyfriends, etc., out of some twisted sense of obligation. Todd, 25, has a **chick** like this. (*Cosmopolitan*, March 2005: 88)
- (17) He's a chronic flirt. A steady guy who is always charming other **chicks** is showing disrespect for you...not to mention a compulsive need for female attention. (*Cosmopolitan*, March 2005: 129)
- (18) Despite their penchant for body-crushing sports and blood-and-guts action flicks, guys tend to shy away from confrontations with **chicks**. (*Cosmopolitan*, May 2006: 156)
- (19) 4 ways to wow her in bed. When it comes to sex, some women like surprises (look, we're on video!) more than others. But no **chick** will be able to resist these carnal curveballs. (*Cosmopolitan*, May 2006: 84)
- (20) One Naughty Night Won't Ruin Your Rep Even the most discerning **chick** might wake up thinking, *I can't believe I made out with our office intern*. Don't stress that you've sullied your good name...you can rebound... (*Cosmopolitan*, April 2005: 136)

Hence, by equating females with chickens and hens, women are being robbed of their individuality. In other words, one chicken is very much like another chicken, just like one woman is very much like any other. The choice of *chick* as a generic term for woman, especially in articles dealing with relationships, appears to summon the idea of a flock of poultry.

Finally, in terms of behavior, chickens and hens are gregarious animals that live together as a flock. They have a communal approach towards the incubation of eggs, raising of young and food access, in which the rooster is in charge of establishing order and control. This dependency on the male is so great that removing the rooster from a flock causes disruption among chickens and hens. This notion of being dependent and unable to do anything without the aid of a male is conveyed in the following metaphorical usages of *chick*:

- (21) Even the toughest **chick** needs a guy (*Top of the Pop*, February 2000)
- (22) Naturally, you'd be with a hot, confident, **chick** magnet of a boyfriend (http://magazines.ivillage.com/cosmopolitan/men/menu/articles/0_426365_533694.00.html 4/ 29/ 05)

In addition to lack of independence, hens can also be very stubborn about always lying in the same location, and so are chickens when it comes to accessing food. In fact, it is not uncommon for both animals to die from starvation or suffocation because of their narrow-mindedness when following their pecking order. Actually, chickens and hens do not stand out for their intelligent behavior, which might prompt its figurative sense when applied to females who act or behave in a non-sensical way, as shown in (23) and (24).

(23) The STD You Don't Know. Safeguard yourself from fertility-robbing PID. Women who consistently used condoms during intercourse were half as likely to develop pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) as were **chicks** who relied on rubbers only occasionally or not at all, according to a study in the *American Journal of Public Health*. (*Cosmopolitan*, April 2005: 236)

(24) Young **chicks** should never forget condoms! (*Nineteen*, 1995)

Talkativeness is another characteristic typically associated with the conduct of hens and, to a lesser extent, chickens. The fact that these types of birds are almost constantly twittering and chattering has historically been associated with the sound produced by women talking (Sommer & Weiss 1996). Several articles in women's magazines establish this relationship between women's verbosity with chickens and hens, as seen below:

(25) Some guys can't stand their **chicks** gossiping about them (*CosmoGirl*, 2001)

(26) Indulge yourself in a **hen** night to talk with your friends (*Cosmopolitan*, May 2002)

The success of THE WOMAN AS CHICKEN metaphor not only in women's magazines but in more serious types of publications is well attested in their widespread usage and acceptance as well as in the metaphorical networks created by such a metaphor (see figure 1). Hence, the domestic *chick* not only has become interchangeable with *girl*, but it has generated a whole network of spin-offs. So, a film produced for girls is no longer a girl movie, but a *chick flick*, an actress performing in a girl movie becomes a *chick flick chick*, material to produce a film for women turns into *chick flick fodder*, the lyrics of songs dealing with women's concerns are *chick antics*, parties for women turn into *chick fetes*, literature devoted to women is labeled as *chick lit* and men who date several women become *chick magnets*.

(27) **Chick-flick** alert: This month, Goodwin stars in *Mona Lisa Smile*-think *Dead Poets Society* with short pleated skirts- (*Vanity Fair*, January 2004: 75)

- (28) In this sassy look at 2004's biggest— and busiest—celebs, experts name Lindsay Lohan as Hollywood Hottie, Renée Zellweger as **Chick Flick Chick** and Jude Law the reigning Role Hog (six flicks in all!). (*Us*, December 20, 2004: 106)
- (29) Her as-yet-unfinished debut, *P.S. I Love You*, follows Holly, a woman whose boyfriend dies of a brain tumor but leaves her one letter for each month of the year after his death. Sounds like **chick-flick fodder**—and Ahern's agent told Reuters she expects a movie deal to be done this month. (*Time*, January 20, 2003: 60)
- (30) Courtney Love, America's Sweetheart. She's known for her **rock-chick antics**, but it's time to check out her melodic rock. (*Cosmopolitan*, March 2004: 50)
- (31) Lots of dishing at this **chick fete** ...hang with the girls more. (*Cosmopolitan*, February 2005: 186)
- (32) There's a secret about **chick lit**, that diary-style fiction genre (spawned by *Bridget Jones's Diary*) featuring quirky, feisty protagonists on a mission to land their dream life, or at least shoe.
(http://love.ivillage.com/snd/0..doyenne_rvq3.00.html, 4/11/05)
- (33) Dating a **chick magnet** ? Find out how to deal (www.cosmopolitan.com 4/7/2007)

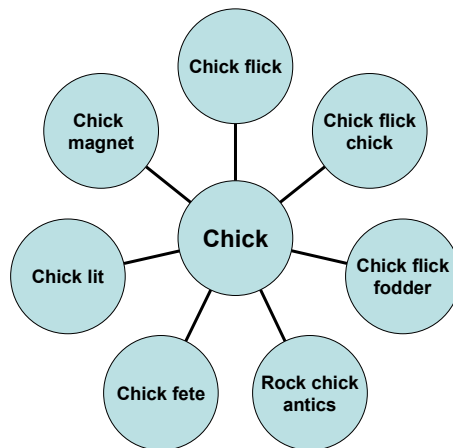


Figure 1. The metaphorical network of Chick

In like manner, the identification of middle-aged women with the more mature hen has branched off. Thus, bachelorette parties are called *hen parties*,

trips and outings with friends turn into *hen weekends* and *hen nights*, whereas literature targeted to middle-aged women is labeled as *hen lit* (see figure 2).

(34) **Hen parties**

([http://search.ivillage.com/search/ivillage?sk=ivi&partner_tag=ivillage_hearst_us_websearch&q=hen+weekends&restrict=Cosmopolitan&filter=p 3/15/2007](http://search.ivillage.com/search/ivillage?sk=ivi&partner_tag=ivillage_hearst_us_websearch&q=hen+weekends&restrict=Cosmopolitan&filter=p%203/15/2007))

(35) Here's a one-word open letter to all those women who, on their **hen's nights**, don't want to get all drunk and leery, don't want to get kitted out in embarrassing, tacky gear, who just want to have a bit of pampering, a quiet vino and a good old gas with their girlfriends (<http://www.stuff.co.nz/sundaystartimes/3985002a19516.html>)

(36) **Hen night and hen weekend** shows in Newcastle.

([http://search.ivillage.com/search/ivillage?sk=ivi&partner_tag=ivillage_hearst_us_websearch&q=hen+weekends&restrict=Cosmopolitan&filter=p 3/15/2007](http://search.ivillage.com/search/ivillage?sk=ivi&partner_tag=ivillage_hearst_us_websearch&q=hen+weekends&restrict=Cosmopolitan&filter=p%203/15/2007))

(37) Women's Lit, **Chick Lit, Hen's Lit** —All Great (<http://www.amazon.com/Womens-Lit-Chick-Hens-Great/lm/1KG3NBWIMH4AT>)

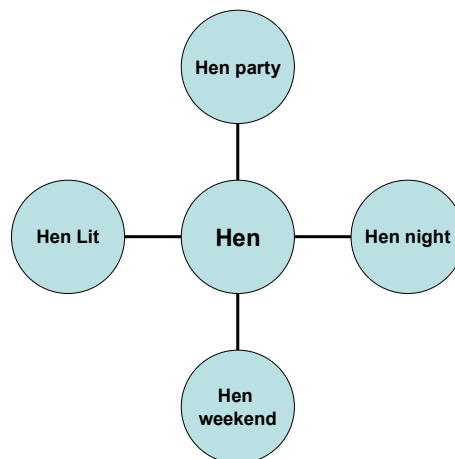


Figure 2. The metaphorical network of Hen

V.-Socialization through language

Nowadays, teenage and women's magazines are a popular subject of study because of the increasing attention to the influence of the media in the construction of social identities (Pierce 1990, Curri 1999, Gauntlett 2002, Gough-Yates 2003). Being consumed by millions of females around the world, these publications provide a valuable insight into the forging of "trendy

contemporary women's identities" (Machin 2005). The pages of *Cosmopolitan*, *CosmoGirl* or *Vanity Fair* sell a glamorous world for women to engage in. By providing advice, tricks and techniques in very different fields ranging from cosmetics to professional promotion through dating, dieting or health issues, which supposedly lead to the attainment of a state of sheer happiness, female magazines have become a common form of self-help literature (Alabarta 2005).

Judging from their breathtaking sales figures, these publications seem to have a tremendous repercussion on the female community (Gumperz 1982, Sutton 1999, Kim et al. 2004). In fact, everything that comes up in *CosmoGirl*, *Nineteen* or *Cosmopolitan* becomes fashionable. The clothes are fashionable, the people are fashionable and even the language used becomes fashionable. Obviously, if something is fashionable, be it people, clothes or language, it is in, cool and followed. Adherence to a particular fashion will imply acceptance and recognition by the social group, whereas any type of deviation from it will result in ostracism.

Interestingly, as this paper has tried to show, much of the "fashion of speaking" (Goyvaerts 1975:123) of teenage and women's magazines is characterized by the use of particular metaphors that present women in the guise of *chickens* and *hens*. The pervasiveness of these metaphors poses a problem not only in their identification, but also in unveiling the assumptions motivating their use. Due to the opacity of metaphor in conceptualizing one domain of experience in terms of a completely different one, the entailments motivating the coinage of such linguistic products may be only partially understood, therefore, becoming covert means of transmitting and perpetuating stereotypical views about the role of women (Mills 1995). Hence, although at first sight, the figurative usages of *chicken* and *hen* may be regarded as fashionable etiquettes to refer to the female sex, an analysis of the underlying motivation of such metaphors has shown that such identifications establish a conceptual bridge between women with chickens and hens which seem to convey patriarchal attitudes towards the role of women.

Indeed, as their usage in several articles has shown, the fact that chickens and hens are small weak domestic fowl, constantly producing twittering sounds, standing out for their stubborn behavior and lack of intellect, confined to a barnyard ruled by a rooster and simply reared for man's consumption seems to echo the patriarchal attitude whereby woman, being weak, gossipier, obstinate, and lacking the judgment of the male, should be confined to the domestic sphere in order to take care of children and men.

In addition to the apparently mismatch between the surface meaning and the deep meaning of metaphor (Moon 1998), the fact that contact with such metaphorical representations of females in the form of *chickens* and *hens* takes

place during adolescence, a transitional stage of life in which a tremendous amount of identity work is done, for adolescents are moving away from identities based in the family to identities based in a newly heterosocial peer social order, might contribute to the widespread usage and acceptance of these linguistic forms.

Adolescence is perhaps the most crucial stage in the development of the individual, where the construction of social identity inevitably goes hand in hand with the construction of language. One of the most basic drives at work in teenagers is the drive to belong and fit it (Romaine 1984, Vallejo-Nájera 1997); an acceptance which usually takes the form of physical adaptation, but also of speech accommodation (McConnell-Ginet 2003). In fact, the privileged role played by language in marking group allegiance and exclusion is responsible for the acquisition and use of particular patterns of speech. There is indeed a direct correlation between strength of group membership and conformity in linguistic habits, for, as sociolinguists like Labov (1963) and Milroy (1987) have showed, the closer the allegiance to a particular community, the more similar the speech forms.

Language can become a badge of social identity and people often need to accommodate their linguistic behavior in order to gain group membership. In fact, the identity maintenance strategies used by teenagers frequently involve language. Each group has its particular canons of behavior as well as penalties for violation, and it is in the midst of interaction with their peers that teenagers acquire particular linguistic habits and norms while sanctioning those who violate such group norms (Romaine 1984).

An important part of the group ethos of teenagers involves verbal dueling. Teasing, nicknaming and social labeling are part and parcel of teenager's life. Insulting is used not only to humiliate but also as a means of gaining or demonstrating higher status within the group (Goffman 1972) and adolescents may boast of their language skills to reinforce cohesiveness within the group or, on the contrary, to degrade those who are regarded as outsiders. Similarly, labeling³ is a common practice and teenagers engage in competitions as to come up with the best nickname for their teacher or for any other mate. Teenagers who do not adjust to the norm are soon given a label. A child who is a hard-worker and gets good grades is soon labeled as *nerd*, a boy who does not match up to the male norm is referred to as a *fag*, *gay*, *queer* or *sissy* and a girl who does not

³ In her article "What's in a Name? Social Labeling and Gender Practices" (2003), McConnell-Ginet explores the relationship between social labelling practices and group allegiance. Although she does not concentrate on teenagers, McConnell does touch upon the issue of labelling practices as a mechanism to shape social identities.

follow the dictates of the group may be called a *slut*.⁴ These social labeling practices offer a window on the construction of social identities as well as paving the way for gendered discourse⁵. Indeed, as Vygotsky (1978) stated, our sense of identity is forged from our interaction with others and it is in this exchange of labels or social etiquettes that individuals receive their social categories from which they will fashion their identities.

Furthermore, these verbal practices characteristic among teenagers not only determine group allegiance, but are, to a large extent, responsible for social success. In fact, knowing how and when to use the right insult or the appropriate social label is a way of demonstrating power. By adhering to social etiquettes teenagers align themselves with those who have shared values and interests at the time that discriminate those who do not conform to them.

Interestingly, however, many of the social labels used by adolescents are generated not by adolescents themselves, but rather by the media they are exposed to (Chanda 1991, Eckert 2003). In fact, a quick glimpse at magazines aimed at teenage girls has shown that *chick* and *hen* are frequently used as labels to refer to the female sex. Because at this stage teenagers are susceptible to the authority of their peer groups, they do not question the truth posited in such identifications, but, on the contrary, come to accept these labels as appropriate and even fashionable to refer to them. Hence, by incorporating such labels into their daily discourse, teenage girls try to conform to the dominant norms of femininity imposed by these magazines. So begins a process of internalization in which teenage girls may accept at face value what these metaphors transmit, believing as commonsense what is no more than the views a particular sector of society holds about them. Therefore, from this early stage, these metaphors are accepted and incorporated into the language of teenagers; a process which later on will be reinforced in women's magazines.

The internalization of these metaphors may certainly have a toll on females and, above all, on teenagers for, however indirectly, "they may cause women to view themselves in a negative stereotyped way. It may thus have an effect on the expectations women and men have of what women can do" (Mills 1995:95). By embedding metaphorical identifications of females as *chickens* and *hens* in articles dealing with sexual matters, beauty, dieting and social relations, not only are women being deprived of their uniqueness, but they are also led to believe that sexual expertise, youth and the cultivation of physical appearance are the

⁴ According to Eckert (2003: 386), "the meaning of *slut* in early adolescence [...] is closer to the meaning of *hussy*— a female who oversteps general bounds of propriety, whether a girl who dates too many boys, or who is loud, or who does what she pleases."

⁵ For a study about how labelling practices shape gender discourse see McConnell-Ginet (2003: 69-98).

main goals to be attained if they want to be fully accepted as members of the female group.

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