Yufang Zhou*

Cultural Gender Metaphors in Modern Chinese Fiction

A critical cognitive analysis

Abstract: Gender metaphors used in literary works are not merely ornamental linguistic or rhetorical devices, but are more importantly, ideological cognitive tools that exploit the readers' search for cognitive efficiency, often giving rise to covertly sexist interpretations. However, gender metaphor has received relatively little attention in Chinese literary discourse studies. Based on a self-built corpus of ten modern Chinese fictions that consists of around 1,470,640 words, this paper aims first to identify gender metaphorical expressions in mainstream literary works during a special historical era (the Republican Era: 1912–1949), and then, by analyzing gender metaphors via a critical cognitive analysis framework, to reveal the underlying social and cultural ideologies so as to increase the consciousness of readers' critical reading.

Keywords: critical cognitive analysis; gender metaphor; modern Chinese fiction; sexism/gender discrimination

_____

*Corresponding author, Yufang Zhou: Liaocheng University, Shandong, China;
e-mail: molongge@hotmail.com

1 Introduction

Metaphor is a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon that highlights certain semantic components of the source domain while hiding or omitting others. Along with this "metaphoric filtering" (Walters-York 1996: 57), control over metaphoric resources and selective metaphor usage can establish discursive power of definition and social power of exclusion. Therefore, all metaphors seem to be ideological in origin. According to Chilton (1996: 74), metaphors

"can contribute to a situation where they privilege one understanding of reality over others." In the words of Goatly (1997: 155):

> Metaphor … is not a mere reflection of a pre-existing objective reality but a construction of reality, through a categorization entailing the selection of some features as critical and others as non-critical … metaphors can consciously be used to construct … reality.

As a subfield dedicated to elucidating the interdependencies of thought and language, for a long time metaphor studies in cognitive linguistics (CL) have been focusing mainly on the (ungendered) role of metaphors in constructing cognition (Hines 1999a, 1999b). Only recently have language and gender research and CL been brought together to analyze the gendered role of metaphors (e.g. Haste 1993; Hines 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999a, 1999b; Velasco-Sacristán 2003, 2005, 2009; Koller 2004a, 2004b, 2011; Anderson and Sheeler 2005; Kövecses 2006; López 2009). As is noted by Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006), this new research takes as a starting point of departure the extensive research into the metaphorical commodification and belittling of women (Lakoff 1973, 1975; Schulz 1975; Stanley 1977, 1979) to analyze the role of gendered metaphors. Besides this point, at least two other reasons speak for the current research.

On the one hand, studying language within a multidisciplinary approach has become an essential research paradigm (Attia 2007), whereas only recently has critical discourse analysis (CDA) been enjoying its merge with CL (e.g. O'Halloran 2003; Chilton 2004; Xin 2007, 2012; Hart and Luke 2007; Zhang and Jiang 2008; Hart 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013, 2014; Zhang and Zhang 2012, etc.). On the other hand, it does not suffice to restrict oneself to a small sample of genres (such as newspapers or other easily accessible data): As is noted, the tendency among CDA has been to analyze speeches by politicians, parliamentary debates and media reports, editorials and TV interviews (Van Leeuwen 2014). A critical cognitive analysis of literary discourses is a necessary, beneficial and useful complement to both CDA and CL. According to our survey, critical cognitive research on literary discourse in Chinese academic circles is scarce. Therefore, the current subject is well worth a systematic study.

The purpose of this study is to explore gender metaphors in modern Chinese fiction, so as to tackle the construction model of women and men's status across these works, demonstrate how ideological values are subtly intertwined with gender metaphors in literary discourse, and reveal how the seemingly natural metaphors support, represent, and reconstruct one existing

aspect of social reality — an androcentric world view. Thus, the ultimate aim is to uncover the ideological representation of women and men from both a social critical perspective and a cognitive point of view.

The first step on that tour, then, is to show why it is important to integrate CDA and CL and how this may be achieved.

2 The merging of CDA and CL

CDA is a loosely interconnected set of different approaches which differ, for instance, in the relative weight given to social as opposed to cognitive issues, or in the relative centrality given to social change (Fairclough 2012). To put it in Hart's (2007: 107) words, CDA is:

> a multidisciplinary holistic, consisting of a number of different theoretical approaches to the microlevel analysis of text and talk that has to do with the social and/or political. These various methodological approaches are unified, however, by a macrolevel social critique which maintains that social inequality may be enacted, sustained and legitimized through elite language use, discourse.

CL is "an approach to language that is based on our experience of the world and the way we perceive it and conceptualize it" (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: x). Apparently, the focus of CDA and CL appear to be quite different. CDA practitioners regard language as social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Kress 1989; Wodak 2001). By contrast, CL is more interested in language as a mental phenomenon whose focus is on the human mind and how it has an impact on language and cognition (Koller 2005).

The difference of focus between CDA and CL makes it appear as if it is hard to bridge the gap between them. While cognition has been largely neglected in mainstream CDA (Chilton 2005; O'Halloran 2003; Fairclough 1989, 1995), CL practitioners believe that, as a science, CL has nothing to do with critical analysis, thus ignoring the social and ideological aspects of language (Stockwell 2001; Wodak 2006). Accordingly, CL "seems to represent the very decontextualization and naturalization of ideologically loaded phenomena that CDA seeks to unveil and hence reverse" (Koller 2005: 199–200).

Nevertheless, the difference in research profiles between CDA and CL makes it possible that the two fields can complement each other in many respects (Koller 2005, 2014; Attia 2007; Stockwell 2001; Hart 2007, 2014).

For example, CDA can show CL how to be more socially aware and less totalizing, whereas CL can provide CDA with a means of theorizing metaphorical representations (Stockwell 2001). In contemporary linguistics, both cognitive and critical approaches to language have gained much elaboration, and the combination of the two trends will definitely be reciprocal (e.g. Stockwell 2001; Hart and Lukeš 2007; Attia 2007; Maalej 2007, among many others).

Among the various domains where CDA can apply insights from CL is the study of metaphor. As Charteris-Black (2004: 28) states, "metaphor is ... central to critical discourse analysis since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality." Where CDA has been concerned with ideological and mystificatory structures of discourse, metaphor is just such a structure (Hart 2007). Available for appropriation in CDA, two accounts of metaphor exist within CL: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1993) and Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). For the purpose of the present study, our focus shall be on the former.

3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

CMT, originated from Lakoff and Johnson (1980), is one of the central areas of research in the more general field of cognitive linguistics. Within this field, the notions of "source domains" and "target domains," "mappings," "invariance," and so forth have become a common, though not universal, vocabulary for discussing the linguistic and conceptual phenomena of metaphor. The findings and principles of this framework have been applied in numerous studies, both within and outside of the field of linguistics (Grady et al. 1999; Charteris-Black 2004).

Briefly speaking, CMT holds that metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon that is realized at the surface level of language. It can be thought of as a mapping of features from a source to a target domain. This mapping is ubiquitous, unidirectional, systematic, invariable, and grounded in physical and sociocultural experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). To distinguish the conceptual and linguistic aspects of metaphor, while metaphoric concepts are represented graphically by capitals, their linguistic realizations are referred to as "metaphoric expressions" and represented by italics. A bi-level view of metaphor maintains that metaphoric expressions observed in actual texts are just different realizations of productive underlying metaphors. Accordingly, in

the case of gender metaphors, the concept WOMEN ARE THINGS can yield the following different expressions:

(1) 黄色工会里的两派互相斗争，也许**姚金凤就是那桂长林的工具**。（矛盾，《子夜》）

Yao Chin-feng may be Kuei Chang-lin's tool in the war between the yellow trade union factions. (*Midnight*, Mao Tun)

(2) 心中原本苦恼，又在极强的灯光下遇见**这新异的活东西**，他没有了主意。（老舍，《骆驼祥子》）

His unhappiness and this encounter with **such a strange new apparition** under the glaring lamplight robbed him of his initiative. (*Camel Xiangzi*, Lao She)

(3) 他连三媒六聘的还不认帐，何况那**不三不四的歪辣货**？（张爱玲，《传奇》）

He didn't even acknowledge the one who came with the three matchmakers and six gifts, not to say **the hussy that's neither fish nor flesh**. (*Legend*, Eileen Chang)

(4) **唐小姐是摩登文明社会里那桩罕物**——一个真正的女孩子。（钱钟书，《围城》）

In short, Miss T'ang was **one of those rarities of modern civilized society** — a genuine girl. (*Fortress Besieged*, Ch'ien Chung-shu)

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 9), it is not only surface-level metaphoric expressions that are systematically related. Different sub-metaphors may be part of a broader conceptual system as well and "jointly provide a coherent understanding of the concept as a whole" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 89). Consequently, the conceptual gender metaphor WOMEN ARE OBJECTS/SUBSTANCES (e.g. examples (2) and (4)) ties in with WOMEN ARE TOOLS (see example (1)) and WOMEN ARE COMMODITIES (such as example (3)). Here, the common link is WOMEN ARE THINGS.

Single sub-metaphors have a coherent structure in their own right, but also show coherence with other sub-metaphors at the same level, yielding a structured concept. To elaborate on the above example, WOMEN ARE OBJECTS/SUBSTANCES emphasizes the aspect of passiveness as possessions, belongings, or property (of men). Within a metaphor, very much the same highlighting and hiding mechanisms can be observed. Thus the dominant metaphor WOMEN ARE THINGS does not account for active aspects of the target domain of women, such as the status of being an independent individual. The

reverse is also true: Any given metaphor will only be productive for certain parts of its source domain.

The process of mapping fixed correspondences is constrained by the so-called Invariance Principle, which denotes that "mappings preserve … the cognitive topology… of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain" (Lakoff 1993: 215). This notion entails the target domain in fact being inviolable, thus limiting the potential number of mappings.

As for how metaphors actually come into being — that is, how they are grounded — Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 14) maintain that metaphors "have a basis in our physical and cultural experience." These two realms of experience are, in fact, often inextricable, "since the choice of one physical basis from among many possible ones has to do with cultural coherence" (1980: 19).

Among the various tools provided by the CMT, the "Great Chain Metaphor" proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) is of particular interest to the present study. This cognitive apparatus is alleged to be a largely unconscious cultural model which places all things and beings as well as their properties on a vertical scale and thus divides them into "lower" and "higher" ones. The cultural model of the Great Chain concerns not merely attributes and behavior but also dominance. Two versions of the Great Chain are distinguished: one basic and one extended. The basic Great Chain concerns the relation of human beings to "lower" forms of existence. Higher forms of being dominate lower forms of being by virtue of their higher natures. Thus, human beings dominate animals, animals dominate plants, and plants dominate inanimate substances and things. The extended Great Chain concerns the relation of human beings to society, God, and the universe. Further discussion of this cultural model will be made in Section 5 for its effectiveness and helpfulness in explaining (cultural) gender metaphors.

While Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work, and Lakoff and Turner's joint effort (1989) on metaphor still foregrounds its social grounding and effects, later developments (e.g. Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999, etc.) rather focus on the embodied aspect of metaphor generation. To remedy this defect, the current study highlights the social cultural factor as well as the body experience in the construal of gender metaphors.

4 Methodology

To uncover language manipulation and the ideological representation of women and men from a critical cognitive approach, this study has drawn data from ten representative modern Chinese fictions.

4.1 Data sources

Modern Chinese fiction refers to Chinese short stories, novellas, and novels that were published after the establishment of the Republic of China (1912) but prior to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949). These fictions are also characterized by the use of vernacular Chinese, in place of the classical language used in Chinese classic fictions, as advocated by proponents of the New Culture Movement. The reasons for choosing modern Chinese fiction as the research object are as follows.

First, this is an eventful and influential part of the modern history of China. As a transitional stage between the old and new social system, the Republic of China put an end to 4,000 years of Imperial rule and formed a constitutional republic. It experienced many trials and tribulations after its founding. On the one hand, the collapse of the Qing Dynasty set people free from the shackles of dictatorial feudalism, while on the other hand, frequent shifts in power and wars threw society into turmoil, which along with various other reasons slowed down the process for granting women more equal rights with men. The chaos, hopelessness, and desire for change are readily apparent in the major fictions of this era. A study of these fictions will reveal the state of people's life to some extent.

Second, a number of classical works were produced during this historical period: *Call to Arms* and *Wandering* by Lu Xun, *Midnight* by Mao Tun, *Camel Xiangzi* by Lao She, *Legend* by Eileen Chang, *Fortress Besieged* by Ch'ien Chung-shu, and so forth. They constitute a range of cultural resources for social and historical identities and privilege particular readings of the past and subordinate others. These works are no day brighteners but their realist style gives us a "you are there" feeling from authors who actually lived through a painful transitional time. Since realistic fictions produced during this rough patch reflect people's real life to a certain degree, analysis of gender metaphors in these fictions provides an illuminating insight into women and men's status in this special historical period.

Third, understanding the past can help us to understand the present. This is seen in the remarks of Richardson et al. (2014: xvi) that "salient examples of how[…] discursive representation of the past shapes both understandings and narratives of the present and visions of future societies," in China and beyond. The many pasts can never be entirely silenced. Current sociopolitical developments are influenced by the many pasts and frequently are only to be understood in their entirety if the range of narratives is taken into account — something Koselleck has so rightly stated, that is to say, present and future are always influenced by the immediate past; indeed there is no present or future without taking the past into consideration (Koselleck 1972, 1984).

Since it is impossible to deliver an exhaustive study of all the short stories, novellas, and novels produced in the Republican Era, ten representative works have been selected for the present study. Table 1 shows the distribution of gender metaphors in the representative modern Chinese fictions from which our data is collected.

As is shown, in total there are ten books in the corpus, consisting of 1,470,640 words, from which more than 2,425 sample sentences that contain gender metaphorical expressions have been extracted.

Table 1: Distribution of cultural gender metaphors in the representative modern Chinese fictions

Fictions	N. of words	Cultural GM				Total
		PERSON	ANIMAL	PLANT	THING	
Call to Arms	66144	27	31	4	30	98
Wandering	71018	38	45	2	39	132
Border Town	49066	9	25	4	23	64
The Family	222570	123	15	3	55	213
Midnight	276691	201	184	6	164	568
Camel Xiangzi	134042	84	109	12	84	300
Tales of Hulan River	96878	31	23	4	18	81
10 Years of Marriage	116082	47	23	18	21	117
Legend [1]	218472	158	73	25	158	439
Fortress Besieged	219677	168	87	12	128	413
Total	1470640	886	615	90	720	2425

---

[1] Besides the 10 original short stories collected in the first version of *Legend*, three other popular novellas (namely: *Red Rose*, *White Rose*; *Lust, Caution*; and *Steamed Osmanthus Flower: Ah Xiao's Unhappy Autumn*) have been included in the present study due to their popularity and influence among readers.

Note: N. = number; GM = gender metaphor

4.2 Identifying metaphor in discourse

Metaphor is much more than simple *A is like B* or *A is B* statements. Researchers need to be aware of the diversity of metaphoric forms and recognize that a particular theoretical account for one aspect of metaphor may not apply to other forms of metaphorical language (Kövecses 2010). In CMT, metaphor is seen as primarily a cognitive phenomenon that is reflected at the level of text, or any other semiotic mode. However, for the analysis of metaphor in discourse, it is necessary to work backwards, first ascertaining metaphoric expressions in language and inferring from them what conceptual metaphors may have given rise to them (Koller 2011). To distinguish linguistic metaphors from nonmetaphorical (i.e. literal) linguistic items, a group of researchers called the Pragglejaz Group designed the following metaphor identification procedure (MIP):

    1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

    2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.

    3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

    (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

- More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste)
- Related to bodily action
- More precise (as opposed to vague)
- Historically older.

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

    (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

    4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

5. Check difficult cases in at least two recent corpus-based dictionaries.
 (Based on Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)

For example, a sentence such as *When his wife left him it broke his heart* can be analyzed by first paraphrasing the meaning as 'he became very sad when his wife went away from him', and then identifying the lexical units of the utterance as "when/ his/ wife/ left/ him/ it/ broke/ his/ heart" (slashes indicating the boundaries between lexical units). After that, the analysis proceeds word-by-word. For instance, the contextual meaning of "broke" refers to the person's very bad emotional condition, while the basic meaning of the word is a physical act that separates something into parts suddenly or violently. Considering the fact that the context of the word "broke" does not refer to actual physical separation of the speaker's body organ, the lexical unit has been used metaphorically.

Koller (2011) argues that while the Pragglejaz approach is an important step towards validating metaphor identification at the linguistic level, it is not intended to deal with conceptual metaphor. In order to start tackling the issue of conceptual metaphor identification, Steen (2002) has developed a five-step method that involves identifying, in this order, metaphorical focus, metaphorical idea, metaphorical comparison, metaphorical analogy, and metaphorical mapping. It should be noted that the last step to identifying metaphoric expressions according to the Pragglejaz method is the beginning of identifying conceptual metaphors, namely comparing the basic and contextual meanings of a metaphorically used word. As such, this step coincides with the third step in Steen's method. For example, in the word "broke" discussed above, the contextual meaning (cause bad emotional condition) can be contrasted with its more basic meaning (sudden/ violent physical separation) to understand the contextual meaning through a metaphorical comparison between the target domain (emotional condition) and the source domain (physical action). Going beyond the Pragglejaz method, however, Steen's five-step procedure involves breaking up a text into its propositions, or "conceptual representations of the basic idea units or thoughts in a text" (2002: 22). These minimal units are then identified as metaphoric or literal by drawing an analogy between their meaning in the text and any more concrete meaning. If there are two meanings that can be located in different conceptual domains, the unit counts as metaphoric. The final step of the procedure is then to make explicit the mapping that has taken place (for further detail, see Steen 1999).

A final caveat concerns the labeling of conceptual metaphors: The researcher needs to be aware that the way they name conceptual metaphors

that they identify in early stretches of a text, and the level of generality at which they identify them, can bias subsequent analysis. For instance, the statement "女人是祸水" ('woman is femme fatale') can be traced back to the conceptual metaphors WOMAN IS WATER, WOMAN IS DISASTER or WOMAN IS LIQUID, but the alternatives obviously capture different semantic features. As a rule of thumb, the label given to reconstructed conceptual metaphors should be closely oriented towards the textual evidence, which for this example would favor the second alternative.

In order to enhance the reliability and minimize the misidentification of metaphorical expressions, the present study followed an "author's identifying → other researchers' identifying → author's re-identifying" procedure in metaphor identification.

First of all, following the above-mentioned MIP offered by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) and by repeated examination of the selected fictions, the present author and another researcher (who is a doctor of philosophy in cognitive linguistics) respectively identified all the related gender metaphors that are within their ability. To get a quantitative measure of the magnitude of agreement between the two observers, a kappa statistic was conducted. The result is shown in the following table.

Table 2: Symmetric measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Measure of agreement kappa	.821	.032	34.322	.000
N of valid cases	147			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

A commonly cited scale is represented in Table 3, which may help us "visualize" the interpretation of kappa. It turns out that, using this scale, a kappa of 0.821 is in the "almost perfect" agreement range between our two observers. As is known, perfect agreement would equate to a kappa of 1, and chance agreement would equate to 0. So, the two researchers (R_1 and R_2) in the current study seem to be in almost perfect agreement that the collected data are gender metaphorical expressions. This enhances the credibility of the gender metaphors under study.

Table 3: Interpretation of kappa

	Poor	Slight	Fair	Moderate	Substantial	Almost perfect
Kappa	0.0	.20	.40	.60	.80	1.0

Kappa	Agreement
< 0	Less than chance agreement
0.01– 0.20	Slight agreement
0.21– 0.40	Fair agreement
0.41– 0.60	Moderate agreement
0.61– 0.80	Substantial agreement
0.81– 0.99	Almost perfect agreement

The numbers of metaphorical expressions identified by the present author (R_1) and the other researcher (R_2) and the final numbers reserved for practical analysis are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Numbers of cultural gender metaphorical expressions identified

SOURCE	Identified by R_1		Identified by R_2		Reserved for analysis	
	TARGET		TARGET		TARGET	
	MAN	WOMAN	MAN	WOMAN	MAN	WOMAN
PERSON	561	392	560	396	555	382
ANIMAL	496	193	489	186	481	184
PLANT	30	72	29	73	23	69
THING	302	456	295	459	292	446
Total	1389	1113	1373	1114	1351	1081

Second, the present author compared the two results produced by the two researchers and picked out the samples that were treated as metaphorical expressions by both of the researchers. Those data that did not satisfy this criterion were excluded from further analysis.

Third, the author continuously reviewed the collected examples and made final decisions on which data was to be analyzed. At the same time, the advice and suggestions of a renowned professor of cognitive linguistics was referred to frequently.

In modern Chinese fiction, three major gender metaphors are identified, namely cases of metaphorical gender, universal gender metaphor, and cultural gender metaphor. Limited by the space, our focus shall be set on cultural gender metaphor.

5 Analysis

5.1 Gender metaphors in fiction

Gender metaphors may be defined as metaphors in which the conceptual mapping(s) that is (are) projected from the source to the target domain may create and/or reflect some kind of discrimination against men or women (Velasco-Sacristán 2003, Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006). Gender metaphors used in literary works are not merely ornamental linguistic devices, but more importantly, ideological cognitive tools that exploit the readers' search for cognitive efficiency, often giving rise to covertly communicated sexist interpretations. The metaphor STEAMED BREAD WITH BLACK SPECKS AND STREAKS IS A SOILED VIRGIN (WHO WAS ONCE PURE-WHITE) is a very good case in point.

(5) 旁边一碟馒头，远看也*像玷污了清白的大闺女*，全是黑斑点。（钱钟书，《围城》）

Next to this was a plate of steamed bread which, from a distance, *looked like a once pure-white virgin who has been soiled*. It was covered with black specks and streaks. (*Fortress Besieged*, Ch'ien Chung-shu)

In arriving at an understanding of "steamed bread covered with black specks and streaks is like a once pure-white virgin who has been soiled," we make use of the conventional metaphor GOOD IS WHITE; BAD IS BLACK, which underlies the expression, "to soil someone's purity." The gender metaphor in the above excerpt is not sexist in itself; rather, it becomes sexist when considered its social meaning, which is based on a stereotypical assumption of women: "Unmarried virgins are supposed to be pure and clean, and they are commodities to be consumed by customers (men)". It also goes much deeper in exploring the tensions between the sexes in a society where female chastity is equated with virtue, and that virtues serve as the measurement of a

woman's worth. In traditional Chinese culture, though premarital sex is forbidden with regard to both women and men, unmarried women who have lost their virginity may be subject to name-calling, shunning, or family shame, while unmarried men who have lost their virginity are not. Therefore, a conclusion can be drawn that literary gender metaphors become sexist when they help to maintain non-gender-neutral, sexually based assumptions about men or women, thereby showing the importance of readers' interpretation and resistance to these metaphors.

A sexist interpretation may seem irrelevant in some cases and obviously unacceptable in any case, so the readers may believe that the writers cannot have intended it. But, on the other hand, it is hard to imagine a sexist interpretation arising from such a literary metaphor as being anything but deliberate. At some point, the readers may find aspects (i.e. stereotypical gender relations) of the fiction to be inconsistent in terms of their schematically determined expectations. This could, in turn, prompt the readers to realign their expectations accordingly, making them decide, perhaps at a subconscious level, that a "nonsexist" ideology would be more appropriate. In any case, gender metaphors are not a mere reflection of a pre-existing objective reality but a construction of reality. Hence they can be used to construct reality as a means of "maintaining or challenging power relations in society" (Goatly 1997: 157).

Taking Forceville's cognitive-pragmatic account of advertising pictorial metaphors as a starting point for reflection, Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006: 1984) assume three basic ideas in which advertising gender metaphors are grounded:

> (i) metaphor is a mapping from a certain source domain onto a target domain (Lakoff & Johnson 1980); (ii) metaphor is a context-dependent communicative device that is used in a concrete sociopolitical context like advertising as a way of communicating difficult-to-grasp messages, or of dealing with socially loaded topics (Chilton & Schäffner 2002); (iii) an advertising metaphor is a persuasive device that hides as well as reveals.

We found these ideas are applicable to gender metaphors in modern Chinese fiction too. First, as Forceville argues, in advertising metaphors "one or more features from the domain of the secondary subject (the source domain) is/are mapped on to the domain of the primary subject (the target domain). This matching process involves the foregrounding, adoption or modification of certain features in the primary subject domain" (Forceville 1996: 96). Take the following excerpt as an example.

(6) 这百无聊赖的祥林嫂，被人们弃在尘芥堆中的，看得厌倦了的*陈旧的玩物*。（鲁迅，《彷徨》）

This wretched and forlorn woman, abandoned in the dust like a *worn-out toy* of which its owners have tired. … (*Wandering*, Lu Xun)

From the above example, a gender metaphor occurs: THE WOMAN TALKED ABOUT IS A TOY. Here, the primary subject is "the woman talked about" (Xianglin's wife) and the secondary subject domain "toy". Some features from the source domain "toy" that could be mapped on to the target domain "the woman talked about" (Xianglin's Wife) can be formulated as follows:

(1a) a toy is a plaything;

(2a) a toy is supposed to be bought, owned and played with by its owner;

(3a) a toy is likely to become old and worn-out;

(4a) a toy is likely to be disliked;

(5a) a toy is likely to be thrown away (because of its oldness and shabbiness).

After mapping on to the target domain, we get the following statements:

(1b) the woman talked about is a plaything;

(2b) the woman talked about is supposed to be bought, owned and played with by her owner;

(3b) the woman talked about is likely to become old and worn-out;

(4b) the woman talked about is likely to be disliked;

(5b) the woman talked about is likely to be thrown away (because of her oldness and uselessness).

We can be sure of the last three projections because of the expressions in the sentence "wretched and forlorn; abandoned; tired", but we cannot be entirely sure of the first two mappings because the interpretive resemblance is context-dependent (Tanaka 1994). In the absence of a concrete context, it is difficult to assess which projectable features all or most readers would agree on. This leads us to the notion of context.

Secondly, metaphor is a context-dependent communicative device that is used in a concrete sociopolitical setting (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006). As is shown in the above sample, gender metaphors convey an indeterminate range of mappings or *implicatures*, as they are called in pragmatics. The writer intends to communicate a range of implied meanings, rather than a fixed one, and communication and interpretation follow when the reader has recovered some of the implied meanings within the range (i.e. mappings (3b–5b) in the above example). Consequently, the relevance of a

metaphor to the reader is established by recovering an array of implied meanings.

Writers/speakers often use gender metaphors to make certain assumptions more manifest to the readers/listeners without making public their intention to do so. Certain gender metaphors stress the interaction between certain stimuli (sex, food, animal, etc.) and human cognitive resources, but they also prove the undeniable influence exerted by social culture and institutions, which are responsible for taboos that the writings tend to perpetuate or break down through repetition or other factors (e.g.,metaphors) in the human environment. This exposits the fact that in literary works, gender metaphors take sociocultural contexts into consideration not only to convey abstract processes but also to conceptualize socially loaded topics.

Thirdly, metaphors are not merely conceptual matters but also persuasive devices that are not arbitrary but ideologically loaded (Fairclough 1989; Hines 1999a, 1999b; Velasco-Sacristán 2003; Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006; Kövecses 2006). Some metaphors hinge on non-neutral power to convey covert communication, which probably works on an unconscious level in the discourse of literary works. A typical example of ideologically bent metaphor is the so-called "gender metaphor".

Gender metaphors can be classified in different ways. For example, by examining (American) English slang, Kövecses (2006) suggests four groups of images, or metaphorical source domains that seem to dominate the conceptualization of women and men, namely THING, FOOD, ANIMAL, and KINSHIP (RELATIVES). A fifth group of terms is based on the social stereotypes speakers have of women and men. Another two gender metaphor researchers, Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006), claim that in the discourse of advertising English, there are three different types of gender metaphors: cases of metaphorical gender, universal gender metaphors, and cultural gender metaphors. Following a combined way of the above two research approaches, the current study also identifies the three major types of gender metaphors mentioned by Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera. The following section will only discuss cultural gender metaphors, leaving the other categories for future study.

5.2 Cultural gender metaphors

Culture comprises not only manifestations of human intellectual activities such as arts and philosophy, but also beliefs and ways of life, which form cultural models defined by Holland and Quinn as ''presupposed, taken-for granted models of the world that are widely shared by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that to their behavior in it'' (cited in Dodd 2002: 519). Discourse meanings are cultural (intersubjectively shared) in varying degrees (Sánchez-García 2007). Since metaphors create a link between cognitive models and cultures, we can define cultural gender metaphors as ''those metaphors that rest on asymmetrical cultural practices, based on gender stereotypes''[2], that result in discrimination against men or women (Velasco-Sacristán 2003).

It shall be noted that not even some global metaphors are universal in an absolute sense (e.g. Heine et al. 1991; Heine 1995; Heine and Kuteva 2002). Such potentially universal metaphors may display variation in their specific details because people do not use their cognitive capacities in the same way from culture to culture (Kövecses 2015). Therefore, cultural gender metaphors reflect sociopolitical values that are not necessarily present in all cultures. In other words, meanings ascribed to the same metaphorical expression may differ from one language to another depending on the social and cultural environment that the language users live in.

Generally, cultural gender metaphors tend to understand human beings in terms of persons, animals, plants, things, or persons with stereotypical features. Metaphors of this type having to do with attributes which apply to humans, animals, plants, complex objects, and natural physical things are explained in terms of the so-called "Great Chain of Being" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 170). The "Great Chain Metaphor," as proposed by Lakoff and Turner, basically consists of a very abstract metaphor, THE GENERIC IS SPECIFIC, whose mappings are guided or motivated by two entrenched cultural models, namely "the Basic Chain of Being" and "the Nature of Things." The basic Great Chain is defined by attributes and behavior, arranged in a hierarchy (1989: 170):

─────

2 A gender stereotype is "a generalized and relatively fixed image of a person or persons belonging to a particular group. This is formed by isolating or exaggerating certain features — physical, mental, cultural or occupational, personal and so on — which seem to characterize the group" (Pauwels 1998: 97).

The Basic Great Chain
—HUMANS: Higher-order attributes and behavior (e.g. thought, character)
—ANIMALS: Instinctual attributes and behavior
—PLANTS: Biological attributes and behavior
— COMPLEX OBJECTS: Structural attributes and functional behavior
—NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS: Natural physical attributes and natural physical behavior

Each form of being has all of the attribute types lower on the hierarchy. For example, plants have neither mental and character attributes nor instinctual attributes, but in addition to biological attributes they have structural and natural physical attributes.

This system becomes a metaphorical system when a particular level of the chain (human, animal, plant, etc.) is used to understand another level. Following the procedure of Lakoff and Tuner (1989: 177–178), let's take an example from our corpus to show how to arrive at a mapping between storms and human beings, and what we bring to bear on that statement. Consider:

(7) 那四个人都感觉到现在是那*"风暴"的中心直向他们扫过来了*，说不定要挨一顿没来由的斥骂。（《子夜》）

Every one of them could sense *the approach of the "storm-center*," and they prepared themselves for an outburst of gratuitous invective. (*Midnight*)

The metaphorical work is done in two parts:
—The specific-level schema evoked by the words "storm-center/bad-tempered person"
—The Great Chain Metaphor
The Great Chain Metaphor applies to the specific-level schema evoked by the words in the following way:
—The Great Chain links storms with human beings.
—The commonsense theory of the Nature of Things picks out attributes and their causal relation to behavior at the levels of storms and human beings.
—The Maxim of Quantity picks out the highest attributes and behavior relevant at each level.
—The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor extracts from this specific-level knowledge about storms the corresponding generic-level structure. It maps this structure onto the target domain of human beings, picking out the highest-level human attributes and behavior which preserves the generic-level structure.

After all these processing procedures, we arrive at a reading that the person in question is violent, and he may bring damage to the others. There is no space here for a detailed exposition of each of these ingredients, but the Great Chain metaphor explains a large number of mappings in which lower order forms of being and their attributes can be mapped to higher forms of being, and their usual behavior or functioning is mapped onto higher-order forms of being, while their attributes and behavior or their functioning are mapped onto human bodies and people, and so on (Barcelona 1997: 36; Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006: 1993).

In its extended version of Great Chain of Being also includes such levels as society, God, and the universe. Each level of the chain was expanded to reflect the structure of the chain as a whole. At each level, there were higher and lower forms of being, with the higher forms dominating the lower. For example, in the animal kingdom, lions, tigers, and birds of prey are higher beings. They dominate lower forms like gazelles, deer, and snakes. The human level was also given an internal hierarchy, with the king above the nobility, the nobility above the peasants, men above women, adults above children, and masters over slaves (Lakoff and Turner 1989).
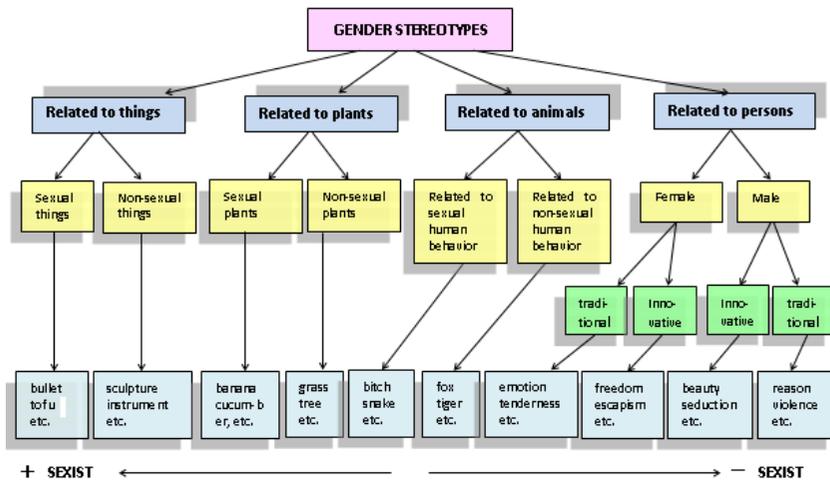

Figure 1: Scale of sexist denigration of gender stereotypes

So far we have characterized cultural gender metaphors as those sustained by gender stereotypes rooted in our cultural traditions. Their discriminatory character stems from the denigratory value of gender stereotypes. Figure 1[3] shows the scale of sexist denigration of gender stereotypes that underlies the above-described "Great Chain Metaphor." The figure indicates that some forms of being, or properties of them, are more sexist than others. To understand what is metaphorically more sexist, we may begin with what is less sexist. In brief, to the extent that a woman or man is understood and constructed on some "positive" attributes of the other things (animals, plants, or objects) — without making use of "negative" (especially sex-related) properties imported from a completely different conceptual domain — we will say that it is less metaphorically sexist. Certainly, this "+ sexist" and "– sexist" is only a matter of "extent", because when a woman or man is conceptualized as a lower form of being, such as "dog" or "tiger," the sexist denigration already arises. However, a "bitch" is more sexist than a "dog," for the former is loaded with more biased connotations related to sex than the latter. Similarly, a "tree" is less sexist than a "cucumber," due to the fact that people think more positive properties of a tree — being strong and protective, while attaching sexual behavior to a cucumber. Cultural gender metaphors discriminate when men or women are understood in terms of the lower elements described in the Basic Chain of Being (i.e. animals, plants and objects) or when men or women, although seen as human beings, are defined by stereotypical denigratory features (e.g. servants, prisoners, etc.). More discussion and examples will be given in the following analysis.

5.3 Cultural gender metaphors in modern Chinese fiction

In modern Chinese fiction, regarding low to high discrimination, we find the following four subtypes of cultural gender metaphors: MAN/WOMAN IS PERSON (WITH STEREOTYPICAL FEATURES); MAN/WOMAN IS ANIMAL (WITH STEREOTYPICAL FEATURES); MAN/WOMAN IS PLANT (WITH STEREOTYPICAL FEATURES) and MAN/WOMAN IS THING (WITH STEREOTYPICAL FEATURES). Concrete examples are given below, respectively.

---

3 Revised from Velasco-Sacristán et al. (2005: 167).

5.3.1 MAN/WOMAN IS PERSON

In some metaphors, a person in one schema is understood in terms of a person in another. In this subtype of cultural gender metaphors, there may be prejudice against both women and men, but the former is far more frequently a victim of sexual discrimination. Under the MAN/WOMAN IS PERSON gender metaphor, further subtypes can be found in the data under study. consider the following examples:

(8) 吴荪甫很兴奋地说，抱着必胜的自信，像一个*大将军*在决战的前夕。（矛盾，《子夜》）

Said Wu Sun-fu with enthusiasm. He was quite confident of success, like a *general* on the eve of a decisive battle. (*Midnight*, Mao Tun)

(9) 这些年了，*她戴着黄金的枷锁*，可是连金子的边都啃不到，这以后就不同了。（张爱玲，《传奇》）

All these years *she had worn the golden cangue* but never even got to gnaw at the edge of the gold. It would be different from now on. (*Legend*, Eileen Chang)

The cultural gender metaphors discussed in this section can be illustrated in Table 5[4], which shows each of the conceptual metaphors with its source and target. Besides this, the overall frequencies of terminology used in the corpus for HUMAN IS PERSON (WITH STEREOTYPICAL FEATURES) are given.

Table 5: Root analogy: HUMAN IS PERSON (WITH STEREOTYPICAL FEATURES)

SOURCE	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET			
		MAN		WOMAN	
		Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
PERSON WITH	HUMAN IS SERVANT	7	1.26%	11	2.88%
UNRESPECTABLE	HUMAN IS SLAVE/ FLUNKEY	13	2.34%	9	2.36%
STEREOTYPICAL	HUMAN IS PRISONER/CRIMINAL	24	4.32%	18	4.71%
FEATURES	HUMAN IS SAVED/HELPLESS PERSON	17	3.06%	31	8.12%
	HUMAN IS DEPENDANT	8	1.44%	24	6.28%
	HUMAN IS CHILD/INFANT	46	8.29%	79	20.68%
	HUMAN IS OLD PERSON	9	1.62%	12	3.14%
	HUMAN IS BEGGAR	12	2.16%	2	0.52%

---

4 To save space, in all the tables of Section 5, we use "HUMAN" to refer to "MAN/WOMAN".

SOURCE	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET			
	HUMAN IS ILLEGITIMATE OFFSPRING	8	1.44%	2	0.52%
	WOMAN IS PROSTITUTE	0	0.00%	28	7.33%
	MAN IS WHOREMASTER	26	4.68%	0	0.00%
PERSON WITH	WOMAN IS GENTLEWOMAN	0	0.00%	12	3.14%
RESPECTABLE	HUMAN IS SUPERIOR	47	8.47%	1	0.26%
STEREOTYPICAL	HUMAN IS SAVIOR	26	4.68%	10	2.62%
FEATURES	HUMAN IS HERO	28	5.05%	2	0.52%
	HUMAN IS SAGE/SAINT	3	0.54%	0	0.00%
	HUMAN IS HUNTER	7	1.26%	2	0.52%
ARMY	HUMAN IS ARMY	113	20.36%	38	9.95%
	HUMAN IS DEFEATED ARMY	7	1.26%	4	1.05%
	HUMAN IS VICTORIOUS ARMY	21	3.78%	0	0.00%
DEAD PERSON	HUMAN IS CORPSE/DEAD BODY	35	6.31%	31	8.12%
SUPERNATURAL	HUMAN IS (POSITIVE) SB	9	1.62%	16	4.19%
BEING	HUMAN IS NEGATIVE SB	16	2.88%	26	6.81%
	HUMAN IS GHOST/SPIRIT	73	13.15%	24	6.28%
TOTAL		555	100%	382	100%

Note: SB = SUPERNATURAL BEING; Freq. = frequency; Pct. = percentage

There are over 24 different metaphor types from the lexical field of HUMAN; the most frequently occurring is ARMY (113 for men and 38 for women respectively). An examination of the types and numbers of gender metaphors in the table shows several obvious tendencies at work.

Women are considered helpless people, dependants, children/infants, and negative supernatural beings more often than men are (more numerous and more varied terms are available to refer to women as these kinds of unrespectable people).

By contrast, men are depicted as superiors, saviors, heroes, and military people much more often than women. Since these kinds of people are regarded as respectable persons, men are therefore more likely to be represented in positive ways.

There are only very few cases under which men outnumber women in negative images (beggar, ghost/spirit).

In the extended version of the Great Chain, the human level is also given an internal hierarchy, with the king above the nobility, the nobility above the peasants, men above women, adults above children, and masters over slaves. Therefore, women are more frequently conceptualized as certain kinds of people who are under the domination of others (usually men).

In addition, the semantic operations of rhetoric, such as hyperbole, understatement, and metaphor, among others, have a closer relation to

underlying models and social beliefs. As van Dijk remarks, "semantic 'figures' such as metaphors, may be a function of ideological control when information that is unfavourable to us is made less prominent whereas negative information about *them* is emphasized" (1995: 29) (italics in the original). In the case of gender metaphors under discussion, we find the general pattern of ideological control of discourse, viz., a more frequent positive self-presentation of *us* — men — and a more frequent negative other-presentation of *them* — women. This is also a case in point of van Dijk's (2005) principles followed by ideological discourse.

Other than understanding a person in one schema by means of a person in another, in other metaphors, we understand a person in terms of something that is not a person. Several such cases will be discussed in the following passages, and the first concern will be another category of cultural gender metaphor: MAN/WOMAN IS ANIMAL.

5.3.2 MAN/WOMAN IS ANIMAL

Animals have been widely used metaphorically in different languages and cultures to convey certain meanings related to human beings. In modern Chinese fiction, both women and men are conceived as animals, but they are often conceptualized as different animals. Even if women and men are represented by the same animal, different attributes of the animal are focused upon. Thus the meanings conveyed in the metaphors are different. Consider the following excerpts:

(10) 吴苏甫早已跳起来了，*像一只正要攫食的狮子似的*踱了几步。（矛盾，《子夜》）

Wu Sun-fu jumped up and paced up and down *like a hungry caged lion*. (*Midnight,* Mao Tun)

(11) 她去烧菜，油锅拍辣辣爆炸，*她忙得像个受惊的鸟*，扑来扑去。（张爱玲，《传奇》）

She went back to her cooking. Hot oil crackled explosively in the pan as *she made herself busy, dashing about like a startled bird*. (*Legend*, Eileen Chang)

In addition to the obvious literal similarity between female animals and women, on the one hand, and male animals and men, on the other, the motivations for the use of these terms is provided by the following aspects:

the sexual perspective that characterizes the relationship between women and men; and the stereotyped roles played by women and men. Therefore, although there are a few exceptional examples, women are on the whole domestic animals, small birds, and prey, whereas men are wild animals, big and strong animals, and big birds. Table 6 below shows the overall frequency and percentage of each animal term in the representation of men/women as animals.

Table 6: Root analogy: HUMAN IS ANIMAL

SOURCE		CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET			
			MAN		WOMAN	
			Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
MAMMAL	WILD BEAST	HUMAN IS RAVENING BEAST	13	2.70%	3	1.63%
		HUMAN IS LION	6	1.25%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS PANTHER	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS WOLF	16	3.33%	2	1.09%
		HUMAN IS TIGER	25	5.20%	9	4.89%
		HUMAN IS BEAR	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
	BRUTE	HUMAN IS BEAST/BRUTE	33	6.86%	2	1.09%
	MARINE MML	HUMAN IS WHALE	0	0.00%	1	0.54%
	BEAST OF BURDEN	HUMAN IS HORSE	16	3.33%	12	6.52%
		HUMAN IS CATTLE	14	2.91%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS DONKEY	3	0.62%	2	1.09%
		HUMAN IS CAMEL	7	1.46%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS BEAST OF BURDEN	2	0.42%	0	0.00%
	DOCILE ANIMAL	HUMAN IS LAMB	2	0.42%	3	1.63%
		HUMAN IS DEER	0	0.00%	2	1.09%
	PET	HUMAN IS DOG	89	18.50%	42	22.83%
		HUMAN IS CAT	15	3.12%	9	4.89%
	LIVESTOCK	HUMAN IS PIG	12	2.49%	5	2.72%
		HUMAN IS RABBIT	6	1.25%	3	1.63%
		HUMAN IS GOAT	7	1.46%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS DOMESTIC ANIMAL	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
	CUNNING ANIMAL	HUMAN IS FOX	5	1.04%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS MONKEY	21	4.37%	7	3.80%
	RODENT	HUMAN IS RAT/MOUSE	13	2.70%	2	1.09%
		HUMAN IS PORCUPINE	4	0.83%	4	2.17%
	SMALL ANIMAL	HUMAN IS SMALL ANIMAL	1	0.21%	3	1.63%
BIRD	LARGE BIRD	HUMAN IS EAGLE/HAWK	5	1.04%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS PHEASANT	1	0.21%	0	0.00%

SOURCE		CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET			
		HUMAN IS STORK	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS WILD GOOSE	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS PHOENIX	0	0.00%	3	1.63%
		HUMAN IS CROW	4	0.83%	0	0.00%
	SMALL-SIZED BIRD	HUMAN IS SMALL BIRD	13	2.70%	16	8.70%
		HUMAN IS MAGPIE	0	0.00%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS CUCKOO	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS SONGBIRD	6	1.25%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS SWALLOW	0	0.00%	1	0.54%
	FOWL	HUMAN IS CHICKEN	9	1.87%	9	4.89%
		HUMAN IS DUCK	5	1.04%	2	1.09%
POIKILO-	AMPHIBIAN	HUMAN IS FROG/ TOAD	5	1.04%	1	0.54%
THERM	REPTILE	HUMAN IS SNAKE	4	0.83%	4	2.17%
		HUMAN IS TURTLE	14	2.91%	1	0.54%
	FISH	HUMAN IS FISH	28	5.82%	9	4.89%
	INSECT	HUMAN IS BEE	10	2.08%	2	1.09%
		HUMAN IS BUTTERFLY	2	0.42%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS DRAGONFLY	1	0.21%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS GRASSHOPPER	2	0.42%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS SPIDER	1	0.21%	2	1.09%
		HUMAN IS BUG	5	1.04%	0	0.00%
		HUMAN IS MOSQUITO	1	0.21%	2	1.09%
		HUMAN IS INSECT/WORM	29	6.03%	5	2.72%
	CRUSTACEAN	HUMAN IS CRAB	3	0.62%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS SHRIMP	1	0.21%	0	0.00%
	LOWER ANIMAL	HUMAN IS MICROORGANISM	0	0.00%	1	0.54%
		HUMAN IS LOWER ANIMAL	0	0.00%	1	0.54%
DRAGON		HUMAN IS DRAGON	8	1.66%	1	0.54%
PREY		HUMAN IS PREY	4	0.83%	4	2.17%
MONSTER		HUMAN IS MONSTER	4	0.83%	2	1.09%
TOTAL			481	100%	184	100%

Note: Freq. = Frequency; Pct. = Percentage; ML = MAMMAL

Roughly, there are 58 different metaphor types from the lexical field of animals; the most frequently occurring are dogs (89 for men and 42 for women) and fish (28 for men and 9 for women). If we focus on the metaphorical expressions representing men/women as animals, we can see three prominent main trends at work:

(a) Men are conceptualized as animals more often than women are (more numerous and more varied terms are available to refer to men in animal terms). In the basic Great Chain, the position of animals is second only to humans. Thus animals are more powerful than and can dominate all the other

forms of being except humans. The higher frequency of men being conceptualized as animals may indicate that even in the cases of being degraded by gender metaphors, men are more often than women being reduced to a comparatively higher form of being.

(b) Men are also more often conceptualized as big and wild animals than women are. For instance, the cases of men being conceptualized as big and wild animals appear about 4.4 times more than those of women being conceptualized as big and wild animals. According to the cultural model of the Great Chain, in the animal kingdom, big and wild animals like lions, tigers, and birds of prey are higher beings, and they dominate lower forms like deer and snakes. In this sense, men are more often given a higher position in the internal hierarchy at the animal level.

(c) Women are more often degraded by being treated as equivalent to small or helpless animals that are hunted and possessed and/or eaten than men are. For example, the cases of women being conceptualized as small-sized birds appear about 4 times more than those of men being conceptualized as small-sized birds. Thus, they are put in a lower and powerless position, and being dominated by higher forms like lions and eagles.

After the discussion of metaphors presenting men/women in the guise of animals, the next subsection will turn to metaphors representing men/women as plants.

5.3.3 MAN/WOMAN IS PLANT

In this metaphor, people are viewed as plants with respect to the life cycle — more precisely, they are viewed as that part of the plant that burgeons and then withers or declines, such as leaves, flowers, and fruit, though sometimes the whole plant is viewed as burgeoning and then declining, as with grass or wheat. The stages of the plants and parts of plants in their yearly cycle correspond to the stages of life (Lakoff and Turner 1989). In the present corpus, the HUMANS ARE PLANTS metaphor accounts for a group of related gender metaphors such as PEOPLE ARE TREES, PEOPLE ARE FRUIT, PEOPLE ARE FLOWERS, etc. These are illustrated in the following examples.

(12) 他确乎有点象一棵树，*坚壮，沉默，而又有生气*。（老舍，《骆驼祥子》）

Xiangzi was indeed rather *like a tree, sturdy, silent yet full of life*. (*Camel Xiangzi*, Lao She)

(13) 门开了，*那女人像一朵莲花似的轻盈地飘过来。*（矛盾，《子夜》）

The door swung open and *in floated the woman as daintily as lotus-blossom on the water.* (*Midnight*, Mao Tun)

In some cases the particular types of plant are important in determining the nature of an evaluation. As the above examples have shown, different types of plant can be chosen to convey either positive or negative evaluations. The evaluation that is implied in different plants is based on world knowledge of attributes such as decorative, providing shade, fruiting, etc.

It is not, then, surprising that the domain of plants serves as a potent source for evaluation in modern Chinese fiction. Findings of the overall frequencies of terminology used in the MAN/WOMAN IS PLANT metaphors are summarized in Table 7. They are sequenced according to the number of metaphors found for each lexical field beginning with the most productive.

Table 7: Root analogy: HUMAN IS PLANT

SOURCE	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET				
		MAN		WOMAN	
		Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
PLANT	HUMAN IS FLOWER	1	4.35%	50	72.46%
	HUMAN IS FRUIT	10	43.48%	10	14.49%
	HUMAN IS TREE	6	26.09%	1	1.45%
	HUMAN IS VEGETABLE	3	13.04%	3	4.35%
	HUMAN IS LEAF	1	4.35%	2	2.90%
	HUMAN IS DRIED FRUIT	1	4.35%	1	1.45%
	HUMAN IS GRASS	0	0.00%	2	2.90%
	HUMAN IS VINE	1	4.35%	0	0.00%
TOTAL		23	100.00%	69	100.00%

There are eight general different metaphor types from the lexical field of plants; the most frequently occurring for women are flowers and fruits (50 and 10 respectively), and for men are fruits and trees (10 and 6 respectively). Examining the above table and sample examples of MAN/WOMAN IS PLANT metaphors, we can see three major points at work:

(a) Women are considered as flowers much more often than men are (more numerous and more varied terms are available to refer to women in floral terms) — women are conceptualized as FLOWER 50 times more often than men. Superficially, the rhetorical role of evaluation appears to be appraisal since flowers usually are usually taken as beautiful things. Covertly,

however, negative evaluation can be conveyed through the use of decorative plants to refer to women: They are frequently degraded by being treated as equivalent to plants that are used for decoration and pleasing the eyes (of men).

(b) Men are conceptualized as trees more often than women are (trees symbolize tall and straight, strong, protective and vigorous, which are taken as men's qualities). The rhetorical role of evaluation is best described here as appraisal since it conveys both a positive emotional feeling towards those who grow vigorously and protect people, and a judgment that they are right to do so.

(c) Another obvious feature reflected in the table is that, in terms of frequency, women and men are equally conceptualized as fruits and vegetables. However, close analysis of the types of fruits and vegetables that are used to refer to women in the corpus are different from those used to refer to men; an attribute that is highlighted when an evaluation is made in woman metaphor is also different from that in man metaphor (see the contrast between example (117) and (118) above).

This subsection will now close, and the next subsection will present the use of THING metaphors to conceptualize men/women.

5.3.4 MAN/WOMAN IS THING

HUMANS ARE THINGS (or MAN/WOMAN IS THING) is another conceptual gender metaphor that is based on transfer from the inanimate domain of things to the animate one of people. Consider the following examples:

(14) 薇龙那天穿着一件磁青薄绸旗袍，给他那双绿眼睛一看，她觉得她的手臂像热腾腾的牛奶似的，从青色的壶里倒了出来，管也管不住，整个的自己全泼出来了。（张爱玲，《传奇》）

Weilong was wearing a cheongsam of thin, porcelain-green silk, and when he stared at her with his dark green eyes, her arms grew hot, like hot milk pouring out of a green pitcher – she felt her whole body melting. (*Legend*, Eileen Chang)

(15) 杜学诗一口气说完，瞪出一双圆眼睛，将身体摆了几下，似乎他就是那"铁掌"！（茅盾，《子夜》）

Tu Hsueh-shih concluded his speech abruptly, glaring around and swaggering as if he were the "iron hand." (*Midnight*, Mao Tun)

An overview of the source domains and resonance of the gender metaphors found in the subtypes of HUMAN IS THING metaphors is displayed in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Root analogy: HUMAN IS THING

SOURCE	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET			
		MAN		WOMAN	
		Freq.	Pct.	Freq.	Pct.
OBJECT	HUMAN IS OBJECT WITH PF	56	19.18%	58	13.00%
	HUMAN IS DEVICE/MACHINE	12	4.11%	14	3.14%
	HUMAN IS IMPLEMENT/UTENSIL	31	10.62%	25	5.61%
	HUMAN IS VEHICLE	1	0.34%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS SHIP	1	0.34%	0	0.00%
	HUMAN IS PLAYTHING	21	7.19%	14	3.14%
	HUMAN IS PRESENT/GIFT	0	0.00%	15	3.36%
	HUMAN IS COMMODITY	3	1.03%	30	6.73%
	HUMAN IS VALUABLE C/O	4	1.37%	9	2.02%
	HUMAN IS CHEAP C/O	15	5.14%	29	6.50%
	HUMAN IS PROPERTY/POSSESSION	0	0.00%	24	5.38%
	HUMAN IS SCULPTURE	7	2.40%	6	1.35%
	HUMAN IS SPECIMEN	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS BONE	10	3.42%	4	0.90%
	HUMAN IS UNDESIRABLE BODY PART	2	0.68%	1	0.22%
SUBSTANCE	HUMAN IS WOOD	6	2.05%	10	2.24%
	HUMAN IS STONE	6	2.05%	4	0.90%
	HUMAN IS JADE	0	0.00%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS PORCELAIN	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS GLASS	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS IRON	22	7.53%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS PAPER	1	0.34%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS MUD/DUST	3	1.03%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS CLOTH/MATERIAL	1	0.34%	11	2.47%
	HUMAN/CROWD IS LIQUID	0	0.00%	6	1.35%
	HUMAN IS TOOTHPASTE	0	0.00%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS POISON	6	2.05%	15	3.36%
	HUMAN IS GAS/WIND	6	2.05%	8	1.79%
	HUMAN IS CLOUD	1	0.34%	1	0.22%
	MAN/WOMAN IS MEDICINE	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
	MAN/WOMAN IS MAKE-UP	2	0.68%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS OTHER SUBSTANCE	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
FOOD	HUMAN IS FOOD IN GENERAL	7	2.40%	9	2.02%
	HUMAN IS MEAT	5	1.71%	13	2.91%
	HUMAN IS MEATBALL	1	0.34%	0	0.00%
	HUMAN IS PORK LIVER	0	0.00%	3	0.67%

SOURCE	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	TARGET			
	HUMAN IS EGG	5	1.71%	0	0.00%
	HUMAN IS MILK	0	0.00%	3	0.67%
	HUMAN IS SWEET/DESSERT	1	0.34%	16	3.59%
	HUMAN IS BREAD/DOUGH/GRUEL	2	0.68%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS TOFU	0	0.00%	3	0.67%
	HUMAN IS TANG-YUAN	1	0.34%	0	0.00%
PLACE/ SPACE	HUMAN IS BUILDING/PLACE	2	0.68%	18	4.04%
	HUMAN IS EARTH	0	0.00%	5	1.12%
CELESTIAL BODY	HUMAN IS STAR	1	0.34%	4	0.90%
	HUMAN IS MOON	1	0.34%	4	0.90%
WEATHER	HUMAN IS STORM/THUNDER	4	1.37%	2	0.45%
ABSTRACT THING	HUMAN IS BURDEN	3	1.03%	14	3.14%
	HUMAN IS WORD/CHARACTER	1	0.34%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS TRUTH	1	0.34%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS DREAM	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS MYSTERY/PUZZLE	1	0.34%	0	0.00%
	HUMAN IS SHADOW	15	5.14%	23	5.16%
	HUMAN IS DRAMA/PLAY	1	0.34%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS PICTURE	0	0.00%	2	0.45%
	HUMAN IS BACKGROUND	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
	HUMAN IS RE/INCARNATION	2	0.68%	1	0.22%
OTHER THING	HUMAN IS OTHER THING/SUBSTANCE	21	7.19%	18	4.04%
TOTAL		292	100%	446	100%

Note: PF = PARTICULAR FEATURE; C/O = COMMODITY/OBJECT

There are over 60 different metaphor types from the lexical field of things; the most frequently occurring are objects (with a particular feature) (56 for men and 58 for women respectively). Three major points can be observed from the findings on metaphorical expressions representing men/women as things:

(a) Women are considered mere things of certain kinds more often than men are (more numerous and more varied terms are available to refer to women in THING terms) — women are conceptualized as THING 1.5 times more often than men. Since (inanimate) THING is at the bottom level in the basic Great Chain of Being, the greater frequency of being conceptualized as THINGS makes women more frequently dominated by all the other forms of being at higher levels.

(b) Women are more often degraded by being treated as equivalent to things that are owned or possessed — women are metaphorized as PRESENT, COMMODITY, and PROPERTY approximately 5 times more often than men; women are conceptualized as FOOD over 2.2 times more often than men.

Among other things, these findings show the conflation of sex, appetite, and control.

Women are also more often conceptualized as unreal, fabulously seductive, or destructive things than men are (consider, for example, shadow, sweet/dessert, poison, etc.). This is in concert with our stereotyped commonplace knowledge about women — they are capricious, insignificant, and dangerous.

In general, many metaphorical expressions for women and men may have emerged as a result of transferring to women and men the disrespect felt for specific groups of women and men. By reducing other people to things, it permits us to treat them with less care and human concern, bypassing our values around this subject. On the whole, it seems that while both women and men are viewed metaphorically as things, the metaphorical view of women as commodities, properties, and presents/gifts has been taken further in modern Chinese fiction.

Now we are in a position to sum up the distribution of the four subtypes of cultural gender metaphors among women and men.

Table 9 presents the raw proportion of gender metaphor distribution among women and men.

Table 9: Numbers of four subtypes of cultural gender metaphors

Gender Source	Man	Woman	Total
PERSON	555	382	937
ANIMAL	481	184	665
PLANT	23	69	92
THING	292	446	738
Total	1351	1081	2432

We have mentioned previously that a conventional way of categorizing otherness is through gender metaphors. It has been shown that figurative expressions drawing on the source domains of animals, plants, or things abound in Chinese. The equation human–animal, human–plant, and human–thing usually go hand in hand with negative connotations. Apparently, within the hierarchical organization of the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff and Turner 1989), humans stand above all the other three categories of source domains. Therefore, by conceptualizing people as animals, plants, or things, the first are attributed with the instinctual or inanimate qualities of the latter three. In this sense, both the men characters and women characters are degraded. However,

further examination of the data reveals the degradation of women and men is different both in quality and in quantity.
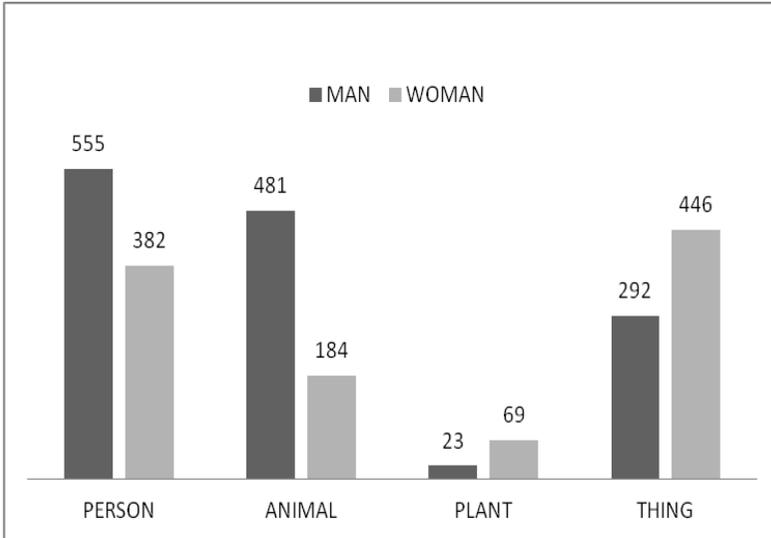

Figure 2: Distribution of four subtypes of cultural gender metaphors

A graphical representation of the contrast between the metaphorization of women and men in the four subtypes of cultural gender metaphors is shown in Figure 2. It is observed from the figure that there are many more PERSON and ANIMAL metaphors for men than for women, whereas there are more PLANT and THING metaphors for women than for men. Among other things, this indicates that men are more powerful and active, whereas women are more powerless and passive. Besides this, PLANT and THING are on the lower layers of the Great Chain Metaphor. We argued earlier that according to the cultural model of the Great Chain, higher forms of being dominate lower forms of being by virtue of their higher natures. That is, humans dominate animals, animals dominate plants, and plants dominate (inanimate) things. Thus, the present data shows that, on the one hand, women are more frequently depersonalized and dehumanized to an even lower degree than men and, on the other hand, they are dominated by men.

To determine whether there is a significant association between the conceptualization of women and men in these four subtypes of cultural

gender metaphors, a chi-square test is carried out, and the result is given in Table 10.

1Table 10: Chi-square test for women and men in the four subtypes of gender metaphors

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson's chi-square	2.000[a]	1	.157		
Continuity correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood ratio	2.773	1	.096		
Fisher's exact test				1.000	.500
N of valid cases	2				

4 cells (100.0%) have an expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.50.
Computed only for a 2×2 table.

From the result, Asymp. Sig. = 0.157 > 0.05, we can see that there is no linear relationship between the two variables (women and men). That is to say, in terms of quantity, the cases in which women are conceptualized as PERSON, ANIMAL, PLANT, and THING are significantly different from the cases in which men are conceptualized as the four subtypes of cultural gender metaphors. This result is in concert with the manual calculation of the raw proportion of gender metaphors distribution among women and men.

As López (2009) argues, metaphors offer a window on the construction of social identities. Being channels of folk beliefs, many metaphors convey biases in favor of particular social groups that are considered as the normative in detriment to those individuals who do not conform to this group. In the forging of social identity, dualisms seem to play a pivotal role and the use of metaphors tends to reinforce the dichotomy between "the self" and "the other" (Coviello and Borgerson 2004). The more frequent WOMAN IS THING metaphors reduce women to the status of objects/substance, with the attendant implications of powerlessness, inanimacy, and procurability; the metaphorical commodification and belittling of women permeates modern Chinese fiction (e.g. child/infant, doll, small bird, etc.). Conceptual metaphors are not arbitrary; indeed, their insidious power hinges on the degree to which they "make sense." When a metaphor captures a felt truth, its compelling logic seduces us into accepting unstated conclusions (Hines 1999a).

6 Conclusion

In modern Chinese fiction, it appears that both women and men are conceptualized as PERSON (WITH STEREOTYPICAL HUMAN FEATURES), ANIMAL, PLANT, THING. Both women and men are potentially to be degraded in some way when lower order forms of being and their attributes are mapped to them, and when a small disrespected group of people and their features are mapped to women or men as a whole.

One way of categorizing otherness is through transferring to women and men the respect or disrespect felt for specific groups of women and men. From the quantitative analysis of the corpus, it is seen that for men, the ARMY metaphor is the most frequent one, followed by GHOST/SPIRIT and, coming next, the SUPERIOR metaphor. By contrast, for women, the CHILD/INFANT metaphor is the most frequent one, followed by ARMY and, coming next SAVED/HELPLESS PERSON, and the CORPSE/DEAD BODY metaphor. Therefore, the ARMY metaphor is a comparatively more frequent one for both women and men. The most likely reason may be that people have to fight for their living in a hostile social and economic environment and deal with complicated human relations. However, men are conceptualized as ARMY 3.2 times more often than women. The obvious answer relates to the gendered — that is, masculinized — nature of war, and hence the WAR or ARMY metaphor. As we mentioned previously, one of the consequences of the fact that cultural conceptions of war specifically exclude the female is that their wide-spread use in discourse in the form of metaphoric expressions helps to maintain society as a male arena. In addition, in these metaphors women are often depicted as defeated and they never win a battle; men are also defeated in some cases, but they are more often represented as victors than women.

Metaphorical animal terms for humans, often insulting or belittling, are found for both women and men. Despite this symmetrical usage of the ANIMAL metaphor for males and females, certain more asymmetrical usage is at work. For one thing, some of the ANIMAL terms are only used to describe men, such as lion, camel, eagle/hawk, songbird, to name but a few, whereas others are reserved for describing women, such as deer, swallow, microorganism, and so forth. The most obvious reason for this case is that men are usually regarded as physically bigger, stronger, and more powerful than women, while women are physically smaller, weaker, and powerless. Also, in personality, men are taken as fiercer, while women are more obedient. Consistently, besides DOG, while men are most frequently termed as WILD BEAST and BEAST OF BURDEN,

women are most frequently conveyed as SMALL BIRD. On the other side, even when women and men are termed as the same animal, they are viewed from different perspectives. Take fox as an example. When fox is used to refer to men, the animal's characteristics of being sly, cunning, and tricky are focused on; whereas when it is used to refer to women, its nature of seduction is exploited. In a like manner, when the TIGER metaphor is applied to men, positive evaluations of the animal are tapped, whereas when the TIGERESS is used to refer to women, negative connotations such as being rude, shrewd, and obstinate are applied.

As regards the PLANT metaphor, both women and men are conceptualized as different fruits and vegetables in several cases, but women are far more frequently conceptualized as flowers than men, and men are more frequently conceptualized as trees than women. Generally, women are rather frequently degraded by being treated as equivalent to flowers that are used for decoration and pleasing the eyes, whereas men are often conceptualized as trees, which are often associated with positive connotations, such as being tall and straight, strong and vigorous.

In the THING metaphor, it seems that while both women and men are viewed metaphorically as things, women are considered mere things of certain kinds far more often than men are, that is, more numerous and more varied THING terms are available to refer to women. As can be inferred from the previous examples, generally, the association of people with things tends to convey negative evaluations. Especially the metaphorical view of women as commodities has been taken further in modern Chinese fiction. Women can be sold or bought as products, owned or possessed as properties, and given or received as gifts, yet none of these features are applied to men.

On the whole, there are more PERSON and ANIMAL metaphors for men, while there are more PLANT and THING metaphors for women in the corpus. The present study indicates that men may be conceptualized as persons (with particular features) 1.5 times as often as women, and represented as animals 2.6 times as often as women; whereas women are conceptualized as plants 3 times as often as men, and as things 1.5 times as often as men. These examples reflect and reinforce the ideological vision of women as passive and inanimate, whereas men are active and animate. In addition, since plants and things are at lower layers than animals and humans, this indicates that women are more likely than men to be viewed and treated as less than people. Since the Great Chain of Being presupposes that the natural order of the cosmos is that higher forms of existence dominate lower forms of existence, women are therefore assumed to be dominated by men.

The present study reveals the existence of a representational imbalance between women and men, which is identified in a discriminatory view of the former, exemplified by several types of conceptual metaphors. In addition, even when both groups are ideologically conceptualized in a degrading fashion, a more dominant position and status is reserved for the males.

"If language is a prime means of gaining control of people, metaphor is a prime means by which people can regain control of language and create discourse" (Charteris-Black 2004: 253). In this sense, gender metaphor both reflects and determines how we think and feel about women and men. Therefore, understanding more about gender metaphor is an essential component of intellectual freedom, and it enables us to *challenge* existing ways of thinking and feeling about the two sexes and their relation to language.

References

Anderson, K. V. & K. H. Sheeler (eds.). 2005. *Governing codes: Gender, metaphor, and political identity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Attia, M. 2007. A critical cognitive study: The Egyptian written media. In C. Hart & P. Cap (eds.). *Contemporary critical discourse studies*. London: Bloomsbury. 81–106.

Barcelona, A. 1997. Clarifying and applying the notions of metaphor and metonymy with cognitive linguistics. *Atlantis* 19(1). 21–48.

Charteris-Black, J. 2004. *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chilton, P. A. 1996. *Security metaphors: Cold War discourse from containment to common house*. New York: Peter Lang.

Chilton, P. 2004. *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. London: Routledge.

Chilton, P. 2005. Missing links in mainstream CDA: Modules, blends and the critical instinct. In R. Wodak & P. Chilton (eds.). *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis,* 19–52. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Coviello, J. & J. Borgerson. 2004. Tracing parallel oppressions: A feminist ontology of women and animals. https://www.academia.edu/9426462/Tracing_Parallel_Oppressions_A_Feminist_Ontology_of_ Women_and_Animals (accessed 16 July 2014).

Dodd, S. D. 2002. Metaphors and meaning. A grounded cultural model of US entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing* 17. 519–535.

Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and power*. London & New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Harlow, UK: Longman.

Fairclough, N. 2012. Critical discourse analysis. https://www.academia.edu/3791325/Critical_discourse_analysis_2012_

(accessed 30 April 2014).

Fairclough, N. & R. Wodak. 1997. Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (ed.). *Discourse studies. A multidisciplinary introduction*, Vol. 2. *Discourse as social interaction*, 258–284. London: Sage..

Fauconnier, G. & M. Turner. 2002. *The way we think: Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities.* New York: Basic Books.

Forceville, C. 1996. *Pictorial metaphor in advertising*. London: Routledge.

Goatly, A. 1997. *The language of metaphors*. London: Routledge.

Grady, J. E., T. Oakley & S. Coulson. 1999. Blending and metaphor. In G. Steen & R. Gibbs (eds.). *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics*, 101–124. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Haste, H. 1993. *The sexual metaphor*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hart, C. 2007. Critical discourse analysis and conceptualization: Mental spaces, blended spaces and discourse spaces in the British National Party. In C. Hart & D. Lukeš (eds.). *Cognitive linguistics in critical discourse analysis: Application and theory*, 107–131. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Hart, C. 2008. Critical discourse analysis and metaphor: Toward a theoretical framework. *Critical Discourse Studies* 5(2). 91–106.

Hart, C. 2010. Critical discourse analysis and cognitive science: New perspectives on immigration discourse. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hart, C. 2011a. Moving beyond metaphor in the cognitive linguistic approach to CDA: Construal operations in immigration discourse. In C. Hart (ed.). *Critical discourse studies in context and cognition*, 171–192. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hart, C. 2011b. Force-interactive patterns in immigration discourse: A cognitive linguistic approach to CDA. *Discourse & Society* 22(3). 269–286.

Hart, C. (ed.) 2011c. *Critical discourse studies in context and cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hart, C. 2013. Event-construal in press reports of violence in political protests: A cognitive linguistic approach to CDA. *Journal of Language and Politics* 12(3). 400–423.

Hart, C. 2014. Construal operations in online press reports of political protests. In C. Hart & P. Cap (eds.). *Contemporary critical discourse studies*, 167–188. London: Bloomsbury.

Hart, C. & D. Lukeš (eds.). 2007. *Cognitive linguistics in critical discourse analysis: Application and theory*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Heine, B. 1995. Conceptual grammaticalization and prediction. In J. Taylor & R. MacLaury (eds.). *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*, 119–135.Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heine, B., U. Claudi & F. Hünnemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heine, B. & T. Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hines, C. 1994. "Let me call you sweetheart": The WOMAN AS DESSERT metaphor. In M. Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, L. A. Sutton & C. Hines (eds.). *Cultural performances: Proceedings of the Third Berkeley Women and Language Conference*, 295–303. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Hines, C. 1996a. What's so easy about pie?: The lexicalization of a metaphor. In A. Goldberg (ed.). *Conceptual structure, discourse and language*, 189–200.Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.

Hines, C. 1996b. She-wolves, tigresses, and morphosemantics. In N. Warner, J. Ahlers, L. Bilmes, M. Oliver, S. Wertheim & M. Chen (eds.). *Gender and belief systems. Proceedings of the Fourth Berkeley Women and Language Conference, April 19–21, 1996*, 303–311. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group, University of California.

Hines, C. 1999a. Rebaking the Pie: The WOMAN AS DESSERT metaphor. In: M. Bucholtz, A. C. Liang & L. A. Sutton (eds.). *Reinventing identities: The gendered self in discourse*, 145–162. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hines, C. 1999b. Foxy chicks and Playboy bunnies: A case study in metaphorical lexicalization. In M. K. Hiraga, C. Sinha & S. Wilcox (eds.). *Cultural, typological and psychological perspectives on cognitive linguistics*, 9–23.Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Johnson, M. 1987. *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination and reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Koller, V. 2004a. Businesswomen and war metaphors: "Possessive, jealous and pugnacious"? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(1). 3–22.

Koller, V. 2004b *Metaphor and gender in business media discourse: A critical cognitive study*. Basingtsoke: Palgrave.

Koller, V. 2005. Critical discourse analysis and social cognition: Evidence from business media discourse. *Discourse & Society* 16(2). 199–224.

Koller, V. 2011. Analyzing metaphor and gender in discourse. In F. Manzano (ed.). *Unité et Diversité de la Linguistique. Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Linguistique*. 125–158. https://www.academia.edu/5256116/Analyzing_metaphor_and_gender_in_discourse (accessed 20/10/14).

Koller, V. 2014. Applying social cognition research to critical discourse studies: The case of collective identities. In C. Hart and P. Cap (eds.). *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Bloomsbury.

Koselleck, R. 1972. *Vergangene Zukunft*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp.

Koselleck, R. 1984. *Future pasts*. (K. Tribe, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Kövecses, Z. 2006. Metaphor and ideology in slang: The case of WOMAN and MAN. *Revue d' Etudes Francaises* (11). 151–166.

Kövecses, Z. 2010. *Metaphor: A practical introduction* (2nd edn). New York: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. 2015. *Where metaphors come from*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kress, Gunther. 1989. History and language: Towards a special account of linguistic change. *Journal of Pragmatics* 13(3). 445–466.

Lakoff, G. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A. Ortony (ed.). *Metaphor and thought* (2nd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 202–251.

Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the flesh*. New York: Basic Books.

Lakoff, G. & M. Turner. 1989. *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, R. 1973. Language and woman's place. *Language in Society* 2(1). 45–80.

Lakoff, R. 1975. *Language and woman's place*. New York: Harper and Row.

López, I. R. 2009. Of women, bitches, chickens and vixens: Animal metaphors for women in English and Spanish. *Culture, Language and Representation* 7. 77–100.

Maalej, Z. 2007. Doing critical discourse analysis with the contemporary theory of metaphor: Toward a discourse model of metaphor. In C. Hart & D. Lukeš (eds.). *Cognitive linguistics*

in critical discourse analysis: Application and theory, 132–158. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.

O'Halloran, K. 2003. *Critical discourse analysis and language cognition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Pauwels, A. 1998. *Women changing language*. London and New York: Longman.

Pragglejaz Group. 2007. MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol* 22(1). 1–39.

Richardson, J., M. Krzyżanowski, D. Machin & R. Wodak (eds.). 2014. *Advances in critical discourse studies*. New York: Routledge.

Sánchez-García, J. M. 2007. Toward a cognitively-oriented critical discourse analysis: Framing, construal and violence-related emotional meaning. In C. Hart & D. Lukeš (eds.). *Cognitive linguistics in critical discourse analysis: Application and theory*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 207–231.

Schulz, M. R. 1975. The semantic derogation of women. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (eds.). *Language and sex: Difference and dominance*, 64–75. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Stanley, J. P. 1977. Paradigmatic woman: The prostitute. In D. L. Shores & C. P. Hines (eds.). *Papers in Language Variation: The SAMLA-ADS Collection*, 303–321. University of Alabama Press..

Stanley, J. P. 1979. *Language and power: English as a patriarchal language*. Washington, D. C.: ERIC Clearinghouse.

Steen, G. 1999. From linguistic to conceptual metaphor in five steps. In R.W. Gibbs Jr. & G. Steen (eds.). *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*, 57–77. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Steen. G. 2002. Towards a procedure for metaphor identification. In G. Steen (ed.). *Metaphor identification.* Special issue of *Language and Literature* 11(1). 17–34.

Stockwell, P. 2001. Towards a critical Cognitive Linguistics? In Poetics and Linguistics Association Conference Papers (ed.). *Poetics, linguistics and history: Discourses of war and conflict,.* 510–528. South Africa: Potchefstroom University.

Tanaka, K. 1994. *Advertising language: A pragmatic account to advertising in Britain and Japan*. London: Routledge.

Ungerer, F. & H. J. Schmid. 1996. *An introduction to cognitive linguistics*. London: Longman.

Van Dijk, T. A. 1995. Discourse analysis as ideology analysis. In C. Schaffner & L. Wenden (eds.). *Language and peace*, 17–33. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Van Dijk, T. A. 2005. *Ideology and discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction*. http://www.discourses.org/UnpublishedArticles/Ideology%20and%20discourse.pdf (accessed 12 December 2013).

Van Leeuwen, T. 2014. Critical discourse analysis and multimodality. In C. Hart & P. Cap (eds.). *Contemporary critical discourse studies*. London: Bloomsbury.

Velasco-Sacristán, M. 2003. Publicidad y Género: Propuesta, diseño y aplicación de un modelo de análisis de las metáforas de género en la publicidad impresa en lengua inglesa. PhD thesis. University of Valladolid.

Velasco-Sacristán, M. 2005. A critical cognitive-pragmatic approach to advertising gender metaphors. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 2(3). 219–252.

Velasco-Sacristán, M. 2009. Overtness-covertness in advertising gender metaphors. *Journal of English Studies* 7. 111–148.

Velasco-Sacristán, M. & P. A. Fuertes-Olivera. 2006. Towards a critical cognitive-pragmatic approach to gender metaphors in Advertising English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(11). 1982–2002.

Walters-York, L. M. 1996. Metaphor in accounting discourse. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* 9(5). 45–70.

Wodak, R. 2001. What CDA is about — A summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (eds.). *Methods of critical discourse analysis,* 1–13. London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R. 2006. Mediation between discourse and society: Assessing cognitive approaches in CDA. *Discourse Studies* 8(1). 179–90.

Xin, B. 2007. The social and cognitive orientations of critical discourse analysis. *Foreign Language Research* 24(6). 19–24.

Xin, B. 2012. Cognitive discourse analysis in critical discourse analysis. *Foreign Languages and Their Teaching* 34(4). 1–5.

Zhang, H. & L. Jiang. 2008. Integration of cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis. *Foreign Language Research* 31(5). 12–19.

Zhang, H. & T. W. Zhang. 2012. Cognitive metonymy approach to critical discourse analysis. *Foreign Language and Literature* 28(3). 41–46.

Bionote

Yufang Zhou

Yufang Zhou (b. 1974) is Associate Professor of Linguistics in the School of Foreign Languages, Liaocheng University. Her primary research interests include Cognitive Linguistics, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), and language and gender. In recent years, she has been attempting to combine the theories of Cognitive Linguistics and CDS to explore the processing of gender metaphors in Chinese fiction, and has published a number of papers in various national core journals.