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METAPHORICAL DEPICTIONS OF WOMEN: EXPLORING ANIMAL METAPHORS IN VICTORIAN PROSE FICTION

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Abstract

This study explores the metaphorical portrayal of women as animals in Victorian prose fiction, focusing on four mid-19th-century novels. Its objectives are to unveil the nuances of women's conceptualisation as animals and to investigate gender disparities in the use of animal metaphors among novelists. Employing the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the theoretical basis, this research examines metaphorical mappings and ontological correspondences between the source domain (ANIMAL) and the target domain (HUMAN BEING), identifying the general conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL, along with the constituent submetaphors WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL and WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL. The findings highlight a prevalent negative portrayal of females as animals and mirror the societal attitudes towards women during the Victorian era. The frequency counts reveal no significant gender disparities among the authors in their use of animal metaphors or in the derogatory depiction of women.

Key words

Animal metaphor; conceptual metaphor; gender; woman; Victorian literature

Introduction

The Victorian era, often referred to as the 'golden age' in the history of Great Britain (Mitchell 2009), was marked by growing wealth and rapid industrial and societal changes. These transformations found resonance in literature through writers' creative imagination and personal interpretation. While literary works cannot be regarded as documentary records of Victorian life, relations, or attitudes, they do convey ideologies and beliefs prevalent during that period through the perspectives of their authors.

Scholarly interest in the Victorian era is often excited by the so-called 'woman question', a vast area of studies that explores women's lives, roles and status at that time, as well as their portrayals in literary works (e.g., Blake 1983; Loeb 1994; King 2005; Gryzhak 2018; Knox 2021). Numerous investigations provide valuable insights into women's experiences, societal attitudes towards them, and cultural

conventions during the Victorian era, drawing from both documentary sources and writers' literary depictions.

Not less popular in literature is the topic of animal metaphors, with researchers examining from various perspectives the symbolic representation of humans as animals and emphasising the inherent connection between human and animal creatures (e.g., Fontecha and Catalan 2003; Goatly 2006; Kövecses and Benczes 2010; McKay and McHugh 2023). Many studies focus on the dehumanisation and animalization of individuals, particularly in relation to women (e.g., Schulz 1975; López Rodriguez 2009; Li et al. 2023). However, only a few have explored animal metaphors in Victorian literature. For example, Marchbanks (2006) investigates the metaphorical depiction of heroines as caged birds in Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre and Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca*, a film based on Daphne Du Maurier's novel. Pielak (2012) uses animetaphor "as a map for reading a Victorian heroine," Gwendolen, in George Eliot's Daniel Deronda, pointing out that the animetaphor "exposes the abyss of Gwendolen's animality, exposing her as creature, in order to release her humanity" (2012: 112). Funada (2015; 2019), exploring the animalisation of characters in Dickens' novels, draws the conclusion that "the author makes abundant use of noun metaphor forms for dehumanisation in order to depict each appearance or personality of human characters as if they were nonhuman living creatures or inanimate objects" (Funada 2019: 50). In her turn, Pyke (2017) examines the strategies employed by Emily Brontë in Wuthering Heights "to encourage a better treatment of all animals, human and nonhuman alike" (2017: 167). Cao (2019) focuses on animal metaphors and similes, which express the dehumanisation of the main characters in Dickens's Great Expectations. Torralbo Caballero (2020) studies the metaphors found in several specific extracts of Great *Expectations* to explore their significance and the impact on the semantics of the novel as a whole.

Despite the extensive research in the field of animal metaphors, certain topics remain underexplored, and my paper addresses one such gap. Diverging from the prior studies, my research exclusively focuses on the use of animal metaphors portraying female characters in selected Victorian novels. Employing a comparative analysis, I aim to explore gender-based disparities in the application of these metaphors among novelists. To achieve this objective, four Victorian novels have been selected for investigation: Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, and William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. Written between 1847 and 1866, these novels allow a comparative study as their authors shared the same experiences of the then-society with its economic and social problems, the system of values, religious beliefs, customs, prejudices, and other relevant aspects.

The significance of this study lies in the comparative examination of animal metaphors employed to depict female characters in the selected novels. By analysing the usage of animal metaphors in literary works, we better comprehend their role in shaping our identities as human beings and our connection with the natural world. Focusing on Victorian novels, my research contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of women's representation in Victorian society, thereby enriching the existing literature on the 'woman question' during that historical period; and a gender-based approach addresses a gap in scholarly studies of animal metaphors in the dehumanisation of female characters. Metaphorical portrayals of female characters serve as markers of societal attitudes towards women of that era. This analysis seeks to offer an insight into the complex interplay between language, gender, and society within Victorian literature.

Various names of animal metaphors

Animal lexemes are studied from different perspectives: as discrete vocabulary units (e.g., Spence 2001; Kieltyka 2005), as components of idioms and proverbs (e.g., Kleparski 2016; Banu 2021), or by exploring their meaning and functioning in discourse (e.g., Pielak 2012; Funada 2019). However, the diverse terminology used to refer to lexemes associating human beings with animals may lead to confusion in understanding this field of research. To elucidate this, I delineate the most commonly employed terms in animal studies.

The term *zoosemy*, coined by Rayevska (1979: 159), refers to the metaphorical use of animal names "to denote human qualities." Kieltyka defines *zoosemy* as "the process of semantic change whereby animal names are employed to designate human characteristics" and regards the conceptual metaphor theory as "a sound methodological framework which is capable of accounting for semantic change in a panchronic perspective" (Kieltyka 2005: 169). The scholar believes that the mechanism of metaphorical extension is "held responsible for zoosemy" (Kieltyka 2010: 168).

Closely related and often used interchangeably with the term *zoosemy* in literature is the term *animal metaphor*. Kövecses and Benczes (2010: 154) explain it as a metaphorical description of people as animals and understanding of their behaviour "in terms of animal behaviour." A related term, *animetaphor*, describes relationships between animals and metaphors. Lippit (2000) suggests that both terms "breathe into language, the vitality of another life, another expression: animal and metaphor, a metaphor made flesh, a living metaphor that is by definition not a metaphor, antimetaphor – "animetaphor" (2000: 165). Some researchers opt to use another equivalent term, "animalistic metaphor" (e.g., O'Brien 2010; Vasung 2020).

The term *zoometaphor*, employed by Sakalauskaite, denotes a specific kind of animal metaphor "in which the behavior, emotion or appearance of an animal is a reference to the behavior, emotion or appearance of the human" (2010: 17). Kleparski asserts that *zoometaphors* can be "in the form of simple lexical items or longer segments" and "serve to encapsulate various features and qualities of a human being, such as their age, gender, physical, social, behavioural or moral traits and characteristics" (Kleparski 2016: 84).

Zoomorphs and *zoonyms* are less frequently used terms. The former refers "to healthy adults, with little mention of childhood, old age, sickness, or infirmity" (Sommer and Sommer 2011: 247), whereas the latter is employed by researchers (e.g., Mintsys and Mintsys 2019; Banu 2021) as a substitute for animal names.

The mentioned terms are frequently used in various studies investigating the application of animal names to characterise humans. Many research papers in

the field of animal metaphors rely on the conceptual metaphor framework, which is further elaborated, to explain how animals' traits are transferred onto human beings. The term *animal metaphor* is used in this study to encompass any occurrence of an animal lexeme used to identify or characterise a heroine in the analysed novels. Additionally, I employ conventional expressions such as animal names, animal words, animal lexemes, and others to explicate the structure and elucidate the conceptual understanding of animal metaphors.

The conceptual meaning and connotations of animal metaphors

The fact that *animal metaphors* are so widespread across languages led Kövecses and Benczes (2010) to belief that the general metaphor HUMAN IS ANIMAL exists in our conceptual system. This metaphor "consists of at least the following conceptual metaphors: HUMAN IS ANIMAL, OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, OBJECTIONABLE PEOPLE ARE ANI-MALS, DIFFICULT-TO-HANDLE THINGS ARE DOGS, SEXUALLY ATTRAC-TIVE WOMEN ARE KITTENS" (Kövecses and Benczes 2010: 153).

Conceptual metaphors employ the cognitive mechanism of analogy (Gentner and Bowdle 2008) to establish similarities between two domains of experiencethe source and target-and use these similarities to infer or understand new concepts. However, conceptual metaphors transcend mere similarity by involving systematic mappings and structural correspondences between domains of experience (Kovecses 2015: ix). Systematic mappings, "grounded in the body and in everyday experience and knowledge" (Lakoff 1993: 245), entail the alignment of elements or concepts from both domains, resulting in their structural correspondences. Gentner and Bowdle argue that analogical mapping, according to structure-mapping theory, "is a process of establishing a structural alignment between two represented situations and then projecting inferences" (2008: 109). These metaphorical projections are asymmetric and partial in nature (Lakoff 1993: 245), emphasising certain aspects while neglecting others, and generally unidirectional (Gibbs 2017: 18), mapping from the source domain to the target. Thus, in Lakoff's view, a mapping "is a fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in a source domain and entities in a target domain," and, when activated, "can project source domain inference patterns onto target domain inference patterns" (Lakoff 1993: 245). In other words, "the entities, attributes and processes in the target domain are expressed by means of employing words and expressions drawn from the source domain" (Ciechanowska 2018: 93).

A linguistic metaphorical expression serves as the "surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping" (Lakoff 1993: 203). The meaning of the animal metaphor is based on a series of ontological correspondences between the source domain (ANIMAL) and the target domain (HUMAN BEING), representing a conceptual mapping type. Here, the concept of 'animal' is projected onto the concept of 'human,' facilitating both analogy and inference through conceptual mappings.

The philosophical and existential foundation of the animal metaphor is the Great Chain of Being, the hierarchical system of related things and corresponding

concepts (Lakoff and Turner 1989; Kövecses and Benczes 2010). Consisting of several levels, with humans at the top and natural physical things at the bottom, this system becomes metaphorical "when a particular level of the chain (human, animal, etc.) is used to understand another level" (Kövecses and Benczes 2010: 154). According to Kövecses and Benczes, animal-related words acquired their metaphorical meanings when "humans attributed human characteristics to animals and then reapplied these characteristics to humans" (2010: 152). Therefore, the process of metaphorical mapping may be bi-directional allowing 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 and Turner 1989: 172). However, when people are compared to animals, beings from the lower level, such similarity typically conveys a negative evaluation.

The negative connotation of animal metaphors and "the perceived superiority of humans over animals" (Ho 2022: 24) has been highlighted by many researchers (e.g., Kieltyka 2005; Goatly 2006; Kövecses and Benczes 2010; Sakalauskaite 2010; Tipler and Ruscher 2019). For example, Kövecses and Benczes noted that animal metaphors mostly "capture the negative characteristics of human beings" (2010: 153). Lopez Rodriguez states:

"[t]he equation human-animal usually goes hand in hand with negative connotations. Obviously, within the hierarchical organization of the Great Chain of Being [...] humans stand above animals, and, therefore, by conceptualizing people as animals, the former are attributed with the instinctual qualities of the latter" (Lopez Rodriguez 2009: 79).

Scholars emphasise that the usage of such metaphors entails derogation, pejoration, and dehumanisation of a human being. Goatly observed that "the most common animal metaphors for humans are pejorative, suggesting that it is desirable to distance ourselves from animals, both conceptually and emotionally" (2006: 34).

Furthermore, researchers have noted that animal metaphors for females tend to be more negative and pejorative in nature than those for males. Schulz states that "a perfectly innocent term designating a girl or woman may begin with totally neutral or even positive connotations, but that gradually it acquires negative implications" (1975: 65). Kieltyka further emphasises that the pejoration of female human beings is "an extremely frequent semantic mechanism" (2005: 167). Fontecha and Catalán drew the conclusion from their research that "the main metaphorical meanings of the female terms connote worse qualities than those connoted by the metaphors of the male terms" (2003: 771). Lopez Rodriguez supports this, stating that "whether in the form of pets, livestock or wild animals, women tend to be seen as inferior and subordinated to men" (2009: 77).

Indeed, many researchers have observed that most animal metaphors are not neutral in their evaluative stance and are charged with negative connotations. However, this viewpoint is questioned by other scholars, who refute a direct correlation between animal metaphors and negative evaluation. Kleparski, for

example, analysing the semantics of dog metaphors, found that the evaluatively neutral sense is "the most richly represented" (2016: 81). Chamizo Domínguez and Zawislawska (2006: 140) believe that, from "an axiological point of view animal metaphors can be divided into neutral, ameliorative, pejorative, obscene, and polysemous." Moreover, Ciechanowska identifies instances of "semantic amelioration as far as prison slang animal metaphors are concerned," although "the phenomenon of semantic pejoration substantially prevails" (2018: 103). Numerous other scholars also point to animal metaphors conveying positive connotations, such as *lion*, *pet* (Rodriguez 2009), *eagle-eyed* (Talebinejad and Dastjerdi 2005), *fish*, *tigress*, *lioness* (Silaški 2013), *dove* (Vasung 2020), and others.

Summarising researchers' views on the connotations of animal metaphors, some key points must be addressed. First, beyond fixed expressions with varying degrees of idiomaticity, the connotation of animal metaphors may be dependent on the discourse context. While certain animal names convey explicitly negative or positive associations when applied to humans (e.g., *rat, dove*) and dictionaries and cultural stereotypes attest to their figurative meaning, others are context-dependent. Contextual factors may attribute different shades of meaning to the word, resulting in its variability "in relation to the context in which it is used" (Simpson 2005: 63). For instance, consider the following sentences taken from the analysed novels:

- (1) I could walk the matted floor as softly as a cat (Brontë 2003: 241).
- (2) You hag, you cat, you dog, you brimstone barker! (Dickens 1985: 522).

The animal metaphor *cat* in the first sentence carries a positive connotation, enhanced by the adverb *softly*, characterising gentle Jane Eyre's walk. Conversely, the same metaphor in the second sentence has a negative connotation due to its use with nouns having negative meanings, such as *hag*, *dog*, *barker*, and the derogatory adjective *brimstone*. These examples illustrate that animal words can acquire different connotations when applied to a human, depending on the contextual environment. Therefore, considering discourse context is crucial for interpreting the meaning and evaluative implications of animal metaphors.

Second, many metaphors are culturally specific, and their negative or positive connotations can vary across different languages. Comparative studies, in which researchers examine the culture-specific connotations of animal metaphors, are abundant in the literature. For instance, Fontecha and Catalán (2003) observed that the Spanish animal terms *zorro/zorra* are more derogatory towards women, associated with "promiscuous sexual behaviour," compared to the English *fox/vixen*. Conversely, the English terms *bull/cow* are more derogatory than the Spanish *toro/vaca*, highlighting not only women's negative physical aspects (unattractiveness, large size) but also "negative behavioural aspects such as coarseness" (2003: 793). López Rodriguez (2009), comparing perceptions of womanhood in English and Spanish through animal metaphors, discovered both similarities and differences in the nuanced meanings of animal metaphors and indications of a sexually submissive role of women in the Spanish animal name *zorra*, unlike its

English equivalent *vixen*. Chamizo Domínguez and Zawislawska (2006) found that the Spanish corpus of animal names is larger than Polish, and wild animal names are more frequently used in metaphors in both languages. Kilyeni and Silaški's comparative cognitive and linguistic examination of the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in Romanian and Serbian languages revealed that the analysed animal metaphors were predominantly used disparagingly, manifesting sexism in both languages (2014: 176). A study of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A BIRD in Bulgarian and Croatian languages led Vasung (2020) to the conclusion that the representation of this metaphor is largely similar in both languages, the pejorative terms dominate over positive ones, and metaphorical expressions with sexual connotations prevail in the Croatian language (2020: 231).

Exploring how animal metaphors conceptualise female characters in the chosen Victorian novels, this study not only offers insights into authors' use of metaphorical language to portray women but also reveals the attitudinal assessment conveyed by the use of such metaphors. Gender-specific analysis of women's conceptualisation as animals can aid in understanding perceptions of womanhood in the Victorian era and how the use of metaphors reinforces societal stereotypes.

Data and methodology

My research is based on a corpus of 203 animal metaphors portraying female characters in the four Victorian novels: 64 metaphors in Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, followed by 57 metaphors in Dickens' *Bleak House*, 41 animal metaphors found in Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, and the same quantity in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (see Table 1). The data encompass direct animal words (e.g., vixen, bird) and compound words with an animal term as its component (e.g., *dove-like, parent-bird*), all possessing conceptual metaphorical meanings. Every animal lexeme used to describe physical features, personal qualities, character, behaviour, and other attributes of females underwent a thorough qualitative and quantitative analysis. This examination considered the type of animal being referred to, frequency of occurrence, metaphorical meaning, associated connotations, and the gender of the author employing the metaphor.

animal metaphors	Jane Eyre	Wives and Daughters	Bleak House	Vanity Fair		
domestic animals						
cat	4	4	2	2		
dog	7	4	3	10		
donkey		1				
goose		10	2	3		

Table 1. Frequency of animal metaphors conceptualising women as animals in Victorian novels

animal metaphors	Jane Eyre	Wives and Daughters	Bleak House	Vanity Fair			
horse		1	1	1			
pet	2	2	12				
pig			4				
sheep/lamb	8	3		3			
	wild animals						
animal	8	3	1	1			
bird	21	4	16	5			
eel	1						
fawn				1			
fox /vixen		1	2	3			
hyena	1						
insect	1	1	1	1			
kangaroo		1					
lion				1			
monkey	2	1	1				
reptile		3	2	9			
rodent	4	1	2	1			
scorpion			2				
tiger	1		3				
toad	1		1				
wolf	2		2				
worm	1	1					
Total	64	41	57	41			

Animal metaphors in this study comprise both metaphors (e.g., *she's a donkey*) and similes (e.g., *she was as innocent as a lamb*). Like metaphors, similes involve cross-domain mappings, establishing sets of correspondences between the two compared concepts (Steen et al. 2010: 10–11; Veale et al. 2016: 17; Lugea and Walker 2023: 189). Despite differences in structure and mechanisms of metaphorization, a simile is often viewed as a form of metaphor (Barnden 2016), a metaphorical comparison (Shen 2008), a direct or conceptual metaphor (Steen et al. 2010), or a prototypical deliberate metaphor (Prandi and Rossi 2022). While acknowledging that metaphors and similes are not identical, my research focuses on the conceptual nature of correspondences between domains of humans and animals and therefore includes similes.

It should be mentioned that likening a human to an animal can occur without the use of the animal word. For instance, in Dickens's *Bleak House*, Lady Dedlock

is equated to a horse through the phrase "she is the best-groomed woman in the whole stud" (1985: 58), and words as best-groomed and stud allow such comparison. Similarly, in Thackeray's Vanity Fair, Becky Sharp is compared to a bird: "While Becky Sharp was on her own wing in the country, hopping on all sorts of twigs, and amid a multiplicity of traps, and pecking up her food quite harmless and successful" (1987: 89). The author used words associated with birds in this passage, such as wing, hop, twig, and peck. Though females are metaphorically conceptualised as animals in such cases too, these instances go beyond the scope of my study, which focuses solely on the straightforward transfer of a name from an animal to a woman, e.g.: "Oh, no! Cynthia never is ill. She's as strong as a horse" (Gaskell 1996: 214).

In my investigation, I consider two types of evaluation: explicit and implicit. The explicit connotation involves the direct use of animal words to characterise women, as in the following example from Dickens' novel: "You're a scorpion – a brimstone scorpion! You're a sweltering toad" (Dickens 2003: 182). Here, Mr. Smallweed's grandmother is dehumanised: her manners are likened to those of a dangerous arachnid and her appearance to that of a repugnant amphibian, intensified by negative evaluative adjectives. Implicit evaluation, on the other hand, arises from the contextual usage of the animal metaphor, as in (3), where the animal name *bird* carries a negative connotation, as Jane declares herself to be a free-willed human being with the right to make her own choices, e.g.:

(3) I am no bird; and no net ensnares me; I am a free human being, with an independent will; which I now exert to leave you (Brontë 2003: 294).

This study progressed through several stages, the first of which involved the identification of metaphors. Following the MIPVU guidelines (Steen et al. 2010), a close examination of the selected novels was conducted to determine the animal lexemes used to conceptualise female characters. The contextual meaning of each animal lexeme was compared with its basic meaning as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (henceforward–OED). An incongruity between the two meanings confirmed that the lexeme was used metaphorically. The analysis of conceptual mappings between the domains of humans and animals revealed that they were based on analogy and inference.

In the second stage, the whole corpus of animal metaphors was analysed and sorted into domains of domestic and wild animals. The examination allowed the identification of the general conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN AN-IMAL, which consists of two submetaphors: WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC AN-IMAL and WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL. By distinguishing these submetaphors, my research follows other studies on animal metaphors (e.g., Chamizo Domínguez and Zawislawska 2006; López Rodríguez 2009; Sakalauskaite 2010; Vasung 2020). Moreover, the world of wild animals is larger and more diverse than that of domestic animals, as proved by the research findings, and the amalgamation of all animal species may obscure the nuances of conceptualisation and evaluation of female characters. Each conceptual metaphor was further analysed to elucidate the meaning, attitudes, and values attributed to female characters. The identified submetaphors enabled the study of the animal metaphors

characterising Victorian heroines without going into irrelevant details of animals' classes and species.

The submetaphor WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL contains many linguistic metaphorical expressions such as: animal, bird, beetle, butterfly, (turtle)dove, dragon, fawn, fox/vixen, eel, gnat, hen-sparrow, hyena, jay, jackdaw, kangaroo, (sky)lark, linnet, lion, magpie, monkey, mouse, nightingale, owl, (poll)parrot, pigeon, rat, raven, scorpion, snake, swan, tigress, toad, wolf, worm, wren. With the aim of presenting them more compactly, some of these metaphorical expressions, specifically birds, insects, rep-tiles, and rodents, are grouped under the names of classes. Authors frequently drew parallels between female characters and animals through general references to animals, beast, brute, which I collectively grouped under the heading 'animals' in this submetaphor, considering the meanings of these animal names in the OED.

The submetaphor WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL encompasses fewer metaphorical expressions in comparison with wild animals, including *cat*, *dog*, *donkey*, *goose*, *horse*, *sheep/lamb*, *pet*, *pig*.

The third stage involved the examination of the evaluative meaning (positive, negative, or neutral) conveyed by animal metaphors in characterising females in the novels and their grouping based on their attitudinal stance, expressed explicitly and implicitly. This analysis provided insight into societal stereotypes towards women and how animal metaphors contribute to the overall dehumanisation of the image of the woman.

Finally, gender-specific analysis with the aim of exploring potential differences between male and female novelists in their use of animal metaphors was employed in the second and third stages of the analysis. In this way, all uses of animal metaphors were examined and compared to determine gender-specific conceptualisations of women as animals.

The following sections provide a detailed account of the research findings and results.

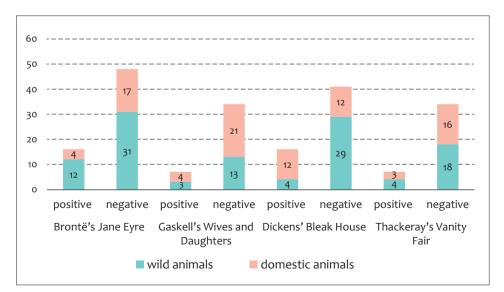
Results and discussion

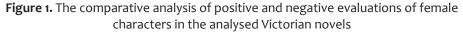
General metaphor: WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL

A diverse range of linguistic metaphorical expressions contribute to the general conceptual metaphor—WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL. Grammatically, these metaphors encompass nouns (e.g., goosey, kangaroo), adjectives (e.g., feline, canine), a verb (e.g., to ape), and an adverb (e.g., sheepishly). Nouns dominate in the corpus, appearing 187 times, thus playing a central role in attributing animalistic qualities to women. Semantically, these metaphors denote various species of animals and their qualities. Most frequently, women were equated to various types of mammals (90 metaphors) and birds (61 metaphors). The commonness of mammals in animal metaphors for human beings has been previously observed by scholars (e.g., Sommer and Sommer 2011; Ciechanowska 2018; Ho 2022). Similarly, the popularity of bird names in animal metaphors for females has been noticed by other researchers as well (e.g., Nilsen 1996; Lopez Rodriguez 2009). Additionally, Dickens frequently compared women to 'pets' (12 metaphors), Thackeray used 'reptiles' (9 metaphors) to characterise females, and Brontë associated them with 'animals' (8 metaphors). Conceptually, through the series of mappings, women are depicted as subservient, meek, objectionable, unintelligent, and disreputable, perpetuating negative stereotypes. These mappings also depict female characters as unattractive, dangerous, treacherous, cunning, and insignificant, with occasional positive assessments highlighting their appearance, pleasant voice, and proper behaviour. The elucidation of these mappings is provided further.

The extensive use of metaphors in Brontë's novel influenced the prevalence of animal metaphors in the works of female writers, though the difference is not that notable when compared with male novelists (105 vs 98). Regarding the evaluative stance, animal metaphors assessed female characters either positively or negatively. Evaluatively neutral senses of the metaphor WOMAN IS AN AN-IMAL are not found. The context of novels as well as accompanying modifying adjectives (e.g., *absurd animal, eager bird, moral shepherd's dog, stray lamb*) aided in the identification of the attitudinal stance of linguistic metaphorical expressions employed to characterise women.

The data analysis shows that animal metaphors were predominantly used to convey negative characterisations of heroines, irrespective of the author's gender. A relatively smaller number of animal lexemes depicted positive traits of women (see Figure 1). While there is no significant disparity in the number of animal metaphors employed by female and male authors in the analysed narratives, there are some subtleties in the attributing of qualities of wild and domestic animals to females and their positive or negative evaluation. Brontë and Gaskell used a higher





proportion of positive metaphors when depicting women as wild animals (15 metaphors), exactly opposing the male authors' preferences, who more favourably depicted women in the guise of a domestic animal (15 metaphors). Negative evaluation displays more variety and prevalence in the works of female authors, which may be attributed to Brontë's wide use of animal metaphors.

As previously mentioned, the general conceptual metaphor—WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL encompasses two submetaphors: WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL and WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL. The study allowed us to estimate that female characters were more frequently conceptualised as wild animals (114 metaphors) than as domestic animals (89 metaphors). In the following sections, I will look into the peculiarities of females' conceptualisation as animals through these submetaphors.

Submetaphor: WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL

This submetaphor comprises numerous linguistic metaphorical expressions used to attribute various characteristics of wild animals to females and their actions (see Figure 2). The prevalence and diversity of these metaphors indicate that the authors of the examined novels predominantly conceptualised women as wild animals. Among the 114 correspondences of this metaphorical comparison, as figures show, the most common analogies in representing women were *birds* (46 metaphors), *reptiles* (14 metaphors), and the generic term *animals* (13 metaphors).

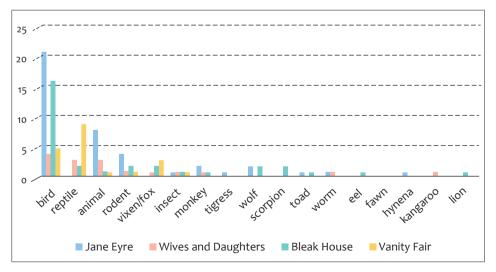


Figure 2. Animal metaphors conceptualising women as wild animals

Metaphorical expressions with the animal word 'bird' portray female characters in diverse ways, conveying a range of connotations, however, negative evaluation (27 metaphors) prevailed over the positive one (21 metaphors). For example:

- (4) When you are mistress of Bleak House, you are to be as cheerful as a bird (Dickens 2003: 375).
- (5) Jane, be still; don't struggle so, like a wild frantic bird that is rending its own plumage in its desperation (Brontë 2003: 294).

Positive connotations were found with a generalised term *bird*, and with more specific names, such as (*turtle*)*dove*, (*sky*)*lark*, *linnet*, *nightingale*, *pigeon*, *swan*, and *wren*. These animal metaphors were employed by the authors to ascribe the following features of birds to their heroines:

- attractive appearance: beautiful, elegant (*you're swans; a flock of white plumy birds*); bright (*linnet*).
- pleasant voice: loquacious (*chatters like a wren*), melodic (*Becky, the nightingale; a kind of bird, with a pretty high note*).
- acceptable behaviour: happy, elated (*felt like the messenger-pigeon flying home; as cheerful as a bird*); gentle and loving (*the cooing of a dove; my dove*); energetic, swift (*fresh as a lark; lively as larks*); inquisitive (*like an eager bird; curious sort of bird*).

In contrast, animal names *hen-sparrow*, *jackdaw*, *jade*, *jay*, *parrot*, and *raven*, and in some contexts a generalised term *bird*, evaluated females negatively, accentuating the following women's features:

- poor physical state: *a half-frozen bird*.
- unacceptable behaviour: dangerous, intimidating (bird of prey; raven-black wild frantic bird; hen-sparrow, with her wings all fluttering; dangerous bird); wandering (stray and stranger birds like me; bird of passage); deceiver (jay in borrowed plumes; you jade of a magpie); idle chatterer (a brimstone magpie; horrible old and poll-parrot obscured with the cushion; like a bird that is not to sing; a pig-headed jackdaw); fidgety (Volumnia, in the course of her bird-like hopping).
- lack of intellect: more owl-like by spectacles; can no more play than an owl, she is so stupid.

The diverse array of animal metaphors depicting women as *birds* and the specificity of their usage in the analysed novels created a contradictory portrayal of women. On the one hand, they were presented as gentle, loving, pleasant, and cheerful, while on the other, they were depicted as hazardous, talkative, and unwise.

The metaphorical representation of women as *snakes* has strongly negative implications, derogating women and depicting them as "treacherous, deceitful, or malicious" (OED). Despite being the second most common metaphor, the use of animal lexemes like *snake*, *serpent*, and *viper* was exclusive to Thackeray's novel *Vanity Fair*. The lexeme *dragon*, which is also included in this metaphorical extension due to its definition, "a huge serpent or snake" (OED), was employed

by Gaskell and Dickens to characterise females as dangerous and fierce. For instance:

- (6) It is that little serpent of a governess who rules him (Thackeray 2009: 290).
- (7) [...] had she not been guarded by a watchful dragon in the shape of Betty, her nurse [...] (Gaskell 1996: 32).

The generalised term *animal* used in the representation of women embodies their animalistic qualities, thereby dehumanising their images. All occurrences of this metaphor in the analysed novels are loaded with negative associations, transferring animal attributes onto female characters, thus presenting them as unreasonable, dangerous, untamed, and unknown. For example, they are portrayed as *brute*; *vain and absurd animal*; *some strange wild animal*; *wild beast*; and possessing *animal spirits*.

Likening their heroines to *rodents*, the authors used the animal words *mouse* (5 metaphors) and *rat* (3 metaphors). The first metaphorical expression belittles women, presenting them as "timid, weak, small, or insignificant" (OED), as seen in these examples: *as quiet as a mouse; in vain search for a mouse-hole in which to hide herself; as still as a mouse.* Whereas, the animal word *rat*, depicts them as a "contemptible, or worthless person" (OED).

The insignificance of women is emphasised through their comparison to insects, highlighting their repulsiveness (*brimstone black-beetle*), pestering (*teasing pertinacity of a gnat*), and lack of reasoning (*without more thought as to her whereabouts than a butterfly*).

To present female characters as artful and cunning, the authors mostly employed the animal name *vixens*, thus foregrounding the gender of the depicted characters. The animal word *fox* was used only once to draw attention to the craftiness of a heroine. For example:

- (8) "You are a vixen, a vixen!" Mr. Tulkinghorn seems to meditate as he looks distrustfully at her [..] (Dickens 2003: 359).
- (9) "Who'd ha' thought it! what a sly little devil! what a little fox it waws" he muttered to himself, chuckling with pleasure (Thackeray 2003: 167).

In all other cases of the use of wild animal names in the novels with reference to female characters, they were also conceptualised negatively, underscoring their unattractiveness (e.g., an ape in a harlequin's jacket; likeness to the monkey tribe; such a little toad); menace (e.g., like a tigress; a very neat she-wolf imperfectly tamed; her wolfish cries); hideousness (hidden worm, typical worm, the clothed hyena); and unscrupulousness (I must be a moral kangaroo).

To summarise, in the analysed literary works, the conceptual submetaphor WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL was predominantly pejorative, conveying negative evaluations of female characters (positive – 23 metaphors, negative – 91 metaphors). The authors portrayed female characters adversely as unattractive, unintelligent, dangerous, treacherous, cunning, insignificant, and repulsive. Occasional positive evaluations focused on women's appearance, pleasant voice, and proper behaviour. There were no significant gender differences among the authors in the quantity of metaphors used to conceptualise women as wild animals (Brontë and Gaskell – 59 metaphors vs Dickens and Thackeray – 55 metaphors).

Submetaphor: WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL

The straightforward transfer of domestic animal names onto female characters encompasses 89 animal metaphors, and the most prolific were such linguistic metaphorical expressions: *dog* (24 metaphors), *pet* (16 metaphors), *goose* (15 metaphors), *sheep/lamb* (14 metaphors), and *cat* (12 metaphors). Their distribution in these narratives, along with the types of animals chosen by the authors, is shown in Figure 3.

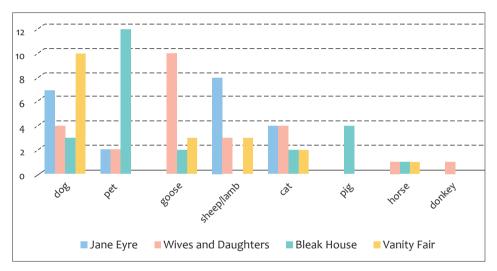


Figure 3. Animal metaphors conceptualising women as domestic animals

Dogs are commonly perceived as faithful and loyal to their human companions. A positive image of a woman compared to a dog was found in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* when Becky Sharp expressed her desire to have a female companion, stating that she needed a "MORAL shepherd's dog." However, in the same context, she disdainfully characterises a prospective female companion by the metaphorical expressions *sheep-dog*, *house-dog* and *watch dog*, whose sole purpose is 'to keep the wolves off. These words lose their positive connotations of loyalty and protectiveness and acquire negative ones, portraying someone who is subservient and docile, with the primary function of assisting the master.

Dog metaphors establish the following conceptual correspondences between the source and target domains, presenting female characters mainly adversely:

- destitute: lost and starving dog; masterless and stray dog
- menacing: the snarling canine noise
- small and helpless: blind puppy; little four-legged doggie; a little dog like
- utilitarian: she had been a lapdog; as you would like to have a flower, or a bird, or a picture, or a poodle
- selfish: the dog in the manger
- subservient: sheep dog; a watchdog; the house-dog; I always give my dog dinner from my own plate; looking up with eyes as wistful as a dog's waiting for crumbs
- spiteful: You hag, you cat, you dog; brimstone barker; that abominable sheep-dog.

Hence, most *dog* metaphors are charged negatively in the analysed narratives, depicting female characters as humble and subservient or objectionable and dangerous.

The animal metaphor *pet* is frequently used in the novels with adjectives conveying positive evaluation, like *my pretty pet*, *a dear face as my beautiful pet's*, and *my precious pet*, often accompanied by the possessive pronoun '*my*'. Despite these usages and its meaning as "a term of endearment, or as a familiar form of address" (OED), in my opinion, it negatively portrays females, suggesting they should be submissive and compliant, "sweet, obedient, or obliging" (OED), akin to domestic animals, as in the following example:

(10) [...] and she had been hastily engaged by them as bonne to their children, partly as a pet and plaything herself [...] (Gaskell 1996: 303).

The animal metaphor *goose/goosey* establishes similarities by conceptualising women in the novels as not very intelligent, aligning with the figurative meaning in the dictionary: "a foolish person, a simpleton" (OED). For example:

(11) "Don't you see, you goose," she said to Briggs, who professed to be much touched by the honest affection which pervaded the composition (Thackeray 2003: 290).

The animal metaphor *lamb* may be used as "a term of endearment" or to designate a person "who is as meek, gentle, innocent, or weak as a lamb" (OED). In the analysed novels, this metaphorical expression often blends two meanings when characterising female figures, as seen in the following sentences referring to Jane (12) and Molly (13), who are portrayed both affectionately and as gentle and weak:

- (12) I should have been a careless shepherd if I had left a lamb—my pet lamb—so near a wolf's den, unguarded: you were safe (Brontë 2003: 250).
- (13) [...] and, as he afterwards scoffed at himself for thinking, he had got an idea that all young men were wolves in chase of his one ewe-lamb (Gaskell 1996: 56).

Though, when women are likened to *sheep*, they are conceptualised negatively as being "stupid, timid, or poor-spirited" (OED): *casting sheep's eyes at master*; *sheepishly retreating; his wandering sheep; the unconscious black sheep of the town.*'

The animal metaphor *cat* depicted female characters contrastingly. On the one hand, it positively portrayed women's manners and movements as soft and pleasing, drawing parallels with the nature of a cat (*cat-like nature purred*, *velvet paws like a cat; as softly as a cat*). On the other hand, this metaphorical expression is also used to depict females' improper manners and poor intellect (*a mad cat; a cat's-paw; a hungry pussy-cat; you silly, silly puss; you cat*).

The traditional negative connotations associated with *pigs* and *swine* were transferred by the authors of the studied narratives onto their female characters, portraying them extremely negatively: *you are an old pig; a brimstone pig; a head of swine;* a *pig-headed jackdaw*. These derogatory animal metaphors strongly dehumanise women in the reader's eyes.

The animal metaphor *horse*, similar to a *cat*, is employed in both positive and negative contexts, representing females as robust (*as strong as a horse*) or negatively describing their appearance (*her hair looking like the mane of a dustman's horse*). While a metaphorical expression, *but she's a donkey*, emphasises a woman's perceived lack of intellect.

The examination of the animal metaphors conceptualising female characters as domestic animals revealed a prevalence of negative evaluation (positive – 23 metaphors; negative – 66 metaphors). No substantial gender differences were found among the novelists in the quantity of metaphors they used to portray women as domestic animals (Brontë and Gaskell – 46 metaphors vs Dickens and Thackeray – 43 metaphors). The submetaphor WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC AN-IMAL predominantly conveys negative connotations, creating an unfavourable image of a Victorian heroine in the selected novels. This conceptual metaphor was primarily employed by the authors to devalue and belittle women by showing them as subservient, submissive, obedient, meek, unintelligent, objectionable, and disreputable, thus reinforcing negative stereotypes towards them.

Conclusions

This study aimed to identify the role of animal metaphors in the positive or negative portrayal of Victorian heroines, to determine the prevailing type of female's evaluation, and to explore gender-based disparities in the use of such metaphors among novelists. Despite existing research on animal metaphors and the 'women question' in the Victorian era, my investigation fills a gap in the literature by employing a comparative gender analysis to examine animal metaphors depicting exclusively female characters in the selected novels.

The comparison of humans to animals is rooted in the metaphorical theory of the Great Chain of Being. This hierarchical system places animal creatures on a lower level than humans; thus, implying that animals are inferior and subordinate to humans. Consequently, likening human beings to animals often carries pejorative connotations, reflecting negative attitudes towards them.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory serves as the underlying mechanism for attributing animal qualities to human species. The methodological basis of this theory is the establishment of ontological correspondences between the source domain (ANIMAL) and the target (HUMAN BEING). The general metaphor HUMAN IS ANIMAL, inherent in our conceptual system and ubiquitous across languages, is used as a model for identifying the corresponding conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in my investigation, along with the constituent submetaphors WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL and WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL. My study focuses on the direct use of animal terms in linguistic metaphorical expressions, which are surface realisations of these conceptual animal metaphors.

Likening women to mammals and birds in the analysed novels was most frequent among metaphorical expressions, and a generalised metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL largely conveys the negative characterisation of females (157 negative evaluations vs 46 positives). The submetaphor WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL was more often used in the conceptualisation of female characters than the submetaphor WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL (114 metaphors vs 89 metaphors) (see Table 2).

Victorian novels	WOMAN IS A WILD ANIMAL		WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC ANIMAL	
	positive evaluation	negative evaluation	positive evaluation	negative evaluation
Jane Eyre	12	31	4	17
Wives and Daughters	3	13	4	21
Bleak House	4	29	12	12
Vanity Fair	4	18	3	16

Table 2. The use of animal metaphors for positive and negative evaluations of women in Victorian novels

The data analysis revealed that Brontë employed more animal metaphors than other novelists. Although no significant gender differences were observed among the examined authors in the number of animal metaphors they used or in their derogatory portrayal of women, there are some gender distinctions between the authors in the attributing of qualities of wild and domestic animals to females and their positive or negative evaluation. Female authors more positively assessed women as wild animals, while male authors more favourably depicted women as domestic animals. This may imply Victorian women's wish for freedom and independence, often associated with wild animals, while men typically confined their heroines to domestic households.

In conclusion, the predominance of negatively charged sets of metaphoric mappings in the analysed conceptual metaphors proves that the use of animal words mainly devalues the image of the female character, reflecting the disrespect and unfavourable societal attitudes towards women during that period. Through scientific and historical approaches, this study encourages a critical assessment of gender issues, which may assist in enhancing our understanding of women's roles in modern society by challenging persisting stereotypes and beliefs. Future research could explore the animal metaphors used in the whole corpus of texts and their evolution across literary periods, shedding light on the continuity or transformation of cultural perceptions of women.

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